TERESA CARREÑO’S EARLY YEARS IN CARACAS: CULTURAL INTERSECTIONS OF PIANO VIRTUOSITY, GENDER, AND NATION-BUILDING IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Dr. Jonathan Glixon, Major Professor
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TERESA CARREÑO’S EARLY YEARS IN CARACAS:  
CULTURAL INTERSECTIONS OF PIANO VIRTUOSITY, GENDER, AND NATION-BUILDING IN THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
College of Fine Arts  
at the University of Kentucky

By  
Laura Pita  
Columbia, Missouri

Director: Dr. Jonathan Glixon, Professor of Musicology  
Lexington, Kentucky  

2019

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

TERESA CARREÑO’S EARLY YEARS IN CARACAS: CULTURAL INTERSECTIONS OF PIANO VIRTUOSITY, GENDER, AND NATION-BUILDING IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

This dissertation studies the musical activities of the Venezuelan pianist and composer Teresa Carreño (b. 1853; d. 1917) during her formative years in Caracas. It examines the sources that pertain to her musical environment, early piano training, and first compositions in the context of the growth in Caracas of the practices of recreational sociability, the increasing influence of virtuosic music, and the tradition of private concert-making sponsored by devoted music amateurs. This study argues that Teresa Carreño’s musical upbringing occurred at a time in which Enlightenment-framed ideologies of civilization and social progress influenced in fundamental ways the perceptions of the value of music and women in society, and their role in the newly-founded republic. This study is aimed at reconstructing Teresa Carreño’s musical activities in Caracas as a means for elucidating the values, aspirations, and contradictions of Caracas’s musical culture and how these were articulated within the broader context of the nation-building process that was shaped and promoted by the progressive intelligentsia since the early nineteenth-century.

KEYWORDS: Latin American Music, Gender Studies, Piano Virtuosity, Salon Music, Latin American Nation-Building

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Name of Student
2/8/2019
Date
TERESA CARREÑO’S EARLY YEARS IN CARACAS:
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DEDICATION

To the memory of Dr. Margery M. Lowens and Arturo Gozález.
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<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>academia filarmónica (pl. academias filarmónicas)</td>
<td>Philharmonic academy. Gathering of connoisseurs, musicians by trade and apprentices for the performance of chamber music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acto literario</td>
<td>Literary event. Also called certamen literario. (See certamen.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aficionado (fem. aficionada, pl. aficionados/-as)</td>
<td>Music lover. In eighteenth and nineteenth-century Caracas, someone actively engaged in serious music-making either as performer or connoisseur, who did not rely on music as a source of subsistence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>álbum (pl. álbumes, though during the nineteenth century álbumes was more oftenly used)</td>
<td>Album. Blank notebook luxuriously bound. Women’s albums (álbumes de señoritas and álbumes de señoras) were customarily filled with poems and/or musical pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>americano (fem. americana, pl. americanos/-as)</td>
<td>American. From the early nineteenth-century, anyone born in the Americas as opposed to one born in Europe. Most often used in Caracas to refer to individuals born in the Hispanic American territories. It was extended to those who resided in Hispanic America and despite place of birth identified him/herself with the independence cause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aprendiz (pl. aprendices)</td>
<td>Apprentice. Someone who was in the initial stages of music learning under the care of a musician by trade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artista (pl. artistas)</td>
<td>Artist. In nineteenth-century Caracas it was mostly applied to visiting virtuosos as well as to profesores and aficionados who performed as soloists in concerts. Also applied to talented composers. (See profesor and aficionado.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayuntamiento</td>
<td>City council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanco de orilla (fem. blanca, pl. blancos/-as de orilla)</td>
<td>Literally, whites from the periphery. Used in a derogatory fashion to designate the segment of underprivileged whites during the colonial times, mostly members of the class of artisans and shopkeepers, although some received further education and became intellectuals, clerics or militaries. The term originated as a reference to the neighborhoods in the suburbs of Caracas where lower-class individuals resided, in contrast with the privileged class which occupied Caracas downtown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabildo eclesiástico</td>
<td>Council of ecclesiastic members in a city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capilla musical</td>
<td>Musical chapel. The organizational structure at a church that was in charge of the music. In eighteenth and nineteenth-century Caracas it was commonly integrated by singers and instrumentalists under the direction of a maestro de capilla. The term was also used to refer to small musical schools in charge of a music teacher, often operating in his own residence. (See maestro de capilla.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caraqueño (fem. caraqueña, pl. caraqueños/-as)</td>
<td>Person from Caracas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caudillo</td>
<td>Military leader with political power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certamen (pl. certámenes)</td>
<td>Short for certamen literario or certamen musical. The term certamen literario referred in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Caracas to a scholarly event aimed at the discussion of a topic, or at celebrating a holiday or honoring a personality. It featured discourses and often music as well. The term certamen musical was used as an equivalent of concert, although discourses or discussion of music-related discourses or explanations also took part in it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cofradía (pl. cofradías)</td>
<td>Brotherhoods or associations of neighbors affiliated with a parish church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colegio (pl. colegios)</td>
<td>Short for colegio mayor. Institution for pre-university or high-school education in Spain and Hispanic America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comerciante (pl. comerciantes)</td>
<td>Merchant. In colonial Caracas usually applied to the one who belonged to a wealthy segment of society, as opposed to the mercader, one who worked as a shopkeeper, who had much lower economic means.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criollo (fem. criolla, pl. criollos/-as)</td>
<td>Creole. Mostly applied to whites of Spanish ascendancy born in Venezuela.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dilettante or dilettante (pl. dilettantes or dilettanti)</td>
<td>Music lover. In mid-nineteenth century Caracas it was most often applied to opera and concert goers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escuela de Chacao</td>
<td>Chacao School. Stylistic label used in modern historiography to refer to the group of composers associated with the gatherings of Padre Sojo and Bartolomé Blandín in haciendas in Chacao, in the outskirts of Caracas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>español Americano (fem. española americana, pl. españoles/-as americanos/-as)</td>
<td>American Spaniard. During the colonial times often used interchangeably with criollo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **espurio**  
| **(fem. espuria, pl. epurios/-as)**  
| Spurious. During the colonial times, natural or illegitimate child, born outside marriage. |
| **expósito**  
| Orphan. During the colonial times, an individual of unknown parents. |
| **gabinete**  
| Room in nineteenth-century bourgeois homes in Caracas, adjacent to the salón, and designated for study, intellectual work and business. |
| **hacendado**  
| Owner of a hacienda. |
| **hacienda**  
| Plantation or landed estate of a considerable size owned by wealthy individuals. |
| **indio**  
| **(fem. india, pl. indios/-as)**  
| Indian or native American |
| **inteligente**  
| **(pl. inteligentes)**  
| In nineteenth-century Caracas, university graduate or autodidact intellectual. Used interchangeably with letrado.  
(See letrado.) |
| **junta**  
| **(pl. juntas)**  
| A gathering. Often used in peninsular Spain as substitute for tertulia. It could mean an administrative organization of political nature, such as de the Junta Central Gobernativa del Reino, created in Aranjuez in 1808 and the Junta Suprema de Caracas created in 1810. |
| **letrado**  
| **(pl. letrados)**  
| Loosely translates the French term gen de lettre (man of letters). In nineteenth-century Hispanic America usually referring to a lawyer but also a scholar or liberal professional involved in some sort of intellectual activity. |
| **maestro de capilla**  
| Chapelmaster (Kappelmeister in German), the musical director at a church or cathedral. In colonial Caracas, the specific duties of the maestro de capilla varied from one church to another but typically involved the training of apprentices affiliated with church-music making, the selection of music to be performed, rehearsals and the maintenance of musical instruments. Music composition, instead, was not considered part of the duties of the maestro de capilla.  
(See capilla musical.) |
| **mantuano**  
| **(fem. mantuana, pl. mantuanos)**  
| Member of the elite families of Venezuelan society, usually applied to the aristocrats or their descendants. |
| **mercader**  
| (pl. mercaderes) | Shopkeeper. |
| **mulato**  
| (fem. mulata, pl. mulatos/-as) | Mulatto. Individual of mixed-race, born of one white parent and one black parent or mixed-race parent(s) product of black and white ascendants. |
| **notable**  
| (pl. notables) | Member of the group of the most respectable men of the educated elite, who participated in political, economic and cultural affairs during the first years following the establishment of the Republic of 1830. |
| **pardo**  
| (fem. parda, pl. pardos/-as) | General term applied to individuals of mixed race, born of white and black parents, or white and Indian parents, or Indian and black parents, or mixed-race parents product of any of these combinations, they received different denominations accordingly. |
| **patria** | Fatherland. |
| **patriota**  
| (pl. patriotas) | In nineteenth-century Caracas, advocator of the independence of Venezuela from the Spanish Crown. |
| **península** | Short for Iberian Peninsula. It designates the Spanish territories of present Spain. |
| **peninsular**  
| (pl. peninsulares) | From peninsular Spain. In colonial Venezuela used to designate the Spaniards born in the Iberian Peninsula as opposed to the white Spaniards born in Venezuela or any other American territory or criollos (also known as españoles americanos) and the white Spaniards born in the Canary Islands or canarios. |
| **persona de inteligencia**  
| (pl. personas de inteligencia) | Short for inteligente.  
| (See inteligente and letrado) |
| **profesor**  
<p>| (fem. profesora, pl. profesores/-as) | Translates to English as teacher or professor. Since at least the eighteenth century, the term profesor was applied in general to those who having music as a livelihood had achieved a high level of expertise that allowed them to take apprentices under their care to be guided in the study of music. The label of profesor continued being in use throughout the nineteenth century, consistently implying dignified connotations comparable to the Italian term maestro. |
| <strong>regeneración</strong> | Spanish for regeneration. Since the 1810s it referred to the ideal or real process of political, social and cultural reforms taking place as part of the independence process in Venezuela to replace the colonial order. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>salón</td>
<td>Visiting room in eighteenth and nineteenth-century bourgeois homes in Caracas, placed in the upfront and usually with wide windows facing the street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarao</td>
<td>Social gathering centered on dancing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soirée musical</td>
<td>Musical soirée. Used interchangeably with the terms velada musical and suaré musical. During the nineteenth century in Caracas it referred to a private gathering centered on music to be heard (as opposite to music to be danced) and possibly also featuring soloist dancing, though casual conversation or intellectual discussion, and even drinking and eating took also part in it. In public spaces, it was often used to refer a concert featuring a reduced number of performers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suaré musical</td>
<td>Phonetical transcription to Spanish of the French term soirée. Also called velada musical. (See soirée musical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tertulia</td>
<td>Gathering of people for the purpose of socializing and discussing various issues ranging from politics, science, literature, fine arts, etc. Music-making, game playing, casual conversation, poetry reading, and alike could also be part of it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velada musical</td>
<td>Musical soirée. Used interchangeably with the terms soirée or suaré musical. (See soirée musical)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

In May 1862, two months before the departure of Teresa Carreño and her family for the United States, Felipe Larrázabal, a man of letters, a politician, and one of the most prominent musicians in Caracas, wrote a lengthy article for the newspapers conveying his impressions of her musical talent:

Mozart was the fertile genius of music, and also the predestined artist that created the immense order of beauties on which rest the system of modern composition. After a century, and not in the Old World, but in Columbus’ continent in South America, a zone of immigration for the sciences and the arts, and where the serene and pure sky magnifies the talents; here, I say, God called to life the successor and worthy emulator of Mozart: It is a young girl from Caracas [...] her name is: Teresa Carreño y Toro.

A century mediates between Mozart and this pearl of Caracas; a century full of advances, inventions, taste, and science. What great progress has been made in such a period of time! – The court of Francis I heard the prodigy of its century, and the old Emperor (the memories of his time recorded it), could not find words to paint his enthusiastic admiration. What would he say today, if being brought back to life, he could hear the delicate notes of Teresa [...]?

There is nothing and there has never been nothing in that genre comparable to the talent of our virtuosa compatriot.1

A combination of reverence, patriotic pride, and trust in the capacities of Hispanic Americans to advance an unprecedented stage of civilization runs throughout Larrazábal’s writing. This article was one of several that appeared in Venezuelan newspapers commenting on a series of private concerts organized by the Carreño’s between May and July of 1862 in her hometown, Caracas and in the port city of Puerto Cabello. The purpose of these concerts was to present Teresa to the local musical and intellectual circles and to announce the family’s plans for a journey that would take her to be heard in New York, Havana, London, and Paris. At the time of the concerts in Venezuela, Teresa was only eight years old. Yet, according to the reports, she managed to improvise at length and to master half a dozen pieces of the most dazzling virtuosic repertory, including a Rondo Brillant by Johann Nepomuk Hummel, the Grande Fantaisie et Variations sur des Motifs de l’Opéra Norma de Bellini, op. 12 by Sigismund Thalberg, the Grandes variations de Bravoure sur la Marche des Puritains de Bellini, by Henri Herz and the Fantaisie de

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1 F. Larrazábal “Tributo de honor al mérito,” El independiente (Caracas), 27 May 1862, in Álbum “Al Genio” (Scrapbook I) No. 1, Teresa Carreño Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries (hereafter TCP). All the translations form this source are mine. For the original citation in Spanish, see final note i. Hereafter, the original texts of citations in languages other than English that I have translated will be placed on final notes at the end of each chapter.
Lucie de Lammermoor de Donizetti, op. 8 by Émile Prudent, among others.\textsuperscript{2} These concerts were received by the public opinion as an emblem of the “honor and glory of Venezuela” for her “talent and virtue.”\textsuperscript{3}

1. The Carreños: A Venezuelan Musical Dynasty

Teresa Carreño was born in Caracas on December 22 of 1853 to a family of noteworthy musicians. For almost a century the Carreños had overseen the music-making of the Cathedral of Caracas, then the most important musical center of the city. Since 1750, when Ambrosio Carreño (b. 1721; d. 1801), Teresa’s great-great uncle was appointed chapel master at the cathedral, the musical direction of the cathedral passed from one member of the family to another until 1842. The cathedral reached its highest musical point during the tenure of Cayetano Carreño (b. 1774; d. 1836), Teresa’s grandfather, which extended for forty years until his death. Cayetano was an accomplished musician and a prolific composer. He taught music to all of his seven male children, José Ciríaco (b. 1795; b. 1814), José Lino (b. 1797), Juan Bautista (b. 1802), José Cayetano (b. 1804; b. 1842), Juan de la Cruz (b. 1815; ), Manuel Antonio (b. 1813; d. 1874), and José Lorenzo (b. 1807). They also occupied various positions as singers, organists, choir directors, and chapel masters.

As social changes occurred with the establishment of the Republic of Venezuela in 1830, Cayetano’s sons had the possibility of accessing university education which permitted them to leave their musically productive though humble positions as church musicians and to ascend the social ladder. Some of them as Juan Bautista and Juan de la Cruz graduated as lawyers and eventually inserted themselves into the intellectual and political life of Caracas.

Manuel Antonio, Teresa’s father, did not attended the university. Nonetheless, his dedication to autodidactic study and sincere commitment to serving the nation allowed him to occupy various important governmental positions as well as to contribute to the area of education. In 1841 he founded the prestigious school for boys, Colegio Roscio. In the 1840s he worked as a translator of textbooks and since 1851 he created his own printing press. A major


\textsuperscript{3} J. M. E., “Teresa Carreño,” El vigilante (Puerto Cabello, Venezuela), 1 Aug. 1862, in Álbum “Al Genio” (Scrapbook I), No. 5, TCP; R. M. S., [Public letter to Manuel Antonio Carreño,] El vigilante (Puerto Cabello, Venezuela), 31 July 1862, in Álbum “Al Genio” (Scrapbook I), No. 4, TCP.
turn came for him in 1853 with the publication in Caracas of his book, *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras*, which became the best-known text on morals and etiquette in the Spanish-speaking world. Carreño’s book was immediately published in New York and in Spain soon afterwards became available in nearly every important city in Hispanic America and in several countries in Europe as well. Carreño’s conception of good manners, his practical rules of conduct and morals, and his acceptance of fashions and recreational forms of sociability offered a reliable interpretation of the modern, urban and civilized society that the newly-founded nations of the Hispanic America aspired to establish.

Despite Manuel Antonio Carreño’s occupations in the public administration, he devoted himself to the musical education of Teresa. At the age of six, she began her formal training with him and two years later she performed the piano in private concerts that were attended by the core of musical and intellectual life of Caracas. In August of 1862, the family left Venezuela for the United States. Political difficulties for Manuel Antonio along with the desire of further musical exposure for Teresa drove the family to go into voluntary exile. Soon after their arrival in New York Teresa Carreño met the American virtuoso Louis Moreau Gottschalk, then at the peak of his fame. With his support she entered public concert life. The enormous success of her public debut on November 25 of that year secured her an intense concert schedule for the remaining of the season, with presentations in New York, the Boston area, and Cuba. This was the beginning of a concert career that spanned over fifty-five years of almost uninterrupted activity, which positioned her among the greatest piano virtuosos of the late romantic era. She performed in major musical venues in Western, Eastern, Northern, and Central Europe, North and South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, North America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. Her extent compositional output includes over forty compositions for piano in the salon and virtuosic-concert genres, most of them published during her teenage years. During her adulthood she composed music for instrumental ensemble as well, including a string quartet and a serenade for orchestra, and also two works for voice and orchestra.

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4 M. Carreño, *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras para 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* (New York: D. Appleton y Ca., 1863). The book first appeared in installments of twenty-two pages each, starting on December 15, 1852. Nonetheless, the text was published as a book for the first time in 1853. Both prints were prepared at Imprenta de Carreño Hermanos in Caracas. The early editions of Carreño’s *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* will be discussed in Chapter 4.

5 For a list of compositions by Teresa Carreño, see B. Mann, “Teresa Carreño,” in *Women Composers: Music Through the Ages*, ed. by M. Furman Schleifer and S. Glickman, VI: 244-45. Modern
2. Teresa Carreño as a Cultural Symbol in Venezuela

The importance of Teresa Carreño as a cultural icon in Venezuela could hardly be exaggerated. Although after leaving the country she only returned on two occasions in the 1880s, her international career was widely commented on the local newspapers, which consistently referred to her with intense patriotic pride. In 1917, the press in Caracas announced with regret the death in New York on June 12 of the “eminent Venezuelan pianist Teresita Carreño.” The obituary questioned whether her prolonged absence had lessened her love for Venezuela, and by citing her when asked about it some years ago, it stated: “Sometimes I have loved her [Venezuela] for her misfortunes, sometimes for her generosity, and always as an irreplaceable mother. I want to sleep on her lap the earthy dream: I want my ashes to rest in her bosom.”

In 1938, her family honored her will and brought her ashes to Caracas, where they received state honors in an official ceremony attended by President Eleazar López Contreras and other political and cultural personalities. José Antonio Calcaño, the patriarch of Venezuelan music history, in his discourse for the occasion asserted:

She was born in Venezuela. She was a Venezuelan all her life; and by returning her ashes this land, her will is being fulfilled. But, despite her love for our country, other countries enjoyed her genius to a greater degree than Venezuela. [...] This curious circumstance could be considered, in a certain way, as an involuntary and altruistic sacrifice that Venezuela made when letting go of some of its most illustrious sons, to help with the progress and culture of many other countries. Sometimes, Venezuela has given others what it does not have for itself. And it has given it without pain and without repentance. 


Teresa Carreño’s visits to Venezuela took place from October 1885 to September of 1886 and again from February to May 1887.

[A. Mata], “Muerte de Teresa Carreño,” El Universal (Caracas), 25 June 1917, 1. All the translations form this source are mine.

Ibid.

J. A. Calcaño, “Palabras pronunciadas por J. A. Calcaño en el Cementerio General del Sur, al ser repatriadas las cenizas de Teresa Carreño, el 15 de febrero de 1938,” 3-5, typed manuscript, my translation. The document is preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas.
In 1977, Teresa Carreño received further posthumous recognition when her ashes were transferred to the Panteón Nacional in Caracas, the national mausoleum where the founding fathers of the nation rest, thus receiving the highest respect that anyone could receive in Venezuela.10 She has remained until today a powerful symbol of the cultural achievements of the nation.

Larrazábal’s commentaries on Teresa Carreño demonstrate that, contrary to common belief, her significance as a cultural icon in Venezuela had been already constructed before her international concert career had been consolidated. Accordingly, in early December of 1862, only a few days after Teresa Carreño’s public debut in New York, Cecilio Acosta, one of the most solid intellectuals of nineteenth-century Venezuela, commented also on her concerts in Caracas, interpreting her talent as a national contribution to the cultural progress of humankind, in a vein similar to Larrábazal: “Who with more titles than her could consign in imperishable books, the feelings, the ideas, the aspirations, the hopes, the efforts, the conquests, the triumphs of glory of the time that flows before her eyes? Could there exist so much light to not shine, so much fertility to not produce? We do not believe that. We believe, on the contrary, that Maria Teresa will be an ornament of her patria, [and] a glory of her century.”11

As exaggerated as Felipe Larrazábal’s and Cecilio Acosta’s words could seem from today’s perspective, the fact that Teresa Carreño’s private concerts in Caracas were considered by the local intelligentsia notable events worthy to be widely discussed in the public opinion, points to their contemporary significance as a matter of social interest. The music-making of that eight-year old girl was culturally meaningful in ways that are not obvious nowadays. Reconstructing the cultural contexts that conferred such significance to Teresa Carreño’s early music-making could be key to understanding nineteenth-century Caracas musical culture.

3. Nation-Building, the Ideology of the Enlightenment, and Music

This dissertation proposes that the significance of Teresa Carreño as a cultural symbol in Venezuela since her early youth is best understood in the context of the nation-building process that took place during the nineteenth century. It began in the threshold of the Declaration of 1811.


11 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio” (Scrapbook I), No. 56, TCP. All the translations from this source are mine.
Independence in 1811 and ran throughout the post-Independence period that started in 1830. In the context of a nation striving to construct distinct cultural symbols and collective identities for the newly-founded order, eight-year-old Teresa Carreño came to symbolize the positive potential of the nation for realization of the aspirations of civilization and social progress the shapers of the nation promised to the people.

Since the early nineteenth-century, the ideologists of the independence movement in Venezuela trusted that the Americas were called by Providence to give birth to a new stage of political and social order that would serve all of humanity as an exemplary alternative to the corrupted ways of contemporary Europe. Underlying this viewpoint was their need to justify the rupture with the colonial order. Their aim was to demonstrate that Hispanic Americans had the capacity to govern themselves and to route the country into prosperity and civility. To be sure, a sense of moral superiority was involved in this position. The early shapers of the nation considered that their defense of the values of rationality and freedom placed them above the tyrannical and oppressive means that, according to them, the Spaniards used to control the American colonies. The conviction in the fateful mission of Hispanic Americans to lead an upcoming era of unparalleled civilization informed at many levels the cultural identities that were formed during the nineteenth century.

The vision of the nation as a quest for a promissory future was not exclusive to Venezuela. Cultural scholar Carlos J. Alonso, who has studied in *The Burden of Modernity* the problems of cultural identity and cultural politics involved in the relentless pursuit for modernity undertaken by Hispanic American intellectuals argues that discourses of futurity and modernity have served various ideological purposes. During colonial times they served to legitimate the discourse of the rupture with Spain. In the post-Independence period, they served as a foundational basis of the emergent republics in Latin America. Alonso traces the links of Hispanic America with its search for modernity to the narratives of novelty produced during the times of discovery and conquest, when the appellative of the New World functioned as an explicit affirmation of its “capacity to evoke amazement on account of its infinite undiscoveredness, its ability to elude to be known totally and for all time.”  

For Alonso, this narrative was significant in the formation of the Latin American cultural imaginary because “it created the conditions for a permanent exoticization of the New World.”

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13 Ibid., 8.
times, an alternative narrative identified the Americas with the future, which served as ideological justification for the appropriation of its raw materials and political tutelage. Paradoxically, in the break of the independence movement, advocates of the revolution forged their argument in favor of establishing the republican order on the promise of a future of prosperity and progress in opposition to the Spanish hegemony, a symbol of an obsolete past of bondage and cultural backwardness. “Political independence was unquestionably the historical culmination of this narrative centered on the avowedly indissoluble relationship between America and the future,” states Alonso. Moreover, “arguments for independence were founded as much on complaints of Spanish abuses of power as on the fundamental allegation that Spain was hopelessly tied to a past that was now judged as discontinuous with Spanish America’s essence and needs.” After the emancipation, cultural ideologists of the emergent republics constructed their cultural models as a continuation of these discourses of futurity: “regardless of its richness and possibilities [...] the present was significant inasmuch as it constituted the anticipation of a final and always future epiphany.”

The correspondence between the formation of cultural identities and the process of nation-building in Hispanic America has been studied by the cultural scholars William G. Acree and Juan Carlos González Spitia in Building Nineteenth-Century Latin America. They have emphasized the importance of the period of independence and nation-building to the establishment of legal frameworks and ideologies promising social change: “Independence was nation-building, or the beginning of nation-building.” For these authors a myriad of cultural symbols was crafted along the way of the nation-building process. These symbols were key to the formation of collective identities and cultural representation while reflecting the textural richness of that process. Nonetheless, these emergent cultural identities were not exempt from social tensions and contradictions. “There was not a blueprint for building nations at the outset of the 1800s,” state the authors. In regards to the specific case of Venezuela, historian Elías Pino Iturrieta has observed that building the republic was a sui generis process which involved enormous difficulties. They had to create a life style that could honor the effort of the
revolutionaries, but no tools were at hand. Besides, they had to maintain social hope despite the destruction caused by the hostilities with Spain. Pino Iturrieta states that what the builders had as a republic in 1830 was no more than a few directions on a map and a cluster of good intentions.20

Hispanic American cultural scholarship has pointed the role that Enlightenment progressive ideologies had in providing guidelines for the nation-building process. For Graciela Montaldo, since the late eighteenth century, in Hispanic America the philosophy of the Enlightenment propelled the revolutionary ideas that eventually caused the rupture with the colonial order. The influence of the Enlightenment remained in the post-Independence period, serving as the paradigm according to which Hispanic American reality was interpreted and the systems to organize society and design the politics for the future were established.21 Montaldo observes that the belief in rationality and universality and the conceptual dichotomy of nature vs. civilization, used by eighteenth-century European Enlightenment philosophers as categories to explain the new social and political realities that emerged after the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution, were widely adopted in nineteenth-century Hispanic America, where the informed the cultural and social models instituted in the newly-founded nations.22

For his part, the Venezuelan historian Rafael Fernández Heres in his in depth and well-documented study *La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración*, demonstrates that the philosophy of the Enlightenment exerted a consistent influence among Venezuelan intellectuals from at least 1770 to 1870.23 From this it follows that the conventional use of the term Enlightenment to refer a historical period taking place in Europe through the eighteenth-century would be misleading when applied to Venezuelan culture. It is important to note that in Fernández Heres’ study, as in most of the research on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century culture in Venezuela, the term Enlightenment is used in the sense of ideology, which comprises the values, beliefs, theories, and social practices that are associated with the philosophy of the Enlightenment.

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22 Ibid., 107.
23 R. Fernández Heres, *La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración*, 1770-1870, passim.
Fernández Heres distinguishes three phases in the influence of the Enlightenment in Venezuela. The first phase began with the entrance of Enlightenment ideas through progressivist university professors in Caracas. This initial stage was marked by an enlivening of intellectuality, which resulted in the quest for a reorientation of education towards modern scientific thought and views of the technological uses of education to achieve economic development and welfare in the region. This movement paved the way for the increasing questioning of the political establishment and the eventual break with Spain. The second phase began with the Declaration of Independence in 1811 and the ensuing Independence War (1811-1823). The influence of the Enlightenment during this stage is discernible in the aim of instilling republican values in the population and in the efforts of ideologists of the independence movement in establishing the political project of the republic. The third phase began with the foundation of the republic in 1830 and ended with the April Revolution of 1870. This last stage is characterized by the expansion of liberal political ideas. The government reaffirmed its power on the grounds of public authority, sanctioning the exclusion of the church in political matters.

The connection between the ideology of the Enlightenment and the formation of the legal, social, and cultural frameworks on which the emerging nations were being built up is directly related to the intellectual affiliation of the groups that gave conceptual support to the rupture with the colonial order and to the establishment of the social and cultural institutions of the republic. In Venezuela, the agents of the nation-building process belonged to a minority of highly educated men from the middle and social spectrum of society, who were most often guided by Enlightenment ideals of social inclusion and cultural progress.

The origins of these circles of intellectual progressives in Venezuela could be traced to the late eighteenth-century when a cultural link was established in Caracas between the increasing circulation of books of the European Enlightenment and the formation of cliques of Venezuelan-born educated people, which combined individuals across the upper and middle segments of Venezuelan society. These cliques acted as networks for the dissemination and discussion of intellectual products, which became particularly important during the colonial times when the access to university education was limited to the upper class and the high cost...

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24 Ibid., 666-67.
25 Ibid., 668.
26 Ibid., 667-68.
of printed materials and the official censorship also restricted the access to knowledge. Most often they included university students who belonged to the top of the social hierarchies, represented by landowners, some of them aristocrats, known in colonial Venezuela as *mantuanos*, as well as by the also wealthy but less prestigious segment of the of merchants or *comerciantes*. Following in the social scale were progressive-minded clerics, lawyers, bureaucrats, landowners, and military men, who often were part of these groups as well. Finally, underprivileged whites, known as *blancos de orilla*, and even mixed-race artisan, known as *pardos*, with a vocation for autodidactic study were also accepted in some of the networks. Despite the rigid social hierarchies that operated in colonial Venezuela, their interest in the progressive ideologies of the Enlightenment and in the value of education and rational exchange of ideas operated as an element of cultural negotiation of economic and social differences. This served to create common identity among them as educated people, which was particularly conspicuous because at that time most of the population was illiterate. The circles of progressive intellectuals distinguished themselves from the also educated but conservative segments of society, which, independently from their economic status, did not abide by the progressive principles of the Enlightenment.

The identity of the progressive intellectuals as a distinctive group was maintained despite the social changes that occurred with the rupture of the colonial order. With the abolition of aristocratic prerogatives, and with a wider access to university education and/or intellectual products and to the bureaucrat apparat of the forming nation, the upper and middling segments of the educated circles shared positions of political power and intellectual influence.

The role of the intellectual production of these educated groups of intellectuals in Hispanic America in the shaping of the nation/states during the nineteenth has been addressed in Ángel Rama’s influential study *The Lettered City*. For Rama, the intellectual and literary activity of the members of the educated circles was central to the shaping of the ideologies that sustained the spheres of power. Rama explains that across Hispanic America, this intelligentsia, historically referred to as the *letrados*, had been operating in the principal urban centers since the colonial times in small groups of people that exerted social influence with considerable autonomy. According to Rama, “the principal explanation for the ascendancy of the *letrados* lay in their ability to manipulate writing in largely illiterate societies. Amid grammatological tendencies of European culture in the early modern period, writing took on an almost sacred
aura, and doubly so in American territories where it remained so rare and so closely linked to royal authority."²⁷ Rama also observes that during the nineteenth century the secularist thought that the *letrados* gained an influence in Hispanic America comparable to the influence that official Catholicism exerted during colonial times. The *letrados* created, so to speak, a “secondary religion of letters,” socially venerated and increasingly autonomous.²⁸ The writing activity of the *letrados* was not simply literary, as Rama states. Their practice was aimed at the production of a social and cultural reality. It functioned as a mechanism to reproduce power.

Rama’s observation points to the fact that the group of literates represented in the *letrados*, had a projection that went beyond writing poetry or dramas. The *letrados* were the writers of the articles that shaped public opinion. They wrote the constitutions of newly founded republics, their laws, their educational curricula, the conduct manuals that circulated across Hispanic America, and even many of the articles that appeared in feminine books and magazines. They also occupied state positions, and most of them made a lifelong career as congressmen. In this sense, Rama emphasizes the “tremendous influence exercised by *letrados* in pulpits, universities, and administrative offices, as well as in the theater and various genres of essay writing. Even poets helped construct the ideological framework of Latin American society, and they continued to do so until the vogue of positivistic modernization of the late nineteenth century.”²⁹

Rama’s thesis of the role that the *letrados* played in the formation of reading publics and the production and dissemination of hegemonic discourses that were central to the legitimization of the political processes that sought to make of the emergent republics “civilized” nations has been further explored in the scholarly literature. This is the case of Víctor Uribe-Urán, who in “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution” has examined the role of the Hispanic-American intelligentsia in the formation of a public sphere of opinion and its links with the nation-building process. Drawing from Jürgen Habermas’ influential theories of the formation of the public sphere in eighteenth-century Europe, Uribe-Urán establishes that it was the political turmoil produced by the French Revolution in 1789 - 1799 that ignited the growth of groups of discussion already in the late colonial period, which represented an incipient or embryonic stage of the formation of the public sphere in Hispanic

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²⁸ Ibid., 24.
²⁹ Ibid., 21.
America. At this point, in several Hispanic American cities, groups of educated men held literary gatherings in private homes, thus adapting European Enlightenment forms of cultured sociability. The increasing formation of private and public societies for the discussion of academic, literary, and musical issues stimulated critical analysis of contemporary problems and issues. In many of these gatherings literature mingled with discussion about political issues, thus facilitating the formation of subversive groups of educated men that held positions that were critical of the Spanish Crown. Newspapers also emerged at that time in many places across Hispanic America. Thus, the process of the independence and the formation of the republics that emerged in the early nineteenth century occurred in tandem with the formation of a local intelligentsia and the establishment of the public sphere. Uribe-Urán notes that this was a complex and “critical period of state-sponsored reforms and modernizing projects, a process that for the lack of better words one could term ‘the publicization of the public,’ and ‘the privatization of the private,’” which gave rise to the ultimate demise of the colonial regime. According to Uribe-Urán, the real explosion of the public sphere occurred in the post-colonial period, from around the 1820s when the world of politics and public debate became wider as result of the freedom gained with the Independence. This stage extended until the mid-century. Despite the militarism that formed during Independence War and the positions of power that the military maintained in post-colonial life, the local intelligentsia continued to be key to mobilizing public opinion through public debate and supporting a political apparatus based on voting systems.

The ideologies of the Enlightenment exerted also an important imprint on the conception of the role that women were called to play in the building of the nation. According to the Venezuelan historian Fernández Heres, initiatives to improve the education of girls from all social classes started in tandem with the establishment of the philosophies of the Enlightenment

30 V. Uribe-Urán, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” 425. Jürgen Habermas’ theory has been formulated in his seminal study The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991), first published in German in 1962 as Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit.
31 V. Uribe-Urán, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” 439.
32 Ibid., 437-38.
33 Ibid., 441-42.
34 Ibid., 428.
35 Ibid., 453.
36 Ibid., 454-57.
in colonial Caracas. After the foundation of the republic in 1830, educational reforms began to take place in order to create the conditions for preparing women for their republican role as mothers and first educators of the future citizens. This model of education promoted the confinement of women to the domestic sphere and limited their access to intellectual and professional activities that could distract them from their republican duties. A contradiction emerged therefore in Venezuelan society between, on the one hand, the Enlightenment-minded ideals of improving education and incorporating women into the social fabric on the grounds of civility, and on the other, the necessity of restraining women to their role in the republic as mothers and views. Cultural scholar Mirla Alcibiades in her thoroughly documented study *La heroica aventura de construir un república* explores the theme of education in the broader context of the ideals of social progress and republican morals held by nation-building intelligentsia. Alcibiades has discerned differences in terms of curriculum and social purposes between the education for girls and the education for boys in Venezuela. At the same time, Alcibiades points out that positions about girls’ education, demeanor and moral ideals were not monolithic in Venezuela at that time. Since the 1840s two contested models took shape, one after conservative Catholic morals and another after the Enlightenment-framed republican moral values. Fierce debate over the course of education adopted by emergent schools in Caracas, which stimulated the participation of girls in recreational practices of sociability associated with the bourgeois salon culture, occupied a group of Caracas intellectuals. Alcibiades demonstrates that while both positions about education restricted the access of women from engaging in professional activity, the progressivist camp defended the participation of girls in social activities, as they were perceived as civilizing practices. Alcibiades states that a marked interest in promoting the salon culture existed among the progressive segments of Venezuelan society, since the capacity of the middle and upper class to participate in cultured forms of sociability was considered a sign of social progress. According to Alcibiades, women of the upper class in Venezuela, although limited in regards to the possibilities of accessing professional occupations, eventually gained the role of protagonists in cultural life. Prevalent constructions of women, which deemed them more emotionally sensitive

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37 R. Fernández Heres, *La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración*, 668.
38 Ibid., 669-70.
40 Ibid., 184.
than their male counterparts, ended with the opening of spaces in the world of literature and the arts, as moral models for the whole society. 41 From another angle, feminist historian Johana Ramos Ospina in her article “El ideal femenino en Venezuela (1830-1855),” has explored the ways in which femininity was constructed in prescriptive literature such as moral catechisms and conduct manuals circulating in Venezuela in the mid third of the century. Ramos Ospina’s findings are that a whole set of ideals regarding their moral character and their conduct was crafted around their being assigned the control of domestic life. Modesty, sacrifice, and discipline were considered the ideal model of women’s conduct, one that was compatible with role that the Republic had assigned to them as wives, mothers, and bastions of the morals of the nation. 42 In consistency with both Ramos Ospina and Alcibiades, the cultural scholar Elizabeth G. Nichols in her book Beauty, Virtue, Power, and Success in Venezuela, 1850-2015 states that in Venezuela, as it occurred in Hispanic America in general, women’s “participation in, and discourse related to, the world outside the home were transgressive.” 43 Yet, Nichols observes that certain venues for agency were open in Venezuelan society. Despite the fact that women were considered intellectually and emotionally unfit to exercise a “public voice,” some amount of discursive freedom was granted to them within the limits of the roles that were assigned as proper for them. Thus, in the sphere of writing, according to Nichols, “while some women may not have had the social position to write political essays, those brave and self-confident enough to write could do so within social norms by writing about love, family and emotion.” 44

On the whole, the cultivation of the arts and the belles-lettres took on an emblematic role in the process of nation-building in Hispanic America. Music in particular was deemed a powerful agent to civilize society in accordance to the Enlightenment-minded belief in its moral qualities. In Venezuela, efforts of the educated circles since the 1810s to establish a public concert life run parallel to the formation of the public sphere of public opinion. The social turmoil of the Independence War (1811-1823) limited the possibilities of establishing musical institutions. Nonetheless, immediately after the foundation of the republic in 1830, much of the attention of the intelligentsia went to create legal and institutional frameworks conducive to institutionalization of music. Music history research undertaken by Mario Milanca Guzmán, Fidel Rodríguez Legendre, and Felipe Sangiorgi demonstrates that immediately after the foundation

41 Ibid., 374.
44 Ibid.
of the republic, several musical societies and schools of music were created in Caracas with the purposes of establishing performers and general audiences for concert music. These institutions counted with the patronage of intellectuals and educated music lovers and served. These include the Sociedad Filarmónica, active for 1830 to ca. 1843, aimed to prepare performers of chamber and symphonic music and maintain a regular program of subscriptions concerts. Also, a school of music patronized by the Sociedad de Amigos del País, operative from 1834 to ca. 1836, which offered classes of music theory and instruments for free. Finally, a second musical society, presumably patronized as well by the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País was apparently active form ca.1835 to ca. 1836. These initiatives met enormous difficulties to maintain themselves in time. In other areas of the country the difficulties were even greater. The state of economic and social devastation inherited from the Independence War years along with the internal difficulties arising in process of establishing the republican order limited the realization of the cultural aspirations of the educated circles. Another booming of concert life in Caracas occurred in the mid-nineteenth century with the frequent visit of itinerant opera companies.

Since the early nineteenth century some itinerant opera troupes had visited Caracas occasionally. Nonetheless, as shown in the studies carried by Fidel Rodríguez Legendre and José María Salvador González, members of the educated groups supported the construction of the Teatro de Caracas in 1854, which stimulated the visit of opera companies. Opera presentations and benefit concerts where organized with certain regularity since that time.

However, in 1859, after three decades of relative strengthening of republican institutions, the country entered the Federal War. Although fighting in the war took place far from Caracas, the widespread commotion made its concert life and other cultural, recreational and social activities to recede. Thus, after two decades of relative political stability, the escalating differences between the supporters of the federalist and the centralist system of government became irreconcilable. Also, the social consensus between the military and civilians that had been a factor in maintaining peace in Venezuela since its foundation in 1830 came to

46 F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 86-111; J. M. Salvador González, “Mariano de Briceño, un crítico musical y teatral en Venezuela durante el dominio de los Monagas (1847-1858),” 1-17, and “Edificios teatrales en Venezuela durante el gobierno de los hermanos Monagas (1847-1858),” 81-12.
an end. The military coup d’état of the former president and independence hero José Antonio Páez in September 1861, destined to take military control of the war situation, was interpreted by some sectors of the public opinion as a sign of the decline of Venezuelan society and a serious threat to the rationality of the republican order and the political institutions that, despite desperate obstacles, had been built over the past thirty years.

Therefore, in 1862, when Teresa Carreño offered her private concerts in Caracas, and then in Puerto Cabello, the country was immersed in a profound social and political conflict. Against this context, Teresa’s audiences, mainly comprised by progressive intellectuals and devoted music lovers connected with the spheres of power, received her music-making as a comforting sign of the realization of the civilizing quest that had been informing the construction of the nation from the beginning. Their musical commentaries on Teresa’s concerts are rich in allusions of an upcoming era of unparallel cultural progress for humankind, lead from South America. Their conceptualization strongly resonates with the conviction in the civilizing mission of Hispanic America which had constructed earlier in the nineteenth century as part of the cultural discourses that justified the independence of Venezuela. Accordingly, the turmoil during that period in Venezuela was interpreted as a painful but necessary stage into the progress of the nation. Teresa’s extraordinary talent, born and nurtured in Venezuela, was an augur of the capacity of the nationals to return to rationality and to build the civilized and modern nation that had guided the founding of the republic.

4. Sources for the Study of Teresa Carreño’s Early Years in Caracas

4.1. Scholarly Studies

The importance of Teresa Carreño as a cultural icon in mid-nineteenth century Venezuela has been overlooked in scholarly research. Although much has been written about her, biographical and musicological studies, have generally wrongly assumed that her musical experiences in Caracas through 1862 did not have an important impact in the present musical culture, neither were they determinant to her ulterior musical development.

Milinowski’s comprehensive biography of Teresa Carreño: By the Grace of God (pub. 1940), which was for a long time the main study on her, offered a fair coverage of Teresa Carreño’s childhood in Caracas. In the first chapter, Milinowski topics such as her musical milieu,
her family’s lineage, and her piano study at home. Milinowski had personal contact with Teresa Carreño during her time as her student in Berlin in the 1910s. In the preparation of the biography, Carreño’s widower, Arturo Tagliapietra granted Milinowski’s access to Carreño’s personal papers. Also, Milinowski interviewed Carreño’s relatives and acquaintances in Germany, in the United States and in Venezuela. During her travel to Caracas she also collected information scholarly information the family. Yet, passage in Milinowski’s biography devoted Teresa Carreño’s early years is abundant in anecdotical information. It fails to provide documentary citations as well as an adequate historical context. Revisionist scholarly research on Teresa Carreño undertaken by Robert Stevenson, Mario Milanca Guzmán, and Brian Mann have been critical of Milinowski’s methodological laxity and novel-like narrative. Equally problematic is Milinowski’s underlying assumption that Teresa Carreño’s musical abilities were God given and that her success since childhood was crafted by fate, as clearly suggested in the title of the book. This construct has contributed to nurture the misleading perception that her early musical education and activities in Caracas were unimportant. Several shorter biographies of Carreño have appeared after Milinowski wrote her book. However, the passages on Teresa Carreño’s musical activities in Caracas are often derivative from Milinowski with no substantial contributions to the topic.

The subject of Teresa Carreño’s early years in Caracas has remained marginal in revisionist scholarship, which has been rather focused on other stages of her life and career. Among the few studies that have addressed her childhood in Caracas is Mario Milanca Guzmán’s article, “Los salones: Primeros escenarios de Teresa Carreño,” which surveys several of the concerts she offered in various places during her childhood. Milanca Guzmán includes a six-page section in which he discusses one of the concerts that Teresa offered at her home in Caracas in 1862, based on Cecilio Acosta’s article referred above. Nonetheless, succinctness of this section does no offer but a general insight into Carreño’s cultural importance in contemporary Caracas as reflected in Acosta’s writing. In addition to this, in Aguas de adiós y reencuentros:

48 On Milinowski’s access to Teresa Carreño’s papers, see B. Mann, “The Carreño Collection at Vassar College,” 1066.
Teresa Carreño en Puerto Cabello, 1862-1885-1938, Milanca Guzmán concisely referred the concerts that Teresa Carreño offered, not in Caracas but in the port town of Puerto Cabello in the July 1862, in the days near to the family's departure to the United States. 51 Another article by Milanca Guzmán, “Teresa Carreño: Cronología y manuscritos,” remains as an important contribution to the study of her early years in Caracas, though specifically pertaining archival information. In it the author and transcribes information from vital records preserved in various archives in Caracas pertaining the various members of the Carreño family, such as acts of baptism, marriage certificates, etc. Facsimile copies of some of the documents as well as chronology of the activities of some member of the family are also included. 52

4.2. Archival Materials

In contrast, archival sources pertaining to Teresa Carreño’s childhood in Caracas reflect that not only were Teresa Carreño’s concerts highly appreciated by the local intelligentsia but also that she received a thorough musical education and the she was exposed to various musical repertories and social practices that that were consequential to her development as a performer and as a composer. Most of Teresa Carreño’s personal documents pertaining to her years in Caracas belong to the archival collection Teresa Carreño Papers, presently housed at the Archives and Special Collections Library of Vassar College Libraries in Poughkeepsie, New York (hereafter TCP). 53 These documents include various press clippings of musical commentaries of her concerts in Caracas from May to July of 1862 and then in the port city of Puerto Cabello in the immediate days before the departure of the family to New York on August 1, 1862. The collection also preserves several sets of manuscripts with piano exercises written by Manuel Antonio Carreño and reportedly employed in the musical education of Teresa. Finally, the collection contains a set of fifteen dances for piano and three pieces in rhapsodic style, all of them copied by Manuel Antonio Carreño, who grouped them under the title Composiciones de Maria Teresa Carreño, thus attributing the authorship of the pieces to his daughter (Series I, Folder 2.9).

53 For an overview of the totality of the materials in this collection and their origins, see B. Mann, “The Carreño Collection at Vassar College,” 1064-70.
The clippings of articles reporting in Teresa Carreño’s concerts belong bound book labeled in the collection as Scrapbook I, Series IV, Folder 11.1. This book was prepared by Manuel Antonio Carreño, as reflected in the hand writing style. It contains not only the Venezuelan articles published in 1862 but also numerous newspaper clippings and a few letters that document Teresa Carreño’s concert activities from May 1862, when she still was in Caracas, throughout 1868, when the family was already established in Europe. The cover of this book has an inscription in golden letters that reads “Teresa Carreño. 22 de Diciembre. 1862.” (December 22, 1862). On the spine there is another inscription that reads “Al genio” (to the genius). The dating of the book suggests may have been a gift presented to her ninth birthday.

Several newspaper clippings in this source contain valuable information for the study of the reception of Teresa Carreño’s concerts during her youth. The articles from Caracas include those by Felipe Larrazábal, “Tributo de Justicia al mérito,” El independiente, 27 May 1862 (item No, 1), and Cecilio Acosta (Amphion, pseud), “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 December 1862 (item No. 56). These authors belonged to the political, musical and literary circles that Manuel Antonio Carreño frequented. The writings are rich in descriptions of Teresa

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54 For the purposes of this dissertation, this source will be identified hereafter as Álbum “Al genio,” instead of Scrapbook I. The rationale of this alternative labeling will be explained in Chapter 7.
55 Felipe Larrazábal (b. Caracas, 1816; d. 1876) was a musician, lawyer, and intellectual of ample reputation. He spent his childhood in Spain but returned to Venezuela in sometime after 1830, here he completed his musical and intellectual education. He maintained a consistent political activity, occupying important governmental positions. He was Governor of Caracas in 1848-1850 and also a member of the Congress in 1853-1854. Among his most notable contributions was his involvement writing the laws for the abolition for slavery in 1854. He wrote profusely for various newspapers in Caracas. He also wrote essays in varied topics, including music. His activities as a musician involved teaching, composition and participation in concerts of music for instrumental ensembles. On Felipe Larrazábal, see F. Rodríguez Legendre, “La actividad musical de Felipe Larrazábal 1837 y 1873,” 203-13 and R. J. Lovera de Sola, “Larrazábal, Felipe,” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/l/llarrazabal-felipe/. Jesús María Sistiaga Lovera (b. Caracas, 1823; d. 1889) was a lawyer and intellectual. He was a founding member of the Academia Venezolana, founded in 1883 (since 1888 called Academia Venezolana de la Lengua). Throughout his life Sistiaga occupied various offices in Venezuela’s High Government, including ministro de relaciones exteriores (secretary of foreign affairs), ministro de la Corte Suprema (secretary of the Supreme Court) and presidente provisional del Estado Falcón (provisional governor of the state of Falcón). On Jesús María Sistiaga, see, Felipe Tejera (b. Caracas, 1846; d. Caracas, 1924), Perfiles venezolanos, ó Galería de hombre célebres de Venezuela en las letras, ciencias y artes (Caracas: Imprenta Sanz, 1881), I: 189-94; “La Academia,” in Academia Venezolana de la Lengua, http://avelengua.org.ve/cms/la-academia/. Cecilio Acosta (b. San Diego de los Altos, Miranda, Venezuela, 1818; d. Caracas, 1881) earned a reputation as one of the most knowledgeable intellectuals of the period in Caracas. Despite his humble economic position, he had a vast intellectual capacity, being knowledgeable in classical literature and also a law professional. His biographers describe him as an indefatigable scholar and integral citizen, retreated from the political diatribe by his own choice but sincerely devoted to the cause of educational and cultural betterment. He developed a career as a pedagogue, professor of law at the Universidad Central de
Carreño’s music-making as well as philosophical insights about the artistic and social value of her concerts, which makes them relevant sources for the biographical as well as cultural aspects of her experiences in Caracas. Other articles in the Álbum “Al genio,” published after the Carreños left Venezuela, are also relevant for this study, as they contain biographical information on Teresa’s early years in both Venezuela and in the United States provided by intellectuals that belonged to the inner circle of the Manuel Antonio. Among the most important are those written by the Venezuelan intellectual and diplomat Simón Camacho, who was a close associate of Manuel Antonio Carreño during the years when the Carreño’s resided in New York, 1862-1866. His articles published in New York under the pseudonym of Nazareno offer information of Teresa’s early musical activities directly obtained from the Carreños. Other writers such as the Colombian intellectual Rafael Pombo, also a close acquaintance of Manuel Antonio Carreño in New York, also wrote about Teresa’s early musical experiences in Caracas with information presumably obtained from Manuel Antonio in “Teresa Carreño,” La crónica (New York), 12 March 1863, (item No. 171). Other articles in the Álbum “Al genio,” including José M. de Goizueta, “Teresa Carreño: Apuntes Biográficos,” La época (Madrid), 25 Nov. 1866 (item No. 284) and Rafael Hernández Gutiérrez “Triunfos del genio,” El porvenir (Caracas), 30 June 1866 (item No. 272) count among the earliest biographical accounts of Teresa Carreño.

Manuel Antonio manuscripts with piano exercises in the collection TCP consist of a copious assortment of sketches, rough drafts, revised drafts, finished sets for practice, and

Venezuela. On Cecilio Acosta, see O. Sambrano Urdaneta, Cecilio Acosta, vida y obra, passim and R. Cartay Angulo, Cecilio Acosta, passim.

56 Simón Camacho y Clemente (b. Caracas, 1824; d. 1883) was an intellectual and a diplomat. He belonged to one of the most notable families in Venezuela, as his grand-mother, María Antonia Palacios y Bolívar (b. Caracas, 1777; d. Caracas, 1842) was the sister of the independence hero Simón Bolívar (b. Caracas, 1783; d. Santa Marta, Colombia, 1830). Camacho was involved in the political and intellectual life of Caracas since early adulthood, as author of newspaper articles. Political antagonism drove him into exile. Since early 1850s he lived in New York, where he worked as a writer for Cuban and local Spanish-language newspapers, signing with the pseudonyms of Peter Hicks and Nazareno. In the early 1860s Camacho was appointed consul of Venezuela in New York. Due to his closeness to Manuel Antonio Carreño, Camacho could offer first-hand information in New York and Havana newspapers on Teresa’s musical activities in 1862-63. His book Cosas de los Estados Unidos (New York: J. Durand; El Porvenir, 1864) also includes information on Teresa Carreño’s musical experiences in the United States. On Simón Camacho, see M. Pérez Vila, “Camacho Clemente, Simón,” in Diccionario de Historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/c/camacho-clemente-simon/.

57 Rafael Pombo (Bogota, b. 1833, d. 1912) was one of the most significant writers of nineteenth-century Latin America. In 1855 Pombo moved to New York, where he remained for the next seventeen years, working first as a diplomat and later as a journalist and translator for D. Appleton and Company. Teresa dedicated to him her Caprice-Polka, op. 2, composed ca. 1863 (Paris: Heugel, [ca. 1868-1869]).
several sections of an incomplete manuscript of a piano method prepared for publication. These
documents could be classified into two large groups. The first comprises the manuscripts labeled
as Series I, Folders 3.1 to 3.10, which consist of fair copies with notations and revisions in French
prepared by Manuel Antonio Carreño of his piano method, *Cours complet d’exercices de piano:
écrits dans tous les tons et soigneusement doigtés lesquels référent de nombreux exemples
depuis les traits les plus faciles jusqu’aux principales difficultés du clavier*. Some other
documents included in the TCP collection as well as notes that appeared in the periodicals in
Paris in 1869 evidence that he planned to publish his course with the Parisian musical firm
Heugel. Nonetheless, the project did not come to fruition, or reasons that are not completely
clear. The remaining portion of manuscripts, labeled in the collection as Series I, Folders 3.12
and 3.13, consists of sketches and various undated sets with notations in Spanish and French.

While there exists sufficient evidence that Manuel Antonio Carreño designed these
exercises to be used in the education of Teresa since their time in Caracas, the dating of the
assortment of the extant manuscripts is unclear. Presumably, the manuscripts of the first group
with notations in French were prepared sometime between 1866, when the Carreños
established residence in Paris 1866 and 1869, when press announced the forthcoming
publication. This group of manuscripts has been subject of study in Gerardo Rosales Pulido’s
licenciate thesis, “El método de enseñanza para el aprendizaje del piano de Manuel Antonio
Carreño,” in which he discusses the problems of dating the set and the possible reasons for
withdrawing the publication. In contrast, the manuscripts belonging to the second group may
have been written earlier. Some sets of exercises included in this second group, consist of clean
copies of a series of exercises with notations in Spanish indicating the way in which they should
be practiced, which strongly suggests that they may been used during the times the Carreños
lived in Caracas, or sometime soon after it as the latest.

The importance of Manuel Antonio Carreño’s system of piano exercises to the musical
education of Teresa since their years in Caracas is supported by a considerable number of
sources, consisting of articles appeared in contemporary periodicals as well as the testimonies
that Teresa Carreño offered as an adult. Among the most relevant of these sources is an article
prepared by Andrés A. Silva, which is the most complete biographical account of Teresa Carreño

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58 G. Rosales Pulido, “El método de enseñanza para el aprendizaje del piano de Manuel Antonio
See also his “El método de piano de Manuel Antonio Carreño: Su importancia histórica y la polémica con
Antoine François Marmontel,” 173-98.
written during her years as a child prodigy. Silva’s article was first published in Caracas in 1865 in the cultural periodical *Museo venezolano* under the title of “Celebridades artísticas de Venezuela: Teresa Carreño.” The article was published again in 1883 as part of a collection of essays by Silva under the title of *Hojas de todos colores: Mi ofrenda al Libertador, en la celebración de su primer centenario*. Nothing is known about his connections with the Carreños. Yet, to judge from the details that he provided regarding Teresa Carreño’s early education and concerts in Caracas, it can be assumed that they must have been close. 59 On the other hand, Teresa Carreño’s testimonies of her early years in Caracas is spread out in articles, interviews, and letters in which she also shared details about her musical milieu, family support, piano practicing routines, and the materials and repertory that she studied at that time. To this group belongs a letter she wrote in 1884 for the American pedagogue W.S.B. Matthews, which was published in Chicago in the following year in a pamphlet titled “Carreño Biographical and Critical.” 60 Another important source is the interview given to Harriette Brower, which was published in 1913 in the periodical *Musical America* under the title of “Carreño’s Technique [a] Parental Gift.” 61 To this group of testimonies dealing with Teresa Carreño’s education and other musical activities in Caracas belongs also her memoir edited by William Armstrong and published in the periodical *The Etude* soon after her death in 1917 under the title “Teresa Carreño’s Reminiscences.” 62

The document consists of two articles in which Carreño relates different episodes of her life. She had started to work with Armstrong on the compilation of her biography, presumably sometime after her return to New York in the fall of 1916. Because of Carreño’s sudden illness and subsequent death, the project had to be abandoned and


Armstrong apparently published what they had accomplished by then. In addition to these testimonies, Teresa Carreño’s almost immediate entrance into American public concert life after the arrival of the family in New York proves that her education in Caracas was much more consequential than her biographers have traditionally admitted.

Finally, the bundle of manuscript music under the title Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño has been labeled in the collection TCP as Series I. It includes fifteen dances for piano dated from June 8, 1860 to September 14, 1861, consisting of mazurkas, polkas, valses and danzas, the last two genres corresponding to dances indigenous to Venezuela. Three more pieces in rhapsodic style are included in the bundle. The first two are identified as Capricho No. 1 A piacere, dated July 10, 1861, and Capricho No. 2, Moderato, dated July 12, 1861. The third piece exhibits a similar style but is simply identified as Allegro moderato and is not dated. The numerous corrections and additions of this last piece suggests that it was a draft. Provided that Manuel Antonio Carreño’s attribution of the authorship of the music to Teresa is true, these eighteen pieces would constitute the principal sources to document Teresa Carreño’s earliest compositional activities. A relevant stylistic connection could be established between her familiarity with dance genres since her early youth and her favoring to them in her subsequent output. In fact, a good part of Teresa Carreño’s complete output for the piano consist of salon and concert genres based on dance rhythms. This link becomes more relevant when considering some of her more mature compositions that conform to the indigenous genres of the danza and the valse criollo. Representative examples of it are her Un bal en rêve, Fantaisie-caprice, op. 26 (Paris: Heugel, [1869]), dedicated to Cecilio Acosta, which features a danza in one of its section. Her pieces in the genre of the valse criollo include La Corbeille de fleurs. Valse, op. 9 (comp. ca. 1863, Paris: Heugel, n.d.); Le Printemps, 3e Valse de salon, op. 25 (Paris: Heugel, [1868]); Mi Teresita (comp. ca. 1886, published as Kleiner Walzer, Leipzig: Fritzsch, 1896); and Vals Gayo, op. 38 [sic], (comp. 1910; published in New York: Church, [1919]). On the other hand, Teresa Carreño’s caprichos composed in Caracas reflect a considerable fluency within the conventions of the virtuosic rhapsodic style, which is pervading stylistic feature of most of her pianistic output.

5. Invisibility of Some Musical Practices in Nineteenth-Century Caracas

Extant documents pertaining Teresa Carreño’s early years in Caracas offer plenty evidence first, that her education and musical activities were consequential to her further
development as a musician and second, that a multi-faceted musical culture occurred in Caracas. Therefore, while it is true that the difficult political, social and economic landscape of post-Independence Venezuela was a limiting circumstance to the establishment of educational and concert institutions in Caracas, a musical life took places in private spaces. And this musical life was much richer and more complex than has been assumed in Venezuelan music history.

In this sense, Teresa Carreño’s familiarity with the conventions of dance music, especially with the indigenous genres of the danza and the valse criollo, through her continuous exposure to this music in leisure contexts suggests that dance music was at that time a feature in Caracas’ homes. The practice of playing dance genres in residential gatherings of the middle- and upper class in Caracas has been already explored in musicological literature. The studies undertaken by Fidel Rodríguez Legendre, Mariantonia Palacios, Hugo Quintana and Desirée Agostini among others, demonstrate the existence in Caracas during the last quarter of the nineteenth century of a musical salon culture that was centered around women performing dance repertories for the piano. Nonetheless, Teresa Carreño’s case suggests an earlier date for the emergence of these social and musical practices, as well as for the formation of the stylistic conventions associated with indigenous genres such as the valse criollo. This conjecture is also supported by the abundant announcements of dance music for sale appeared during the 1850s in Caracas newspapers, especially the Diario de avisos. These gives account of a flourishing local market of dance piano music. Also, Manuel Antonio Carreño through his famous Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, published in 1853, promoted a series of urban practices of recreational sociability such as balls as well as visits and tertulias, which also involved music. Throughout the text Carreño encouraged the participation of women in these practices on the grounds of their civilizing role in society.


64 On the process of creolization in Venezuela of the Viennese waltz into the valse criollo, see M. Palacios, “Rasgos distintivos del valse venezolano en el siglo XIX,” 99-115.

65 See for example, M. A. Carreño, Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras (New York: D. Appleton y Ca., 1863), 208, 225-29. Unless otherwise stated, all the citations from Carreño’s Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras correspond to this edition.
On another note, Manuel Antonio Carreño’s expertise in the mechanical aspects of piano playing reveal his acquaintance with the musical pedagogies and conventions of the virtuosic style. Recent research undertaken by Giovanni Mendoza on the Caracas virtuoso flutist Manuel Guadalajara documents the solid presence that virtuosic music had in last quarter of the nineteenth century. Guadalajara maintained in Caracas a career as a performer and composer of virtuosic music.66 Similar conclusions on the influence exerted by the virtuosic style in Caracas musical culture during the late nineteenth-century Caracas are also reflected in José Angel Viña’s case study on a series of benefit concert, which featured local virtuosos.67 Moreover, Teresa Carreño’s two visits from October 1885 to September of 1886 and again from February to May 1887, studied by Mario Milanca Guzmán demonstrates the existence of audiences appreciative of virtuosos and virtuosic music.68 Yet, judging from the pedagogical system that Manual Antonio Carreño adopted in her education of Teresa since around 1859, it becomes clear that the cultivation of virtuosic music and repertoires had been already established in Caracas earlier during the second third of the nineteenth century. This conjecture in supported in the many newspaper advertisements of imported music that circulated in Caracas since at least the 1850s. Also, occasional announcements of foreigner piano teachers in the search of a local clientele, and musical commentaries of concerts offered by itinerant performers show that by the mid-century the repertories and pedagogies affiliated with the virtuosic styles were known in Caracas. The extant musical commentaries in the press reveal also that this music was highly perceived by elite music connoisseurs and progressive intellectuals.

Finally, several reports of the concerts that Teresa Carreño offered in Caracas in Puerto Cabello suggest that concert-making in private spaces was not completely unusual in Caracas. In fact, an extraordinary consistence exists in terms of the audiences, the format of the concerts and the cultural values the shaped the reception of Teresa Carreño’s concerts, not only in Venezuela but also in Havana. Also in New York, Teresa performed in gatherings attended by Hispanic American intellectuals, many of them exiles.69 In every instance the concerts were

68 M. Milanca Guzmán, Teresa Carreño: Gira caraqueña y evocación, passim.
attended by progressive intellectuals and music lovers. The reactions reflected in newspaper commentaries reflect that virtuosic music was perceived as a serious art and a sign of modernity, civilization, and cultural progress. In The format followed in these concerts is also consistent. After Teresa performed virtuosic pieces, she improvised on musical themes given by the audience in the midst of applauses and complimentary commentaries. All this suggests that a set on conventions operated underneath. A relevant link seems to have existed in Hispanic American culture between the practice of organizing gatherings attended by progressive intellectuals and the serious cultivation of music in private spaces.

Social historian Víctor Uribe-Urán offers evidence in the “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution” that a practice of including music in gatherings of Enlightenment-minded intellectuals began to be established in Hispanic America in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In these gatherings, music-making intermingled with intellectual discussion. It could be conjectured, therefore, that that practice survived in Caracas, and possibly also in Havana and New York, within groups of progressive letrados throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to judge from Teresa Carreño’s numerous private concerts for cliques of intellectuals in those cities. Felipe Sangiorgi in a musicological study of the cultivation of chamber music in nineteenth-century Venezuela discusses a series of chamber music concerts in Caracas at the residence of an educated man named Ignacio Chaquert, who was linked with both Caracas intellectual life and the spheres of power. The letrado Juan de la Cruz Carreño participated in these concerts as a performer, together with other members of Caracas’ intelligenstia. In the same vein, Teresa Carreño in her memoires refers that gatherings for music performance in which participated the best musicians in Caracas were often organized by her father at home. Finally, Ramón de Plaza’s Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela (pub. 1883) as well as Jesús María Suárez’s Compendio de historia musical desde la antiguedad hasta nuestros días (pub. 1909) include sparse but unequivocal evidence that since the early nineteenth century Caracas intellectuals associated with the building of the nation through intellectual and or political activity had been also involved in music-making as performers, composers, and connoisseurs. The letrados and musicians Felipe Larrazábal, Manuel

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70 V. Uribe-Urán, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” 440. The gatherings that Uribe-Urán refers took place in Nueva Granada, Lima, and Guatemala in the 1780s-1780s.
71 F. Sangiorgi, “Música de cámara venezolana en el siglo XIX,” 783.
Antonio Carreño and his brothers Juan Bautista and Juan de la Cruz, just to mention a few, were part of a distinctive group of men who were involved in the creation of institutions for music education and concert-making, and the cultivation of music for its own sake.  

Although much has been accomplished in the areas of nineteenth-century music in Caracas, much work needs to be undertaken yet. Most of the scholarly research on the nineteenth century has been focused on the last third of the century, which is the portion that offers the greatest possibility to be documented. Nevertheless, Teresa Carreño’s case shows that in the mid-nineteenth century not only piano dance music was played in leisure contexts but also that virtuosic repertories were studied and performed in private concerts that were attended by intellectuals and music connoisseurs. A musical culture with its own conventions, values, aspirations, and dilemmas existed in Caracas during the second third of the nineteenth century. The fact that these practices largely took place in the private realm explains the public invisibility of much of the music-making that took place in the first decades of post-Independence Caracas.

It is important to observe that although a continuity might have existed between the mid-third and the last portion of the nineteenth century, as reflected in the endurance of salon and virtuosic music, important changes in the cultural and political configuration of the country set them apart as two discernible musical periods. Recent musicological research on the nineteenth century shows that the musical landscape of the last quarter of the century responded to considerably different political and social circumstances, in comparison with the previous decades. It is apparent that in regards to Caracas musical culture, a distinctive period began after the Federal War. This period was best represented by the apex of the salon culture (centered on piano playing and the valse criollo), the rise of military bands, and the public fervor for Italian opera. These musical practices were accompanied by official attempts to create state-sponsored institutions for music education. In truth, although republican order survived despite the devastation enticed in the Federal War, the warfare changed the political and social configuration of the country in substantial ways. The cultural landscape also. The ideologies of

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74 See for example, F. Rodríguez Legendre, “Los compositores venezolanos y la música de salón en las publicaciones *Lira venezolana* y *El zancudo*, 1880-1883,” 101-07.
the Enlightenment that had been so influential since the last decades of the colonial era and that had shaped the nation-building aspirations of Caracas' progressive intelligentsia became old-fashioned by the 1870s. A different order of ideas was established in Caracas with the increasing influence of the ideologies of Positivism. 75 In addition to this, since the later portion of the nineteenth century, much of the cultural policies were directly administrated by the state apparatus instead of being advanced by cliques of intellectuals that organized themselves into privately sponsored societies and informal groups, as it had been the case during the first half of the century. In short, since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the institutionalization of music passed to by an official matter, and not anymore the result of private individuals that operated from the sphere of public opinion and voluntary associations. Moreover, state institutions in general became stabilized, which translated into expansion of the official educational system, urban development, construction of railroads, and general growth of the economy. Finally, the social and economic expansion occurred at that later time increased the creation in Caracas of public spaces for recreation as well as the production and circulation of print products, which resulted in a greater visibility for much of the city’s musical life.

6. Methodology

A scholarly study of Teresa Carreño’s early musical experiences in Caracas offers a two-fold possibility. The first is to document and reconstruct the formative stage of one of the most iconic musicians in Venezuelan culture. The second is to consider musical and social practices associated with these experiences as a means to understand the musical culture that informed them. Accordingly, this dissertation aims at documenting and reconstructing Teresa Carreño’s musical milieu, education, compositions, and concerts in Caracas from early childhood through 1862. At the same time, it seeks also to use Teresa Carreño as a study case to explore the musical and social practices of salon music, virtuosic music, and private-concert-making. These practices will be studied and interpreted in the light of the broader context of the values, aspirations, limits, and dilemmas of musical culture that was formed in Caracas as a part of the nation-building process.

75 On the establishment of the ideologies of Positivism in Caracas, see N. Harwich Vallenilla, “Venezuelan Positivism and Modernity,” 327-44.
Chronologically, the research considers a broad context spanning from the threshold of the Declaration of the Independence in 1811 through the Federal War in 1859-1863. The times around 1811 were momentous in both the construction of the nation-building ideals and the formation of a musical culture framed on the Enlightenment-minded aspirations of the agents of nation-building. The year of 1863 marks the end of the war, a moment of important political, social and cultural changes in the configuration of the nation. Because the Carreño family as a musical dynasty contributed to shape Caracas musical culture during the time considered, the musical activities of several of them are studied in detail, in particular those of Manuel Antonio Carreño, who had a decisive influence in Teresa’s musical experiences in Caracas. Despite the chronologically broad context considered in the research, the musical and social practices considered in this study are limited to salon music-making, virtuosic piano pedagogies and performance, and private-concert-making. The genres and musical practices associated with religious music, vocal music, opera, band music, and symphonic and chamber music, are not part of this study. Nonetheless, they are tangentially considered in those cases in which they relate to the musical and social practices associated with salon and virtuosic music and private-concert-making. Finally, in this dissertation does not considered the musical culture of other Venezuelan cities besides Caracas.

This study explores at a detailed small-scale level the various aspects of Teresa Carreño’s musical milieu, education, and concerts in Caracas through with the purpose of identifying musical and social conventions associated with salon music-making, piano virtuosic pedagogies and performance and private concert making as reflected in extant manuscripts and newspaper articles preserved as part of the collection Teresa Carreño Papers housed at Vassar College Libraries. In order to explore the broad context of Caracas musical culture and its political, social, and cultural connections with the nation-building project, the following sources have been considered: first, announcements of musical activities and musical commentaries in the newspapers, as well as announcements of musical products, and aesthetic and pedagogical literature on music; second, newspaper articles and other print products circulating in Caracas at that time that reflect the public debate about various social, moral, or aesthetic issues that in one way or another had a repercussion in the shaping of the musical culture in Caracas; third, conduct manuals and other moralizing literature available in Caracas dealing with women’s education and deportment; and fourth, newspaper articles and other printed materials related to the involvement of the Carreño family in the social, political and musical fabric of the city.
Most of these materials are presently preserved at Archivo Histórico de Teresa Carreño y Caracas and in various collections at the Biblioteca Nacional, also in Caracas, including Colección Hemerográfica, Colección de Libros Raros y Manuscritos, and Colección Arcaya. Some digital libraries, including Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes and Internet Archive have also been used to consult the European literature that circulated in Caracas at that time. Finally, various print and manuscript scores preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional, Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música have also been considered in the preparation of this dissertation.

The methodological approach adopted in this study conforms to the model of cultural historiography that has been developing since the 1970s as part of the “cultural turn” that occurred in several disciplines in the humanities. According to this model, the focus of historical research in culture enables the understanding of values that are held by particular groups at a particular time and place and how they gave shape to shared mentalities and assumptions. In this sense, cultural historian Roger Chartier has argued that the principal object of history is to identify the ways in which the social actors confer meaning to their practices and discourses by inquiring into the tension created between the inventive capacities of the individuals or the communities to which they belong and the social conventions that limit what they can think, enunciate, or do.

Cultural historiography has grounded much of its methodological approach on the notion of thick or ethnographic description, first proposed by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in The Interpretation of Cultures, published in 1973. According to Geertz, human activities can only be understood within a cultural context, as it is this context in which they arise and that provides their meaning. Geertz defined culture as “a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which we communicate, perpetuate, and develop […] knowledge about and attitudes toward life.” From this point of view, culture is not understood as a determinant force for human action but as a context in which that action produces and reproduces meaning. Geertz proposed the ethnographic or thick description as a theoretical tool to interpret the flow of social discourse by means of a microscopic description of a particular situation and the meaning and the meanings that are produced in it. In the area of cultural historiography, this approach, according to Chartier, is aimed at reconstructing the way in which

76 P. Burke, What is Cultural History? 2, 52.
77 R. Chartier, “De la historia social de la cultura a la historia cultural de lo social,” 98.
78 C. Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, 89.
79 Ibid., 20-21.
the individuals produce the social world, through their alliances and conflicts.\textsuperscript{80} Accordingly, the object of cultural history is not the elucidation of the social structures but the rationalities and discursive strategies designed and implemented by specific social groups and individuals, which ultimately constitute the cultural web of a society.

In the field of musicology, the influence of the cultural turn began to be felt in the 1970s, when the term “cultural musicology” began to represent a current emphasizing a sociocultural approach to the study of music, largely as a reaction to what critics perceived as the prevailing positivist musicology.\textsuperscript{81} While in the area of ethnomusicology, anthropological methodologies already constituted the main theoretical apparatus for the study of present non-Western cultures, the Geertzian ethnographic model began also to be adopted in the area of music history. Musicologist Gary Tomlinson in “The Web of Culture: A Context for Musicology,” which appeared in 1984, elucidates the applicability of ethnographic methodologies to historiographical research in music. According to Tomlinson, “musical art works are the codifications or inscribed reflections of human creative actions,” and hence they could be understood through an interpretation of cultural contexts in an approach similar to the one proposed by Geertz.\textsuperscript{82} Tomlinson states that “Cultural history, like cultural anthropology, searches for meaning, not proof. And meaning [...] arises as a function of context, deepened as that context is made richer, fuller, more complete.”\textsuperscript{83} This means that the validity of cultural interpretation of history relies on the interpreter’s striving for a vision of the context that is as detailed and deep as possible.\textsuperscript{84}

From the time that Tomlinson proposed the feasibility of the adoption of the cultural approach in music history, a wealth of research on cultural methodologies in music and explorations in music history has been produced. The volume \textit{The Cultural Study of Music}, edited by Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton, is noteworthy of attention. It appeared in 2003 and offers a rich discussion of the methodologies and the strengths and problems involved in cultural musicology, within a broad range of interests, from studies of performance practices, music reception, global issues, social organization of music, psychology

\textsuperscript{80} R. Chartier, “De la historia social de la cultura a la historia cultural de lo social,” 100.
\textsuperscript{81} For a seminal discussion of cultural musicology, see J. Kerman, Ch. 5, “Ethnomusicology and ‘Cultural Musicology,’ in \textit{Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology}, 155-81.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 355.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 352.
of music, and gender, among others. Additionally, the articles compiled in the volume *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, edited by Jane F. Fulcher, demonstrate the fruitfulness of the cultural approach in music history research with several articles written by renowned scholars such as Richard Leppert, William Weber, Cecilia Applegate, Charles Garret, Leon Botstein, and Michael P. Steinberg, just to name a few among the key authors in the area of nineteenth-century music studies.

In this dissertation, music is considered as an arena where complex negotiations of cultural meaning take place. Politics and public debate regarding culture, education, and gender have been brought in as a part of the discussion of musical issues, as at that time music-making acquired strong political and social connotations. Any attempt to isolate music from these political and social contexts would contravene and over-simplify the cultural climate of nineteenth-century Caracas.

Three specific grounds of cultural negotiation are examined in this research:

The first pertains to the tension existing between the aims of shaping a national cultural identity while consistently drawing from the European legacy to outline this identity. In the musical sphere this tension was largely taken upon by establishing social institutions for the serious cultivation of instrumental music as representative of a secular high culture, which differed from the importance given to functional religious music during colonial times. The rooting of the virtuosic culture in the mid-nineteenth century in Caracas took part in this tension. Social and aesthetic concerns about the linking of virtuosity with commercialism and empty fashion, that was reflected in European musical criticism and literature on moral and social prescriptions, met with a different perception in Caracas, where the serious musical circles appropriated the musical practices and values of virtuosity as representative of the values of the high musical culture.

The second is related to the tension existing between the social value of the recreational uses of music and the formation of a high musical culture with an autonomous aesthetic value. With the flourishing during the mid-century of the bourgeois practices of salon sociability in Caracas, recreational uses of music, such as singing or performing the piano, became part of the repertory of social graces and etiquette that the advocates of social reformism deemed conducive to the formation of urban and cosmopolitan culture in Venezuela. These recreational uses of music grew side by side with the colonial-rooted tradition of cultured salon gatherings. This practice endured within segments of the educated groups and was aimed at the serious
appreciation of music and literature. The practices associated with the recreational uses of music and the serious cultivation of music created tension between the social and aesthetic values of music. These tensions extended from considerations of repertory to considerations of class and gender. Efforts were made among shapers of Caracas’s musical culture to establish boundaries between the contexts of recreation and concert-making in order to avoid a trivialization of the latter.

The third is represented by the contradictions created between the Enlightenment ideals of forming a universal and rational sphere of public opinion and the role that the republic gave to women as wives and first educators of their children, which constrained them to the domestic sphere, thus curtailing their participation in the public sphere. In the musical realm this tension was expressed in an increasing curtailing of women from the serious cultivation of music and limiting their possibilities to participate as performers or composers in the concert life that began to emerge in public spaces in Caracas. Public discussions ensued in Caracas about the social risks involved in providing the girls a dedicated type of music education, and in encouraging their participation in the recreational practices of salon sociability.

Given the interpretative nature of the cultural approaches in scholarly research, a good part of the arguments advanced in this study are to be considered plausible interpretations of cultural and musical practices that have largely remained invisible in history narratives built on historical facts. The principal claims in this study are summarized as follows:

Teresa Carreño’s musical upbringing and concerts occurred in a social and cultural context in which Enlightenment ideologies of civilization and social progress shaped in fundamental ways the perception of the value of music and women, and their role in the newly-founded republic.

A musical culture formed in Caracas that was grounded on the Enlightenment-minded belief in the civilizing value of music and the existing links between music and morals. Progressive ideologists of nation-building promoted the cultivation of music for their moral and civilizing beneficial effects that exerted in society. Their support of music was expressed in various ways, principally through discussion of music in newspapers, patronage of musical societies and music schools, support to visiting and local musicians through concert patronage, building of theatres, involvement in concert-making as performers, composers, connoisseurs, and shapers of public opinion in musical matters. Manuel Antonio Carreño and his brothers, as well as some other men who attended Teresa Carreño’s concerts in Caracas such as Felipe
Larrazábal and Cecilio Acosta, are representative of this group of educated advocators of music cultivation.

Since the late eighteenth century, a tradition of private-concert making developed in Caracas in tandem with the formation of cliques of progressive intellectuals involved in the political and cultural shaping of the nation. These intellectuals gathered together in residential spaces for the appreciation of literature and the arts and/or the discussion of matters of public interest. This musical practice was representative of a serious culture of music-making, which favored chamber music and other instrumental genres, which perceived as aesthetically superior, and supported the belief in the social and moral benefits that derived from cultivating music for its own sake (i.e. in non-functional contexts). The intertwined tradition of private concert-making and the serious cultivation of music endured through the 1860s at least. Teresa Carreño’s concert’s in Caracas were culturally framed in this tradition.

During the second third of the nineteenth century the flourishing of the market of scores and instruments together with the spread of urban practices of recreational sociability contributed to the formation of a salon culture among the middle and upper segments of society. Salon forms of recreational sociability were women-inclusive and featured casual conversation and the performance of piano dance music and other light genres and/or social dancing. While conservative segments of society condemned the participation of women in social gatherings, progressive minded-intellectuals encouraged them to participate because of the civilizing value that was linked with these practices and the civilizing role of women as bastions of morals. The establishment of the salon culture was conducive to the favoring of dance repertories and the creolization of the genres derived from the contradance and the waltz, among others. Teresa Carreño’s collection of dances composed in Caracas reflect the favoring of dance music that resulted from the establishment of the salon culture and offer a relevant example of the creolization of these genres.

Virtuosic music repertories and pedagogies first established in Caracas during the second third of the nineteenth century. The arrival of immigrant teachers, itinerant instrumentalists, and the flourishing marked of instruments and scores contributed to the dissemination of it. Elite musicians and connoisseurs were appreciative of the virtuosic style and considered it a sign of modernity and technical advance of music.

Teresa Carreño’s concerts in Caracas in 1862 represent the intersection of the musical and social practices associated with private concert-making, salon music, and virtuosic music.
This intersection was problematical in terms of the conventions that operated in Caracas musical culture concerning gender, musical repertories, and the social and aesthetic values linked with these practices. Cultural negotiation at various levels can be perceived in the reception of Teresa’s concerts. Her virtuosic interpretations and improvisations were perceived as a high art and an emblem of the capacity of Venezuelans to advance an unprecedented stage of civilization. This construction symbolized the imminent fulfillment of the progressive aspirations that had been guiding the nation-building process. This reading served to smooth out the social anxiety that produced the ongoing Federal War and thread that it represented to the continuance of the political and cultural project of building a prosperous and civilized nation.

7. Overview of Ensuing Chapters

Chapter 2, “The origins of the Tradition of Private Concert-Making in Caracas” is a contextual study aimed at revising the existing scholarly literature on the cultivation of music within learned groups in the private sphere of colonial Caracas in order to propose an alternative interpretation of the origin, dating, and musical and social conventions of the tradition of private concert-making. This chapter proposes that associative practices of concert-making known as academias filarmónicas and tertulias were established in Caracas since the last decades of the eighteenth century as an adaptation of similar practices in Italy and Spain. Academias and tertulias were sponsored by elite music lovers and included educated music lovers as well as musicians by trade form the class of artisans. These practices were crucial to the dissemination of chamber and symphonic repertories in Caracas, which favored the flourishing of music composition occurred in Caracas during the late colonial times and the years following the Declaration of Independence in 1811.

Chapter 3, “Music, the Dissemination of Enlightenment Thought in Caracas and the Shaping of the Ideals of Nation-Building” studies the influence of Enlightenment ideologies into two intertwined processes, the formation of a serious culture of music and the shaping of the cultural ideals that underlie the nation-building project. This chapter argues that the dissemination in Caracas of books, musical repertories, and practices of cultured sociability affiliated with the ideologies of the Enlightenment contributed to the formation of cliques of intellectuals and/or music connoisseurs and musicians from various social segments. These joined together with the common interest of advancing the cultivation of literature and/or music. Private gatherings for the discussion of intellectual and literary matters and for the
cultivation of music served as embryos in the formation of a sphere of public opinion. A distinctive progressive intelligentsia embedded in the values of the ideology of the Enlightenment was formed in Caracas on the threshold of the Declaration of the Independence. This intelligentsia was key in shaping the project of building an independent nation through their influence in the public opinion. Aspirations of social change and the future achievement of material prosperity and civilizing progress guided the nation-building project. Music took an important role in this project as it was perceived as an important civilizing agent as well as a sign of the capacity of the nationals to advance an unprecedented stage of cultural and social progress. The emergence of a public sphere of music through the creation of a structure for public concert-making run in parallel with the formation of public opinion and shaping of the Enlightenment-minded ideals of building the nation.

Chapter 4, “The Carreño Musical Dynasty and the Politics of Music-Making” explores the existing connections between music and politics during the early stages of the construction of the nation as reflected in the involvement of various members of the Carreño family in the shaping of the political, cultural, and musical fabric of Caracas. This chapter argues that Carreños are representative of the social changes that operated in the musical sphere of Caracas when wider access to education opened venues for the social ascent of trade musicians and their eventual insertion in intellectual and political circles. These changes were uneasy and often involved in contradictions at various levels. Efforts for the institutionalization of music through the creation of schools, musical societies, and a public concert life sponsored by the intelligentsia were aimed at the creation of structures for the professionalization of music at the advancement of music as civilizing agent in the building of the nation. These efforts were largely thwarted by the economic and social devastation that the nation inherited from the Independence War years as well as by the conflicting coexistence in the spheres of power between the civilian intelligentsia and the military class that emerged during the independence warfare.

Chapter 5, “Teresa Carreño’s First Compositions and the Salon Culture” examines her collection of dance pieces composed in Caracas in the light of the musical conventions and social practices of the salon culture with which that music was linked. The social value of music in recreational practices of salon sociability as well as the civilizing role of women in it are considered in the context of Manuel Antonio Carreño’s influential book *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras*. This chapter argues that contradictions existing between the involvement of
women in the salon culture and the domestic confinement that was implicit the role that the Republic gave to women as wives and mothers of the future citizens was subject of cultural negotiation. Accordingly, salon music-making became agent for feminine agency.

Chapter 6, “Teresa Carreño’s Virtuosic Piano Training and the Social Prescriptions of Girls’ Education” discusses Manuel Antonio Carreño’s pedagogical approach in the musical upbringing of his daughter and the existing contradictions between her thorough education and current social prescriptions that limited the dedication of women to music as a life pursuit. This chapter argues that virtuosic music pedagogies and repertories established in Caracas since the 1840s as direct influence of the arrival of immigrant musicians, itinerant virtuosos and the flourishing market of musical scores and instruments. Caracas intelligentsia and elite musical circles were appreciative of the virtuosic style, which they perceived as a sign of modernity and cultural progress. This was a fact of the cultural negotiation that allowed girls of exceptional talent to receive a thorough musical education, as it was perceive that their contributions to music cultivation were conducive to civilizing aspirations that guided the nation-building process.

Chapter 7, “Teresa Carreño’s Concerts in Caracas and the Construction of her Cultural Significance” studies the cultural values that underlie her construction as a cultural icon as reflect in the reception of the concerts she offered in 1862. This chapter argue that the complex intersection that operated in these concerts between prevalent constructions of gender, the conventions of private concert-making, the social and aesthetic value of virtuosic music, and civilizing aspirations of progressive intelligentsia are negotiated by her commentators against the background of the ongoing Federal War and the anxiety it produced as a real threat to the civilizing aspirations of the nation-building process. Teresa Carreño’s music making was interpreted as the augur of an unprecedented stage of civilization for Venezuela.

8. Observations on the Translation of Spanish and French Citations

Since much of the methodology of this study has consisted of examining the diverse voices that took part in the public debate about music and cultural politics, contemporary sources reflecting that debate have been extensively quoted. Also, extensive quotation of books and other reading materials that circulated in Caracas at that time, either in French or Spanish. The translation from Spanish to English of these excerpts has been a challenging task, due to the sinuous and embellished prose of the time, often abundant in Latin citations. Similar
observations apply to the original texts in French. Some Spanish words that do not have a suitable equivalent in English or that have cultural connotations specific to Venezuelan culture have been left in Spanish and are in every case indicated in italics. A glossary of Spanish terms has been included for greater clarity. A double note system has been adopted in this study in order to separate the abundant scholarly references from the original citations in Spanish or French, that have been translated for this study. References are therefore placed in footnotes while the excerpted texts in the original language have been placed in endnotes, available at the end of each chapter. The transcriptions respect the original spelling and syntax.

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1 “Mozart fué el genio fecundo de la música, y á la vez el artista predestinado que creó el orden inmenso de bellezas sobre [las] que descansa el sistema de composición moderna. / Al cabo de un siglo, y no en el viejo mundo, sino en el continente de Colon, en la América del Sur, á cuya zona emigran las ciencias y las artes, y donde el cielo sereno y puro, engrandece los talentos; aquí digo, llamó Dios á la vida al sucesor y al émulo digno de MOZART.— Es una joven, de Carácas. […] Un siglo media entre Mozart y la perla caraqueña; un siglo lleno de adelantos, de invenciones, de gusto y ciencia. ¡Cuán grandes no son los progresos que en tan largo espacio de tiempo se han realizado! —La corte de Francisco I oyó el prodigio de su siglo; y en viejo Emperador (dicen las memorias del tiempo,) no hallaba voces con que pintar su entusiasta admiración. ¿Qué habria dicho hoi, si devuelto al sentimiento, oyera las delicadas notas de Teresa […]? […] no hai ni ha habido jamás nada igual, en su genero al talento de nuestra virtuosa compatriota.”

2 “La insigne pianista venezolana Teresita Carreño.”

3 “Unas veces la he querido más por sus infortunios, otras por lo generosa, siempre como una madre irremplazable. Quiero dormir en su regazo el sueño de la tierra: quiero que reposen en su seno mis cenizas.”

4 “Nació en Venezuela. Venezolana fué toda su vida; y al regresar a esta tierra sus cenizas, su voluntad se cumple. Mas, a pesar de su amor por nuestra Patria, otros países disfrutaron de su genio en un grado mayor que Venezuela. […] Esta curiosa circunstancia podría considerarse en cierto modo, como un sacrificio involuntario y altruista que hiciera Venezuela al desprenderse de algunos de sus más ilustres hijos, para ayudar en su progreso y su cultura a otros muchos países. A veces, Venezuela ha dado a los demás lo que ella no tiene para sí. Y lo ha dado sin dolor y sin arrepentimiento.”

5 “Este estado de cosas debe tener su representante artístico, ó su cronista, ó su grande é inmortal intérprete. Puede ser otro; pero también puede ser María Teresa Carreño. ¿No son las letras i las artes el momento contemporáneo de la historia? ¿No da Dios en estas manifestaciones del genio la prueba de que no quiere que ninguna enseñanza perezca, que ningún hecho notable se borre? ¿Habrá él dado tanto, tan poderoso, tan inagotable genio á la niña para que quede sin hacer figura en su época? ¿Quién con mas títulos que ella puede dejar consignados en imperecederos libros, los sentimientos, las ideas, las aspiraciones, las esperanzas, los esfuerzos, las conquistas, los triunfos de gloria del tiempo que se le escapa i del que tiene delante de sus ojos? ¿Puede haber tanta luz para que no alumbre, tanta fecundidad para que no produzca? Nosotros no creemos eso.—Creemos, al contrario, que María Teresa será un ornamento de su patria, i una gloria de su siglo.”
Chapter 2: THE ORIGINS OF THE TRADITION OF PRIVATE CONCERT-MAKING IN CARACAS

In January 1811, the periodical Mercurio venezolano advertised the first series of subscription concerts known to date to be offered in Caracas. According to the announcement, a certain Mr. Landaeta “[offered] to the Public a philharmonic establishment under [...] [a] Prospectus for the subscription to a Certamen of Vocal and Instrumental Music.”¹ ¹ The plan consisted of a weekly series of vocal and instrumental evening concerts running for six months, organized according to a particular modality of concert-making called certamen, and the orchestra would include twenty-five musicians featuring “the most select in the city,” offering “obbligato concertos for all the instruments” throughout the entire season.² ²

Figure 2.1. Landaeta’s prospectus for a series of subscription concerts of vocal and instrumental music in Caracas. Mercurio venezolano 1 (Jan. 1811): 55-56.

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¹ [F. Isnardi], ”Variedades. Literatura y bellas artes,” Mercurio venezolano 1 (Jan. 1811): 55-56. All the translations from this source are mine.
² Ibid.
It is unknown whether the series of concerts actually materialized or not. The document, nonetheless, holds particular significance for various reasons. The first is historiographical. The prospectus was included within a longer article that provided a succinct, retrospective account of the cultivation of instrumental music in Caracas. This text, attributed to Don Francisco Isnardi, is one of the earliest writings of music history in Venezuela. Whether or not the concerts took place, Isnardi’s article establishes a relevant historical connection between the proposed series of subscription philharmonic concerts and a particular practice of private music-making known as academia filarmónica, which was in use in Caracas during the last decades of the eighteenth century. This consisted of a gathering of devoted music amateurs, musicians by trade, and apprentices for the study and performance of music, patronized by members of the Caracas elite. According to Isnardi, it was through the efforts of the sponsors of these academias, the “Coryphaeus of Caracas’ harmony” as he called them, that instrumental music built momentum.

Various academias filarmónicas gathered under their auspices began to make heard the allures of this art; and soon the marvelous productions of Hydn [Haydn], Pleyel, Mozart, and all the great European masters crossed the ocean and resounded in Caracas: their performance was not limited to the violin but, driven by musical instinct, they began to familiarize themselves with all the other instruments, until they formed orchestras capable of pleasing the most delicate ears, thus deserving the approval of the most exquisite connoisseur.

The scarcity and inconsistency of the extant sources —consisting of a few historiographical accounts dating from post-colonial times, testimonies of travelers, and miscellaneous contemporary documents— have thwarted scholarly attempts to establish specifics about private music-making in colonial Caracas. To a great extent, music historians dealing with this topic have been forced to propose conjectures that can remedy the lack of documentary evidence with plausible explanations based on common sense and analysis of comparative cases, among other historiographical strategies. Yet, it has been possible to identify

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3 Francisco José Vidal Isnardi (b. Cádiz, Spain, 1775; d. Madrid (unattested), 1826) was a physician and intellectual. He was the founder of the influential though short-lived periodical Mercurio venezolano and author of most of its articles. Traditional history has confused his identity with two other homonymous individuals resident in Venezuela, one them born in Turin, Italy in 1750. For an updated biography of Francisco Isnardi, see M. Vannini de Gerulewicz, La verdadera historia de Francisco Isnardi, passim.


a few individuals unequivocally involved in the organization and patronage of private music-making in various haciendas in the environs of Caracas during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These include the priest Don Pedro de Sojo Palacios, best known as Padre Sojo, and Don Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz, both mentioned in Francisco Isnardi’s article. With them were also Don Bartolomé Blandín and the priest Don José Antonio Mohedano. Besides them, Isnardi refers to a member of the Tovar family, presumably Don Domingo de Tovar, who was an accomplished musician. All of these men were mantuanos, as the members of distinguished families of the local aristocracy were dubbed, which represented the elite of colonial Caracas.

The present chapter is a contextual study of the emergence of concert making in Caracas from the 1770s, when the practice of hosting gatherings for the performance of music for instrumental ensemble began to take shape, through 1811, when the the first public concert known to date was announced in the newspapers. First, it examines the extant sources that document the existence of practices of private concert-making in Caracas referred to as academias filarmónicas and revises assumptions in traditional history that have held the misleading interpretation that they were music schools in the modern sense. Then, it traces the

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7 Pedro Ramón de Sojo Palacios y Gil de Arriata (b. Guatire, Venezuela, 1739; d. Caracas, 1799) belonged to a noble and ancient Spanish lineage which included Cap. Feliciano (b. Caracas, 1730; d. Caracas, 1793), Padre Sojo’s brother and the maternal grandfather of the independence hero Simón Bolívar. Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz (b. Caracas or Valle de la Pascua, Venezuela, 1772; d. Maturín, Venezuela, 1814). Bartolomé Blandín (d. Caracas (unattested), 1835). José Antonio Mohedano (b. Talarrubias, Spain, 1741; d. Angostura, Venezuela, 1804). Domingo de Tovar y Ponte (b. Caracas, 1762; d. Caracas, 1807) was the son of Martín de Tovar y Blanco (b. Caracas, 1726; d. 1811), count of Tovar I. The musical involvement of these individuals is referred in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela: Periodo Pre-Hispánico con referencias al teatro a la danza, 71, 109-23; J. A. Calcoño, La ciudad y su música: Crónica musical de Caracas, 54-72; and P. Grases, Estudios sobre Andrés Bello, II: 21-23. In the strictest sense, the number of men in Caracas with Spanish aristocratic titles was very restricted. The term mantuano was used in colonial Venezuela to designate the white members of the local aristocracy and their descendants. The name comes from the mantilla or Spanish lace or silk shawl used by the elite women in Caracas to cover their head to attend mass. As a social class, the mantuanos occupied the highest hierarchy in the provincial society. They were usually proprietors of haciendas and as such they represented the local economic elite. In strict sense, by the turn of the nineteenth century there were in Caracas only five aristocrats: Don Martín de Tovar y Blanco, count of Tovar; Don Francisco Mijares de Solórzano, marquis of Mijares; Don Francisco Rodríguez del Toro, marquis of Toro; Don Fernando Ignacio Ascanio de Monasterios, count of La Granja; and Don José Antonio Pacheco y Rodríguez del Toro, count of San Javier. Another member of the Caracas aristocracy was Don Jerónimo (or Gerónimo) de Ustáriz y Tovar, marquis of Ustáriz II (b. 1735, d. 1809), who was born in Caracas but moved to Spain 1759 where he developed an important political career. On Caracas’ aristocracy, see I. Quintero, “Los nobles de Caracas y la independencia de Venezuela,” 209. On the social status of the owners of haciendas or hacendados, see P. M. McKinley, Pre-revolutionary Caracas, 78-88. On the Ustárizes, see A. Cardozo Uzcátegui, “Don Gerónimo Enrique de Ustáriz y Tovar,” 17-18.
European origins of this practice, its format, and its connections with other forms of concert-making, such as the tertulia and the certamen. Finally, it discusses the conventions that operated in the city’s private concert-making regarding repertories, patrons, and participants.

1. Academias filarmónicas

Undoubtedly, the most prominent group of private music-making was one sponsored by Padre Sojo. (See Figure 2.2 below.) He gathered a circle of musicians at his family’s property, Hacienda La Floresta, located in the town of Chacao in the vicinity of Caracas. Padre Sojo was a founder of the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri (Oratory of St. Philip Neri) in Caracas in 1771, and one of his responsibilities before he became the head of the institution was to oversee its music as prefecto de música. The musical happenings at the oratory are for the most part unknown, mostly due to the loss of the documents of this institution during the nineteenth century. It can be assumed, nonetheless, that the activities related to his academia filarmónica were separate from the oratory, as stated by music historian Alberto Calzavara, who has challenged the traditional views that have confused Padre Sojo’s particular activities involving members of the oratory with the congregational or administrative duties of that institution. This is suggested in a communication of Don Mariano Martí, bishop of Caracas to the Spanish Crown in 1779. Martí expressed his disapproval of Padre Sojo’s conduct, noting that he and other members of the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri “for many hours and days that [...] are unoccupied [...] frequently retreat to a country house on the outskirts of Caracas [...] and another [...] on the vicinities of Chacao, to play there ball games and bochas and perform music concerts day and night.” According to musicologist Robert Stevenson, the complaint was related to Padre Sojo’s management of his personal estate, thus preventing it from being controlled by the episcopate as customarily expected.

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8 The term prefecto de música translates to English as prefect of music. It was applied to the administrative head of music at the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri. The documents relative to the activities of this oratory have not survived. They were presumably discarded around 1873 when the religious order dissolved, and its building was demolished. See A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 4.

9 A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 111.

10 Mariano Martí (b. Bráfim, Spain, 1720; d. Caracas, 1792). The Spanish term bocha, in Italian bocce, refers to a game for two or more people consisting of tossing medium size balls towards a smaller ball where the winner is the one who gets closer to the small ball. Until 1797, the priests associated with the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri were forbidden to manage their properties and finances without the previous approval of the Diocese of Caracas. See R. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas,” 76. Bishop Martí’s document is quoted in R. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas,” 76, 105 n. 89, my translation. Musicologist David Coifman has proposed an alternative explanation to the one offered by
Despite the bishop’s scorn, Padre Sojo continued his musical gatherings. Robert Stevenson assumes that from 1783 or 1784 Padre Sojo devoted a major portion of his personal income to fund his academia. These meetings continued even after Padre Sojo’s death in 1799, when Don Bartolomé Blandín, a neighbor and musical friend of Padre Sojo, began to host them at his coffee hacienda. Commentator José Antonio Díaz offered a leisured depiction of these gatherings, completely separate from liturgical ceremonial, with a clear focus on the aesthetic aspects of music. Díaz perceived them as an edifying experience, in contrast with Bishop Martí’s views:

In front of the house was the garden, which ended in an artificial lake. Such was the delicious dwelling of the philosopher, proprietor of that delicious Parnassus. There, soul and emotion competed against each other in the most pure and innocent enjoyments: the echo of harmony, the refined and courteous treatment, the abundant and delicate victuals, the view of the forest and the garden; [and] during moments of rest [the

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Stevenson. According to Coifman, due to differences with Bishop Martí, Padre Sojo decided to exert his activities as prefecto de música, not in the building of the oratory in Caracas, but in the hacienda La Floresta in Chacao, which belonged not to Padre Sojo but to his brother, Francisco Palacios y Sojo. D. Coifman, “José Antonio Caro de Boesi (1758-1814?), primer compositor de la Ilustración musical de Venezuela,” 427.

11 Reproduced in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 112.
attended the better passages of the music that was just performed, or suggested the new pieces to follow. 13 vi

José Antonio Díaz’s text was published in 1861, twenty-five years after Blandín’s death. Yet, it is possible that Díaz had witnessed these events during his youth, as the text suggests. The article also refers to Díaz’s acquaintance with other musicians of the period. 14 As music historian Alberto Calzavara observes, their testimony, and possibly Blandín’s, could have served as a basis for Díaz’s commentary of the gatherings that occurred earlier at Padre Sojo’s estate. 15 According to this document, Padre Sojo used to bring a group of young men to his hacienda in Chacao to spend periods of time with the purpose of learning and practicing music. For their care, he enlisted the aid of the local musician Juan Manuel Olivares. 16 Several “celebrated artists”—says Díaz—“were formed in the academia of Padre Sojo, besides the many amateurs who participated in those days on the countryside taking also advantage of the academic exercise.” At the time, the gatherings moved to Blandín’s hacienda, these were “not apprentices anymore but professors [of music] and skilled aficionados.” 17 vii

As indicated in the commentaries, the activities of these musical circles were not limited to music performance, which was indeed a part of a wide encompassing practice aimed at advancing the knowledge of music through musical study and discussion in an atmosphere of conviviality. These gatherings could have also stimulated the production of musical compositions. As a matter of fact, several of the musicians directly related to Padre Sojo’s circle, including José Francisco de Velásquez, Juan Manuel Olivares, Lino Gallardo and Juan José Landaeta, were accomplished composers. 18

13 José Antonio Díaz (b. [Caracas], ca. 1800; d. [Caracas], ca. 1875), El agricultor venezolano, ó Lecciones de agricultura práctica nacional (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional de M. de Briceño, 1861), excerpt reproduced in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 227. All the translations from this source are mine.

14 Ibid. The text suggests that Díaz knew the musicians Lino Gallardo (b. Ocumare del Tuy, Venezuela, ca. 1774; d. 1837) and Cayetano Carreño, who was Teresa Carreño’s paternal grandfather. His full name was Joseph Cayetano del Carmen Carreño (b. Caracas, 7 Aug. 1774; d. Caracas, 4 Mar. 1836), hereafter referred to as Cayetano Carreño to differentiate him from his son José Cayetano Carreño y Muñoz (b. Caracas, 8 July 1804; d. before 1883).

15 A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 119.

16 Juan Manuel Olivares (b. Caracas, 1760; d. Caracas, 1797).


18 José Francisco Velásquez, “el viejo” (the elder) (b. Caracas, 1755; d. Caracas, 1805). Juan Manuel Olivares (b. Caracas, 1760; d. 1797). Juan José Landaeta (b. Caracas, 1780; d. Caracas, 1812). Other musicians associated with this group include José Luis Landaeta (b. Caracas, ca. 1782; d. Caracas,
Because there is no evidence of dated musical works composed in Venezuela before the late 1770s, the matter of the compositional training of the older group of musicians, all Venezuelan-born, has remained a topic of speculation among scholars. The level of musical proficiency of Padre Sojo himself is uncertain. In any case it does not seem that he developed skills in music composition. This topic has received particular attention in musicological literature, given the involvement of Padre Sojo's associates in an unprecedented musical movement that occurred in Caracas roughly from the 1780s to the early 1810s, which musicologist Francisco Curt Lange has called elsewhere "the musical miracle of the colonial times." This movement resulted in a large and sophisticated body of music for voice and instrumental accompaniment by some thirty composers, loosely known as Escuela de Chacao, which counts among the foremost repertory produced in the Spanish colonial territories.

Contrary to what was formerly assumed in traditional history, there are reasons to affirm that not all the musicians contributing to the flourishing of music in Caracas during the colonial times belonged to Padre Sojo's circle. In fact, some notable composers were not related to Padre Sojo, as is the case Pedro Nolasco Colón. In view of this, music historian Alberto Calzavara conjectures that similar groups could have organized around other musicians. Accordingly, towards the 1790s the priest Don Alejandro Carreño would have formed a circle for

1812), Juan Bautista Olivares (b. Caracas, 1765), and Marcos Pompa Landaeta (b. Caracas, 1776; d. Caracas, 1812), among others.

19 The oldest score found to date is a Misa de difuntos, composed in 1779 by José Antonio Caro de Boesi (b. Caracas, 1758; d. ca. 1814), preserved in the Archivo de Música Colonial de la Escuela de Música José Ángel Lamas at the Biblioteca Nacional, Caracas. The identity of this composer has been subject of musicological discussion. On this matter, see A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 244 and D. Coifman, “José Antonio Caro de Boesi,” 417-21. Since much of the extant repertory from the period is undated, it is not discarded that other musicians born in the 1750s, including José Francisco de Velásquez and Juan Manuel Olivares, could also have engaged in composition before 1779. More recently, P. Chacón Requena, “Apuntes sobre la historia de la música en la Venezuela colonial: El caso de Pedro de Vicuña” [1-20], provides referential evidence that a musician identified as Pedro de Vicuña, affiliated to the Cathedral of Caracas in the late seventeenth century was engaged into music composition.

20 Francisco Curt Lange’s authorship of this expression is referred in J. F. Sans, "Nuevas perspectivas en los estudios de música colonial venezolana." According to Sans, this expression falsely suggests that the movement of musical composition that appeared in the late colonial period was the result of a spontaneous generation, which somehow disregards the specific social, economic, political, and cultural circumstances involved in its emergence.

21 The term Escuela de Chacao translates to English as School of Chacao. Although recent revisionist musicological studies have questioned the appropriateness of this term to refer the group of Caracas colonial composers, the term continued being used as an historical label. On the use of the term Escuela de Chacao, see J. F. Sans, “Una aproximación analítica a las obras de los compositores de la Escuela de Chacao,” 62.

22 Pedro Nolasco Colón (b. Valencia (unattested), Venezuela, ca. 1770s; d. Caracas, 1813).
private music-making and study which was separate from Padre Sojo’s. Calzavara mentions as possible members of Alejandro Carreño’s circle Don Cayetano Carreño, Don José Ángel Lamas, and Don Juan Francisco Meserón, among others. Both Cayetano Carreño and Lamas were appointed musicians at the Cathedral of Caracas in 1789, and apprentices to Alejandro Carreño. Meserón did not work at the cathedral but he was a relative of the Carreños and for that reason could have been part of the group as well. These three men eventually thrived as composers, producing a remarkable body of musical works. The education in music composition of Lamas and Cayetano Carreño cannot be explained as part of their responsibilities at the cathedral, given that in Caracas neither the maestro de capilla nor other members of the capilla musical had the obligation of composing works for the liturgy.

Besides, there is evidence of Alejandro Carreño’s interest in instrumental music that was not necessarily related to his duties as church musician. A surviving document concerning the cathedral’s administration demonstrates that Alejandro Carreño requested that the Ecclesiastic Council in 1790 acquire music in Europe; some of the works requested could possibly be related to the activities of a musical circle of his. Carreño’s petition included a list of about three hundred and fifty musical works organized by genre but without composers’ names. Most of it consisted of compositions involving instruments and voices, including masses, sequences,
responsories, vespers, cantatas, etc., which had a clear liturgical use. However, forty two compositions on Carreño’s list consisted of music for various ensembles of instruments, including symphonies, duos, trios, quartets, quintets, sextets, and concertos.28 It is unclear whether some sort of instrumental concert-making outside the liturgy was ever part of the routines of the cathedral at that time but, in any case, it is plausible to assume that Alejandro Carreño intended not only to supply the cathedral with an abundant repertory of music but also to become acquainted with the latest musical styles in Europe. This is suggested in his petition, which stated that the works listed, “ought to be chosen among the most modern and tasteful, and in case of not finding them, they ought to be commissioned ...”29 viii It is unknown whether Alejandro Carreño ever instituted an academia filarmónica comparable to Padre Sojo’s. Nonetheless, if only for purely formative reasons, it is reasonable to think Alejandro Carreño established a group integrated by musicians interested in developing skills in music composition with the purpose of performing and discussing these or similar musical works. Furthermore, it is possible that the musical activities of this group might have continued under the direction of Cayetano Carreño after Alejandro’s death in 1891.


Histories of Venezuelan music have traditionally interpreted the term academia filarmónica used by nineteenth-century writers in reference to Padre Sojo’s and similar gatherings in a somewhat anachronistic fashion, as an equivalent for a school of music or conservatory.30 Music historian Alberto Calzavara in his revisionist Historia de la música en Venezuela challenged this view, indicating that in contemporary use the term academia referred to either a literary or artistic learned society or a gathering for the cultivation of literature, arts or science.31

29 Ibid.
30 The source of this confusion dates back to Ramón de la Plaza’s Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 91-96, which comments on J. A. Díaz’ text in an ambiguous manner in regards to the format of Padre Sojo’s musical academia (pp. 91-96). For a further discussion of the unsuitability of interpreting the term academia as equivalent to a school of music, see J. F. Sans, “Nuevas perspectivas en los estudios de musical colonial venezolana,” 8-12.
31 Alberto Calzavara’s statement is drawn from Diccionario de la legua española, prepared by the Real Academia Española (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1947) which defines academia as “sociedad literaria o artística establecida con autoridad pública” and “junta certamen al que concurren algunos aficionados a las letras, artes o ciencias.” A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 133-35.
Calzavara’s definition, drawn from the dictionary of the Spanish Real Academia de la Lengua, concides with the general meaning that the philosophe d’Alembert gave to that term in the emblematic work of the French Enlightenment, the Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, first published in 1751-1772. In an entry devoted to defining the term académie, d’Alembert revised the various meanings given to it in the past and then stated that in the “modern times,” it applied to “a society or company of men of letters, established for the cultivation and advancement of the arts and sciences.” 32 ix In this context, the term “man of letters” refers not necessarily to a writer but rather an educated individual with an ample erudition in literary, historical, philosophical, artistic, and scientific subjects; in short, a polymath.33 D’Alembert also explained that the académie “is not destined to teach or profess any art, whatever it may be, but to achieve its perfection. Then he added that the académie, “is not comprised [...] but of persons of distinguished ability, who communicate to each other their understanding and share their discoveries for their mutual benefit.” 34 x Thus, d’Alembert clarified that the function was not one of instrumental teaching but providing opportunities for the further improvement of that branch of scientific, philosophical, or artistic knowledge.35

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33 In the Encyclopédie, Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, b. Paris, 1694; d. Paris, 1778) explains that the term man of letters is “not given to a man with little knowledge who cultivates only a single genre.” Although presumed to have erudition in Latin, Greek, modern language, literature, mathematics, philosophy and history, “men of letters are not expected to study all of these subjects in depth; universal knowledge is no longer within the reach of man. But true men of letters put themselves in a position to explore these different terrains, even if they cannot cultivate all of them.” Voltaire, “Gens de lettres,” in Encyclopédie, Ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, VII: 599-600.


35 In the following entries in the Encyclopédie d’Alembert also discussed several académies that operated as formal institutions under royal patronage that held regular meetings of learned bodies or art masters for the discussion and advance of scholarly or artistic matters. These included the French Académie Royale des Sciences (pp. 54-55), Académie Française, for matters pertaining the French language (pp. 52-54), and the Real Academia de la Lengua (under the entry “Académie Royale d’Espagne”), for matters pertaining to the Spanish language (p. 56). Other articles such as the one corresponding to the Académie d’Architecture by Denis Diderot (p. 57) and the Académie de Peinture also referred to similar institutions. The existing relationship between academies understood as informal bodies of connoisseurs of diverse disciplines and the type of formal institutions officially patronized, as those listed by d’Alembert, also called academies will be discussed in the context of eighteenth-century Spain in Chapter 3. For a discussion of the role and organization of philosophical academies in Europe, see T. J. Hochstrasser, “The Institutionalization of Philosophy in Continental Europe,” 79-85.
Nonetheless, a revision of other eighteenth-century publications reflects that it was not uncommon in contemporary Europe to the use the term “academy” in musical contexts to refer to a particular practice of concert-making. Accordingly, the English music historian Charles Burney based his acquaintance of music-making in Italy during a tour to this country in 1770, defining the Italian term accademia as “a concert.”36 Similarly, the contemporary philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his Dictionnaire de musique (pub. 1768), defined the French term académie de musique as “the manner it was called in the past in France, and is still called in Italy, an assembly of Musicians or Amateurs, which the French have later given the name of Concert.”37 It is also known that a type of court concert called Akademie featuring orchestral music was regularly held since the mid-eighteenth century at the Mannheim Palace, which served as the residence of the prince-electors of the Electorate of the Palatinate of the House of Wittelsbach. According to music historian Eugene Wolf, these Akademien or academies, generally took place twice a week at six o’clock at the Rittersaal (Knight’s Hall), in the central axis of the palace, and were attended by guests of the elector, visitors to Mannheim, and members of the Mannheim bourgeoise.38

There is evidence that Rousseau’s Dictionnaire de musique was known in colonial Caracas and was presumably the subject of intellectual discussion within members the educated circles.39 However, besides the influence that this work might have exerted in Caracas musical life, there are two aspects that make Rousseau’s definition particularly interesting, for they can shed light on the practice and possible origins of the academia filarmónica in Caracas. The first aspect deals with Rousseau’s characterization of the musical academy as performing group made up of amateurs and/or musicians by trade alike, which was a common feature of the private circles of music-making in Caracas known to date. The second aspect refers to its affiliation with a homonymous practice still in use in Italy, which opens the possibility to assume that musical academies in Caracas could have indeed been modeled, if at least partially, after

37 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (b. Geneve, 1712; d. Ermenonville, France, 1778), “Académie de Musique,” in Dictionnaire de musique (Paris: Veuve Duchesne Librairie, 1775), I: 1. All the translations from this source are mine. Rousseau’s Dictionnaire de musique was first published in Paris in 1768 by Veuve Duchesne Librairie.
38 E. K. Wolf, The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century, 218.
39 For a discussion of the dissemination of Rousseau’s musical writings in colonial Venezuela, see H. Quintana, “La difusión de la estética musical ilustrada,” 119-53 and Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas (Período colonial), 93-104. See also Chapter 3.
the academies of eighteenth-century Italy. In actuality, the involvement of musicians by trade under the patronage of wealthy educated amateurs, the prominence given to musical study and the formation of apprentices, as well as the stimulation to musical composition that presumably took place in Caracas’ *academias*, particularly within Padre Sojo and Blandín’s circles, according to surviving descriptions, bear resemblance to contemporary routines at Italian musical academies.

It is known that the practice of the *accademia filarmonica* in Italy varied from informal meetings held at the homes of aristocrats to strictly regulated institutions with their own place such as the prestigious philharmonic academies of Bologna and Verona. In every case, the Italian term *accademia filarmonica* referred to an ideal entity encompassing all the activities at the meetings, often centered on the performance of music for ensembles, either in church or chamber styles, being followed by theoretical discussion. Musical compositions by the members were regularly performed at the meetings. These Italian *accademie* often counted on the assistance of court musicians and could also hire extra musicians for special events. While many of the Italian *accademie* were aimed solely at the enjoyment of their participants, a few others acted as learned societies of the greatest musical authority. For instance, the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona was devoted to the performance and study of music. Visitors were not normally allowed at their performances. However, the *accademia* occasionally sponsored performances at church and at outdoor celebrations. During the regular meetings, the musical director, a hired trade musician, assisted the members of the *accademia* by giving them instruction and performing with them. In a similar manner, the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna focused on music composition and its members met regularly to perform their works.

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40 For a description of some of those gatherings in Italy in the 1770s, see C. Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 94-96, 100-02, 111.

41 Gregory Barnett explains about instrumental music practices in Bologna in the seventh and eighteenth centuries that church and *accademias* as performance venues were not interchangeable with chamber and church musical styles. Performance of music in both church and chamber styles took place in the *accademia*. Moreover, academies also generated their own stylistic category, the academic style. Some music prints of the period make explicit these differences. Consider for example Giuseppe Mateo Alberti’s *Concerti per chiesa, e per camera ad uso dell’accademia eretta nella sala del sig. conte Orazio Leonardo Bargellini*, op. 1 (Bologna, 1713) and Accademico Fromato’s *Concertini accademici à quattro*, op. 4 (Bologna, 1708). G. Barnett, *Bolognese Instrumental Music*, 182-83.

42 For instance, in the late century the *Accademia dello Spirito Santo* and *Accademia della Morte* in Ferrara both had a salaried *maestro di cappella* and organist and hired musicians on a per-service basis. G. Barnett, *Bolognese Instrumental Music*, 57.

Seeming coincidences between the musical practices of Padre Sojo’s academia filarmónica, as reflected in extant descriptions, and the Italian accademia filarmonica could be explained indeed as a direct influence of the latter. Padre Sojo traveled to Europe in 1769-1771 with the purpose of obtaining authorization for the foundation of the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri in Caracas. It is possible that during his visit in Italy he became acquainted with activities of some of the accademie filarmoniche and sought to establish a similar group in Caracas in the following year. Other groups emerging afterwards in Caracas might have conformed to Padre Sojo’s model.

Spanish influences should also be considered as a possible explanation for the shaping of musical academias and related practices of concert-making in colonial Caracas. During the later half of the century, chamber music concerts under the name of academias de música or academias musicales became common in aristocratic circles in peninsular Spain. As a matter of fact, Infante Luis Antonio, son of King Felipe V, and later, Infantes Carlos and Gabriel, sons of King Carlos III, used to organize academias in their rooms at the royal court in Madrid as well as in the royal residences of El Escorial y Aranjuez, in which instrumental music was performed. The practice was possibly a direct influence of the Italian musical culture at the Spanish royal court, best represented by the presence of several notable Italian instrumentalists in the service of the Bourbons. These include Francesco Corselli, maestro of the royal chamber of Felipe V and music master of his daughters, Infantas María Teresa y María Antonia; Giacomo Facco, violinist of the orchestra of the royal chapel and music master of Infantes Luis Felipe (future King Luis I), Fernando (future King Fernando VI), and Carlos (future King Carlos III), also children of King Felipe V; Domenico Scarlatti, music master of María Bárbara Braganza, the wife of King Fernando VI; Luigi Boccherini, appointed chief musician of Infante Luis Antonio, son of King Felipe V; and Gaetano Brunetti, appointed court violinist of King Carlos III and music master of his son, Infante Carlos (future King Carlos IV). Musical academias at the royal court continued.

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45 For his part, music historian Alberto Calzavara conjectures Padre Sojo’s familiarity with the music conservatories active in Italy during his visit and their possible influence in the configuration of his academia filarmónica in Caracas. A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 121.
46 María Teresa Rafaela de Borbón (b. Madrid, 1726; d. Versailles, 1746), infanta of Spain and future dauphine of France. María Antonia Fernanda de Borbón (b. Seville, Spain, 1729; d. Turin, Italy, 1785). María Madalena Josefa Teresa Bárbara Braganza (b. Lisbon, Portugal, 1711; d. Aranjuez, Spain, 1758) was the queen consort of Spain, spouse of King Fernando VI (b. Madrid, 1713; d. Madrid, 1759). Fernando VI reigned in 1746-1759 and he was the son of King Felipe V and half-brother of future King
flourishing after the ascent of Infante Carlos to power as King Carlos IV in 1788. His enthusiasm for instrumental music led to the formation of the orchestra of the royal chamber under the direction of Brunetti, who together with Boccherini had an important role in the establishment of a symphonic tradition in Spain.47 These concert practices were imitated by other Spanish aristocrats. Among these were Fernando de Silva, duke of Alba, and his son Francisco de Paula, who were enthusiastic patrons of the arts and sponsored musical academias in their palace in Madrid which were notable for their fine quality.48 According to music historian Antonio Martín Moreno, the rich musical activity of the House of Alba contributed to spread of the taste for chamber music among the nobility and to establish a sense of artistic competence that explains its growth in the later part of the century.49

Since at least the 1760s, groups identified as academias musicales began to offer concerts in public venues. There is documentary evidence of chamber music composed by Luigi Boccherini for an academia musical that operated at Teatro de los Caños del Peral in Madrid.50

Carlos III. Francesco Corselli, also known as Francisco Courcelle (b. Piacenza, Italy, 1705; Madrid, 1778) was a singer, violinist, harpsichordist and composer. He worked for the court of Parma for the Farnese. In 1734 he moved to Madrid, where he occupied different musical positions, including music master of the Spanish infantes, musical director of the Teatro del Buen Retiro, maestro of the royal chamber of Felipe V, and maestro of the royal chapel. Giacomo Facco (b. Marsango, Italy, 1676; d. 1753) was a violinist, harpsichordist, and composer. During his lifetime, he was considered one of the best European composers. He worked for Carlo Antonio Spinola, marquis of los Balbases and viceroy of Sicily at his residence in Palermo and then in Messina in Italy. Later he passed to the Spanish royal court, where he was appointed music master of the children of King Felipe V and violinist of the orchestra of the royal chamber. Giuseppe Domenico Scarlatti (b. Naples, 1685; d. Madrid, 1757) was a keyboardist and composer. He was active at the royal court in Lisbon as teacher of princess María Bárbara from 1719 to 1727. In 1733 Scarlatti went to Madrid to work at the royal court, remaining active during the reign of Ferdinand VI. Luigi Boccherini (b. Lucca, Italy, 1743; d. Madrid, 1805) was a virtuoso cellist and composer. Boccherini, entered the Spanish royal court in 1770, becoming a protected of Infante Don Luis Antonio. Gaetano Brunetti (b. Fano, Pontifical States, 1744; d. Colmenar de Oreja, Spain, 1798) was a violinist and prolific composer of chamber music active at the Spanish royal court during the reigns of King Carlos III and King Carlos IV. He entered the royal court in 1767 as violinist. In 1771, Brunetti was appointed violin master of infante Don Carlos upon the death of Francisco Sabatini, the former teacher of the infante. With the ascent of the throne of Don Carlos as Carlos IV in 1788, Brunetti became the leading musical figure of the royal court, in charge of composition and the organization of instrumental music-making. In 1796 received the honorific title of music director of the orchestra of the royal chamber. Before entering the royal court, Brunetti worked for other families of the Spanish aristocracy including the House of Alba and the House of Osuna-Benavente.

48 Fernando de Silva y Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba. (b. Vienna, 1714; d. 1776). Francisco de Paula de Silva y Álvarez de Toledo (b. 1733, d. 1770), duke of Huéscar.
49 A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 266-67.
50 Antonio Martín Moreno reports the existence of Luigi Boccherini’s autograph manuscript of “Concerto a grande orchestra composto a Madrid per l’Academia dellos Caños del Peral l’anno 1769.” The work has been also identified under the title of “Concerto a piú stromenti concertanti, due violini, Oboe,
These concerts, also generally referred as academias musicales, were presumably accessible to paying audiences. Since 1787, a series of concerts known as conciertos espirituales, modelled after the Parisian concerts spirituels, began to take place at Teatro de los Caños del Peral. They were established by order of King Carlos III, who looked for substituting the presentation of opera at this theatre, with “academias de música during the four first weeks of lent. In addition to this, during the last quarter of the century, various small venues opened in Madrid to offer concerts under the denomination of academias, which were organized by instrumentalists laid off from opera companies in between seasons.

On the other hand, in Spain the term academia was not exclusively applied to music. In fact, during the first half of the seventeenth century, groups dedicated to the cultivation of literature known as academias literarias had been growing in considerable number, thanks to the protection of King Felipe IV. To some extent, the Spanish academias literarias were similar to the humanistic accademie that flourished in Italy during the Renaissance in that they were meetings of scholars, writers, and socially noteworthy literature amateurs, patronized by learned aristocrats at their residences. The regularity and formality of the sessions varied from one academia to another but, in general, they were presided over by one of the attendees, usually the patron, and consisted of readings of discourses, poetry, and the like followed by a debate. These organizations persisted in peninsular Spain as relatively secluded groups of intellectuals, which acted as more or less informal learned societies conforming to an ideal literary Parnassus, aimed at preserving the classical models of literature.

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52 Real Order of King Carlos III of 11 December 1786, quoted in A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 316, my translation.

53 For instance, music historian José Subirá reports the existence of the academia of the Milanese violinist Ronzi, which charged four reales per person for concert. Subirá also informs of the existence of similar academias offered in Madrid houses located on Calle del Barco y Leganitos and on Calle de las Costanillas de los Desamparados y de los Ángeles. See J. Subirá, Historia de la música española, 484.

54 Felipe IV (b. Valladolid, Spain, 1605; d. Madrid, 1665) was king of Spain in 1621-1665 and king of Portugal and the Algarves (as Felipe III) in 1621-1640.


56 J. Álvarez Barrientos et all., La República de las Letras en la España del siglo XVIII, 7-8.
The practice of the academia literaria was revitalized after the Bourbons came to power in Spain in 1700. King Felipe V, the first member of the Spanish branch of the dynasty was a grandson of Louis XIV of France, and his descendants, more notably his son King Carlos III, were characterized by strong cultural ties to France, which facilitated the increasing penetration of Enlightenment thought in Spain. In this climate, the Bourbons instituted a series of enlightened educational and cultural reforms that stimulated the formation of intellectual groups which extended the tradition of the academia literaria to other areas of knowledge, including jurisprudence, history, science, and fine arts, among others. Some of these groups were eventually granted royal patronage, thus being converted into institutional collegiate bodies that functioned in public buildings especially designated for that purpose.

Social and economic reforms also undertaken by the Bourbons during the eighteenth century contributed to the burgeoning of the middle class. Although it was not until the nineteenth century that the bourgeoisie existed as a properly defined social class in Spain, already in the previous century they began to form as a small but growing middle segment of society constituted of professionals such as lawyers and physicians, as well as military and civil officials and plebeian landowners and wholesalers. These men were eager to pursue education, leisure and artistic pleasures that were formerly limited to the aristocracy. Accordingly, during the later decades of the eighteenth century, the tradition of the academia extended to this segment. Not only the educated bourgeoisie gained admittance in academias hosted by aristocrats but also groups of various areas of intellectual interest began to take place in public spaces, such as libraries, coffeehouses and taverns.

At this point, the practice of the academia overlapped and largely fused with a fashionable modality of sociability known as the tertulia, which rapidly spread across the upper classes, being adopted by aristocrats and the bourgeoisie alike. The tertulia basically consisted of an evening gathering, usually held periodically and aimed at recreational and intellectual or artistic activities. These could range from discussion of literature, philosophy, arts, sciences or

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57 Felipe de Borbón (b. Versailles, France, 1683; d. Madrid, 1746) became king of Spain in 1700 as Felipe V. In 1724 when he abdicated in favor of his son, Infante Luis Felipe, crowned as Luis I (b. Madrid, 1707; d. Madrid, 1724). He reassumed the throne later that year after the death of his son until his own death in 1746. Carlos de Borbón (b. Madrid, 1716; d. Madrid, 1788) was the son of Felipe V. He became king of Naples and Sicily in 1734-59 as Carlos VII and king of Spain in 1759-88 as Carlos III.

58 J. Álvarez Barrientos et al., La República de las Letras en la España del siglo XVIII, 7-17, 53-61; F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 98-103.


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politics to casual conversation, reading, playing games, and performing plays or music. Wider in scope and aim than the academia, the tertulia often combined various interests and accommodated them either in a single gathering or distributed them among different meetings. Thus, while some tertulias met regularly once a week, others met several times during the week, devoting each meeting to a different area of interest, whether it be literature, history, music, science, or other intellectual activities. An example of this was the tertulia sponsored by a group of nobles led by Xavier María de Munibe, count of Peñaflorida in the Basque city of Azcoitia. Since mid-century this tertulia celebrated musical sessions on Thursdays and Sundays, while the rest of the week they distributed their interest in literature, history, geography, and science, designating a different day for each. The combination of literature and music performance in tertulias became increasingly frequent in the last third of the eighteenth century. An example is the famous tertulia patronized by Don Francisco de Paula Miconi y Cifuentes, marquis of los Méritos, at his residence in Cádiz which promoted literary discussion and music cultivation. Even more influential was the musical-literary tertulia of Doña María Josefa Alonso y Téllez, duchess of Osuna and Benavente held at her palace in Madrid. The duchess of Osuna and Benavente was known for her patronage to the arts, and was considered one of the principal definers of artistic taste and fashion in Spain. She maintained a private orchestra for her tertulia, which included some of the best instrumentalists in Spain, including the renowned Luigi Boccherini, who served for some time as his musical director.

Because of this comprehensiveness, the tertulia eventually subsumed most of the forms of cultured sociability that developed during this time in Spain. Therefore, towards the end of the eighteenth century, literary groups in peninsular Spain were indistinctly named academias

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60 A. Gelz, “Prensa y tertulia: Interferencias mediales en la España del siglo XVIII,” 166-67; F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 94-98.
61 Xavier María de Munibe e Idiáquez (b. Azcoitia, Spain; d. Vergara, Spain, 1785). Among the cultural activities of this group were the presentation of comic operas and comedies and the reading of poems with educative purposes. Peñaflorida himself was the composer of an opera presented there, El borracho burlado. Other participants such as Félix María de Samaniego and José Augustín Ibáñez de la Rentería cultivated the genre of didactic poetry. F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 96, 105.
62 Francisco de Paula María Miconi y Cifuentes (b. 1735; d. Cádiz, Spain, 1811), marquis of los Méritos. A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 258.
63 María Josefa de la Soledad Alonso Pimentel y Téllez Girón (b. Madrid, 1752; d. Madrid, 1834), countess-duchess of Benavente and duchess of Osuna. On the gatherings she organized, see A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 276-79.
64 Boccherini entered the House Osuna-Benavente 1786 after the death of Infante Don Luis Antonio de Borbón. On the tertulia of the duchess of Osuna and Benavente, see A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 244; C.H. Russell, “Spain in the Enlightenment,” 356.
or tertulias, although other terms semantically related, such as asamblea, junta, congreso, and sociedad were also used as alternative denominations. Illustrative of this was the above-mentioned tertulia led by the count of Peñaflorida, who in 1748 decided to regulate their meetings under the name of junta académica. In 1765, this same group received royal protection, being since transformed into a royal society known as Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País.

Nonetheless, there is evidence that the term academia preserved its meaning with musical circles as a practice of performance of chamber music held in private spaces and sponsored by aristocrats. This use is profusely described in the didactic poem La música, written by the Spanish man of letters Tomás de Iriarte, first published in Madrid in 1779 in an elegant edition prepared by the royal press. In the prologue, the author stated that he undertook the writing of this poem as a casual piece “to serve privately for his own diversion and perhaps for [the diversion of] some of his friends who were fond of the musical art.” However, after receiving the encouragement of José Moñino, count of Floridablanca, then secretary of state to King Carlos III, Iriarte decided to expand his poem into a work suitable for publication. Iriarte was an assiduous participant of various tertulias and academias in Madrid, including the literary Tertulia de la Fonda de San Sebastián and the musical-literary tertulia of the duchess of Osuna and Benavente, where he contributed as a musician as well as a writer. Iriarte also participated as a performer in an instrumental chamber group hosted by the young music-lover Manuel Delatila, marquis of Manca. This experience permitted Iriarte to provide first-hand descriptions of the practices and social values ascribed to the musical academia in present Spain.

65 J. Álvarez Barrientos et all., La República de las Letras en la España del siglo XVIII, 53-55. These Spanish terms translate as “assembly,” “gathering,” “congress,” and “society,” respectively.
66 Xavier María de Munibe e Idiáquez (b. Azkoitia, Guipúzcoa, Spain, 1723; d. Vergara, Guipúzcoa, Spain, 1785).
67 Tomás de Iriarte y Oropesa (b. Puerto de la Cruz de Orotava, Tenerife, Spain, 1750; d. Madrid, 1791), La música, Poema (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1779). On Tomás de Iriarte and his poem La música, see A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 280-85 and H. Quintana, Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas, 132-59. Although mostly known for his activities as a writer, Iriarte was also educated in music. He developed skills as organist as well as a performer of violin and viola, as composer of instrumental theatrical works.
68 T. de Iriarte, La música, Prólogo, I. All the translations from this source are mine.
70 R. Stevenson, “Los contactos de Haydn con el mundo ibérico,” 3.
In *La música*, Iriarte attributed four main uses to music in accordance to the places it was performed and the people that were involved in it. Thus, he stated that music was offered “to God at the church, to the public at the theatre, to individuals in private societies, and to the unaccompanied man in seclusion.” According to this classification, the academia belonged, together with the ball, to the third type of music, the one deemed by Iriarte to be “proper for the diversion of private society.” Despite the differences of aims, both academias and balls apparently had in common that they occurred in private spaces in a setting of conviviality among individuals with similar interests, whether these be either musical, sociable, or of any other sort. This convivial use of music contrasts with the forth type listed by Iriarte, the one given to music when performed by a person in isolation. Although also taking place in private spaces, it was not aimed at social partaking. The value of the latter lay instead in that it provided “that pleasure that enters the soul in the stillness and silent calm,” according to Iriarte.

In terms of repertory, Iriarte affirmed that it was not uncommon in the academias to perform vocal pieces from the operatic repertory, such as recitatives, arias, and duets. Thus, the “polite society of aficionados,” stated Iriarte, “borrowed the vocal music from the public theatre,” to bring it to their “musical diversions.” Choruses and vocal ensembles of greater complexity such as trios were rather avoided:

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La urbana Sociedad aficionada
A estas sonoras diversiones, quiere
La Música vocal tomar prestada
Del público teatro; mas prefiere
Duos, arias, sublimes recitados
A tercetos, y coros complicados.
Lo mejor de las Óperas elige
[...] 74
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The selection of simpler numbers responded, according to Iriarte, to the desire of presenting only “the best of the operas.” This suggests an intimate and unpretentious nature for the academia, not aimed at presenting full theatrical works but being concert oriented instead. In this sense, Iriarte observed that although the performance of theatrical vocal music

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71 T. de Iriarte, *La música*, Prólogo, ix. Iriarte clarified that additional to this was also the use of music in the military ambit.
73 Ibid., Canto V, vi.
74 Ibid., Canto V, i.
75 Ibid.
taking place at the academia was commonly offered in “almost perfect” manner, it was the performance of instrumental music that was deemed appropriated for those gatherings:

Así, pues, de las obras teatrales
Casi perfecta copia
Ofrece una Academia de ordinario
En la parte vocal; pero, al contrario,
Tiene en la instrumental, Música propia
[...] 76

The genres most suitable for the academias, according to Iriarte, included the duo, the trio, the quartet, and the symphony. Iriarte considered the symphony a “galant genre” that represented the highest level of “invention and mastery” because it subsumed the perfections of the other instrumental configurations. Thus, the symphony conformed “the noisy choir to the harmonic style,” transforming its parts into duos, trios, and quartets:

La música invención y maestría
Se esfuerza en la gallarda sinfonía,
Que incluye las diversas perfecciones
De todas las demás composiciones;
Pues del ruidoso coro
Al harmónico estilo se conforma,
O yá en duo canoro,
Yá en trio, yá en quarteto se transforma. 77

In contrast, sonatas and concertos were in Iriarte’s view to be left to be played by the “expert performer in an examination, competition, or assessment” rather than at the academia. The reason given is that the aim of the sonata and the concerto was to “flaunt the intricate and the admirable more than the perceptible and the cantabile:”

Reserve, pues, el Tocador experto
Para un exámen, competencia, ó prueba,
La atrevida sonata, y el concierto
En que igual fin, por lo común, se lleva
De ostentar lo intrínscado y lo admirable,
Mas que lo perceptible y lo cantable. 78

The friendly setting and unassuming technical aspirations of the musical academia were further underlined by Iriarte when dealing with the subgenres of symphonic music commonly performed in these gatherings. In an attempt seemingly to discern clearer boundaries between

76 Ibid., Canto V, ii.
77 Ibid., Canto V, iv.
78 Ibid., Canto V, iii.
the practice of the private \textit{academia} and the concerts taking place in public venues, Iriarte commented on the dominance in the private \textit{academias} of a genre that he referred to as \textit{sinfonia aquartetada} (quartet-symphony). In the poem, Iriarte described it as “a select genre, whose agreeable effect is so well achieved [when performed] in the chamber as it is badly ruined [when performed] in the theatre.” Then he explained that for these symphonies “four are the principal and \textit{obbligato} parts, so that excluding the additional parts [in the performance], does not weaken the essential harmony.”

Entre las sinfonías se señala  
Un género selecto,  
Cuyo agradable efecto  
Tánto suele lograrse en una sala,  
Quanto se malogra en un teatro.  
Esto se verifica si son quatro  
Las partes principales y obligadas,  
De suerte que las otras agregadas,  
Aunque tal vez se excluyan,  
La harmonía esencial no disminuyan.  
Nombre de aquatetadas  
Damos á sinfonías semejantes  
[...]\textsuperscript{79}

The characteristics of this genre are further clarified by Iriarte in the endnotes for the poem, where he stated that the \textit{sinfonías aquartetadas} are “composed in the manner of a quartet, in which obbligato and indispensable parts are commonly the first and second violins, the viola and the bass, not being notably necessary the oboes, horns, flutes, bassoons, etc.”\textsuperscript{80} xvii The sub-genre of the \textit{sinfonia concertante} was also mentioned by Iriarte as taking place in \textit{academias}. In the \textit{sinfonia concertante}, stated Iriarte, “to each instrument is assigned an expressive and notable solo, to which the \textit{tutti} answers.”

Otras [sinfonías] se denominan concertantes,  
En que á cada instrumento  
Alternativamente corresponde  
Un solo de expresion y lucimiento  
Y el todo de la orquesta le responde  
[...]\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., Canto V, iv.  
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., Advertencias sobre el Canto Quinto, xvii.  
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid, Canto V, iv. In addition to this, Iriarte mentions the sub-genre of symphony for double orchestra. According to him, these symphonies were more appropriate for public performance than for \textit{academias} or private gatherings, where they only rarely were played. Ibid.
It is interesting that the ability of the symphonic genre to deliver the harmonic construction of music in a complete manner is what made it best suited and therefore representative of the private academia, a practice unequivocally identified with the chamber styles affiliated with the harmonic language. Accordingly, Iriarte expressed that “humans in society owe[d] to harmony the benefit of that pleasure that enters the soul.” Although Iriarte did not establish in *La música* the likely number of performers participating in the academia gatherings, it is fairly clear that it was rather small, even more so when considering that the minimum required for the performance of its preferred genre, *sinfonia aquartetada*, was only five string performers. The reduced size of the ensembles commonly used in academias is confirmed in another poem by Iriarte himself, which mentions a number of about twenty performers for these gatherings:

Noches hay en que se hallan congregados
veinte y acaso más aficionados
que su arte ejecutan de repente. 83

Even if this configuration was common for the Spanish private academias, and not rather exceptional as suggested in Iriarte’s poem, this number is still about half the size of the orchestral ensemble that performed the *conciertos espirituales* offered at the Teatro de los Caños del Peral in Madrid since 1787. 84 It becomes apparent from Iriarte’s writing that the private academia stood as a distinctive practice apart from public concert-making. Differences with religious, theatrical, and dance music-making in terms of aims and repertory were even more conspicuous. The Spanish musical academia of the late eighteenth century centered therefore on the cultivation of music for instrumental ensembles, principally symphonies, and took place principally in private gatherings. Yet, despite the atmosphere of friendship that seemingly prevailed in these assemblies, the appreciation of music for its own sake remained the main activity of the participants. These were expected to possess an attentive and discrete demeanor in Iriarte’s views, which leaves no doubt about the concert-like nature of these gatherings:

[Tú, Humanidad benigna] No en vano reconoces
Por los mas obedientes
Y por los mas amables de tus Hijos

82 Ibid., Canto V, vi.
A los que en Academias se congregan,
Donde á las inocentes
Delicias de la Música se entregan.
No ya las populares alabanzas
Del ruidoso teatro la concilias;
Sí de honestas familias
En el privado gremio las afianzas
Mas atención, aplauso mas tranquilo,
Qual corresponde á un delicado estilo.85

The term academia continued to be used in Spain throughout the nineteenth century. Contemporary dictionaries carry as many as six different meanings, some of them equivalent to tertulia and junta. Thus, the edition of 1875 of the Novísimo diccionario de la lengua castellana defines them as follows. First, “a society of literates or scholars with public authority aimed at the sciences, the belles-lettres, etc.,” which refers to institutions such as the Real Academia de la Historia, created in Madrid in 1738 or the Real Academia de Buenas Letras, created in Barcelona in 1751. Second, “junta or gathering of the academicians, according to which it could be said that ‘on Holy Thursday there is no academia,’ etc.” Third, “the building where the academicians have their juntas.” Fourth, “junta [...] attended by poetry lovers,” which refers to groups such as the literary Academia del Buen Gusto, created in Madrid in 1749 or the literary Tertulia de la Fonda de San Sebastián, created in Madrid in the 1760s. Fifth, “the gathering of musicians by trade and music lovers for the exercise of music. Musica exercitation, sive musices laudus,” which refers to the academia as a concert, such as the above-mentioned academias held by Carlos IV at the royal palace in Madrid, the private academias described by Iriarte, or the tertulias of the duchess of Osuna and Benavente. The academias held at the Teatro de los Perales, could be considered part of this latter category as well. A final meaning of the term academia according to this source is the one referring to a literary practice known as the certamen, which is defined as a “a junta [...] held in the occasion of some celebration in which there is a program and sometimes prizes.”86 xix The Spanish term certamen, originally a Latin

85 T. de Iriarte, La música, Canto V. These verses translate to English as “[You, benign humanity] Not in vain you recognize, those who in academias congregate as the most obedient and kindest of your children, to enjoy the innocent delights of music. You conciliate not the popular praises of the noisy theatre but the honest families that in private groups strengthen the attention and applaud more quietly, thus fitting a more delicate style.”

86 “Academia,” in Novísimo diccionario de la lengua castellana que comprende la última edición integral del publicado por la Academia Española (Paris: Libreria de Garnier Hermans, 1875), 7. All the translations from this source are mine. The Latin expression musica exercitation, sive musices laudus translates to English as “musical exercise (or musical practice) or the appreciation of music.”
word, commonly translates as “competition” or “contest.” However, older meanings of the term include “battle,” “rivalry,” as well as “matter in dispute.” It is in this latter sense that the tradition of the certamen took its name. Accordingly, the Novísimo diccionario defines it in its corresponding entry as a “literary event where participants argue or dispute over any matter, more commonly about poetry.” 87 In addition to this, towards the end of the eighteenth century the term academia will begin to be used in Spain to refer to educational institutions in the modern sense of school or academy for the teaching of applied science or arts. This jumble of intertwined meanings suggests that the practice of academias, tertulias, and certámenes as developed well into the nineteenth century in Spain rather than conforming to distinctive formats, constituted instead a continuum of variances all of them centered around the idea of the enlightened value of personal interaction for the advancement of knowledge.

3. Academias and Tertulias in Hispanic America

Many of these practices were adopted in Hispanic America in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The practice of the tertulia was indeed widely spread throughout the colonial territories where in its many variances it became the preferred mode of sociability of the well-off classes. 88 In Caracas, the tertulia was a frequent pastime in the residences of the mantuanos. 89 These grew as polite gatherings held in the evening for lively discussion on various topics of interest, frequently serving as informal forums for literary discussion among the inteligentes or personas de inteligencia, as the educated individuals were called. 90 A conspicuous example of it is the tertulia established by Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz in his residence nearby Caracas. It is believed that Francisco Xavier and his brothers, Luis and José Ignacio de Ustáriz organized the gatherings on a regular basis between about 1800 and 1813 at the latest. According to the descriptions produced later in that century, the Ustáriz tertulia had acquired a reputation as the most distinguished assembly of its sort in Caracas, where interests between music and literature were shared. 91 The Ustáriz brothers were the nephews of Don

87 “Certamen,” in Novísimo diccionario de la lengua castellana, 206.
89 J. L. Salcedo-Bastardo, Historia fundamental de Venezuela, 180.
90 The Novísimo diccionario de la lengua castellana defines the term inteligente as “sabio, perito, instruido” (wise, learned, expert). It is comparable to the French term gens de lettres (men of letters). “Inteligente,” in Novísimo diccionario de la lengua castellana, 528.
91 P. Grases, Pensamiento político de la emancipación venezolana, 381.
Jerónimo de Ustáriz y Tovar, marquis of Ustáriz II. As members of one of the few families of aristocratic lineage in the city they enjoyed a privileged position which allowed them to partake with the most prominent individuals of the Caracas elite. Yet, the Ustáriz also hosted and provided support to artists and intellectuals of a lower social rank. In this sense, Miguel Luis Amunátegui in his biography of man of letters Don Andrés Bello, a frequent participant of the Ustáriz tertulia, referred that “the house of these gentlemen had become a sort of academia, attended by all who stood out for their spiritual gifts in the capital of Venezuela.”92 xxii Another nineteenth-century author, Arístides Rojas, stated on his part that the Ustáriz family “gathered in its tertulia the men of letters of the capital and the music lovers […] for each it opened its halls and stimulated fine intellectual aptitudes by example and with the most distinguished courtesy.”93 xxiii While the literary aspects of the Ustáriz tertulia have been subject of scholarly study, specifics about its musical contributions remain largely unknown.94 Francisco Isnardi, an assiduous attendee at Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz’s tertulia, links the Ustárizes to the academias filarmónicas that according to him were established in Caracas since the las quarter of the eighteenth century and to the musical flourishing occurred henceforth.95 Nonetheless, information about musical repertories and the musicians involved in the Ustáriz tertulia are completely missing in Isnardi’s article as they are in other contemporary descriptions. It is plausible, however, that Ustáriz’s tertulia would have conformed to a model such as of the tertulias patronized by the marquis of los Méritos or the duchess of Osuna and Benavente mentioned above, in the sense that they combined literary with musical interests.

The academia filarmónica understood as a practice of concert-making was not a phenomenon exclusive to colonial Caracas. Although this topic is still in need of further exploration, there is evidence that groups of this type emerged in other places of the Hispanic

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92 Andrés de Jesús Bello y López (b. Caracas 1781; d. Santiago, Chile, 1865). M. L. Amunátegui, Vida de Don Andrés Bello Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, (1882), I: 14. All the translations from this source are mine.
94 On the literary contributions of Ustáriz’s tertulia, see G. Picón Febres, La literatura venezolana en el siglo diez y nueve, 96ff.; P. Grases, Andrés Bello: Humanista caraqueño, 13ff.; and Estudios sobre Andrés Bello, II: 22ff.
95 In this sense, Francisco Isnardi stated: “Los nombres de Ustáriz, Sojo, Tovar y Olivares, deben conservarse siempre en la memoria de todos los que miren la música como uno de los mas sublimes atractivos de la sociedad. Estos Corifeos de la harmonia Caraqueña, han sido los que han dado impulso al genio musical, que ha sabido hacer honor á sus esfuerzos.” [F. Isnardi], “Variedades: Literatura y bellas artes,” Mercurio venezolano 1 (Jan. 1811): 54.
colonies in the Americas. In fact, there is information of the existence of an *academia filarmónica* operative in Lima since 1787, organized by José Rossi y Rubi, as historian Víctor Uribe-Urán has pointed out. Likewise, the practice of the *certamen* seems to have been cultivated in the Hispanic American colonies as well. Also, a subject yet to be studied, sparse scholarly references describe it as an academic event aimed at the public examination of university students. In Caracas, the *certamen* developed as a scholarly event aimed at the discussion of a specific topic. It was chiefly associated with the Universidad de Caracas and as such it was a public event that involved the participation of faculty and students. Since most of the *certámenes* dealt with literary subjects, these events were also frequently called *actos literarios*. However, other areas of academic interest could also be addressed in them.

Musicologist Viana Cadenas, in her study of the musical activities held at the Universidad de Caracas, states that since the foundation of this institution early in the eighteenth century the different academic schools customarily organized *certámenes* at the Capilla de Santa Rosa de Lima, also called Sala de la Academia, to celebrate the feast day of patron saints, to commemorate institutional or political anniversaries, or to honor certain prominent individuals. (See Figure 2.3 below.) These events consisted of a series of discourses on the issue under discussion which alternated with a musical program performed by a small instrumental and/or vocal ensemble. The university did not count on a body of musicians of its own, requiring instead the assistance of personnel hired on a paid-per-service basis. In most of the cases, these belonged to the *capilla musical* of the cathedral or other churches in Caracas.

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96 V. M. Uribe-Urán, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” 440.
97 Ibid., 453.
98 The term *acto literario* translates as “literary act” or “literary event.”
99 The information on the organization and format of *certámenes* at the Universidad de Caracas (after 1827 called Universidad Central de Venezuela) included this section is drawn from Viana Cadenas’ article “La universidad Central de Venezuela como centro difusor de los músicos venezolanos del siglo XIX,” 493-526.
The certamen compares to the tertulia in that both, as apparently practiced in Caracas, combined literary and discursive activities with the performance of musical works. However, the certamen seems to have differed from the tertulia in the degree of formality of the event. While contemporary descriptions of tertulias in colonial Caracas, such as the Ustáriz’s, suggest a fluid interaction among the participants, whether partaking as music performers, readers, or engaged in lively discussion, aspects of conviviality seem to have been much more restricted in the certamen, which allowed instead for a greater differentiation of roles among the attendees into presenters and music performers, on one hand, and the audience, on the other.

The fact that the music performances taking place in academias, tertulias and certámenes were seemingly embedded within other activities does not lessen the significance of these practices as a legitimate form of concert-making. Whether they were combined with poetry reading and debate, as in the musical-literary tertulia, or were combined with study and critical discussion about musical works, as plausibly occurred in the academia filarmónica, or combined with academic discourse on various topics as in the certamen, the performance of music still retained a prominent place. Certainly, these practices did not conform to the modern

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understanding of the concert. However, if could be safely affirmed that the performance of music still preserved a certain degree of autonomy, in the sense that it did not serve as a background for discourses, discussions or readings. By the same token, neither was the presence of music subordinated to any extra-musical activity, as would occur in functional music such as in social dancing or in religious ceremonies. Besides, it is not to be assumed that during the eighteenth century the alternation of music with discursive activities, as in the case of the certamen, was necessarily perceived as a disruption of the musical experience, as would be the case nowadays. A similar observation could be made for the case of the tertulia, whose fluent dynamics allowed for frequent opportunities for sociability, without necessarily preventing an appropriate appreciation of the music-making. As music historian William Weber has argued in reference to eighteenth-century European contexts, in pre-Romantic musical culture, conventions of etiquette agreed that absorbed listening could at times lead to conversation and other social doings, given that “toleration for behavior that might impede listening flowed from social necessity, not from a limited commitment to music as a serious pursuit.”

4. Repertories in Private Concert-Making

Acquaintance with the repertory in use in the academias filarmónicas and similar gatherings in colonial Caracas would certainly contribute to clarifying the degree of musical autonomy entailed in these practices. However, much of our present understanding of the music performed in these events is largely conjectural, since contemporary descriptions found to date are scant and vague in this particular area. One of the few explicit references is found in Francisco Isnardi’s article of 1811, which praises various sponsors of the academias filarmónicas for having introduced the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Pleyel to Caracas musical circles.

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102 [F. Isnardi], “Variedades: Literatura y bellas artes,” Mercurio venezolano 1 (Jan. 1811): 54. Nineteenth-century music historian Ramón de la Plaza supplemented the information with a somewhat anecdotical account that would explain the origin of the European repertory in use by members of Padre Sojo’s circle. According to De la Plaza, the Austrian’s emperor, assumedly Joseph II, sent Padre Sojo a collection of musical items, consisting the best works by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven and musical instruments, in thanks for his generous hospitality during the visit in Caracas of two Germans naturalists sometime earlier. R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 93-94. A slightly different version of it was provided by the also nineteenth-century historian Arístides Rojas, who indicated that the German naturalists were surnamed Bredmeyer and Schult and that these two men, and not the Emperor, sent Padre Sojo the musical items. According to Rojas, the shipping occurred in 1789 and it consisted of music by Haydn, Mozart and Pleyel. A. Rojas. “La primera taza de café en el valle de Caracas,” in Orígenes venezolanos: Historia, tradiciones, crónicas y leyendas, 548, first published in Historia Patria: Leyendas Históricas de Venezuela, Vol. 1 (Caracas: Imprenta Patria, 1890-1891). The veracity of De la Plaza’s and
Although Isnardi was not specific about genres, his account suggests that the music performed in these gatherings consisted of works for chamber ensemble ranging from a few strings to orchestral groups of diverse instruments. Furthermore, nineteenth-century author Aristides Rojas referred in several passages of essays on music history to the custom of performing string quartets in gatherings such as tertulias, therefore suggesting that it became common towards the 1780s. If this was the case, the aim of these gatherings to appreciate music for its own sake would be beyond doubt. The point becomes relevant because much of the traditional history of Venezuelan music has attributed the flourishing of music taking place in late colonial Caracas to the exclusive patronage of the church, thus overlooking the role that the musical practices occurring in private spaces, which were not necessarily related with the church, might have had in that flourishing as well. Moreover, because Padre Sojo and other musicians such as Juan Manuel Olivares were involved in the musical doings of the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri, it has been assumed in some historiographical accounts that the musical reunions that Sojo sponsored in his family’s hacienda in Chacao had rather liturgical purposes. Therefore, a review of the extant musical materials that are not explicitly related to liturgical functions but to autonomous music-making, in particular instrumental chamber music, will certainly help to shed light on the topic at hand.

In this sense, the collections preserving music from colonial times currently housed at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas include a large quantity of symphonic compositions by Joseph Haydn, which supports Isnardi’s assertion of the acquaintance of Venezuelan eighteenth century musicians with his music. As a matter of fact, the Archivo de Música Colonial de la Escuela de

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103 In this sense, Isnardi stated that “the performances were not limited only to the violin,” and that these musicians, “driven by musical instinct, […] began to familiarize themselves with all the other instruments, until they formed orchestras capable of pleasing the most delicate ears […]” “Variedades: Literatura y bellas artes,” Mercurio venezolano 1 (Jan. 1811): 54-55.


105 This thesis is defended for example in D. Coifman, “José Antonio Caro de Boesi,” 427.

106 The larger collection of music of the period belongs to Archivo de Música Colonial de la Escuela de Música José Ángel Lamas at the Biblioteca Nacional, Caracas. For a discussion of this materials, see R. Stevenson, “South American National Library Publications,” 38; J. Peñín, “Archivos y fondos
Música José Ángel Lamas at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas holds manuscript copies and prints dated 1813 as the latest of orchestral parts of twenty-one symphonies by Joseph Haydn. These include seven manuscript copies of various symphonies, among them Symphony No. 73, “La Chasse,” prepared by Cayetano Carreño. Printed copies comprise Symphonies Nos. 45 "Farewell," 60 "Il distratto," 71, 76, 77, 79, 80, 93, 94 "Surprise," 95, 96 "Miracle," 98 and 101 "Clock," published by Sieber; Nos. 82 "L'Ours," 83 "La Poule," 102, and 104, published by Imbault; No. 100 “Military,” published by Playel; No. 93, published by André; and No. 99, published by E. F. Ebers. The archive also contains duplicates of some of these symphonies in prints of Ignaz Pleyel, André, Simrock, and E. F. Ebers.¹⁰⁷ In contrast with the abundance of Haydn’s music, extant copies of Mozart’s compositions are rather scarce, and they belong to a later period.¹⁰⁸ Musical copies of string quartets belonging to colonial times are not present in the collection. On the other hand, Johann Stamitz, not mentioned in contemporary references, is included in the collection with a manuscript copy of his Overture in D major.¹⁰⁹ Copies of Pleyel’s music are also absent in this group of documents belonging to colonial times housed at the Biblioteca Nacional.

In addition to this, musicologist Juan Francisco Sans has reported the existence of a private collection in Caracas of prints and manuscripts that apparently belonged to Don Feliciano Palacios y Sojo, the brother of Padre Sojo. These materials include, among others, manuscript parts of Haydn’s Symphony No. 52; a Parisian print of six string quartets also by Haydn, signed as property of Carreño, presumably Cayetano Carreño; Parisian prints of six string quintets by Boccherini, all exhibiting the rubric “De Palacios;” and eight sonatas for two flutes or violins and continuo by a C.A. Campioni, presumably Carlo Antonio, exhibiting a crossed-out rubric indicating that the item was the property of Bolívar, and below the rubric of Don Feliciano Palacios y Sojo; and twenty sonatas for cembalo by various composers in Parisian prints.¹¹⁰

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¹⁰⁹ Johann Wenzel Anton (or Jan Wacław Václav Antonín) Stamitz (b. Nemecký Brod, Bohemia, 1717; d. Mannheim, 1757, Palatinate).
¹¹⁰ J. F. Sans, “Una aproximación analítica a las obras de los compositores de la Escuela de Chacao,” 75. Carlo Antonio Campioni, née Charles-Antoine Campion (b. Lunéville, France, 1720; d. Florence, 1788). It is not clear which member of the family Bolívar could have been the original owner of the print of Campioni’s music. In either case, as mentioned earlier, Feliciano Palacios y Sojo was the maternal grandfather of Simón Bolívar.
Cathedral inventories also provide information of the musical holdings of the church. Thus, an unspecified symphony by Pleyel is listed in an inventory of the musical items at the Cathedral of Caracas taken in 1869. In this same inventory another unspecified symphony by Haydn’s contemporary, Franz Krommer, is listed which has not survived in the collection of colonial music.  

Although the cathedral inventory of 1869 was completed almost sixty years after the end of the colonial period, there are reasons to assume that a significant part of the works listed in it were in use before the turn of the nineteenth century. In fact, different from the inventories of musical items at the Cathedral of Caracas that were made in the previous years, this inventory offered for the first time a detailed list of works by Venezuelan composers. These composers were long deceased by 1869, yet most of them were active during the last decades of the colonial period. Other documents pertaining to the musical activities at the cathedral and affiliated churches in Caracas provide evidence of the dates of commission and payment of many of the works produced by local composers, thus demonstrating that several works in that inventory were acquired during the colonial period. In addition, among these documents there is evidence of a payment made with funds of the Cathedral of Caracas to the Venezuelan composer Juan Manuel Olivares in 1791 for an unspecified symphonic work. In view of this, it could be presumed that the above-mentioned symphonies by Pleyel and Krommer may have found their way to the church sometime before 1810s. If this is the case, then the question arises about the uses of instrumental music in religious contexts. However, its use was very limited as suggested by the very few instances of instrumental music in the cathedral’s inventories. According to extant inventorial and administrative documentation, the great majority of works acquired by the church during the colonial period was religious. However, the

111 Franz Krommer (Vienna, 1759; d. Vienna, 1831). The works are listed as “Sinfonia a orq.[uesta] por Pleyel” and “Sinfonia, a toda orquesta, por Krommer.” “Inventario de 1869,” transcribed in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 214-15.

112 Extant documents of general inventories of the Cathedral de Caracas that include information on musical items were carried out in 1778, 1806 and 1816. A transcription of these is in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 211-14.

113 Among the colonial composers included in this inventory are Pedro Nolasco Colón (d. 1813), José Ángel Lamas (d. 1814), and Cayetano Carreño (d. 1836). For a thorough discussion of those sources, see Historia de la música en Venezuela, passim.

114 The work is referred to as “una obra de Sinfonias a grande orquesta” (a symphonic work for grand orchestra), my translation. A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 305.
case of these symphonic works by Pleyel, Krommer, and Olivares suggest that instrumental music was occasionally performed in Caracas churches.

It is possible indeed that the church had occasionally used symphonic music in liturgical or otherwise devotional contexts on specific occasions, with a purpose of meditation and deep reflection comparable to the use of instrumental religious works of the period such as Haydn’s *The Last Seven Words of Christ.*\(^ {115}\) This conjecture is suggested by the significant influence that *The Seven Last Words* had in peninsular Spain and its American colonies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as musicologists Luis Merino and Robert Stevenson have demonstrated.\(^ {116}\) Certainly, *The Seven Last Words* was well-known in colonial Venezuela. It is listed as the first musical item in the inventory of 1869 of the Cathedral of Caracas. Also, manuscript copies of the instrumental parts of the work have survived in the Archivo de Música Colonial.\(^ {117}\) This work belongs to the group of several commissions that Haydn received from Spanish patrons. He composed *The Seven Last Words* for Don José Saenz de Santamaría, marquis of Valde Íñigo, a rich Mexican-born priest who requested to work with the purpose of performing it during the *Devoción de las tres horas,* a Catholic ritual celebrated on Good Fridays by the aristocratic Hermandad de la Santa Cueva at Iglesia del Rosario in Cádiz, Spain.\(^ {118}\) The work was originally written for chamber orchestra and consists of an introduction and seven slow-tempo sonatas being followed by sonata in *presto* tempo that simulates an earthquake. The various movements were meant to be performed in alternation with readings excerpted from the Gospels reflecting on the last words of Jesus. The catholic ritual of *devoción de las tres horas* had originated in Latin America in the previous century and passed sometime afterwards to peninsular Spain. In 1740 Pope Benedict XIV recognized the ritual and granted a hundred days

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\(^ {115}\) *Die Wote des Erlösers am Kreuze* (Hob. XX/1A).


\(^ {117}\) The work is referred to as “Las Siete Palabras, a orquesta por Hayden [Haydn].” “Inventario de 1869,” transcribed in A. Calzavara, *Historia de la música en Venezuela,* 214. The manuscript in the Archivo de Música Colonial (item 2481) appears as “Las siete palabras de nuestro señor Jesucristo por el señor Doctor Joseph Haydn.” It does not indicate the date it was copied. Instead, it states in handwriting: “fue de la propiedad de Atanasio Bello, quien la transmitió al Dr. Jesús M[arí]a Coya. Feb. 7 de 1864.” See J. F. Sans, “Nuevas perspectivas en los estudios de música colonial venezolana,” 29. The parts were first published by Sieber in 1788. R. Stevenson, “Contactos de Haydn con el mundo ibérico,” 20.

\(^ {118}\) R. Stevenson, “Contactos de Haydn con el mundo ibérico,” 8-12; J. C. Gosálvez Lara, “Haydn visto por los españoles,” 126. Dates of composition and performance of this work in Cádiz have been subject of revision in the last years, being now believed that it was composed between 1786 and 1787 and performed on 6 Apr. 1787. Haydn revised the work in 1795-1796 to add a chorus. A version for string quartet was published in 1787 and another for piano was published on the following year.
of indulgence *in perpetuum* for its practitioners, which in part explains the wide dissemination in Hispanic America of Haydn’s music for the *devoción de las tres horas*. Although the practice in Venezuela of the religious rite as such has not been studied yet in connection with the music, the local importance of Haydn’s *Seven Last Words* has been clearly stated in musicological literature. As musicologist Juan Francisco Sans has argued, the significance of the work can be traced not only by documentary evidence of its acquaintance and performance in Venezuela during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but also by the several works modeled after it that were produced by Venezuelan composers well into the twentieth century. The possible sporadic use of purely instrumental music at the church does not explain, however, the existence of the abundant body of Haydn’s symphonic music in the Archivo de Música Colonial in Caracas. This fact suggests the plausible assumption that it was in the *academias filarmónicas* and similar musical gatherings that symphonic repertory was studied and performed.

The importance of the *academia filarmónica* and the *tertulia* as modalities of private concert-making has been somewhat underestimated in musical history partly because almost all the extant musical works produced by the composers active in colonial Venezuela are religious. As a matter of fact, the corpus of Venezuelan colonial compositions consists of a large repertory of music for voice and instruments, including masses and other pieces in Latin for the liturgy. Vernacular works for religious celebrations such as *villancicos* or *tonos*, *aguinaldos*, and *pésames* are also part of this corpus as well. Music historian Alberto Calzavara does not discard, however, the possibility that Venezuelan composers had indeed engaged in the composition of instrumental chamber music for bourgeois patrons in Caracas and suggests that the loss of this music could be explained by the negligence of the heirs of private collections of music, the fragility of the materials used in the manuscripts, or

119 Prospero Lambertini (b. Bologna, 1675; d. Rome, 1758), Pope Benedict XIV. A. Messía, *Devoción a las tres horas de agonía de Nuestro Redemptor Jesu-Christo: Modo práctico de contemplar las siete palabras, que su Magestad habló, pendiente del Santo Árbol de la Cruz* (Murcia, Spain: Imprenta para el uso de la Provincia de Cartagena de la Regular Observancia de N. S. P. San Francisco, 1763), [1].
120 J. F. Sans, “Nuevas perspectivas en los estudios de música colonial venezolana,” 29-30. This study presents a list of composers and works modeled after Haydn’s *The Last Seven Words*.
121 A notable exception to this is the chapter dedicated to music-making in colonial Venezuela in the private sphere in Alberto Calzavara’s *Historia de la música en Venezuela*, 109-23.
122 The instrumentation usually followed the conventions of the early classical orchestration: two horns, two oboes, and strings. Flutes and clarinets were eventually incorporated into the ensembles. For a discussion of the musical style of this repertory, see J. F. Sans, “Composición, Estilos de,” *Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela*, I: 397-99 and “Nuevas perspectivas en los estudios de música colonial venezolana,” 1-35.
otherwise. Nonetheless, the fact is that the only instrumental music from colonial composers that has survived is a duet for violins by Juan Manuel Olivares, which survives to this day as an insert print in Ramón de la Plaza’s book, *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela*, published in 1883. In this state of matters, it becomes apparent that the local production of musical works adjusted to the needs of the church, which established itself as the main institutional patron of music composition during the colonial period. In this regard, musicologist Juan Francisco Sans has observed that the fact that the music of the composers of the *Escuela de Chacao* was strictly vocal and religious responded to the social and economic milieu that surrounded the musicians at that time: “there was not, so to say, a ‘market’ for music other than religious […] Therefore, these composers adapted themselves to the actual possibilities for musical creation of their historical moment, composing music that was totally functional, which allowed them to have an outlet for their musical works.”

Yet, assuming that the church acted as the main catalyst of music creation during the colonial years does not necessarily mean that the tradition of the *academia filarmónica* and similar gatherings did not contribute to the movement of music composition that emerged in the last decades of the colonial times. On the contrary, there are compelling reasons to presume that these reunions served as the locus for apprentices and musicians by trade to become acquainted with contemporary European repertory that was not available at the church. Interestingly enough, Juan Francisco Sans has persuasively argued, based on stylistic analysis, that some compositional procedures commonly found in symphonies and quartets by Austro-German composers were a distinctive feature of the compositional style of the Caracas colonial composers. At the same time, Sans doubts that the colonial composers had been acquainted with the religious music of Austro-German classicism. If accepting Sans’ observations, it could be presumed that the music performed in the gatherings in colonial Caracas, much of it plausibly consisting of works of the classical symphonic repertory, ultimately reflected their compositional practice. Also, it is feasible that some of the music from the church had been passed along to

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125 J. F. Sans, “Una aproximación analítica a las obras de los compositores de la Escuela de Chacao,” 63-73. Sans also argues for the influence of Italian operatic styles in the music of the Caracas colonial composers (ibid). David Coifman on his part compares the compositional style of the colonial composer José Antonio Caro de Boesi with the Neapolitan style of the first half of the 18th century. D. Coifman, “José Antonio Caro de Boesi,” 423.
these private forms of music-making, as the local composers might have introduced their musical compositions first in these gatherings, with the purpose of study, appreciation and discussion among peers.

The influence of the musical gatherings in colonial Caracas could have been even more substantial. It is possible indeed that musical academias and tertulias had been a factor in the development of compositional skills of the participant musicians. By either performing that music, copying it, or engaging into discussion, musicians by trade and apprentices could have acquired a musical formation that stimulated their interest in composition. This would explain the emergence in Venezuela of a considerable number of colonial composers who, for reasons of social class and race, did not have access to the traditional channels of education for the musical trade, as it will be discussed below. If this is the case, it could be therefore asserted that private circles of concert-making, though primarily aimed at cultivating chamber music, came to complement the organizational gear that allowed the flourishing of musical composition in Caracas, with the church serving as the main institutional patron.

5. Social Organization of Private Concert-Making

As discussed above, there are convincing elements that allow us to accept the conjecture that the tradition of academias filarmónicas and tertulias contributed in the last decades of the eighteenth century to an atmosphere favorable to the general advancement of music performance and composition in Caracas. Although primarily aimed at the cultivation of instrumental chamber music within small circles of music enthusiasts, the reach of these gatherings seems to have extended beyond the private domain, as in some way they influenced the modes of production of music for the church. This could be partly explained by the fact that these modes of concert-making facilitated the mingling of individuals of different social ranks and different occupational pursuits, yet with common musical interests. An insight into the social organization of private concert-making will shed light on the repercussion of academias filarmónicas and tertulias in the musical flourishing in late-colonial Caracas. At the same time, it will offer a historical frame to further our current understanding of the social conventions that regulated the burgeoning of concert life in that city. This latter point is particularly important for this study because the basic features of the relationship established among the different social groupings involved in colonial academias filarmónicas and tertulias, including implicit schemes of social hierarchy and modes of mutual support, remained at the base of Caracas concert life.
throughout at least the mid-nineteenth century, as will be discussed later. This section
examines, as far as the scarce surviving documentation and reasonable conjecturing permits,
first, the social profile of the participants in private concert-making and second, the social
conventions that ruled their interaction.

Documentary evidence demonstrates that the academias filarmónicas and tertulias in
colonial Caracas were hosted at the private residences of men of the elite and counted on the
participation of some lower-rank musicians by trade. It could be assumed that the social profile
of the sponsors of these gatherings, including individuals such as Padre Sojo, Bartolomé Blandín,
and Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz, corresponds with what music historian William Weber has
denominated elsewhere the “old model of elite dilettantism,” a label used to refer to the
learned forms of amateur music-making practiced among aristocrats and other wealthy persons
in eighteenth-century Europe. 126 This notion of amateurism differs from our current
understanding of amateur music-making, which nowadays indicates the musical pursuit of those
individuals lacking expert skills in music, usually carrying pejorative connotations. During the
eighteenth-century, and a good part of the nineteenth century, the concept of amateurism did
not necessarily indicate the specific level of expertise of the music practitioners, which was in
some cases very high, but referred to a form of serious dedication to music, either as performer,
composer or patron, that was aimed at personal enjoyment, which was often considered a form
of social uplift. 127 Accordingly, Rousseau in his Dictionnaire de musique defined “amateur” as
“someone who without having music as a profession, performs in a concert for his pleasure and
for love to music.” 128 xxiv In truth, at that time it was commonly accepted that the primary
difference between musical amateurs and musicians by trade was that amateurs, independently
of their skill level, did not earn a living as performers or composers. The reason is that social

126 W. Weber, Music and the Middle Class, 91.
127 I am following Paula Gillet’s broad definition of the term: “amateurs [are] conventionally
declared as those who pursue music-making for intrinsic gratification rather than as a primary source of
128 J.-J. Rousseau, “Amateur,” in Dictionnaire de musique, 47. Rousseau provides an alternative
definition, which applies to concert-goers instead of those engaged into music performance: “On appelle
encore Amateurs ceux qui, sans savoir la musique, ou du moins sans l’exercer, s’y connoissent, ou
prétendent s’y connoître, & fréquentent les Concerts.” (“Amateurs are called also those who, without
having a knowledge of music, or at least without exercising it, are acquainted with it, or pretend to be
acquainted with it, and frequent go to concerts.”) Ibid, my translation. This second meaning of the term
“amateur” was rarely used in musical commentaries appeared in Caracas during the first half of the
nineteenth century. The term dilettante, or diletante in Spanish was used instead to refer to concert-
goers. See Chapter 7.
conventions established that engaging in music-making with a purpose other than disinterested gratification was considered improper for a well-born person, whether an aristocrat or a wealthy proprietor. 129

In Caracas, elite amateurs were called aficionados, as reflected in nineteenth-century historiographical writing. This term was used to refer to either living musicians or those alive during colonial times who were actively engaged in music-making, but did not make a living out of it, or at least did not have music as their main source of subsistence. It is in this sense of the term aficionado that nineteenth-century author Aristides Rojas referred to Padre Sojo and Bartolomé Blandin as “aficionados of the musical art.” 130 Likewise, José Antonio Díaz made mention of the “many aficionados” that participated in Padre Sojo’s gatherings.131 The aficionados were likely to be wealthy enough to afford music as a leisure activity and to devote considerable time to acquire a fitting level of musical literacy and artistic commitment. 132 This use of the term aficionado was not exclusive to Caracas’ musical culture. Indeed, it seems to have been adopted from peninsular Spain, where it was employed to refer to well-off amateur musicians of the elite. Tomás de Iriarte, for example, an aficionado himself, used the term in his poem La música to designate his well-off friends with whom he shared his fondness for music. 133 This meaning of the term continued being used in the Hispanic world through

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129 Musical practices associated with amateurism and social differences between amateurs and musicians by trade and professionals up to the nineteenth century in Europe have been the subject of in-depth discussion in several studies by William Weber, especially “Learned and General Musical Taste in Eighteenth-Century France,” 58-85. The matter is also addressed in Matthew Riley, “Johann Nikolaus Forkel on the Listening practices of ‘Kenner’ and ‘Liebhaber,’” 414-33 and Paula Gillet, “Ambivalent Friendships: Music-Lovers, Amateurs, and Professional Musicians in the Late Nineteenth Century,” 321-40.

130 A. Rojas, “La primera taza de café en el valle de Caracas,” 552. All the translations from this source are mine.


132 On the social class of sponsors of private concert-making in colonial Caracas, see A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 188-91. The figure of the amateur has been little understood in the historical narratives on the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth-century in Caracas, which often reflect an anachronistic interpretation of the term aficionado. In general lines traditional studies have tended to either assimilate the aficionados to the group of musicians by trade who earned a living out of music, thus erroneously assuming similar social status and aims, or to underestimate the level of musical expertise of the aficionado in comparison with the one of the musicians by trade. As it will be discussed in Chapter 4, the distinction between the aficionados and those who practiced music as a trade is key to understanding the process of professionalization of music and the social organization of concert-making in nineteenth-century Caracas. See also Chapter 7.

133 T. de Iriarte, La música, Prologue. Iriarte came from a well-educated family of aristocratic lineage. Although knowledgeable in music, as demonstrated by his participation as instrumentalist in
throughout the nineteenth century. As late as 1875 the Novísimo diccionario defined aficionado as “the one who is instructed in an art without having it as a profession. Amator litterarum, artium, etc.,” without it implying a low level of musical expertise.  

In Caracas, the group of aficionados was presumably mainly comprised of mantuanos who were hacendados and often also professionals, such as lawyers, and government, ecclesiastic, or military authorities as well. Although there is no definite evidence that either Padre Sojo or Bartolomé Blandín had ever developed skills as music performers or composers, there is no doubt, however, that they were perceived by their contemporaries as music connoisseurs, being respected for their good knowledge of musical matters.  

In fact, extant documentation pertaining to the Cathedral of Caracas indicates that Padre Sojo was considered a musical authority, given that the Ecclesiastical Council consulted with him on several occasions about the quality of the music by local composers offered for purchase. Bartolomé Blandín also was recognized as musical authority, to judge from the descriptions of the American man of letters William Duane of a visit to Blandín’s hacienda in the vicinities of Caracas sometime during his travel to Venezuela in 1822-1823. During this opportunity, Duane and his travelling companion, Richard Bache, were presented with a concert in which Blandín’s sisters, María de Jesús and Manuela, and other guests also participated. Duane describes his host in the following terms:

The respectable master of the house, though he spoke not a word while they were singing and playing, was visibly the soul of the concert; he watched and enjoyed the musical academias and as a composer of musical dramatic works, social conventions of his time certainly prevented him from making a living out of music. That Iriarte perceived himself as an aficionado is demonstrated in a poem of 1766 in which he refers to his partaking as performer in the academias with some other twenty aficionados, where he occupied “a decent place,” with his “ability neither too much nor too little.” This poem was included in a letter dated 8 January 1766, cited in A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 203-94. On Iriarte’s compositional activities, see J. Subirá, El compositor Iriarte (1750-1791) y el cultivo del melólogo (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949).  

134 “Aficionado,” in Novísimo diccionario de la lengua castellana, 21, my translation. The Latin expression Amator litterarum, artium translates to English as “literature or art lover.”  

135 In eighteenth-century German musical culture, there existed the distinction between the Liebhaver and the Kenner. The German term Liebhaver referred to the music lover or amateur who although possessing a limited knowledge of music cultivated it either as a performer or as a concert-goer and judged it according to feeling. The German term Kenner, instead, referred to the music lover or amateur who having an authoritative knowledge of music cultivated it either as a performer, composer, or concert-goer and judged it according to reason. Both Liebhaver and Kenner essentially differed from the Musikant or musician by trade, in that the Musikant made a living out of music. It is in the second sense of amateur, understood as connoisseur or Kenner, that individuals such as Padre Sojo and Bartolomé Blandín were perceived by their contemporaries. For a discussion on the distinction between Liebhaver, Kenner, and Musikant, see M. Riley, “Johann Nikolaus Forkel on the Listening practices of ‘Kenner’ and ‘Liebhaver,’” 414-33.
performance with a delight that would seem to belong to those only who were for the first time partakers of this hospitality and its pleasure; indeed, his delight appeared increased with the satisfaction and the enthusiasm of some of us. He did not sit down during the performance; his stock of music was ample, and appeared to be kept in so much order, that he never looked at the piece which he drew from the ample bureau, but presented it to his lady or her sister, or to the gentlemen who led in particular pieces. I could not avoid complementing this worthy man, by telling him he need not envy that condition of any man on earth.\footnote{136}

The case of Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz stands apart because there are official reports produced some decades later that attribute to him the composition of an imposing mass, which would have been performed at several opportunities at the Cathedral of Caracas.\footnote{137} The music has not survived, however.

Given that there is documentary proof that demonstrates that several individuals from the upper class in the late colonial Caracas owned musical instruments and cultivated music in some capacity, music historian Alberto Calzavara suggests that there are no reasons to discard that Padre Sojo or Bartolomé Blandín had engaged into music performance.\footnote{138} Moreover, based on documentation pertaining to Padre Sojo’s estate, Calzavara establishes the reasonable conjecture that he took part as violinist in a possible quartet ensemble that could have also included Juan José Landaeta on either the violin or viola and Lino Gallardo on the cello.\footnote{139}

\footnote{136} William John Duane (b. Clonmel, Ireland, 1780; d. Philadelphia, 1865), \textit{A Visit to Colombia, in the Years 1822 and 1823, by La Guayra and Caracas, over the Cordillera to Bogota, and thence by the Magdalena to Cartagena} (Philadelphia: T. H. Palmer, 1826), 111. Duane was an influential politician, lawyer, and writer who settled in Pennsylvania. An advocate of the Independence of Hispanic America, Duane traveled to Gran Colombia in 1822-1823. His travel companion was his brother-in-law Richard Bache Jr. (b. Philadelphia, 1784; d. 1848), a writer and a member of the military who was the grandson of Benjamin Franklin. Bache also wrote a book on his travel to Gran Colombia titled \textit{Notes on Colombia, Taken in the Years 1822-3 with the Itinerary of the Route from Caracas to Bogotá; and an Appendix by an Officer of the United States’ Army} (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1827). On Duane and Bache’s visit to Venezuela, see P. Grases, “Duane, William,” in \textit{Diccionario de historia de Venezuela}, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/d/duane-william/ and M. Sosa de León, “Bache, Richard,” in \textit{Diccionario de historia de Venezuela}, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/b/bache-richard/.

\footnote{137} Dirección General de Estadística, \textit{Memoria al Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela} (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1873), 273.


\footnote{139} The testamentary document dated 1799 containing Padre Sojo’s last will states that in the past he had donated a cello to Lino Gallardo and a violin and a viola to Juan José Landaeta. \textit{Registro Principal de Caracas, Escriturarios}, cited in A. Calzavara, \textit{Historia de la Música en Venezuela}, 113, 281. Calzavara hypothesizes that Padre Sojo would have given the instruments to these musicians with the interest of completing a string quartet in which he would have performed the violin. Following this reasoning it could be also presumed that the fourth instrumentalist was one of Landaetas’ apprentices.
In contrast with the high social status of the *aficionados*, musicians by trade in colonial Venezuela belonged for the most part to the artisan class. Painters, carvers, silversmiths, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and the like also belonged to this class. Artisans occupied a middling stratum within the social hierarchies, although some members of this group achieved a relatively significant level of affluence and social respectability. The class of artisans was comprised of underprivileged whites, often called *blancos de orilla*, and mixed-race individuals or *pardos*. Both underprivileged whites and free *pardos* shared a similar economic background, though underprivileged whites were considered above the free *pardos* in the colonial system of social ranks. Among the musicians by trade that had a noteworthy activity during the colonial times were, the *pardos* Juan Manuel Olivares, who was the son of a silversmith, Juan José Landaeta, himself, the son of a painter, and the brothers Francisco and Mateo Villalobos, children of a blacksmith, to name a few. On the other hand, musicians such as Cayetano Carreño and Juan Francisco Meserón would have been considered *blancos de orilla*, given their humble origins, being both related to musicians by trade by family ties. Meserón was the child of a French-born flutist and military-band musician, Alejandro Mezerón or Meserón, while Carreño belonged to a family of church musicians, which included the priests Ambrosio and Alejandro Carreño.

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140 The term *blanco de orilla* was used in a somewhat derogatory fashion to designate underprivileged whites in colonial Venezuela. The term literally translates to English as “whites from the periphery,” referring to the neighborhoods in the suburbs of Caracas where lower-class individuals resided, in contrast with the privileged class which occupied Caracas downtown. The *blancos de orilla* were mostly members of the class of artisans and shopkeepers although some received further education and became intellectuals, clerics or military. As a social group, the underprivileged whites belonged to a rank inferior to the groups of peninsular Spaniards and *mantuanos*. The term *pardo* was also used in colonial Venezuela. It applied to the individuals of mixed-race, born of white and black parents, or white and *indio* (Indian) parents, or white and *indio* parents, or mixed-race parent(s) product of any of those combinations. In most cases, the *pardos* were not deprived of freedom as was the case of the great majority of blacks. Free *pardos* belonged to the class of artisans and shopkeepers. Although some achieved some economic affluence and respectability, the *pardos* as a social group belonged to a rank inferior to the whites in the colonial caste system. On the social hierarchies and the terminology used in Venezuela to refer racial and social differences, see G. Morón, *A History of Venezuela*, 57-63; I. Leal, *Historia de la Universidad Central de Venezuela*, 316-12; A. Arellano Moreno, *Breve historia de Venezuela*, 122. On the social limitations of *pardo* musicians, see M. Milanca Guzmán, *La música venezolana: De la Colonia a la República*, 46-88.


142 A. Calzavara, *Historia de la música en Venezuela*, 116. In surviving documents, the spelling of the surname Meserón differs, more frequently appearing as Mezerón for Alejandro and Meserón for Juan Francisco.
It is interesting that in a society as rigidly stratified as colonial Venezuela, where hierarchies were established in according to race, place of birth, and titles of nobility, the practices of *academias filarmónicas* and *tertulias* promoted the mingling of individuals across the social spectrum. As a matter of fact, many of the musicians that participated in Sojo’s circle were *pardos*. These included the above-mentioned Juan Manuel Olivares and the brothers Francisco and Mateo Villalobos, as well as José Francisco Velásquez, Lino Gallardo, Juan José Landaeta, and Marcos Pompa, among others.143 Padre Sojo not only joined with them in the musical reunions but also included some of them in his testament as heirs of a certain amount of money. This is the case with Marcos Pompa, who received fifty pesos, and Francisco and Mateo Villalobos who received a hundred pesos each.144 Even though the quantities of money bestowed to these musicians were rather modest in relation to the extent of Padre Sojo’s estate, to have them listed among the inheritors strongly suggests that a personal relationship bound them.

It is possible, indeed, that within the philharmonic gatherings operated an alternative system of social hierarchies that favored the level of musical expertise and commitment as parameters of inclusion and recognition. Thus, just as some *aficionados* were considered musical authorities in view of their connoisseurship and devotion to music, some of the musicians by trade were considered to belong to a higher rank than ordinary musicians. This is implied in the use of the term *profesor* in musical commentaries of the colonial period. An instance of this is the report of man of letters Francisco Isnardi on musician by trade, Mr. Landaeta, to whom he referred to as a “profesor worthy of the [good] repute that he [had] earned.”145 In general, it could be stated that the term *profesor* was applied to those who, having music as a livelihood, had achieved a high level of expertise that allowed them to take apprentices under their care to be guided in the study of music.146 The label of *profesor* continued being in use throughout the nineteenth century, consistently implying dignified connotations comparable to the Italian term *maestro*. Pardo musician by trade, Juan Manuel

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143 Marcos Pompa Landaeta (b. Caracas, 1776; d. Caracas, 1812).
146 Accordingly, the term *profesor* is defined in the *Novísimo diccionario de la lengua castellana* as the one who practices [as a profession] a science or art […] The one who teaches it (“el que ejerce alguna ciencia o arte […] El que la enseña”). “Profesor,” in *Novísimo diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 749.
Olivares, who served as the musical director of Padre Sojo’s academia filarmónica, was undoubtedly considered a profesor. It is in this sense that nineteenth century music historian Ramón de la Plaza refers that “Olivares, as a profesor achieved a great knowledge in the [musical] art, which he transmitted to his disciples with skill.”

Yet, issues of class remained at the base of this model of social organization, as the profesor depended on work for subsistence, which set him apart from the aficionado.

In contrast, the Spanish term aprendiz, which translates as apprentice, does not seem to have connotations of class, as suggested by the writings of nineteenth-century commentator J.A. Díaz, when he affirmed that after the death of Padre Sojo, the young musicians that belonged to his academia filarmónica were “not aprendices anymore but profesores and skilled aficionados.” Provided that Díaz’s observation is adjusted to the colonial musical practices, it could be assumed that in the context of private concert-making there existed no apparent distinction between those who initiated the study of music with the purpose of earning a living out of it and those who for reasons of class sough to commit to music cultivation for the purpose of recreation and personal fulfilment. In short, the aprendices that participated in the philharmonic gatherings could have indistinctively belonged to the class of mantuanos, or the class of underprivileged whites, or to the class of pardos.

Another term commonly used in musical commentaries and historical accounts in reference to the musicians involved in concert-making is artista, which translates as artist. Instances of it are Díaz’s comments on the “celebrated artistas that were formed at Padre Sojo’s academia [filarmónica],” which would include several musicians by trade, pardos and underprivileged whites alike. Ramón de la Plaza also used the term to refer some of the most accomplished musicians by trade of the period, as for example José Francisco Velásquez, “the elder,” stated to be “another of the artistas that stood out as an instrumentalist and as a composer of works of easy conception and delicate sentiment.” Similarly, De la Plaza asserted of Cayetano Carreño that he was “one of the artistas who most contributed to grow and honor the arts in the Fatherland, with the stimulus of his genius and the consistent example

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147 R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 95. All the translations from this source are mine.
149 Ibid.
of his virtues.” 151 As suggested in these texts, the *artistas* were those who possessed the skills to efficiently take on either performance or composition and, more importantly, who possessed the talent or genius to do it with sentiment and ease. Although in these passages the term *artista* is used to refer to prominent members of the group of *profesores*, musical commentaries produced throughout the nineteenth century make clear that the term was also applicable some outstanding *aficionados*, either male or female. 152 Therefore, it could be assumed that, at least from the vantage point of nineteenth-century writing, the categorization of a musician as an *artista* responded to considerations that were not regulated by constraints of class, race, or gender.

At any rate, the admittance of *pardo* and unprivileged-white musicians to *academias filarmónicas* and *tertulias* provided them with the opportunity, not only of socializing and exchanging ideas with elite *aficionados*, but more importantly, to access a repertory and develop the musical skills associated with it that were not otherwise available to them through the traditional channels of music education.

In colonial Caracas, the church was the only institution that could afford to provide permanent working positions to musicians by trade. In most cases, these entered the cathedral at a young age and received musical training by the *maestro de capilla* or the organist. 153 However, this scheme of music education was only accessible to whites, because the current system of social ranks excluded *pardo* musicians from keeping a stable work at the Cathedral of Caracas. In addition to this, administrative reasons restricted the number of available positions and the range of salaries. As such, the *capilla musical* of the cathedral, even during its time of greatest splendor, which was during the tenure of Cayetano Carreño in 1796-1836, did not have many more than a dozen permanent positions, including organist, singers, and instrumentalists. In contrast, parish churches as well as other institutions affiliated with the church accepted *pardo* musicians. However, the number of appointments offered was still more limited than at the cathedral, being perhaps at best one position for an organist and another for a singer. That

151 Ibid., 98.
152 The Spanish term *artista* as used in nineteenth-century Venezuelan historical narratives and musical commentary is loosely comparable to the German term *Künstler* (artist) used in eighteenth-century German musical culture. In this later context, the artist is the individual that understands the rules of art, the know-how and puts them into practice. See M. Riley, “Johann Nikolaus Forkel, on the Listening practices of ‘Kenner’ and ‘Liebhaber,’” 418-19. The use of the term *artista* in Caracas’ concert life during the mid-nineteenth century will be discussed in Chapter 7.
was the case of the *pardos* Juan Manuel Olivares, organist of the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri, his brother Juan Bautista Olivares, organist and singer at the San José parish church in Chacao, and Pedro Nolasco Colón, organist at the Santísima Trinidad and La Pastora parish churches, all of them active in the last decades of colonial rule. Little is known about the musical education of Colón and the Olivares brothers but it is presumed that they were trained by Ambrosio Carreño and Pedro José de Osío respectively, both appointed musicians at the cathedral, who could have taught them music privately. Other musicians by trade not educated at the church could have learned music from their parents or other family members, as was the case of the white musician Juan Francisco Meserón, who was presumably instructed by his father, a French musician by trade. Possibly less common was the case of the *pardo* Lino Gallardo, who as an orphan boy lived with Olivares for six years while being his music apprentice. Musicians by trade who did not hold a permanent position at the church customarily made a living performing either in military events, or occasional private and public celebrations, or special activities organized by the cofradías, as the various brotherhoods or associations of neighbors affiliated with the church that existed in colonial Venezuela were known. It could be reasonably assumed that some of these musicians by trade could have also served as teachers of mantuano music lovers.

Nonetheless, around the 1780s an important change occurred in Caracas’ musical life. As extant documents of the period demonstrate, the demand of musicians on a trade, paid-per-service basis to perform at the cofradías, as well as at cathedral and other parish churches, increased rapidly. Still more striking was the novel practice of the church and cofradías to purchase music from local composers, whether or not these appointed musicians were affiliated with the church. Institutions like the Universidad de Caracas also commissioned music and hired  

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154 Ibid., 263.  
156 Ibid., 193.  
157 Ibid.  
158 In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Venezuela, the cofradías, or confraternities, were associations of neighbors affiliated with parish churches. Besides a religious purpose, the cofradías undertook social aid, including protection of orphans and widows, economic support of schools, and lending money to people in need. Some cofradías were formed by people of the same race, as in the case of cofradías of pardos, and cofradías of blacks. Frequently, the cofradías organized the music for solemn masses and outdoor festivities of military or popular nature, known as música militar, and música de calle. For these events, the cofradías hired musicians on a piecework basis. On the musical practices associated with cofradías, see A. Calzavara, *Historia de la música en Venezuela*, 102-03.
musicians by trade for occasional events, including certámenes, masses, and anniversaries, among others. Because the thriving of music composition through the emergence of the Escuela de Chacao coincides with the appearance of academias filarmónicas and tertulias in Caracas, it is reasonable to accept that there existed a direct connection between one another. Although there is no documentary evidence that the teaching of compositional skills had ever been part of the routines at academias and tertulias, it is beyond doubt that the acquaintance with philharmonic repertory through the performance taking place in these gatherings, in a setting that favored the interaction of participants of different levels of musical expertise and different social backgrounds, served as a fertile ground for a musical movement that led to the rise of able instrumentalists and composers in Caracas.

The question remains, however, of whether the interaction between aficionados and musicians by trade in the academias filarmónicas and tertulias in colonial Caracas was regulated by a relationship of the type patron-employee, in which the musicians by trade received remuneration, or if it responded, instead, to a form of voluntary association.

The fact that Juan Manuel Olivares served as musical director of Padre Sojo’s academia filarmónica while he kept the position of organist at the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri, which as stated before was founded and eventually led by Padre Sojo, allows the conjecture that Olivares’ work at the academia was complementary to his duties at the oratory, and therefore paid with its funds. No documentation has been found to support this assumption, however. Even if this were the case with Olivares, it is unlikely, however, that any other musician by trade in Padre Sojo’s circle had been employed in the oratory on a regular basis. The reason is that, though some of these were occasionally hired at the oratory to participate in specific events on a paid-per-service basis, the limited resources of that institution would have not have permitted them to maintain a regular ensemble of musicians, as music historian Alberto Calzavara has pointed out. By the same token, there is no evidence of payments to musicians by trade for their participation in private philharmonic gatherings made by any other ecclesiastical institution. This contrasts with the ample documentation that has survived of salary payments made to the musicians that worked for the church on a regular basis and of the stipends paid to

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160 A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 115.
musicians by trade to participate as composers or performers for occasional events organized by churches and cofradías in Caracas.

Furthermore, it is not clear whether or not the musicians by trade involved in academias and tertulias received some form of monetary or other rewards directly from the sponsors of these groups. As stated earlier, there is evidence of occasional gifts from Padre Sojo as well as donations in his will to some of the musicians in his circle. Also, the report of nineteenth-century commentator José Antonio Díaz indicating that Padre Sojo “invested the greatest part of his incomes in the cultivation and advancement of music,” likewise suggests the private funding of these musical activities. Nonetheless, certain mismanagements at the church seem to have prevented the priests associated with the oratory from administrating their own assets without the previous approval of the bishop. A royal decree of September of 1797 came to regulate the possible irregularity by recognizing the financial autonomy of the oratory's priests. Before that date, the situation could have hindered Padre Sojo, who died around 1799, from providing a regular salary for the musicians by trade that participated in his group. Although Bartolomé Blandín and Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz, as lay hacendados, could have certainly been in a better position to afford a salary for the group of musicians by trade that partook in their musical gatherings, there is no evidence that this was the case. This set of circumstances rather points to the possibility that the musicians by trade that participated in the academias and similar gatherings were likely to have been compensated with favors from their influential sponsors as well as with monetary donations and presents, besides perhaps receiving provisions for transportation and lodging. In this sense, music historian Alberto Calzavara advances as a possible explanation that, because of the scarcity of prepared musicians among the upper class to complete the musical ensembles of the aficionados for the performance of chamber music, individuals such as Padre Sojo resorted to commoners, whom they considered their “philharmonic friends.” Furthermore, this scheme of association, according to Calzavara, would have allowed the mantuano aficionados of Caracas, where courts did not exist, and the

162 According to Robert Stevenson, on September 7, 1797, a royal decree recognized the right that the four priests that were members of the Oratorio of San Felipe Neri in Caracas had to manage their own finances without the intervention of the bishop. R. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas hasta 1836,” 76. Although the royal decree suggests previous tensions regarding the issue, the extent to which this situation might have affected Padre Sojo’s finances is not yet clear.
163 A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 114-16.
aristocrats, less affluent than their counterparts in the Spanish metropolis, to maintain a private musical chapel without the need of paying salaries to the musicians by trade. For his part, musicologist Robert Stevenson believes that in the particular case of Padre Sojo, his closeness to musicians by trade is to be attributed not to personal interests but to his profound sensibility in understanding the formative needs of pardo musicians.

To be sure, the participation of musicians by trade and amateurs in instrumental ensembles sponsored by the latter was a common feature of the musical academias and tertulias held among aristocratic circles in peninsular Spain. Examples of it are the academias organized by Infante Don Gabriel de Borbón held at his rooms, known as the Casita de Arriba at El Escorial. In these, he gathered with other aristocratic amateurs and the musicians by trade at service in his court to perform chamber music. The Infante Gabriel was a passionate music lover and an able harpsichordist. He received his musical education from Padre Antonio Soler, who frequently composed music for these concerts. A notable participant in the Infante Gabriel’s academias was Don José Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba. He was a renowned patron of the arts and devoted performer on viola and violin. In the same way, King Carlos IV offered with regularity academias in which he participated together with his court musicians. Among these were the violinist Alexandre Boucher and the composer and violinist Gaetano Brunetti. On the musicianship of Carlos IV, nineteenth-century music historian Baltasar Saldoni has stated that:

This sovereign was very fond of music. So much that he came to play the violin quite well, especially in string quartets, of which he had great predilection. … In truth, this great sovereign was a decided protector of musicians, whom he gratified with distinctions, deference, and honors.

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164 Ibid.
165 R. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas,” 76.
166 Antonio Soler y Ramos (b. Olot, Spain, 1729; d. El Escorial, Spain, 1783). A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 234-35.
167 José Álvarez de Toledo Osorio y Gonzaga, (b. Madrid, 1756; d. Seville, 1796), marquis of Villafranca and duke of Alba, was married to María del Pilar Teresa Cayetana de Silva y Álvarez de Toledo (b. Madrid, 1762; d. Sanlúcar la Mayor, Andalusia, Spain, 1802), the grand-daughter of Fernando de Silva, from whom she inherited the title of duchess of Alba.
168 B. Saldoni, Diccionario biográfico-bibliográfico de efermérides de músicos españoles (Madrid: Impresora á cargo de A. Pérez Dubrull, 1868-1881), I: 176, my translation. Alexandre Jean Boucher (b. Paris, 1778; d. Paris, 1861) was a French violinist. He had a successful musical career throughout Europe. He worked as violinist to the King Carlos IV from 1787 to 1805. Nineteenth-century music historian Mariano Soriano Fuentes refers to Carlos IV’s chamber concerts as academias. Historia de la música española desde la venida de los fenicios hasta el año de 1850 (Madrid: Establecimiento de Música de Don Bernabé Carrafa), IV: 239.
Yet, the organizational model of private concert-making in use in aristocratic courts in eighteenth-century Europe operated with strict hierarchies between patrons and the musicians by trade at their service.\(^\text{169}\) This contrasts with the etiquette of mutual support put into practice in *academias* and *tertulias* in colonial Caracas, where the voluntary participation of the musicians by trade was seemingly recompensed by the wealthy *aficionados* with protection and partnership. A comparable practice was in use in peninsular Spain, as musicologist Teresa Cascudo has explained. According to Cascudo, before the ascent of Carlos IV to the throne in 1788, the musicians working at the royal rooms or Cámara Real, and therefore involved in *academias*, enjoyed certain permissiveness in comparison with the musicians ascribed to the royal chapel or Real Capilla. Also, their obligations were not as clearly established and they did not count on a fixed salary, depending instead on the generosity of their patrons who often rewarded them with presents and favors.\(^\text{170}\) Surely, some of these organizational aspects have certain similarities with the functioning of *academias* and similar gatherings in colonial Caracas. However, the situation at the Spanish Real Cámara changed as administrative measures taken during the first years of the reign of Carlos IV to reorganize the music-making at the Cámara Real led to a greater regulation of the duties and conduct of the musicians in service. Henceforth, the positions available were clearly defined, fixed salaries were established, as well as rules regarding the use of uniform and authorizations to travel, among others.\(^\text{171}\) Thus, while the Spanish royal court aided more rigid schemes of social hierarchy among the participants in *academias* and regularized the working conditions of its appointed musicians, in Caracas the philharmonic gatherings seem to have retained a code of decorum that favored social closeness and reciprocal support between *aficionados* and musicians by trade. This scheme remained as the basis of the social organization of concert life in Caracas well into the nineteenth century.

However, voluntary associations in which aristocrats and educated commoners mingled together in a convivial setting for the cultivation of music, literature, or any other intellectual pursuits was not unusual in some places in Europe at that time. Throughout the eighteenth century, venues such as coffeehouses in England and salons in France hosted the gathering of individuals of the upper and educated middle class for the discussion of their ideas. Tenets of

\[^\text{169}\] For a standard study of the social organization of court music-making in eighteenth century Europe, see H. Raynor, *A Social History of Music: From the Middle Ages to Beethoven*, 290-313.

\[^\text{170}\] T. Cascudo, “La formación de la orquesta de la Real Cámara en la corte madrileña de Carlos IV,” 85.

\[^\text{171}\] Ibid., 79-98.
the social organization of these groups conformed to Enlightenment belief on the importance of the exchange of information and the debate of opinions for the advancement of knowledge and the betterment of society in general. As Enlightenment culture scholar Ellen Judy Wilson explains, “the act of association (that is, the formation of individuals into groups) was given a central role to play not only in the dissemination of knowledge necessary for progress but also in the creation of human sociability and civic virtue that were believed to be essential ingredients of just societies.”172 These groups were aimed at creating a convivial framework where educated individuals, independently from their social rank, could meet together as intellectual equals to discuss matters of common interest.173 This ideal of social equality and inclusion was ostensibly grounded on the reliance on human reason as an authoritative and universal faculty to achieve, organize, and cumulate knowledge.174 Moreover, many intellectuals of the European Enlightenment supported the belief of an ordered process of change over time, as rational knowledge could be applied to improve the cultural, social, and moral dimensions of human life. In this sense, the effort to exercise reason, either by uncovering and understanding the laws of the universe and of human nature or by educating society through the cultivation of music, literature, and the arts in general was perceived as a necessary course of action for the progress of society.

The importance of voluntary associations of individuals united by common intellectual or artistic interests with the purpose of disseminating cultural products and discussing as equals has been studied by social theorist Jürgen Habermas, who linked these gatherings as they occurred in eighteenth-century Europe with the emergence of what he has termed the public sphere.175 According to Habermas, it was in these forums that emerged the historical process whereby private people came together as a public, thus developing a shared culture that eventually shaped a conception of the common good, as well as serving as public opinion to influence matters of political, intellectual, and artistic interest, among others.176 By considering this context, it can be assumed that musical academias and tertulias in colonial Caracas conformed to the Enlightenment model of voluntary associations for the discussion of ideas and

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175 J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 27.
176 J. G. Finlyason, Habermas, 10-11.
the dissemination of musical and literary knowledge and products. Moreover, it is reasonable to identify gatherings of that sort with the formation of a nucleus of public authority in the city, which in the early nineteenth century crystallized into a reformist movement of important repercussions not only in the field of music but also in the arts and intellectuality in general, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

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i “El S. Landaeta [...] ofrece al Publico un establecimiento filarmonico bajo el siguiente Prospecto para la subscription de un Certamen de Musica Vocal e Instrumental.”

ii “[...] los mas selectos de la ciudad;” “[...] conciertos obligados de todos instrumentos.”

iii “[...] Corifeos de la harmonia caraquena.”

iv “[...] varias academias filarmónicas reunidas bajo sus auspicios, empezaron á hacer oir los encantos de este arte: y bien pronto pasaron el occeano y resonaron en Caracas, las maravillosas producciones de Hydn [sic]. Pleyel, Mozart, y todos los grandes maestros de la Europa: la execucion no se limitó solo al violin; sino que á impulsos de un instincto musical, empezaron a familiarizarse con todos los demas instrumentos, hasta formar orquestas capaces de agradar á los oidos mas delicados, y merecer la aprobacion del conocedor mas exquisito.”

v “[...] en muchas horas y días que tienen desembarazados los Neristas se retiran frecuentemente a una casa de campo [...] en los arrabales de esta ciudad [...] Y a otra que también tienen [...] cerca del Pueblo de Chacaco a jugar en ellas pelota y bochas y tocar conciertos de música día y noche.”

vi “[...] al frente de la casa el jardín, terminado por un lago artificial, tal era la deliciosa morada del filósofo propietario de aquel delicioso parnaso. Allí el alma y los sentimientos se disputaban los goces más puros e inocentes. El eco de la harmonía, un trato fino y cortesano, mesa abundante y delicada, y vista del bosque y del jardín, donde reunidos en los ratos de descanso ya se discurría sobre los mejores trozos de música que acababa de ejecutarse, ya se proponían las nuevas piezas que debian seguirse.”

vii “[Varios] fueron los célebres artistas formados en la academia del Padre Sojo, sin contar los muchos aficionados que concurrieron a participar de estos días de campo y que tambien se aprovecharon del ejercicio académico.” “[...]. no ya de aprendices sino de profesores y diestros aficionados.”

viii “[las obras] deberán ser escogidas de las más modernas y de gusto, y en caso de no encontrarse, se mandarán componer...”

ix “Académie, parmi les Modernes, se prend ordinairement pour une Société ou Compagnie des Gens des Letters, établie pur la culture & l’avancement des Arts ou des Sciences.”

x “[...] une Académie n’est point destinée à enseigner ou professer aucun Art, quell qu’il soit, mais à en procurer la perfection. Elle n’est point composée [...] mais de personnes d’une capacité distinguée, qui se communiquent leurs lumieres & se sont part de leurs discoveries pour leur advantage mutuel.”

xi “Académie de Musique. C’est ainsi qu’on appelloit autrefois en France, & qu’on appelle encore en Italie, une assemblée de Musiciens ou d’Amateurs, à laquelle les François ont depuis donné le nom de Concert.”

xii “[...] dar Academias de música en las cuatro primeras semanas de la Cuaresma.”

xiii “[...] servir privadamente sólo para mi diversión, y acaso para la de algunos Amigos aficionados al arte música.”

xiv “[...] á Dios en el templo, al público en el teatro, á los particulares en la sociedad privada, y al hombre solo en su retiro.”

xv “[...] la Música propia de las diversiones de la sociedad privada.”

xvi “[...] aquel placer que se introduce al alma / en la quietud y silenciosa calma.”

xvii “[...] sinfonias compuestas a manera de quartetos, en que las partes obligadas é indispensables son, por lo comun, el primer violin, el segundo, la viola y el baxo, no haciendo falta notable los oboes, trompas, flautas, fagotes, &c.”

xviii “[...] debe á la Harmonía/ La humana sociedad el beneficio/ De aquel placer que se introduce al alma [...]”
“La sociedad de personas literatas ó facultativas establecida con autoridad pública para el adelantamiento de las ciencias, artes buenas letras, etc.” “La junta o congregación de los académicos; y así se dice: en el jueves santo no hay academia, etc.” “La casa donde los académicos tienen sus juntas.” “Junta ó certamen á que concurren algunos aficionados á la poesía para ejercitarse en ella, ó con motivo de alguna celebridad en que suele haber asuntos y algunas veces premios señalados. Certamen poeticum, poética exertitatio.” “La concurrencia de profesores o aficionados á la música para ejercitarse en ella. Musica exercitatio, sive musices laudus.”

“Función literaria en que se argumenta o disputa sobre algún asunto, comúnmente poético.”

“La casa de estos caballeros se había convertido en una especie de academia, adonde concurrían cuantos, en la capital de Venezuela, figuraban por las dotes del espíritu.”

... una familia que reunía en su tertulia a los hombres de letras de la capital y a los amantes de la musical [...] para unos y otros abría sus salas y sabía estimular las bellas aptitudes intelectuales con el ejemplo y con la más distinguida cortesía.”

“No había, por decirlo así, un ‘mercado’ para otra música que no fuera la religiosa [...] Así, estos autores se adaptaron a las posibilidades creativas de su momento histórico, haciendo una música totalmente funcional que les permitía tener una salida efectiva a las obras que componían.”

“Amateur, celui qui, sans être musicien de profession, fait sa Partie dans un Concert pour son plaisir & par amour pour la Musique.”

“[El] padre Sojo y [...] Don Bartolomé Blandín, aficionados al arte musical [...]”

“los muchos aficionados que concurrieron a participar de estos días de campo [...]”

“ [...] el que es instruido en algún arte sin tenerle por oficio.”

“ [...] el S. Landaeta, Profesor muy digno del concepto que goza.”

“Olivares, como profesor, llegó a alcanzar grandes conocimientos en el arte [musical], los que transmitía á sus discípulos con habilidad.”

“ [...] no ya de aprendices sino de profesores y diestros aficionados.”

“ [...] los célebres artistas formados en la academia del Padre Sojo.”

“ [...] otro de los artistas que figuraron en el instrumento, y la fácil concepción y sentimiento delicado de las obras que compuso.”

“ [...] otro de los artistas que mas contribuyó á acrecer y honrar el arte patrio con el estímulo de su genio y el ejemplo constante de sus virtudes.”

“[El Padre Sojo fue un] venerable eclesiástico amante de las artes y especialmente de la música, en cuyo fomento y progreso invirtió la mayor parte de sus rentas.”

“Este soberano fue muy aficionado á la música, en términos, que llegó á tocar el violin con bastante perfeccion, teniendo frecuentemente en su Real Cámara conciertos, en los cuales tomaba también parte como violinista, sobre todo en los cuartetos de cuerda, á los que tenia gran predilección. [...] lo cierto es que este gran soberano era decidido protector de los músicos, y que les llenaba de distinciones, deferencias y honores.”

Unlike Havana, which served as a commercial center for the Caribbean basin, or Lima or Mexico City, whose richness stimulated a rapid urban development, Caracas remained an unpretentious and relatively isolated city for most of its colonial life. (See Figure 3.1 below.) Founded in 1567 by conquistador Captain Diego de Losada as Santiago de León de Caracas, the city became ten years later the capital of the Province of Venezuela. In 1725 the Universidad Real y Pontificia de Caracas was founded, whose appearance occurred with considerable delay in comparison to the much older Spanish colonial universities of Lima and Mexico, both created in 1551. The Universidad de Caracas became the center of academic life in the province, a purveyor of official conservative thinking based on the authority of Aristotelean-Thomist scholasticism. It offered studies in theology, philosophy, and canon and civil law.

Enlightenment thought entered the university in the 1770s due to the determination of a few liberal-minded professors who began to question the educative model centered in the scholastic tradition that was enforced at the university since its creation. In 1770 the priest A. Valberde, affiliated with the Caracas university, expressed his discomfort with the prevalence of Aristotelean philosophy in that institution in a letter to the count of San Javier: “We have innumerable Christian philosophers who have flourished since literature has been restored in Europe, and who have left notable writings [...] without the mistakes of Aristotle and with great advantage in regard to knowledge [...] method and clarity.”

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1 Diego de Losada (b. Rionegro del Puente, Zamora, Spain, 1511; d. Borburata, Venezuela, 1569).
2 The Universidad de Caracas emerged as a transformation of the Real y Pontificio Seminario de Santa Rosa de Lima in Caracas into a university institution. The Seminario was created in 1641 but was not operative until 1673. In 1721 a royal decree signed in 1721 by Felipe V of Spain and papal bull of Pope Innocent XIII (Michelangelo del Conti, b. Poli, Papal States, 1655; d. Rome, 1724) signed in the following year gave the Seminario the ability to grant university degrees. In 1725 the institution was finally inaugurated as Universidad Real y Pontificia de Caracas. It was the only university in the Venezuelan territory until 1810 when the Seminario de San Buenaventura in the Andean city of Mérida was elevated to university status. For a standard history of the Universidad de Caracas, see I. Leal, Historia de la Universidad de Caracas.
4 I. Leal, Historia de la Universidad de Caracas, 135-59 and R. Fernández Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 100-15.
5 A. Valberde, letter to count of San Javier, Caracas, 7 Aug. 1770. Archivo General de Miranda, quoted in R. Fernández Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 32. Very little is known about Valberde in regard to his origins, education and appointments at the Universidad de
Valberde referred to was undoubtedly the writings associated with the European Enlightenment, whose study he sought to introduce at the university in order to attain a more pluralistic view. Furthermore, Valberde was an enthusiastic supporter of the modern scientific paradigm of Isaac Newton, which relied on the use of mathematical formulas for the description and prediction of natural phenomena. The scientific trust in the validity of reason alone to achieve knowledge was in sharp contrast to the emphasis given to revelation and the principle of scholarly authority that characterized the scholastic tradition. As such, Valberde advocated the renewal of the Universidad de Caracas through the entrance of authors and subject matter representative of modern times, those aligned with the Enlightenment belief in the rational foundation of every field of knowledge and the new interest in the natural world.

Figure 3.1. View of colonial Caracas at the bottom of the painting Nuestra Señora de Caracas (1766), attributed to Juan Pedro López.

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Caracas. The addressee of Valberde’s letter is presumably Juan Jacinto Pacheco y Mijares de Solórzano, count of San Javier II, resident in Caracas.


7 R. Fernández Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 31-32.

However, official reforms that would allow for this shift did not materialize immediately. “Innovation struggled with tradition” at the Universidad de Caracas, as historian John Lynch has noted concerning the changes that occurred in this institution during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Yet, in the years following Valberde’s initial protests against opposing factions, modern science had gained sufficient foothold at the Universidad de Caracas as to grant bachelor and doctoral degrees in medicine from 1775 and 1782, respectively, and to include from 1788 the study of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry as part of the courses in philosophy. Central to this transformation was the advocacy of the priest Baltasar de los Reyes Marrero, professor of philosophy, and Dr. Juan Agustín de la Torre, president of the university in 1789-1791. The latter, a keen representative of the influence of Enlightenment thought in Caracas, justified the convenience of the study of sciences on the grounds of their applicability to technologies that would eventually create the conditions for economic growth and improvement of life in general. In his Discurso Económico of 1790 De la Torre stated: “No nation has ever progressed as a consequence of the [development] of weapons, craftsmanship, agriculture, and trade until it has yielded into the indispensable study of science, as the original source and primary foundation of the certitude required by men to the success of their rational aspirations.”

By the last decade of the eighteenth century, the curriculum of the Universidad de Caracas had already been refashioned to accommodate the study of rationalist authors including Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, and Newton, associated with the introduction of mathematical methods into philosophy and modern sciences, as well as British empiricists such as Locke and Berkeley, advocates of the use of deductive and experimental scientific methods based on empirical knowledge. Chiefly influential was the French empiricist Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, whose Logique first appeared in Paris in 1780 and became a required textbook in Caracas. Condillac had been a contributor to the Encyclopédie, which had a crucial role in

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9 J. Lynch, Simón Bolívar, 4.


11 “Discurso económico: Amor a las letras con relación a la agricultura y comercio,” 29 Apr. 1790, Archivo de Francisco Javier Yáñez, La colonia i, fol. 74ff, Academia Nacional de la Historia (Caracas), quoted in R. Fernández Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 52, my translation.

compiling and disseminating the scientific and technological knowledge of the period. Other textbooks circulating at the Universidad de Caracas were the treatises *Compendio mathemático* and *Elementos de matemática*, by the Spaniards Tomás Vicente Tosca and Benito Bails, respectively, and also the Spanish translations of the *Dictionnaire raisonné de physique* of the French author Mathurin Jacques Brisson and the *O verdadeiro método de estudiar* by the Portuguese scholar Juan Antonio Verney.\(^1\) These writings bore in common a marked interest in the use of mathematics and empiricist methods in science. They were instrumental in the dissemination of new trends of European scientific inquiry within the scholarly circles of the peninsular Spain. They played a similar role in Caracas as well.

This chapter aims to examine the influence of the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the social cultural beliefs associated with it to the establishment in colonial Caracas of practices of cultured sociability such as *tertulias* and *academias filarmónicas* and their centrality in the formation of public opinion and a public sphere of music on the verge of the Declaration of the Independence in 1811. The first section traces the origin of the educational reforms occurring since the 1770s in the Universidad de Caracas to the movement of cultural reformism that occurred in peninsular Spain under the influence of the Enlightenment. The following two sections draw from recent scholarly research to discuss the role that practices of sociability such as *tertulias* and *academias* had in the dissemination of the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the ideas of educational reformism in peninsular Spain in the light of official censorship that limited the diffusion of philosophical literature considered subversive of the absolutist order.

The fourth section, also drawing from previous scholarly research, considers the range and

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\(^1\) R. Fernández Heres, *La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración*, 34ff; H. Quintana, *Tosca y Bails*, I-li, xvi-xvii, xxiii, 219-22. Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, more commonly known as l’Abbé de Condillac (b. Grenoble, France, 1714; d. Lailly-en-Val, France, 1780). Condillac’s *La logique ou Les premiers développements de l’art de penser* was published by L’Espirit. Tomás Vicente Tosca (b. Valencia, 1651; d. Valencia, 1723). Tosca’s *Compendio matemático*, 9 Vols. was first published in Valencia by Antonio Bordazar in 1707-1715 and reprinted several times in Madrid during the eighteenth century. Benito Bails (b. San Adrián de Besos, Barcelona, 1730; d. Madrid, 1797). Bail’s *Elementos de matemática*, 11 Vols, were first published in Madrid by the chamber printer of the king, Joaquín Ibarra in 1772-1783 and reprint in 1790. Mathurin Jacques Brisson (Fontenay-le-Comte, 1723; Croissy-sur-Seine, 1806) was the author of *Dictionnaire raisonné the physique*, 3 Vols. (Paris: Thou, 1781-1800) and *Traité élémentaire ou Principes de physique* (Paris: Moutard et Bossange, 1789-1803) published in Madrid by Benito Cano in 1796-1802 as *Diccionario universal de física y Tratado elemental o principios de física fundados en los conocimientos más ciertos asi antiguos como modernos y confirmados por la experiencia*, 10 Vols. Juan Antonio Verney (b. Lisboa, 1713; d. Rome, 1792). Verney’s method was first published in 1746 in Portuguese and in 1760 was published in Spanish as *Verdadero método de estudiar para ser útil a la República y a la Iglesia* (True method to study to be helpful to the Republic and to the Church).
limitations of the political and educational reforms advanced by the Spanish Crown in colonial Caracas. The fifth section explores the formation of cliques of progressive-minded intellectuals in Caracas associated with the Universidad de Caracas and their role in dissemination of the philosophy and values of the Enlightenment through tertulias and other practices of cultured sociability in the view of the limited support of the Crown to undertake cultural reforms in Caracas. The sixth section investigates the possible connections between the dissemination of literature of the Enlightenment concerning music and aesthetics and the formation in colonial Caracas of circles of musicians and elite connoisseurs meeting in academias and tertulias for the appreciation and discussion of instrumental music. The eighth section considers tertulias and similar practices as embryonic stages in the formation of public opinion in Caracas and their centrality as arenas for the discussion and dissemination of independence ideals. The last three sections study the interplay existing in Caracas during the critical years of 1808 to 1811 between the enlightened views of the necessity of establishing a public sphere of music and the arts, the public opinion’s shaping of a national identity, and the part that music in the construction of the myth of the civilizing mission of Hispanic America, which informed the nation-building process.

1. Cultural Reformism in Peninsular Spain and Its Spread to Hispanic America

The changes that began to operate at the Universidad de Caracas were in actuality the reflection of the reforms in education occurring at the same time in peninsular Spain, undertaken after a period of considerable decay which placed Spanish universities behind other European universities. As historian Henry Kamen has pointed out, by the mid-seventeenth century, the Spanish universities “had long ceased to contribute seriously to the cultural life of Spain, and were little more than a training ground for the bureaucracy of the state.” 14 The waning of the Spanish universities had been partially attributable to the foreign policies of King Felipe II, whose reign at the end of the previous century separated Spain from its cultural ties to other European countries as a means to enforce Catholic orthodoxy. 15 The stagnant economy, political decline, and fall of the Habsburgs during the second half of the seventeenth century, which was aggravated by the unrest that entailed the War of Succession spanning from 1701 to 1714, also played a part in this situation. Perhaps more pressing was the overriding

14 H. Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century*, 312.
15 Felipe II (b. Valladolid, Spain, 1527; d. El Escorial, Spain, 1598) was king of Spain and Sicily from 1556 to 1598, king of Naples from 1554 to 1598, king of England and Ireland from 1554 to 1558, and king of Portugal and the Algarves from 1581 to 1598. H. Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century*, 319.
conservatism of the order of the Jesuits, then the most powerful force in university education in Spain, as its plan of studies designed around scholastic thought offered overt resistance to the secularization of academic subjects. Jean de Vayrac, a French abbé visiting Spain in the first years of the eighteenth century expressed his unfavorable impressions of the current level of institutional education in Spain:

[The Spaniards] have a sublime, penetrating spirit, and are very well suited for the high sciences. But unfortunately, this spirit has not been cultivated by means of a good education. As a result, knowledgeable persons are not seen here as commonly as in France or other countries where there exist reputed schools and academies for the instruction of young people. Despite this, it is still possible to find men of great erudition within the areas that are to the liking of the nationals. Their taste is particularly inclined to the study of philosophy, scholastic theology, medicine, law, and poetry. However, this occurs in a manner very different from ours. Thus, in regard to philosophy, they are so much enslaved to the opinions of the ancient philosophers that it is impossible to make them accept the opinion of the modern philosophers, and the same with respect to medicine. Aristotle, Scotus, and St. Thomas are for them infallible oracles; so much that anyone who would avail himself not to slavishly follow one of these three [philosophers] could not aspire to be considered a good philosopher.¹⁶

During the following decades, the Spanish Benedictine monk Benito de Feijóo similarly denounced the backwardness of education in Spain. In his numerous writings, which were as widely disseminated as they were controversial, Feijóo strove to correct the state of rampant superstition and religious fanaticism in Spain. An early proponent of the Enlightenment in Spain, or Las Luces as this movement was called there, Feijóo introduced these ideas to Spanish readers in an entertaining and popularizing tone. Much of the information Feijóo disseminated came from the French journals Mémoires de Trévoux and Journal des savants, among other academic publications associated with the spread of scientific knowledge to reading publics across Europe.¹⁷

¹⁶ Jean de Vayrac, also known as Abbé de Vayrac (b. Vayrac, Quercy, France, 1663; d. 1734). John Duns, more commonly known as Duns Scotus (b. Duns, County of Berwick, Kingdom of Scotland, 1266; d. Cologne, Electorate of Cologne, Holy Roman Empire, 1308). J. de Vayrac, État Présent de L’Espagne (Amsterdam: Steenhouwer et Uytwerp, 1719), I: 24-25, my translation.

¹⁷ Most of Feijóo’s writings were compiled in two multi-volume works: Teatro crítico universal o Discursos varios en todo género de materias para desengaño de errores comunes, 9 Vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de Lorenzo Francisco Mojados, 1726-40) and Cartas eruditas, y curiosas en que por la mayor parte se continua el designio del Teatro universal, impugnando o reduciendo a dudosas varias opiniones comunes, 5 Vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Real de La Gazeta, 1742-1760). These works enjoyed an astonishing widespread in peninsular Spain and the American colonies, being reprint numerous times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were also translated to French Italian, Portuguese, German, and English. On the dissemination of Feijóo’s writings, see J.A. Pérez-Rioja, Proyección y actualidad de Feijóo, 137ff. The Journal des savants was the earliest academic journal published in Europe, it circulated
universities at that time, as demonstrated in a report prepared in 1752 by the secretary of state for King Ferdinand VI, Marquis of Ensenada, which indicates that at that point in time most universities in Spain did not yet offer studies of experimental physics or anatomy, nor did they count on materials or laboratories for experimental research.\(^\text{18}\)

In 1745 Feijóo already observed that one of the causes for the slow progress in mathematics and natural sciences in Spain was “a pious but indiscrete and ill-founded mistrustfulness, a vain fear that the new philosophical doctrines could cause detriment to the religion.” Accordingly, he admonished:

Those who are dominated by this religious fear have two concerns: that the foreign philosophical doctrines involve some precepts that by themselves or by their consequences oppose the teachings of the faith, or that being the Spaniards granted with the freedom that the foreigners (i.e. the Frenchmen) enjoy thinking about the matters of nature, could the former free themselves to think with similar openness about supernatural matters. [...] However, it is an unnecessary and also violent remedy. This is to set the soul into harsh slavery. This is to tie human reason with a short chain. This is to put the innocent intellect in jail for the sole purpose of avoiding the remote contingency that it could commit some mischief in the future.\(^\text{19}\) iv

In this analysis, Feijóo pointed at the core of the problem that supporters of the Enlightenment encountered in Spanish culture: a pressure to reconcile the principles of the Catholic faith and the revealed truth with the enlightened belief in the autonomy of the reason, the latter being understood as the inalienable right of men to question every aspect of knowledge. Significantly, Feijóo aimed at adapting Christianity to the precepts of reason, thus defending the compatibility of the domains of science and faith. As such, he postulated that science, being limited to natural phenomena, is not meant to conflict with the divine order to which it is subordinated.\(^\text{20}\) This view placed Feijóo in a position different from more radical thinkers of the Enlightenment such as the philosophs Diderot and Voltaire, who challenged the

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\(^{18}\) Zenón de Somodevilla y Bengoechea (b. La Rioja, Spain, 1702; d. Medina del Campo, Spain, 1781), marquis of Ensenada, acted as secretary of state from 1748 to 1754. J. A. Pérez-Rioja, Proyección y actualidad de Feijóo, 204.

\(^{19}\) B. Feijóo, “Causas del atraso que se padece en España en orden a las ciencias naturales,” in Cartas eruditas, y curiosas, Vol. 2, Letter XVI.

\(^{20}\) J. A. Pérez-Rioja, Proyección y actualidad de Feijóo, 192-93.
dogma and authority of the Catholic Church in matters of knowledge for considering religious
revelation and speculative metaphysics contrary to critical reason. 21

Feijóo’s moderate and conciliatory attitude became representative of the unfolding of
the Enlightenment in Spain in the following years. For the most part, this trend conforms to
what the French scholar Bernard Plongeron has termed the Catholic Enlightenment, to describe
the effort to adapt Catholicism to the problems of the time in several countries in Western
Europe, including Spain and its colonial territories. 22

To a large extent, the dissemination of Enlightenment thought in Spain is to be
attributed to the appreciation of the Bourbon dynasty of the new philosophical currents that
were sweeping much of Europe at that time. 23 The cultural ties of the Spanish Bourbons in Spain
with France facilitated the flow into Spain of French literature, philosophical ideas, and forms
of cultured sociability associated with Enlightenment modes of discussion and dissemination of
knowledge. Among members of the educated group there was a desire to be acquainted with
and to keep up with the cultural achievements and social customs of other countries, which was
akin with the idea of cosmopolitanism and universality of reason advocated by Enlightenment
thinkers. As historian Gonzalo Anes has observed, during the eighteenth century Spanish
statesmen and intellectuals designed the political administration of the empire by using other
European countries as a reference. Confident in the international position of Spain among the
first nations in the world, they observed the advances of other nations in Europe and tried to
assimilate and apply them in their own country, both in peninsular Spain and in the American
territories. 24

Trends of enlightened reformism can be traced back to early in the eighteenth century,
as Felipe V sought to modernize the political and economic structure of the empire, still largely
feudalist, by centralizing the power in Madrid and unifying the political administration to make it
more effective.

While this centralist conception was a continuation of the absolutist model of his
grandfather Louis XIV, the aim of reorganizing the empire by unifying its laws, uses, and

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Philosophical concept of Enlightenment,” 67-70.
22 B. Plongeron, “Recherches sur l’‘Aufklarung’ catholique en Europe occidentale,” 555-605; A. P.
Whitaker, “Changing and Unchanging Interpretations of the Enlightenment in Spanish America,” 32.
23 W. N. Heargraves-Mawdsley, Eighteenth Century Spain, 1.
customs, clearly conformed to the enlightened preference for rationality and uniformity. Some prominent proponents of the Enlightenment, in particular Voltaire, believed that monarchs and statesmen were servants of the state and that the purpose of the government was to provide the means for the well-being of the population. Also, it was a common belief among enlightened thinkers that society could progressively evolve toward a greater achievement of individual and common good through the application of scientific knowledge and the rational reorganization of every aspect of life. Accordingly, European monarchs who embraced enlightened reformism from the mid-century onwards, such as Frederick the Great of Prussia, Joseph I of Portugal, Catherine II of Russia, and Joseph II of Austria, moved towards a growing intervention of the state, not only into economic and administrative matters, but also into religion, education, and culture as the means to attain material as well as social, intellectual, artistic, and even moral progress.

Although in Spain the extent of the reforms throughout the eighteenth century was limited in comparison with Prussia, Portugal, or Austria, the influence of the Enlightenment was significant enough to transform the country. The Bourbons implemented a series of measures that sought to promote economic growth and improve the social conditions of the population. They created roads, increased agricultural production, stimulated manufacturing and technology, and supported scientific exploration of the natural resources in the colonies and transatlantic trade. They also made important efforts to improve the urban infrastructure of Madrid to give the imperial metropolis a modern and cosmopolitan physiognomy. Thus, the Bourbons established new criteria of sanitation through the construction of sewers and sources of drinking water, paved and set lightening on the streets, created new buildings for public services, including the Hospital de Atocha and the Real Casa de Correos (Royal Post Office). As

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25 Ibid., 224-25.
26 François-Marie Arouet (b. Paris, 1694; d. Paris, 1778), known as Voltaire, was instrumental in the establishment of the absolutist rule during his brief tenure as Chamberlain of Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1750-52.
28 Frederick II (b. Berlin, 1712; d. Postdam, Prussia, 1786), known as “The Great,” was king of Prussia from 1740 to 1786. Joseph I (b. Lisbon, 1714; d. Lisbon, 1777) known as “The Reformer” was king of Portugal and the Algraves from 1750 to 1777. Catherine II (b. Szczecin, Prussia, 1729; d. St. Petersburg, 1796) known as “The Great” was Empress of Russia from 1762-1796. Joseph II (b. Vienna, 1741; d. Vienna, 1790) was Holy Roman Emperor from 1765 to 1790.
30 The institutional history of the Hospital of Atocha goes back to 1596 when King Felipe II ordered the construction of a building at Atocha street in Madrid for the former Hospital General de Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación y San Roque. In 1758, King Fernando VI ordered the construction of a
the century advanced, they created public spaces for recreation as well, the most important being the reform of Paseo del Prado, known as Salón del Prado, a magnificent boulevard with palaces, gardens, and squares with fountains, monuments, and sculptures, which introduced new forms of leisure and sociability across the social classes. Paseo del Prado served as well to host some of the scientific institutions with collections for public exhibit created during the period, such as the Real Jardín Botánico (Royal Botanical Garden) and the Real Gabinete de Historia Natural (Royal Cabinet of Natural History), emblematic of the royal patronage of the pursuit and dissemination of scientific knowledge.

Concern about the dissemination of knowledge and access to education became a priority for the Bourbons. As scholar Francisco Aguilar Piñal has pointed out, education became important for the political project of the social and cultural progress of Spain, since in the utopian conceptions of the Enlightenment education was equivalent to moral virtue and happiness. In truth, for Enlightenment theorists, education and social reformism were inseparable. They trusted the human capability to understand and shape the world through rational action, and therefore, it was from the accumulation of knowledge and its application that a positive progression towards material and intellectual achievement would take place. This view was emblematically expressed at turn of the nineteenth century in Memoria sobre la educación pública by Gaspar de Jovellanos, one of the most remarkable representatives of the Spanish Enlightenment:

new and larger building in an adjacent area. An even more imposing project of renovation was undertaken during the reign of Carlos III. This last building is today occupied by the Real Conservatorio de Música, while the hospital, today known as Hospital Clínico San Carlos, passed later in the twentieth century to a building in the area of La Moncloa. The building of the Real Casa de Correos is located at Puerta del Sol in Madrid. The first projects of construction date from the times of King Fernando VI. The building was finished in 1768, during the reign of Carlos III. Today, this building serves as the seat of the Presidency of the Community of Madrid.

31 F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 22-24
32 Paseo del Prado was first traced in 1570 during the reign of Felipe II and consisted of an area of recreation with groves. King Carlos III ordered the reform of it, thenceforth-called Prado Viejo with the purpose of expanding and integrating sparse areas in between the city of Madrid and the palace buildings located in the peripheral area of Buen Retiro, as part of the urban reforms of the Bourbons. This project, known as Salón del Prado, started in 1763 and continued expanding until the twentieth century. The Real Jardín Botánico was founded by a royal order from Fernando VI in 1755. It originally functioned in Soto de Migas Calientes in Madrid until 1781 when Carlos III ordered to pass it to Paseo del Prado. The Real Gabinete Historia Natural was founded by order of Carlos III in 1771 and opened in 1776. In 1815 the Gabinete was absorbed by the Real Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales while the building was assigned to Museo del Prado, created two years later.
33 F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 74.
The sources of social prosperity could be many, but all of them share the same origin, which is public instruction. [...] With instruction everything in the state improves and flourishes, and without it everything decays and gets ruined. [...] Instruction improves human beings, the only ones endowed with perfectibility. This is the greatest gift that they have received from the ineffable Creator. Instruction discovers them and facilitates all the means for their well-being. In short, instruction is the first source of individual happiness.

Also it is the first source of public prosperity. Or could it possibly be understood by public prosperity other than the sum or result of the happiness of each individual of the social body? 34

During the eighteenth century in Spain education was frequently restricted to a minority of aristocrats and wealthier segments of the middle class of landowners, clerks, professionals, such as physicians and lawyers, and businessmen. 35 In contrast, the overwhelming majority of the population received, in the best case, some elementary education that was dispensed by the church as a form of beneficence. However, it was far from being systematic or supplying a utilitarian knowledge that would contribute to improving the economy.

In truth, as late as 1797 in Madrid only 59.13% of the population was capable of writing their name on a document, and this did not mean that all of them could read. The percentage of illiterate people was much lower in the rural areas where generally there was not access to education. 36 In this context, it is understandable that reversing the high level of illiteracy in Spain was perceived as a condition for the social transformation that the Bourbons aspired for Spain. Particularly noteworthy in this respect was King Carlos III, in power from 1759 to 1788, whose adherence to the model of absolutist power to advance economic and educative reforms and patronize the sciences and the fine arts earned him the apppellative of “The Enlightened Monarch.” In 1759, the cleric and man of letters Miguel Antonio de la Gándara welcomed the ascent of Carlos III to the Spanish throne by anticipating the reach of his educative and cultural reforms. In this sense he anticipated that “idleness will be banished, ignorance will be outlawed, enlightenment will be acquired, the Kingdom will be illuminated, misconceptions and preoccupations, [being] sizeable prejudices, will be overturned.” Likewise, he then affirmed:

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34 Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos y Ramírez (b. Gijón, Asturias, Spain, 1744; Vega de Navia, Spain, 1811) Memoria sobre la educación pública (written 1802), 217-18. All the translations from this source are mine. Jovellanos was an intellectual and statesman. He was the author of several influential texts including Informe en el expediente de ley agraria (Report on the Dossier of Agrarian Law) of 1795 and Memoria sobre la educación pública (Report on Public Education) of 1802.

35 F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 43.

36 Ibid., 73-74. Henry Kamen estimates than in 1860 some 75% of Spaniards were unable to read and write. H. Kamen, Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 311.
“taste will be introduced, literature will flourish, studies will be improved, education will be perfected, sciences and belles-lettres will be instructed in a more methodical, briefer, and more useful manner.”37

During the reign of Carlos III, the interest in promoting scientific knowledge through official support grew. The improvement of the roads initiated earlier in the century favored travelling and contact with intellectuals from other countries for exchange of information. Carlos III favored the growth of the periodical press, the printing of books, the import of European literature, and the translation of scientific writings to Spanish for educative purposes. Illustrating this was the publication of Benito Bail’s *Elementos de matemática*, printed by the royal press in 1772-1783, which became key to the dissemination of new scientific paradigms throughout the empire. This trend continued in the following decades during the reign of Carlos IV, with the translation of Brisson’s *Dictionnaire raisonée de physique*, also printed by the royal press in 1796-1802, which constituted one of the first efforts to fix modern scientific terminology in Spanish language. Carlos III also patronized scientific expeditions to the American colonies with the purpose of naturalistic study and assessing their potential for economic growth. In reality, the educational policies of Carlos III represented an amplification of the efforts already advanced by his predecessors. The most notable of these was the creation of the first public library, the Real Librería de Madrid, by order of King Felipe V, which opened in 1712. The foundational decree signed by the king in 1716 established that the purpose of the Real Librería was to meet the intellectual needs of scholars and the general public. The original collection consisted of several thousand manuscripts and prints, from royal libraries as well as from the personal libraries of aristocrats which had been either confiscated or purchased. Also, since its foundation Spanish publishers were obliged to submit to the Real Librería a copy of each new book issued in Spain. The collection continued growing considerably throughout the eighteenth century under the patronage of the Bourbons, thus becoming the most important bibliographic repository in the empire.38

37 Miguel Antonio de la Gándara (Liendo, Santander, Spain, 1719, Pamplona, Navarra, Spain, 1783), *Apuntes sobre el bien y el mal de España* (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de López, 1820), II: 76, my translation. The book was commissioned by Carlos III, and it was intended to propose in a poetic format the reformist project of the new king. Although the book was written in 1759 it was not originally published until 1811 in Valencia.

38 On the creation of the Real Librería and the collections that it housed throughout the eighteenth century, see L. García Ejarque, “Biblioteca Nacional de España,” 203-14. In 1836 the Real Librería was converted into the Biblioteca Nacional.
Carlos III’s concern for furthering print culture in Spain through the dissemination of domestic and foreign publications, rather than responding to a pure and uninterested zeal for knowledge sought instead to create a technological basis for the modernization of the system of production, and therefore for advancing the economy. In this sense, scholar I.L. McClelland observes that “Most important of all, any future economic development presupposed not merely the elementary education of classes formerly illiterate, but the advanced training of technicians for such skilled work as engineering or the various new branches of applied mathematics.” 39 This utilitarian or instrumental conception of knowledge and education certainly conformed to the enlightened views of reason as an active agency, aimed at the betterment of the human condition through the understanding and control of natural and social forces. 40 It was because of this connection of knowledge, education, and social change that Carlos III engaged into an educative reform that would place general instruction at the service of utilitarian purposes, so its curriculum and institutional organization could be controlled by the state. The rationale of educational reformism is again clarified by Jovellanos:

all [the sources of prosperity] are [subordinated] to instruction. Isn’t agriculture the first source of public wealth, and the one that supplies all others? Isn’t it industry that increases and adds value to this wealth? And commerce, which receives it from both [agriculture and industry] to deliver it and to make it circulate? And navigation, which takes it to every corner of the earth? […] Isn’t it instruction that has created these precious crafts and trades, which has improved them and made them flourish? Isn’t it that which has invented the tools, multiplied the machines, and discovered and illustrated the methods?41 vii

Because the modern paradigm of science based on empirical observation, mathematical descriptions, and experimental method for the understanding and prediction of nature lies at the foundation of technical developments in areas associated with economic productivity such as agriculture, navigation, extraction of mineral resources, and manufacture, the incorporation of scientific knowledge in Spanish universities was of the greatest importance to the reformist plans of the Bourbons. Curricular reorganization to shift scholasticism to scientific inquiry, however, met with the firm opposition of the Catholic Church, which was not willing to relinquish its control over education nor to accept its secularization. 42 In the Spanish territories,

39 I. L. McClelland, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, 11.
41 G. M. de Jovellanos, Memoria sobre la educación pública, 218-19.
pre-university education had been traditionally monopolized by the Catholic order of the Jesuits or Compañía de Jesús, which since its foundation in the sixteenth century engaged in the operation of schools, mostly colegios mayores, or high schools, as its principal ministry. Their presence in universities was also significant. The Jesuits oversaw the education of the Spanish nobles through colegios of scholastic and humanistic orientation and maintained charitable schools of elementary education for the poor as well.\(^{43}\) Carlos III’s resolve to reform the educational system in Spain eventually led into open confrontation with the Jesuits.

Members of the Compañía de Jesús were finally expelled from the territories of the Spanish Empire in 1767 as an extreme measure to thwart their dominion over educative institutions. The royal decree of Carlos III ordered the closing of the houses of the Jesuits in peninsular Spain and the colonies overseas, including colegios and hospitals. They were forced to flee and eventually went to Corsica. It is estimated that the number of clerics expelled was five to six thousand from the Spanish Peninsula and over two thousand in Spanish America. With this decision Carlos III joined the course already taken by the monarchs Joseph I of Portugal and Louis XV of France, who had dissolved the Jesuit order in their territories in 1759 and 1764, respectively. Although the subject of the suppression of the Jesuits remains highly controversial, revisionist history tends to interpret it as the result of the intersection of various factors of philosophical, political, and economic order. First, the encyclopédistes with their antagonistic positions to the church and their defense of secularization of education contributed to create a climate of hostility among lay intellectuals and supporters of enlightened despotism towards the control of the Jesuits over Spanish educative institutions. Also, the strong allegiance of the Jesuits to the authority of the papacy was perceived by the crown as a defiance of the civil power which ultimately clashed with absolutist orientation of Carlos III.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Spanish Crown gained control of possessions and revenue that formerly belonged to the order. Several of their buildings were converted into spaces for public use such as libraries, laboratories, and administrative offices. Also, some curricular reforms giving more attention to the study of natural sciences took place in the universities in peninsular Spain during the decades of the 1770s and 1780s. However, their

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\(^{43}\) The Society of Jesus was originally founded in 1540 in Spain by Ignacio de Loyola (b. Azpeitia, Spain, 1491; d. Rome, 1556). Soon after it, the Jesuits expanded to other countries in Europe as well as to Spanish and Portuguese territories in America and Asia with missionary purposes. It is calculated that by the time of the death of Loyola in 1556, the order already was in control of seventy-four colegios in these three continents.
scholarly structure remained largely conservative, given that the majority of professors were clergymen, and that the power to confer degrees continued to depend on the church. In short, the struggle between the ecclesiastical and the royal power in Spain had not yet come to an end. The Universidad de Salamanca, the main one in Spain, for example, even after accepting some reforms in 1771, as late as 1790 declared that “neither the [university] council nor anyone who knows anything ignores that Logic, Metaphysics, and Moral philosophy have been and will always remain the same because the principles that sustain them and the truths they teach cannot be altered, especially because they reverberate with the light of Religion and Faith.”

Interestingly, universities in the American colonies proved to be less resistant to change than their peninsular counterparts. As a case in point, the Universidad de Caracas supported the reforms at the time that these were rejected in Salamanca. Moreover, the Universidad de San Marcos in Lima did so two decades earlier. The latter presented a new plan for studies in 1771 that was followed by another in 1779, and a third one in 1788. In 1791, an article in the local newspaper Mecurio peruano proudly informed its readers that “in the Península, [the universities of] Salamanca and Alcalá were resisting the King’s orders to reform their studies.” However, anywhere these changes occurred, they followed the conciliatory model characteristic of the Spanish Enlightenment, which allowed the coexistence of science and faith within scholarly circles, and the study of scientific subjects and textbooks was counterbalanced with scholasticism.

Yet, the enlightened educational reforms envisioned by Carlos III and his adherents occurred instead outside the university. With the support of reform-minded intellectuals, the crown furthered the curricular reform in existing institutions for middle and higher education formerly administrated by the Jesuits. Also, the crown created and protected educational institutions in charge of the introduction and teaching of technical knowledge that could contribute more directly to the industrial and economic development of the country, such as astronomy, artillery, navigation, calculus, chemistry, mineralogy, experimental physics, drawing,

44 On the structure of university education in Spain during the eighteenth century and the difficulties to implement curricular and administrative reforms, see F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 85-89.
45 Cited in F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 88, my translation.
and cartography. These institutions were frequently called institutos, escuelas, or colegios. Occasionally, the term academia, in the modern sense of school or academy, was also used.

2. Educational Reforms Promoted by Tertulias, Academias and Other Social Organizations in Peninsular Spain

The advance of scientific knowledge entrenched itself with much less hindrance in groups of intellectuals such as tertulias and academias, which served as a space to forward academic discussion. Their organization, although it could include some progressive-minded members of the clergy, did not depend on the church. Also, their format was organized around personal connections and common interests rather than on rigid statutes, which allowed groups of this sort to become an effective means to circumvent the constraints that existed in universities.

From the late seventeenth century, groups for the discussion of science under the patronage of progressive intellectuals, known as the novatores, began to form in Spain. Among noteworthy examples was the tertulia of the priest and mathematician Baltasar Íñigo meeting in Valencia, which hosted the scholars Tomás Vicente Tosca and Juan Bautista Cocharán, among others. Another important group was the one meeting at the home of the physician Juan Muñoz y Peralta in Seville, which was also devoted to the discussion of scientific themes. However, it was not until the ascent of the Bourbons to Spanish power that these scholars met official support to advance their work. They were granted more facilities to travel abroad and to freely correspond with other European scientists. Also, their writings found their way to printing houses. That was the case of Tosca’s multi-volume Compendio Mathemático, written in the 1690s, which was finally published in 1707-1715 during the reign of Felipe V, and eventually exerted a considerable influence as a textbook in colegios and universities of the Spanish

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47 On the reforms of colegios and creation of institutes for the teaching of technological knowledge during the last decades of the eighteenth century in Spain, see R. Guerra, La corte española del siglo XVIII, 90 and F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 89-93, and P. Ruíz Torres, Reformismo e Ilustración, 431-32.
48 These Spanish terms institutos and escuelas translate to English as “institutes” and “schools,” respectively.
49 The Latin term novatores refers to the small group of thinkers and scientists from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries in Spain aimed at renovating scholarship under the influence of the scientific revolution, taking place in Europe. Baltasar Íñigo (b. Valencia, Spain, 1656; d. Valencia, 1746) was a cleric, mathematician and physic scientist. Juan Bautista Corachán (b. Valencia, 1661; d. Valencia, 1741) was a mathematician, physic scientist, and astronomer. Juan Muñoz y Peralta (b. Seville, 1695; d. Madrid, 1746). H. Kamen, Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 320-25.
Empire. While some of the groups had a scientific purpose, others however were dedicated to fostering literature or any other disciplines. The crown encouraged and supported these activities and granted royal patronage to some of the most prestigious groups, which therefore evolved into learned institutions with a public purpose. An example of this was the Real Academia de Historia (Royal Academy of History), which originated in the tertulias meeting from 1735 at the residence of the lawyer and erudite Julián de Hermosilla. It received protection from Felipe V in 1738, who conferred on it the mission of advancing the knowledge about the past and overseeing the reliability of the sources and literature concerning historical matters.

Other institutions created by the Spanish Crown during the period followed the French model of leaned societies and were placed under the direct protection of the king to avoid bureaucracy and secure official control. Among these are the Real Academia Española (Royal Spanish Academy), founded in 1712 with the purpose of overseeing the Spanish language, and the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Royal Academy of Fine Arts of St. Ferdinand), first approved in 1744 under the name of Junta Provisional and finally established in 1752 with the purpose of protecting and promoting painting, sculpture, and architecture.

In general, royally patronized academias held regular meetings attended by their appointed members, who were selected from among the most prominent polymaths and connoisseurs in the particular area of knowledge of each institution. In these, each academic presented his works, which were discussed by other members and eventually published. The Academia de Bellas Artes, was however exceptional in this respect, as it was oriented entirely towards professional education, thus coinciding with our modern understanding of the term academy, as in the case of the technical academies mentioned above. In 1873, the Academia de Bellas Artes extended its areas of expertise by including music, responding to a long-time aspiration of enlightened intellectuals such as Tomás de Iriarte, who already in 1779 in his poem La música proposed “the establishment of an Academia or a Scientific Body of music for the dissemination of the advancements of that branch of knowledge.”

During the reign of Carlos III, as the influence of reformism strengthened, tertulias and similar cultured practices grew in number and importance. Groups of this sort ranged from

50 F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 99.
51 Julián de Hermosilla y Benit (Pareja, Guadalajara, Spain, 1697; d. Madrid, 1774).
52 R. Guerra, La corte española del siglo XVIII, 11.
53 F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 99.
54 T. de Iriarte, La música, Prólogo.
gatherings of acquaintances and friends, often combining different intellectual and artistic interests, to formal learned societies aimed at the cultivation of a specific scientific or humanistic discipline. In every case, they were aligned with the social and cultural reforms promoted by the crown while being a vehicle for the spread of Enlightenment thought in Spain.\(^55\) Spanish man of letters José Clavijo y Fajardo, founder and editor of the weekly *El pensador*, describes a *tertulia* of which he was a regular attendee in the early 1760s:

The participants in the *tertulia* were not many but they were so selected that they all together embraced all the branches of knowledge. We always gathered together at a regular time [...] Sometimes the discussion was about the fine arts, some others about commerce and politics, others about public law, and others about the need of mathematics [...] That *tertulia* was a sort of school where in six years I have learned more than in the ten years attending the university.\(^56\) x

Particularly influential were the groups known as Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País (Economic Societies of Friends of the Country) that began to be established in the 1760s.\(^57\) As in several other cases, the first of these societies developed out of a private *tertulia*. Since 1748 in the Basque Province of Guipúzcoa a group of reformed-minded aristocrats maintained a varied program that included mathematics, physics, geography, history, literature, theatre and music. Their increased interest in enlightened economic and educative improvements influenced the utilitarian orientation that eventually became distinctive of this group. The activities of this *tertulia* were formalized in 1765 under the figure of the Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País (Basque Society of Friends of the Country) which counted on a royal license and protection from the king.\(^58\) The principal aim of this society was to promote the economic and cultural development of the Basque region through the design of strategies to stimulate agriculture, industry, and commerce, the dissemination of technical knowledge that was not taught in universities, and the creation of schools to train peasants and artisans in various practical skills. Given the success of the Basque society in serving the reformative interests of the crown, Carlos III encouraged and protected the formation of groups following the Basque

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\(^{57}\) The title of these organizations translates to English as Economic Societies of friends of the country. On the growth and importance of these groups, see R. Schaffer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World, 1763-1821*, passim.

\(^{58}\) F. Aguilar Piñal, *Introducción al siglo XVIII*, 96.
model across the country. After 1775, a network of Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País quickly began to populate the Spanish territory. Not only were they instrumental in many of the economic and social reforms promoted by the crown but also, they became the principal means by which Enlightenment ideas gained an audience within the península (Spanish Peninsula) and American Spanish territories.

Private tertulias and even societies of the sort of the Real Sociedades Económicas were generally autonomous, not being subject to the control of either the church or the state, which allowed them to adjust their programs to the needs of the participants. Nonetheless, as many partakers of this type of cultured sociability were drawn from the aristocracy or otherwise maintained political links with the royal administration, the interests of these assemblies did not seek to question the economic and social privileges of the nobility, nor did they push social and economic reforms that could eventually subvert the political establishment. Although since the mid-eighteenth century tertulias and similar gatherings increasingly hosted freelance professionals from the middle-class such as lawyers and physicians, and flourishing groups such the Real Sociedades Económicas, due to their interest on commerce and agriculture even recruited plebeian landowners and tradespersons, overall the practice remained highly elitist. It was limited to a propertied minority that had access to education either because they belonged to the aristocracy or because they were freelance professionals or took part in the economic progress of the country as owners of land and industry. It is considered that by the end of the eighteenth century, the population of peninsular Spain was approximately 11,000,000, out of which only about 6% were literate. This group was constituted by the nobility, the clergy, freelance professionals, landowners, and businessmen. It was with this educated minority that the intellectual activity affiliated with the Enlightenment thought lay in peninsular Spain. Historian Carlos Martínez Shawn has pointed to the elitism of Bourbon cultural reformism as one of its main limitations. On this issue, he observes that “the Enlightenment was the doing of an elite of intellectuals whereas most of the population remained on a horizon characterized by economic backwardness, social inequality, illiteracy, and the rule of the traditional religion.”

On the other hand, the educational reforms directly undertaken by the crown as well as those promoted by the intellectual societies were not generally aimed at introducing substantial

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59 G. H. Lovett, Introduction to J.A. Llorente’s A Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain, [ii-iii].
60 Ibid.
61 C. Martinez Shaw, El siglo de las luces, 9, my translation.
changes in the social organization of the country. In truth, throughout the eighteenth century enlightened reformists believed that the state had to be responsible for the general education of the people, but it did not imply that this education was aimed at creating the mechanisms for social mobility. In this sense, the reforms sought to offer an education for the masses that was exclusively oriented to preparing them for the work they were to undertake as peasants and artisans, according to their social rank. Access to a higher type of education remained a privilege for the propertied and the nobles. In this sense, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, a sincere reformist and the most visible advocate of popular education and the spread of public schools, suggested that the social order be prescribed to limit this education to the elementary level and only to the extent of developing technical skills, because an equalitarian access to knowledge could compromise the balance of society.

Moreover, spaces of cultured sociability associated with tertulias, academias, and sociedades, as well as many of the initiatives advanced by these groups were largely aimed at preserving the privileges of nobles and strengthening the wealthier segments of the middle-class. An example of this was the Real Seminario Patriótico (Royal Patriotic Seminary) in Vergara, a school of higher education founded in 1776 by the Basque Sociedad Económica in a former Jesuit colegio, with the purpose of forming officials and technocrats for service of the state. Historian Álvaro Chaparro Sainz has demonstrated that this institution, while shaping the professionalization of bureaucrats and statesmen and as such contributing to the reorganization of the public administration, also established direct avenues for positioning the children of the elite families, whether nobles or bourgeoises, in the spheres of political power. This situation was all the more advantageous for the small group of educated individuals of the middle-class, since their acceptance in positions of the political administration became increasingly, accessible, being a factor for social mobility. Furthermore, some notable statesmen of plebeian origins were rewarded with aristocratic titles for their service to the crown. This was the case of José Moñino, count of Floridablanca, and Pedro Rodríguez, count of Campomanes, state and

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63 C. Martínez Shaw, *El siglo de las luces*, 197.
64 A. Chaparro Sainz, “La formación de las élites ilustradas vascas,” passim.
finance minister of Carlos III respectively, who became two of the most influential individuals at the court.65

3. Limitations to the Dissemination of Printed Materials Imposed by Censorship

Despite the discernible alliance between assemblies of intellectuals affiliated with the Enlightenment and the political interests of the crown, these groups still faced limitations in access to culture in the form of print. These were imposed not only by the church, as could be expected, but also by the regal authority itself, which looked to maintain cultural activity within the scope of official interests. As a matter of fact, the tensions between the ecclesiastic and the royal power became particularly clear in this matter. The implementation of various mechanisms of control through censorship and the prohibition of the circulation of books in Spain had a long history of overlapping coalitions and disputes between the two spheres of power, which changed according to the historical circumstances.66

Intervention of the state in the diffusion of printed materials in Spain goes back to the early sixteenth century when the Kingdom of Castille issued the requirement of a royal license before the publication of a book, as well as introducing books from abroad.67 Because at this early time the printing of books was still infrequent in Spain, royal censorship was quite lenient. However, half a century later, the mechanisms of control began to increase. The expansion of Protestantism in Europe prompted the Roman Catholic authorities to implement procedures to hinder the dissemination of literature on controversial religious topics. In Spain, the crown granted the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition the power to prohibit books that

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65 F. Aguilar Piñal, *Introducción al siglo XVIII*, 29. José Moñino y Redondo (b. Murcia, Spain, 1728; d. Sevilla, Spain, 1808), count of Floridablanca was a lawyer and statesman. Floridablanca served as state minister since 1877 for King Carlos III. Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes y Pérez (Sta. Eulalia de Sorribas, Asturias, Spain, 1723; Madrid, 1802), count of Campomanes was a lawyer, scholar and statesman, entered at the service of Carlos III in 1760 and afterwards served in several positions. Among Campomanes’ large intellectual production his *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Sancha, 1774) and *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Sancha, 1775) were particularly influential within the Spanish educated groups.

66 For a historical revision of the royal and ecclesiastic mechanisms of pre-printing censorship and prohibition of printed books in Spain as well as its impact on literature and science, see H. Kamien, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 103-36. On the tensions between the Catholic Church and the royal power in Spain in regards to the circulation of printed materials as well as its impact on Spanish enlightened intellectuals, see A. Elorza, “Inquisición y pensamiento ilustrado,” 81-92. On the circulation of literature of the French Enlightenment in Spain, see M. Defourneaux, *L’Inquisition espagnole et les libres français au XVIIIème siècle*, passim.

contained ideas that were contrary to Catholic doctrines. Consequently, from 1551 the Inquisition began to produce lists of banned literature, later known as *Index librorum prohibitorum el derogatorum*, applying to the entire Spanish territory. The *Index* was reedited, corrected, and extended on several occasions. Although the greater focus was on theological works, the list in actuality included books on a large variety of topics, ranging from translations of the Bible in the vernacular, to literary works by Spanish authors, to philosophical books written by Jewish, Muslim, and even Catholic scholars that diverged from mainstream orthodoxy. Eighteenth-century reeditions of the *Index* also prohibited the writings of the French Enlightenment that began to circulate in Spain on the grounds of the preservation of morals. As the century advanced, the Inquisition increasingly directed its attention towards enlightened ideas that questioned the legitimacy of the church to regulate the production and dissemination of knowledge as well as its social prerogatives in general. It is estimated that between 1747 and 1807 the Inquisition banned some half-a-thousand books by French authors, including the writings of the *encyclopédistes*, especially Voltaire.

In Spain, most of the progressivist intellectuals perceived that Inquisitional practices of censoring books had moved beyond matters of Catholic dogma, thus becoming a great obstacle to knowledge in general and therefore to the reformist educational aims promoted by the crown. In fact, during the reign of Carlos III, intellectuals associated with the civil power such as Pedro de Campomanes despised the Inquisition and overtly confronted it by requesting restrictions to its relative autonomy in censoring and banning books. Yet, the overall repercussions of the inquisitional system of censoring books in Spain is difficult to judge, as historian Henry Kamen as pointed out. First, Inquisition officials could not control every port of entrance to the country. Also, the improvement of roads as well as freedom of movement between the *península* and France and Italy during the eighteenth century facilitated the circulation of books. They could be brought personally, or through commercial channels, or through contacts abroad who would send them to Spain.

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68 The Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was first established in Spain in 1478 with the purpose of maintaining the Catholic orthodoxy within the Spanish Kingdom. After a period of sharp decline since the turn of the nineteenth century, the Inquisition was definitively abolished in Spain in 1834.

69 F. Aguilar Piñal, *Introducción al siglo XVIII*, 123.

70 J. M. Vallejo García-Hevia, “Campomanes y la Inquisición,” 144.

Recent historical accounts have exposed the political implications of the dispute between the sphere of civil power and the Inquisition regarding censorship. Underneath lay not the belief that the practice of censoring and banning books jeopardized the progress of knowledge, but that it was a prerogative of the crown to hold control over the printed materials that circulated in the kingdom. Carlos III issued various dispositions during his reign which were aimed at both secularizing the process of pre-printing censorship of books and limiting the scope of inquisitional officials to the books that were already published.72 Clearly, the crown faced the possibility that the Inquisition banned books that it had previously granted the license for publication. However, as Antonio Elorza explains, by this action the state became a centralized instrument of control of intellectual production.73

This situation at large favored the flourishing of reformist thought in Spain, first because the application of censorship measures on books and newspapers published at that time was very relaxed, and also because a good portion of educated Spaniards endorsed the secularization of censorship. Also, the Spanish Inquisition had considerably softened by that time. As matter of fact, scholars and academic institutions obtained permission with relative ease to possess books that were listed in the Index, as it was in the case of the license granted to the members of the Basque Sociedad de Amigos to consult the Encyclopédie.74 Moreover, the works of Rousseau, despite having been placed on the Index, enjoyed a wide following in intellectual circles.75

Nonetheless, blatant contradictions existing between Enlightenment belief in the freedom and universality of reason and the absolutist practices of censorship inevitably followed from the implementation of the crown’s policies for publishing books. This becomes clearer when observing that institutions such as sociedades económicas as well as royal academias and colegios participated as official censors for the crown. Indeed, from 1746 to 1800 the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History) received 930 books for evaluation of which only 538 received a favorable decision.76 Most revealing is a report produced in 1770 by the Real Academia Médica Matritense (Royal Medical Academy of Madrid) which justified royal censorship when it stated that “there are some who defend unlimited freedom, but all the

72 F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 119.
74 Ibid.
76 F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 119.
erudite oppose it, wanting instead that all the intellectuals abide by the laws, [obey] legitimate superiors, and [follow] the right reason.” 77 xii Nevertheless, it is plausible that this mechanism of control, which was ultimately exerted by the crown, had contributed to a certain extent to self-censorship. As historian Gabriel Lovett observes, censorship continued to function as “a constant reminder to Spaniards that caution had to be used in any writings dealing with controversial subjects.” 78

In any case, the permissive scheme adopted by Carlos III and continued during the first year of the reign Carlos IV, which allowed the publication and circulation of books affiliated with Enlightenment thought, came to an end in 1789. The threat posed at the outset of the French Revolution to the political stability of the European monarchies forced the Spanish Crown to suppress the publication of political writings and to remove Enlightenment authors from universities and colegios. As scholar Knud Haakonssen explains, “the immediate reaction to the French Revolution across Europe included rejection of the French philosophes who had been invoked by the revolutionaries [...] The fact that the philosophes on the whole had cautioned against revolution [...] made no difference, and it still makes little difference.” 79 As a desperate measure, civil authorities in Spain reversed their dissenting views about the Inquisition, turning instead to the Inquisition for support. Surviving documentation of the period demonstrates that statesmen at the service of Carlos IV, such as Floridablanca, collaborated with members of the Inquisition with the purpose of hindering the diffusion of revolutionary ideas in Spain. Although both civil and religious control was strengthened at the borders, papers with propaganda calling for political insurrection and suppression of the Inquisition still infiltrated the country and found acceptance among intellectuals, some of whom were persecuted and incarcerated. Very emblematic in this respect was the case of the brilliant enlightened writer Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, noteworthy for his reformist positions. Jovellanos was sent to prison in 1802 by the prime minister of Carlos IV, Manuel Godoy, duke of la Alcudia, and kept prisoner for six years

77 Cited in F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 124, my translation. The Real Academia Médica Matritense was created in 1734 in Madrid to promote the knowledge of medical science. In 1861 was reorganized changing its name to Real Academia Nacional de Medicina (Royal National Academy of Medicine).
78 G. H. Lovett, Introduction to J.A. Llorente’s A Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain, [iii].
under degrading conditions after being accused of introducing into Spain a copy of Rousseau’s *The Social Contract*.\(^{80}\)

Thus, the official support for the tenets of the Enlightenment was principally devoted to securing the crown’s political ends. Despite the genuine interest of some liberal statesmen and intellectuals in changing the social and cultural fabric of the nation, enlightened reformism in Spain remained within the constraints established by Catholic dogma and monarchical authority. As historian Carlos Martínez Shown concludes, the kings “were in general more interested in strengthening their authority, in perfecting their administrative machinery, and in enlarging their territories than in the happiness of their subjects, as they had proclaimed.” \(^{81}\) xiii


The enlightened reforms undertaken by the Bourbons also reached Venezuela. In 1728, Felipe V, by royal decree, created the trading business Compañía Guipuzcoana de Caracas (Guipuzcoan Company of Caracas) under the management of a group of wealthy Basques. The king conceded the Compañía Guipuzcoana total exclusivity in commerce between the Province of Venezuela and Spain, with the capacity of controlling the export of Venezuelan agricultural products and the import of goods from the *península* and other Spanish territories to Venezuela. Through this company the crown sought to promote the economic growth of the region and at the same time to control the unlicensed trade of tobacco existing between local landowners and Dutch, English, and French traders, which hurt the revenues that would have otherwise received the royal administration in Madrid. In the following years, the Compañía Guipuzcoana stimulated the production of cacao on a large scale, besides tobacco and leather. The profits earned by the export and commercialization in Europe of these products positioned the formerly disadvantaged Province of Venezuela among the most prosperous domains of the Spanish territories.\(^{82}\) To match the economic bourgeoning of Venezuela, a series of administrative reforms took place afterwards. In 1777, Carlos III created the Capitanía General de Venezuela (General Captaincy of Venezuela), which grouped the old Province of Venezuela together with the adjacent Provinces of Cumaná, Guayana, Margarita, and Trinidad. In 1786,  

\(^{80}\) Manuel Godoy y Álvarez de Faria (b. Badajoz, Spain, 1767; d. Paris, 1851) was prime minister of Carlos IV from 1792 to 1797 and from 1801 to 1808.  
\(^{81}\) C. Martínez Shaw, *El Siglo de las Luces*, 8-9, my translation.  
Carlos IV authorized the establishment in Caracas of its own audiencia or high court. With these measures Venezuela not only considerately expanded its territory, but it also obtained greater political and military autonomy, since it now responded directly to the central government of Madrid, instead of the viceroy of Nueva Granada as had occurred in the past. Also, it gained judicial autonomy, not depending any longer to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Another important reform occurred in 1793 when Carlos IV granted fiscal autonomy to Venezuela with the creation of the Real Consulado in Caracas, which acted as a merchant guild. Afterwards its legal and commercial business switched to respond directly to Madrid as well.

However, this administrative and economic reorganization, as historian John Lynch has observed, did not empower Venezuela, since it represented imperial rather than local interests. Despite the economic flourishing occurred with the establishment of the royal-patronized Compañía Guipuzcoana, the local landowners perceived that their profits were curtailed because they were not permitted to fix the price of their products, nor commercialize them on their own. Further reforms including the possibility of free trade in 1778 and the closing of operations in Caracas of the Compañía Guipuzcoana in 1785, along with the decision to create the Real Consulado in Caracas, contributed to containing potential revolts. Nonetheless, differences between the group of privileged creoles or criollos and the ruling class in peninsular Spain continued to soar because the Bourbon administrative reforms in Venezuela, as in other Spanish territories, were intended to increase the revenues and strengthen the authority of the crown. Also, the access of the criollos to positions of local power was limited in favor of peninsular officials appointed by the crown.

In contrast to the attention given to the economic growth and the centralization of administrative policies in Venezuela, the scope of educative and cultural reforms was out of the

83 At that time, the Spanish territories were organized into vicereinalties, gobernaciones (governorates), and capitainías generales. There was not a unified criterium to organize the Spanish territories, as the monarchy operated as a confederation of territories under the rule of the king. F. Aguilar Piñal, Introducción al siglo XVIII, 14.
84 J. Lynch, Simón Bolívar, 5.
85 The term criollo was generally applied to Venezuela-born whites or those accepted as white of Spanish ascendancy, as opposed to the Spaniards born in the Iberian Peninsula or peninsulares and to the Spaniards born in the Canary Islands or canarios. In general, the appellative of criollo was extended to the class of mantuanos or members of the white elite, the middle-class or professional whites, and the class of blancos de orilla or underprivileged whites. However, it is not uncommon to find the term criollo in historical narratives referring exclusively to upper-class whites. In colonial documents, the term criollo is often used interchangeably with the term español americano (American Spaniard). On the terminology used in Venezuela to refer to racial and social differences, see G. Morón, A History of Venezuela, 57-63. On the use of the term español americano, see Chapter 3.
official priorities in the region. The creation of the Universidad de Caracas by Felipe V in 1721 was perhaps the most important exception in this regard. Yet, the first claims for curricular reforms and subsequent changes operating at the Universidad de Caracas were promoted by a group of progressive scholars, such as the clerics A. Valberde and Baltazar de los Reyes Marrero, who in the years following the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 sought to keep up with the reforms already operating in peninsular Spain rather than following official directives, as suggested in surviving documentation. Requests to include the study of mathematics and modern scientific doctrines at the university eventually gained royal support as the Bourbons believed that it would create the conditions for the eventual formation of local personnel in area of applied sciences, necessary for the improvement of agricultural and commercial activities in the region. However, official efforts to impart technical knowledge in engineering and agriculture through educational institutions met numerous financial and administrative obstacles. 86 Individual initiatives were nonetheless endorsed by the crown, provided that they served its economic or political interests in the region. In fact, it is known of the existence during the eighteenth century of two short-lived educative institutions of the technical sort aimed at teaching applied mathematics for military engineering. These were the Academia de Geometría y Fortificación de Caracas (Academy of Geometry and Fortress Building of Caracas), created by the peninsular Lieutenant Colonel Nicolás de Castro and operating at his residence in Caracas from 1760 to about 1768, and the Academia de matemáticas (Academy of Mathematics), created by the also peninsular Captain Don Manuel Centurión, which functioned from 1861 to about 1766 in La Guaira, a port city near Caracas. Much later, in 1808 in Caracas another Academia de matemáticas for the teaching of civil engineering was created, the first institution to concede degrees in this field. 87

Official support for the creation of institutions for the dissemination of knowledge did not extend beyond a few individual initiatives that contributed to the creation of infrastructure

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87 Ibid, 14-16. Nicolás de Castro Álvarez Maldonado (b. Ciudad Rodrigo, Spain, 1710; d. Panamá, 1772) came to Venezuela around 1750 and in 1768 was appointed governor of Panamá. Castro wrote several pedagogical materials for his academia, including “Fortificacion de campāña,” “Fortificación regular,” and “Geometría.” Manuel Centurión y Guerrero de Torres (b. Nerja, Spain, 1732) studied at the Real Academia Militar de Matemáticas in Cádiz, Spain. In 1760 he was appointed captain of the Compañía de Artilleros de Caracas (Company of Artillery) and in 1766 he was appointed chief commander of the Province of Guayana. Centurión wrote Ciencia de militares que contiene principios de geometría para la perfecta inteligencia de la fortificación (Cádiz, Spain: Don Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros, Impresor Real de la Marina, 1758).
to improve agricultural production, commerce, or military defense. Unlike from the península, where the monarchs created collegiate bodies under the figure of royal academias for the advancement of literature, history, and the arts, and groups of intellectuals and art lovers gathering in tertulias and academias were formalized of into royal-protected institutions, these institutions were almost non-existent in Caracas. With very few exceptions, such as the royal approval in 1792 of a collegiate body of lawyers, the Colegio de Abogados de Caracas, created in 1788, most of the voluntary assemblies created for educational, intellectual, or artistic goals remained at the margins of official protection and even recognition. An illustrative case was the informal academia of the Franciscan friar Francisco de Andújar, functioning in Caracas in 1798 at the household of the future independence hero Simón Bolívar. This academia was aimed at disseminating mathematical knowledge among the young criollos in Caracas. The efforts of Andújar to gain official support to convert it into a formal educational institution were unsuccessful. The Real Consulado denied Andújar ‘s petition and the academia ceased its activities soon afterwards. 88 Moreover, a group like the Sociedades de Amigos del país, which counted with a widespread presence in the península as well as in the Spanish colonies during the last decades of the eighteenth century, was not created in Caracas during the colonial times. 89 It is known that at some point, Friar Francisco de Andújar had contemplated the idea of founding a Sociedad de Amigos, but the project did not materialize. 90 This situation is indeed paradoxical because the Basque Sociedad de Amigos del País, which served as a model for the many societies of this type that emerged in the Spanish territories, was financed with the profits obtained from the trade of Venezuelan cacao through the Compañía Guipuzcoana in Caracas. 91

Regarding elementary education, some positive changes began to take place in Caracas in 1767 with the establishment of the Escuela Pública de Primeras Letras y Latinidad for boys, partially subsidized with the estate confiscated from the Jesuits, who were expelled that same

88 Y. Freites, “Un esbozo histórico de las matemáticas en Venezuela,” 15. Francisco de Paula Ravé y Berdura, known as Francisco de Andújar (b. Andújar, Spain, 1760; d. Parapara, Guárico, Venezuela, 1817) arrived in Venezuela in 1795 as a missionary. He was knowledgeable in natural sciences. He has received historiographical attention given his role in the education of the future Independence hero Simón Bolívar.

89 These sociedades were created in Quito and Havana in 1791, in Lima in 1793, and in Guatemala in 1706-96. A Sociedad de Amigos del País was finally created in Caracas 1829, once Venezuela had gained independence from Spain.

90 I. Leal, “La cultura venezolana en el siglo XVIII, 16.

91 Cities such as Havana and Santiago de Cuba, Lima, Quito, Guatemala, and México all a Sociedad de Amigos del País before of the turn of the nineteenth century.
year. Also, a school for girls, Colegio de Educandas, opened in the following year, being created by the initiative of the treasurer of the Cathedral of Caracas, cleric Simón Marciano Malpica who donated the funds for its functioning. Yet, these schools preserved the charitable rationale of the church-funded schools that preceded them. This is demonstrated in the petition for the license of the Escuela Pública by its founder, Don Manuel Domínguez Saravia, who justified its creation on the grounds that this school would be “for the common good and that the deserving poor would not be deprived of this benefit.”

By the same token, Malpica’s petition stated that his school was intended for “poor, abandoned, and homeless girls,” who would be “properly instructed in Christian doctrine, [and in] skills that allow them to support and feed themselves with their personal work, and to live honestly.”

Aside from the importance entailed in the secularization of elementary education and in the creation for the first time of a school for girls, even if for the most basic instruction, neither of these schools challenged the schemes of race and social class that traditionally lay at the basis of institutional schooling. The custom of the mantuanos to provide education for their children through private preceptors hardly changed afterwards. The acceptance of indios (Indians) and blacks was out of question, as in the colonial rank system they were considered out of society. Nonetheless, pardo children, meant to occupy the middle stratum of the artisans and perhaps technicians, continued being forbidden to enter these schools. In truth, even after the secularization of education, elementary schools remained designated for underprivileged whites, whether boys or girls.

Using race as a criterion for accessing education resulted in a high level of illiteracy that largely contradicted the Enlightenment-inspired reformism embraced by the Bourbons. It is estimated that by the end of the eighteenth century, the total population of Venezuela numbered about 800,000 of which close to 390,000 lived in Caracas. The classes of pardos and free blacks combined represented more that 46% of the habitants of Caracas, while whites,

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92 During the first years of operation, the Escuela Pública de Primeras Letras y Latinidad was under the care of Don Manuel Domínguez Saravia and the Colegio de Educandas under Doña Josefa de Ponte y Liendo. C. Pastor Migueláñez, Cultura y humanismo en la América colonial, I: 285. The use of the term colegio for the Colegio de educandas is misleading, since this institution imparted elementary education.

93 [Petition presented by Manuel Domínguez Saravia to the captain-general of Caracas], 28 August 1767, quoted in R. Fernández Heres, Simón Rodríguez, 17, my translation. The expression “poor of solemnity,” in Spanish pobre de solemnidad, was a legal figure applied to those individuals in extreme poverty who were exempt from taxation among other official benefits.

94 “ Expediente sobre permiso que solicita Don Simón Marciano Malpica [...] para fundar un colegio,” 1767, quoted in R. Fernández Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 95, my translation.
including *montuanos*, *canarios* and underprivileged whites or *blancos de orilla* altogether counted for 25%. The other 29% were constituted by the indigenous and black people. This means that only approximately 25% were granted access to elementary education in public schools at that time. Admittance to the Universidad de Caracas was even more restricted. Throughout the end of the colonial period the university only accepted white males able to produce a testimony *de vita et moribus*. With this document the academic authorities sought to establish the moral integrity of prospective students and their families. Also, requirements for graduation included demonstrating that the candidates were born of a legitimate marriage and raised in the Catholic faith, and that parents and grandparents were “noticeably white” or *puros de sangre* and did not have antecedents of racial mixture. Thus, white children of unknown parents, commonly known as *expósitos*, were excluded from the university. On the other hand, although underprivileged whites or *blancos de orilla* who complied with university requirements were not legally forbidden to attend classes, the high fees required for graduation limited in practicality their access to it. University education remained therefore a privilege reserved to the small group of wealthy *criollos*.

To be sure, the Bourbon reforms in Caracas in the area of education were, as in peninsular Spain, not aimed at changing the social structure that conceded privileges to aristocrats or otherwise wealthy *criollos*. However, the lack of consistent policies regarding the dissemination of books and other printed materials, even among the privileged groups, placed Caracas in a position of great disadvantage in respect to not only the *península* but to most of

95 C. Soriano, “‘A True Vassal of the King’ Pardo Literacy and Political Identity in Venezuela during the Age of Revolutions,” 278; A. de Lisio, “La evolución urbana de Caracas,” 205.

96 I. Leal, *Historia de la Universidad de Caracas*, 106. The notion of *limpieza de sangre* or purity of blood originated in peninsular Spain as a legal figure aimed to exclude Jews and Moors from positions in the religious and political spheres of power. In the Spanish American territories, this notion was refashioned as a mechanism to exclude *indios*, blacks and individuals of mixed race, instead. On the social repercussions of the notion of *limpieza de sangre* in Caracas, see A. R. Almarza Villalobos, “La limpieza de sangre en el Colegio de Abogados de Caracas a finales del siglo XVIII,” 305-28. The Latin term *de vita et moribus* translates to English as “about life and good conduct.” *De vita et moribus* testimonies were customarily required by the Catholic Church as condition to be admitted into collegiate bodies and to be appointed to clerical positions.

97 F. Langue, “La Pardocratie ou l’itinéraire d’une ‘classe dangereuse’ dans le Venezuela des XVIIe et XIXe siècles,” 66. In colonial Hispanic America the term *expósito* was used in baptism certificates for those orphan children abandoned at birth and whose parents’ identity was unknown. On the use of the term *expósito* in colonial Hispanic America, see A. Grajales, “Criaturas bien nacidas aunque mal habidas y bien habidas aunque mal nutridas: El abandono de infantes en Puebla de los Ángeles,” 7.

98 On the eligibility to pursue studies at the university in Caracas, see I. Leal, *Historia de la Universidad de Caracas*, 311.
the main Spanish American cities. As matter of fact, Caracas did not have the public libraries, museums, or botanical gardens present in other centers. Indeed, the official neglect in educational and cultural matters can be measured by the fact that the printing press was not established in Caracas until 1808, and this occurred after several petitions to the official authorities were denied to local individuals. Undoubtedly, the arrival of the printing press occurred at a surprisingly late date, in comparison with other Spanish American cities. As a comparison, Mexico and Lima started the publication of books and pamphlets as early as the sixteenth century, Puebla and Guatemala in the seventeenth century, and Havana, Bogotá, Quito, Santiago de Chile, and Buenos Aires in the eighteenth century. Only in first decade of the nineteenth century did Montevideo and Valparaiso, along with Caracas have their first publishing houses.

Moreover, official interest in creating public spaces for sociability and recreation, so crucial in the metropolis as well as in other Spanish American cities such as Lima or Mexico, simply did not exist. The French diplomat François Depons, who lived in Caracas in 1801-1804, offered a convincing depiction of this situation:

The streets of Caracas run at right angles with each other; they are about twenty feet wide, paved, open to the four cardinal points, and at the distance of nearly three hundred feet from one another. There are only three public squares which deserve that name, though even they are not free from faults. The largest, called plaça mayor [main square], is disfigured by small shops built in it from east to west, which are let out to the merchants of the city […] This square occupies three hundred square feet. It is well paved, and is employed for a market for all kinds of provisions […] The cathedral church on the east side of the square, is disproportionate to the rest of the buildings. In the city of [Caracas] there are no public edifices but those dedicated to religious purposes. The captain-general, the royal audience, the intendant, and all the other tribunals, hold their sittings in houses hired for the purpose. Even the military hospital is in a private house. The contadorie [Counting House] is the only royal building; and its appearance does no honor to the taste or munificence of the king. 100

99 In 1808 a license was conceded to the firm Gallagher y Lamb for the printing of books and other materials. H. García Chuecos, “Orígenes de la imprenta en Venezuela,” 443-53; P. Grases, “Imprenta en Venezuela,” in Diccionario general de la literatura venezolana, 297-98.

100 François Joseph Depons or de Pons (b. Soustons, France, 1751; d. 1812), Travels in Parts of South America, during the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, & 1804 (London: Richard Phillips, 1806), 93-94. Depons’ book was first published as Voyage à la partie oriental de la Terre Firme, dans l’Amérique Méridionale, fait pendant les années 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804 (Paris: F. Buisson, 1806).
Then, Depons concluded that “... to the disgrace of this great city, I am forced to say, nothing of the kind [of public walks, lyceum, literary societies, or coffee-rooms] is to be found. Every Spaniard resides in its own house as in a prison.” 101

5. Dissemination of Enlightenment Thought in Caracas

Despite the limited efforts of the official authorities to stimulate cultural reform in Venezuela through the protection and patronage of official institutions, an Enlightenment current evolved in Caracas in the last decades of the eighteenth century on the margins of the official tutelage. This cultural phenomenon was not exclusive to Caracas, but also occurred to a greater or lesser extent in other Hispanic American cities, as historian Carlos Martínez Shaw explains. He states that side by side with the official Enlightenment, which was primarily affiliated with the spheres of power represented in the Spanish viceroyalties in American territories, a spontaneous Enlightenment current developed. This was driven by an educated minority who, either within or outside of the official institutions, adapted the enlightened concepts that arrived from Europe to the economic, social, and political realities of the Indies, thus giving shape to a body of ideas of considerable autonomy. 102

In the specific case of Caracas, the university served as the principal center of reception of Enlightenment ideas, as historian Rafael Hernández Heres demonstrates. 103 In this sense, the curricular changes that occurred at the Universidad de Caracas, with the opening of the study of natural sciences and its justification on the grounds of their applicability to the improvement of economic and social conditions, were representative of the official Enlightenment, the one that was fostered and protected by the Spanish Crown. It is noteworthy that this situation differs notably from the part taken by universities in the península, which even after the expulsion of the Jesuits were comparatively more resistant to the reception of the Enlightenment. However, as crucial as the Universidad of Caracas could have been in the development of a local Enlightenment current, the overall diffusion of these ideas and the eventual formation of a cultural movement in Caracas cannot be entirely attributed to the university. The flourishing of commerce, and with it the possibilities of importing literature, as well as the adoption of

101 F. Depons, Travels in Parts of South America, 99. Depons took residence in Santo Domingo in 1751 and in 1801 was appointed French diplomat in Caracas, where he remained until 1804.
102 C. Martínez Shaw, “Ilustración e independencia,” passim.
103 R. Hernández Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 12.
European forms of sociability such as the tertulia and the academia, were also crucial to the formation of an enlightened intellectuality in Caracas.

It is widely accepted that the reception of Enlightenment ideas through the university brought a change of mentality within the younger members of Caracas elite, who developed an interest in the latest doings in Europe in the areas of philosophy, arts and science and an urge to catch up with modernity. They began to perceive that the adoption of technology and the cultivation of literature and arts would deflect the current state of backwardness in the province and lead it through the path of cultural and material progress and general happiness.

Moreover, there is evidence that the operations of the Compañía Guipuzcoana were significant for the cultural movement that unfolded in Caracas from the last decades of the eighteenth century to the early century. Not only did the ships of this company bring furniture, clothing, and other fashionable commodities that allowed the criollos to replicate to a reasonable extent the life style of the educated elite in peninsular Spain, but they also provided them with books which soon began to crowd the personal libraries of the rising local intelligentsia. The free trade reform sanctioned in 1768 also contributed, as the intense commercial activity that developed between Venezuela with the nearby islands facilitated the import of books from cultural centers besides Spain. It has become apparent from the extensive archival research carried by historian Idelfonso Leal on the books circulating in colonial Venezuela, that there existed a considerable number of private libraries in Caracas, which helped to create the conditions for a new intellectual culture. Owners of these book collections included peninsular and criollo state officials, freelance professionals, clerics and university professors, peninsular military men, mantuano hacendados, and well-off Basque and Canary-Islander comerciantes or merchants, i.e. those who could afford the high costs of the imported literature, which in many cases was even three or four times more than the original price in Europe. Collections of books in colonial Caracas included the most varied topics, ranging from those that were directly related to the subjects taught at the university, such as theological treatises, books on civil and canonic law, and books on mathematics, natural sciences and medicine, to literature that did not fit in institutional education, including classical, Spanish, and Hispanic American poetry, novels and theatre, history, and literature on music, among others.

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104 Ibid., 666-68.
This reflects an intense cultural activity as well as the formation of a social group with cosmopolitan interests, increasingly fond of reading and cultivating literature and the arts.\textsuperscript{106} In regard to Enlightenment literature, representative works of the peninsular Spaniards widely circulated in Caracas. Feijóo was indisputably the best known of them.\textsuperscript{107} His \textit{Teatro Crítico} and \textit{Cartas Eruditas} were widely known throughout the end of colonial times, not only because of their popular and entertaining tone but also because they were not subject to inquisitional censorship as Feijóo did not question Catholic dogma. It is precisely because of this, as historian Rafael Hernández Heres points out, that Feijóo’s books served to acquaint many of the Caracas readers with Enlightenment ideas, therefore creating the conditions for the reception of other enlightened authors.\textsuperscript{108} Consequently, other works by Spanish writers elaborating later in the eighteenth century on the enlightened reforms of the Bourbons on commerce, agriculture, and industry, including Jovellanos and the Venezuelan-born Jerónimo de Ustáriz were read in Caracas.\textsuperscript{109} Also, Spanish pedagogical writings of a wide diffusion in peninsular Spain such as Campomanes’ reform-minded \textit{Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento} and Pedro Montengón’s novel \textit{Eusebio}, which echoed some of the concepts of Rousseau’s famous \textit{Emile}, were also influential within the educated minority in Caracas throughout the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{110}

On the other hand, a significant quantity of books by authors of the French and British Enlightenment became part of colonial libraries. These include Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, Helvétius, and Smith.\textsuperscript{111} Furthermore, there is evidence in contemporary inventories that although many of them were included in the inquisitional \textit{Index}, they formed part of personal collections in Caracas.\textsuperscript{112} Ships of the Compañía Guipuzcoana were to a great

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., 5. For a detailed description of the print materials circulating in colonial Caracas and the owners of private libraries, see Leal’s seminal study \textit{Libros y bibliotecas en Venezuela colonial}, passim.
\textsuperscript{107} I. Leal, “La cultura venezolana en el siglo XVIII,” 13.
\textsuperscript{108} R. Fernández Heres, \textit{La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración}, 12, 30-31.
\textsuperscript{109} Marquis Jerónimo de Ustáriz was the author of \textit{Teoría y práctica de comercio y marina}, published in Madrid in 1724. In it he supported Trans-Atlantic commerce as a key to the economic progress of the Spanish Empire.
\textsuperscript{110} Pedro Montengón y Paret (b. Alincat, Spain, 1745; d. Naples, 1824). His \textit{Eusebio} was first published in Spain in 1786-88. It was prohibited in the Spanish territories in 1798. Rousseau’s \textit{Emile, or De l’éducation} was published in Paris in 1762 and was banned in Paris and Geneva on the same year. It inspired the new educational trends in France during the Revolution.
\textsuperscript{112} I. Leal, “La cultura en Venezuela en el siglo XVIII,” 18.
extent responsible for the introduction of the *encyclopédistes* to Venezuela through their smuggling of books. At that time there was great desire for this literature as suggested in the travel account of the count of Ségur, a French diplomat visiting Venezuela in 1783. According to the count’s *Mémoires*, during his brief stay in La Victoria, a town about 50 miles southwest of Caracas, he was informed by several acquaintances of the persecution exerted by the current *teniente de justicia mayor* of that town to those who possessed books prohibited by the Inquisition. A lieutenant at the service of the Spanish king in La Victoria, a M. Proudon, said in a conversation with the count:

Here [...] the Inquisition does not, it is true, order any *auto-da-fé*, nor light any fires, but it endeavors to extinguish every ray of light. It is protected by the intendant-general, and the least suspicion of impiety that attaches to an individual is sufficient to cause him to be arrested and fined, and even confiscation often ensues. I am obliged to assume a mask to appear blind like the rest and to follow like them the most puerile practices. I, as well as several of my friends, burn to read the works of the celebrated writers of France; but the intendant forbids their importation under the severest penalties, as if they were infected with plague. In short [...] already the indignant creoles [*criollos*] begin to call the Spaniards *forestières*, that is, strangers, a circumstance undoubtedly quite sufficient to prove that the mother country and her colonies will no longer live in peace and harmony together.

Despite the vigilance, some locals persisted in reading prohibited books and found ingenious ways to hide them from the authorities, as suggested in the count’s commentary to his visit in the residence a physician in La Victoria, “who was quite as dissatisfied with his government as M. Prudon.” Then he said: “having conducted us to the most retired part of his house, he shewed [showed] us with infinite satisfaction the works of J.-J. Rousseau and Raynal, which he kept concealed as his most precious treasure in a beam curiously scooped out for that purpose.”

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113 R. de Basterra, *Los navíos de la Ilustración*, passim.
114 In colonial Venezuela, the *teniente de justicia mayor* was an official serving the Spanish Crown who had police and judicial functions in a specific jurisdiction.
116 L.-P. de Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, 412. Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, known as Abbé Raynal (b. Lapanouse, France, 1713; d. Paris, 1796) was the author of *L’Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 4 Vols., published in Amsterdam in 1770. This book was famous for its position on anti-colonialism. It was widely spread in Europe, with numerous editions in France and abroad in the years immediately after it was first published. The edition of 1781 was censored in France, and Raynal was declared a public enemy and forced to leave France.
In Caracas, the opposition to French-Enlightenment literature came instead from church authorities of conservative convictions, especially Mariano Marti, bishop of Caracas from 1770 to 1784. After 1789, when the official controls to access banned literature became more burdensome, the commercial ships coming from the Caribbean islands helped to bring the books that could not enter through permissible channels. Desperate measures by crown and church officials to hinder the penetration of banned Enlightenment literature, such as a war council formed in 1795 in Caracas to address issues regarding the diffusion of revolutionary ideas in Caracas, including printed materials from France, were unsuccessful.

The issue of how Enlightenment literature circulated in Caracas has proven to be challenging for scholars, largely due to the clandestine nature of the networks that must have been created for the distribution of prohibited works, which has made more difficult the gathering of documentation that could support definite conclusions. However, it can be presumed that even before the strengthening of royal and ecclesiastic policies aimed at maintaining control of the entrance of subversive print materials, the dissemination of Enlightenment thought beyond the university, if only for the purpose of intellectual, scientific, or artistic cultivation, primarily depended on the formation of webs of individuals that could create a private circle of book lending. Historian Cristina Soriano also mentions the widespread practice of the transcription of texts and the remates or public auctions of books among the strategies employed at that time for the access to printed materials by underprivileged segments of the population. In addition to this, in the last decades of the eighteenth century autodidactic study as well as the formation of groups of the sort of academias and tertulias in private spaces seem to have become important means to advance intellectual, scientific, or artistic knowledge, in the face of the exclusivism of the Universidad de Caracas, the lack of cultural institutions officially patronized, the high costs of purchasing imported materials, or the prohibition that weighed over literature considered seditious.

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117 R. Fernández Heres, Simón Rodríguez, 20.
118 Ibid., 20-21.
120 It is possible also that that groups of freemasons played an important role in the dissemination of the prohibited literature in colonial Caracas. For an exploratory study of the importance of masonic groups in the formation of educational philosophies in Venezuela during the last decades of the colonial rule and their connections to Enlightenment thought, see E. Jiménez, Influencia del pensamiento masonico en la educación venezolana del siglo XIX: Una aproximación al tema, 21-83.
The brilliant young intellectual Don Simón Rodríguez, elder brother of the *maestro de capilla* Cayetano Carreño, and for some time preceptor of the future independence hero Simón Bolívar, is an interesting case of how some modest individuals had access to education through autodidactic effort. Although a white man, Rodríguez’s humble origins were certainly a factor that limited his possibilities of entering the Universidad de Caracas or acquiring imported books. He circumvented these difficulties by his personal connections with individuals who were in possession of rich personal libraries, especially one of his protectors, the cleric Dr. Rafael Rodríguez. Influential in Simón Rodríguez’s early intellectual development was also the *mantuano* Don Feliciano Palacios y Sojo, the brother of Padre Sojo and maternal grand-father of Simón Bolívar, for whom Simón Rodríguez worked. There is documentary evidence that he purchased books for Rodríguez’s personal use. In a letter to his son, Don Palacios y Sojo wrote: “I include a list of books for you to buy and send me. This is for the amanuensis who writes for me, Don Simón, the brother of Cayetanito [Cayetano] Carreño, a man of good will and considerable ability to take care of my affairs and accounts for my relief.”

Even those who had access to university education could complement their knowledge through their personal libraries and those of acquaintances. Illustrative of this is the case of Don Andrés Bello, the son of a lawyer. (See Figure 3.2 below.) While being a student at the Universidad de Caracas, Bello received the encouragement and the support necessary to learn French from his very socially and economically privileged friend, the *mantuano* Luis de Ustáriz, as reported by Bello’s biographer, Miguel Luis Amunátegui:

Don Luis grew to appreciate Bello after seeing that he was so dedicated to study and so eager for education.

Taking interest in the advancement of his young friend, he encouraged him to learn French, so he could be able to read the important works in every genre that were written in that language.

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121 Known in Venezuelan history as *El maestro del Libertador* (The Liberator’s Teacher) due to his affiliation with Simón Bolívar, Simón Rodríguez is considered in the cultural imagination as the key figure in shaping the revolutionary ideal in his pupil and instilling in him the social tenets of the French authors of the Enlightenment. This is because Simón Bolívar himself attributed to Rodríguez’s education his revolutionary action. The actual input of Simón Rodríguez in Bolívar’s education has been matter of a long and yet unresolved historiographic controversy. On this subject, see, J. Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 16-18; C. L. Mendoza, “¿Cuáles fueron las influencias que pude tener Don Simón Rodríguez sobre el Libertador?” 421-42; N. E. Navarro, “Un episodio divertido de la primera educación de Bolívar,” 3-15; J. L. Salcedo Bastardo, *Bolívar: A Continent and its Destiny*, 29-32.


With this purpose, he gave him as a present a book in that language and offered himself to occasionally listen to him translating [from French] and to correct any mistakes.

[Bello] [...] taught himself the rules of grammar, consulted the pronunciation with a Frenchman who lived in Caracas, and, in regards to translation, he benefited from the assistance of Don Luis Ustáriz.

Thanks to these efforts Bello learned such an indispensable language, which was not taught in any public establishment, and at that date was only known by a limited number of his countryman.

As soon as he began to understand it, he devoted himself enthusiastically to reading French books [...].

**Figure 3.2.** Portrait of Andrés Bello, painted by Raymond Monvoisin (ca. 1843-1858). Universidad de Chile, Casa Central, Santiago de Chile.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, intellectual curiosity for new literary, scientific, or technical trends had become so common among the younger generation of Caracas criollos that Depons could notice substantial changes between an older generation, anchored in conservatism and disdain for knowledge, and a younger Enlightenment-minded one, determined to overcome with self-study the present constraints of institutional instruction:

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At present, the education of the Spanish creoles [criollos] partakes of the natural prejudices, which regards all knowledge with contempt that militates against their own pre-conceived theories and opinions. Some circumstances, however, appear to indicate, that the rising generation may be gradually led to adopt broader views. In fact, many Spanish youths, aware of the insufficiency of their education, endeavor to supply what is defective, and with this view, pursue with avidity the works of foreign authors. Several of them attempt, by the aid of dictionaries, to translate and speak French and English, particularly the former. They do not think like their fathers, that geography is a superfluous science, or that history is a useless study. Commerce begins to be less despised than formerly, and although the mania in favor of rank and distinction continues as great as ever, it is natural to suppose, that it must yield in its turn to the progress of reason. 126

Prussian naturalist Alexandre von Humboldt, during his visit to Venezuela in 1799-1800, patronized the crown with the purpose of assessing the resources of the American colonies, and was also impressed with the serious commitment to intellectual and artistic pursuance of some criollos:

We do not find among the natives of Spanish origin [criollos], that cold and assuming air which the character of modern civilization seems to have rendered less common in Spain than in the rest of Europe. Conviviality, candour, and great simplicity of manner, unite the different classes of society in the colonies, as well as in the mother-country. [...] I found in several families in Caracas a love of information, an acquaintance with the masterpieces of French and Italian literature, and a marked predilection for music, which is greatly cultivated, and which (as always results from a taste for the fine arts) brings the different classes of society nearer to each other. 127

Whether or not the interaction among the participants in the literary and musical gatherings conformed to Enlightenment ideals of equality and friendship as Humboldt suggested, his observations are still noteworthy in another respect. Although the cultured practices that he depicted were circumscribed to a minority group that had access to education and print products, they seem to have been spread widely enough to involve the participation of individuals of different strata in a convivial setting.

Certainly, the educated circles that began to form in colonial Caracas did not necessarily correspond with the economic elite that had been established during the previous decades of economic growth. The intellectual groups that Depons and Humboldt described comprised the

126 F. Depons, *Travels in Parts of South America*, 35.
reduced group of younger progressive-minded generation of criollos, many of them students at the Universidad de Caracas who belonged to wealthiest families of hacendados and comerciantes. They separated themselves from an older generation of traditional-minded elite criollos who did not share the enlightened belief in the value of education. Besides that group of young criollos, there is evidence that some progressive clerics, freelance professionals, high bureaucrats, and military men took also part in these cultured forms of sociability. Together, these segments represented a distinctive clique of intellectuals, an intelligentsia that mingled together despite the social and economic differences of its members. For these, “more important than their diverse economic interests was their common status as educated people,” as scholar Víctor Uribe-Urán has pointed out in relation to the people involved in the formation of a sphere of public opinion in colonial Spanish America.128

Several nuances in terms of prestige and economic or political interests existed among these segments of educated progressivist criollos.129 As matter of fact, the mantuanos, at the top of the colonial social hierarchy were representative of the local aristocracy and the wealthy group of hacendados. Comparable in wealth to the hacendados were the comerciantes, representative of the mercantile elite. In most cases the comerciantes were peninsular Spaniards who settled in the Province of Venezuela during the flourishing of the Compañía Guipuzcoana. These Spaniards were considerably less prestigious than the mantuanos. In addition to this, the families of comerciantes who originally came from the Canary Island were often less esteemed than their peninsular counterparts. That was the case of Francisco de Miranda, who epitomized the cosmopolitan and well-educated men of the Enlightenment. Miranda was the son of a canario comerciante, and despite his family’s wealth and thorough culture he was often subject of disdain from certain segments of the group of mantuanos.130

Though individuals from the groups of hacendados and comerciantes interacted with apparent ease within the intellectual circles, tensions between these two social segments became particularly notorious in Caracas in the last years of the eighteenth century due to

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128 V. M. Uribe-Urán, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” 452.
129 On the nuances among the upper social segments in colonial Caracas, see P.M. McKinley, Pre-Revolutionary Caracas, 77-97.
130 Sebastián Francisco de Miranda y Rodríguez Espinoza (b. Caracas, 1750 d. Cádiz, Spain, 1816). Miranda eventually evolved a brilliant military career and played a crucial role in the independence of Venezuela. On the mantuanos’ apprehensions over Miranda’s family on grounds of its social status, see A. Arellano Moreno, Breve historia de Venezuela, 118.
conflicts of interests. Professionals such as religious clerics, lawyers, and physicians did not typically belong to the most prominent families in Caracas. In actuality, only very few of them came to occupy high bureaucratic positions in the provincial administration, as the crown tended to privilege peninsular officials over the *criollos* as a mechanism to keep political control over the province. Although the children of the wealthiest families very frequently took degrees in law at the Universidad de Caracas, as for example the *mantuano* Don Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz, these did not tend to make a living out of their profession, being instead part of the class of *hacendados* or *comerciantes*. The number of professionals actually working was in actuality very limited in Caracas and the professional condition was not sufficient to create affluence or social prestige. The increasing standing of the members of the class of professionals seems to have been mostly due instead to their personal acquaintance with the first families in Caracas, much of it fostered through their involvement in groups of the sort of *tertulias* and *academias*. By the same token, some clerics such as Padre Sojo enjoyed a great social prestige due to their status as *mantuanos* rather than for their religious activities. In fact, a wide range of local class segments were represented in the church, ranging from humble clerics such as the *maestros de capilla* Alejandro Carreño to wealthy ecclesiastic authorities, such as Padre Sojo. Not mentioned by Depons or Humboldt in the cited passages above is the segment of professional immigrants, whose progressivist intellectual interests brought them closer to the class of the *criollos* than to that of *peninsulares*, most of whom lived in the Province of Venezuela representing the crown in positions of power. This was the case of Francisco Isnardi, who was born in Cádiz and after studying medicine at the Real Colegio de Medicina y Cirugía also in Cádiz, went to Venezuela to serve in the Spanish Royal Army (Real Armada Española) as a physician. His involvement with the intellectual groups in Caracas started around 1809 while he occupied a position as surgeon at the Real Cuerpo de Artillería in that city.  

Very striking within the conventions that ruled the social hierarchies in colonial Caracas was the inclusion of *pardos* in the gatherings of the elites and professionals, as occurred in Padre Sojo’s *academia filarmónica*, which continued after his death in 1789 at Blandín’s *hacienda*. As discussed extensively above, *pardo* and under-privileged white musicians were part of the musical *academias* and *tertulias* possibly either because the upper-class *aficionados* required their assistance to bring about their music-making or because these *aficionados* were

131 M. Vannini de Gerulewicz, *La verdadera historia de Francisco Isnardi*, passim.
genuinely imbued in the Enlightenment tenets of philanthropy, tolerance, and appreciation for the practical side of knowledge. In either case, it is still true that the presence of mixed-race musicians in these gatherings defied the boundaries of what the traditional-minded segment of Caracas elite was willing to accept.¹³²

In fact, as late as the mid-1790s the **pardos** were still denied access to elementary education. Some measures to expand their rights occurred in 1760 as part of the Bourbon reforms when the **pardos** were allowed to join the militias and enjoy some military privileges.¹³³ In 1794, Simón Rodríguez, certainly influenced by the enlightened ideas of educational reformism, wrote a proposal for modernization of the Escuela de Primeras Letras, which had been under his care for the past three years. (See Figure 3.3 below.) The text was presented to the **ayuntamiento** or city council in Caracas with the title of **Reflexiones sobre los defectos que vician la Escuela de Primeras Letras de Caracas y medio de lograr su reforma por un nuevo establecimiento** (Reflections on the flaws vitiating the Escuela de Primeras Letras in Caracas and means of achieving its reform for a new establishment).¹³⁴ In this text Rodríguez argued for an increase in the official funding of elementary schools, a more rigorous professionalization of the teachers, and the inclusion of technical subjects for the preparation of the students in the areas of agriculture and trade. More significantly, he argued for the inclusion of **pardo** and free black children into the public school. In this regard, he observed:

> [Pardos and blacks] do not have education. They cannot attend the school for white children and because of their poverty they must start to work at a young age. They acquire practice with it, but not technique. Lacking this, they proceed in everything by trial and error. Some act as teachers of others when in reality no one has ever been a student, except for those who with great tenacity have managed to instruct themselves at the cost of painful efforts.¹³⁵ xviii

¹³² See Chapter 2.

¹³³ J. Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 9-11

¹³⁴ From 1791 to 1795 Simón Rodríguez taught at Escuela de Primeras Letras and his salary came from the city funds. R. Fernández Heres, *Simón Rodríguez*, 22, 45.

¹³⁵ S. Rodríguez, *Reflexiones sobre los defectos que vician la Escuela de Primeras Letras de Caracas*, in *Escrítos de Simón Rodríguez* (Caracas: Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela, 1958), 7, my translation.
Rodríguez justified this unusual proposition as an enlightened claim for social equality, though veiled as a religious argument: “I do not believe that they deserve it any less than the white children; first of all, because they are not deprived of Society; second, because if these distinctions do not exist in the church for the observance of Religion, they should neither exist in their education.” Although the Rodríguez proposal was not accepted in its entirety, his suggestion to include pardos and blacks was well received by the official authorities, who in the following year recommended the creation of an establishment for pardos, although separated from the white children. This response occurred within the framework of the reforms ordered by the crown in 1795, which also allowed the pardos the right to hold public office, to become priests and to purchase a certificate of whiteness, known as cédula de gracias al sacar, which

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137 S. Rodríguez, Reflexiones sobre los defectos que vician la Escuela de Primeras Letras de Caracas, 6, my translation.

138 R. Fernández Heres, Simón Rodríguez, 44-45. Apparently, the project of a separate school for pardos did not materialize at that time. There is information that in 1805 the pardos José María Gallegos and Juan José Landaeta petitioned the cabildo for permission to open an elementary school for pardos in Caracas, which was approved under the condition that the teacher in charge had to be white. The opening of this establishment was again deferred. F. Langue, “La Pardocratie ou l’itinéraire d’une ‘classe dangereuse’ dans le Venezuela des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles,” 68.
granted them certain privileges reserved for whites. Nonetheless, members of the conservative segment of the local elite opposed the royal concessions to the *pardos* because not only did they want to preserve their racial privileges, but also because they perceived that a caste war would collapse the moral and political order. In actuality, a few months after the royal order of Carlos IV expanding the rights of the *pardos* was issued, a slave uprising also involving *pardos* and *indios* occurred in the Venezuelan Province of Coro. It was led by the mixed-race José Leonardo Chirino, who following similar revolts in other places in the Caribbean, especially in Saint-Domingue, wanted to declare freedom from slavery, to establish a republican regime, and to abolish the hegemonic privileges of whites. The rebellion was soon suppressed.

Nonetheless, racial tensions in the province intensified rapidly. A report prepared by the *ayuntamiento* in Caracas resisting Carlos IV’s order is illustrative of the deep level of apprehension of conservative-minded elites against the *pardos*:

> The *pardos* are enfranchised and granted by dispensation from their low status the education which they have hitherto lacked and ought to continue to lack in the future. The *mulatos* [mixed-race of black and white] will crowd the school and will seek to enter the Seminary. They will serve in public offices, and in the Real Hacienda [Royal Treasury]. They will be aware of all the public and private affairs. The discouragement and withdrawal of the decent white people will continue, and they will abandon themselves to their sorrow and contempt. The families that with immense fatigue conquered and populated with their blood this Province will come to an end. The names of those loyal vassals who preserved the domain of the Kings of Spain will be forgotten and even their surnames will be expunged. Woeful days will come to Spain when being served by *mulatos*, *zambos* [mixed race of black and Indian], and blacks, whose suspicious loyalty will cause violent disorder, will not have anyone who in the name of his personal interest, honor, purity, and reputation will risk his own life, asking his children, friends, relatives, and countrymen to repress the dreadful people and to defend the common cause.  

This context illuminates the existing breach between conservative *mantuanos* and the Enlightenment-minded attitudes of the elite *aficionados* in Caracas. Certainly, the disposition of the *aficionados* to accept *pardos* in their gatherings reflects alignment with certain aspects of the social reforms of the Bourbons, in particular to those that favored social inclusion and access to education for the *pardos*, in contrast with the conservative segments of the *criollo* elite that...
interpreted it as a challenge to their own social status and local authority.\textsuperscript{142} This attitude of the progressivist segments of the elite to support some royal policies seems to be in contradiction with the anti-royalist and revolutionary position that these same groups adopted in the upcoming years, which eventually led to the independence of Venezuela from the Spanish Crown. Yet, the adoption of Enlightenment ideals in the Hispanic American colonies occurred in a context of great social complexity. In this sense, recent historiography on colonial Hispanic America has challenged previous assumptions about the supposed conservativism of the monarchical political culture, especially during the reign of the Bourbons. In the specific case of Venezuela, it is undeniable, as historian Cristina Soriano states, that “Spanish reformist discourses that promoted education and literacy for popular groups such as artisans and peasants had certainly opened new possibilities for distinguished people of color in Venezuela.”\textsuperscript{143} In the same vein, Soriano has convincingly shown the complex and nuanced dynamics operating during the late colonial period in relation, on the one hand, to the existing tensions between conservative white elites and \textit{pardos} in the face of royalist enlightened social reformism, and on the other hand, to the fears of the class in power to the emergence of a revolutionary movement.

The case of the \textit{pardo} Juan Bautista Olivares, the younger brother of Juan Manuel Olivares, the musician affiliated with Padre Sojo’s \textit{academia filarmónica}, has served Soriano to illustrate the climate of trepidation that the middling segment of \textit{pardo} artisans had to meet in late colonial Caracas when trying to access literacy and other social privileges. As the child of a literate \textit{pardo} silversmith, Juan Bautista Olivares and his brother Juan Manuel could have received elementary education at home, perhaps with the aid of private tutors. In an extant manuscript produced by Juan Bautista himself, he explained that he accessed further education in theology and law auto didactically by studying books that he borrowed from educated acquaintances and friends, and also by “consulting with some of the most instructed and pious individuals.”\textsuperscript{144} It is presumed that his closeness with the priest and organist of the Cathedral of Caracas, Pedro José de Osio as well as with the members of the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri

\textsuperscript{142} On the perceptions of the \textit{mantuanos} of the access to education of the class of \textit{pardos}, see C. Soriano, “A True Vassal of the King,” 276-79.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., 277.
\textsuperscript{144} “Manuscrito de Juan Bautista Olivares, escrito en la cárcel de Cádiz,16 de Julio de 1796,” Archivo General de Indias: Caracas, 346, quoted in C. Soriano, “A True Vassal of the King,” 279.
including Padre Sojo, also had an important role in his musical and religious formation. After benefiting from the dissemination of print products in Caracas and receiving protection from progressivist criollos, Juan Bautista Olivares requested the religious local authorities in 1791 to allow him to take Holy Orders. His petition was denied in 1795. Surviving official documentation shows that the subject was dealt with by the local authorities in clearly derogatory terms: “Olivares, poorly instructed and worse advised, moving away from the wise principle of humility and meekness that the aspirants to the Altar service should bear, has undertaken that path [of requesting the Holy Orders]. The court of magistrates of the venerable clergy cannot grant it. The license to enter the ecclesiastical state to which he aspires is conceded only to the whites that are unsullied by the bad races of moors, Jews, mulattos, and neophytes, which have been reproved by the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition.”

Not only was Olivares forbidden to become a cleric on the grounds of his pardo race but also his erudition made him suspicious of political subversion, which could undermine the public tranquility. The governor and captain-general of Caracas, expressed his misgivings regarding Olivares’ case for the reason that he “possess[ed] a large library and has achieved certain ascendancy among the individuals of his class.” Then he added: “perhaps there exist people willing to embrace the claim for freedom and equality, which makes me distrust people of color, [who are] susceptible to such imprecations.” Olivares was made prisoner in Caracas and forced to sail to peninsular Spain to face trial. After he declared his allegiance to the crown he was released and sent back to Caracas.

Olivares’ case is interesting because, as Soriano explains, he “resisted local social injustice not by making use of revolutionary language, but by exploiting local religious networks, reproducing Spanish reformist cultural practices, and reaffirming his position as a loyal vassal of

145 C. Soriano, “A True Vassal of the King,” 275-95. On the musical activities and clerical aspirations of Juan Bautista Olivares, see also A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 298-301. On the importance of the Olivareses in Caracas’ culture, see Carlos F. Duarte, Los Olivares en la cultura de Venezuela (Caracas: Fundación John Boulton, 1967).
146 “Contra Juan Bautista Olivares sobre palabras sediciosas y denigrativas y de conspiración estampados en un memorial sobre que se remite al Rey N. S.,” Civiles, 1796, RPC, transcribed in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 298-99, my transliteration.
148 Letter of the governor and captain-general of Caracas to the duke of Alcudia, Caracas, 16 February 1795, Archivo General de la Nación, Caracas, transcribed in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 301.
However, the *pardos* that benefited from the private webs of printed materials that circulated in Caracas and enjoyed the protection of the progressivist *criollos* belonged to a reduced though expanding segment of artisans, whose situation was privileged in comparison with the majority of the members of the class of *pardos*. Moreover, some notable artisans could in fact accumulate substantial fortunes, which allowed them to acquire books, jewels, and houses, and, in a few cases, even slaves. This was, for example, the case of the *pardo* musician José Luis Landaeta. The records of his properties at the moment of his deed in 1812 demonstrate that he possessed five slaves, several musical instruments, and a collection of thirty-eight books, including literature on medicine, a dictionary, a treatise on French grammar, and a copy of the famous *Arte de la lengua castellana* by the Renaissance Spanish author Antonio de Nebrija. The social mobility of these *pardos* is attributable perhaps not as much to the budding sensitivity for the class of the *pardos* among the educated as to the result of the Enlightenment-inspired validation of the manual and mechanical labor that occurred during the reigns of Carlos III and Carlos IV that permitted the artisans, many of them *pardos*, a certain number of privileges. In accordance to this, *gremios* or guilds of artisans began to form in Caracas towards the end of the eighteenth century as part of this new perspective of the value of craftsmanship, as historian Frédérique Langue has pointed out.

6. Music-Making and Enlightenment Thought in Caracas

The imprint of Enlightenment thought in the sphere of music manifested itself not only in the attitudes of social tolerance and inclusion observed by the members of *criollo* intelligentsia and in the adoption of the forms of cultured sociability such as the tertulia and the academia that were fashionable in peninsular Spain, but also in an overt interest in imitating and reproducing in the Province of Venezuela the European musical culture affiliated with the values of the Enlightenment. Various studies on music literature circulating in Caracas during the

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151 Civiles, fol. 13, Registro Principal de Caracas, quoted in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 280. Antonio de Nebrija (b. Lebrija, Spain, 1441; d. Alcalá de Henares, 1522), *Arte de la lengua castellana* (1492), more commonly known as *Gramática castellana*, was the first scholarly treatise dedicated to the study of the Castillian or Spanish language which represents a landmark of the humanistic thought in Renaissance Spain.
colonial period undertaken by music historian Hugo Quintana demonstrate that a considerable list of books representative of the musical culture of the European Enlightenment were known to the members of the educated elite. They range from multi-volume treatises of applied mathematics, in which music is studied among other subjects, to articles inserted in popularizing literature dealing with a variety of topics, to treatises on general aesthetics, and to books specifically about music. Among the works that stand out are Tomas Vicente Tosca’s treatise Música especulativa, first published in Valencia in 1707-1715 as part of Tosca’s Compendio matemático. Música especulativa addresses theoretic and practical topics on music such as intervals, modal theory, the classification of musical instruments, musical notation, and theory of musical affections. (See Figure 3.4 below.)

**Figure 3.4.** Tomás Vicente Tosca’s “Tratado VI: De la música especulativa, y práctica,” Vol. 2 of Compendio matemático (Valencia, Spain: Joseph García, 1757).

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154 T. V. Tosca’s Compendio matemático was republished again in Valencia in 1727 and 1757.

In a similar style is Benito Bails’ treatise *Elementos de música especulativa* inserted in Vol. VIII of his *Elementos de matemática*, first published in 1772-1783, which also studies practical and theoretic aspects of music, including intervals, scales, modal theory, chords, harmony, temperament, melody, etc. Both treatises bear in common their consideration of music from the perspective of natural philosophy, thus inserting its study within the modern paradigm of the natural sciences advocated by Enlightenment thinkers. This approach is clearly expressed in Tosca’s definition of music, according to which it is “a physical-mathematic science dealing with harmonic sounds. It is called as such […] because its object belongs both to the [realm] proper to physics and to the realm of quantities, proper of mathematics.”

Illustrative of the literature in popularizing tone are the essays on music included in the nine-volume *Spectacle de la nature, ou Entretien sur les particularités de l’Histoirie naturelle* of the abbé Pluche, which circulated in Caracas in a Spanish translation by Esteban Terreros y Pando, first published in Madrid in 1756-1758. To this same grouping belongs Benito Feijóo’s multi-volume *Teatro crítico* and *Cartas eruditas*, which despite this author’s pioneering enlightened views about the importance of natural sciences are rather conservative in regard to music. More representative of the aesthetic thought of the Enlightenment is Batteuax’s *Cours de belles-lettres*, in Spanish translation and comments by Don Agustín García de Arrieta, published in Madrid in 1797-1802 in six volumes. Also demonstrative of the philosophies of the

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157 Noël Antoine Pluche (b. Rheims, 1688; d. La Varenne-Saint-Maur, France, 1761). The complete title in French is *Spectacle de la nature, ou Entretien sur les particularités de l’Histoirie naturelle que ont paru les plus propres à rendre les jeunes gens curieux et à leur former l’esprit* (1732-1742). The work was published in Spanish as *Espectáculo de la naturaleza, o Conversaciones acerca de las particularidades de la historia natural*. For a discussion of Pluche, see H. Quintana, “Difusión de la estética musical ilustrada,” 146-49 and Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas, 105-09.


159 H. Quintana, *Tosca y Bails*, xviii. Charles Batteaux (b. Ardennes, France, 1713; d. 1780). *Cours de belles-lettres* first published in series appeared between 1747 and 1748. In 1753 the text was published in Paris in a four-volume edition by Durand and Desaint et Saillant under the title of *Cours de Belles-Lettres ou principes de la littérature*. The work was published in Spanish as *Principios filosóficos de la literatura* or *Curso razonado de Bellas Letras* and *de Bellas Artes* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio de Sancha, 1797-1802).
Enlightenment is the treatise of the anti-Aristotelian but empiricist Spaniard Esteban Arteaga that appeared in Madrid in 1789 under the title *Investigaciones filosóficas sobre la belleza ideal considerada como objeto de todas las artes de imitación*, which includes a chapter devoted to the idea of beauty in music. Among the literature specifically on music that has survived from the colonial era are several copies of Tomás de Iriarte’s didactic poem *La música*. Equally noteworthy are the extant copies of the *Index*-proscribed *Enciclopédie* as well as Rousseau’s *Oeuvres complètes*, both including various writings on music, among which is the influential *Dictionnaire de musique* of 1767 by Rousseau.

Based on the evidence of the numerous copies of books on musical themes circulating in Venezuela during colonial times and currently housed at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas as part of the Colección de Libros Raros y Manuscritos, Hugo Quintana has made a convincing case for the existence of spaces for the discussion of theoretical and aesthetic aspects of music in Caracas. Quintana believes that such a discussion would have primarily taken place at the Universidad de Caracas. He grounds his argument on the fact that this was the most important educational institution in the Province of Venezuela and also on the fact that many of the books on music presently preserved were included in the first known catalogue of this library produced during colonial times.

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161 Iriarte’s *La música* has already been discussed in Chapter 2 in the context of the practice of the musical *academia* in eighteenth-century Spain. For a discussion of Iriarte’s views of the musicality of the Spanish language and the theory of affects, see H. Quintana, “La difusión de la estética musical ilustrada,” 153-55, 163-66 and *Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas*, 133-59.


163 The books used by H. Quintana as primary source in his studies belong to the División de Libros Raros of the Biblioteca Nacional. On his thesis about the existence of groups in Caracas dedicated to discussion of musical topics, see H. Quintana, “La difusión de la estética musical ilustrada,” 168; *Tosca y Bails*, xxi, 223; *Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas*, 15.
by Adolfo Ernst in 1875 or otherwise bear markings or seals indicating that they belonged to the university or to faculty members.\textsuperscript{164}

Hugo Quintana’s position is consistent with the conclusions of historian Rafael Hernández Heres discussed above, according to which the Universidad de Caracas served as the center of reception in the province of the ideas of the European Enlightenment.\textsuperscript{165} However, it is possible that the specific case of the literature on musical topics differed from that of literature on other subjects, in the sense that despite the importance that the Universidad de Caracas could have had in receiving Enlightenment ideas in Caracas, their overall spread cannot be completely credited to university activities. Certainly, some writings, such as Tosca’s \textit{Compendio matemático} and Bail’s \textit{Elementos de matématica}, both containing sections devoted to the study of music as a branch of applied mathematics, served at some point as textbooks at the Universidad de Caracas.\textsuperscript{166} At the same time, it would be difficult to substantiate that some other books had been part of university discussions during colonial times. In fact, several of them did not have an easy fit with the subjects taught at the university, such as the treatises on general aesthetics, or writings on the social uses of music such as Tomás de Iriarte’s poem \textit{La música}. As explained above, the universities in the Spanish peninsular and colonial territories, including the Universidad de Caracas, were academically administered by ecclesiastical authorities, despite the royal efforts to promote the secularization of education. In this sense, the struggle represented by the curricular reforms at the Universidad de Caracas to introduce subjects related to the modern paradigms of natural sciences discussed earlier is to be taken as an indication that the study of the aesthetic philosophies affiliated with the Enlightenment, which were so far removed from the scholastic tradition, must not have been openly accepted


\textsuperscript{165} R. Fernández Heres, \textit{La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración}, 12.

\textsuperscript{166} H. Quintana, \textit{Tosca y Bails}, I-li. Quintana refers the existence of Tosca’s treatise \textit{Compendio matemático} in various private collections in since at least the 1740s. A copy of the edition of 1757 printed in Valencia, Spain by Josep García has survived at Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas, Colección de Libros Raros y Manuscritos. The copy originally belonged to the priest Ramón Ignacio Méndez (b. Barinas, Venezuela, 1773; d. Bogotá, 1839), who was a faculty member of the Universidad de Caracas and Archbishop of Caracas in 1827-1839, as well as a signer of the Declaration of Independence. According to Quintana, at some point his copy of Tosca’s treatise passed to library of the Universidad de Caracas (ibid., xvi, xxiii.) A copy of Bails’ \textit{Elementos de matemática} printed in Madrid by Joaquín Ibarra in 1772-83 is also preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional, Colección de Libros Raros y Manuscritos. It belonged to the library of the Universidad de Caracas as well. The complete series was printed in 1772-1783, Madrid: Joaquin Ibarra (ibid., xvii, 219-22).
during the colonial years, especially if it involved authors who were listed in the inquisitional
Index, such as Rousseau. Obviously, this was not the case of some eighteenth-century books on
music that were not linked with the values and beliefs of the Enlightenment, nor challenged the
philosophical precepts of scholasticism, but were used by the faculty members of the
Universidad de Caracas to teach to students of Theology plainchant or the ceremonial
conventions regarding the uses of liturgical music. An instance of this was the treatise Arte de
canto llano y órgano o prontuario de música by Manuel Jerónimo Romero de Ávila, published in
Madrid in 1761, which was used by Juan José Pardo, in charge of the courses on music at the
Universidad de Caracas from 1793 onwards. 167

On the other hand, the books that have survived in the colonial archives that have seals
and other markings indicating that they belonged to the library of the Universidad de Caracas do
not specify the dates when these passed to that collection. This allows one to conjecture that
some of these could have found their way to the library after the colonial era, perhaps during
the times of the Independence War (1811-1823). As Hugo Quintana himself explains in his
study, into the library of the Universidad de Caracas merged at some point books that were
originally part of other collections in colonial Caracas, including but not limited to the
Congregación de San Felipe Neri (Congregation of St. Philip Neri), el Convento de las Monjas
Concepciones (Convent of the Conceptionist Nuns), and the Librería de San Francisco (Library of
San Francisco). 168 Also, copies from private collections not bearing institutional identification
merged into the colonial archives studied by Quintana, as demonstrated by the two surviving
copies of Tomás de Iriarte’s Colección de obras en verso y prosa, which include his poem La
música, as well as the extant copy of Batteaux’s Cours de belles-lettres, printed in Madrid in
1797, which exhibits the personal rubric of “R. R. Montes.” 169 This could also be the case of one
of the two surviving copies of Rousseau’s Oeuvres complètes, which was published in Neuchatel

167 Manuel Jerónimo Romero de Ávila (b. Toledo, Spain, 1717; d. Toledo (unattested), 1779). For
a discussion of the eighteenth-century books on liturgical music circulating in colonial Caracas, see H.
Quintana, Tosca y Bails, 183-248. On Romero de Ávila’s treatise, see the same study by Quintana (xvi). See
168 H. Quintana, Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de
Caracas, 24.
169 Ibid., 13-14. Quintana presumes that the owner of the copy of Batteaux’s book could have
been affiliated with the Montes family, which had certain relevance within Venezuelan educated circles,
one of his members being the man of letters Ramón Isidoro Montes (Angostura, 1826-1889), author of
Ensajos poéticos y literarios (Caracas: Imprenta y Litografía del Gobierno Nacional, 1891). H. Quintana,
“La difusión de la estética musical ilustrada,” 161.
in 1764 and does not contain institutional identification. The second extant copy was published in Paris in 1789.\textsuperscript{170} However, although this second copy shows the seal of the library of the Universidad de Caracas, it is difficult to believe that it was available on the library shelves in the years immediately after its publication. As previously discussed, the writings of the philosophes, especially Rousseau’s, were banned by the Inquisition, and they were also prohibited by royal officials during the times of the French Revolution. Therefore, although these books eventually merged into the library of the Universidad de Caracas, whether they were subject of discussion in the courses offered by this institution is a matter still in need of elucidation.

In view of this, it becomes clear that there are reasons enough to safely assume that if a space for the discussion of musical topics ever took place in colonial Caracas, this must have occurred not only at the Universidad de Caracas but also, and possibly to a greater extent, within the private sphere.\textsuperscript{171} Additional support for this assertion is found in a reference provided by the colonial musician by trade Juan Francisco Meserón in his Esplícacion y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música (Explanation and Knowledge of the General Principles of Music) of 1824. (See Figure 3.5 below.) In the introduction, Meserón refers to his acquaintance with the works of four of the authors of the literature on musical topics that circulated in Caracas during the colonial times. Thus, he stated: “I have very much in mind the praises that a Tosca, a Rouseau [Rousseau], a Bails, an Iriarte, and many others have made about that sublime science [of music].”\textsuperscript{172} xiv

\textsuperscript{170} H. Quintana, Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas, 94-95.

\textsuperscript{171} Hugo Quintana’s studies on the literature on music circulating in colonial Caracas are primarily based only on those titles that belonged or at some point made their way to the library of the Universidad de Caracas. Therefore, those materials that could have otherwise belonged to private collections were in most cases left outside of his consideration. Though this procedure was aimed at assuring that those materials dated to the colonial period, information on materials possibly associated with private circles of music study is still missing in Venezuelan musicological studies. On Quintana’s methodological rationale, see Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas, 13-15.

\textsuperscript{172} J. F. Meserón, Esplícacion [Explicación] y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música (Caracas: Imprenta de Tomás Antero, 1852), 3. All the translations from this source are mine. Quintana presumes that the books Meserón were Tomás Vicente Tosca’s Tratado de música especulativa y práctica, included in his Compendio de matemáticas, Benito Bail’s Elementos de música especulativa, included in his Elementos de matemática, the various writings included in Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s Oeuvres complètes, and Tomás Iriarte’s poem La música. H. Quintana, “Música europea y música latinoamericana del siglo XVIII,” 163.
Although Meserón’s book was published over a decade after the colonial era, the citation of these authors remains relevant to the context of the musical culture of colonial Caracas. Above all, this was the first book on music known to have been published in Venezuela, thus being perhaps the earliest firsthand testimony of the intellectual background of the local music theorists. Also, as musicologist Juan Francisco Sans has observed, given that Meserón’s formative years occurred during the late colonial period, his reference serves as a reasonable indicator of the materials that circulated at that time within musical circles. As in the case of other whites of humble origins, including his relatives Simón Rodríguez and Cayetano Carreño, Meserón did not attend the Universidad de Caracas. Meserón was the son of a French military-band musician who settled in Caracas, and for much of his life he earned his sustenance as a


freelance paid performer and composer. During the Independence War he also worked as an elementary school teacher.\textsuperscript{175} Since his intellectual education on musical matters could not be attributed to the Universidad de Caracas, his acquaintance with the writings of Tosca, Bails, Rousseau, Iriarte, and possibly with other authors associated with the European Enlightenment must have come from autodidactic study. It is unclear whether he had access to the personal collections of well-off \textit{aficionados}, or if he participated in the local \textit{tertulias}, or whether he managed to purchase his own materials. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Meserón’s was not an exceptional case. His is rather to be understood as illustrative of the involvement of underprivileged individuals within the realm of music within the cultured networks that emerged in the private sphere in late colonial Caracas for the study, discussion, and dissemination of printed books. Also, Meserón’s case attests to the fact that literature on music affiliated with the European Enlightenment had sufficient spread among musical circles to reach not only the \textit{mantuanos} and other well-off individuals who could afford their entrance to the university and the purchase of book collections, but also to musicians by trade who depended on a salary for a modest subsistence.

Although there is no direct evidence that the musical circles that formed around Padre Sojo, Bartolomé Blandín, Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz, or Alejandro Carreño had ever hosted intellectual discussions on Enlightenment literature on music, it makes common sense to conjecture the existence of this practice in the context of the important influence that the Spanish enlightened forms of sociability such as the \textit{tertulia} exerted in Caracas colonial society.\textsuperscript{176} In accordance with this, the scattered pieces of information that have survived

\textsuperscript{175} A. Calzavara, \textit{Historia de la música en Venezuela}, 290-94.

\textsuperscript{176} It is unlikely that the Venezuelan man of letters and independence hero Francisco de Miranda had been part of these musical circles in Caracas. Despite being a flutist and a music connoisseur clearly affiliated with the philosophes of the Enlightenment, his extended stay in Europe and North America for most of his adult life would have prevented him from actively participating in Caracas’ musical life. Miranda left Venezuela for Spain in 1771 at the age of twenty-one and only returned in 1806 and again in 1811, both times with specific plans to engage into subversive activities against the Spanish Crown. Yet, during his stay abroad he possessed a considerable collection of scores, mostly consisting of sonatas, trios, duos, quartets, quintets, and alike, which is the type of repertory that was commonly performed the private \textit{academias} in Spain. Still more prerepresentative of his affiliations with the musical culture of the Enlightenment was his interest in paying a visit to Joseph Haydn at Esterházy Palace on 27-29 October 1785. It remains unclear whether Miranda maintained contact with the musicians in Caracas that were associated with the \textit{academias filarmónicas} and the performance of Haydn music. On Francisco de Miranda’s activities as a musician and his visit to Haydn, see R. Stevenson, “Los contactos de Haydn con el mundo ibérico,” 18-20; M. Castillo Didier, “El Precursor Francisco de Miranda y la música,” 97-111; E. Mondolfi Gudat, “Miranda and Music,” 54-76.
regarding the local existence of literary tertulias in colonial Caracas suggest that these gatherings conform to similar practices in peninsular Spain. There are no reasons therefore to deny prima facie that the private groups that in one way or another included music among the topics of interest would not have followed the Spanish models as well. In this respect, the evidence indicates that in peninsular Spain the discussion of musical topics became a major component in the cultured tertulias sponsored by progressivist mantuanos, with the enlightened assumption that music was not only meant to be performed but also to be a subject to be reflected upon. As music historian Martín Moreno has pointed out, the important place that the academias and tertulias in Spain assigned to music coincided with the revalorization that music earned within the ideals of the Enlightenment, which permitted music for the first time to be a topic of conversation and discussion among intellectuals.¹⁷⁷ In the case of Caracas, it is appropriate to note that according to the descriptions produced by the nineteenth-century commentator José Antonio Díaz of the gatherings sponsored by Blandín in his hacienda, the performance of music alternated with rests in which the attendees “discussed the better passages of music that had just been performed.”¹⁷⁸ Provided that Díaz’s assertion is accurate, it is then reasonable to conjecture that gatherings of the sort of Blandín’s tertulias, which offered opportunities for the exchange of ideas on music, functioned at large as a suitable space for the dissemination and discussion of theoretical and aesthetic aspects of Enlightenment literature on music, even though specifics about them cannot be established yet. If this is true, musical academias and tertulias offered an alternate social space that was free from the constraints that existed at the Universidad de Caracas and other institutions that were subject of royal and ecclesiastic supervision.

In either case, it is plausible that a connection existed between the flourishing of music-making in Caracas in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the body of Spanish and French literature on music theory, ceremonial religious music, or enlightened approaches to music that formed part of the colonial collections, as Quintana has suggested. Quintana argues that the presumption largely held in traditional history according to which the dawn of music composition in colonial Caracas was a miracle that occurred in a vacuum is naïve and untenable. Musicologist Juan Francisco Sans has also brought attention to the unreliability of Francisco Curt

¹⁷⁷ A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 295.
¹⁷⁸ J. A. Díaz, El agricultor venezolano, excerpt reproduced in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 227. Díaz’s description of Blandín’s musical gatherings was discussed in Chapter 2.
Lange’s coined expression “the musical miracle of colonial times” because it disregarded the specific social, economic, political, and cultural circumstances that underlay the musical burgeoning that occurred in colonial Caracas. In view of the need to find convincing explanations, Quintana has urged an examination of the books on music that circulated in colonial Caracas as they could throw light on theoretic, aesthetic, or compositional aspects that could have played a part in the musical developments that occurred there.

Previous studies undertaken by Sans in this area have proven to be very productive. Sans’ examination of various sources, including several Spanish and French treatises on music, as well as the body of manuscripts and prints of European music that have survived in colonial archives, has contributed to open new perspectives regarding the possible stylistic affiliations of the composers of the Escuela de Chacao. However, little has been done yet in relation to the possible influence of these sources in the shaping of concert-making practices. The question then arises of the input of Enlightenment literature on musical subjects that circulated in Caracas in shaping the formation of academias filarmónicas and tertulias during colonial times and the musical culture that grew around them.

In this regard, from all the sources dealing with musical subjects that have survived in colonial archives, Tomás de Iriarte’s didactic poem La música deserves particular attention for its representation of the value of music and its social uses as understood in Spanish Enlightenment culture. Iriarte’s description of music-making in the academias in Madrid, discussed earlier, coincides in general lines with the musical practices sponsored by figures such as Padre Sojo and Bartolomé Blandín, as reflected in the sparse information that has survived in nineteenth-century sources, as well as in the body of printed music that is preserved in the colonial collections housed at the Biblioteca Nacional that is presumably linked with them. In brief, these similarities are first, the use of a format of informal or non-institutional gatherings held in the private sphere aimed at the performance of music and eventual discussion about it. Second, was the involvement of music connoisseurs and musicians by trade, currently referred to as aficionados and profesores, respectively. Third, regarding repertory, there was a

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180 On Iriarte’s La música as representative text of the musical culture of the Enlightenment in Spain, see A. Martín Moreno, Historia de la música española, 285-86.
181 Tomás de Iriarte’s description of the musical academias in Madrid, as well as the possible links between the musical sources available in colonial archives and the private circles of music-making in Caracas were discussed in Chapter 2.
preference for music for instrumental ensembles, especially symphonies in the early classical style. Finally, the main purpose was the appreciation of music, despite the atmosphere of politeness and conviviality of the gatherings, which sets this practice apart from functional uses of music, such as dancing or liturgical worship.

Iriarte’s poem *La música* enjoyed a widespread dissemination in the Hispanic world. After the first edition came out in 1779 under the support of King Carlos III, the work was reprinted in numerous occasions well into the nineteenth century, not only in Spain but also in México, as well as in translations in Italy, France, Germany, and England.\(^{182}\) The copies that have survived in the archives in Caracas are both dated from the colonial times, corresponding to the editions of 1787 by Benito Cano in Madrid and 1805 by the Imprenta Real.\(^ {183}\) Given the prestige that Iriarte enjoyed in the Spanish aristocratic circles, it is not unlikely that Caracas *mantuanos* with musical inclinations and contacts in the *península* such as Padre Sojo or Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz would have become acquainted with *La música* soon after it was published for the first time. In addition, the laudatory reference of Iriarte that Juan Francisco Meserón wrote in his *Esplicación y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música* can be taken as a positive indication of the influence that Iriarte’s text had on the musicians of the period. Nonetheless, specifics on the influence of Iriarte in Caracas musical practices in the private sphere are difficult to establish based on the available documentation. Although it seems undeniable that certain groups in Caracas were aware of the musical practices, literature, and repertory engaged by the enlightened intelligentsia in peninsular Spain, and that there was a conscious effort to reproduce much of it these Caracas, their sources could have been Iriarte’s book among many others. Personal experience during visits in the Spanish Peninsula, or any other means could also have had a modeling role in the private musical practices that eventually developed in Caracas. That could have also been the case of Padre Sojo who must have had personal acquaintance with several members of the Spanish aristocracy in Madrid during his visit in 1770-1771, and could have desired afterwards to imitate their musical customs, as music historian Alberto

\(^{182}\) Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of Iriarte’s *La música* in Spanish include the prints of the Imprenta Real in Madrid of 1779, 1782, 1784, 1789, and 1805; Benito Cano in Madrid in 1787; Librería Ramos in Madrid in 1822; Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros in México in 1785; and Pedro Beaume in Bordeaux, France in 1809 and Viuda Laplace y Beaume also in Bordeaux in 1835. The work was translated into French (Paris: J.J. Fuchs, 1799), German (Weimar, [n.d.]), English (London: William Savage, 1807) and Italian (Venice: Antonio Caroli, 1789). H. Quintana, “La difusión de la estética musical ilustrada,” 154; *Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas*, 138-40.

\(^{183}\) H. Quintana, *Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas*, 140.
Calzavara has observed.\textsuperscript{184} In either case, it is apparent that the emergence of private groups of music-making in colonial Caracas occurred in a context of dissemination of Enlightenment thought and cultured forms of sociability firmly grounded in the belief of the importance of personal interaction with the advancement of knowledge and artistic cultivation. Thus, Iriarte’s poem \textit{La música}, being illustrative of the aesthetic and social values of the musical Enlightenment in Spain, remains an important reference to understand the enlightened ideas about music and music-making that took hold in Caracas, which ultimately played a part in the musical flourishing of the late colonial period.

Tomás de Iriarte belonged to the group of elites that advocated enlightened educational and cultural reforms in peninsular Spain. He came from a well-educated family of aristocratic lineage. Much of his humanistic education is attributed to his closeness with his uncle, the man of letters Juan de Iriarte, a respected intellectual, who had been also responsible for the education of some other aristocrats, including the renowned patron of the arts Fernando de Silva, duke of Alba.\textsuperscript{185} Tomás de Iriarte was knowledgeable in classical, Spanish, and French literature. He also studied mathematics, geography, and history. He engaged in various intellectual activities including writing poetry, dramas, comedies, and fables, translating books, and serving as curator of the publications of his uncle. He also occupied an official position as librarian of King Carlos III. Despite his reputation as an intellectual and his affiliation with the crown, his advocacy for the\textit{ philosophes} brought him difficulties with the Spanish Inquisition in the 1780s. Iriarte also received some education in music, which allowed him to be a frequent participant in in \textit{academias} and \textit{tertulias} as performer of violin and viola and to compose instrumental and theatrical music for cultured gatherings.\textsuperscript{186} His musical knowledge also extended to the philosophical area, as reflected in \textit{La música}, where he reports acquaintance with the works of several French theorists including Mersenne, Nivers, Sauveur, Rameau, Bethizy, Blainville, Rousseau, Roussier, d’Alembert, Serre, Balliere, and Mercadier, among others.\textsuperscript{187} Iriarte’s erudition in musical matters was recognized by the royal authorities. There is

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  \item A. Calzavara, \textit{Historia de la música en Venezuela}, 115.
  \item A. Martín Moreno, \textit{Historia de la música española}, 266. Juan de Iriarte y Cisneros (b. Puerto de la Cruz de Orotava, Tenerife, Spain, 1702; d. Madrid 1771).
  \item Tomás de Iriarte’s instrumental music, reportedly symphonies and chamber pieces for musical academias, has not survived. His theatrical compositions have been studied in José Subirà, \textit{El compositor Iriarte (1750-1791) y el cultivo español del melólogo} (Barcelona, Spain: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949).
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\end{footnotesize}
information that on at least one occasion he was requested to act as a censor for Vicente Pérez book on plainchant. However, Iriarte’s musical proficiency should not lead us to mistakenly assume that he was not an aficionado. In truth, Iriarte epitomizes the figure of the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century aficionado musician, as understood in Hispanic culture. Along with other educated Spaniards of his time, including Xavier María de Munibe, count of Peñaflorida, Fernando de Silva and his son Francisco de Paula de Silva, duke of Huéscar, and Francisco de Paula Miconi, marquis of los Méritos, just to mention the most prominent, Iriarte represents the group of enlightened aficionados that took part in private gatherings aimed at the performance and intellectual discussion of music.

In general terms, the dedication to music of the aficionados often involved skills in practical or technical aspects of music performance and even composition. Nonetheless, more distinctive was their enlightened belief that music was an object of appreciation by virtue of the personal gratification that it provided, as well as for the aesthetic and moral values that it conveyed. Thus, besides the functional uses that music could have in religious, recreational, and other contexts, music was valued for its capacity to inspire noble feelings and to foster harmonious social interactions. An important tenet of the Enlightenment was that the improvement of musical literacy and musical taste, and the attentive appreciation of music, could make society better. Therefore, besides the pleasures that could derive from listening or performing music, for the advocates of the Enlightenment, music was a social necessity. This explains the importance that the aficionados gave to the serious cultivation of music. Not only did they give to music-making a privileged space in private gatherings for the initiated, but they also made a conscious effort to advance their literacy in various aspects of music, including history, aesthetics, and theory, and to avidly follow the current musical developments elsewhere. The enlightened views of the social value of music among the aficionados who gathered in musical academias is expressed by Iriarte in his poem. In it, he refers to music as “an art pleasant and necessary to the man in society not less than to the one in isolation.” (See Figure 3.6 below.) In another passage he praises “benign humanity” for using music to give men


188 H. Quintana, Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas, 135.
189 D. Schroeder, “Listening, Thinking and Writing,” 183-84.
in society a dignified form of recreation. Music allows them “to take refuge from despair” and to have “a pleasant relief from their worries and occupations.” Also, music “strengthens the union among mortals,” “softens their customs and manners,” and “makes their leisure noble and useful”:

Tú también á mi verso algun renombre
Merecerás, Humanidad benigna,
Que para dar al hombre
Recreación de sus potencias digna,
La amena sociedad instituíste,
Seguro asilo de su vida triste.
Tú de la dulce Música te vales
Para estrechar la unión de los mortales;
Sus costumbres suavizas y su trato;
Y alternar sabes el descanso grato
Con los serios afanes y negocios,
Haciendo nobles y útiles sus ocios.  

Figure 3.6. Plate by Don Joaquín Ballester for Canto V of Tomás de Iriarte’s La música (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1779), citing the poetic excerpt “An art pleasant and necessary to the man in society not less than to the one in isolation.”

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190 T. de Iriarte, La música, Canto V.
In Caracas, educated *mantuanos* such as Padre Sojo, Bartolomé Blandín, Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz, José Antonio Mohedano, and Domingo de Tovar seem to have had very much in common in terms of social class and intellectual and musical interests with the group of peninsular *aficionados*. Because of their reputation as music lovers and sponsors of private gatherings for the appreciation of music, they exemplify the rise of the figure of the *aficionado* in colonial Caracas. Hugo Quintana has already brought attention to the formation in colonial Caracas of this new social agent, which he identifies as the *dilettante*. According to Quintana, the *dilettante* had an important input in the musical culture, if not as a performer or composer, as an appreciative listener and disseminator of literature on musical issues.192

Presumably, enlightened ideas about music took first hold within the smaller group of *mantuano aficionados* and other privileged men who had access to university education and possessed the means to acquire books, and eventually reached lower-strata members of the musical sphere. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, enlightened views on the social necessity of music had already become central to Caracas musical culture, as demonstrated by Juan Francisco Meserón’s book *Esplicación y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música*. This was a treatise on the basic concepts of music aimed at promoting music literacy among general audiences. Meserón justified such an undertaking on the enlightened belief of the benefit that the spread of knowledge about music would bring to the progress of Venezuelan society: “Music being one of the most beautiful and pleasant of the arts, with which various sentiments of the soul are expressed, and its merits having been recognized among all the cultured nations in the world, which consider it an essential part of good education, it seems indispensable that we welcome and protect it in our land[...]”193  Likewise, descriptions of the musical doings of the groups of private music-making in colonial Caracas produced later in the nineteenth century were firmly framed in the enlightened idea of the necessity of music for the betterment of society. Arístides Rojas, for example, described Padre Sojo and Bartolomé

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192 H. Quintana, *Textos y ensayos musicales pertenecientes a la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Caracas*, 18. The term *dilettante* is used by Quintana in the colonial context to refer to music lovers in general. However, as I will discuss in Chapter 7, both the Italian word *dilettante* or the Spanish *diletante* acquired a specific meaning in mid-nineteenth-century Caracas. Musical commentators very often referred to the devotees of opera and concert-goers as *dilettanti* or *diletantes*, while the term *aficionado* continued being frequently used to refer non-professional musicians, usually of serious dedication to music.

193 J. F. Meserón, *Esplicación y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música*, Prólogo [3].
Blandín as “aficionados of the musical art [...] [who] after visiting the Old World, brought to their land a great share of progress, of which Caracas society took advantage.”  

Early influences of the Enlightenment in Caracas musical culture can be also traced to the attention that local composers gave to the repertory of music for instrumental ensembles by Austro-German composers, especially Haydn, as reflected in the abundant copies of Haydn’s symphonies preserved in colonial archives in Caracas. In *La música*, Iriarte explicitly stated the preference for this repertory in the *academias* sponsored by enlightened aficionados in Madrid. In the explanatory notes for the poem, Iriarte justified this fondness on the present state of advancement of the “science of music” in the different European nations. According to Iriarte, “in modern times, German and Bohemian [composers] have distinguished themselves in instrumental music” on account of their “nervous and harmonic style,” which features “the grace and expressive softness of the Italian [style].” Comparable achievements were presently taking place in France in the area of music theory and aesthetics, in Italy in theatrical music, and in Spain in ecclesiastic music. Among the composers that Iriarte mentioned as notable in the area of symphonic music were Johann, Anton, and Carl Stamitz, Christian Cannabich, and Anton Filtz in Mannheim; the German composers Friedrich Schwindl, Placidus Cajetan von Carmerloher, and one of the members of the Bach family, presumably Johann Christian Bach; the Austrian composers Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Joseph Haydn, Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, and Franz Asplmayr; and the Bohemian composers Johann Baptist Vanhal, Josef Myslivecek, and Antonin Kammel.  

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194 A. Rojas, "La primera taza de café en el valle de Caracas," 552.  
195 The extant repertory of symphonic music preserved in colonial archives was discussed in Chapter 2.  
197 Ibid., Advertencias sobre el Canto IV, xxi-xxii and xxi, my translation. Johann Stamitz (b. 1717; d. 1757). Carl Stamitz (b. 1745; d. 1801). Christian Cannabich (b. 1731; d. 1798). Anton Filtz (b. 1733; d. 1760). Friedrich Schwindl (b. 1737; d. 1786). Placidus Cajetan von Carmerloher (b. 1718; d. 1782). Johann Christian Bach (b. 1735; d. 1782). Georg Christoph Wagenseil (b. 1715; d. 1777). Franz Joseph Haydn (b. 1732; d. 1809). Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (b. 1739; d. 1799). Franz Asplmayr (b. 1728; d. 1786). Johann Baptist Vanhal (b. 1739; d. 1813). Josef Myslivecek (b. 1737; d. 1781). Antonin Kammel (b. 1730; d. 1784). Other composers of symphonic music no yet identified are also included in Iriarte’s observations of the modern developments of symphonic music. Music historian Antonio Martín Moreno has noticed the absence of Mozart in this list, which contrasts with the thorough representation of the composers of the Mannheim School. A. Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española*, 284. Coincidentally, Mozart is also absent in the colonial holdings in Caracas musical archives.
For Iriarte, the most prominent of these was Joseph Haydn, who he considered “the greatest composer of our days.” 198xxx In *La música*, Iriarte expressed that for some time the academias in Madrid had become fond of Haydn’s compositions, which he metaphorically praised with his teachings:

> Tiempo ha que en sus privadas Academias
> Madrid á tus escritos se aficiona,
> Y tú su amor con tu enseñanza premias
> [...] 199

Nonetheless, later on in the explicative notes to the poem Iriarte admits that his enthusiasm for Haydn did not entirely correspond with the actual impact of his music: “if the praise of Joseph Háyden or Héyden had to be measured by the acceptance of works currently played in Madrid, it would seem of course, excessive or passionate.” 200xxx While it is possible that Iriarte could have overstated the importance of Haydn in the overall musical world of late eighteenth-century Madrid, recent archival research indicates that there existed an interest in his music, which occurred there even earlier than in other European cities. In fact, Haydn’s instrumental music began to be cultivated around 1770s at the royal court and other aristocratic circles in Spain. 201 Likewise, other composers of symphonic music also mentioned by Iriarte conform generally to the current repertories of aristocratic academias and tertulias as well. 202

Extant copies of musical manuscripts and copies formerly belonging to the royal court in Madrid suggest that during the last three decades of the eighteenth century the compositions of Haydn and Gaetano Brunetti dominated the repertory of the royal orchestra. Other compositions performed there include the symphonies by the London composers Johann Christian Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel, the French composers François-Joseph Gossec and Ignaz Pleyel, the Austrian composer Dittersdorf, and the Manheim composers Johann and Carl Stamitz.

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200 Ibid., Advertencias sobre el Canto V, xxvii-xxviii.
202 According to music historian Antonio Martín Moreno, the acquaintance in Spain with the composers of the Manheim school occurred immediately as suggested in documentary evidence. *Historia de la música española*, 284.
and Franz Xaver Richter. The important presence of Brunetti’s music in the royal palace was certainly a reflection of his duties as court musician. He had been responsible for the academias of the Infante Carlos since the 1770s. After the infant ascended to the throne as Carlos IV in 1788 Brunetti became the head of the royal orchestra. However, the preference for Haydn as well as the presence of other foreign composers reflected different motives. Musicologist David Wyn Jones has interpreted this as a desire on the part of Carlos IV “to be seen as partaking of all that was progressive in international musical life; [he] cultivated symphonies by foreign composers of the day in the same way as [he] indulged a passion for Italian opera.”

This preoccupation for being acquainted with the culture and customs of other countries, especially those considered more advanced, was a common attitude among the advocates of the Enlightenment, as they perceived that keeping up with modern times was a way to improve society. Thus, the resolve to adopt at the court those musical styles that were fashionable across Europe was consistent with the spirit of the cultural reforms already undertaken by the Bourbons. Haydn as the leading composer of modern instrumental genres was therefore to be considered a paradigm of these ideals in music. Musicologist José Carlos Gosálvez Lara has explained this construct: “Haydn's music was a sign of modernity, at a time when many wanted to be recognized as modern [...] To proclaim himself a fervent admirer of Haydn meant, at the time, to send an implicit message of enthusiasm for the new and constructive changes, an authentic statement of principles, and the testimony of an intellectual identification with the values of the Enlightenment that transcended the mere field of music.”

The taste for Austro-German music for instrumental ensembles, in particular Haydn’s quartets and symphonies, spread through other academias and tertulias in Spain. In Madrid,

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204 Copies of fifty-four of Haydn’s symphonies have survived in the archive of the royal library, some of them consisting of part manuscripts hand-written by Esterházy copyists, which suggests a direct link between Haydn and the court orchestra. D. W. Jones, “Austrian Symphonies in the Royal Palace, Madrid,” 134. Brunetti’s surviving music for instrumental ensembles composed for the royal court comprises trios, quartets, quintets, and forty-one orchestral works including symphonies, concertante symphonies, and overtures. On Gaetano Brunetti’s compositions, see G. Labrador López de Azcona, Gaetano Brunetti (1744-1798): Catálogo crítico, temático y cronológico (Madrid: Asociación Española de Documentación Musical, 2005).


206 J. C. Gosálvez Lara,”Haydn visto por los españoles,” 124, my translation.
one of the earlier supporters of Haydn was the young *aficionado* Don Manuel Delatila, marquis of Manca, who from the mid-1770s organized at his residence a string quartet apparently devoted to Haydn’s compositions. Tomás de Iriarte was one of the participant performers.207 Don José Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, was another notable sponsor of Haydn’s music in Madrid, as evidenced in his portrait painted by Francisco de Goya in 1795, which shows the duke holding a notebook with songs with piano accompaniment by Haydn. Presumably, Haydn composed several string quartets for the duke of Alba as well.208 Yet, the most important of Haydn’s patron in Spain was undoubtedly the duchess of Osuna and Benevente. From 1783 to 1789 she maintained a contract with Haydn through her representative in Vienna, Carlos Alejandro de Lelis, in which the composer committed to regularly supplying her with chamber and orchestral works. The music was destined to be performed in her literary and musical *tertulia* in Madrid. Little of that collection has survived. However, an inventory of the duchess’ musical library carried out in 1824 indicated that she was in possession of seventy-six symphonies, fifty-three string quartets, and fifteen trios by Haydn. Tomás de Iriarte not only was a frequent participant in the duchess’ musical and literary gatherings but he also took a relevant part in the negotiations between the duchess and Haydn.209 The esteem for Haydn’s music for instrumental ensembles continued growing through the first third of the nineteenth century, to judge from the repertory held in the *concierios espirituales* at the Teatro de los Caños del Peral, which included symphonies by Haydn along with Mannheim composers, Mozart, Cayetano Brunetti, and other Spanish symphonists.210

Outside Madrid the support for Haydn’s music was also significant. Among these stands out Don Francisco de Paula María Miconi y Cifuentes, marquis of los Méritos, who also included Haydn’s works on a regular basis in his famous *tertulia* in Cádiz, while maintaining a friendly

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207 R. Stevenson, “Los contactos de Haydn con el mundo ibérico,” 3.
208 J. C. Gosálvez Lara, “Haydn visto por los españoles,” 125. The painter Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (b. Fuentetododo, Spain, 1646; d. Bordeaux, France, 1828) counts among the artists that were protected by the dukes of Alba. Goya’s portrait of the duke of Alba of 1795 is currently housed at Museo del Prado, Madrid. The title of Haydn’s music as shown in the portrait is “Cuatro canciones con acompañamiento de fortepiano del señor Haydn.” The musical copies are lost. Surviving correspondence between Tomás de Iriarte and Carlos Alejandro de Lelis, spokesperson for the duchess of Osuna and Benavente, states that Haydn had written two string quartets for the duke of Alba, who had been requesting them to the composer for two years. A. Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española*, 277-79; R. Stevenson, “Los contactos de Haydn con el mundo ibérico,” 12-18.
epistolary relationship with the composer. Haydn’s music was also disseminated in the Hispanic American colonies. According to research by musicologists Luis Merino and Robert Stevenson, much of the acquaintance with Haydn’s music occurred in the realm of religious music. Although further research is needed to establish far-reaching conclusions at the continental level, it is apparent that the devotion that the musical circles in colonial Caracas had for Haydn’s symphonic music was rather exceptional. In either case, it is reasonable to assume that the formidable reception that Haydn had in colonial Caracas was another marker of the influence that the Enlightenment had in its musical culture. This indicator is placed side by side with the Enlightenment literature on musical topics that circulated in the city along with the adoption of the musical practices of the academia and the tertulia, clearly affiliated with enlightened ideals of music cultivation and cultured sociability, as discussed above. In this sense, Haydn’s symphonic music came to symbolize for private musical circles in Caracas, as it did in peninsular Spain, an enlightened desire to embrace modernity and progress.

7. The Emergence of Public Opinion in Caracas

In 1808 the captain-general of Venezuela, Don Juan de Casas, authorized the Englishman Matthew Gallagher and his associate, the Scottish James Lamb, to establish a printing press in Caracas. The company began with the launching of the newspaper Gazeta de Caracas on October 24 of that year under the editorial direction of the man of letters Andrés Bello. Until that time Bello had been occupying a minor bureaucratic position at the Gobernación de Caracas (Governorate of Caracas), which he obtained through the recommendation of Luis de Ustáriz. The first issue of the Gazeta de Caracas began by stating the progressivist importance of the establishment of the printing press in Caracas to the development of the different spheres of life:

For a long time the city of Caracas missed the establishment of a printing press [...] We owe to the spontaneous interest of the government and to the concurrence of other
authorities to have attained in Caracas an establishment that for many years Caracas has envied of other populations of less importance [...] The usefulness of an establishment of this kind [...] cannot but be obvious to any of its enlightened inhabitants, not only from the perspective that it offers to [the advancement of] Agriculture and Commerce but also to Politics and Literature. 214

In order to accomplish this purpose, the Gazeta summoned educated individuals to work with the printing press to disseminate their intellectual work, asking that: “all Subjects and Ladies, who for their knowledge and inclinations are in the position of contributing to public education, and to innocent recreation that amenable literature provides, to submit their productions in prose or verse to the printing office. 215 (See Figure 3.7 below.)

Figure 3.7. First number of the Gazeta de Caracas announcing the establishment of the printing press. “Apertura de la imprenta,” Gazeta de Caracas, 24 Oct. 1808.

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214 [A. Bello], “Apertura de la Imprenta,” Gazeta de Caracas, 24 Oct. 1808, n.p. All the translations from this source are mine.

215 Ibid.
Despite the spontaneity that the Gazeta attributed to this initiative, there was a clear political motivation from the part of the authorities to finally concede official license to a printing press business in Caracas after it had been so long delayed. As a matter of fact, the establishment of the printing press in Caracas took place at a moment of profound political uncertainty in the Spanish Empire. The rationale of the Gazeta de Caracas was to inform its readers about the political crisis of 1808 in the Spanish Empire after Napoleon Bonaparte’s forces invaded the península, and to guide opinion in Caracas in favor of the resistance.  

In 1807, Bonaparte had forced the abdication of both Carlos IV and his son Fernando VII while pretending to serve as mediator to resolve their dispute over the Spanish Crown. In June of the following year, with the royal family kept captive in France, Napoleon installed his brother Joseph Napoleon as king of Spain and the Indies under the name of José I. Napoleon’s occupation of Madrid was relatively effortless, since the French forces were already in the Spanish Peninsula because of the Treaty of Fontainebleau of 1807, according to which Spain and France became allies to invade Portugal and divide up the country among themselves. Since the beginning of the conflict, various regions in the Spanish Peninsula began to form local juntas which served as bodies of political administration to resist the French invaders. Among these, the Junta of Seville, under the name of Junta Suprema de España e Indias (Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies), claimed authority over the Spanish territories overseas, which positioned itself above other local juntas in terms of representative power, operating in fact as the principal administrative organism of the military resistance. Given the lack of accord among the juntas and the urgent need to coordinate them, in September 1808 the Junta Suprema Central Gobernativa del Reino (Supreme Central and Governing Junta of the Kingdom) was installed, which did not recognize the abdication of Fernando VII and assumed executive and legislative powers, administering the Spanish resistance in his name.

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217 Joseph-Napoléon Bonaparte (b. Corte, Corsica, 1768; d. Florence, Tuscany, 1844) was King of Naples and Sicily from 1806 to 1808 and King of Spain and the Indies from 1808 to 1813. Fernando de Borbón (b. El Escorial, Spain, 1784; d. Madrid, 1833) was king of Spain from March to May of 1808. After his forced abdication, he reassumed the Spanish Crown from 1813 to 1833. These events marked the beginning of the Peninsular War (Guerra de la Independencia Española), considered part of the Napoleonic Wars, which lasted until 1814.
News about the abdication of the king of Spain, the French invasion, and the crowning of José I reached Venezuela in June 1808 through English newspapers that arrived from Trinidad. Though the local authorities first believed it to be a cunning strategy by the British to confuse the Spanish colonies, the arrival of envoys from Bonaparte a couple of weeks later clarified their doubts. In August, Caracas received a representative of the Junta of Seville. The Province of Venezuela expressed its loyalty to Fernando VII before the Junta de Sevilla and later again before the Junta Suprema Central.

Nonetheless, the government of resistance in the península feared that a climate of subversion would be created in the American territories, given the fragility of the Junta Suprema’s authority before the advance of Napoleon’s forces, along with the effect that already had produced the filtration in the colonial territories of prohibited materials concerning the revolutionary events that had occurred in North America and France. Conspiracy movements had been breaking out in Venezuela since the revolt of José Leonardo Chirino in 1795. In 1797 the local government managed to placate a pro-independence movement based in Caracas’ nearby harbor city of La Guaira. The group was led by the criollos Manuel Gual and José María España in alliance with the peninsular Juan Bautista Picornell, then a political prisoner after plotting in Madrid against King Carlos IV. Gual, España, Picornell, and their followers distributed subversive material and planned to take the Capitanía General de Venezuela to form a republican government inspired by the French Revolution. After the conspiracy was discovered, the leaders and other participants were severely punished and sentenced to exile.218 The intellectual Simón Rodríguez, presumably involved in the movement and anticipating persecution and reprimand from the colonial authorities, decided to leave Venezuela.219 In a

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218 Manuel Gual (b. La Guaira, Venezuela, 179; d. San José de Oruña, Trinidad, 1800). José María España (b. La Guaira, Venezuela, 1761; d. Caracas 1799). Juan Bautista Picornell (b. Palma de Mallorca, Spain, 1759; d. Cuba, 1825).

219 Although Simón Rodríguez never came back to Venezuela, history has attributed to him a major role in the ideological enlightened ideals that eventually crystallized into Venezuela’s independence from Spain. In 1797, Rodríguez went to Kingston, Jamaica, and later to the U.S, dwelling there until 1800. The following year he took up residence in France, where he continued educating himself. In 1804, while living in Paris, Rodríguez met his former student Simón Bolívar. Together they travelled around Europe for the span of two years, during which time Rodríguez apparently finished Bolivar’s intellectual formation, equipping him with a solid grounding in the political and moral principles of republicanism. Although the actual input of Rodríguez in Bolivar’s revolutionary ideals has never been clarified, Bolivar himself expressed profound gratitude for his intellectual influence and considered him his mentor. Rodríguez returned to America in 1823. Starting in Cartagena de Indias, Rodríguez traveled South America until 1825, when Bolivar asked him to work on the organization of education in Bolivia. Rodríguez’s disagreements with Bolivia’s president, Antonio José de Sucre, motivated his resignation the following
similar fashion, in 1806 the enlightened criollo Francisco de Miranda, after a military career in the península and participation in both the American and French Revolutions, came back to Venezuela with plans to make South America independent. His plans failed, so he returned to Europe with the expectation of gathering international military support for an eventual coup. Similar situations occurred in the other Hispanic territories in America. Therefore, with the aim of counterbalancing the volatile situation, official newspapers in Caracas and other cities across Spanish America as well engaged into the task of shaping public opinion in favor of the peninsular resistance.

In Caracas, the Gazeta in its first edition explained the political situation by showing an apparent consensus among the peninsular and Hispanic American territories to oppose Napoleon: “The history of the times does not present a comparable example in terms of the principles, ideas, and behavior manifested against the tyrant of Europe by the inhabitants of all the Spanish domains. In such a vast empire, scattered over the whole globe and composed of parts separated by an immense ocean, only one general cry has been heard: better to die than to accept Napoleon’s bondage!”

For almost two years the Gazeta de Caracas continued its initial purpose in favor of the resistance. However, an important turn in the discourse occurred in the issue of April 27, 1810 when the newspaper withdrew its support for the provisional government of the resistance in the península, defending instead the rights of the Venezuelan Province to maintain its loyalty to Fernando VII, still in captivity. On April 19, a group of criollos had deposed Vicente de Emparan, who had been previously appointed as governor of Venezuela by the Junta Suprema Central in Seville, and formed an autonomous governing board of resistance, designated Junta Suprema de Caracas or Junta Conservadora de los Derechos de Fernando VII (Supreme Board of Caracas or Board for the Defense of the Rights of Felipe VII), representing a majority of the provinces of the Capitanía General de Venezuela (General Captaincy of Venezuela). Thus, the Gazeta de Caracas began its issue of April 27 with the Latin epigraph “Salus populi suprema lex esto” (The...
welfare of people shall be the supreme law), 222 a citation from Cicero’s De Legibus, being followed by this provocative communication: “when the societies acquire the civil liberty that constitutes them as such is when the public opinion recovers its empire, and the newspapers which are their organ acquire the influence that they must have.” Then it stated: “the Gazeta de Caracas, hitherto destined to purposes that are no longer in accord with the spirit of the public in Venezuela, will recover the frankness and sincerity that it has to have, so that the Government and the People can achieve with it [the Gazeta] the beneficial design that our peaceful transformation has produced.” 223

The reason offered for this political course was that the Junta of Seville had previously recognized the American territories as integral parts of the Spanish Crown. This implied that the government of resistance in the península recognized that they were not longer considered colonies and that their free population acquired rights comparable to those of the peninsulares. Nonetheless, when a new board of resistance under the name of Supremo Consejo de Regencia de España e Indias (Supreme Board of the Regency of Spain and the Indies) was formed in Isla de León, nearby Cádiz in January 1810, after Seville fell to the French forces and the Junta Suprema Central disbanded, the representatives of the American territories were denied equal participation with respect to the provinces in the península; moreover their representation was assigned to peninsular officials instead of to the criollos. In this regard, the Gazeta expressed in a public letter of the Junta de Caracas to the Consejo de Regencia:

The Government of the península recognized [...] the status of [the American] habitants as citizens of Spain, that the time has come when for the first time they were going to greatly enjoy their civil prerogatives, and to curtail the unbearable pride and greed of the administrators, who since the times of the discovery [of America] have done nothing but vex it, degrade it, and suffocate all the elements of its prosperity in the name of the Monarch. However, neither the order issued for the election of the individuals that were to integrate the Junta nor the call made to integrate the national Courts have shown anything other than insufferable partiality. 224

Under these circumstances, the criollos in Caracas were considered to have a legitimate right to throw off the authority of the Consejo de Regencia in Cádiz and declare Venezuela’s independence from the peninsular resistance while ratifying its loyalty to Fernando VII. The

222 Marcus Tullius Cicero (b. Arpinum, Roman Republic, 106 BC; d. Formia, Roman Republic, 43 BC), De Legibus, Book III, Part III, Sub. VIII.
underlying issue was about who was the legitimate depositary of the sovereignty of the
habitants of the American territories during the absence of the monarch, once the political
equality between *peninsulares* and the *criollos* had been, at least theoretically, recognized. 225

The Junta de Caracas claimed that if Fernando VII was not in the situation to represent the
sovereignty of the people of the American territories, their sovereignty should be returned to
them, having therefore the natural right to govern themselves until the Spanish state could be
restored on a legitimate and equalitarian basis:

Your Excellency [members of the Consejo Supremo de Regencia] would be deceived if
you believed [...] that [the habitants of the American territories] will be ready to grant
their obedience and vassalage to the various corporations that have been substituting
each other indefinitely, and that have only in common to have named themselves
[depositaries of] the sovereignty [of the people], despite the fact that the Monarch has
not recognized it, nor the general community of Spaniards from both sides of the
Atlantic. [Therefore] it cannot but be absolutely null, illegitimate, and contrary to the
principles sanctioned by our legislation. 226 xxxviii

The relationship between Caracas and the Consejo de Regencia continued to deteriorate
rapidly as they declared the Province of Caracas in rebellion and made efforts to block
commerce between it and the Spanish allies. The circumstances were aggravated even more
when a group of conspicuous opponents of the participation of the *criollos* in the Consejo de
Regencia alleged that the *criollos* were unable to provide a sound input in these political
assemblies due to the supposed flaws in their moral character. This position was substantiated
with a report prepared by the *peninsular* representatives of the Consulate of Mexico dated on
27 May 1810, which described in derogatory terms the characters and customs of the different
races that populated the Spanish American territories. On the Indian, it stated that

He is endowed with a laziness and languor that cannot be explained with examples [...] he never moves if hunger or vice does not drag him. Stupid by constitution, without
talent for inventiveness, nor force of thought, he abhors the arts and trades, and he
does not need anything of it for his method of existence [...] The Indian does not take

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225 On the issues of sovereignty discussed in the Spanish American territories as result of the
dissolution of the Junta Suprema Central, see F.-X. Guerra, “La ruptura originaria: Mutaciones, debates y
mitos de la Independencia,” 21-42. For a discussion focused on Venezuela, see J. Bracho, “Una
aproximación a la ciudad letrada en los tiempos de Independencia,” 31-51.

226 “La Junta Suprema de Caracas á los Señores que componen la Regencia de España,” *Gazeta de
his ideas, thoughts, interests, and will beyond the reach of his eyes and he [lives] detached from any patriotic feelings and from any social interest. 227

The report’s description of the individuals of mixed race under the denomination of castas continued a similar line of thought:

They are of the same condition, of the same character, of the same temperament, and of the same negligence of the indio […] They lack self-control, they are lazy, they have no honor, or gratitude, or fidelity, they do not have any notions of religion or morality, they have no manners, cleanliness, or decency. They seem even more soulless and disordered than the indio. […] Whether because of a defect in their organic constitution due to the climate, or because of the food, or the general relaxation [of the customs], or the education, or some unknown reason, the final result is that the castas do not possess any of the qualities of the citizen, or the attributes of the vassal, or the virtues of the resident, or the attributes that honor the civil and religious man. 228 xli

Even greater hostility was demonstrated in the report in the description of the criollos, referred to as españoles americanos (American Spaniards), for these were the people who could traditionally aspire to political positions:

The españoles americanos are only occupied with ruining the paternal house, studying during their youth so they can assume the direction of their elders, getting involved with the issues, businesses, and revenues of the State, and cultivating the intellect and the arts. In the absence of riches, they console themselves with the dream of independence that is going to give them the domination of the Americas. They lack a sense of economy and prevision, discernment or judgement, with more laziness than ability, with more attachment to hypocrisy than religion, with an extreme passion for all pleasures. Without a sense of self-restraint, the indigenous whites spend in a few days playing, falling in love, drinking, and dressing all the inheritance, dowry, and acquisitions that should have served to sustain them through their entire lives, just to blame afterwards their bad fortune, to envy those who save, to get irritated with the frustration of their lofty aspirations, and to wish now for an order of things that will do them justice. 229 xli

The unprecedented circumstance of the French occupation of the península and the abduction of Fernando VII, leaving the vast Spanish Empire without a sovereign, was staggering

227 “Representaciones del 17 de abril y el 27 de mayo dirigidas a las Cortes Extraordinarias por el Real Consulado de Comercio de México,” transcribed in M. Calvillo, “México-Cádiz 1811,” 65. All the translations from this source are mine.

228 Consulate of Mexico, “Representaciones del 17 de abril y el 27 de mayo de 1811 dirigidas a las Cortes Extraordinarias por el Real Consulado de Comercio de México,” transcribed in M. Calvillo, “México-Cádiz 1811,” 66.

229 Ibid. The Spanish term español americano translate as Spanish American, thus referring to those Spaniards that had been born in the American territories. It only applied to the descendants of peninsulares and no to the individuals of any other race.
enough to suggest that the members of the Junta de Caracas had a clear political agenda. Recent revisionist history has convincingly underlined the traumatic nature of these events and argued that the political decisions taken by the Junta de Caracas and other juntas of similar characteristics formed in Hispanic American cities, including Buenos Aires, Santafé de Bogotá, and Santiago de Chile, were framed in the attempt by the local elites to protect their interests in accordance with how the political circumstances unfolded in the península, and their interpretations of whether the Bourbons could recover the Spanish Crown. Accordingly, in the span of a little over a year the criollos in Caracas moved from a position of loyalty to the captive Fernando VII, while defending their right to establish a local government board independent from the Consejo de Regencia, to a radical position of total independence from the Spanish State.

Caracas’ criollos perceived that the formation of sound public opinion, capable of generating interpretations of the current events and proposing common goals, and a corresponding course of action, was crucial for these times, when it was necessary to articulate a coherent political project. Furthermore, advocates of the Junta aspired to create a sphere of influence through their writings to gain public support for their cause. In actuality, the political authority of the recently formed Junta de Caracas was quite precarious, as it merely relied on the argument that the board could represent the sovereignty of the people in Venezuela in the absence of Fernand VII with an existing consensus among a majority of the criollos, who claimed to be acting on the behalf of the best interests of the population. However there still existed a few provinces in Venezuela that did not submit to the authority of the Junta, and not even in Caracas was the support of the Junta unanimous. Thus, the Gazeta de Caracas, along with other newspapers that began to appear at that time, became the means utilized by the Junta de Caracas to inform the public of current political events, to release official documents and communications, and to publicize and justify their political decisions.

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231 Other newspapers appeared in Caracas during the period include the weekly Semanario de Caracas (1810-1811), the monthly Mercurio venezolano (1811), El patriota de Venezuela (1811-1812), and the weekly El publicista de Venezuela (1811). It is unclear who was in charge of the Gazeta de Caracas at that time. Pedro Grases presumes that the lawyer Juan Germán Roscio (San José de Tiznados, Guárico, Venezuela, 1763; d. Cúcuta, Colombia, 1821, who was the appointed secretario de relaciones exteriores (secretary of foreign affairs) of the Junta Suprema de Caracas could have assumed the edition of the newspaper. P. Grases, “La Gazeta de Caracas, 1808-1812,” 25.
The newspapers served also as a space for the discussion of concepts such as sovereignty, freedom, and patriotism, which gave shape to new forms of understanding the political order as well the social and cultural identities of Hispanic Americans.\textsuperscript{232} Writings of a doctrinaire nature, including political exhortations as well as analyses of the present situation in Hispanic America served to articulate strategies for political action in favor of the political movement of 1810-1811. Of particular relevance to the formation of a political ideology in favor of the independence of Hispanic America was the series of articles by the Irishman William Burke, which appeared in the \textit{Gazeta de Caracas} in 1811-1812 under the general title of “Los derechos de la América del Sur y México” (The Rights of South America and Mexico).\textsuperscript{233}

Jürgen Habermas’ social theory of the formation of the public sphere has called attention to the importance of public debate over matters of collective concern to political mobilization.\textsuperscript{234} Habermas understood the public sphere as not necessarily as existing in an identifiable physical space, but primarily as a discursive space or symbolic arena of social interaction, where public discussion and opinion about matters of general concern is generated. The public sphere, according to Habermas, has historically served as a link between the private sphere of domestic life and the public authority of the state because through discursive interaction private individuals voiced their opinions and reached judgement about a wide range of issues of mutual interest, from literature and art to economy and politics, and by publicizing it made the state aware of needs and views of society, thus articulating the social with the political. For Habermas, the public sphere rested on three basic assumptions. First, it is in principle inclusive: the public sphere is theoretically accessible to all citizens because it is only


\textsuperscript{233} William Burke (b. Ireland (unattested); d. Jamaica, 1812) was a man of letters, veterinarian, and member of the British military forces. Burke wrote several books, including his \textit{History of the Campaign of 1805 in Germany, Italy, the Tyrol} (London, 1805) on the Napoleonic Wars; \textit{South American Independence: of the Emancipation of South America, the Glory and Interest of England} (London, 1807); \textit{Additional Reasons for our Immediately Emancipating Spanish America} (London, 1808). Burke was introduced to the Caracas educated circles through Francisco de Miranda while both were in London around 1807. Burke traveled to Caracas soon after the events of 19 April 1810. He left for Curaçao and Jamaica in 1812. M. Pérez Vila, “Burke, William,” in \textit{Diccionario de historia de Venezuela}, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/b/burke-william/. Mario Rodríguez has proposed the controversial thesis that Burke was a pseudonym used by the Scottish philosopher and political theorist James Mill (b. Angus, Scotland, 1773; d. London, 1836), who in collaboration with Francisco de Miranda constructed the arguments included in the articles published in the \textit{Gazeta de Caracas}. M. Rodríguez, \textit{William Burke and Francisco de Miranda}, passim.

\textsuperscript{234} J. van H. Melton, \textit{The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe}, 45-77.
regulated by reason, which is considered the only arbiter in the debate. Second, it is inherently oppositional and has the right to subject everything to scrutiny. Third, it is hostile to secrecy and has publicity as its cardinal principle. It is in these claims of rationality and universality that the debate produced in this discursive community acquires its public relevance, serving therefore as a realm capable of counterweighting the authority of the state as a counterweight and regulating against it.

Habermas’ theory, however, is aimed at describing a process that emerged in Europe during the eighteenth-century. Its straightforward applicability to Latin American societies has been questioned in scholarly literature. The principle of inclusiveness that regulated the public sphere according to Habermas’ model becomes considerably problematic when used to explain the formation of publics in colonial Hispanic America, where there existed strong ethnic divisions and racial exclusion, and only a reduced group had access to education. As social historian James van Horn Melton has observed in regard to Habermas’ theory, in the public sphere “membership was not based on rank, though it presumed education since full participation depended on one’s ability to engage ideas presented in books, periodicals, and other products of print culture.” The issue of the limited participation in the public sphere of lower class segments is not exclusive to Hispanic America, however. A similar argument could be posed about the unpropertied and illiterate masses of eighteenth-century industrial Europe. Habermas’ was not unaware of this paradox, which he attributed to the existing tension between “the public sphere’s universal ideal of humanity and the system of property relations in which it was embedded,” as Melton explains. In either case, Habermas’ theory accounts for a dynamic historical formation, which in principle aspired to the growth of reading and writing publics, which would eventually incorporate those social segments that were included in the practice. In this sense, it is apparent that it was this universal ideal that guided the invitation of the Gazeta de Caracas in his inaugural number of October 1808 when he called to “all

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235 Ibid., 8.
236 On the applicability to Habermas’ theory of the public sphere to Latin America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see V. Uribe-Urán, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” 427-57 and P. Piccato, “Public Sphere in Latin America,” 165-92.
237 V. Uribe-Urán, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” 457.
239 Ibid., 12.
Subjects and Ladies” to “contributing to public education” with their writings, despite the small number of people, especially women, who could at that time engage in literary production of any sort.  

Another point regarding the applicability of Habermas’ model to Hispanic America is the one related to the role of public opinion in counterweighting the power of the state. As discussed above, since 1808 the figure of the Spanish State was being diluted by the confluence of the French occupation of the península, the captivity of Fernando VII, and the disputed legitimacy of the Consejo de Regencia. Recent research on social history, however, has underlined the leading role that the emergent public opinion had in Hispanic America as shaper of the process of nation-building of the region. Accordingly, multiple politicized public spheres in various administrative and commercial centers of the territory appeared as a response to the political crisis of 1808. Therefore, a sense of political urgency, not present in the process of public-sphere formation in Europe, fostered the public discussion. Roots of it are traced back to the previous decades, when the criollos engaged in critical reading and writing in private networks of sociability as a reaction to the reformative policies of the Bourbons, which treated the Spanish territories in the Americas, “as colonies rather than kingdoms of the same status as those in the Península,” as Pablo Piccato points out. However, with the formation of the local juntas, these networks of educated criollos felt compelled to defend their rights publicly. This issue became a unifying theme of the public discourse that eventually gave shape to the nation-building process.

Moreover, Víctor Uribe-Urán has convincingly argued that the cultured forms of sociability formed in Hispanic America during the last decades of the eighteenth century are to be considered an early stage of the public sphere rather than private networks that only became public after the events of 1808. Uribe-Urán’s thesis is that the formation of the public sphere in Hispanic America was a long and complex process that initiated the dissemination of printing

242 P. Piccato, “Public Sphere in Latin America,” 170-72. See also François Xavier-Guerra, _Modernidad e independencias: Ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas_ (Mexico: MAPFRE, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000).
244 P. Piccato, “Public Sphere in Latin America,” 171.
products and development of forms of sociability such as the tertulias in the second half of the eighteenth century, initially accessible to a limited circle of elites that promoted academic, literary, or artistic activities. These practices served as voluntary alternatives to the traditional forms of sociability established during colonial times, regulated either by the church or the state, such as cofradías (religious associations), cabildos (city councils), and universities. Although most of these cultured meetings may have not fostered political discussion, they stimulated debate and critical analysis of contemporary issues. There is evidence, however, that members of the local intelligentsia were involved in various small-scale subversive plots against the crown across the continent that occurred in the 1790s. The public sphere continued to expand with the political changes that occurred in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, as was reflected in the appearance of local newspapers, the proliferation of political gatherings, and the formation of public societies for the discussion of political issues. Competitive politics and a free press appeared at a later stage of development, between the 1820s and the 1850s depending on the region. Uribe-Urán also explains that a relative confusion between the public and private spheres was at play as the interest of the Spanish Crown in the colonies was to maintain state affairs as a private matter of the king. It was throughout the first half of the nineteenth century that an increasing separation between the private and the public spheres took place.

In Caracas, the influence of Enlightenment thought starting in the last decades of the eighteenth century paved the way for the vigorous public opinion that surfaced with the establishment of the printing press in 1808. The circulation of imported print products and its discussion in tertulias and similar forms of sociability created networks of literates, which also included some educated pardos, engaged in rational discussion of literary, musical, or contingent topics, which ultimately served to articulate the idea of a shared culture and a common good. Whether politics was part of the discussions from the times that the tertulias took root in Caracas is a matter yet to be clarified. It is significant, however, that the surviving references of the Ustáriz tertulia state its notoriety for hosting emerging intellectuals and

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246 Ibid., 427-29.
247 Ibid., 437-39.
248 Ibid., 429-36.
249 Ibid., 448-53.
250 V. Uribe-Urán admonishes, however, that this process of separation requires further study. Ibid., 427, 428 n11.
political personalities that were involved in the political movement of 1810-1811, either as shapers of public opinion or as active members of the Junta de Caracas and the Constituent Congress that replaced it in March 1811. Among these were Andrés Bello, who formed part of the committee appointed by the Junta de Caracas to travel to London to request support for the movement; Vicente Salias and Antonio Muñoz Tébar, also commissioned by the Junta to request support in Curaçao, Jamaica and the British islands, who later collaborated in foundation and elaboration of the newspaper *El patriota de Venezuela*; Francisco Isnardi, founder and writer of the monthly *Mercurio de Caracas*, collaborator for *El publicista de Venezuela* and the *Gazeta de Caracas*, and also appointed secretary of the Congress of 1811; and Manuel García de Sena, who contributed to the movement through the translation of political texts of ideological interest, including a selection of writings by one of the founding fathers of the United States, Thomas Paine, under the title *La independencia de Costa Firme justificada por Thomas Paine treinta años ha*, published in Philadelphia in 1811. Francisco Xavier de Ustáriz himself was a major leader of the movement of 1810-1811 and participated as a voting member of the executive in the Junta de Caracas, and later as congressman in the Constituent Congress. Similarly, writers for other newspapers created at that time, such as the lawyer Miguel José Sanz, who although not directly affiliated with a particular *tertulia*, demonstrated in his writings an unmistakable influence of Enlightenment philosophies and values. Sanz also had a relevant role as shaper of public opinion in favor of the movement of 1810-1811 as as collaborator of the weekly *Semanario de Caracas*,

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251 On the participants of the Ústariz tertulia, see P. Grases, *Estudios sobre Andrés Bello*, II: 22-23, 399 n13 and *Pensamiento político de la emancipación venezolana*, 381. The Congreso Constituyente de Venezuela (Constituent Congress of Venezuela) was installed in Caracas on March 2, 1811. Three days later the Junta de Caracas ceased its activities.

and as political representative as the appointed *secretario de Guerra y de Marina* (secretary of War and the Navy) in the Constituent Congress of 1811.\(^{253}\)

An explanation for the double role of the members of the educated circles as shapers of public opinion and of the emergent political institutions is formulated by Andrés Bello’s biographer, Luis Bocas. He observes that Bello and most of the other participants of the political movement of 1810-1811 were educated men of intellectual inclinations, who under the pressing political circumstances felt compelled to transform themselves into agents of political action.\(^{254}\)

The literary critic and cultural scholar Ángel Rama in his seminal study *The Lettered City* gives an account of the importance that the literates or *letrados*, as he dubs them, had in the formation of the political, social, and cultural institutions of Hispanic America throughout colonial times.\(^{255}\)

In regard to the process of independence in particular, Rama argues that the resilience of the *letrados* as a distinctive social group throughout these turbulent times reveals the considerable degree of autonomy that they achieved “within the larger power structure and its intellectual availability in the face of menacing transformations.”\(^{256}\)

On the other hand, the marked enlightened tone of the ideas that framed the public discussions on the political decisions of that time, the issue of the relationship between the philosophies of the Enlightenment and the political revolutionary movement has generated a wealth of scholarly debate.\(^{257}\) In that respect, historian Owen Alridge recognizes that “The relationship between ideology and political action in the independent movement in Latin America is a very complex subject.” Despite the fact, he argues that it seems apparent that although “the Enlightenment may not have been, strictly speaking, part of a political movement

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\(^{253}\) Miguel José Sanz (b. Valencia, Venezuela, 176; d. Urica, Venezuela, 1814) had formerly been a leal royalist. M. Pérez Vila, Sanz, Miguel José,” in *Diccionario de historia de Venezuela*, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/s/sanz-miguel-jose/.

\(^{254}\) L. Bocas, *Andrés Bello*, 68.

\(^{255}\) Ángel Rama uses the Spanish term *letrado* in a broad sense as equivalent to the term “man of letters” to refer to those individuals who had access to education and who were often but not necessarily university graduates. This group includes educated land-owners, lawyers, physicians, clerics, militaries, bureaucrats, teachers, and the like, especially if they voiced their opinions in the press. In a narrow sense the term *letrado* was only applied to lawyers. In the present study the term *letrado* will be used in its broad sense.

\(^{256}\) A. Rama, *The Lettered City*, 41.

\(^{257}\) See A. P. Whitaker, “Changing and Unchanging Interpretations of the Enlightenment in Spanish America,” 21-57 for a seminal discussion on the matter. Also, see J. Andrés-Gallego, “Sobre el Bicentenario de algo que sucedió entre España y la China con el centro en América,” 31-35 for a reassessment of the influence of Enlightenment writings in Spanish America and their influence in the independence.
[...] the quest for political reform was part of the Enlightenment.” 258 Several other scholars agree on the importance that the Enlightenment ideals of reformism had in the shaping of political alternatives to the colonial order, which the Hispanic American criollos perceived as inefficient, unfair, and besides, collapsing. Accordingly, historian Carlos Martínez Shaw affirms that in Hispanic America, the intellectuals made use of the ideological tools of enlightened reformism to elaborate a liberal alternative that resulted in being conducive to independence. 259 In this line of thought, the nation-building project that was being shaped in public opinion during the period of 1810-1811 in Caracas could be interpreted as the Enlightenment-framed alternative to the collapse of the colonial paradigm in the face of the crisis of 1808. The project of building an independent nation was originally driven by the letrados, but eventually incorporated other social actors as the social sphere expanded.

The establishment of the printing press in Caracas did not displace associated forms aimed at intellectual discussion such as the tertulia. On the contrary, the shifting circumstances present in Caracas during the years that followed the crisis of 1808 stimulated political debate and incorporation of new social actors in the arenas of sociability as well. Venezuelan traditional history has widely recognized the enormous relevance that political gatherings such as the Sociedad Patriótica (Patriotic Society), formed in Caracas at the end of 1810 had in articulating a radical revolutionary position that in due course pressured the Constituent Congress to declare the total independence of Venezuela from Spain. 260 The creation of the Sociedad Patriótica was the initiative of the enlightened man Francisco de Miranda, possibly in conjunction with the mantuano Simón Bolívar, with the purpose of establishing a space in Caracas for political debate similar to the Club des Jacobins in Revolutionary Paris. 261 The assembly held daily meetings at night in the private residence of some of the participants. In these, discussions intermingled with singing of revolutionary songs borrowed from the Jacobin repertory. 262 José Francisco Heredia, a peninsular lawyer appointed by the official authorities in the península to serve in the

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259 C. Martínez Shaw, “Ilustración e Independencia,” passim.
261 Club des Jacobins was the nickname for the Société des amis de la Constitution, founded in 1789 and named Société des Jacobins, amis de la liberté et de l’égalité after 1792, was the most influential anti-royalist political society during the French Revolution.
262 R. Sánchez, Dancing Jacobins, 105-06.
Real Audiencia de Caracas, described the scandalized fervor that animated the meetings of the Sociedad Patriotica, to which he attributed much of the current revolutionary agitation:

All the Young partisans entered it as well as other exalted or easy-to-exalt heads. Their discourses completed the course of anti-religious and anarchic instruction [they had], which until then was not common and only achieved through private reading of the books of the philosophes that had been kept hidden because of a remnant of decorum and respect for the ecclesiastical and civil laws that forbade them. In that madhouse [...] was organized the group of rioters that put pressure on the government to adopt and execute the measures that the Society agreed upon in its tumultuous and ridiculous sessions.\textsuperscript{263 xliii}

A heterogenous conglomerate of people attended the gatherings of the Sociedad Patriótica. The letrados Vicente Salias and Antonio Muñoz Tébar, otherwise associated with the Ustáriz tertulia, not only were prominent members of the Sociedad Patriótica but also founded the newspaper El patriota venezolano with the aim of publicizing the opinions produced in it. Along with the letrados were individuals of secondary status, including blancos de orilla as well as pardos, free blacks, and even women, who also took part in the meetings of the Sociedad Patriótica.\textsuperscript{264} As historian Ricardo Sánchez observes, “today it is hard to imagine the impact of the [Patriotic] Society on a colonial order that had as one of its constitutive principles in the exclusion from public deliberations of both women and the majority pardo population.”\textsuperscript{265} The participation of pardos and other underprivileged segments in the sphere of political debate in Caracas was not exclusive to the Sociedad Patriótica. Another group existing around the same time, called Club de los Sincamisas (Club of the Shirtless), in clear allusion to the emblematic group of working-class revolutionaries in Paris dubbed the sans-culottes, was known for its

\textsuperscript{263} J. F. Heredia, Memorias sobre las revoluciones de Venezuela (Paris: Garnier Hermanos, 1895), 25-26. All the translations from this source are mine. José Francisco Heredia (b. Santo Domingo, 1776; d. Mexico, 1820) was a lawyer. He was appointed regente interino of the Real Audiencia de Caracas from 1812 to 1817. During the events of 1810 he served as a mediator between the Junta Suprema de Caracas and the Spanish authorities, although with no success given the refusal of the revolutionaries to follow the orders of the Consejo de Regencia in Cádiz. Heredia was still able to take office during the periods in which Caracas was under the control of the royalist forces during the Independence War. In 1817 he left Venezuela and two years later took a similar position in the Real Audiencia de Mexico until his death. A. Enrique López B., “Heredia, José Francisco,” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/h/heredia-jose-francisco/. 


\textsuperscript{265} R. Sánchez, Dancing Jacobins, 105.
including pardos and free blacks as well. Women’s involvement in political tertulias must have been also a spreading phenomenon to judge from the commentaries of the Archbishop Narciso Coll y Pratt, who found in the involvement of women in political activities the path to ruin. In a letter to a priest in La Guaira, Coll y Pratt reported his enormous discontent with this state of matters in Caracas: “to understand how badly things have gone, it is enough to see how women get involved in rhetorical arguments with books in their hands, giving opinions, and speaking in tertulias. This is not found among the civilized, but [only] among people who will fall over the precipice [if they follow the lead of] women as [if they were] captains. Of women giving opinions about what they cannot know [...] only God knows the consequences!”

With the mingling of social classes and genders in the public realm that occurred during this time it is possible to perceive the rapid shifting of the cultural values and social hierarchies that had been dominant until then. Historian Rafael Sánchez sees in the concurrence of the pressing political circumstances, the influence of Jacobin egalitarian ideologies, and the universalizing precepts of the Enlightenment, the formation of a common dynamic that came to replace the void left by the ongoing collapse of the colonial order. This dynamic “allowed for the re-composition of a novel space articulated by an unprecedented syntax of images, ideas, events, and social groupings,” which followed a “universalistic logic.” Thus, the social structure began to be construed as a horizontal arrangement, where “the people” were “the homogeneous citizenry of the ‘nation,’” and the “new locus of sovereignty.” Sánchez further clarifies his point, by explaining that this process was “not just a matter of interaction between fully formed ideologies here and preexisting social identities and practices there.”


267 Draft of letter by Archbishop of Caracas Narciso Coll y Pratt (b. Cornellá del Terri, Spain, 1754; d. Madrid, 1822) to Juan Antonio Díaz Argote, priest of La Guaira, Caracas, 7 May 1811, Archivo Arquidiocesano de Caracas, “Episcopales,” Legajo 38, quoted in E. Pino Iturrieta, Ventaneras y castas, 45, my translation. Coll y Pratt was Archbishop of Caracas from 1810 to 1816. He was a strong opponent of French encyclopedism, although not necessarily of the civil authorities in Caracas, which he respected independently from their ideological affiliations. P. Reixach Vila, “Coll y Pratt, Narciso,” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/c/coll-y-prat-narciso/.

268 R. Sánchez, Dancing Jacobins, 120.

269 Ibid.

270 Ibid.
what was at stake was rather “a ‘dynamic,’ bursting like an electric spark from within the interstices among partly formed / partly inchoate entities, imaginings, texts, practices, and experiences.”

The dynamic described by Sanchez was taking shape in the midst of the bitter opposition of those who, like José Francisco Heredia, considered the colonial social structures a solidified and immovable reality. To Heredia, “the project of giving Venezuela, almost in the infancy of civilization, being populated by slaves and so many heterogeneous castas opposed to each other, the republican institutions that have not been able to achieve the enlightened France, the Greece of our days” was no other than an unattainable and senseless ideal, contrary to the natural order of things. The problems involved in the replacing of the colonial hierarchies with the horizontal arrangement referred by Sánchez, were perceived not only by the opponents of the revolutionary movement, but also by some of its conspicuous advocators.

The letrado Miguel José Sanz, for example, observed the difficulties of expanding the sphere of public within what he considered a generalized atmosphere of mistrust, which he attributed to the vicious gambit of the imperial authorities to maintain the American territories in ignorance and bondage. In this sense, he stated: “The education given [to the Venezuelans] has had as its main objective, being taken care of very scrupulously, to hide and deny any instruction that could awake them from their hopelessness and inflame their desire for freedom and the means to sustain it.”

Then he added:

Because of the defectiveness of this [education] in general, the habit of hiding their feelings, and the mutual distrust with which they live as a consequence of the ancient government, many able, educated men of extraordinary brilliance seem foolish in conversations. They keep to themselves their opinions or pretend to agree with the judgement of others. It is necessary to have a close friendship, to have familiarity with them to discover their true ideas. Those who let themselves be persuaded by the appearances and external aspects will be often deceived [about them].

The writings of William Buke that appeared in the Gazeta de Caracas exhorted to the formation of associative groups of patriotic interests as a means to overcome the social apprehensions entertained in the past. In this sense, Burke stated: “by gathering in free and general meetings and savoring the charms of discourse and the genuine feelings in their hearts,

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271 Ibid.
272 J. F. Heredia, Memorias sobre las revoluciones de Venezuela, 26.
273 M. J. Sanz, Semanario de Caracas, 7 Apr. 1811, 181, my translation.
the fellow citizens will gradually substitute reserve for frankness, suspicion for confidence, misgivings with rivalry. At last, all traces of slavery will disappear from the generous characters that distinguishes the children of freedom.” 275 xlvii

On his part, Sanz considered that education was the remedy to bondage and ignorance. The type of education that Sanz encouraged was not only forming individuals in the intellectual and practical knowledge necessary to produce goods and services, but also the acquaintance of all with the matters of public interest as well as acquisition of the manners and discursive skills necessaries to interact in society and to generate opinion. The development of a civic culture was therefore necessary to building the common good, forming the social fabric of the free nation, and the scrutinizing force of public power. In this respect Sanz affirmed: “in a free nation it is necessary for everyone to be instructed as much as possible in the rights and public interests of that and other nations as well [...] to confer and to deepen examine into the matters in order to help the government to discern with perfect knowledge and insight what is to be resolved for the common happiness and benefit.” 276 xlix

This education, aimed at establishing a civic culture, had to involve the common citizenry of the nation as well as those who aspired to occupy public offices:

If the Venezuelans, knowing the difficulties and risks [...] being warned of the misery into which various nations have fallen for lack of men knowledgeable in politics [...] apply their talents and get the instruction that they are capable of, dedicating themselves with docility to the wisdom of the good books, trying to understand them, saturating themselves with ideas and working indefatigably in their business, without vanity or presumption, there is no doubt that in a few years they will have politicians and statesmen capable of managing with rightness the Government, and will make the Province [of Venezuela] a respectable and dignified place among the nations [of the world]. 277 l

This unbounded optimism for the power of education to transform the colony into a nation of virtuous citizens, conscious of their civic rights and responsibilities was even shared by the most radical factions of the group of letrados. Thus, Vicente Salias y Antonio Muñoz Tébar in the pages of the El patriota venezolano proposed “to dispel the ignorance of the people; to raise the ideas of the citizens to the high dignity of the freemen; [and] to constitute the State.” 278 li It

277 M. J. Sanz, Semanario de Caracas, 7 Apr. 1811, 181, my translation.
is certain that the *letrados* perceived that a change in the political institutions in the pursuit of an autonomous nation was not enough if it was not accompanied by a change of mentality of the individuals that integrated that nation, so they could turn it into a viable and sustainable reality. The nation-building project was therefore conceived as an all-encompassing process, capable of establishing a definite rupture with the past and correcting the mistakes that derived from ignorance.

8. The Shaping of a National Identity

Emblematic to the social and cultural aspirations for building an egalitarian nation of virtuous citizens was the new identity of the *americano* which began to replace the identity of the habitants of the Spanish American colonies had until then as faithful vassals of the king. The construct of the *americano*, as articulated in the newspapers in Caracas from around 1810, considered all Hispanic Americans as a community of individuals with a common character, values, and purposes.

The impact of grouping the various ethnicities and segments of the social spectrum that coexisted in such a vast territory under the new identity of the *americano* can be better appreciated in the context of the complicated system of ranks and classes that operated during the colonial period, which established irreconcilable differences in terms of privileges, possessions, education, and cultural identities among them.

The *criollos*, for example, were American-born Spaniards, and therefore often referred to as *españoles americanos*. Although the *criollos* were, during colonial times, in a situation of social inferiority in relation with the *peninsulares*, they occupied a higher social position than the rest of the social groups in Hispanic America, who, although considered subjects of the Spanish monarch, were not counted among the Spaniards, nor were the *pardos* and the *indios*. Because the *criollos* represented the highest economic hierarchy in the colonies as the owners of the state and the slaves, their passing from considering themselves *españoles americanos* to simply being *americanos*, represented a symbolic rupture with their former identity as descendants of the *peninsulares*, which until then had conferred on them a privileged rank. The recent decision of the Consejo de Regencia in Cádiz to restrict the participation of the *criollos* in

280 The term *americano* was also extended to all those born in the Americas as opposed to those born in Europe.
the government of resistance not only triggered the political reaction that materialized in the formation of the local Junta de Caracas but also stirred a sharp differentiation at the symbolic level between *criollos* and *peninsulares* as reflected in the newspapers of that time.

Latin American history has traditionally traced the roots of the rupture of the *criollos* with the *peninsulares* to the times of the political and economic reforms of the Bourbons in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the *criollos* felt apprehensive about these measures, considering that they were aimed at benefiting the interests of the *peninsulares* in the metropolis in detriment of the prerogatives that the *criollos* had in the American territories as descendants of the first colonizers. However, recent revisionist history has questioned whether a substantial loss of privileges of the *criollos* had ever taken place at that time. The thesis that the *criollos* overstated this issue as a discursive political strategy during the independence movement is gaining ground among scholars. In either case, the letrado Miguel José Sanz drew in the *Semanario de Caracas* the basic notions of the *criollos*’ argument of their opposition to the *peninsulares*:

Nobody ignores, and it is even described by wise authors, that those known as the *criollos*, being as noble as they were, as educated and virtuous, skilled and capable, were regarded as inferior to any European Spaniard; [they were regarded] as clumsy, indecent, and dirty. To be a gypsy was believed to be better and more meritorious than being a marquis if [that marquis] was a *criollo* because [the gypsy] was born in Spain. The Court in Madrid was pleased with this infamy, this insolence, this audacity, which out of self-love judged the Spanish character to be sublime while at the same time it judged with disapproval the *criollos*, dictating ineffective and pedantic laws to ridicule them with derision.

Furthermore, the identity of the *americano* underlie a radical change in the conception of nation operating in Hispanic America as a consequence of the influence of the political ideas emerged with the French Revolution, as historian José Andrés-Gallego has explained. In the Hispanic tradition, the term “nation” referred to a community of common descent, with similar customs, traditions, and language, frequently associated with a specific ethnicity. Thus, it was

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281 For a canonic interpretation of this issue, see J. Lynch, *Latin America between Colony and Nation*, 80-86.

282 On a recent interpretation of the opposition between *criollos* and *peninsulares* in Hispanic America, see T. Pérez Vejo, “Criollos contra peninsulares,” passim. A related thesis regarding the Venezuelan process is presented in A. Romero, “La ilusión y el engaño: La Independencia venezolana y el naufragio del mantuanismo,” 155-78.


common to use the term of nation to refer the group of mixed individuals or the groups of indigenous people of the American territories. Similarly, the criollos and the peninsulares represented the Spanish nation, although they were born in territories separated by the Atlantic. However, in the French conception of nation that emerged with the French Revolution, the people, i.e. the community born in the homeland (in French la patrie), constituted the nation, which did not require a shared language and customs, although this was common. Moreover, because the revolutionaries conceived that sovereignty belonged to each human being, the people as a nation also constituted a political community, toward which the state, understood as res publica, was oriented. In a similar way, in Venezuela the new identity of the americano outlined a gentilic or national group that spanned across the races and classes coexisting there, including not only the mantuanos and other white descendants of the peninsulares, but also canarios, pardos, and indios, all of them sharing the Venezuelan Province as their patria or homeland. In this context, the patria was understood not only in the narrow sense of the place of birth or residence but also in a much broader sense as the set of laws, shared culture, virtues, and sentiments that regulate the life in that territory and frame the common and individual experiences. Accordingly, the americanos were united not only by the common trait of belonging to the same territory but also, and more importantly, through the affective and cultural links that they established with it, as manifested in their patriotism.

The identity of the americano functioned therefore as a symbolic bond that allowed the resolution of, if only discursively, the actual differences of race and class that still existed among these social groups, while combining them into a community differentiated from the Spaniards. At the same time, this new identity entailed the political potentiality that this community as a nation united by patriotic affiliations had to establish itself as the res publica, and therefore as a state. It is difficult to measure the extent to which members of the groups of pardos or indios joined the criollos at that time in the perception of a shared nation. Nonetheless, criollo patriotism, symbolically represented in the identity of the americano, proved to be a powerful resource in nurturing a sense of national consciousness, which ignited the independence movement. As early as 1810, the report of the Consulate of Mexico for the Consejo de Regencia

285 Ibid.
286 On the notion of patriotism in Hispanic America during the Independence War times, see F.-X. Guerra, “La ruptura originaria,” 21-42.
287 For a discussion of the cultural meaning of the construct of the americano, see Lynch, Latin America between Colony and Nation, 105-06.
in Cádiz already considered that the patriotism of the criollos jeopardized the integrity of the Spanish Empire. Thus, the report of May 27 stated that “in the New World patriotism is understood as the love of the country in which they were born, and this incomplete or mistaken definition, [reflecting] certain misgivings and resentments among [Spaniards living] overseas and indigenous people, seems to be the root of the adhesion of some and the aversion of others to the Motherland [or peninsular Spain].” Also, the report of April 17 observed that “It is not in the natural order, nor even in the social order, that the son of a great province [...] endorses the cause of dependence, nor that he is inclined to defend the interests of the metropolis [the Court in Madrid] as opposed to the [the interests] of his imagined patria.”

On their part, the letrados in Caracas utilized their notion of patriotism to propel the political actions that would give a closure to the colonial order and bring well-being and happiness to the americanos. In the Mercurio venezolano, Francisco Isnardi exhorted:

Wherever a patria exists, there must exist in the soul of each citizen a force of expansion reluctant to yielding to the efforts with which the tyranny seeks to extinguish it. Its effect is incalculable in ordinary circumstances: we all love our Patria, but no one knows where this love leads us until we come to see as such the soil in which we were born, or we adopted [as ours]. When this mother awakens in us the filial instinct, which has been numbed by the veiled poison of oppression we know how much we are capable of doing.

Along the same lines, Ramón García de Sena declared: “It is time to show the universe that you are worthy of occupying the rank of an enlightened nation. Both the Americas and the Old World have their eyes on you. Give to the first a glorious model of conduct to achieve the happiness that they desire; and to the second a sublime proof that in Columbus’ regions the love for the Patria triumphs now and forever against the unjust power of the Tyranny.”

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288 “Representaciones del 17 de abril y el 27 de mayo de 1811 dirigidas a las Cortes Extraordinarias por el Real Consulado de Comercio de México,” transcribed in M. Calvillo, “México-Cádiz 1811,” 67. All the translations from this source are mine.

289 Ibid., 44.

290 [F. Isnardi,] “Independencia,” Mercurio venezolano 3 (Mar. 1811): 7. All the translations from this source are mine.

Because in the discourse of the *letrados* patriotism was understood as a causal force that set in motion the actions that were needed for the achievement of the common good, it came to represent the “set of all public virtues.” In this sense, Miguel José Sanz asserted:

> It is not the soil where we see for the first time in the light of the day what constitutes the patria but the wise laws, the order that emerges from them, and the set of circumstances that come together to elevate men to the peak of their happiness. Those who respect and obey the law, love their country, and wish to preserve it, to enjoy in calm the goods that it offers, develop an intense love that is known as patriotism.

The zeal for the power of patriotism to conjure social and political change as reflected in the writings of that time was so prominent that on occasion it acquired religious resonances. Thus, the *Gazeta de Caracas* stated: “Everything must prostrate itself before the simulacrum of the Patria, and no one can offer incense or sacrifices to it if his heart is not purified by the holy fire of virtue in the crucible of patriotism.”

The socio-cultural identity of the *americano* and its attached notion of patriotism as a civic virtue played a role in redeeming at the symbolic level prevalent beliefs about the lack of moral and intellectual faculties of the habitants of the New World. Debasing views of the various groups that populated the Hispanic American territories, so conspicuously represented in the report that the Mexican Consulado presented to the Consejo de Regencia in Cádiz in May 1810, counted a long and pervasive history that extended across political, social, religious, philosophical, and even scientific discourses, comprising what the historian Antonello Gerbi has dubbed “the dispute of the New World.” The origins of this dispute go back to the times of the conquest, when travelers to the Indies, including missionaries, settlers, chroniclers, and naturalists, contributed to a narrative of curious, fantastic, or utopian, views of the American land and its indigenous population, which was often intertwined with descriptions of their supposed inherent deficiencies. Ironically, some Enlightenment intellectuals contributed by providing a scientific outlook for the argument of the natural inferiority of the habitants of the Americas in respect to the Europeans.

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295 For a detailed discussion of scientific and philosophical discourses arguing for the inferiority of the habitants of the New World, see A. Gerbi’s seminal study *The Dispute of the New World*, passim.
Among the most conspicuous representatives of this line of thought was the French naturalist and mathematician George-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, who in his encyclopedic *Histoire Naturelle*, published in 36 volumes that appeared from 1749 to 1788, dedicated several passages to the Americas, where he postulated a correlation between the supposed early stage of development of the natural environment of the New World as compared to Europe, which resulted in a degenerative or otherwise incomplete development of its plants, animals, and people.296 According to Buffon, the Americas were literally a land newer than Europe. Having remained beneath sea waters for a longer time, its climate and wet environment were hostile to the growth of animals and plants. In this way, he noted: “nature had not had time to carry out all her plans, to develop herself to the full; the men are cold and the animals small, because the ardor of the men and the size of the animals are dependent on the healthiness and the warmth of the air.”297 Buffon also considered that indigenous men of the Americas were weaker and more limited in number than in Europe. Their organic deficiencies made them passive and unable to tame the still virgin nature. In this respect, he affirmed:

man, scarce in number, was thinly spread, a wanderer, where far from making himself master of this territory as his own domain, he ruled over nothing, where having never subjugated either animals or the elements, [...] he was himself no more than an animal of the first order, existing within nature as a creature without significance, a sort of helpless automaton, powerless to change nature or to assist her. And she, Nature, has treated him less as a mother than as stepmother, withholding from him the sentiment of love or the strong desire to multiply. [...] Although lighter than the European, on account of his habit of running more, he is nevertheless much less strong in body: he is also much less sensitive, and yet more fearful and more cowardly; he lacks vivacity, and is lifeless in his soul; the activity of his body is less an exercise or voluntary movement than an automatic reaction to his needs; take from him hunger and thirst, and you will destroy at the same time the active cause of all his movements; he will remain either standing there stupidly or recumbent for days at a time.298

Buffon’ theories, although not unanimously accepted by the philosophical and scientific community, had a considerable following among Enlightenment thinkers, including the

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296 George-Louis Leclerc (b. Montbard, France, 1707, d. Paris, 1788), comte de Buffon gained an important reputation as a scientist as head of the Parisian Jardin du Roi, which he turned into a research center and museum. He was member of the French Académie des sciences and Académie française (of language), and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His *Histoire naturelle, Générale el particulière* in 36 volumes was published in Paris in 1749-1788 by the royal press and was afterwards widely disseminated in several languages.


Frenchman Guillaume Thomas Raynal and the Dutch Corneluis De Pauw, who continued
developing his theories and therefore reigniting the argument for the inferiority of the habitants
of the Americas.299 Thus, the multivolume Histoire des deux Indes (pub. 1770), attributed to
Raynal, made several misleading references to the supposed degeneracy of the New World.

Although Raynal’s work was famous for sharply denouncing the cruelty of the European
colonizers in the Americas and India, it also contributed to advancing Buffon’s thesis as far as
denying the indigenous people of the Americas the natural capability of building a culture on
their own. In this sense he stated: “everything points to some sickness from which the human
race still suffers. The ruin of this world is still imprinted on the faces of its inhabitants; a race of
men degraded or degenerate in their physical constitution, in their build, in their way of life, and
in their minds which show so little aptitude for all the arts of civilization.”300

On his part, De Pauw in his Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains ou mémoires
intéressants pour servir á l’histoire de l’espece humaine, which appeared in Berlin in 1768,
denied that the habitants of the Americas, whether indigenous or descendants of Europeans,
were unable to develop moral or intellectual faculties due to the detrimental effect of the
climate. In regard to their presumed lack of moral qualities, Raynal stated:

The American, strictly speaking, is neither virtuous nor vicious. [...] The timidity of his
soul, the weakness of his intellect, the necessity of providing for his subsistence, the
powers of superstition, the influence of climate, all lead him far wide of the possibility of
improvement; but he perceives it not; his happiness is not to think; to remain in perfect
inaction; to sleep a great deal; to wish for nothing, when his hunger is appeased [...] In
his understanding there is no gradation, he continues as an infant to the last hour of his
life.301

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299 Guillaume Thomas François Raynal (b. Lapanouse, France, 1713; d. Paris, 1796), abbé de
Raynal worked as editor of the periodical Mercure de France from 1750 to 1754. The six-volume Histoire
philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans deux Indes, first
published in 1770 and attributed to him, is dedicated to the history of European colonies in India and
America. The book was widely disseminated with thirty editions between 1770 and 1787, although in
1774 it was placed on the Index of Forbidden Books. Cornelius Franciscus de Pauw or Corneille de Pauw
(b. Amsterdam, 1739; d. 1799) worked as a diplomat for the court of Frederic the Great of Prussia. During
his lifetime he gained a reputation as the foremost scholar on the Americas despite having never visited
them.

300 G. T. F. Raynal, Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des
Européens dans deux Indes, 12 Vols. (Paris: Amable, Coste, 1820-1821), IX: 25, quoted in A. Gerbi, The
Dispute of the New World, 49.

301 [D. Webb], Selections from Les Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains of M. Pauw
(Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1789), 16.
Particularly notorious was Raynal’s assessment of the intellectual incapacity of the Hispanic American criollos:

The Europeans who pass into America degenerate, as do the animals; a proof that the climate is unfavorable to the improvement of either man or animal. The Creoles, descending from Europeans and born in America, though educated in the universities of Mexico, of Lima, and [at the] College de Santa Fé [Santafé de Bogotá], have never produced a single book. This degradation of humanity must be imputed to the vitiated qualities of the air stagnating in their immense forests, and corrupted by noxious vapours from standing waters and uncultivated grounds. ³⁰²

Antonello Gerbi has pointed out that the reactions in Hispanic America to the theories of Buffon, De Pauw, and Raynal began to become public opinion at or immediately after Independence, varying from one region to another, coinciding with the birth of local patriotism. In each case, the writings produced in Hispanic America reflect great hostility and rage to the notion of inferiority of the continent and its habitants, although the opposition did not produce an organic theoretical corpus aimed at demonstrating the error of those theories. ³⁰³

In Caracas, the letrados addressed the issue as a response to the underlying argument that the factions in favor of the government in the península made about the inability of the criollos to handle their own political affairs. In this sense, Fancisco Isnardi stated in the Mercurio Venezolano: “we are not imbeciles to carry out this rank [as a nation capable of governing itself], to which the political order in the other hemisphere has elevated us after three centuries of oppression and servitude.” ³⁰⁴ In Miguel José Sanz, instead, drew on the construct of the americano to argue for its natural goodness while pitting it against the viciousness of the European. Accordingly, Sanz argued that the Europeans fabricated the demeaning theories of the inferiority of the americanos as a strategy to justify colonization:

At the beginning of the iniquitous conquest it was even questioned whether the American natives could be baptized. Such was the superb ignorance, and the hyperbolic boasting of the barbarian conquistadors, and the extravagant ideas that they spread throughout the world to credit their actions with courage, fearlessness, and steadfastness, making others believe that the indios were brute, that the sheep were wolves, and that men were wild animals. Their purpose then was to degrade the americanos, and they invented ridiculous stories assuring that the faculties of their soul were so weak that at the age of sixty men would lose their drive and remain useless, as if they were machines without discernment or judgement. Thus, not only in Spain but

³⁰² Ibid., 18.
³⁰³ A. Gerbi, The Dispute of the New World, xvi, 289.
also in Rome it was considered that [the americanos] were miserable beings, distinct from the Europeans, and inferior to them in all respects. These beliefs are so powerful that they continue being of influence, even when time and experience have demonstrated that they are deceptive. It is possible that the entirety of Europe, despite its philosophical development, has judged in this [erroneous] way, even knowing that a man is a man anywhere in the world, with no more difference than greater or lesser activity, [...] greater or lesser virtue, according to the climate, the government, and the customs, the state of [development of] the arts and sciences, and degrees of civilization.305

The strategy followed by the letrados of casting the new identity of the americano against the European set the basis for a dichotomic discourse where Europe was presented as a reality worn out and tainted by the covetousness of despots and looters, an old and corrupted world, while the Americas were depicted as a site of innocent grace and unbounded natural richness, a new world for humanity’s rebirth to a revitalized future of happiness and prosperity.306 According to the cultural historian Mariano Picón-Salas, the revolutionary criollos, nurtured in Rousseau’s sentimental views of the of the goodness of man in the state of nature, elaborated a utopian narrative of messianic tones as a means to sublimate the condition of inferiority entailed in their being part of a colonized territory.307 Their views corresponded not to condemning culture per se but to the “desire to negate culture to rebuild it, to release the prejudices and routines of the nations that have become old in order to return to nature [and] to assist to the birth of a new humanity.”308 Correspondingly, the enlightened Irish intellectual William Burke in his writings for the Gazeta de Caracas expressed these perceptions of the providential destiny of the Americas in reference to their contributions to the political order in providing a model of democracy and industry:

It seems that the New World was destined by Providence to be in the course of things a beautiful field where improved governments and human happiness will manifest. Its extension and fertility, its small population and almost uniformity of language, government, laws, and customs [...] invite the consolidation of a great system of union, freedom, peace, and industry, founded on the rights of all citizens. [...] The americanos do not need to turn to the free nations of antiquity, nor cross the ocean to find in the midst of the oppression and the debris of feudal Europe models for their political institutions. They have in their own continent, among themselves, a model

306 On the contemporary constructs that identified Hispanic America with the future in opposition to the past as represented in Europe, see C. J. Alonso, The Burden of Modernity, 6-11.
308 Ibid., 197.
incomparably superior to all that have been produced in the world, [...] the United States of America.³⁰⁹

On that premise, the Caracas *letrados* conceived that the *americano*’s pursuit of that propitious future for the Hispanic-American territories necessarily involved an awareness of its natural virtues and its God-given right to be free. This conceptual frame certainly conferred a teleological directionality to its quest. From this perspective, the *letrado* Ramón García de Sena commended: “Peoples of Venezuela, you were born free like the rest of men on the Earth. Ambition charged you with chains that you have dragged for three centuries [...]. Providence has finally heard your clamor and has restored your freedom, that sacred right that the Spanish government usurped from you. Keep [your freedom] then as a special gift of the Supreme Creator.”³¹⁰

In a similar vein, José Miguel Sanz celebrated the level of realization reached by his compatriots at the present while encouraging them to continue on the path to freedom as the means to restore to the *americanos* the dignity that had been taken from them. Thus he affirmed: “The *americanos*, although hidden and exposed to difficulties and dangers, have acquired much understanding of their rights, and they long to enter the palace of freedom to express there, without risks and fear of tyranny, that they deserve to be baptized like Europeans [and] that their discernment and judgement is preserved beyond the age of sixty and that they are as much men as the others.”³¹¹

The narrative of a nation awakening after centuries of oppression under the influence of an almighty force worked as a compelling founding myth for the envisioned patria of the *americanos*.³¹² In it, the *americanos*’ deed of discerning their right to freedom and providential mission of building a new order was discursively construed as a breaking point, a moment of rupture with the colonial past and its vices, which at the same time marked the beginning of their journey towards political and social transformation that would eventually crystalize into

³¹² I am using George Schöpflin’s notion of founding myth, according to which this type of myth consists of a symbolic narrative that marks the beginning of a group, a political system, or any other area of human endeavor, carrying the implicit or explicit message that the newly founded system will dispense with whatever made the old system reprehensible. G. Schöpflin, “The Functions of Myth and Taxonomy of Myths,” 33-34.
the renewal of society. From this point of view, independence was perceived as a justified step towards the progress of Hispanic America, not only because of the alleged abuses committed by Spain but also, and equally importantly, because as Spain was hopelessly tied to the past it could no longer serve the true essence and needs of the *americanos*, as cultural historian Carlos J. Alonso has convincingly pointed out. This identification of Hispanic America with its promising future, coupled with the belief that the unfolding of that future required a conscious correction of its flawed colonial past, ultimately served as the rationale for the transformative scheme that shaped the nation-building project of the *letrados* in Caracas. It becomes clear that the ideas of nationhood that pervaded the writings of that time were ideologically embedded in the Enlightenment ideals of political, social, and cultural amelioration, as well as in the Enlightenment conceptions of natural rights, freedom, and historical progress. Besides, the formulation of this symbolically charged discourse at this historical stage suggests not only that the imaginary founding of the nation anteceded the formation of the various states in the regions, but also that this founding myth functioned as a cultural construct that justified the political rupture of Caracas' *criollos* with the *peninsulares* while legitimizing the formation of an autonomous government.

The idea of an unfolding process of political and social change was vigorously represented in the writings of the *letrados* across Hispanic America in the concept of regeneration or *regeneración*, which conferred unequivocal Enlightenment-minded overtones to the nation-building ideas of that time. In Caracas, the *regeneración* was described as a transformative process towards establishing an improved political, social, and cultural reality that replaced the colonial order. This process, already initiated with the formation of the Junta de Caracas, was a futuristic projection. It represented the political expectation that the seeming decadence and corruption of the old colonial institutions would be replaced with a model able

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313 C. J. Alonso, *The Burden of Modernity*, 6-11. To be sure, the notion of independence discussed in the writings of this time does not necessarily refer the total emancipation of Venezuela from Spain, which as stated above, was an idea that was taking shape in the midst of considerable incertitude. More often, the term independence refers to the stand taken by Caracas *criollos* to be considered a part of the state rather than a colony, which is ultimately a manifestation of Hispanic American patriotism. On the notion of independence in Hispanic America during the early decades of the nineteenth century, see F.-X Guerra, “La ruptura originaria,” 10.

314 On the ideological components in political myths, see C. Flood, “Myth and ideology,” 174-90.

315 On the narratives in Hispanic America in the early nineteenth century justifying the rupture with Consejo de Regencia, see F.-X. Guerra, “La ruptura originaria,” 40-46. On the precedence of the national construes to the formation of Latin American states, see H. Achúgar, “Foundational Images of the Nation in Latin America,” 11ff.
to fulfill the aspirations of freedom and civility of the *americanos* for the rest of Hispanic America. Accordingly, the *Gazeta de Caracas* expressed, in regard to the events of April 19 of 1810:

Caracas has been rewarded for its incomparable constancy an unwithering laurel for being not only the first, but the model of the *regeneración* in [Hispanic] America. The [part of] Europe that is free from the subversive and bloodthirsty influence of France cannot find words enough to express the generosity, illustration, and civility that has made memorable the events of April 19 among the political revolutions of the universe. When the destructive passions give rise to reason and impartiality in the other hemisphere, Venezuela will occupy what it deserved in the philosophical history of the New World. 316 lxv

Historian Francisco-Xavier Guerra has interpreted the anticipation involved in the notion of the *regeneración* in Hispanic America as the corollary of the political uncertainty prevailing at that time: “The anguish before the unknown goes hand by hand with the hope of the *regeneración.*” 317 lxvi This explains why discourses arguing for political and social change at that time tended to be reassuring, often identifying transformation with a transcendent command, which served to ground the volatility of the moment in spiritual certainties. In this sense, Francisco Isnardi, a salient modeler of the notion of *regeneración*, referred to it in the *Mercurio venezolano* by using a series of terms that consistently described it as an intangible reality. Thus, he variously deemed it as an “invisible principle,” an “imperceptible agent regenerator of societies,” a “subtle and vivifying matter,” “a tutelar genius which sustains [the nation] in the midst of perils and setbacks, and that causes it to be reborn from the debris that the devastating monster of servitude has piled up against it in its fury.” 318 lxvii

Accordingly, for Isnardi the *regeneración* did not conform to the mechanical principles of the material world, its substance belonging instead to an ideal moral order. On this premise he affirmed: “Its essence has nothing in common with the vile politics of ambition. Its existence is too imperceptible as to be comparable with the mechanical force that drives despotism.” And the he explained: “this agent is in the moral world what electricity is in the physical world. Neither distance nor oppression can impede its propagation, and its marvelous phenomena are outside the laws of mechanics.” 319 lxviii Isnardi ascribed a superior origin to such regenerative

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318 [F. Isnardi], “Independencia,” *Mercurio venezolano* 3 (Mar. 1811): 6,4,3, and 1 respectively.
319 Ibid., 1-2.
influence, conceiving it as an inspiring providential force. In this sense he wrote: “Where does that immense and irresistible power lie? In each of us, and in all americanos. Analyze ourselves from the moment we were born to the high dignity that we enjoy and find that est Deus in nobis, agitante illo calescimus [There is a God within us, and we glow when he stirs us]: Let us reflect on our current configuration and see in us an agent superior to our ordinary faculties.320 With this citation from Ovid, Isnardi framed his invitation to acknowledge the superior mandate involved in the americanos’ quest for transformation within the canonic authority represented in the classical writings.

The use of Latin citations from classical poets, especially Ovid and Virgil, became an extensive practice among Caracas letrados from this time on. Isnardi, for example cited Virgil’s verse the Aeneid, “Vires adquirit eundo” (It gains strength as it goes), as epigraph for the first number of the Mercurio venezolano, ostensibly referring to the independence movement.321 (See Figure 3.8 below.)

Figure 3.8. Cover page of Francisco Isnardi’s Mercurio de Caracas (Jan. 1811), with the epigraph in Latin “Vires adquirit eundo” from Virgil’s Aeneid, IV: 175.

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320 The Latin citation comes from Ovid (b. Sulmo, Italy, Roman Republic, 43 BC; d. Tomis, Scynthia Minor, Roman Empire, 17 or 18 AD), Fasti, Book VI, 5. [F. Isnardi], “Independencia,” Mercurio venezolano 3 (Mar. 1811): 6.

Latin citations from classical theorists of the law such as Cicero were also frequently employed at that time, principally because of their direct allusion to the civic principles of republicanism. As mentioned before, the *Gazeta de Caracas* in the opening lines of the edition that appeared after the events of April 19 of 1810 included Cicero’s citation “Salus populi suprema lex esto” (The welfare of people shall be the supreme law). It remained afterwards as the motto for this periodical.\(^{322}\) Also, a citation from Cicero’s discourse *Pro Lege Manilia* given before the Roman popular assembly, “Causa quae sit videtis: nunc quid agendum sit considerate” (You all see what the case is, Now, consider what must be done!), was used byIsnardi as the epigraph in one of his articles where he justified the actions of the Junta de Caracas.\(^{323}\) Many other examples could be pointed out as well. Literature scholar María Carolina Domínguez has noticed the use of similar procedures throughout the nineteenth century in writings of Hispanic American literates, which suggests a widespread discursive convention. Domínguez attributes it to their desire to advance a secular culture of republican values during the process of independence and nation-building.\(^{324}\)

In addition to this, it is possible to discern in the *letrados*’ fondness for classical referents the desire for establishing the sphere of public debate as a realm of cultural sophistication and ethical probity, as this was a practical demonstration of their own capacity to resonate with the highest intellectual and moral precepts and aspirations. At the least, the *letrados*’ argument for the political autonomy of the Hispanic American provinces largely relied on the right of the *americanos* to recover their sovereignty as much as on their moral and intellectual capacity to administer their political freedom. Thus, shapers of public opinion insisted on bringing to light every sign that could indicate that social and cultural progress has been occurring as a beneficial consequence of the political regeneration in course. Illustrative of this frame of mind is Isnardi’s persuasive statement:

> Compare for a moment the rapid progress of the human spirit under the influence of freedom with the late and ineffective efforts it makes when it is overwhelmed by despotism, and you will have an accurate idea of the intensity of this invisible and powerful agent. Caracas has been struggling for three hundred years against the obstacles of a policy addressed at exterminating every element of rationality, without being able to step into the knowledge that honors, maintains, and makes People happy […] But they [the *americanos*] have been able to demonstrate that they have not been

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\(^{324}\) M. C. Domínguez, “Un diálogo con la tradición clásica Argentina del siglo XIX,” 17-32.
bred for eternal degradation; their bodies were capable of the most sublime impressions; they had aspirations, and they aim towards the lofty purposes to which Providence destined rational beings; they were able to honor the privileged species to which they belong; and that they were worthy and proper to sustain themselves in the civil dignity that they have conquered.325 lxx

In this context Isnardi’s efforts to publicize the achievements of what he called “the artistic genius of the americanos” are understandable.326 With the section “Variedades: Literatura y Bellas Artes” included in his Mercurio Venezolano, Isnardi was the first in Caracas to offer a space for the discussion of the arts.327 These articles were intended to report the latest undertakings in Venezuela in the realm of the arts, understanding by the term not only the fine arts, at that time comprising activities such as poetry, music, and painting, but also crafts, at that time including activities as disparate as decorative arts and weapon manufacturing. In regards to the eighteenth-century notion of fine arts, the Encyclopédie stated: “Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Poetry, Music, and their different divisions […] [are] born of imagination and […] [they] are comprised under the name of Fine Arts.” In contrast, the “mechanical arts” are those “which are dependent upon manual operation.”328 Although the Mercurio venezolano only reached three issues, running from January to March of 1811, Isnardi’s writings opened the sphere of arts to public interest while helping to establish the basic points in the discussion that would develop in the upcoming years about the role of the arts in the nation-building project of the letrados.

9. The Formation of a Public Sphere of Music and the Arts in Caracas

For Isnardi, a noticeable flourishing of the arts was occurring in the Venezuelan Province side by side with the changes already operating in the political sphere. Accordingly, the ongoing process of regeneración in its pursuit of freedom exerted a positive influence igniting the artistic

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327 Isnardi and Bello had been working together on the project of producing the newspaper El Lucero, which was intended to be dedicated to the dissemination and discussion of intellectual and artistic topics. Although a prospectus for this newspaper was published, the project did not come to fruition. E. Nieschulz de Stockhausen, “Isnardi, Francisco” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/i/isnardi-francisco/.
inclinations of the *americanos*, which had been kept dormant until then. Concerning the burgeoning industry of artillery manufacture in Mérida, Isnardi observed: “Necessity has been the source of most of the progress of the human spirit, but without freedom their efforts would have been sterile. The *americanos* knew what they needed, and that infelicitous knowledge did nothing but worsen their fortune while they could not satisfy their needs. They just achieved it [progress] when instinct made for them what experience made in other countries after several centuries.”

In this manner, Isnardi brought to the discussion of the present budding of the arts the argument of the state of oppression and ignorance to which the *americanos* were subjected during colonial rule, so consistently used in political discourse to justify the rupture with the colonial order. Now, Isnardi used it to explain in the realm of culture the lack of ostensible artistic or intellectual achievements. In truth, early nineteenth-century Venezuelans could hardly claim a rich artistic history. Unlike other areas of Hispanic America, which were either influenced by sophisticated pre-colonial cultures such as the Aztec or the Inca or developed a literary or artistic tradition since the early colonial times, Venezuela had remained relatively undeveloped until well into the eighteenth century. Therefore, the thesis of a nation forbidden to advance in the path of cultural progress brought by Isnardi served the purpose of validating the capacities of Venezuelans to build an organized and culturally notable society in the absence of a history of tangible attainments in the past. This point is explicitly addressed by Isnardi in the first number of the *Mercurio Venezolano*, where he condemned colonial oppression for the hindrance of the progress of painting in Caracas. With this discursive strategy, Isnardi incorporated the domain of the arts into the narrative of the foundational myth of the nation, thus establishing a link between it and politics:

> Until now, painting has been hurt, like all other arts of [good] taste in [Hispanic] America, by the lack of masters and models, which otherwise would have given the genius of the *americanos* all the momentum that their beautiful attitudes promise and that the *inteligentes* [educated] discover in the paintings of some of our indigenous artists. Caracas does not deserve not be counted among the cities that have produced painters of genius, [who would be] capable of honoring the [painting] schools if the oppression would have allowed them to have them or would have given support and freedom to establish them.

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329 F. Isnardi, “Variedades,” *Mercurio venezolano* 3 (Mar. 1811): 45. All the translations from this source are mine.

At the same time, and in clear contrast with a degrading past, Isnardi projects into the future the social benefits that would derive from the development of the artistic abilities of the nationals provided they will be under the condition of freedom: “If human knowledge should promise a rapid progress of freedom in all the countries, what should not be expected from the artistic genius, which no one could deny as one of the beautiful moral qualities of the *americanos*?”

Isnardi’s emphasis on the moral dimension of artistic ability in this context is particularly telling. Since the early eighteenth century, Enlightenment aestheticians assumed that in the process of art creation the intellectual and moral faculties worked in conjunction with the mental faculty of imagination. The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, and other Scottish philosophers after him, conceived of beauty as a disinterested type of pleasure, thus establishing an inextricable link between aesthetics and ethics. This connection was further accentuated for Shaftesbury as people perceiving beauty through a special mental faculty which he called the “moral sense.” In a similar frame of thought, Francis Hutcheson and Lord Kames, among others, argued that the moral sense was related to aesthetics as much as to morality because the moral qualities of good and bad were closely associated with the concept of beauty. They conceived virtue as a kind of beauty, i.e. a moral beauty, which contrasted with vice, conceived instead as a moral deformity. In addition to this, Enlightenment aestheticians stressed the importance of the notion of genius in artistic creation, attributing to it a special capacity that placed the men of genius above ordinary humans. Accordingly, Jean François de Saint Lambert defined “genius” in his article for the *Encyclopédie* as the conjunction of the “the expansiveness of the intellect, the force of imagination and the activity of the soul” and clarified that “the man of genius is he whose soul is more expansive and struck by the feelings of all others […] [and in whom] the imagination goes farther.” In the realm of the arts, the quality of genius was chiefly attributed

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335 Jean-François de Saint-Lambert (ascribed), "Genius," in *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, translated by John S.D. Glaus,
to fine arts creators, for these arts were considered intellectually and imaginatively superior to the crafts. The fine arts were “the work only of genius, and genius prefers creation to discussion,” stated d’Alembert in the “Preliminary discourse” of the *Encyclopédie*. Ellen Judy Wilson has observed that this conception of genius was closely related to the Enlightenment beliefs of perfectibility and progress of humanity, since the genius was defined as “a person who had reached a higher than normal level of perfection.” In consequence, any intellectual, moral, or imaginative faculties that could be associated with the arts are magnified in the case of the men of genius.

It is difficult to assert whether Isnardi endorsed these particular theories when formulating his views about art in Caracas. Nonetheless, the French and Scottish philosophers of the Enlightenment formed part of the cultural references that circulated in Caracas among members of the educated circles and constituted the core of their intellectual affiliations. Therefore, it is plausible to interpret Isnardi’s assertion of “the beautiful moral qualities of the *americanos*” as the aim to place the discussion about the arts within the moral domain. Moreover, any artistic achievements, especially in music, painting, poetry, or any of the other fine arts, were consequently understood as unquestionable demonstrations of the inherent moral refinement of the *americanos*. This suggests the emblematic importance that the arts came to play in the overall discussion about the moral aptness of the *americanos* to manage their political autonomy as well as to build a nation that could eventually display significant advancement in social and cultural matters.

For Isnardi, music, in contrast to painting, or poetry, or any other arts in Venezuela, enjoyed a privileged position within the moral and cultural accomplishments that the advocates of the nation-building project began to chart from this time onward. Moreover, it was manifest to Isnardi, as reflected also in the first number of the *Mercurio venezolano*, that music had already reached in Caracas a level of sophistication so elevated as to place this city at the head of musical developments in Hispanic America. Despite this, Isnardi did not attribute the present

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337 Ibid., 168.
thrive to a long-standing musical tradition. On the contrary, he identified the origins of Caracas musical culture in the relatively recent practice of the academia filarmónica:

Our music, which has been so much praised by the foreigners among us and which is perhaps much better than that of all [Hispanic] America, can be said to be our own creation. Until 1712 solfa [i.e. solfeggio] was not known in Caracas. It was in 1750 when the seeds of the philharmonic genius, inherent to the caraqueños, began to be planted. The names of Ustáriz, Sojo, Tovar, y Olivares, should be kept in the memories of all those who consider music one of the most sublime allures of society. \textsuperscript{338} \textsuperscript{bxiv}

The historical reliability of this passage could be easily dismissed on the grounds of its factual inaccuracy. As matter of fact, documentary evidence demonstrates the existence of musicians working at the Cathedral of Caracas from the early date of 1591, and musical activity continued without substantial interruptions until Isnardi’s days.\textsuperscript{339} Yet, Isnardi’s placing the beginning of music-making in Caracas with the formation of the academias filarmónicas could be interpreted not as his failed intention of tracing the local developments of music in general but to his aim of establishing the origins of the specific musical culture that was meaningful to the nation-building image that was being formed at that time.

The fact that Isnardi constructed his narrative of the musical flourishing in Caracas around the practice of the academia filarmónica, which was so distinctively linked with Enlightenment-framed practices of music-making, is a firm indication of the set of progressive values, attitudes, and beliefs that he sought to establish. This point becomes clearer in a subsequent passage of Isnardi’s writing, where he continued briefly enumerating what he considered to be the most important contributions to the progress of music in Caracas:

The haste of this paper does not allow for the presentation of the history of music in Caracas. However, we will say that it was Mr. Gallardo who practically invented the use of the cello and the double bass, and his execution amazes the inteligentes, that Don Cayetano Carreño has disseminated with taste and singular mastery the taste for the piano among the beautiful sex, and that Don José Rodríguez possess an analytic and very sublime knowledge of music that has merits as to honoring his patria. \textsuperscript{340} \textsuperscript{bxv}

The progressivist rhetoric employed by Isnardi, according to which the negligible past when performance techniques had to be “invented” has rapidly progressed towards a present of mastery and sophistication, certainly served a political purpose. On the one hand it reinforced

\textsuperscript{338} [F. Isnardi,] “Variedades: Literatura y Bellas Artes,” \textit{Mercurio venezolano} 1 (Jan 1811): 54.
\textsuperscript{339} A. Calzavara, \textit{Historia de la música en Venezuela}, 220.
\textsuperscript{340} [F. Isnardi,] “Variedades: Literatura y Bellas Artes,” \textit{Mercurio venezolano} 1 (Jan 1811): 55.
the mythical imaginary of a nation being built as result of a regenerative process that made a radical rupture with a past of ignorance. On the other, it establishes the patriotic connotations of the individual effort in the construction of the common good, understanding by it the set of material, moral, and artistic assets and values that constituted the patria americana. This perspective remained common place in subsequent historiographic accounts of the arts in Caracas. As matter of fact, the idea that Caracas music cultivation began within the academias filarmónicas, and that they marked the beginning of the cultural regeneration in Venezuela, is reiterated in 1826 by the Colombian letrado Juan García del Rio in his report about the state of education in colonial Hispanic America published in the journal El repertorio americano:

There have not existed in Caracas the big establishments for [...] [learning] drawing, and painting that existed in Mexico and Bogotá. However, at the beginning of the present century some progress was made in public education. [...] It was noticeable in that city [of Caracas], as in other areas of the [Hispanic] American continent, a great aptitude for music, whose creator was Padre Sojo [...] Distinguished for their zealoussness in improving instruction were Luis and Xavier [de] Ustáriz, whose home was a private academia, where various men of letters gathered to cultivate literature and the arts, [and] the lawyer Miguel José Sanz (with justice dubbed the Venezuelan Lycurgus).  

It is plausible that García del Rio used information provided by Andrés Bello, his associate at that time in London in the preparation of the journal El repertorio americano, which would explain also the references to Bello’s close friends Ustáriz and his political comrade the letrado Miguel José Sanz, one of the most conspicuous advocates of the necessity of improving popular education. Nonetheless, a similar point of view is restated as late as 1883 by music historian Ramón de la Plaza, who describes Padre Sojo as the forerunner of music in Caracas. In this sense he affirmed: “Venezuela owes to Padre Sojo the elements that have since colonial times been forming the basis of art. In subsequent times, new generations have not done other than take advantage of it. We owe not a remembrance but an act of gratitude to this benevolent priest, who [...] [produced] a fruit of such naturalness that was sufficient to nurture the soil of the patria with love for art and with it [bringing] its development and progress.”  

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341 Juan García del Rio (b. Cartagena de Indias, 1794; Mexico City, 1856), “Revista del estado anterior i actual de la instrucción pública en la América antes española,” El repertorio americano (London) 1 (Oct 1826): 240-41. All the translations from this source are mine. Lycurgus of Sparta (b. Lykourgos, Ancient Greece; fl. ca. 820 BC) was a Spartan lawyer famous for establishing a reformation of Spartan society that promoted equality, military fitness, and austerity as civic virtues.

342 R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 94.
De la Plaza’s attributing to Padre Sojo the seed of patriotic ideals in the sphere of music clearly is an anachronism, as he died in 1789. However, the reference is emblematic of the pervasive influence in Venezuelan culture of the ideal of cultural progress and its intermingling with political discourses that identified the patriotic cause with the enlightened notion of the social need of the arts in the construction of the common good.

In another respect, it is striking that by the time that Isnardi wrote this article, Cayetano Carreño had been occupying the position of maestro de capilla at Cathedral of Caracas for fourteen years, and he had already produced at least a dozen of the about forty-eight religious works that have been attributed to him. These include his extant Salmos de vísperas, composed around 1796-1798, his Pasión del Domingo de Ramos, dated of 1797, and his imposing motet In Monte Oliveti of 1801 for solo tenor, four-part choir, and instrumental ensemble, an outstanding example of the Hispanic American repertory of sacred music of the period.343 Any of these compositions by Carreño would have served Isnardi in his purpose of demonstrating the state of sophistication achieved by Caracas musicians, leaving no doubt about the “artistic genius” of the americanos. Isnardi, instead, overlooked Carreño’s affiliation with the church, focusing his praise instead on his work as a piano teacher, which must have been a secondary occupation for Carreño in comparison with his multiple duties as maestro de capilla. Similarly, the musician by trade José Rodríguez, at some point appointed bassoonist at the capilla musical of the Cathedral of Caracas, is recognized by Isnardi not for his work at the church but for his erudition in music theory.344

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343 Archivo de Música Colonial de la Escuela de Música José Ángel Lamas, Biblioteca Nacional, Caracas. The other works attributed to Cayetano Carreño dated before 1810 have not survived. These include Seis Lamentaciones (1796), Christus factus est (1796), Un motete de Pasion (1796), Otro motete de Pasion (1796), Miserere a cuatro voces con órgano (1797), Miserere a cinco voces con órgano (1797), Pasión del Viernes Santo (1797), Himno Vexilla Regis (1797), and La adoración de la Cruz (1797). Miguel Castillo Didier listed these works in his catalogue of Carreño’s compositions relying on information obtained from nineteenth-century inventories of the capilla musical of the Cathedral of Caracas. M. Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, 146-49.

344 Little is known of the activities of José Rodríguez. The scarce documentation that has survived about him demonstrates that he belonged to the underprivileged class. In 1791, he presented his credentials to the authorities of the capilla musical of the Cathedral of Caracas with the purpose of being considered for the position of bassoonist. His appointment was approved. A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 320. Music historian José Antonio Calcaño contends that Rodríguez’s political involvement with the independence movement prevented him from working at the cathedral. However, no documentary evidence has been found to substantiate a possible dismissal of Rodríguez from his position. On the other hand, the argument of his political affiliation at such early time is chronologically incongruous. J. A. Calcaño, La ciudad y su música, 72-73.
It is obvious that Isnardi is not interested in referring in his account to the musical practices associated with religious ceremony. The compositional activities of the Escuela de Chacao, distinctively focused on sacred genres, are not for Isnardi part of the influence of the regeneración. His allusions to the abilities of Lino Gallardo, Cayetano Carreño, and José Rodríguez in the areas of instrumental performance, pedagogy, and theory, respectively, appear to be associated instead with a musical culture of secular characteristics aimed at fulfilling a social purpose, conceivably in the line of thought of what the Spanish man of letters Tomás de Iriarte had identified as the social use of music.

According to Tomás de Iriarte’s classification of the uses of music explained in the Prologue to his poem La música, the music to be performed in social settings could be either associated with social dancing and other convivial amusements on one hand, or on the serious appreciation of instrumental music on the other. This social use of music differed in terms of repertory and purpose from sacred music, meant to be performed in church and to convey religious devotion. It also differed from the public music in the theatre, mostly associated with plays, operas, and other theatrical genres. Finally, it also differed from the music intended to be performed by the isolated individual for his or her private enjoyment. As previously discussed, there are sufficient indications as to reasonably assume that the practices of the academia filarmónica and the musical tertulia as known in Caracas since the late eighteenth century conformed to the culture of serious music-making in social settings described by Iriarte. Furthermore, it undoubtedly is this cultured paradigm of music, framed in the secular social values and aspirations of the Enlightenment, which served as the underlying premise in Isnardi’s discourse of the flourishing of music in Caracas. In this light, the cultural and social advantages that Isnardi ascribed to the instrumental, pedagogical, and theoretical proficiency of the mentioned musicians, as well as his complete disregard for their religious music-making, becomes understandable.

Although there is no certainty that women participated in Caracas academias and musical tertulias during colonial times, Isnardi’s remarks on Carreño’s contributions to the musical education of women is likewise suggestive of their participation in music-making in social contexts. It is indeed possible that at the time of Isnardi’s writing, piano playing had already begun to be a feature in some social gatherings, as was clearly the case in the years to

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345 T. de Iriarte, La música, Prólogo IX. This topic has been already discussed in Chapter 2.
come. Besides, Isnardi’s appreciation of the inclusion of women into the music culture is indicative of the social value that Enlightenment thinkers ascribed to the instruction and active participation of women in the formation of the social fabric. Illustrative of this opinion is a passage from Juan García del Rio’s article on the state of education in colonial Hispanic America:

The education of the gentlest portion of humanity, which is always the object of the most serious attention of all enlightened peoples, was completely neglected by our oppressors. Since it was not their interest to educate the source from which society received the best impressions, neither to prepare the pure and intellectual joys that the tender sex, whose allures could contribute so much to virtue and happiness, the only purpose [of the oppressors] was to preserve in them during the entire journey from the cradle to the grave the inconstancy, the whims, and the little judgement they had during infancy. Teaching them to use the needle, to inspire in them the taste for ornaments, was all the education that women received. Very rarely were they taught music, drawing, or dancing, and some were not even allowed to learn to write […] Being belittled with insipidities and trifles, the spirit of that fair sex in [Hispanic] America, so awake, so insinuating, so sweet, so sensitive, was in consequence almost void of influence on the public and domestic happiness.³⁴⁶ lxxviii

The enlightened paradigm of a musical culture advocated by Isnardi, distinctively oriented towards a socially meaningful regenerative purpose, was emblematically represented in Landaeta’s prospectus for the establishment of a series of subscription concerts in Caracas under the description of “Certamen of Vocal and Instrumental Music.”³⁴⁷ lxxix Because Isnardi’s article does not indicate Landaeta’s first name, the identity of the organizer of the series cannot be established with certainty. The surname Landaeta was fairly common at that time. In Caracas alone, official documents include information on at least twenty families under that name.³⁴⁸ As music historian Alberto Calzavara has observed, it is most likely that the concerts were the initiative of the pardo Juan José Landaeta, the violinist formerly associated with Padre Sojo’s circle, or else his uncle José Luis Landaeta, also a violinist and participant in Sojo’s academia filarmónica.³⁴⁹ In either case, Landaeta’s project had for Isnardi a clear regenerative value, to judge from his introductory announcement: “Mr. Landaeta, eager to take advantage of the

³⁴⁸ A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 279-80.
³⁴⁹ Ibid.
favorable influence of our regeneración in favor of our music, offers the public a philharmonic establishment.\textsuperscript{350} \textsuperscript{lxxxi}

According to the prospectus, the concert series was intended to span six months with weekly concerts running from eight to eleven in the evening, starting in February “if the subscribers have the kindness of not delaying their dues.”\textsuperscript{351} \textsuperscript{lxxi} Specifics of programming are unknown, but it is apparent that Landaeta’s subscription concerts were primarily aimed at performing symphonic music and possibly also concertos as the plan announced an orchestra of twenty-five musicians performing “obligato concertos for all the instruments.”\textsuperscript{352} \textsuperscript{lxxii} This focus on the instrumental ensemble reveals the existing connection between Landaeta’s subscription concerts and the already established tradition of the academia filarmónica. The link between the two is furthermore noticeable as Landaeta’s subscription concerts were unambiguously aimed at the serious appreciation of music, a pursuit that advocates of Enlightenment culture such as Tomás de Iriarte identified with the performance of instrumental music in the social context of the musical academia. Participants in the academias, as discussed previously, considered the genres of music for instrumental ensemble a fine art, meant not to entertain or to serve a practical function, but to be appreciated aesthetically and intellectually. Aligned with this idea was Landaeta’s offering in this prospectus of complementary explanations in the course of the concerts, aimed at elucidating the value and meaning of the music performed: “The profesores will not omit anything aimed at expressing the concepts that relate this Fine Art to words and nature, as the local situation permits, with the purpose of satisfying the taste and pleasure of the Spectators.”\textsuperscript{353} \textsuperscript{lxxiii} It is possibly because of this inclusion of discourses about music that Landaeta’s prospectus referred to his series subscription concerts as a Certamen de música vocal é instrumental rather than academias. As explained in the previous chapter, placing discourses in alternation with music performance was a distinctive characteristic of the practice of the literary certamen as developed in colonial Caracas. On the other hand, since the literary certamen was a scholarly public event with an established clear differentiation between the role of those who presented the discourses or performed the music and the audience, the term certamen could have seemed more appropriate than academia or tertulia for his project.

\textsuperscript{351} Ibid., 56.
\textsuperscript{352} Ibid., 55.
\textsuperscript{353} Ibid.
Despite this, Landaeta’s subscription concerts as reflected in his prospectus, whether they finally materialized or not, represented an important change in the overall organization of music-making in Caracas. They constituted the first effort known to date in Caracas to publicize a concert practice that had been circumscribed to private groups of aficionados and musicians by trade while creating the space for the establishment of concert-making as a social institution focused on the appreciation of art music, subjected to public scrutiny, and not dependent on the church, which had been until then the most important, if not the only official patron of music. In this sense, the prospectus for Landaeta’s subscription concerts symbolizes the moment of emergence of a public concert life in Caracas.

It is possible that these subscription concerts took place not in a public venue but in a residence, as the prospectus suggests, when stating that “the house designated for this establishment” was not yet determined, but “the room will be suitable and decent as possible.” However, this should not lead to confusion regarding the public nature of the project. The concerts were outlined as a public event, as explicitly stated in the prospectus, which called to all “the gentlemen and ladies who want to subscribe, giving 25 pesos each for the 6 months, the amount of which will be paid in advance to cover necessary expenses.”

The high cost of the subscription was certainly restrictive, as not many people at that time were in a position to afford it. Similar claims could be made about the educational level required from the audiences in order to make of these concerts a meaningful experience. Despite this, these subscription concerts conformed, at least in principle, to the enlightened ideal of the public as a community universally accessible. This becomes apparent in the invitation that the prospectus extended to women to participate in them, not only as part of the audience but also as performers: “The ladies may, if they wish, take part either in performing an instrument or singing, provided that they would notify the director beforehand, and in which case they would be assigned a room for their relief.”

This option certainly introduced an element of variety to the primary focus of the concerts, which was the instrumental ensemble. The idea of including voice or instrumental solo numbers as requested by the eventual participation of women indicates that the series adopted in the program design the principle of variety or miscellany, an element that was not likely present in the concert practices associated with the

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[354] Ibid.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Ibid.
Programming together separated movements of symphonic or chamber works, solo piano pieces, operatic vocal excerpts, and so forth was a common practice of public concert-making in Europe during the period. It was considered a common-sense course of action within public concert life where a variety of tastes and inclinations was expected.\(^{357}\)

It is significant that public concert life in Caracas began, at least symbolically, with a resolve to articulate a community of music lovers of varied interests, which could eventually contribute to diversify the musical life in the city with their patronage. The formation of a musical public was of utmost importance for two main reasons. The first is that it opened up alternative avenues to the patronage of the church to the musicians by trade for their livelihood, thus paving the way for the process of the professionalization of music in Caracas. The second reason has to do with the exercise of cultural authority. Music historian William Weber has explained the formation of public concert life in the late eighteenth century in European cities such as London and Paris, as the process of shifting from monarchical or aristocratic patronage to the public as a result of the withdrawal of the monarchical authority over artistic matters. In consequence, stated Weber, “a vacuum of formal authority resulted that was filled by a fictive principle of unitary Public, under whose rhetorical auspices rivalries were conducted among factions and individuals contending for influence in cultural worlds.”\(^{358}\) The public was therefore moving to establishing itself as a judge of the arts, its authority being separate from the king.

Musicologists Ricardo Miranda and Aurelio Tello have argued that one of the most important aspects of the musical landscape in Latin America during the nineteenth century is that the process of formation of a general public, represented in the emerging urban middle class, chronologically coincided and was juxtaposed with the process of independence of the Latin American nations. In consequence, music ceased to be a matter principally linked with the authority of the church or of the nobility to become the patrimony of the middle class.\(^{359}\) In Caracas, where there did not exist a tradition of monarchical patronage of the arts, and the church had acted as the dominant patron of music, the formation of a musical public came, on one hand, to fill the vacuum that existed due to the lack of official support for the arts and, on the other, to establish a secular authority that could compete with the church, which at that time began to be associated with the conservative values of the colonial culture. Moreover, as

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\(^{358}\) Ibid., 17.

discussed earlier, the educated circles in Caracas deemed crucial to the articulation of their political nation-building project the strengthening of the public sphere of opinion. The formation of a literate public that could arbitrate on musical matters was useful to this regenerative project as much as the cultivation of the arts, and music in particular, was considered a social necessity, an indisputable sign of cultural progress in a context when it was politically important to demonstrate the intellectual and moral authority of the emerging nation. It is in this sense that Isnardi’s remarks on the positive influence of the present strengthening of the social fabric may be interpreted:

wherever we look, it will seem to us a new and unknown country [...] languor and individual isolation has yielded to all the activity that inspire us into the interests that we have taken under our control. An admirable unanimity of feeling produced and sustained a firm and uninterrupted cooperation in favor of the common cause in each and every one of those who have proclaimed it. The political constitution, the social institutions, the classes, the families, and the individuals form an organic body vivified and strengthened by the spirit of a calculated independence, and supported by the interests of all [...] The genius of good has already been able to establish its empire in the New World.\(^{lxxxvii}\)

In the decades to come, this political connotation ascribed to the realm of public concert life became a distinctive component in nation-building discourses that legitimated the culture of the serious cultivation of music and the creation of formal societies for its cultivation. The political dimension of concert life should not be mistaken, however, for the political uses of music in public contexts of civic ceremonials, often misleadingly referred to in contemporary sources as *conciertos* as well.

To be sure, the inclusion of instrumental music in public civic settings was in use since at least 1809. As a matter of fact, the *Gazeta de Caracas* reported on the use of orchestral ensembles as part of the celebrations in Caracas in December of 1809 on the occasion of the installation in the *península* of the Junta Suprema Central performing either religious music, or instrumental pieces, or patriotic tunes that were accompanied by the crowds:

The Very Illustrious *Ayuntamiento* [city council] of Caracas ordered the August Portrait of the most desired of the Kings, Don Fernando VII to be shown to the Public with general illumination [...] A Solemn Mass and Te Deum for the Holy Sacrament to be sung at the Metropolitan Church [...] The Ecclesiastic *Cabildo* [ecclesiastic council] also exhibited another Royal Portrait to the Public with decent illumination on the balcony outside the meeting room [...] solemnizing the act with a harmonious concert.

An orchestra of thirty *profesores* heightened the brilliant illumination of the Very Illustrious *Ayuntamiento*. They executed selected pieces for the satisfaction of the entire audience and sang songs that were appropriate for such precious circumstances. These [songs] conveyed expressions of the most tender love for our Sovereign, or implacable horror of the enemy of the entire world, and of his inflamed general disposition to exterminate him with a bloody war. The attendance was so numerous that only the guards in their places and the sick in their homes were not around the *Cabildo* and the square. A profound silence and attention dominated while the lyrics of the song were heard but it was interrupted by the People who repeated it in the midst of cheers and acclamations [...] 

On the second night, the Choir continued to sing one of the lyrics until they arrived at the home of the President [...] And on the third [night], a big crowd accompanied the Orchestra to the military barracks of San Carlos, amidst repeated Public demonstrations of jubilation and liveliness.  

Similarly, the *Mercurio Venezolano* reports on the participation of four orchestras for the opening ceremony of the Congreso Constituyente de Venezuela in Caracas in March of 1811: 

Each fountain in the Temple was illuminated with 500 red, yellow, and green glasses, placed with airy and symmetric distribution, and inside the building four orchestras were placed. They accompanied the patriotic songs [that] were interrupted by the acclamations of the People of the capital and its surroundings, who were attracted to a spectacle as august as it was interesting to Venezuelans.”  

Admittedly, these descriptions are very vague in terms of both the repertory and configuration of the orchestral ensemble. It is possible indeed that the term “orchestra” that was used in the text that appeared in the *Gazeta de Caracas* referred to a band-like ensemble, perhaps performing military music, as suggested in the commentary on the crowds that escorted the orchestra in its way to the military barracks. The use of term “concert” in that same passage is also misleading. It seems to indicate something different from the usage that became common later in the nineteenth-century. Instead of referring to an event focused on the performance of music, whether by an ensemble or by one or more soloists, the wording suggests a context where people performed together in an instrumental and/or vocal ensemble, without implying that the music was the focus of attention. However, it clearly appears that the music performed in these events of 1809 was not the center of social attention. Music was instead a complimentary element, which together with the illumination and the exhibition of  

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iconography, was aimed at enhancing the symbolism of the religious and civic ceremonies in honor of the captive King Fernando VIII and to enliven the political discourse in favor of the Restoration of Spain. Likewise, the crowds that interrupted with “acclamations” the “four orchestras” that “accompanied the patriotic songs,” referred to in the *Mercurio venezolano*, may be only equivocally identified with a concert audience. In this case, as in 1809, the multitudes that sing and acclaim while the musicians perform are none other than an allusion to “the people” as the collective that constitutes the nation, a notion qualitatively different from the musically literate publics that were expected to voice their critical judgements in the realm of concert life.

Finally, it is clear that it was not this repertory of patriotic songs that Isnardi referred to as markers of the development of music in his brief historiographical account of the flourishing of the arts in Caracas. In fact, three of the musicians that Isnardi mentioned, Juan José Landaeta, Lino Gallardo, and Cayetano Carreño, were involved in the composition of patriotic songs. Moreover, it is presumed that the Juan José and José Luis Landaeta counted among the attendees of the Club de los Sincamisa while Lino Gallardo was also apparently involved in the meetings of the Sociedad Patriótica. Cayetano Carreño, as will be discussed in the following chapter, publicly expressed his republicanism. Also, the music historian José Antonio Calcaño identifies Rodríguez with the group of musicians by trade who were overtly aligned with the patriotic cause. Consequently, the political affiliations of these musicians could have sufficed for Isnardi if his interest was to connect the efforts of that group of artists by trade to promote the patriotic cause through an art of explicit political content. Instead, Isnardi opted for advocating a serious culture of instrumental music-making as the musical paradigm of his regenerative discourse of the progress of music.

10. High Culture and the Myth of the Civilizing Mission of Hispanic America

There is no doubt that for Isnardi the practices associated with the performance and discussion of instrumental music, best represented in Caracas *academias filarmónicas* and lately with the contributions of Lino Gallardo, Cayetano Carreño, José Rodríguez, and Juan José

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Landaeta, constitute the top of the artistic hierarchies in the realm of music in Caracas. This view became standard for the advocators of cultural advancement in Caracas in the upcoming years. With increasing frequency, the writings of the *letrados* employed the term “sublime” to refer in a standardized manner to this culture of serious music-making. In fact, Isnardi had already used the term when alluding to the “analytic and very sublime knowledge of music” that Rodríguez had. He also referred to music as “one of the most sublime allures of society” when he established the origins of the *academias filarmónicas* in Caracas. It is pertinent to note that the term “sublime” was commonly used by Enlightenment aestheticians to refer to the artistic representation of exalted and intense emotions. Nonetheless, this is not the sense conveyed in the writings of the *letrados* in their discussions about music. The term “sublime” as used by Isnardi and other music commentators in Caracas was plausibly drawn from the classical rhetorical tradition which understood it as an equivalent of serious, highbrow style in writing.

*De arte rhetorica libri quinque* by the French Jesuit Dominique de Colonia, which was one of the preferred textbooks for the study of rhetoric in Jesuit colegios and universities in the Spanish Peninsula and the colonies, explained the classical distinction between the rhetorical high style denominated *stilus magnificus* or *sublimis*, the middle style or *stilus mediocris*, and the low style or *stilus humilis*. Colonia defined the sublime style as one that uses splendid words and magnificent sentences, grabs the attention of the noble audience, and invites one to

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365 Ibid., 54.  
366 The first formulation of an aesthetic theory of the sublime appeared in the *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (pub. 1756) by the Irish philosopher Edmund Burke (b. Dublin, 1757; d. Beaconsfield, Great Britain, 1797). Burke separated the sublime from the beautiful, arguing that they were mutually exclusive. The sublime produced tension and emphasized isolation while the beautiful produced relaxation and urges people toward refinement and civility. German philosophers including Immanuel Kant (b. Könisberg, Prussia, 1724; d. Könisberg, 1804) and later on Arthur Schopenhauer (b. Danzig, 1788; d. Frankfurt, 1860) also addressed the theme of the sublime and the aesthetic representation of the human passions, notably influencing Romantic aesthetics. E.J. Wilson, “Sublime,” in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, 408.  
feel admiration.\textsuperscript{368} During the Middle Ages, this classical distinction became associated with specific literary genres and authors. The \textit{stilus sublimis} was generally associated with tragedy and had Virgil as its model. The \textit{stilus mediocris}, instead, was related to satire and had Juvenal, Persius, and Horace as models, while the \textit{stilus humilis} was associated with comedy and Terence.\textsuperscript{369}

In a similar vein, Caracas \textit{letrados} associated certain stylistic conventions and art genres with the ideal of a high culture. Thus, instrumental genres, especially chamber and symphonic music, remained until after the mid-nineteenth century as the canon in music, occupying the highest and most authentic expression of music conceived as an art. In literature, references to the classical authors Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, with abundant citations in Latin, as well as references to Greco-Roman mythology, became conventional rhetorical strategies to frame their discussion on the arts within the canonic values of a culture that was conventionally accepted as the peak of Western civilization. This approach in the discussion of the arts was indeed a correlate of the \textit{letrados}' frequent quoting from the classics in political discourse as a way to legitimate their opinions examined earlier. The cultural scholar Ángel Rama has explained that a sophisticated use of the language was in fact a distinctive practice of the \textit{letrados} in nineteenth-century Hispanic America. Being members of a minority within a society that had restricted access to education, the \textit{letrados} were culturally identified by the use of writing as a way of life, as Rama has observed. Their exercise of writing, whether in a legal document, a patriotic discourse, or a poem, maintained stylistic sophistication that distinguished them as a social group.\textsuperscript{370}

The stylistic refinement exhibited in the \textit{letrados}' writing created relevant divergence between the highbrow mode of communication that operated in the public sphere, which reflected their lofty cultural aspirations, and the modest mode of communication that was used in private life. Ángel Rama has observed in this regard that

The exaltation of writing begun during the colonial period and stubbornly maintained after the Independence created a characteristic situation of diglossia, whereby Latin Americans exhibited a sharp and habitual distinction between two separate kinds of

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\item \textsuperscript{368} “Stilus sublimis ille est, qui constat verbis splendidis, magnificisque sententiis, quique sua nobilitate rapit quodammodo extra se audientium animos, & admirationem extorquet etiam ab invitis: quale est illud morientis Didonis.” D. de Colonia, \textit{De Arte rhetorica libri quinque}, 168.
\item \textsuperscript{370} A. Rama, \textit{The Lettered City}, 21.
\end{itemize}
language. The first of these was suited to public, formal, or official occasions [...] Above all, it served for writing, and it was practically the only language to find its way into the written record. The other half of the Latin American diglossia was the informal speech of everyday life [...] used by the poor and unpretentious with each other on all occasions and employed by almost everyone in private. This popular language appears quite rarely in writing. 371

The effectiveness of the rhetorical resource of using a sophisticated, sublime style of writing to convey a sense of high culture can be pondered in Isnardi’s discussion of the state of music in Caracas in the Mercurio venezolano when, making use of metaphors embedded in the Greco-Roman classical culture, he constructed a mythical narrative of the present musical flourishing of music while legitimating its place above any other cultural undertaking:

It would seem as though the Caraqueños, having had little opportunity to develop their talents in many fields of human endeavor, want to make up this loss by consoling themselves with the sweet charms of music; and apparently Apollo has cast over them the protecting influence which Minerva, in her flight from despotism, was unable to dispense. 372 xc

The metaphor is forthright. Music in Caracas had thrived under the protection of Apollo, the Greco-Roman god of music, despite the climate of educational backwardness imposed by the despotic government. Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom, will exert her protection of intellectual pursuits once freedom is restored. Other classical references, such as using the expression “the coryphaeae of the Caracas harmony” to refer to the sponsors of the academias filarmónicas in Caracas are also part of Isnardi’s discursive strategy to symbolically legitimize his paradigm of art music. Corypheus was the term used in ancient Greek drama to refer to the leader of the chorus. Isnardi also used a neoclassical allusion to Parnasus to convey the budding of poetry in Caracas under the influence of the regeneración: “Certainly,” stated Isnardi, “Caracas cannot boast of having produced a grouping of poets such as those who have immortalized the Tiber, the Seine, the Tormes, and the Tagus, but also there have been in the Guaire [river] swans capable of raising their voices to Parnassus. The languor of the previous constitution sterilized the gems of literary taste, but in the midst of it, there have been in Caracas those who can count the glories of its regeneración.” 373 xc

Similarly, Andrés Bello

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371 Ibid., 31.
employed at some point a neoclassical metaphor to refer to the contributions of the Ustáriz tertulia to the development of poetry in Caracas. Thus, Bello described Ustáriz’s gatherings as “the temple of the Muses” where “writers from the Península were read and commented upon and the indigenous compositions were judged and preserved in a sort of national archive.”

The use of neoclassical cultural referents to denote a highbrow cultural domain was not exclusive to writing. Isnardi’s commentaries in the Mercurio venezolano of the activities of the Caracas painter Juan Lovera suggest that the adoption of the neoclassical style in the visual arts had become at that time a sign of cultural sophistication. After stating that painting had remained stagnant due to the situation of colonial bondage, Isnardi next complimented a work on a secular theme recently produced by Lovera, which he qualified it as a “joyful painting essay,” adding that it made him worthy of “the beneficial protection of our current transformation.” The piece has not survived, but it is known by Isnardi’s reference that it was based on Les quatre élément by the famous sixteenth-century French artist Charles Le Brun. It is not clear, however, whether Lovera produced another engraving or made an oil canvas based on it. Art historian María Magdalena Ziegler has identified Le Brun’s original piece, an engraving of a preparatory drawing for a group of statues representing the four elements within a larger project of sculptures known as La grande commande that Louis XIV commissioned for the gardens of the Versailles Palace, which was stylistically affiliated with the classical trend that fomented in French royal architecture at that time. Lebrun’s drawing circulated in an engraving produced by Simon Philippe Thomassin, presumably the document that Lovera used as model for his work. (See Figure 3.9 below.)

Zielger also stated as a fact of historiographic interest that Isnardi disregarded altogether in his account Lovera’s previous production, which was mostly religious, or otherwise linked with Baroque portrait practices. Other painters with an output of certain significance, including the deceased Juan Pedro López and Antonio José Landaeta, were also overlooked by Isnardi, possibly also because their work was mostly circumscribed within the baroque style of

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374 M. L. Amunátegui, Vida de Don Andrés Bello, 60. See also P. Grases, Estudios sobre Andrés Bello, II: 22.
375 Juan Lovera (b. Caracas, 1776; d. Caracas, 1841).
378 It is known that since 1799 Juan Lovera had already established his on studio in Caracas and he had painted that same year the portraits of the visiting naturalists Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland. M. M. Ziegler, “Juan Lovera por sí mismo,” 97.
religious painting. Ziegler interprets Isnardi’s deliberate omission of a painting tradition in Caracas previous to Juan Lovera’s copy of Le Brun, with the intention of highlighting a work that resulted exceptional in an artistic milieu that was otherwise centered on religious iconography. In this regard, Ziegler states: “that a painter like Lovera made an image of the Virgin of Carmel, for example, was not new; but that he painted an allegorical group with the four elements was momentous, and Isnardi wanted to highlight it [...] everything pointed out at that our painter was open to new paths in the exercise of his trade.”

Figure 3.9. Les quatre éléments (The Four Elements), sketch drawings by Charles le Brun for La Grande Commande (ca. 1674), in an engraving produced by Simon Philippe Thomassin (ca. 1723). Collection of the Château de Versailles.

In general terms, Ziegler’s interpretation coincides with the focus that Isnardi demonstrated on the secular aspects of music-making in Caracas that has been discussed above. It becomes apparent that by failing to give notice of the legacy of colonial religious art, whether

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380 M. M. Zigler, “Juan Lovera, por sí mismo,” 112.
in painting or music, what Isnardi did was to pit the secular styles against the set of values that
time that represented the colonial past. This does not necessarily mean that either Isnardi or other
Caracas letrados denigrated the Catholic faith. However, their compliance with the
Enlightenment ideals of a society regulated by the precepts of universal reason and civic virtue,
which the letrados advocated in their regenerative nation-building project, could not have been
properly represented by religious imagery or liturgical music that had cultural references with
the colonial system. Nevertheless, a secular art associated with highbrow culture, such as
neoclassical painting and instrumental music for ensemble did.

Notably, the neoclassical style in painting became a symbol of the civic ideals of
republicanism throughout nineteenth-century art in Venezuela. From the vantage point of the
post-Independence era, it is possible to perceive a line of continuity between Isnardi’s
appreciation of Lovera’s painting based on the classical model of Le Brun and the conventional
use in painting of neoclassical style to represent the landmark events and personalities that
contributed to the establishment of the republican order. A representative example of it is
Lovera’s interpretation of the events of 19 April of 1810 in his Tumulto del 19 de abril de 1810,
produced in 1835. (See Figure 3.10 below.) Its overall austerity, the dignified poses of the
crowd, and the symmetry in the linear design of the building, leave no doubt to its adherence to
the principles of the neoclassical style, which serve splendidly to convey an epic tone to the
painting. Even more explicit is Arturo Michelena’s oil canvas El panteón de los héroes of 1898,
with its abundant neoclassical imagery that is reminiscent of the heroic iconography produced in
revolutionary France.382 (See Figure 3.11 below.) A Parthenon-like building serves as a frame to
exalt the solemnity of the independence heroes with the patria on the side represented by a
virginal woman in a classical dress carrying the Venezuelan flag.

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Figure 3.10. Tumulto del 19 de abril de 1810 (Riot on April 19 of 1810), painted by Juan Lovera (1835). Collection of the Palacio Municipal, Caracas.\textsuperscript{383}

![Image of Tumulto del 19 de abril de 1810](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9b/19_de_abril.jpg)

Figure 3.11. El panteón de los héroes (The Pantheon of the Heroes), painted by Arturo Michelena (1898). Collection of Pedro Benavídez.\textsuperscript{384}

![Image of El panteón de los héroes](https://www.wikiart.org/en/arturo-michelena/el-panteon-de-los-heroes-1898)

\textsuperscript{383} Wikimedia Commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9b/19_de_abril.jpg.

Neoclassicism was intellectually and aesthetically affiliated with the Enlightenment. The revival of the classical Greco-Roman culture by the German art historian and archeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann played an important role in shaping a neoclassical movement in the visual arts throughout Europe. In France, the neoclassical style was used to represent themes of secularism and public virtue linked with the French Revolution. Cultural historian Hernán Taboada has argued that the use of neoclassical allusions in Hispanic America among advocates of independence was a reflection of the intellectual and political influence of France.  

The dissemination of the French Enlightenment and political materials favored interest in the secular elements of the Greco-Roman classical culture in Hispanic America, where there existed a strong tradition of studying the Latin and classical authors but circumscribed to religious and scholastic purposes. From the early nineteenth century, progressivist-minded intellectuals adopted the use of neoclassical conventions to convey ideas of modernity and rationality, often in connection with the civic values of republicanism that they endorsed, as opposed to the scholastic and obsolete mores of colonial education. Moreover, studies of the political discourses of the revolutionary leaders of the Hispanic America, notably Simón Bolívar, demonstrate that the classical tradition had a significance that went beyond artistic symbolism and rhetorical strategy.

The use of allusions of the ancient Greco-Roman cultures to represent secular and civic values associated with the advancement of independence and the nation-building project in Hispanic America, whether in political or artistic contexts, might seem contradictory when considering that the identity of the *americano*, the agent of the political and cultural transformation that the progressivist intellectuals envisioned, had been constructed in opposition to the identity of the European. In fact, during a good part of the nineteenth century in Venezuela, especially during the early stages of rupture with the colonial order, the idea of

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promoting an indigenous cultural identity, different from the legacy of the Western world, was extraneous to the nation-building ideals of the letrados. This does not deny that a process of cultural mixture was alternatively taking part in Venezuela, even before the rupture with Spain, as an inevitable consequence of the acculturation of the European elements and the integration of the various local ethnicities. Plainly, the position presented here is that the cultural model defended by the builders of the independent nation was firmly established on the hierarchies and values of European culture. Despite the ideal grouping of the various ethnicities that locally coexisted under the notion of the americano, they did not engage in the defense of an autonomous indigenous culture. This incongruity was not exclusive to Venezuela, however. Social historian Carlos J. Alonso has observed that with some notable exceptions such as the neo-Aztec movement in the late eighteenth century in Mexico and the case of Paraguay, where Indian culture was incorporated into the myth of national foundation, in Hispanic America the emerging national identities disdained a cultural identification with the indigenous past. In this sense, Alonso argues that “the adoption of Western ways and the marginalization of autochthonous element by Creole and mestizo groups can be explained as coextensive with a desire to eschew identification with the indigenous past rather than as the markers of an essential ethnic and cultural difference that prevents identification with that element and then reflects itself in the anticolonial narrative used.” Then Alonso, remarked: “the Creole and the mestizo groups willed themselves narratively white and Western, and the denial of the autochthonous [cultural] element issued from that and not from being different from that element.” Thus, for Alonso, the root of this standpoint lies in “the dominance achieved by the narrative of futurity [...] through which the New World came to be identified comprehensively and unequivocally with the future.”

Alonso’s convincing interpretation is helpful to illuminate the case of Caracas. Writings circulating in Caracas newspapers during the 1810s often referred to the pre-colonial past as a state of innocent grace and cultural infancy that contrasted with the expectancy of a state of cultural development in the future, and that state was consistently framed within the ideals of a universal culture. Because the Caracas letrados perceived that they did not have a culture of

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389 Ibid.
390 Ibid.
their own to claim from the past, they opted for projecting their cultural aspirations into the future.

The paradoxical situation that resulted from using ancient Greco-Roman cultures as symbolic referents to convey the idea of futurity could be explained as the intent of Hispanic American intellectuals and artists to allude, not to the particular historical period where the classical culture was originally produced, but to the timeless model of excellence that ancient Greece and Rome represented. On that premise, classical culture served as a secular paradigm of wisdom, moral integrity, social rightness, and artistic perfection. In other words, it represented in an emblematic and eminent way the idea of civilization. At the same time, the use of neoclassical symbolism might have represented the aim to claim for the *americanos* their rights as direct inheritors of the civilizational legacy of the Western World, without necessitating the mediation of Spain in their cultural transactions, as historian Tulio Halperin Donghi has suggested.391

This perception becomes particularly forceful in discursive contexts aimed at furthering the idea of the civilizing mission of the New World. The *letrado* Miguel José Sanz expressed this mission in terms of the dichotomy cast in political discourse between Spain and Hispanic America. Thus, he wrote: “Providence, allowing Spain to weaken and be degraded by the same means with which it unjustly wanted to expand at the cost of sacrificing the rights of humanity, has introduced into [Hispanic] America a taste for the arts and sciences, for a perfect education, and for gentle customs.”392 xcv

This frame of mind may be identified with the concept of the “myth of election and civilizing mission” described in anthropological literature. According to George Schöpflin, characteristics of this type of myth state “that the nation in question has been entrusted, by God, or by History, to perform some special mission, some particular function, because it is endowed with unique virtues. [...] This myth then legitimates an assumption of moral and cultural superiority to all competitors and rivals and requires them to recognize one’s unique moral worth.”393 In the case of Caracas, the enlightened intellectuals and artists, persuaded that the Americas were called by Providence to give birth to a new stage of the political and social order that would serve all humanity as an exemplary alternative to the corrupted ways of

present-day Europe, often used allusions to Classical culture as an allegory of the resettling of
civilization in the New World. Representative of this outlook is one of the poems included in the
*Mercurio venezolano* written by a patriot identified as F. S. M., who used a classical Anacreontic
theme to symbolize the coming of civilization to the Americas. In this poem, Bachus is prompted
to leave Europe for the New World. He is being told of the advantages of the nature and climate
of the Americas and the customs of the *americano*. Sugarcane, local fruits for making wine, and
local drinks like the *caratos* and the *guarapos* are mentioned to Bacchus among the attractions
of the New World.

O Baco! 
[...]
[...]
Desde hoy en lo adelante,
Debe ya tu Gobierno,
Ordenar nuevos rito
Para este Mundo nuevo.
[...]
Para suplir al Mosto,
Nosotros componemos
Carátos y Guarápos,
Sabrosos y muy buenos;
Y también los suplimos
Con el gran Romo viejo,
De la caña de azúcar
Hijo, asombro y portento.
[...]
Y así, no te dilates,
Baxa: [...]
[...]
Y habita en estos Pueblos. 394

Andrés Bello, one of the most solid Latinists in Hispanic America, used a similar
procedure in his famous poem *Alocución a la Poesia* (Allocation to poetry) published in London
in 1823, which became emblematic of the adoption of neoclassical conventions to express the
cultural aspirations of the builders of the Hispanic American nations. By using Virgil as a model,
Bello supplicates Poetry, represented as a goddess, to abandon the once-magnificent Europe,
which has succumbed to a present of moral corruption, and invites her to bond with the
spiritual and natural riches of Hispanic America. The poem reflects Bello’s unbounded optimism
for a promising future for Hispanic America. This excerpt of the poem is abundant in idealized

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images of nature and utopian allegories of the providential mission of the New World to guide the rebirth of civilization. Bellos, enumerates some of the natural qualities of the America that would serve of poetic inspiration provided that Poetry would establish herself in these lands. Among these are its starry sky, the greenness of the trees, Zefiro always flying among the roses, the richness of the soil, and so on.

Divina poesía

[...]  
Tiempo es que deyes ya la culta Europa,  
Que tu nativa rustiquez desama,  
I dirijas el vuelo adonde te abre  
El mundo de Colon su grande escena.  
Tambien propicio alli respeta el cielo  
La siempre verde rama  
Conque al valor coronas:  
[...]
I Zéfiro revuela entre las rosas;  
I Fúlgidas estrellas  
Tachonan la carroza de la noche;  
[...]
Tiempo vendrá cuando de ti inspirado  
Algun Maron americano, oh diosa!  
Tambien las mieses, los rebaños cante,  
El rico suelo al hombre avasallado,  
I las dádivas mil con que la zona  
De Febo amada al labrador corona [...].

The mythical encounter between Poetry and the americanos conveyed in Bello’s *Allocución a la poesía* is illustrated in the plate that accompanied the publication of the poem. (See Figure 3.12 below.)

The founding myth of the nation as a category to organize events and social realities that emerged with the colonial rupture continued to pervade historiographic, political, and cultural discourses in Caracas throughout the nineteenth-century. Although after the Independence War (1811-1823) constructions of national identity became more complex and the founding myth acquired new layers of meaning that conferred on its narrative and symbols in their more mature form a marked tone of military heroism, the essential elements of this formulation regarding the role of high culture in the nation-building process and the civilizing

mission of Hispanic America remained in the cultural imaginary, shaping much of the commentaries about music, literature, painting and other arts that appeared in Caracas newspapers. In the particular case of music, as will be discussed in the following chapter, the building of public institutions of concert-making and music education with a progressive political and social purpose was a concern for the nation-builders. Efforts to strengthen the public sphere of music in view of its social value as an agent of civilization took place in parallel with academias and musico-literary tertulias, which remained a tradition until after mid-century, and was mostly associated with the private cultivation of serious instrumental genres within the circles of men of letters, elite amateurs, and distinguished artists.

Figure 3.12. “Al pueblo americano,” plate for Andrés Bello’s poem Alocución a la poesía, in Biblioteca americana, o, Miscelánea de literatura, artes y ciencias, Vol. 1 (London: G. Marchant, 1823). 396

396 Internet Archive, https://archive.org/stream/labibliotecaame00amergoog#page/n18/mode/1up, from a copy preserved at the New York Public Library.
“Tenemos innumerables otros filósofos cristianos que han florecido desde la restauración de las letras en Europa, y nos han dejado ilustres escritos [...] sin los errores de Aristóteles y con mucha ventaja de conocimientos [...] método y claridad.”

“Ninguna nación ha hecho progresos se consecuencia por las armas, por las artes, agricultura y comercio, hasta que se ha entregado al indispensable cultivo de la ciencia, como fuente original y radical fundamento del acierto a que aspiran los hombres para el buen éxito de sus racionales ideas.”

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“Ils [les espagnols] ont l’esprit sublime, pénétrant & très-prope pour les plus hautes Sciences: mais par malheur cet sprit n’est pas cultivé par une belle education, ce qui fait qu’on n’y voit pas communément tant de Savans qu’en France, & en quelques autres Pays où il y a de celebres Ecoles & de fameuses Académies pour l’instruction de la jeunesse. Malgré tout cela; on ne laisse pas d’y voir des hommes d’une profonde érudition dans le goût de la Nation. Ce goût consiste à s’attacher particulièrement à l’étude de la Philosophie, de la Theologie Scholastique, de la Medecine, de la Jurisprudence, & de la Poësie: mais c’est d’une manière bien différente de la nôtre; car à l’égard de la Philosophie, ils sont tellement esclaves des opinions des Anciens, q e rien n’est capable de leur faire embrasser celle des Modernes, non plus qu’à l’égard de la Medecine. Aristote, Scot & saint Thomas sont des Oracles infalibles selon aux, que quiconques s’aviseroit de ne pas suivre servilement l’un des trois, ne sauroit aspirer à la qualité de bon Philosophe.”

“[…] un celo pio, si, pero indiscreto y mal fundado; un vano temor de que las doctrinas nuevas en materia de filosofía traigan algún prejuicio a la religion. Los que están dominados por este religioso miedo por dos caminos recelan que suceda el daño: o ya porque en las doctrinas filosóficas extranjeras vengan envueltas algunas máximas que, o por si o por sus consecuencias, se opongan a lo que nos enseña la fe; o ya porque, haciéndose los españoles a la libertad con que discurren los extranjeros (los franceses, verbigracia) en las cosas naturales, puedan ir soltando la rienda para razonar con la misma en las sobrenaturales. […] Pero es un remedio, sobre no necesario [sic], muy violento. Es poner el alma en una durísima esclavitud. Es atar la razón humana con una cadena muy corta. Es poner en estrecha cárcel a un entendimiento inocente, solo por evitar una contingencia remota de que cometa algunas travesuras en adelante.”

“Las fuentes de la prosperidad social serán muchas, pero todas ellas nacen en un mismo origen, y este origen es la instrucción pública … Con la instrucción todo se mejora y florece; sin ella todo decae y se arruina en un Estado. […] La instrucción mejora el ser humano, el único que puede ser perfeccionado por ella, el único dotado de perfectibilidad. Este es el mayor don que recibió del inefable Criador. Ella le descubre, ella le facilita todos los medios de su bienestar, ella, en fin, es el primer origen de la felicidad individual. / Luego lo será también de la prosperidad pública. ¿Puede entenderse por este nombre otra cosa que la suma o resultado de las felicidades de los individuos del cuerpo social?”

“Se desterrará la desidia, se proscribirá la ignorancia, se adquirirán luces, se ilustrará el Reyno, se dependerán ideas erradas, preocupaciones, prejuicios quantaque. / Se introducirá el buen gusto, florecerá la literatura, se mejorarán los estudios, se perfeccionará la educación, se enseñarán las ciencias y bellas letras de un modo mas metódico, mas breve y mas útil.”

“[…] todas [las fuentes de prosperidad] están [subordinadas] a la instrucción. ¿No lo está la agricultura, primera fuente de la riqueza pública y que abastece todas las demás? ¿No lo está la industria, que aumenta y avalora esta riqueza, y el comercio, que la recibe de entrambas, para expenderla y ponerla en circulación, y la navegación, que la difunde por todos los ángulos de la tierra? […] ¿No es la instrucción la que ha criado estas preciosas artes, la que las ha mejorado y las hace florecer? ¿No es ella la que ha inventado sus instrumentos, la que ha multiplicado sus máquinas, la que ha descubierto e ilustrado sus métodos?”

“Ni el Consejo, ni ninguno que sepá algo, ignora que la Lógica, la Metafísica y la Filosofía moral han sido, son y serán siempre las mismas, porque los principios en que estriban y verdades que enseñan no sufren alteración, especialmente desde que participan del reverbero de la luz de la Religión y de la Fe.”

“[…] el establecimiento de una Academia ó Cuerpo científico de Música en los que se promuevan los adelantamientos de esta facultad.”
“Los tertuliantes no eran muchos, pero tan escogidos, que abrazaban juntos todas las ramas de las Letras. Nos juntábamos siempre a una hora señalada. Hablábase algunas veces de Bellas Artes, otras de Comercio y Política, otras de Derecho público, y otras de las necesidades de la matemática. Esta tertulia fue la escuela donde aprendí en seis meses más de lo que me habían enseñado en diez años en la universidad."

“Las Luces fueran patrimonio de una elite, de intelectuales, mientras la mayor parte de la población seguía moviéndose en un horizonte caracterizado por el atraso económico, la desigualdad social, el analfabetismo y el imperio de la religión tradicional.”

“[...] no faltan defensores de la libertad ilimitada, pero todos los sabios se oponen a ella, queriendo que los ingenios se sujeten a las leyes, as los legítimos superiores y a la recta razón.”

“[Los reyes] estuvieron más interesados en lo general en el robustecimiento de su autoridad, en el perfeccionamiento de su maquinaria administrativa y en el engrandecimiento de sus territorios que en la proclamada felicidad de sus súbditos.”

“[...] para el bien común y que no carezcan lo pobres de solemnidad de este beneficio.”

“[ [...] niñas pobres, huérfanas y desamparadas. “debidamente instruidas en la doctrina christiana, habituadas en buenas costumbres y enseñadas en habilidades de que puedan mantenerse y alimentarse con su personal trabajo, y vivir honestamente.”

“Te incluyo una lista para que me compres y remitas los Libros que contiene. Esos son para el Amanuense que me escribe que es dn. Simón el hermano de Cayetanito Carreño, es hombre de bien y de bastante habilidad para llevar mis asuntos y cuentas, con descanso mío.”

“Don Luis, viendo a Bello tan dedicado al estudio, tan anheloso de instruirse, le cobró un particular afecto. Interesándose en los adelantamientos de su joven amigo, le estimuló para que aprendiera el francés, i a que se pudiera en aptitud de leer las obras portentosas en todo jénero que se habían redactado en ese idioma. Con este objeto, le regaló una gramática de aquella lengua, i se le ofreció para oírle traducir de cuando en cuando, a fin de correjirle los defectos en que incurriera. / [Bello] [...] se posesionó por sí solo de las reglas de la gramática; consultó sobre la pronunciación a un francés residente en Carácas; y por lo que respecta a la traducción, se aprovechó del ofrecimiento de don Luis Ustáriz. / Gracias a los arbitrios indicados, Bello aprendió un idioma tan indispensable, pero que no se enseñaba en ningún establecimiento público, i que a la fecha solo era sabido por un limitado número de sus compatriotas. / Apénas pudo medio entenderlo, se entregó a la lectura de los libros franceses con [...] entusiasmo.”

“Ellos [pardos y morenos] no tienen quien los instruya; a la escuela de niños blancos no pueden concurrir: la pobreza los hace aplicar desde sus tiernos annos, al trabajo y en el adquieren practica, pero no técnica: faltándoles esta, proceden en todo al tiento; unos se hacen maestros de otros, y todos no han sido ni aun discípulos; exceptuo de estos algunos que por suma aplicación han logrado intruírse a fuerza de una penosa tarea.”

“Yo no creo que sean menos acreedores a ella que los niños blancos. Lo primero porque no están privados de la Sociedad. Y lo segundo porque no habiendo en la Iglesia distinción de calidades para la observancia de la Religión tampoco debe haberla en enseñarla.”

“ [...] se franquea á los Pardos, y se facilita por medio de la dispensación de su baxa calidad, la instrucción que hasta ahora han carecido y deben carecer en adelante. Hormiguearán las clases de estudiantes Mulatos: pretenderán entrar en el Seminario: [...] servirán en las oficinas públicas, y de Real Hacienda: tomarán conocimiento en todos los negocios públicos, y privados: seguirá el desaliento, y el retiro de las personas Blancas, y decentes: animará á aquellos su mayor número: se abandonarán estos á su pesar y desprecio: se acabarán las familias que conquistaron y poblaron con su sangre, y con inmensas fatigas la Provincia: se olvidarán los nombres de aquellos leales vasallos que han conservado con su lealtad el dominio de los Reyes de España; hasta de la memoria se borrarán sus apellidos: y vendrán los tristes días en que España por medio de la fuerza se vea servida de Mulatos, Zambos y Negros, cuya sospechosa fidelidad causará conmociones violentas, sin que haya quien por su propio interés y por su honra, por su limpieza y fama exponga su vida llamando á sus Hijos, Amigos, Parientes, y Paysanos para contener á la gente vil, y defender la causa comun y propia.”

“Olivares, mal instruido y peor aconsejado, alejándose de tan sabio principio de la humildad y mansedumbre que debe reinar en los pretendientes al servicio del Altar se ha arrojado a emprenderlo, y
al tribunal de los magistrados del venerable clero […] no se lo puede conceder. Esta es la licencia de hábitos por la que aspira para seguir el estado eclesiástico que no se admite sino a los blancos limpios de malas razas de moros, judíos, mulatos, neófitos, penitenciadas por el Santo Tribunal de la Inquisición [...]”

xxii “[…] por sospechoso a la tranquilidad pública de esa provincia.”

xxiii “[…] que posee cuantiosa librería y que ha logrado cierta ascendencia entre los de su clase.”

“Tal vez no faltarán gentes que deseen abrazar el partido de la voz de libertad e igualdad, recobrando mis desconfianzas sobre las gentes de color susceptibles de tales imprecisiones.”

xxiv “[…] una ciencia physico-matemática que trata de sones harmónicos. Llámase así […] por participar su objeto de la razón definible propia del physico y a razón de cantidad propia del matemático.”

xxv “Tengo muy presentes los elogios que de esa sublime ciencia han hecho un Tosca, un Rousseau, un Bails, un Iriarte y otros muchos.”

xxvi “Arte no ménos grato y necesario / Al hombre en sociedad que al solitario.”

xxvii “Siendo la música una de las artes mas bellas y agradables, con la cual se expresan los diversos sentimientos del alma, y habiendo llegado á ser tan conocido su mérito que entre las naciones cultas del mundo todo se considera, como una parte esencial de la buena educación; parece indispensable le demos acogida y protección en nuestro suelo.”

xxviii “aficionados al arte musical, … después de haber visitado el Viejo Mundo, trajeron a su patria gran contingente de progreso, del cual supo aprovecharse la sociedad caraqueña.”

xxix “Los Alemanes y Bohemos se han distinguido modernamente en la Música instrumental, dando á su estilo nervioso y harmónico la gracia y suavidad expresiva del Italiano.”

xxx “[…] el músico mayor de nuestros días.”

xxxi “Si el elogio de Joseph Háyden, ó Héyden, se hubiese de medir por la aceptación que sus obras logran actualmente en Madrid, parecería desde luego excesivo, ú apasionado.”

xxxi “La música de Haydn fue signo de modernidad, en un momento en el que muchos querían ser reconocidos como modernos. … Proclamarse ferviente admirador de Haydn equivalía, en aquella época, a lanzar un mensaje implícito de entusiasmo por lo nuevo y por los cambios constructivos; una auténtica declaración de principios, y el testimonio de una identificación intelectual con los valores de la ilustración que trascendía el mero ámbito de la música.”

xxx “Mucho tiempo ha que la ciudad de Carácas echaba de menos el establecimiento de la Imprenta […] Se debe al espontáneo interés del gobierno, y á la concurrencia de otras autoridades el logro de un establecimiento que por mucho años, ha envidiado Carácas á otras poblaciones de ménos consideración […] La utilidad de un establecimiento de esta clase […] no puede dexar de ser obvia á cualquiera de sus ilustrados habitantes, no solo baxo los puntos de vista que ofrecen la Agricultura y el Comercio, sino también la Política y las Letras.”

xxxiv “[…] suplica […] a todos los Sugetos y Señoras, que por sus luces e inclinación se hallen en estado de contribuir a la instrucción pública, y a la inocente recreación que proporciona la literatura amena, ocurran con sus producciones en Prosa o Verso, a la oficina de la Imprenta.”

xxxv “La historia de todos los siglos no presenta un exemplar comparable á la identidad de principios, ideas y conducta, manifiesta contra el tirano de Europa, por los habitantes de todos los dominios Españoles. En un vasto imperio, espardido sobre todo el globo, compuesto de partes separadas por un océano inmenso, solo se ha oído un grito general, PRIMERO MORIR QUE ACEPTAR EL YUGO DE NAPOLEON!”

xxxvi “Cuando las sociedades adquierren la libertad civil que las constituye tales es cuando la opinión pública recobra su imperio y los periódicos que son el órgano de ella adquieren la influencia que deben tener en lo interior […] La Gazette de Caracas destinada hasta ahora a fines que ya no están de acuerdo con el espíritu público de los habitantes de Venezuela va á recobrar el carácter de franqueza y de sinceridad que debe tener, para que pueda el Gobierno y el Pueblo lograr con ella los beneficios de igual derecho que han producido nuestra pacifica transformación.”
todos los elementos de su prosperidad. Pero [...] ni en la órden expedida para la elección de los individuos que eran llamados á completar la Junta ni en la convocación que se le hacia para formar las Cortes nacionales, ha visto otra cosa que una insufrible parcialidad.”

xxxviii “Pero se engañaría VV.EE [miembros del Consejo Supremo de Regencia] si creyesen [...] que [los habitantes de los territorios americanos] se hallan igualmente pronto á tributar su obediencia, y vasallaje á las diversas corporaciones que substituyéndose indefinidamente unas á otras, solo se semejan en atribuirse una delegación de la Soberania, que no habiendo sido hecha ni por el Monarca reconocido, ni por la gran comunidad de Españoles de ambos hemisferios, no puede menos de ser absolutamente nula, ilegítima y contraria a los principios sancionados por nuestra misma legislación.”

xxxix “El está dotado de una pereza y languidez que no pueden explicarse por exemplos [...] y jamás se mueve si la hambre ó el vicio no le arrastran: estúpido por constitución, sin talento inventor, ni fuerza de pensamiento, aborrece las artes y oficios, y no hacen falta á su método de existir [...] El Indio no propasa actualmente sus ideas, pensamientos, intereses, y voluntad mas allá del alcance ó termino de sus ojos, y [...] [vive] desprendido de los sentimientos patrióticos, y de toda mira social.”

xl “ [...] son de la misma condición, del mismo carácter, del mismo temperamento y de la misma negligencia del Indio [...] Ebrios incontinentes, flojos sin pundonor, agradecimiento, ni fidelidad, sin nociones de la Religion, ni de la moral, sin luxo, aseo, ni decencia, parecen aun mas maquinados y desarreglados que aun el Indio mismo. [...] Sea por defecto de la constitución orgánica del clima, de los alimentos, de la relajación general, de la educación, ó por alguna causa incógnita, el resultado final de todos modos es, que las Castas no poseen ninguna de las calidades características de la dignidad de Ciudadano, ninguna de las propiedades que califican al Vasallo, ninguna de las virtudes que demanda la clase del morador, ni ninguno de los atributos que honran al hombre civil y religioso.”

xli “Los Españoles Americanos se ocupan de arruinar la casa Paterna, de estudiar en la juventud por la dirección de sus mayores, de colocarse en todos los destinos, oficios y Rentas del Estado, y de profesar las facultades y artes, y de consolarse en la ausencia de sus riquezas con sueños y trazas de la independencia que ha de conducirles á la dominación de las Américas. Destituídos de la economía y previsión con mucho ingenio, sin reflexión ni juicio, con mas pereza que habilidad, con las apego á la hipocresía que á la Religion, con extremado ardor para todos los deleytes, y sin freno que los detenga, los blancos indígenas juegan, enamoran, beben y visten en pocos días las herencias, dotes y adquisiciones que debian regalarlos toda su vida, para maldecir luego á la fortuna, para envidiar á los guardosos, para irritarse de la negación á sus pretensiones, y para suspirar tras de un nuevo órden de cosas que les haga justicia.”

xlii “ [...] todos los Sugetos y Señoras [...] contribuir a la instrucción pública [...] con sus producciones.”

xliii “Entraron el ella todos los jóvenes del partido y demás cabezas exaltadas y fáciles de exaltar, y en sus discusiones completaron el curso de la instrucción irreligiosa y anárquica, la cual hasta entonces no era común y solamente se adquiría en la lectura privada de los libros llamados filosóficos, que todavía andaban á sombra de tejado por un resto de decoro y respeto á las leyes eclesiásticas y civiles que los prohibían. En aquella casa de locos [...] se organizó la cuadrilla de alborotadores por cuyo medio se hacían adoptar y ejecutar por el Gobierno las medidas que acordaba la Sociedad en sus sesiones tumultuarias y ridículas.”

xliv “Para entender que las cosas andan mal, baste verlas metidas en retórica con libros en la mano, opiniones y hablando en las tertulias. Eso no se ha visto en las civilizaciones, si no entre pueblos que caerán en el desgalgadero con ellas en tono de capitanes. Mujeres opinando lo que no pueden saber [...] ¡Y las consecuencias sólo Dios las sabe!”

xlv “ [...] el proyecto de dar á Venezuela, casi en la infancia de la civilización, y poblada de esclavos y tantas castas heterogéneas y opuestas entre sí, las instituciones republicanas que no había podido sufrir la ilustrada Francia, la Grecia de nuestros días, “

xlvi “La educación que se les ha dado [a los venezolanos] ha tenido por principal objeto, cuidándose muy escrupulosamente de esconderles y negarles toda instrucción que pudiese despertarlos del abatimiento, inflamarles el deseo de su libertad, y proporcionarles para sostenerla.”

xlvii “Por defecto de esta [educación] en lo general, por el hábito de disimular sus sentimientos, y por la recíproca desconfianza con que viven en consecuencia [...] del antiguo Gobierno, se advierte que
muchos hombres capaces, instruidos, y de una viveza extraordinaria, parecen tontos en las
conversaciones, y es que callan sus opiniones, y ceden, ó aparentan que ceden a dictamen ageno. Es
menester mucha amistad, mucha familiaridad para descubrir sus verdaderas ideas y freñuentemente será
engañado el que se daxare persuadir de las apariencias y exterioridades.”

xlviii “Reuniéndose libre y generalmente los Conciudadanos, y degustando de los encantos del
discurso, y de los genuinos sentimientos de su corazón, se substituirán gradualmente la franqueza á la
suspicaz reserva, la confianza á la sospecha, el afecto al zelo y á la rivalidad; y al fin desaparecerán todas
las huellas del hombre esclavizado en el generoso carácter que distingue á los hijos de la libertad.”

xl ix “En una nación libre, [...] es indispensable que todos se instruyan quanto sea posible de los
derechos e interés públicos de ella, y de las demás [...] para conferir, y profundar las materias, ayudando
al Gobierno a que venga en perfecto conocimiento y penetración de lo que conviene resolver para
Felicidad y conveniencia común.”

i “Si los venezolanos conociendo las dificultades y riesgos [...] advertidos de la miseria en la que
han caído diversas naciones por falta de hombres versados en la política [...] aplican sus talentos, y toman
la instruccion de que son capaces [...] dedicándose dolcemente á la leccion de buenos libros, procurando
entenderlos, llenarse de ideas y trabajando infatigablemente en los negocios, sin vanidad ni presunción:
no hay duda [...] de que en pocos años tendrán políticos y estadistas que maneguen con acierto el
Gobierno, y hagan respetable la Provincia [de Venezuela] presentándola con dignidad entre las naciones.

ii “[...] disipar la ignorancia de los pueblos; elevar las ideas de los ciudadanos a la alta dignidad de
un hombre libre; [y] constituir el Estado.”

iii “Nadie ignora, y aún está descrito por sabios autores que los señalados con el apodo de Criollos
por nobles que fuesen, instruidos y virtuosos, hábiles y capaces, eran mirados como inferiores á cualquier
Español Europeo, torpe, indecente y sucio: Gitano se creía mejor y mas meritorio por haber nacido en
España, que un Marquez si era criollo. La Corte se Madrid se complacía de esta infamia, de esta insolencia,
de este atrevimiento, que por efecto de su amor propio juzgaba conseqüencia de la sublimidad del
carácter español; y al mismo tiempo afectaba desaprobación, dictando leyes ineficaces y pedantescas
para mayor burla y escarnio de los Criollos.”

iv “En el nuevo mundo se entiende por patrimonio el amor del Pais en que se ha nacido, y esta
definición trunca ó equivocada, ciertos zelos y resentimientos entre ultramarinos é indígenas, como que
es la raíz de la adhesión de los unos y la aversión de los otros á la Madre Patria.”

lv “No está en elórden natural, ni aun en elórden social, que el hijo de una grande provincia [...] adopte
la causa de la dependencia, ni que preste su corazon á los intereses de la Metropolis en
contraposicion a los de su patria imaginada.”

lv “Por do quiera que exista una patria, debe existir en el alma de cada ciudadano una fuerza de
expansión incapaz de ceder á los esfuerzos con que la tirania procura anonadarla y estinguirla. Es
incalculable su efecto en circunstancias ordinarias: todos amamos nuestra Patria; pero ninguno sabe
hasta donde nos conduce este amor sino quando ha llegado á mirar como tal el suelo que lo vio nacer, ó
lo adoptó: entonces es que conocemos quanto somos capaces de hacer, cuando el grito penetrante de
esta madre despierta en nosotros el instincto filial adormecido por el mortifero veleño de la opresión.”

lvii “Ya es tiempo de hacer ver al universo que sois digno de ocupar en el globo el rango de una
Nacion ilustrada. La América toda, y el antiguo mundo tienen puestos sus ojos sobre vosotros. Dad á la
primera un glorioso modelo de la conducta que debe seguir para llegar á la felicidad que desea; y al
segundo, una prueba sublime de que en las Regiones de Colon triunfa ya para siempre el amor de la
Patria, contra el poder injusto de la Tirania.”

lviii “[...] el conjunto de todas las virtudes públicas.”

lix “No es el suelo en que por la primera vez se vio la luz del día lo que constituye la patria; son
las leyes sabias, el orden que nace de ellas y el cumbro de circunstancias que se unen para elevar al
hombre a la cumbre de su felicidad. El que respeta y obedece la ley, ama á su patria, y por conservarla,
por gozar en el reposo los bienes que ella le franquea, desarrolla aquella especie de amor intenso que se
conoce con el nombre de patriotismo.”

lix “Todo debe prosternarse ante el simulacro de la Patria, y nadie puede ofrecerle inciensos ni
sacrificios, sino lleva un corazón purificado por el santo fuego de la virtud en el crisol del patriotismo.”
...no somos imbéciles para poder desempeñar este rango [como Nación capaz de gobernarse a sí misma], á que nos ha elevado el órden político del otro hemisferio, al cabo de tres siglos de opresión y servidumbre."

"En los principios de la iniquia conquista se llegó á dudar si los naturales de la América podían ser bautizados. Tal era la soberbia ignorancia, y la jactancia hiperbólica de los bárbaros conquistadores, y las extravagantes ideas que esparcían en el mundo para acreditar el valor, intrepidez, y constancia de sus acciones, que hicieron creer que los Indios eran brutos, que las ovejas eran lobos; y que los hombres eran fieras. Su fin fue entonces, degradar á los Americanos, é inventaron cuentos ridículos hasta asegurar que las facultades del alma eran tan débiles, que á la edad de sesenta años perdían su acción y quedaban sin uso; y los hombres, como unas máquinas se-movientes sin discreción ni juicio. Así no solo en España, sino en la misma Roma, se consideraban como unos seres miserables, distintos de los Europeos, y en todo inferiores á éstos. Son tan poderosas las preocupaciones, que siguen influyendo aun después que el tiempo, y la experiencia manifiestan el desengaño. Puede ser que toda la Europa á pesar de su filosofía juzgue lo propio, sabiendo que el hombre es hombre en cualquiera punto del globo, sin más diferencia en general, que la mayor ó menor actividad, mayor ó menor noticia, mayor ó menor virtud, según los climas, gobiernos, y costumbres, estado de las artes y ciencias, y grados de civilización."

Parece que el Nuevo Mundo estaba destinado por la Providencia á ser en el curso de las cosas un bello campo en donde se manifestasen Gobiernos mejorados, y la humana felicidad. Su extensión y fertilidad; su pequeña población y casi uniformidad de idiomas, gobiernos, leyes, costumbres [...], todo convida á la consolidación de un grande y benefico sistema de unión, libertad, paz, e industria, fundado sobre los derechos de todos sus Ciudadanos. [...] No toca á los americanos retrogradar hasta los Pueblos libres de la antigüedad, ni pasar el occeano para buscar entre la opresión y los escombros de la Europa feudal, exemplos para arreglar sus instituciones políticas. Ellos poseen en su propio Continente, entre sí mismos, un modelo incomparablemente superior á cuantos se han producido en el mundo [...] los Estados Unidos del Norte-America.

"Pueblos de Venezuela, vosotros nacisteis libres como los demás de la tierra, y la ambicion os cargo de cadenas que habéis arrastrado por tres siglos [...]. La Providencia por fin ha escuchado vuestros clamores, y os ha restituido la libertad, este derecho sagrado que el gobierno Español os había usurpado. Conservadle, pues, como un don especial del Criador Supremo."

"Los Americanos, aunque a escondidas y expuestos á dificultades y peligros, han adquirido mucha luz de sus derechos, y ansían entrar en el palacio de la libertad para manifestar desde allí, sin los riesgos y temores de la tiranía, que merecen ser bautizados como los Europeos; que su discreción y juicio se conserva mas allá de los sesenta años; y que son tan hombres como los demás."

"Caracas ha conseguido en premio de su incontrastable constancia el lauro inmarcesible de ser no solo el principio, sino el modelo de la regeneración Americana. La Europa libre de la subversiva y sanguinaria influencia de Francia, no halla voces para expresar los rasgos de generosidad, de ilustración y de civismo que han hecho memorable el 19 de Abril en los fastos de las revoluciones políticas del Universo, y cuando las pasiones destructoras den lugar a la razón y á la imparcialidad en el otro hemisferio, ocupará Venezuela el que merece en la historia filosófica del Nuevo Mundo."

"[...] La angustia ante lo desconocido va pareja con la esperanza de la regeneración”

"principio invisible;” “agente imperceptible y regenerador de las sociedades;” “materia sutil y vivificadora;” “un genio tutelar que la sostiene [la nación] en medio de los peligros y los reveses, y que la hace renacer de entre los mismos escombros que amontona contra ella en su furor el monstruo asolador de la servidumbre.”

"Su esencia no tiene nada en común con la rastrera política de la ambicion, es muy imperceptible su existencia para que pueda compararse con la fuerza mecánica que hace obrar al despotismo. [...] Este agente es en el mundo moral lo que la electricidad es en el mundo físico; ni la distancia no la opresión pueden impedir su propagacion, y sus maravillosos fenomenos están aun fuera de las leyes conocidas de la mecánica.”

"¿Y donde reside ese poder inmenso é irresistible? En cada uno de nosotros, y en todos los Americanos. Analizémonos á nosotros mismos desde que hemos nacido á la alta dignidad que gozamos y hallaremos que est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo: recapacitemos sobre nuestra actual constitución, y veremos que hay en nosotros un agente superior á nuestras facultades ordinarias.”
“Compárese por un momento los rápidos progresos del espíritu humano bajo la influencia de la libertad, con los tardíos é ineficaces esfuerzos que hace inútilmente cuando se halla abrumado por el despotismo, y se tendrá una idea exacta de la intensidad calculable de esta agente invisible y poderoso. Trescientos años ha que lucha Caracas contra los obstáculos de una política exterminadora de todo elemento de racionalidad, sin haber podido dar un paso hacia los conocimientos que honran, sostienen, y hacen felices los Pueblos [...] Pero ellos [los Americanos] han sabido demostrar que no han sido criados para una degradación eterna: que sus órganos eran susceptibles de las más sublimes impresiones: que sabían aspirar, y dirigirse á los excelso fines á que la Providencia destinó a los seres racionales: que eran capaces de honrar la especie privilegiada à que pertenecen; y que eran dignos y propios para sostener la dignidad civil que han conquistado.”

“La necesidad ha sido el origen de la mayor parte de los progresos del espíritu humano; pero sin libertad hubieran quedado estériles sus esfuerzos. Bien sabían los Americanos lo que necesitaban; y este fatal conocimiento no hacia mas que empeorar su suerte mientras no podían satisfacer sus necesidades. Apenas lo consiguen cuando el instinto hace en ellos lo que la experiencia de muchos siglos hizo en otros países.”

“La pintura se ha resentido hasta ahora, como todas las demás artes de gusto en América, de la falta de Maestros y modelos, que hubieran dado al genio Americano todo el impulso que prometen las bellas disposiciones que los inteligentes descubren en los cuadros de algunos de nuestros Artistas indígenos. Caracas no merece desfigurar entre las ciudades que han producido Pintores de genio, y capaces de honrar las escuelas; si la opresión les hubiera permitido tenerlas, o les hubiera dado fomento y libertad para llegar a ellas.”

“Si los conocimientos humanos deben prometerse rápidos progresos de la libertad en todos los países. Que no debe esperar el genio artístico que nadie podrá negar como una de las bellas cualidades morales de los Americanos?”

“La Musica que tanto aplauden los extranjeros entre nosotros, y en la que aventajamos quizá, á toda la América, puede decirse creada por nosotros mismos. Hasta 1712 no se conocía en Caracas la solfa; y hasta 1750 no empezaron á hecharse las semillas del genio filarmónico, inherente a los caraqueños. Los nombres de Uztaris, Sojo, Tovar, y Olivares, deben conservarse siempre en la memoria de todos los que miren la música como uno de los mas sublimes atractivos de la sociedad.”

“La rapidez de este papel, no nos permite presentar la historia de la Musica Caraqueña; pero si diremos, que casi se debe al S. Gallardo la invención y uso del violoncelo y el contrabajo, cuya ejecucion asombra á los inteligentes: que D. Cayetano Carreño ha propagado con gusto, y una maestría singular, el gusto del Piano en el bello sexo, y que D. José Rodríguez posee en la musica conocimientos analíticos muy sublimes, y capaces de hacer honor á su patria.”

“En Caracas no había los grandes establecimientos para [...] dibujo y pintura que [había] en Mejico i Bogotá; í mas con todo a principios del siglo presente se hicieron algunos adelantos en la educación pública. [...] se notaba en aquella ciudad, como en otras areas del continente americano, mucha disposición a la música, cuyo creador fué el padre Sojo [...] Distinguiéronse por su zelo en mejorar i entender la instrucción Luis i Javier Ustariz, cuya casa era una academia privada, donde se reunian varios literatos a cultivar las letras y las artes liberales; [y] el licenciado Miguel José Sanz (justamente apellidado el Licurgo de Venezuela).”

“Al Padre Sojo, en la época de la colonia, debe, pues, Venezuela los elementos que han venida desde entonces formando la base del arte; y que en la sucesión del tiempo, las nuevas generaciones no han hecho más que aprovecharse [...]. Debemos, pues, no un recuerdo, sin un acto de gratitud, á este sacerdote bienhechor, que [...] [produjo] un fruto de tal naturaleza, que fue bastante á alimentar en el suelo patrio el amor por el arte y con él su desarrollo y progreso.”

“El cultivo de esta porción la mas amable de la especie humana, que siempre es el objeto de la mas seria atencion de todo pueblo ilustrado, lo descuidaban enteramente nuestros opresores. Como no estaba en sus intereses el ilustrar la fuente de donde la sociedad recibe sus mejores impresiones, ni preparar gozes puros e intelectuales aquel sexo tieno, cuyos encantos podieran contribuir tanto a la virtud i a la dicha, no se trataba sino de hacerle conservar durante todo el transito de la cuna al sepulcro la frivolidad, la inconstancia, los caprichos i poco juicio de la primera edad. Enseñarle a manejar la aguja, inspirarle el gusto del adorn, hé aquí a lo que estaba reducida la educacion de nuestras mujeres: mui
rara vez se les enseñaba música, dibujo, o baile: a algunas no se les permitía aprender a escribir [...] Apocado con insulseces y bagatelas el ánimo de aquel bello sexo americano, tan despierto, tan insinuante, tan dulce, tan sensible, era consecuencia precisa que fuese casi nulo su influjo sobre la felicidad pública y doméstica.”

“[...] Certamen de Musical Vocal, é Instrumental.”

“El S. Landaeta deseoso de aprovechar la favorable influencia de nuestra regeneración á favor de la música, ofrece al Público un establecimiento filarmónico.”

“[...] si los Señores subscriptores tienen la bondad de no retardar la quota asignada.”

“[...] conciertos obligados de todos instrumentos.”

“Los Profesores no omitirán avisarse de todo lo que pueda ser referente á expresar los conceptos que esta Bella-Arte une con la palabra y la naturaleza, en cuanto lo permita la situación local, para satisfacer el gusto y el placer de los Espectadores.”

“[...] la casa destinada á este establecimiento;” “se procurará que la sala sea capaz y decente.”

“Los Señores y Señoras que quieran suscribirse, dando 25 Pesos cada uno por los 6 Meses, cuya cantidad se exhivirá anticipadamente, para subvenir á gastos indispensables.”

“Las Sras. pueden, si quieren, tomar parte en tocar y cantar, avisándolo antes al Director para su inteligencia, y tendrán también para su desahogo un Quarto.”

“[...] por do quiera que miremos nos parecerá ver un país nuevo y desconocido [...] á la languidez y el aislamiento individual ha sucedido toda la actividad que deben inspirar los intereses que hemos tomado a nuestro cargo: una admirable unanimidad de sentimientos produce y sostiene una firme y no interrumpida cooperación á favor de la causa común, en todos y en cada uno de los que la han proclamado [...] la Constitucion política, las instituciones sociales, las clases, las familias, y los individuos, forman un cuerpo organico vivificado y robustecido por el espíritu de una independencia calculada, y apoyada sobre los intereses de todos [...] El Genio del bien ha podido ya establecer su imperio en el Nuevo Mundo.”

“EL Muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento de Carácas dispuso que se manifestase al Público con toda pompa y solemnidad, el Augusto Retrato del mas deseado de los Reyes el Señor D. Fernando Séptimo, y con iluminación general. Que [...] se cantáse Misa Solemne y Te Deum al Smo. Sacramento en la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana [...] / El Cabildo Eclesiástico expuso también á la vista del Público, y en el Balcón exterior de la Sala de sus acuerdos, otro Real Retrato con su decente Iluminación [...] solemnizando el acto con un harmonioso concierto. / A la brillante Iluminación del Muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento, daba particular realce una Orquesta de treinta profesores, que ejecutaron piezas escogidas a satisfacción de todo el auditorio, y entonaron canciones propias de tan preciosas circunstancias. Estas contenían toda la expresión del mas tierno amor á nuestro Soberano, el implacable horror al jurado enemigo de todo el orbe, y la inflamada general disposición de los ánimos á exterminarle con la mas sangrienta Guerra. La concurrencia era tan numerósa que solo las guardias en sus puntos, y los enfermos en sus casas, se encontraban fuera de la Calle del Cabildo, y el ámbito de la Plaza. Un profundo silencio y atención reynaban, mientras duraba la letra del canto; pero interrumpido por el Pueblo para repetirla entre vivas y aclamaciones [...] / En la segunda noche continuó el Coro cantando una de las letras, hasta la casa del Señor Presidente [...] Y en la tercera acompañó la Orquestra hasta el quartel de San Carlos, un numeroso gentío, entre las mas repetidas demostraciones de júbilo y alboroso Público.”

“Cada Fuente del Templo estaba iluminado con 500 vasos de color roxo, amarillo y verde, colocados con airosa y simétrica distribución; y en lo interior del edificio se colocaron quatro orquestas de musica que acompañaban las canciones patrióticas, interrumpidas por las aclamaciones de todo el Pueblo de la Capital y sus inmediaciones, atraído de un espectaculo tan augusto como interesante á Venezuela.”

“Parece que los Caraqueños ha querido consolarse con los dulces encantos de la Música de la privación en que han estado sus talentos sobre muchos de los conocimientos humanos; y parece que Apolo ha exercido sobre ellos todo el influjo protector que no ha podido dispensarles Minerva, ahuyentada por el despotismo.”

“No podrá jactarse sin duda, Caracas de haber producido una grey de Poetas, como las que han inmortalizado al Tiber, al Sena, al Tormes, y al Tajo; pero también ha habido en el Guayre Cisnes capaces de levantar alguna vez la voz en el Parnaso. La languidez de la anterior constitución, esterilizada
todos los géneros del gusto literario; mas en medio de ella, ha habido en Caracas quien pueda contar las glorias de su regeneración.

xcii “[…] era el templo de las Musas. En ella se leían y comentaban los escritores peninsulares; se juzgaban y guardaban como en un archivo nacional las composiciones indígenas.”

xciii “la protección benefica de nuestra actual transformación.”

xciv “Que un pintor como Lovera elaborara una imagen de la Virgen del Carmen, por ejemplo, no era novedad; pero que elaborara un grupo alegórico de los cuatro elementos, era todo un suceso e Isnardi quiso resaltarlo […] Todo apuntaría entonces a que nuestro pintor estaba abierto a nuevos caminos en el ejercicio de su oficio.”

xcv “La Providencia, permitiendo que la España se debilite y degrade con los mismos medios con que injustamente quiso engrandecerse á costa de sacrificar los derechos de la humanidad, ha introducido en la América el gusto de las artes y las ciencias, el de una perfecta educación, el de unas costumbres dulces.”
Chapter 4: THE CARREÑO MUSICAL DYNASTY AND THE POLITICS OF MUSIC-MAKING

The Venezuelan Declaration of Independence was finally signed on July 5, 1811. Yet, the path to sovereignty proved to be a torturous one. Following the foundation of the First Republic, Venezuela began the bloody Independence War, which spanned over a decade. The First Republic fell in 1812, after the earthquake in Caracas. The Second Republic was founded in 1813. It also came to an end in the following year. In 1819 at the Congress of Angostura the Gran Colombia was formed with what is today Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador, as the last resort of the project of unification of Hispanic America that had originally guided the emancipation process in Venezuela. In 1821 the patriotic forces commanded by Simón Bolívar defeated the royalists at the Battle of Carabobo and two years later the last royalist forces in the Venezuelan territory surrendered, ending the Independence War. Nonetheless, stability had not yet be achieved. Internal divisions among Venezuelan political leaders resulted in the separation of Venezuela from the Gran Colombia. It was only in 1830 when Venezuela could finally be established as an independent republic.

It is possible that no other Hispanic American nation reached the high levels of material and human devastation experienced in Venezuela. It is estimated that the country’s population of about one million in 1807 was reduced to a third of this after the Independence War. The situation was very difficult, and the focus of the letrados was to give shape to and defend their nation-building project according to their progressivist and civilizing ideals. Nonetheless, the limitations with which Venezuela had initiated its republican life were straining. The problems in infrastructure and education that were already a component of colonial times now had been considerably worsened with the material and human loses suffered during warfare. As the historian E. Pino Iturrieta stated, the country that was founded in 1830 was an assembly of disconnected lands, an “archipelago of domains.” Not had only ignorance, poverty and lack of roads resulted in the disconnection of the territories that made up the nation, but also various nuclei of regional power had been created around a group of caudillos, former heroes of the Independence War, whose military service to the patriotic cause had been paid with land. The power that was exerted by the de facto authority in the rural areas of the country often

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1 P. Cunill Grau, Geografía de poblamiento venezolano del siglo XIX, I: 69.
2 E. Pino Iturrieta, Fueros, civilización y ciudadanía, xvi.
competed with the centrally constituted power, a reality that conflicted with the ideals of a lay nation governed by the citizenry that the letrados aspired to build.

For the next three decades, the letrados in Caracas engaged in the enormous effort of building cultural and educational institutions that would be conducive to the social changes needed for the maintenance of the republican order. During these years, music was perceived as an important agent for civilization and social progress. Creating institutions for music education and concert-making became a priority among aficionados and letrados. Nonetheless, the formation of a public sphere of music met with considerable difficulties.

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the process of strengthening the public sphere of music in Caracas through the creation of musical institutions such as schools and musical societies with the twofold purpose of creating a basis for the professionalization of music and to educate the public audiences. The first section examines the ways in which music was used during the Independence War and the years of the Gran Colombia to infuse a sense of patriotism that would be conducive to strengthen republican virtues. The following section studies the process of creation of musical societies and other institutions for music education and concert-making in Caracas. Then, the involvement of the members of the Carreño family in various aspects of the musical life of the city is examined in the context of the cultural and social changes that occurred with the establishment of the Republic. The ensuing section examines the impact of the existing political conflict had in the in the decay of the public sphere of music. The final section studies the persistence of the tradition of academias and musical-literary tertulias in the private sphere as an alternative to the failed efforts for creating a healthy concert life in Caracas.

1. The Patriotic Uses of Music During the Independence War and the Years of the Gran Colombia

From the establishment of the First Republic and ensuing Independence War in in Venezuela, artistic and intellectual expression served as an instrument of propaganda for the patriotic cause. The letrado Juan German Roscio, a prominent ideologist of the emancipation, encouraged following the example of the French revolutionaries, who did not rely only on the guillotine and the canons, but resorted to “a flood of proclamations, gazettes, writers, speakers [...] theatres everywhere, without guns or bayonets, declaimed against tyranny and in favor of revolution and republicanism [...] Songs, hymns, etc., children of poetry, greatly inflamed the
spirit, and this more than the guillotine of Robespierre [...] We therefore without [a large] population must place along with fifty thousand rifles other means of persuasion to save the blood of Americans, otherwise we will be deserted.”

Several musicians, including Juan José and José Luis Landaeta, Lino Gallardo, and Cayetano Carreño, were fervent republicans, if not committed activists, and responded to the patriotic call, composing songs that circulated in Caracas. Among the popular songs were “Canción Americana,” attributed to Lino Gallardo; “Gloria al bravo pueblo,” attributed to either Juan José Landaeta or Lino Gallardo, which eventually became the national anthem; and “Caraqueños otra época empieza,” attributed by Cayetano Carreño to poetry of Andrés Bello.

Among other public displays of patriotic support was Cayetano Carreño’s offering in the Gazeta de Caracas in July 1811 a concert on the occasion of celebrating the Declaration of Independence. In a letter addressed to the Junta de Gobierno (Governing Board), he wrote:

H.H. is preparing to enact this outcome of our regeneration with all the solemnity it deserves [...] I [...] wish I had in this moment all the opulence of this world to lavish in this fortunate occasion and express to the universe that the people of Caracas appreciate the dignity to which we have risen; but since my fortune is so meager, let me, H.H., use the profession to which I have devoted all the years of my life to offer the Government the orchestra to celebrate our independence ... with no charge to the national funds. I hope that H.H. will graciously grant me this favor, sure as I am of being willing to sustain with my blood the freedom of my country as regretfully I do not possess many treasures to offer with the same determination.

A central preoccupation of political leaders in the early nineteenth century concerned the role of education in the formation of a civic character. They believed that committing to the advance and spread of education as a patriotic duty was the path to sustaining the new order as much as the remedy to the moral ills inherited from the colony. Simón Bolívar, the most

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3 Quoted in R. Fernandez Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 190, my translation.

4 The authorship of the patriotic song “Gloria al bravo pueblo” (Glory to the Brave People) has been matter of controversy. Though officially attributed to Juan José Landaeta to poetry of Vicente Salias, there is evidence that allows to conjecture that the song was composed instead by Lino Gallardo to poetry of Andrés Bello. For a detailed account of the arguments, see A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 144ff. See also I. A. Barreto Esnal, “Gloria al Bravo Pueblo: Un enigma, una polémica en el tiempo” 14-55. On the authorship of “Caraqueños, otra época empieza” (People of Caracas, another era begins), see J. A. Calcaño, 400 años de música caraqueña, 63; P. Grases, Estudios sobre Andrés Bello, II: 37. On the movement of the patriotic songs in Caracas during the Independence War, see H. Quintana, “Las canciones políticas de la Independencia de Venezuela,” 121-70; M. Palacios, “La música en el proceso emancipador venezolano,” 39-45; J. F. Sans, “Música y musicalidad en Venezuela heroica,” 117-38.

conspicuous hero of the emancipation, conferred a crucial importance on education in the sense of both knowledge and morals to the realization of the republican ideals. In this sense he affirmed that “morals and enlightenment are the poles of a republic; morals and enlightenment are our prime necessities.”

Patriotic societies aimed at political discussion and the teaching of civic values had begun to spread from Caracas to several parts of the national territory. Likewise, private and public establishments opened in Caracas with the purpose of preparing individuals for the challenges of the republican life. They ranged from basic schools offering French, Italian, and mathematics to professional schools of astronomy and nautical sciences; some others functioned as philanthropic institutions for the poor. At the same time, there started to appear schools intended to teach appropriate forms of socialization, such as fencing and dancing. In the area of music, the organization of public concerts began to take hold also as a cultured form of socialization. There are references to several orchestral performances as part of the public celebrations for the establishment of the Republic. In 1812 the Gazeta de Caracas announced the divertiones filarmónicas (philharmonic diversions) of a Madama Tapray, a piano teacher, presumably from France, who had settled in Caracas. Little is known about Tapray or the nature of the events she organized at that time. According to the brief newspaper notice, these consisted of vocal and instrumental concerts to be presented at the theatre, which apparently included various soloists and an ensemble of instrumentalists, and vocal soloists, and aimed to entertain general audiences, to judge by the use of the term “diversion” in it. (See

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7 R. Fernández Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 183-85.
8 J. A. Calcaño, La ciudad y su música, 88.
10 The scarce information that has been found about Tapray has been discussed by Alberto Calzavara in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 100, 135.
11 The term “general audience” is being used in the context to refer the public that began to attend musical or theatrical events involving music, which usually did not have musical education. The music historian William Weber has explained the distinction between general and learned audiences in the European context in the following terms: “Let us call ‘general’ taste the assumption that certain books, paintings, or works of music did not require knowledge to be understood; ‘learned’ is accordingly the opposite.” W. Weber, “Learned and General Music Taste,” 58. The learned audience was more commonly constituted by connoisseurs, those who hold an “unusual knowledge in some area of culture,” usually “a writer, a scholar, a patron, an amateur, or simply someone respected for artistic judgement.” Ibid., 58. In early nineteenth-century Caracas, the role of the connoisseur corresponded in the first place to the upper-class aficionado and also some profesores who were particularly accomplished as performers or composers.
Figure 4.1 below.) Also, later that year the theatre received the itinerant opera company of a certain monsieur Espenú and the *prima donna* Rosa Faucompré which ran at least eight performances, mostly consisting of *pastiche*.\(^\text{12}\)

**Figure 4.1.** Announcement of Madama Tapray’s Grand Concert on January 24, 1812. *Gazeta de Caracas*, 21 January 1812.

The incipient growth of public concert-making in Caracas was suddenly disrupted in 1812. A devastating earthquake in Caracas in March of that year caused the deaths of an estimated of 15,000 to 20,000 people, about a quarter of the population. Many of the buildings in the city collapsed or were severely damaged, as was the case of Teatro del Coliseo. The situation was aggravated by the ensuing collapse of the First Republic, which led to one of the most dreadful episodes in Venezuelan history, the Declaration of War until Death. Ruthless violence from both the royalist and patriotic sides with expropriations of propriety and execution of prisoners minimized the possibilities of materializing any cultural or educative undertaking.\(^\text{13}\) In addition, few active musicians in Caracas outlived this trying period. José Luis Landaeta died during the earthquake. Lino Gallardo and Juan José Landaeta were persecuted by royalist forces and imprisoned. Landaeta was allegedly executed some time later. Others, as Juan Francisco Meserón joined the important exodus of people from Caracas to the east of the country that occurred following the collapse of the Second Republic in June 1814.\(^\text{14}\)

Efforts towards creating musical institutions were scant at this time. An exceptional instance was Lino Gallardo’s project of 1818 for the establishment of an *academia* for the cultivation of vocal and instrumental music. According to the announcement which appeared in


\(^{13}\) R. Fernández Heres, *La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración*, 233.

\(^{14}\) J. A. Calcaño, *La ciudad y su música*, 114-16.
the Gaceta de Caracas, Gallardo expected his *academia* to meet once a week in his residence and to be sustained with the monthly dues of apprentices and *aficionados* as well as with ticket sales from the concerts. The rationale for this *academia* was Gallardo’s “desire to give a complete instruction to his pupils and a diversion as honest as useful to the *aficionados*.” 15

Towards this aim, he “assembled a beautiful collection of the works of the best-known authors and convoked the best *profesores* for the faculty, who he hopes not decline to lend their valued assistance.” 16 v Patriotic overtones were altogether absent in this invitation. Instead, it made clear that this activity “will not be open to all classes of people.” 17 vi Gallardo had certainly retreated from his political positions in favor of the Republic, if only for the purpose of earning a living. Thus, in 1819, he decided to submit his *academia* to the protection of the general captain of the Province of Venezuela, Don Pablo Morillo, who had been appointed by Fernando VII to pacify the revolts. 18 According to the prospectus approved in January 1819, which also appeared in the *Gaceta de Caracas*, Gallardo’s *academia musical* passed the administration of the orchestra to the members of a constituted philharmonic society, henceforward acting as a board of directors in charge of organizing the concerts, selecting the subscribers, and providing funds to cover the expenses in the case that the number of subscribers did not suffice. 19 The society followed a course different from the instructional aim of the project of the *academia* in the previous year, and even of the polite inclusiveness of Juan José Landaeta’s subscription concerts, as it adopted instead a criterion of professionalism and exclusivity. On this premise, the proposal for this society stated that its purpose was to provide “a rational and agreeable diversion to those who, without performing an instrument, are fond of music.” 20 vii The orchestra was comprised of accomplished *aficionados* and salaried *profesores*. No women either as apprentices or volunteer performers seem to have taken part in the presentations. Even more contrasting was the measure of limiting the number of concert subscribers, including the society’s members, to a total of sixty, who were to be selected from principal families of the city.

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15 “Avisos,” *Gaceta de Caracas*, 11 Feb. 1818, 1342. All the translations from this source are mine. After 1815 the spelling of the title of the former *Gazeta de Caracas* changed to *Gaceta de Caracas*.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Pablo Morillo y Morillo count of Cartagena and marquis of la Puerta, (b. Fuentescas, Zamora, Spain, 1775; d. Barèges, France, 1837).
20 Ibid. All the translations from this source are mine.
upon the members’ approval. There is no evidence that the society existed beyond this first year.\(^{21}\)

Another short-lived initiative was Atanasio Bello Montero and Luis Jumel’s *academia musical*, announced in 1821, which was rather devoted to the instruction of apprentices through lessons and orchestral practice, apparently not offering public concerts. Its directors, a violinist and clarinetist, were possibly more preoccupied with circumventing the difficulties of sustenance than creating a stable concert organization.\(^{22}\) The political and social circumstances were not propitious for long-standing undertakings.

Patriotic appeals to contribute to the educational and cultural growth of the nation returned in 1823 after the Independence War ended. In the area of music, the efforts were still isolated, though clearly oriented to adopting and emulating the practices and models already laid down by European countries. This aim acquired a patriotic meaning in so far as it was believed that it demonstrated the determination and natural capacity of the citizens to uplift themselves and head towards the path of progress. Juan Francisco Meserón endorsed this view in his book *Esplicación y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música* (Explanation and Knowledge of the General Principles of Music) of 1824, already mentioned in the previous chapter. In the prologue, Meserón said that he wrote the book in order to fulfill the obligation that every citizen has to contribute to the education of the nation. Also, he justified the purpose of the manual as follows:

> As music is one of the most beautiful and agreeable arts with which we express the various sentiments of the soul, and its merit having come to be known among all civilized nations of the world, it is considered an essential part of a good education; it seems indispensable to embrace it and protect it in our land, which has been particularly privileged by nature to produce individuals of genius able to improve in all sciences and arts.\(^{23}\)

\(^{21}\) Ibid. According to José Antonio Calcaño, the *Gaceta de Caracas* published announcements of the Philharmonic Society’s concerts from 24 January 1819 until 6 Jan 1820. The concerts took place in different locales, including residential salons and the building of the Real Consulado. J. A. Calcaño, *La ciudad y su música*, 124.


\(^{23}\) F. Meserón, *Esplicación y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música*, 3.
2. Music During the First Years of the Republic

2.1. The Creation of Institutions for Music Education and Concert-Making

Statements similar to those of Meserón persisted well into the second half of the century. The cultivation of literature, music, and other arts was considered a significant element in the urgent overall undertaking of building the nation. Yet the task represented an unprecedented challenge. Over a decade of warfare resulted in significant depopulation, decline of production to precarious levels, debt, poverty, rampant illiteracy, and destruction. By 1830, Bolivar’s ambitious plan of integrating South American territories under Spanish control into the Republic of Gran Colombia collapsed. Frictions among regional spheres of power as well as differences regarding governmental systems, distribution of land, and economic policies prompted the formation of a separatist trend led by General José Antonio Páez, one of the most prominent heroes of the Independence War after Bolívar. Páez counted on the support of the old group of mantuanos and the commercial bourgeoisie that emerged with the need for goods for war campaigns. They were letrados and advocates of the republican order who opposed the military authoritarianism that had prevailed in the last years. They perceived Páez’s leadership of the nation as a guarantee of peace. The dynamics of war had resulted in the formation of military factions of high-ranking war veterans, owners of large plots of land and eager to compete for regional control. Páez epitomized the figure of the Latin American caudillo: the combination of military prestige and large land possessions had granted him a mass of followers. Also, his ascendancy within the Venezuelan military based on personal loyalties was thought to lessen the possibilities of an armed conflict and the eventual disintegration of the country. On the other hand, Páez was willing to submit to the civilian order and the idea of a liberal state, which conformed to the desires of the educated circles, which looked to consolidate a prosperous and modern nation under the protection of a government that guaranteed free trade policies and respect of property and individual liberties. In this sense, as Juan Bautista Urbaneja remarks, Páez became the armed support of the legal order.

24 José Antonio Paéz (b. Curpa, Portuguesa, Venezuela, 1790; d. New York, 1893).
Thus, from its foundation the republic was conceived as a shared, cooperative project between the government, responsible for the administration of order by the rule of law, and the citizenry, responsible for the material and cultural growth of the nation. This alliance was formalized with Paéz’s summoning of the Caracas intelligentsia to create an assembly entrusted with the responsibility of organizing the productive apparatus for the country:

The isolation of the enlightened and talented men in the country in their homes or small circles, not only holds up the progressive course of useful knowledge, but at the same time is not itself favorable to the common happiness. The most popular and the most convenient undertaking for the public interest is to gather the men of intelligence possessed of patriotism and national spirit under a beneficial institute that seeks the common good and to restore among us the love for work and advantageous and productive tasks.

These “patriotic men of intelligence” represented the educated, commercial, and propertied elite of the country, hereafter known as the notables. The group included former aristocrats, landowners, high-rank militaries, and wealthy professionals and merchants, several of them engaged in politics since early in the century. Their input was channeled into the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País (Economic Society of Friends of the Country), which became the forum for the debate on the organization of the civil society and the core of public opinion. Hereafter patriotism was understood as love for the republican institutions, work ethics, and the pursuit of peace, as Elena Plaza states.

The plan that the notables were embarking on was to build a thriving region from what was a desert of bankruptcy, as Elías Pino Iturrieta has observed. Notwithstanding the difficulties, this was an optimistic time and the yearning for modernity permeated public life. Records of the Society reflect an earnest trust in the liberal economic and political doctrines,

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28 E. Pino Iturrieta, Las ideas de los primeros venezolanos, 16.
29 The Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del País was founded in Caracas in 1829 according to a decree dated 26 October of that year. The formation of this society was not original to Venezuela. Institutions of a similar nature had been appearing since the mid-eighteenth century in several cities of Europe, including Zurich, Paris, Bern, and St. Petersburg. They attained a particular importance in Spain, given the support that Carlos III offered to this sort of initiatives. After the foundation of the Basque society in 1763-1765, Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País rapidly spread over the peninsular territory, and since 1781 they began to be created in Spanish America. P. Grases, Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, I: xlii-xlvi.
31 E. Pino Iturrieta, Las ideas de los primeros venezolanos, 139.
especially Adam Smith’s, which considered the appropriate means to generate wealth in order
to reach social betterment. Their concerns, however, were not exclusively addressed to
improving the conditions for the production of material goods. Indeed, they thought the cultural
and moral aspects of social life also to be central to the attainment of prosperity. In this regard,
the Society remarked:

This [public wealth] regularly does not remain stationary, neither are the means for its
acquisition purely material. Hence the need to measure the current state of matters,
and its [the nation’s] progress and the laws [that determine] its growth. Hence also [the
need] to properly appreciate the intimate relationship between the civilization and
morality of nations and the development of productive forces. A thorough study of it, as
well as of the influence of general and local institutions on education and the customs,
depends on the proper judgment of the moral strength of the nations, which is one of
the important foundations of their power and greatness. 33

Accordingly, the Society engaged in discussion of the improvement of
education, the cultivation of the arts, the acquisition of technology, the formation of an
efficient system of production, and the formulation of policies to attract immigration as
correctives for current impoverishment, extensive illiteracy, and depopulation. The
members believed in the practical value of volunteer associations to articulate individual
efforts for the achievement of the common good. Stimulating the development of
individual talents through “rewards, praise and national gratitude” along with fostering
sentiments of patriotism, empathy and benevolence was thought to be the course to
incline each person towards the pursuit of a common end. 34 The resource of empathy as
a mechanism for the organization of civil society was explained in these terms:

Once the spit of association is generalized, the attractions and sympathies that govern
and influence every nature become closer and know each other: knowledgeable people,
artists, investors, farmers and merchants. Everyone will find a fellow, and their affinities
will produce cohesion of interests that will bring to perfection the social organization,
for the honor and glory of this land. Thereby when the time comes that the most
accomplished people in the country understand each other and act in this manner, they
must destroy the differences of opinion and establish one spirit and purpose for the
Nation: the common happiness combined with individual happiness. 35

32 “Memoria de 1830,” reproduced in P. Grases, Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, I: 150-1;
D.B. Urbaneja, La idea política de Venezuela: 1830-1870, passim.
33 Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, Anuario de la Provincia de Caracas de 1832 á 1833
(Caracas: Imprenta de Antonio Damirón, 1835), 55. All the translations from this source are mine.
34 José María Vargas, Session 86: General meeting of 3 Feb. 1833, reproduced in P. Grases,
Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, I: 72, my translation.
35 Tomás José Sanabria, “Junta general del 30 de marzo de 1834,” reproduced in P. Grases,
Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, I: 114, my translation.
Commentaries on the uplifting power of music and the social benefit of creating educational and performing institutions immediately entered into the public discourse. A proposal for the creation of a new philharmonic society justified the undertaking on the conviction that music is a science that with the magic influence of harmony softens the harshness of life, corrects the ferocity of customs, reanimates courage in combat, and enlivens and even gives birth to beautiful and great sentiments; and its progress is always accompanied with the idea of the civilization of the nation that achieves it.  

The cause of social betterment advanced by the group of notables immediately began to reshape the forms of music-making already known in Caracas. Spokesmen for the initiative sought to revive the creative outburst of the pre-war times: "that sublime instinct for music among the people from Caracas, that vehement attempt to learn and have a taste for the charming language of the Gods, enervated under the weight of oppression and misery."

Previous efforts to create institutional spaces for the professionalization of music outside aristocratic or church patronage had been diluted in the midst of the difficulties of warfare. The present had its own set of difficulties, mostly associated with the social readjustments operating in first decades of republican order. Though Venezuelan society was still divided between slaves and free men, the new constitution established the gradual emancipation of slavery along with legal equality between mantuanos, blancos de orilla and pardos. Hereafter, education and accumulation of wealth became mechanisms of social ascent, a concept alien to the old system of castes. Reforms in the statutes of the university, from 1827 on called Universidad Central de Venezuela, eliminated racial restrictions and lowered pecuniary requirements for admission, making possible the path to professionalization to pardos and whites of limited resources. On the other hand, even though the mantuanos preserved their social prestige, some indeed continued using their titles of nobility, they entered the new order with depleted wealth, either because the Spanish Crown confiscated their possessions or because they were ruined during the war. The conjunction of those circumstances fostered a

36 A. Bello [Montero] et al., Proyecto de Sociedad Filarmónica (Caracas: Imprenta de Tomás Antero, 1831), reproduced in J. A. Calcaño, 400 años de música caraqueña, 139. All the translations from this source are mine.  
37 Ibid.  
38 The manumission law of 1830 sanctioned the gradual freedom of slaves when turning to adulthood at the age of 24. At that time the number of slaves is roughly estimated in 40,000 from a national population of about 800,000. J. L. Salcedo-Bastardo, Historia fundamental de Venezuela, 350-51.  
39 R. Fernández Heres, La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración, 298-303.
rapport between the former aristocracy and the emergent group of freelance professionals, intellectuals, and entrepreneurs, hereafter forming a common ground of tastes, interests and demeanors. This educated group from the middle class frequently combined their occupations with intellectual and political work. Soon, they proceeded to occupy bureaucratic positions in the public administration, participate in the organization of civil society, intervene in state affairs, and exert their influence in the public opinion. They founded and wrote in newspapers, imported, translated, and printed books, opened private schools, taught at the university, cultivated music and poetry, and subscribed to liberal principles and civilized ideals. In spite of not possessing fortunes, they managed to hobnob with the propertied and wealthier at tertulias, at the congress floor, at governmental offices, and at civil societies’ meetings. As a result, the group of notables was enriched with the inclusion of this emergent group of educated men. Together they formed what Paulette Silva Beauregard has termed the Venezuelan Republic of Letters, given its clear affiliation to the values and practices of similar groups in France and the United States. Later, these men of letters led the cause of extending literacy, promoting aesthetic appreciation and cultural uplift, and strengthening and perfecting liberal legislation.

The few prominent musicians that outlived the war aspired to a public social standing in terms of recognition, comparable to the one that other freelance professionals enjoyed as they began to move upward in the social scale. However, debasing views of music as a livelihood continued being strongly felt in the common mentality. Juan Francisco Meserón had already referred to this situation in the prologue of Explicación y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música (pub. 1824), when commenting on his decision to make a living out of music. In this sense he expressed: “the scorn with which music, and even those who deserve to be dubbed profesores, has been always regarded among us could have discouraged with this undertaking, but I keep in mind the praises of that sublime science that Tosca, Rousseau, Bails, Iriarte, and many others have made. I would offend their respectable memory if I paid attention to the effects of ignorance on some people.”

These attitudes were surely a hindrance for those who desired to establish themselves as professional musicians. Their negative impact continued being felt even past the second third

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40 P. Silva Beauregard, Las tramas de los lectores, 54, 102.
41 J. F. Meserón, Explicación y conocimiento de los principios generales de la música, 3.
of the century. The *letrado* and music *aficionado* Eduardo Calcaño expressed in a sardonic tone his discontent regarding that state of affairs in the early 1870s:

The nations and the people that are said to be civilized and cultivated can do as they please; they can cover with stimulus and lavish with protection the idleness of art ... [but] we think otherwise because we are convinced that the artistic profession is a degrading occupation that has to be hidden as an embarrassment and to be reproached as a humiliation. What do I say about the artistic profession? Just the skill of executing an instrument, the simple practice of a talent in that department is enough for the foolish to begin to attack with condemnation.\(^\text{42}\) xv

If prejudice worked against strengthening music as a profession, the social dynamics of the early years of the Republic favored the accommodation of musicians within other areas of more repute. It was not uncommon that skilled musicians who had the opportunity to access university education or hold bureaucratic appointments gave up music as a profession and opted instead for cultivating it as *aficionados*. The old social practices associated with amateur music-making did not disappear altogether but were reshaped as committed musicians increasingly perceived amateurism as a legitimate alternative to the scarcity of spaces for professional growth and social contempt. Going forward, amateur musicianship did not necessarily involve aristocratic connotations nor was the *aficionado* necessarily expected to sponsor a private circle of music-making as in earlier times. Plainly, the *aficionado* was a devoted musician who did not depend upon his music-making to sustain himself financially. In practical terms, there was not a clear difference between the *aficionado* and the professional musician. Both could possess a similar level of expertise, join with one another in the same musical activity, whether a *tertulia* or a public concert, or work together in associative projects. The difference lay instead in the conventions of polite culture. The *aficionados* were regarded as belonging to a class higher than the professional musicians, as the latter made music for a fee. At this time those who worked as freelance musicians had to engage in several musical activities to secure their subsistence. These activities ranged from performing at church events, playing in dance gatherings, teaching music at various levels, composing for commission, and so on. As the century advanced, professional musicians would also participate in the music business as sellers of scores and instruments and selling light music by subscription.

On the other hand, the figure of the *aficionado* for the most part overlapped with that of the *letrado*. As members of the educated elite, many *aficionados* participated in the sphere of public discourse as writers of articles for periodicals or books of historical or political interest. Also, many of them were often authors of poetry and drama. Consequently, it became common for them to place their interests in music along with other issues of professional or political relevance. As such, many contributed to building music literacy and to serving as arbiters of taste through musical commentary and criticism on musical or theatrical events that were organized in the public sphere of music. This new role of the *aficionado* is reflected in the increasing number of articles that appeared in newspapers and magazines during the second third of the century.43 This was the case of several of the most sophisticated musicians who were active during the second third of the century. Composers such as Felipe Larrazábal and José Lorenzo Montero, just to name two among the most accomplished musicians, produced a considerable body of music encompassing several genres. Some of their compositions were of such high a quality that nowadays it would seem erroneous to consider them *aficionados*.44 Nonetheless, in the context of their lifetime, musical accomplishments were not perceived as necessarily paired with the professional exercise in music. These men were lawyers of a solid reputation as much as accomplished musicians. In particular, Felipe Larrazábal was also renowned for his humanistic erudition. Furthermore, he stood out among the most prominent men in public life during the period. As a politician, he served in various position throughout his life. Arguably, his most important political contribution was his decisive participation in a campaign in favor of the abolition of slavery, which resulted in the granting of freedom to all slaves in 1854. As an intellectual, he founded and directed the newspaper *El federalista* and did scholarly work on law, history, literature, and music.45

43 For an overview of the publications appeared during the second third of the nineteenth century that included topics about music, see F. Rodríguez Legendre, *Caracas*, 190-91.
Yet, despite the readjustments that stunted the social organization of music, the post-
Independence years in Venezuela represented a time of palpable growth in regards to the
creation of institutions for music education and concert-making in Caracas. The initiatives that
materialized at that time were framed within the efforts for organizing civil society. In every
case, their organization counted on the financial and administrative support of the notables and
participation of both professional and aficionados. A case in point was the Sociedad Económica
de Amigos del País, which sponsored a school of music that functioned at its headquarters
beginning in 1834. It had an initial enrollment of about forty students who studied music theory
and performance for free. Its appointed director, profesor Atanasio Bello Montero, offered his
services at no charge for a year. Devoted aficionados such as José de Austria and Fermín de
Tovar must have had input as founding members of the Sociedad Económica. According to
meeting reports, this school constituted the first significant achievement of the Sociedad during
its first years of existence and contributed to the deflection of negative views about music: “The
beauty of this creature called the attention of those who regarded with contempt the divine art
that has ennobled many profesores and that [is] the secret charm of the human heart.”

Musicologist Fidel Rodríguez Legendre estimates that the music school remained active until at
least 1836.

Even more impressive as an associative undertaking was the creation of the Sociedad
Filarmónica in the early 1830s, certainly one of the most substantial concert institutions in
Caracas throughout the nineteenth-century. This new philharmonic society counted on the
support of various individuals of the group of notables, with President José Antonio Páez, an
amateur musician himself, at the head. According to the prospectus, it worked on the basis of
patronage by the members, many of them amateur musicians, with additional earnings from

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46 Memoire No. 18, 15 June 1834, reproduced in P. Grases, Sociedad Económica de Amigos del
País, II: 276.
47 José de Austria y Reina (Caracas, b. 1791; d. 1863). Fermín de Tovar y Tovar (b. Caracas, 1805;
d. 1879). Miguel Tejera (b. Caracas, 1848; d. Caracas, 1922), Venezuela pintoresca é ilustrada (Paris:
Librería Española de E. Denné Schmitz, 1875-1877), II: 447; W. Guido, “De Austria Reina, José,” in
Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, I: 488.
48 Tomás José Sanabria, Meeting of 22 Nov. 1835, reproduced in Grases, Sociedad Económica de
Amigos del País, I: 118.
49 F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 25. The Sociedad Económica de
Amigos del País was active until 1841.
50 The prospect was presented in 1831. It is possible that it did not initiate activities until 1833, as
suggested in M. Milanca Guzmán, La música venezolana: De la Colonia a la República, 120-23. It is
presumed that it remained active until about 1843.
concert subscriptions and tuition fees from the apprentices of its associated school of music. 51 A company of professional musicians affiliated with the society received compensation for their work as performers and instructors. At the moment of its foundation, the society registered fifteen hired profesoress under the direction of Atanasio Bello Montero. Eventually, the direction passed to Juan Francisco Meserón. 52 The number of performers was supplemented with the volunteer participation of amateur musicians. Juan Bautista and Juan de la Cruz Carreño and Felipe Larrazábal were counted among the members that participated as performers. 53 Juan Bautista Carreño also served as the appointed president of the Sociedad Filarmónica in 1835-1836. 54 Solo numbers as well as works for soloists were also performed by either professional or amateur members of the society. Accomplished immigrant musicians such as violinist Toribio Segura and wind and brass instrumentalist Juan Enrique Hauser participated as guest soloists at the concerts; they enjoyed the appreciation of Caracas’ aficionados, as shown in the flattering comments they received in the press. Segura was originally from Spain and had been performing in the Caribbean area before he went to Caracas in 1837. Hauser was originally from Germany and established himself in Caracas in the mid-1830s as a music teacher and eventually as owner of a music store. 55

The Sociedad Filarmónica planned to offer two concerts a month for the subscribers, to be performed by a “grand orchestra.” Press reports and memoires give accounts of the outstanding quality of the concerts. 56 It also projected to maintain a weekly meeting with the

51 A. Bello [Montero] et al., Proyecto de Sociedad Filarmónica, reproduced in J.A. Calcaño, 400 años de música caraqueña, 139-42. For Páez’s cultivation of music, see J.A. Calcaño, 400 años de música caraqueña, 116-19; F. Curt Lange, “La musicalidad del general José Antonio Páez,” 13-30; and J. Peñín, “Páez, José Antonio,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, II: 378-79.

52 A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 293-94.

53 Juan Bautista (b. Caracas, 1802) and Juan de la Cruz Carreño (b. Caracas, 1815) were Teresa Carreño’s uncles from her father’s side. The musical activities of the members of the Carreño family will be discussed below in this chapter.


56 F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 76-80.
group *profesores* for study and private concert-making. Women were not allowed to participate in the private meetings on account of the fact that during the exercise “even the slightest reprimand would be very rude and unpleasant if [done] in front of them.”

The apprentices also held weekly concerts at another time. The extant information of their actual activities indicates that the public concerts of the Sociedad Filarmónica were held at the new Teatro del Coliseo, a venue built in 1831 to provide for a place where audiences could attend theatrical programs by visiting and local artists. It had a seating capacity of 800 to 1,000, which was quite large in comparison with the total population of Caracas, calculated at about 40,000 people. Yet, according to contemporary descriptions it was a rather modest venue.

The statement of purpose of the Sociedad Filarmónica as described in the prospectus leaves no doubt about its commitment to serious music-making. It established that the concerts would “never degenerate into balls,” and they would devote themselves to the execution of “sublime overtures, symphonies, concertos for various instruments and vocal works, overall striving for the most select in each genre.” The term “sublime” as used in this and other contemporaneous sources continued to be used as an equivalent to the best or the most elevated. Although this meaning presupposed an artistic hierarchy, it would be erroneous to assume that it involved canonic implications in the sense of a body of classical works. In fact, extant concert programming of the Sociedad Filarmónica demonstrates that the repertory was entirely integrated with works of live or recently deceased composers. The concerts conformed to the miscellaneous format, including separated movements of symphonies and opera overtures, works for soloists and orchestra, and interspersed songs and pieces for solo instrument and orchestral marches. Three programs corresponding to 1837 list chamber music as well as works for solo instrument and orchestral accompaniment by the German composers Joseph Küffner, Carl Maria von Weber, and Ludwig Wilhelm Maurer, the Vienesse composers François Pechátschek and Henri Herz and the Parisian composers Charles Philippe Lafont, and the Bohemian composer Johann Baptist Wenzel Kalliwoda. Operatic overtures by the French Daniel Auber and the Finale of Symphony no. 2 by Beethoven were also part of the


59 F. Rodríguez Legendre, *Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos*, 14.


61 On the meaning of the term *sublime* in the early nineteenth century, see Chapter 3.
programming as well. More significantly, works by various musicians affiliated with the society were also part of the repertory. In a report of activities of the Sociedad Filarmónica up to 1836, Juan Bautista Carreño mentioned this point as one of its greatest achievements:

In addition to the progress made overall in performance, there have been testimonies of creative genius. Mr. Juan Meserón has continued composing and has produced some overtures and symphonies. Mr. Manuel María Larrázabal has written the accompaniment for the full orchestra to several pieces, songs and foreign overtures, which had only [music for] the piano. Messrs. Nicanor and Ildefonso Meserón have made their first essays in composition, and presented the first an overture and the second a concertino for obligato flute.

Interestingly, opera overtures and symphony movements seem to have shared the same level of prominence in the programs. This was reflected not only in the position they occupied as main numbers in concerts but also in the custom maintained well into the century of referring to operatic overtures as symphonies, as if both terms were interchangeable. In addition to this, musical commentaries of the period reflect the high prestige that opera enjoyed during that period, either as a theatrical genre or as instrumental and vocal numbers in concerts. Opera was not staged in Caracas until the nineteenth century, the earliest news dating to 1805 or 1807 with the visit of an Italian singer named Comoglio, and again in 1808 with the itinerant company of Espenú. To the extent that the documentation allows, it can be ascertained that those presentations consisted of the performance of individual arias and duets from various operas

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63 J. B. Carreño, “Despacho del Interior y Justicia,” Gaceta de Venezuela, 23 Jan. 1836, 2, quoted in F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 76, my translation. There are references of the performance in the concerts of the Sociedad Filarmónica of a Minueto and Trio, a Duo concertante for horns and orchestra and a Symphony No. 9, composed by Juan Francisco Meserón; also, orchestral marches by Toribio Segura. The Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas preserves three symphonic works by José Lorenzo Montero written during the period of activity of the Sociedad Filarmónica, which were presumably included in its public concerts as well. These works are Sinfonía No. 4 en sol mayor (comp. 1833), Gran overuta a toda orquesta (comp. 1835) Sinfonía concertada (comp. 1841). Arismendi Noguera, “Sinfonía no. 4 en sol mayor de José Lorenzo Montero,” 4. Nicanor (b. Caracas, 1806) and Idelfonso Meserón (Caracas, b. ca. 1808, d. ca. 1895) were the children of Juan Meserón. Manuel María Larrazábal (Caracas, b. 1813, d. 1881) was the brother of Felipe Larrazábal. He established a reputation as organist, composer and music critic. In 1834 Manuel Larrazábal was appointed secretary of the Sociedad Filarmónica. F. Sangiorgi, “Manuel María Larrazábal,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, II: 103.

and that the price of admission was considerably higher than for the usual concert. It is believed that the initial operatic presentations did not have a major impact among Caracas’ audiences, accustomed to the more popular genres of tonadilla escénica and sainete, both in Spanish. However, by the time of Espenú’s visit in 1812 when the company presented fully staged operas, the genre had acquired a prominent standing as a symbol of education and social refinement. In 1834 Atanasio Bello Montero organized three performances of Rossini’s Il barbiere di Siviglia, presumably with the assistance of members of the Sociedad Filármónica and amateur singers. This was the first performance in Caracas and the event attracted a large attendance. This success was interpreted as momentous in the current efforts for the advancement of the arts in Caracas: a newspaper writer assured his readers that the opera presentations were “to serve as a landmark for those who, once our country has progressed in the fine arts, will want to write the history of its progress.”

In January 1835 the press reported the existence of “another philharmonic society” (otra sociedad filarmónica), whose activities seemingly overlapped with those of the Sociedad Filarmónica. It may be assumed that this second society was affiliated with the school of music patronized by the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País created in 1834 discussed above, as reports of the latter announced plans on forming a philharmonic society. As principal members of this group, the press mentioned Mateo Villalobos (president), José María Velásquez (vice-president), Francisco Isturriaga (secretary), and José Moreno (conductor), along

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65 The Spanish tonadilla escénica took root in Caracas during the late eighteen-century. The genre consisted of a series of songs constituting brief theatrical episodes of satirical nature. It had been in vogue in Spain as a music-theatrical entertainment for the popular classes and it, seems to have served a similar purpose in Venezuela. The tonadilla achieved increasing popularity until by the first decades of the nineteenth century. According to press reports, the tonadillas were usually performed in the two entr’actes of the comedias, which was the term used according to Spanish customs for non-religious theatrical genres, either comic or serious. The genre of lyric sainete was also originally from Spain. It consisted of one-act farcical pieces with popular songs and dances, to be performed at the end of the comedias. A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 95-96.


68 See M. Milanca Guzmán, La música venezolana: De la Colonia a la República, 125.

69 Memoire No. 115, reproduced in P. Grases, Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, I: 97.
with Rafael Figueroa, Luis Jumel, José María Isaza y José Francisco Velásquez, all of them professional musicians. The announcement summoned the music lovers in Caracas to patronize this initiative by subscribing to its concerts, planned to be held every other week. Little information of its concert activity known to date.  

Musical associative undertakings undoubtedly contributed to a positive balance because they provided support to music creation and performance while opening spaces for professional stability through institutional teaching. The Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, reporting in 1835 on the progress of the arts in Caracas asserted: “painting continues in the same state of paralysis [...] [but] music has finally made rapid progress through the efforts of the genius of the people of Caracas, and although within the class of composers a few could be mentioned, there is in general disposition, good taste, and above all, enthusiastic inclination for this divine art.”

In addition to the schools affiliated with the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País and the Sociedad Filarmónica, three private schools of general education for boys created in Caracas during the period followed the model already set and offered music classes and orchestral practice as complementary to the curriculum of elementary and secondary education. These schools were created as an alternative for the wealthy to the national system of public schools that had barely begun to be established. Thus, Colegio de la Independencia and Colegio La Paz, together with Manuel Antonio Carreño’s Colegio Roscio, hired some reputed musicians as preceptors and presented regular school concerts. Atanasio Bello Montero and Manuel María Larrazábal at Roscio and Juan Francisco Meserón at La Independencia are among the musicians that directed music learning at those schools. Some schools for girls also incorporated music education into their plans. The press reported on an evening program at Colegio de Educandas in Caracas aimed at showcasing the achievements of the students stating that there was a

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70 For information on this second philharmonic society, see M. Milança Guzmán, La música venezolana: De la Colonia a la República, 125-26 and J. M. Salvador González, “Artes escénicas y musicales en la Venezuela de 1800-1840,” 14.

71 Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, Anuario de la Provincia de Caracas, 28.

72 Colegio de la Independencia was founded by Feliciano Montenegro Colón in 1836; Colegio de la Paz was founded by José Ignacio Paz Castillo in 1837; Colegio Roscio was founded by Manuel Antonio Carreño in 1841. Two other schools for boys operating during those years were Colegio de la Concordia, founded by José María Pelgrón (son) in 1839 and Colegio de la Unión Venezolana, founded by José Quintín Suzarte in 1840. Apparently, these did not offer music. M. Alcibiades, Manuel Antonio Carreño, 25, 37.

73 M. Alcibiades, Manuel Antonio Carreño, 38-40; F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 31-34.
concert presenting “several musical pieces performed by the girls and their skillful teachers Manuel and Felipe Larrazábal and Demetrio Gámez [...] also some of the students performed during the intermissions the gracious dance La cachucha and English dances with all the charm of youth and the perfection that a tender age can provide.”

The rationale behind offering music as complementary to the curriculum of elementary and secondary education as well as propagating the demand for private tutoring was principally grounded on the need for instilling refined tastes and manners in the youngsters and strengthening their morals through the sentiments that music produced. Musical commentaries in the press frequently emphasized music’s civilizing value, as it “contributes to soften the customs.” Likewise, a newspaper article circulating in 1838 explained the influence of music on morals and its capacity to arouse sentiments of that nature. “Through the ear,” it affirmed, “music exerts its empire principally on morality; it is in that part of the brain which presides over the affections. In consequence, [music] determines in the organs the same effects as the passions originated in the affections.”

2.2. Music-Making in Private Spaces

During the first decades of the Republic private music-making continued to play an important role in the musical life of the city. It is presumed that much of the activity was not reflected in the press. Nonetheless, there is considerable evidence of a relatively consistent organization of private concerts and cultured forms of entertainment. Variants of the old tradition of concert-making survived in the homes of the notables in the form of socialite soirées musicales or veladas musicales, as they started to be called in the 1840s. They differed from the saraos, very common during the period, in that the saraos centered on social dancing, whether

74 La bandera nacional (Caracas), 8 Jan. 1839, quoted in M. Alcibíades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 197-98, my translation. La cachucha is a nineteenth-century Spanish dance originally from Cuba for soloist in 3/8 meter performed with guitar and castanets. It was in vogue after the successful performance of the Austrian ballerina Fanny Elssler (b. 1810, d. 1884) in the ballet Le diable boiteux by Casimir Gide (b. 1804, d. 1868) and Jean Coralli (b. 1779, d. 1854), premiered at the Paris Opéra in 1836.
75 “Filarmónica,” La bandera nacional, 22 Aug. 1837, quoted in M. Alcibíades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 291, my translation.
76 “Influencia de la música,” Gaceta de Venezuela (Caracas), 24 Sep. 1837, quoted in M. Alcibíades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 291, my translation. The influence of the Enlightenment thought could be traced in this article, which is closely related to the sentimental theory presented by the Scottish-Irish philosopher Francis Hutcheson in An essay in the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections and Illustrations on Moral Sense (London: J. Darby and T. Browne / J. Osborn and T. Longman, 1728).
the music was provided by a piano or an instrumental ensemble. The private musical soirée, instead, was primarily centered on music performance. Nonetheless, solo dancing, casual conversation or intellectual discussion, and even drinking and eating often took part in the *soirée musical* as well. Sir Robert Ker Porter, English painter and appointed British consul in Venezuela, gave an account in his diary of several musical soirées during his second stay in Caracas in 1830-1841. The events ranged from causal gatherings after dinner to listening to music being performed by the host or other skilled members of the family to structured private concerts featuring chamber ensembles and soloists. Among the latter, Porter reports a soirée offered in 1841 on his farewell at La viñeta, the residence of President Páez: “All the major authorities [attended]; no toasts or discourses. Music at night, which in all honesty was distinguished and European in high degree. [Toribio] Segura, the talented violinist, performed brilliantly, and Mrs. Francia, the newlywed daughter of General [Páez], danced *La cachucha* in the most graceful manner.”

Professional musicians are mentioned in contemporary accounts as participating in the musical soirées. It could be conjectured that the participation of *profesores*, *aficionados*, and occasional visiting artists in private concert-making was voluntary and rather regulated by a polite dynamics of mutual support. To be sure, the entire musical community benefited from the fusion of purposes and interests among all the parts. Favorable commentaries in the press by men of letters and amateur musicians sponsoring those gatherings helped the *profesores* to build a reputation. Also, the children of the *notables* made up the main clientele for private or institutional musical tutoring. Finally, amateurs and professionals complemented one another in the artistic and financial aspects of their musical undertakings. This point becomes clear when considering the various forms of mutual support that permeated concert-life at that time. A

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78 R. K. Porter, *Diario de un diplomático británico en Venezuela: 1825-1842* (Caracas, 1997), 913, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, *Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX*, 333, my translation. The dancer was Jose Antonio Páez’s daughter, Juana Páez Nieves, married to José María Francia.
particularly illustrative instance in this regard were Toribio Segura’s Sunday Quartet Concerts, which were organized in Caracas in 1838 and continued to be held until mid-1841, as music historian Felipe Sangioirgi has noted. 79

Toribio Segura had become a favorite among the aficionados in Caracas. Because they found Segura’s dwelling in the city advantageous for the advancement of musical culture, they organized a series of subscription concerts with the purpose of providing him with a regular source of income. Aficionados and profesores volunteered as performers, hosts, and promoters with the aim to make the project possible. A note in the press explained it this way:

Several friends of the liberal arts, who wanted to provide Mr. Segura with the means to remain in the country, conceived the project of a series of Sunday quartets, for which each of them requested four friends to subscribe. It was possible to begin them shortly and the excellent execution of the artists and the gentlemen who accompany him have been cause of great satisfaction. Mr. Ignacio Chaquert offered his house to society [...]. Messrs. José [de] Austria, Ramón Silva, Juan de la Cruz Carreño, and José María Velásquez have kindly accompanied Mr. Segura in the organization with no compensation [...] It has been agreed that henceforth the subscription will be on a monthly basis [...] there are already over seventy subscribers, among them the gentlemen diplomats Sir R. Ker Porter and Caballero de la Palún [from France], and other foreigners. Attendance at the quartets is starting to become fashionable. Because in our capital there is a great lack of society [sic], we desire it to be formed since it always produces good results; this is without mentioning the result of enabling the excellent artist to settle in Venezuela [...] 80

Segura’s subscription concerts were eventually hosted at his own residence and extended for at least two years. Newspaper records indicate that in the 1840s public concert activities had been in decline. By 1843 the Sociedad Filármonica ceased activities and Segura

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79 F. Sangiorgi, “La música de cámara en el siglo XIX venezolano,” 783.
80 La bandera nacional (Caracas), 30 Oct. 1838, quoted in F. Sangiorgi, “La música de cámara en el siglo XIX venezolano,” 783, my translation. José María Velásquez made a living as professional musician. He was the son of the colonial musician Velásquez, “the elder,” associated to Padre Sojo’s circle. J. Peñín, “Velásquez, José María,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, II: 717. Ignacio José Chacquert was one of the notables. He served as secretary of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País and occupied several positions in the high government since the foundation of the Republic throughout the 1840s (secretario del Gobierno Superior de la Provincia de Caracas, secretario de la Diputación de Caracas, administrador de la Caja de Ahorro de Caracas.) Ramón Silva was presumably a professional performer. Music historian José María Suárez lists Silva among the musicians who had died by the turn of the twentieth century. Suárez did did not provide additional information. J. M. Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 74. The German musician Juan Enrique Hauser was a frequent assistant at Segura’s concerts. J. M. Salvador González, “Artes escénicas y musicales en la Venezuela de 1800-1840,” 15. It is unclear whether his participation was volunteer or if he received compensation for it.
was apparently to leave Venezuela for a concert tour in the Caribbean.\textsuperscript{81} A press writer pondering the situation commented: “We have resources enough; our country is musical par excellence, it’s true. But we lack unity of action, we lack a method, we need direction to obtain results ... Let’s do what it takes to keep Mr. Segura among us, let’s flatter him; let’s try to organize a club or Philharmonic Society that eventually could become an Academia de Música.”\textsuperscript{82 xxvii}

The profesores and the aficionados had been struggling to keep their concert initiatives afloat. The Sociedad had been confronting financial and organizational issues. In 1834 several profesores left their positions at the Sociedad. A couple of years later the Sociedad had to terminate Juan Enrique Hauser’s services as a teacher due to lack of funds to pay him.\textsuperscript{83} Most of the difficulties seem to have been related to the failure to create a public beyond the small circle of the literate. Increasing the audiences to ensure financial resources for the sustaining of public concert life was an arduous task. In 1843 during the visit to Caracas of the Italian opera company of Alessandro Galli and the veteran Italian soprano Luigia Busatti (née Giovanini), musical amateurs created a “Society for the protection of opera” with the purpose of administering the sale of 360 subscriptions to the opera season at the new Teatro del Coliseo. The costs of production were considerably high given that all the balconies except twelve were owned by individuals. There was uncertainty that the company could meet the expenses.\textsuperscript{84} From March to December the company held about twenty presentations of operas by Gioachino Rossini, Gaetano Donizetti, and Vincenzo Bellini, along with a few benefit vocal concerts.

\textsuperscript{81} It was formerly believed that Toribio Segura left Venezuela definitively around that time. Hugo Quintana has demonstrated, based on new evidence that Segura returned to Caracas at the end of 1842. From 1843 to 1850 Segura maintained a musical activity in Caracas, principally focused on teaching and performing the guitar. See H. Quintana, “Nuevas noticias sobre Toribio Segura,” 483-522.

\textsuperscript{82} “Crónica interior,” El liberal (Caracas), 14 Mar. 1843, quoted in F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 80, my translation.

\textsuperscript{83} F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 75; J. Velásquez, “Hauser, J.H.,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, I: 715.

\textsuperscript{84} Galli’s company also included Stefano Busatti, Luigia’s husband, and the bass Ramón Caballería. Toribio Segura participated as the musical director for the opera for the presentations at Teatro del Coliseo. The company was assisted by local performers in the orchestra and choirs. Segura was the musical director for the presentations held at Teatro del Coliseo in 1843. J. M. Suárez lists the baritone Angelotti as part of the company. J. M. Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 361. Luigia Busatti participated as prima donna in several opera houses in Europe. Her debut in New York at the Apollo Concert Room in Sep. 1851 included as one of the assisting artists the sixteen-year-old Theodore Thomas (b. Esens, Germany, 1835; d. Chicago, 1905). V. B. Lawrence, Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton Strong, II: 196. The visit of Alessandro Galli’s and company in Caracas is studied in F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 92-94.
Achieving this must have carried difficulties as suggested in a public petition for official support to further the opera season, which stated: “because of the influence that music exerts on the human heart, Italian opera is recognized as a social need. Meditating on the good that may befall the Venezuelan people, we believe that it is our duty to invite the Government to cooperate in some capacity for the protection of a spectacle that can provide so many benefits for the people as an agency for sociability, illustration, and good ideas, which can work entirely for the benefit of popular civilization.”

The burden of this initiative was assumed instead by “a dilettante who took the risk to undertake on his own a new series of presentations, given the discouragement of the company and its resistance to undertake any work on its own.” This was possibly the first time in Caracas that a local impresario took charge of the organization of an opera season. Thanks to Reina’s intervention, the company could remain for a few more months. Some extra presentations were held at an even more popular and therefore less expensive venue, the Teatro de la Unión.

After the company disbanded, Alessandro Galli and Luigia Busatti organized a series of about six subscription concerts, starting in March of 1844, which were publicized in the newspapers as *veladas musicales* or *soirées*. The subscription was made available at the music store Almacenes de Música de Grund y Peller. The concerts were held at the salón of Mr. Campinac, a public locale recently established at the former Palacio de Gobierno (Government Palace) on Carabobo Street to host public events. The press described it as a refined venue, “exquisitely decorated in European taste” and ornamented “with taste and elegance.” As in previous initiatives aimed at establishing a public sphere music, such as Segura’s quartet concerts, Galli and Busatti counted on the volunteer assistance of local musicians. This time, not only *aficionados* but also *profesores* participated as well, as suggested in the newspaper note,

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86 “Crónica interior-Teatro de la Ópera,” *El liberal*, 30 Jan 1844, quoted in F. Rodríguez Legendre, *Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos*, 93-94.

87 F. Rodríguez Legendre, *Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos*, 95. On the Teatro de la Unión, see J. A. Calcaño, *La ciudad y su música*, 220.

88 These concerts have been studied in F. Rodríguez Legendre, *Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos*, 95-97.

which stated that “some profesores and aficionados [...] generously cooperate[d] with their talents.”\textsuperscript{90} Among these were the aficionados Miguel Carmona, clarinetist, and José Antonio Mosquera, violinist, and the profesores Carlos Salias, violinist, Ramón Caballería, the bass of the opera company, and Julio Hohené, a German pianist recently established in Caracas, who built a formidable reputation as accomplished musician.\textsuperscript{91} A surviving program corresponding to the first concert of the subscription series lists several operatic excerpts by Gaetano Donizetti, Vincenzo Bellini, Saverio Mercadante, and Pietro Generali, interspersed with instrumental pieces. These include a \textit{Grand Septet}, by Johann Nepomuk Hummel, possibly either op. 74 or 114. The other pieces consisted of virtuosic music for various instruments, including \textit{Fantaisie et variations sur ‘Au clair de la lune,’} op. 50, for piano and orchestra by Ignaz Moschelles, with a quartet substituting for the orchestra, an \textit{Air varié} for violin and piano by Charles Auguste Bériot, and the \textit{Fantaisie concertante sur des motifs favoris de l’opéra “Norma”} by Friedrich Berr and Alexandre-Charles Fessy.\textsuperscript{92}

The music historian Fidel Rodríguez Legendre states that during this time, the local professional musician Atanasio Bello Montero offered complete operas with the aid of some of the former members of Galli’s company, and that he also organized some concerts of chamber music, featuring quartets, and duos for violin and piano.\textsuperscript{93}


\textsuperscript{91} F. Rodríguez Legendre, \textit{Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos}, 95-96. Miguel Carmona (Caracas, b. 1819; d. 17746). Birth and death dates of José Antonio Mosquera are unknown. Mosquera will be discussed below in this chapter. Little is known of the violinist Carlos Salias. R. de la Plaza, \textit{Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela}, states that Salias worked as a conductor at an opera theatre in New York. Birth and death dates of Ramón Caballería are unknown. Documents at the Archivo Archidiocesano in Caracas indicate that Caballería worked as \textit{maestro de capilla} at the Santa Capilla Metropolitana from 1848 to 1853. J. Valásquez, “Caballería, Ramón, in \textit{Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela}, I: 239-40. Julio Hohené arrived in Caracas in 1842 according to the press announcements where first music lessons. See M. Milanca Guzmán, \textit{La música venezolana: De la Colonia a la República}, 112. Hohené was Teresa Carreño’s piano teacher for a brief period in 1862 as will be discussed in Chapter 6.


\textsuperscript{93} F. Rodríguez Legendre, \textit{Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos}, 95. No primary sources have been found in support of this information.
3. The Carreños and the Social Value of Music-Making by the Mid-Nineteenth Century

The social readjustments occurred in the sphere of music in the transition from the colonial order to the Early Republic as well as the difficulties of making a living in music in spite of the negative social attitudes toward music as profession, are best represented in the career path taken by various members of the Carreño family. The Carreños were a dynasty that constituted at least six generations of musicians. Their influence in the music-making of the city since the eighteenth century has possibly been only rivaled by the Montero family, as musicologist Robert Stevenson has observed. ⁹⁴

Since the first musician of the dynasty, priest Don Ambrosio Carreño entered the Cathedral of Caracas as a singer and altar boy in 1732 at the age of eleven, the Carreños succeeded one another in several positions at the capilla musical for over a century (see Table 4.1 below). ⁹⁵ Thus, Ambrosio occupied the position of organist, later sochantre (choir director), and finally maestro de capilla. His brother, Don Alejandro Carreño, followed in his steps a few years later, taking the positions that Ambrosio left as he was promoted. A second generation is represented by Don Cayetano Carreño. He was educated by Alejandro Carreño. At the age of fifteen Cayetano Carreño obtained the position of teniente organista at the cathedral and after the death of Alejandro Carreño in 1791, he took the vacant position as maestro de capilla, which he held for forty years. This period represents a musical summit at the cathedral. ⁹⁶

⁹⁴ R. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas,” 93. The Monteros made major contributions to the musical life of Caracas during the nineteenth century. The founder of the musical dynasty was Bernabé (d. Caracas before 1848), who came from Spain to establish himself in Caracas in the eighteenth century. The lineage of the Monteros is long and many aspects have not been completely yet clarified in musical history. Among the most relevant musicians of this dynasty are Bernabé’s son José Lorenzo Montero (Caracas, d. 1857), grandson José María Montero (b. Caracas, 1782; d. Caracas, 1869), great-grand son José Ángel Montero (b. Caracas, 1839; d. Caracas, 1881), and Ramón Montero, possibly great-grand son and brother of José Ángel.

⁹⁵ Musical positions at the Cathedral of Caracas were not hereditary, as erroneously suggested in M. Milinowski, Teresa Carreño: By the Grace of God, 15. In most cases, to be employed at the capilla musical the candidate was examined, he had to present letters of recommendation, and being approved by the Ecclesiastical Council. There is abundant documentation that demonstrates the process that various members of the family Carreño underwent in order to obtain their appointments. See A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 245-58; M. Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, passim.

⁹⁶ In Spanish territories, the teniente organista was the second or assistant organist at a church. J. Saura Buil, Diccionario técnico-histórico del órgano en España, 525.
Table 4.1. Musical appointments of the members of the Carreño family in Caracas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Appointment</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1732-ca. 1739</td>
<td>Ambrosio (b. 1721, d. 1801)</td>
<td>Singer (volunteer) and altar boy (paid) at the cathedral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741-ca. 1746</td>
<td>Alejandro (b. 1736, d. 1791)</td>
<td>Singer boy (paid) at the cathedral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748-1750</td>
<td>Ambrosio</td>
<td>Sochantre(^{97}) at the cathedral. Succeeded Don Juan Ignacio Camacho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1746-1750</td>
<td>Alejandro</td>
<td>Choir chaplain at the cathedral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-ca. 1789</td>
<td>Alejandro</td>
<td>Teniente sochantre(^{98}) at the cathedral. In Dec. 1789 organized the music for the celebrations sponsored by Universidad de Caracas honoring Carlos IV of Spain at Capilla de Santa Rosa de Lima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1789</td>
<td>Ambrosio</td>
<td>Appointed maestro de capilla(^{99}) at the cathedral. Succeeded Andrés Sucre. In 1778-1789 temporarily replaced by presbyter Juan Gabriel Liendo and in 1879 by fray Nicolás Médez.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Organized the music for the festivities sponsored by Universidad de Caracas in honor of the patron saints St. Rose of Lima, St. Thomas Aquinas, and the Immaculate Conception in 1764 and 1765 at Capilla de Santa Rosa de Lima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789-1791</td>
<td>Alejandro</td>
<td>Maestro de capilla at the cathedral. Replaced by José Trinidad Espinoza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789-1793</td>
<td>Cayetano (b. 1774, d. 1836)</td>
<td>Teniente organista(^{100}) at the cathedral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792-1793</td>
<td>Cayetano</td>
<td>Professor of Music (plainchant) at Universidad de Caracas. Resigned to pursue another occupation. Succeeded José Joaquín de Robles. Replaced by Juan José Pardo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793-1796</td>
<td>Cayetano</td>
<td>Resumed position as teniente organista at the cathedral after a leave of eight and a half months.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796-1836</td>
<td>Cayetano</td>
<td>Maestro de capilla at the cathedral.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{97}\) Choir director.  
\(^{98}\) Second or assistant choir director.  
\(^{99}\) Music director.  
\(^{100}\) Second or assistant organist.
Table 4.1 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Appointment</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1796-1836 (continued)</td>
<td>Cayetano</td>
<td>Organized the music for the ceremony sponsored by Universidad de Caracas on the anniversary of the deceased university doctors in 1806-1809, 1811, 1814, 1818-1821, and 1823 at Capilla de Santa Rosa de Lima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Organized the music for the Funeral Honors of members of Universidad de Caracas in 1808 and 1820 at Capilla de Santa Rosa de Lima.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Organized the music for the ceremony of election of the president of the Universidad de Caracas, Dr. Don Pablo Antonio Romero on 22 Jan. 1817 at Capilla de Santa Rosa de Lima.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Organized the music for the celebration sponsored by Universidad de Caracas of the publication of the Constitution of Gran Colombia on 6 Jan. 1822 at Capilla de Santa Rosa.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Organized the music for the service of Good Friday (procession and hour of music at the cathedral) sponsored by Universidad de Caracas (after 1827 Universidad Central de Venezuela) in 1829-1835.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>José Ciríaco (b. 1895, d. 1814)</td>
<td>Entered the cathedral as singer boy (paid).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1805</td>
<td>José Lino (b. 1797, d. at young age)</td>
<td>Entered the cathedral as singer boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1809</td>
<td>José Cayetano (b. 1804, d. 1842)</td>
<td>Entered the cathedral as singer boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810-1813</td>
<td>José Ciríaco</td>
<td>Organist at the cathedral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Organized the music for the ceremony sponsored by Universidad de Caracas on the anniversary of the deceased university doctors in 1810 at Capilla de Santa Rosa de Lima.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Resigned his position as organist at the cathedral to join the patriotic army. Died in battle.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813-1826</td>
<td>Juan Bautista (b. 1802, d. before 1883)</td>
<td>Organist at the cathedral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1818</td>
<td>Manuel Antonio (b. 1813, d. 1874)</td>
<td>Entered the cathedral as singer boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Cayetano</td>
<td>Maestro mayor de música of Caracas. Resigned the same year given his multiple occupations and large family.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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101 Head of the guild of musicians.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Appointment</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>Juan Bautista</td>
<td>Graduated with bachelor’s in philosophy at Universidad de Caracas. Left position as organist at the cathedral to study law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826-1827</td>
<td>Manuel Antonio</td>
<td>Organist at the cathedral. Replaced Juan Bautista Carreño. Temporarily replaced by Cayetano Carreño.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>José Cayetano</td>
<td>Singer (alto) at the cathedral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Manuel Antonio</td>
<td>Resigned his position as singer (tiple) at the Cathedral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834-1836</td>
<td>Juan Bautista</td>
<td>President of the Sociedad Filarmónica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836-ca. 1839</td>
<td>Juan Bautista</td>
<td><em>Maestro de capilla</em> at the cathedral. Resigned after being appointed vice-president of Universidad Central de Venezuela (in office in 1839-1841).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836-1837</td>
<td>Manuel Antonio</td>
<td>Organized the music for the service of Good Friday (procession and hour of music at the cathedral) sponsored by Universidad Central de Venezuela).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Juan de la Cruz</td>
<td>Performer at the Sociedad Filarmónica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840-1841</td>
<td>Manuel Antonio</td>
<td><em>Maestro de capilla</em> at the cathedral. Resigned to establish the Colegio Roscio in Caracas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1841-ca. 1842</td>
<td>Juan de la Cruz</td>
<td>Appointed singer (tenor) at cathedral. Unknown dates of appointment and termination. Possibly resigned in 1842 when graduated as bachelor and licenciate in law at Universidad Central de Venezuela.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-1842</td>
<td>José Cayetano</td>
<td><em>Maestro de capilla</em> at the cathedral. Replaced by Manuel María Larrazábal (b. 1813, d. 1881). Organized the music for the service of Good Friday (procession and hour of music at the cathedral) sponsored by Universidad Central de Venezuela) in 1842.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-1852</td>
<td>José Ciríaco</td>
<td>Entered the cathedral as singer boy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of Cayetano Carreño’s male children, with the exception of José Lino, who died at a young age, received music education and were eventually involved in the music-making of the cathedral. The eldest, José Ciríaco, entered the musical chapel as a singer at the precocious

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102 M. Castillo Didier, *Cayetano Carreño*, 115. Cayetano Carreño married Doña Maria Jesús del Carmen Muñoz y Pulido on 28 Oct. 1794. Seven male children are known from the couple: Joseph [or José] Ciríaco del Carmen Carreño y Muñoz (b. Caracas, 8 Aug. 1795; d. Urica, Venezuela, 1814), José Lino de la Merced (b. Caracas, 23 Sep. 1797; d. Caracas, at young age), Juan Bautista (b. Caracas, 1 July 1802, d.
age of five. On several occasions the cathedral’s canon agreed to pay him for “his good voice and the great progress he promises.” 103 His brothers José Cayetano and Manuel Antonio also entered the *capilla musical* as *tiple* singers at that early age. It is plausible that the remaining brothers, Juan Bautista, José Lorenzo, and Juan de la Cruz, did it too. As apprentices at the *capilla musical* they must have received training in counterpoint and plainchant. Their later responsibilities at the cathedral demonstrate that they were also trained in organ and at least some of them in string playing. It is possible that they were trained in composition as well. 104 José Cayetano, Manuel Antonio, and Juan de la Cruz served for several years as singers. Also, three of Cayetano’s children occupied the position of organist at the cathedral from a young age. José Ciríaco was appointed at the age of fourteen, but three years later he resigned to join the patriotic army. 105 Juan Bautista, then eleven or twelve, replaced him and remained in the position, as José Ciríaco had died in battle. After thirteen years of service, Juan Bautista resigned his position, and Manuel Antonio, then fourteen, replaced him. 106 Archival documentation as well as various inventories of the cathedral preserve or refer to works composed by some of the children of Cayetano Carreño. The inventory of 1884 lists an undated *Lamentación* for orchestra by Manuel Antonio Carreño. 107 Also, José Peñín attributed to him an extant *Mass* in E minor for

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103 M. Castillo Didier, *Cayetano Carreño*, 73.
104 Extant documentation of the cathedral indicates that the duties of Cayetano Carreño as *maestro de capilla* included teaching polyphonic music to the choir children, plain chant to the chaplains, and to play organ to two or three of the children. M. Castillo Didier, *Cayetano Carreño*, 127.
105 Ibid., 92, 116.
106 Ibid., 116-17, 127; R. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas,” 112.
107 The piece has not survived. It was listed in the inventory of 1884, under No. 39 as “Lamentación por M. A. Carreño.” Robert Stevenson attributes the piece to Ambrosio Carreño instead but does not give reasons in this respect. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas,” 113; Castillo Didier, *Cayetano Carreño*, 77, 120. It is believed that Ambrosio Carreño composed music for the church but no evidence has survived whatsoever.
voice and organ, and an Ofertorio de Jueves Santo. In addition, several works by Juan Bautista Carreño have survived, some of them also listed in the inventories of 1877 and 1884. They include Primera Lamentación de Miércoles Santo, Los dolores de María, and Jaculatorias a Jesús crucificado, all for voice and instrumental ensemble.

Figure 4.2. Cathedral of Caracas, litograph by Henrique Neun, in Álbum de Caracas y Venezuela (Caracas: Litografía La Sociedad, 1877-1878).
Records of the cathedral corresponding to the period of tenure of the Carreños shed light on the tremendous difficulties that musicians faced to accomplish their daily duties due to the limited resources of the capilla musical as well as to the low wages received for their work. Ambrosio Carreño reportedly died in great poverty. In his will he expressed his desire to have his “funeral sung as possible and as much as it might be granted as a charity since [he] is destitute from any possessions.”

Also, Alejandro Carreño must have had difficulties in meeting his daily expenses. The extent of their neediness is illustrated in a report prepared by the Ecclesiastical Council in Caracas for the Spanish Crown in 1780, by means of which they petitioned for a raise in the salaries of the personnel of the capilla musical and the opening of other permanent positions. The document states that the compensation the musicians received was so low that “there are no people who want [these positions], nor who attend as required.” As late as 1803 Cayetano Carreño expressed to the Ecclesiastical Council the difficulties he encountered in performing the music for the services because the capilla musical had only a bajón player and three singers.

The increase in salaries was not conceded until 1804, twenty-four years after being requested. The payment for some of the positions was even doubled but the raise does not seem to have been proportional to the present costs of living. The overwhelming inflation that occurred during the first years of the nineteenth century forced the musicians working for the cathedral to request again salary raises or additional payments. In December 1811 Cayetano Carreño begged “to be granted a gratuity besides the salary of 400 pesos that I receive as maestro de capilla to bear the multitude of large and insurmountable expenses that appear with each day” because of his prolonged illness. Similarly, José Ángel Lamas petitioned the following year for an improvement of his salary, stating that he lacked “the decent clothing required to attend the services that are his

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111 Ambrosio Carreño’s testament of 1801, quoted in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 249-50, my translation.
112 Actas del Cabildo Eclesiástico xviii, Archivo de la Catedral, Caracas, quoted in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 84, my translation.
113 Actas del Cabildo Eclesiástico xxii, Archivo de la Catedral, Caracas, quoted in A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 89. The bajón, in English known as curtal or dulcian is a Renaissance woodwind instrument of double reed predecessor of the modern bassoon. Although in several places in Europe it was superseded by the bassoon it continued being used in Spain and former Spanish territories throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
114 A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 84.
obligation [...] because his salary is too small. With it he pays for the rent of the house where he lives and the left over is so small that he can barely pay for his food."116 xxxvii

By the time of Manuel Antonio’s birth in 1813, the economic situation of Cayetano Carreño’s family had worsened significantly, as Mírla Alcibíades suggests in reference to his baptismal certificate, issued in the underprivileged parish of San Pablo in Caracas.117 The family had moved from the comfortable parish of Altagracia, where the elder children had been born, to an area populated by former slaves, *pardos*, and *blancos de orilla* of humble means. To manage these conditions, musicians at the cathedral accepted commissions to organize and perform at occasional events, mostly organized by other churches and *cofradías*, for which they received extra payments. Also, selling their compositions to the church served as complement to their meager incomes. Nonetheless, these options seem not to have become acceptable until the turn of the nineteenth century. As late as 1797, soon after taking up his position as *maestro de capilla*, Cayetano Carreño, barely beginning as a composer, offered some of his works to the Ecclesiastical Council. It bought the compositions but reprimanded Carreño for what they considered insolence. He had “engaged to work on those [music] papers without consulting beforehand.”118 A more unusual palliative to the economic struggles was the undertaking of Cayetano Carreño and his brother in law, the musician Juan Francisco Meserón, of growing coffee. A contract signed in 1807 between them and Don Francisco Ascanio, count of la Granja, stipulated that they leased for nine years a terrain of fifteen *fanegas* at Las Dantas in Los Teques.119 The outcome of that business is unknown. Nonetheless it could be assumed that the turmoil of the Independence War years jeopardized it.

Earlier in his youth, Cayetano Carreño had tried to reorient his life towards a different path. In February 1793, being eighteen, he presented his resignation to the cathedral. In the document he expressed that he was “not inclined to the religious vocation and [was] seeking another occupation.”120 xxxix On the same date he also deserted his position as professor of music at the Universidad de Caracas, stating that he had the “intention of opting for an

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119 A. Calzavara, *Historia de la música en Venezuela*, 254. The *fanega* is a Spanish metric unit. Fifteen *fanegas* are roughly equivalent to thirty acres.
120 Letter of resignation of Cayetano Carreño to the post of organist, Caracas, 19 Feb. 1793, reproduced in Castillo Didier, *Cayetano Carreño*, 61, m translation.
employment different from what he had had until then.” 121 x Cayetano Carreño had won this latter position through public competition in late August. 122 Its only purpose was to prepare seminarians in plainchant. In spite of every formality and requirement, the appointment was rather deficient: the pecuniary compensation for the music instructor was meager and the course, not being mandatory, had low enrollment. Institutional documentation frequently reports on the poor attendance of the students and their failure to comply with the class schedule. 123 Details of his plans are unknown. In November of the same year, he requested that the bishop of Caracas consider him for the position he had left vacant. The report of the petition says that “he thought to take residence outside the city but [this prospect] being frustrated [...] he wants to serve again in this post.” 124 xii Cayetano Carreño resumed his appointment as teniente organista, remaining at the cathedral until his death in 1836. However, he did not persist on the course of being ordained a priest, even though he had already been tonsured. 125

It is possible that his desire for a life change, as Miguel Castillo Didier presumes, was motivated by the intention of getting married and forming a family, as he did eleven months later. 126 Yet, the actual possibilities of Cayetano Carreño for work-related betterment were very limited. In the system of castes that ruled the social life in the Colony, Cayetano Carreño had the lowest status that a white man could have: he was expósito. It means that he was born to unknown parents and abandoned at birth. The condition of expósito carried pejorative connotations because, even if the expósito was of white appearance and had legal rights comparable to other whites, the impossibility of demonstrating pureza de sangre (purity of blood) or that he was born within a legitimate marriage, at once positioned the person in a dubious social condition, barely better perceived than the one of the pardos. Both Cayetano Carreño and his brother Simón Rodríguez had been criados por piedad (raised by piety) by a

121 Provisión de la Cátedra de música I, 1774-1793, fol. 42, Archivo de la Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, quoted in M. Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, 59, my translation.
122 Other contestants were Domingo Díaz Tarife, sochantre at the Cathedral of Caracas, and Bachelor Juan José Pardo, organist for three years at San Lázaro Church. I. Leal, Historia de la Universidad de Caracas, 258-62.
123 I. Leal, Historia de la Universidad de Caracas, 258-62.
124 Provisión del oficio de Theniente Organista, 1789, Archivo Juan Bautista Plaza, Caracas, quoted in M. Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, 66, my translation.
125 The census of 1792 at Altagracia Parish in Caracas reports him as tonsured. A. Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 251.
well-off white widow, Doña Rosalia Rodríguez. \(^{127}\) At some point during their teenage years they moved to the residence of Presbyter Alejandro Carreño, who took charge of their upbringing. After the death of Alejandro Carreño in 1791, Cayetano and Simón continued living together until the latter went on exile in the mid-1790s. \(^{128}\) Cayetano did not use a last name during childhood. Only after the death of Alejandro Carreño did he adopt his last name; at the beginning with certain hesitation, using sometimes the last name Rodríguez instead. \(^{129}\) It is conceivable that given his affinity with Alejandro Carreño he finally decided for his last name while Simón preferred to be named Rodríguez on account of his closeness to his uncle, presbyter Juan Rafael Rodríguez, who was his intellectual mentor.

In spite of Simón Rodríguez’s intellectual vocation or Cayetano Carreño’s qualifications as instructor of plainchant to the university seminarians, neither of them would have been accepted as students the Universidad de Caracas if they so wished. \(^{130}\) Expósitos, even if white, were forbidden to obtain a degree at the university unless the king granted a dispensation. Even in such exceptional cases, university authorities demonstrated enormous resistance. As Idelfonso Leal points out, in 1809 the university refused to confer a bachelor’s degree in philosophy and doctoral degree in law to the expósito José Felix Blanco, on the grounds that a fifth of the expósitos were people of lower social caste whose parents abandoned them with the hope that they could gain access to the positions and employments of the white people. \(^{131}\) Therefore, the two brothers had little options besides adjusting their professional expectations to the modest living of a church musician and a school teacher.

Nineteenth-century Venezuelan history did not refer to Simón Rodríguez and his brother Cayetano Carreño’s condition as expósitos. Perhaps because of family secrecy or because of the historical relevance of Simón Rodríguez as a mentor of Simón Bolívar, as musicologist Robert Stevenson suggests, the issue remained concealed until 1916, when the historian Manuel

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\(^{127}\) Rosalía Rodríguez y Álvarez (b. Caracas, 1743; d. Santa María de Ipire, Guárico, Venezuela, 1799 or 1800). Cayetano Carreño’s certificate of confirmation, 5 June 1791, in Libro de confirmaciones de la Parroquia de San Pablo, Archivo de Juan Bautista Plaza, Caracas, cited in M. Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, 30.

\(^{128}\) M. Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, 29-30.

\(^{129}\) Ibid., 30.

\(^{130}\) The appointment of Cayetano Carreño at Universidad de Caracas was rather unusual. With exception of Presbyter Ramón Delgado, appointed in 1774, all the other instructors of the period in that position bore a university degree: Licentiate Bartolomé Bello, appointed interim professor in 1786; Bachelor José Joaquín López, appointed in 1789; Bachelor Juan José Pardo, appointed in 1793; Master Hilario Bosset, appointed in 1818. I. Leal, Historia de la Universidad de Caracas, 409.

\(^{131}\) Ibid., 322-23.
Landaeta Rosales discovered some of the vital records of the family.\footnote{Manuel Landaeta Rosales (b. Caracas, 1847, d, 1820), “El maestro del Libertador,” \textit{El universal} (Caracas), 25 May 1916, 4. R. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas,” 85.} By that time, it was commonly accepted that Cayetano Carreño was born in 1766 and Simón Rodríguez in 1771 and that both were the legitimate children of a fictitious Don Cayetano Carreño who was married to Doña Rosalía Rodríguez. Also, according to this old version, the couple had supposedly died soon after their children’s birth, so the education of the children was entrusted to their uncle, the priest Juan Rafael Rodríguez. Their different last names were explained as the result of the alleged quarrels between the two brothers, on which account Simón decided not to bear his brother’s last name anymore. This story was formulated for the first time in 1883 in Ramón de la Plaza’s \textit{Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela}. In it, the author stated that he obtained the information from José Lorenzo Carreño y Muñoz, the son of Cayetano Carreño.\footnote{R. de la Plaza, \textit{Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela}, 98-101.} In 1891, the historian Aristides Rojas repeated this version in his article “Hominimia singular,” which remained as the authoritative version pertaining the origin of Cayetano Carreño and Simón Rodríguez.\footnote{A. Rojas, “Hominimia singular,” in \textit{Historia patria: Leyendas históricas de Venezuela} (Caracas: Imprenta Patria, 1890-1891), II: 268-69.} Another version was presented by the Chilean historian Miguel Luis Amunátegui in 1896, which was largely dismissed in historical narratives until recent times. According to Amunátegui, Simón was the bastard son of the priest Alejandro Carreño. Although Amunátegui also stated that Cayetano was his brother, he did not clarify whether the children shared the same father.\footnote{M. L. Amunátegui, “Simón Rodríguez,” in \textit{Ensayos biográficos} (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1896), IV: 230-31.}

In 1916, Landaeta Rosales, working with the baptism certificate of Cayetano Carreño as well as his marriage certificate and that of Simón Rodríguez, established for the first time that both Cayetano and Simón were \textit{expósitos}. He also stated 1774 as the correct year of birth of Cayetano, affirming that he was abandoned at birth at the home of Doña Manuela de Silva, and questioning the veracity of the supposed antagonism between him and Simón. Nonetheless, being unable to locate neither Simón’s baptism certificate nor information pertaining to Rosalía Rodríguez, Landaeta Rosales erroneously concluded that Simón and Cayetano were not brothers.\footnote{The principal documents found by Manuel Landaeta Rosales concerning the identity of Cayetano Carreño and Simón Rodríguez are the following: baptism certificate of Cayetano del Carmen \textit{expósito}, \textit{Bautismos de blancos} i, fol. 94, Archivo de la Parroquia de Altugracia, Caracas; marriage
Rosales’s findings, in 1940 added additional layers of confusion to the matter concerning the lineage of the Carreño family.\footnote{M. Milinowski, \textit{Teresa Carreño: By the Grace of God}, 11-18.} Relying on Ramón de la Plaza, Milinowski reasserted the existence of the fictitious Cayetano Carreño, father of Cayetano and Simón.\footnote{Ramón de la Plaza's \textit{Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela} is listed in her bibliography. M. Milinowski, \textit{Teresa Carreño: By the Grace of God}, 401.} Moreover, Milinowski, went further as she provided him with a musical career, as music historian Miguel Castillo Didier has pointed out.\footnote{M. Castillo Didier, \textit{Cayetano Carreño}, 28.} According to Milinowski, the fictional Cayetano Carreño was a close friend of Padre Sojo and worked as \textit{maestro de capilla} at the Cathedral of Caracas, despite his supposed aristocratic roots. Cayetano’s brother, also fictional, a Juan de la Cruz Carreño, was the author of an “Elégie,” allegedly the earliest piece by a member of the Carreño family preserved in Venezuelan archives.\footnote{M. Milinowski, \textit{Teresa Carreño: By the Grace of God}, 15.} With this, Milinowski merged the identities of the fictitious Cayetano Carreño together with José Cayetano Carreño y Muñoz, the brother of Manuel Antonio, thus creating an overt anachronism. This version, which includes several other inaccuracies, has been frequently repeated in biographical accounts of Teresa Carreño written afterwards.\footnote{These inexactitudes include restating that Cayetano Carreño was born in 1766 instead of 1774, as well as establishing that he had only five children instead of nine, stating a wrong name for their mother (María Madre de Jesús instead of María de Jesús), and asserting that Manuel Antonio was the only one of the children Carreño y Muñoz who “inherited musical talent,” Ibid., 16. As stated above, all the male children of Cayetano Carreño, seven in total, received musical education and were involved in the music-making of the Cathedral of Caracas. M. Milinowski, \textit{Teresa Carreño: By the Grace of God}, 11-18.} Yet, this genealogical narrative was not original to Milinowski. She drew the information from a manuscript prepared in 1935 by the Venezuelan politician and diplomat Rafael Mirabal Ponce, which is preserved as part of TCP at Vassar College Libraries. Presumably, Mirabal Ponce prepared it upon Milinowski’s request at the time she began to work on Teresa Carreño’s biography and remained in the collection since then.\footnote{“Apuntes históricos sobre la familia Carreño,” 25 July 1835, typed manuscript, Series II, Folder 7.7, TCP.}

Cayetano Carreño’s condition as \textit{expósito} entered music history’s narrative in 1958 when José Antonio Calcaño corroborated that he was born in 1744 and demonstrated that Rosalía Rodríguez was not fictional. In accordance with the documentation pertaining to his certificate of Simón Rodríguez and María de los Santos Ronco, 25 June 1793, \textit{Matrimonios de blancos} i, fol. 11, Archivo de la Parroquia de Altgracia, Caracas, and \textit{Proclamas de matrimonio} iv (1792-1798), fol. 20, Archivo de la Catedral de Caracas; marriage certificate of Cayetano Carreño and María de Jesús Muñoz, \textit{Matrimonios de blancos} i (1790-1805), fol. 19, Archivo de la parroquia de Altgracia, Caracas. M. Landaeta Rosales, “El maestro del Libertador,” 4.
appointment as *maestro de capilla* of the Cathedral de Caracas, she took charge of Cayetano’s upbringing sometime after the child was abandoned.\(^{143}\) On the other hand, in 1980, the Venezuelan intellectual Arturo Uslar Pietri, working with a recently-found certificate of baptism presumably corresponding to Simón Rodríguez, showed that he was also *expósito* and that he was born in 1769, instead of 1771 as formerly believed. In addition to this, Uslar Pietri conjectured that Simón could have been the child of the woman whose identity was obscured for personal reasons. Uslar Pietri proposed that sometime after the certificate was issued, an interested party deleted the name of the parents and changed the child’s condition to the one of *expósito*. He grounded this explanation on the fact that several words in the certificate were crossed out and that the word *expósito* was added on a note on the margin.\(^{144}\)

Some scholars have taken Uslar Pietri’s interpretation as maintaining the provocative assumption that both Cayetano and Simón were in actuality the biological children of Rosalía Rodríguez with the Presbyter Alejandro Carreño.\(^{145}\) This would explain the interest in hiding the name of the parents that Uslar Pietri suggested. Accordingly, Alejandro Carreño and Rosalía Rodríguez may have opted for presenting the two children as *expósitos* in order to avoid social humiliation, given the vows of celibacy of Alejandro Carreño as a Catholic priest and therefore the unmarried status of the couple. Provided that this was the true origin of the children, the children would have been considered *espurios* (spurious children), i.e. children born outside marriage, which was a greatly scornful condition in colonial Venezuela.\(^{146}\) The thorough archival research carried out by the music historians Alberto Calzavara and Miguel Castillo Didier in the 1980s-90s substantiate much of that assumption. Both Calzavara and Castillo Didier have

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\(^{143}\) J. A. Calcaño, *La ciudad y su música* (2001), 139. The documentation pertaining Cayetano Carreño’s appointment as *maestro de capilla* at the Cathedral of Caracas is preserved at the Archivo Arquidiocesano in Caracas.

\(^{144}\) Baptism certificate of Simón Narciso expósito, Bautismos de Blancos ii (1767-1790), fol. 29, Archivo de la Parroquia de Candelaria, Caracas, reproduced in facsimile in A. Uslar Pietri, “El misterioso nacimiento de Simón Rodríguez,” *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* (Caracas) 63, No. 249 (1980): 3-6. The document was located by researchers of the Fundación John Boulton in Caracas under the direction of Manuel Pérez Vila.

\(^{145}\) For example, the musicologist Robert Stevenson in 1979, a year before Uslar Pietri’s article, had already accepted Luis Amunátegui’s version. According to Stevenson Ramón de la Plaza deliberately created a mythical father for Cayetano Carreño and Simón Rodríguez with the purpose to conceal the fact that they were the natural children of the priest Alejandro Carreño. R. Stevenson, “La música en la Catedral de Caracas,” 85.

\(^{146}\) On the terminology used in colonial Hispanic America for natural, abandoned and legitimate children, see A. Grajales, “Criaturas bien nacidas aunque mal habidas y bien habidas aunque mal nutridas,” 7.
demonstrated with information obtained from censuses in Caracas and other documents that the children Simón and Cayetano were raised by Rosalia Rodríguez, as they lived with her since 1774-1775, and that sometime later, since at least 1790, their custody passed to Alejandro Carreño, with whom they lived until his death on the following year. Yet, as reasonable as this interpretation may be, it is not conclusive evidence of the biological nexus among all of them. The baptism certificates corresponding to the children Cayetano and Simón, which remain as the main documentation for this case, registered them as expósitos and not as espurios. Nonetheless, it is irrefutable that Rosalía Rodriguez and Alejandro Carreño were, at least, their foster parents.

In any case, notwithstanding Cayetano Carreño’s social position, his children did not have the insurmountable restrictions that he faced. When the Republic was established they began to desert their positions at the cathedral in order to pursue other professional interests. The possibilities of social mobility that brought the new social order, with a wider access to university education and to the public administration, proved to be an attractive option for them, compared to the humble livelihood of a church musician. Also, the power of the church was substantially weakened, which contributed to a different perspective on the value of being affiliated with it.

Juan Bautista Carreño left the cathedral in 1826 to study at the university. In 1832 he obtained the degree of Licentiate in Law. Nonetheless, passing from a salaried position to a liberal profession during the trying times of the post-war years must have not been a straightforward path. Immediately after the death of Cayetano Carreño in 1836, Juan Bautista returned to the cathedral and replaced his father as maestro de capilla. In the interim he had not been inactive as musician since, as stated above, he was a member of the Sociedad Filarmónica and for a time served it as its president. Yet, it is unlikely that he made a living with this position. Even though Juan Bautista resumed working at the cathedral, he did not abandon his law practice; his musical duties as maestro de capilla were complementary to his

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147 A. Calzavara, *Historia de la música en Venezuela*, 250-51; M. Castillo Didier, *Cayetano Carreño*, 26-30. The principal documents found by Alberto Calzavara and Miguel Castillo Didier concerning the identity of Cayetano Carreño and Simón Rodríguez are the following: Matrícula de feligreses (1774), fol. 337v; Matrícula de feligreses (1775), fol. 367r (nuevo); Matrícula de feligreses (1776), fol. 386v; Matrícula de feligreses (1790), fol. 590r (nuevo), all of them at Archivo de la Parroquia de Altagracia in Caracas.

professional career as a lawyer. About three years later Juan Bautista Carreño finally left the capilla musical to occupy the vice-presidency of the Universidad Central de Venezuela. 

Manuel Antonio took the vacant post as maestro de capilla. But in June 1841, after two years of service, he also decided to leave the cathedral. He had personal reasons to be disappointed by the ingratitude of the church authorities towards the musicians. In 1826, when Juan Bautista deserted his position as teniente organista, Manuel Antonio, given the urgency, replaced him even though he had not yet obtained the corresponding approval. The Cabildo Eclesiástico (Ecclesiastical Council) accepted him reluctantly and ordered his father to “rehearse individually and instructed him to play with devotion, piety and graveness, as is appropriate at church cathedrals.” The following year the Council dismissed him and ordered Cayetano Carreño to “perform the organ himself.” Later, in February 1832, Manuel Antonio, together with other musicians, complained about not receiving his salary on time, and ten months later he resigned from his position as triple. Teresa Carreño in her adulthood attributed to “family pride” her father’s decision to turn away from a career in music even though he was a “fine musician.” Accordingly, he forsook the prospect of a career in music for a more fitting occupation: politics. This episode confirms the little appreciation for the profession of music that pervaded common thought in Caracas at that time. At the same time, it points to the growing prestige of intellectual activity and politics. The belief in their potential for

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149 Juan Bautista participated as defense attorney in the case of Maria Antonia Bolivar y Palacios (Caracas, b. 1777; d. 1842) against José Ignacio Padrón Higuera held from September to October, 1836. This case has been subject of scholarly study given the historical relevance of Maria Antonia as the sister or Simón Bolivar, and also because of its peculiarity. María Antonia Bolivar, a wealthy mantuana, sued Padrón, a humble pardo aged twenty-two of stealing from her the enormous amount of 10,000 pesos. Padrón won the case after Juan Bautista Carreño demonstrated that the allegation was false. In truth María Antonia Bolivar had been motivated by revenge as Padrón terminated the intimate relationship they maintained secretly for about a year. Bolivar appealed in 1838 before the Supreme Court but lost the case again. I. Quintero, El fabricante de peinetas, passim.

150 Juan Bautista Carreño’s tenure as vice-president of Universidad Central de Venezuela spanned from 1839 to 1841. Dirección General de Estadística, Memoria al Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, xxvi-xxvii.

151 Actas del Cabildo Eclesiástico xxvii, fol. 127, cited in M. Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, 120.


153 Actas del Cabildo Eclesiástico xxvii, fol. 90, quoted in Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, 127, my translation.


156 Ibid.
social ascent becomes manifest when observing that in spite of the enormous differences of class that separated Manuel Antonio from his wife-to-be, Clorinda García de Sena, they married in May 1840. 157

Clorinda García de Sena was a mantuana. She was a direct descendent of the aristocratic lineage of the marquises Rodríguez del Toro, possibly the most prestigious family in Colonial Venezuela. 158 (See Figure 4.3 below.) In 1732 Felipe V conceded the peerage title to Bernardo Rodríguez del Toro, original from the Canary Islands, being known afterwards as marquis of Toro. His son, Francisco de Paula Rodríguez del Toro e Istúriz, marquis of Toro II, was the great-grand father of Clorinda. Other illustrious relatives were Clorinda’s grand uncle, Sebastián Rodríguez del Toro, marquis of Toro III, undoubtedly the wealthiest man in colonial Venezuela, and her second cousins Francisco José Rodríguez del Toro, the famous marquis of Toro IV, a frontline participant in the political life of Venezuela, during the late colonial period as well during the Early Republic, and María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro y Alaiza, the wife of Simón Bolívar. 159 Clorinda’s paternal side also held considerable prestige. Her father, Colonel Ramón García de Sena, was involved in the independence movement. The Junta Suprema de Caracas of 1810, the insurrectionist government that led to the establishment of the First Republic, appointed him secretary of army, making him second in command after Fernando Rodríguez del

157 Clorinda García de Sena y Rodríguez del Toro (b. ca. 1813; d. Paris, 1866). The wedding was held on 17 May 1840 in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela. According to the marriage certificate Manuel Antonio Carreño did not attend the ceremony. The marriage was ratified three days later at the same place, in this occasion with Manuel Antonio present. Matrimonios iii, Parroquia de San José, Puerto Cabello, transcribed in M. Milanca Guzmán, Aguas de adiós y reencuentros, 4.

158 The ensuing discussion of the Rodríguez del Toro lineage, as well as the content of Figure 4.3 only includes the members of the family that are directly related to Teresa Carreño. The sources include C. Iturriza Guillén, Algunas familias caraqueñas, II: 827-64; M. Milanca Guzmán, “Teresa Carreño: Cronología y manuscritos;” R. Nieto Cortadellas, “Ascendencia y descendencia de Don Bernardo Rodríguez del Toro;” I. Quintero, El último marqués, 30-1; F. Toro Hardy, Tradición y emancipación. The date of death of Teresa’s brother, Manuel Antonio is in the obituary that appeared in Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 31 May 1916.

159 On the wealth and political influence of the Rodríguez del Toro in Venezuela, see I. Quintero, El último marqués, passim. Milinowski’s account of Clorinda’s lineage, which has been echoed in several other sources, is for the most part mistaken. Clorinda was not the niece of Simón Bolívar, but the second cousin of his wife. Neither she was the niece of marquis of Toro IV, but his second cousin. Cfr. M. Milinowski, Teresa Carreño, 18. The line of descent is as follows: Clorinda García de Sena y Rodríguez del Toro was the daughter of Gertrudis Rodríguez del Toro y Loreto de Silva (b. ca. 1789). Gertrudis’ father, Miguel Rodríguez del Toro y Ascanio (b. 1743) was the son of Francisco de Paula, marquis of Toro II. Another son of Francisco de Paula was Sebastián, marquis of Toro III, who in turn was the father of Francisco, marquis of Toro IV. Bernardo Nicolás Rodríguez del Toro y Ascanio (b. 1740), also a son of Francisco de Paula, was the father of María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro, Simón Bolívar’s wife.
Toro. He died as a military hero at the Battle of La Puerta on 15 June 1814, which decided the collapse of the Second Republic in 1814. He was also known in educated circles as a poet.  

Similar to his brother, Manuel Antonio combined his duties as maestro de capilla with other occupations. By the time of his marriage to Clorinda, Manuel Antonio Carreño had already started to build a career as intellectual and educator. In 1839, he entered the newly founded Colegio de la Paz as faculty member responsible for teaching Spanish grammar. Around the same time he initiated activities as a writer for the weekly journal Correo de Caracas. His departure from the cathedral in June 1841 was aimed at focusing on his new project, the establishment of a private school, Colegio Roscio. It opened in September that year with an enrollment of seventeen students and rapidly earned a reputation among the options for private schooling in the city. It offered classes in reading, grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, drawing, accounting, geography, history, civics English, French, Latin and music. Also, as most men of letters in Caracas at that time did, Manuel Antonio became involved in public affairs. Earlier that year he had been admitted to the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, which positioned him in the group of the notables, the core of Caracas public opinion. He had been working in a bureaucratic position at the Secretaría de Hacienda as Jefe de Sección, which ended at the time he also left the cathedral. At the end of 1841 he was elected a representative of the Diputación Provincial de Caracas, and remained in this function for three years. Manuel Antonio did not undertake university studies; however, throughout his life he demonstrated an ample humanistic culture, surely self-taught, along with a practical sense for finances and administration, and a sincere commitment to education, whether in the area of general instruction, civic culture, or music.

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160 Ramón García de Sena y Silva (b. La Victoria, Aragua, Venezuela, 31 Oct. 1790; d. La Puerta, 15 June 1814). J. F. Blanco, ed., “Acuerdo de la Suprema Junta de Carácas organizando el nuevo gobierno de Venezuela,” in Documentos para la vida pública del Libertador de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia (Caracas: Imprenta de la Opinión Nacional, 1875-1888), II: 406-07; J. Gil Fortoul, Historia constitucional de Venezuela Berlin: Carl Heymann, 1907-1909), I: 121. According to Carlos Iturriza Guillén, Ramón García del Sena was the second husband of Gertrudis Rodríguez del Toro. In 1807 she had married José María de Muñoz y Herrera but after receiving the mistaken news that he had died in battle, and believing herself a widow, she married for the second time. When her first husband returned from war, she separated from him and her second husband as well. Clorinda is the only child known to Gertrudis and García de Sena. Iturriza Guillén, Algunas familias de Caracas, II: 820.
Figure 4.3. Rodríguez del Toro’s lineage of Teresa Carreño.

Bernardo Rodríguez del Toro (b. 1675, d. 1742), marquis of Toro I
Spouse: Paula Graciosa de Istúriz y Ezquier de la Guerra (b. 1693)

Francisco de Paula Rodríguez del Toro e Istúriz (b. 1713, d. 1753), marquis of Toro II
Spouse: María Teresa de Ascanio y Sarmiento de Herrera

1) Sebastián José Antonio Rodríguez del Toro y Ascanio (b. 1739, d. 1787), marquis of Toro III
Spouse: Brígida Martina de Ibarra e Ibarra

1) José Francisco José Rodríguez del Toro e Ibarra (b. 1761, d. 1851), marquis of Toro IV
Spouse: María del Socorro de Berroterán y Gedler

2) Bernardo Rodríguez del Toro e Ibarra (b. 1773)
Spouse: Melchora Ana Rodríguez del Toro y González de Párraga (d. 1850)

Rosa Rodríguez del Toro y del Toro
Spouse: Anacleto de Clemente y Bolívar

3) Ana Teresa Rodríguez del Toro e Ibarra (b. 1766, d. 1839)
Spouse: Vicente Isidro de Ibarra y Galindo

1) Andrés Ibarra y Rodríguez del Toro (b. 1807, d. 1875)
Spouse: Anastasia Urbaneja y Álvarez Barba

1) Ana Teresa Ibarra y Urbaneja (b. 1847)
Spouse: Antonio Guzmán Blanco (b. 1829; d. 1899)

3) María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro e Ibarra
Spouse: Martín Eugenio de Herrera y Rada

1) María del Rosario de Herrera y Rodríguez del Toro
Spouse: Juan José Rodríguez del Toro y Loreto de Silva

2) Bernardo Nicolás Rodríguez del Toro y Ascanio (b. 1740)
Spouse: Benita de Alaiza y Medrano

1) María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro y Alaiza (b. 1781, d. 1803)
Spouse: Simón de Bolívar y Palacios (b. 1783, d. 1830)

3) Miguel Rodríguez del Toro y Ascanio (b. 1743)
Spouse: María de la Soledad Loreto de Silva y Aguado de Páramo (d. 1789)

1) Juan José Rodríguez del Toro y Loreto de Silva
Spouse: María del Rosario de Herrera y Rodríguez del Toro

2) Gertrudis Rodríguez del Toro y Loreto de Silva (b. ca. 1789)
Spouse (1): José María de Muñoz y Herrera
Spouse (2): Ramón García de Sena y Silva (b. 1790, d. 1814)

Clorinda García de Sena y Rodríguez del Toro (b. ca. 1813, d. 1866)
Spouse: Manuel Antonio Carreño y Muñoz (b. 1813, d. 1874)

María Emilia Carreño y García de Sena (b. 1841)
María Teresa Carreño y García de Sena (b. 1853, d. 1917)
Manuel Antonio Carreño y García de Sena (b. 1856, d. 1916)
In 1842, a year after Manuel Antonio’s resignation from the *capilla musical*, Juan de la Cruz graduated as bachelor and licentiate in law. Presumably, Juan de la Cruz left his position as a singer around this time.\(^{161}\) José Lorenzo, for his part, took the path of a bureaucratic career at the Secretaría de Hacienda.\(^{162}\) Finally, José Cayetano, apparently the last member of the family at the *capilla musical*, succeeded Manuel Antonio as *maestro de capilla*. José Cayetano’s death in 1842 brought to end the long and remarkable musical tenure of the Carreños at the Cathedral of Caracas.\(^{163}\)

### 4. Collapse of the Political Consensus and the Decay of Public Concert Life

By 1848 the basic political consensus that had joined together landowners, intellectuals, bureaucrats, merchants, and military men in the liberal project finally crumbled, and with it the possibilities of continuing the path of the collaborative building of the nation. The fragile peace that had emerged from the alliance between Páez and the *notables* gave way to hostile political confrontation and the fight for power among *caudillos*.\(^{164}\)

#### 4.1. The End of the Republic of Notables

From the foundation of the nation in 1830, the country had been under the command of Páez and his partisans.\(^{165}\) In 1840 a group of dissenters founded the Liberal Party and began an unyielding attack on Páez and his followers through the newly founded weekly newspaper *El venezolano*. Its owner, Antonio Leocadio Guzmán, became the spokesman for the decline of

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\(^{161}\) Estados Unidos de Venezuela, *Anales de la Universidad Central de Venezuela*, Year II, Vol. 2, No. 1, 765. Records of the cathedral mention Juan de la Cruz as a member of the *capilla musical* in 1841 in the position of singer. M. Castillo Didier, *Cayetano Carreño*, 116. However, the dates of appointment and resignation are unknown.

\(^{162}\) Little is known about Lorenzo Carreño’s whereabouts. Ramón de la Plaza refers that Lorenzo as well as José Cayetano worked in the area of public finances. There is evidence that in October 1860 Lorenzo held a position at the Tribunal de Cuentas (Court of Auditors) in the Secretaría de Hacienda (Department of Finance) in Caracas. R. de la Plaza, *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela*, 101; *Historia de las finanzas públicas en Venezuela*, XIII: 405-06.

\(^{163}\) *Actas del Cabildo Eclesiástico* xxx, fol. 127, cited in M. Castillo Didier, *Cayetano Carreño*, 143. Castillo Didier also mentions a certain José Ciríaco Carreño (b. ca. 1846), apparently a grandson of Cayetano who served as boy singer in 1851-1853; pp. 76. There is no information that he followed a musical career.

\(^{164}\) I am following Elías Pino Iturrieta’s interpretation in *Las ideas de los primeros venezolanos*, according to which the period that began in 1830, characterized by the intellectual lead of the educated elite or the *notables*, ended in the mid-1840s.

\(^{165}\) Páez served as president twice. He was elected for the terms of 1831-1835 and 1839-1843. Other presidents during the period, José María Vargas (1835-1836), Andrés Narvarte (1836-1837, interim), José María Carreño (1837, interim) and Carlos Soublette (1837-1839 and 1843-1847) were *paecists*. 

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paecism and the redistribution of power. The opposition identified Páez’s group as the godos or “oligarchs” while they claimed to be real conveyors of political liberalism. In actuality both continued ascribing to liberal principles in spite of the different interpretations that each group gave to the liberal project, as several scholars have observed. In addition, in the post-war years some regional caudillos had been challenging Páez’s authority. Páez had managed to suffocate the military rebellions. However, a turning point was the popular riots that occurred in several areas of the country late in 1846 on the threshold of the presidential elections.

Earlier in the year rumors spread that under the presidency of Antonio Leocadio Guzmán, the goods and lands of the rich would be distributed among the poor, the slaves would be given freedom, the banks’ money would be distributed to the people, and national and municipal taxes would be over. Paecists accused Guzmán of agitating the mobs through the pages of his newspaper El venezolano. Juan Vicente González, a notable letrado of humble origins and champion of the paecist cause, vociferated from his newspaper Diario de la tarde: “They have invited all their men to take arms and they have offered our heads. [They have been told that] the head of the current President should roll over stained in blood; that on the streets, in homes and everywhere they should kill us for being their enemies; they have been told they are the owners of our properties; they have been taught to despise authority, to hate the government, to call freedom what is unruliness and licentiousness.”

Manuel Antonio Carreño joined the opposition to Guzmán. He and his countryman Pedro Pablo Díaz, a former member of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, were designated to preside over a political society created on 25 June 1846 by “people of order that condemn the excess of the anarchist party.” The group of about one hundred would include a permanent committee of twelve notables. Former President José María Vargas and future President Manuel Felipe de Tovar were part of it. A newspaper note states about the Society:

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166 Antonio Leocadio Guzmán (Caracas, b. 1801; d. 1884).
167 Their differences dwelt mainly on the role that the state should have had as the regulator of the economy. The paecist party defended the laissez-faire approach in the management of economics while the Liberal Party looked for a state-controlled legislation. On the other hand, the Liberal Party worked, even if by demagogical means, on channeling the popular discontent existing in the country as a result of the social inequalities inherited from the Colony. See E. Plaza, “El Liberalismo político en Venezuela,” 214-16; L. Raynero, La noción de libertad en los políticos venezolanos del siglo XIX, 133-35; D. B. Urbaneja, La idea política de Venezuela, 28-30, 65; R. Arráiz Lucca, Venezuela, 27.
168 J. A. Páez, Autobiografía (New York: Imprenta de Hallet y Breen, 1869), II: 406.
The only purpose of the association is to exert the greatest influence on the elections at the Canton [of Caracas] without excluding any party or candidate but only the one that cannot be the candidate of patriotic men of good judgment, and the anarchist party, which cannot be called a party because it is a confusing mix of evil and ambitious men, some of them hallucinating, with no principles and with no political faith other than their own advance and the demoralization of the Republic.170 xlv

Páez’s partisans perceived the possible ascent of Guzmán and his followers to power as the imminent dissolution of the social order and the institutions of the nation. The protest was eventually quelled but at the rate of persecution and imprisonment of the leaders of the Liberal Party.171 Juan Vicente González stated: “Woe! If we allow the guzmancist ensign to rise up again, and the press to serve as vehicle of their interests, he would be supported by all passions and crimes, he would triumph with the collapse of society. It would be a flag of such power that it would embrace discord, would discourage the citizens, and would bring our loss. It is hard to confess that after the slightest inattention confusion and chaos will abide among us.”172 xlv

Paézists decided to support the candidature of General Jose Tadeo Monagas, not one of Paez’s men but a regional caudillo of great influence in the eastern area of the country who had challenged Páez in the past few years.173 Paéz considered that this political maneuver would diminish the possibilities of Guzmán’s ascent to power as well as the possibilities of an eventual social explosion while still retaining his influence in the government through his position as Chief of the National Army. Monagas was elected president in January 1847. His appointment did not bring the political conciliation that the paézists expected. Soon after taking office, Monagas dismissed Páez from the Army, amnestied political prisoners of the Liberal Party, and established alliances with its leaders, bringing them to his government. In March 1847, Guzmán was sentenced to death. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, which requested the Executive to commute the penalty to expatriation for life. Guzmán left the country, but in 1849 Monagas pardoned him and brought him to Venezuela as appointed minister of internal affairs and justice and later that year, vice-president.174

170 “Crónica eleccionaria,” La época (Caracas), 28 June 1846, my translation.
171 J. L. Arellano Moreno, Breve historia de Venezuela, 280-81.
173 José Tadeo Monagas (b. Maturín, Venezuela, 1784; d. Caracas, 1868).
The political positions radicalized even more after a bloody episode at the National Congress on 24 January 1848, which resulted in Monagas’ dissolution of the autonomy of the Congress, which afterwards was controlled by the Executive. The events were triggered by the false rumor that the minister of state and justice Martín Sanabria had been murdered by representatives of the Conservative Party during a session in the Congress in which the paecists, then the majority, began impeachment proceedings against President Monagas on the grounds of violations of the law. The Congress guardians shouted at pro-Liberal party mobs stationed at the gates as they attempted to enter the House. Uncontrolled violence was unleashed inside and outside the building, resulting in several wounded and deaths. The state of affairs was aggravated by the important recession that had occurred in the previous years, which resulted from the international crises of overproduction. Prices of Venezuela exportation products, including cocoa, lather, tobacco, and coffee, sharply declined due to lesser demand, with disastrous consequences for the Venezuelan economy. The annual report of the Province of Caracas in the Chamber of Representatives in 1847 referred to a “painful picture” with “a progressive decline in agriculture, smothering in other industries, starvation in commerce […], distrust of businessmen and capitalists, a discouraged and agitated disposition, [and] a society in commotion and turmoil.” Paéz took up arms against Monagas for a “restorative revolution” but he was defeated at Los Araguatos in March 1848 and his large estate was confiscated. Páez escaped to the nearby island of Curacao in order to prepare for the second time an armed insurrection. He entered Venezuela with six hundred men but was defeated again and sent to prison. In April 1850, impoverished and humiliated, he left the country, as his death penalty was commuted to expatriation. He took up residence in New York sometime later.

4.2. Political Hostilities Against the Carreños

The period of deliberation of the notables had come to an end, as Elías Pino Iturrieta remarks. José Tadeo Monagas and his brother José Gregorio alternated the Presidency of Venezuela for a decade. During this period, known in historical narratives as the monagato,
public opinion moderated its tone when it did not become political propaganda.\textsuperscript{177} The brilliant \textit{letrado} Cecilio Acosta avoided politics altogether, taking refuge in scholarship, while Fermín Toro stood up as the paradigm of the incorruptible public man: “Go and tell Gen. Monagas that my corpse can be taken to prison but Fermín Toro won’t prostitute himself.”\textsuperscript{178} Several others who overtly refused to bow to Monagas’ authoritarianism were ostracized from politics. This was the case of Juan Vicente González and the Carreño brothers Manuel Antonio, Juan Bautista and Juan de la Cruz; all of them Páez’s partisans who withdrew their support for José Tadeo Monagas as he gave clear signs of allying with guzmancists.

On 17 November 1848, José Tadeo Monagas declared the vacancy at the Universidad Central de Venezuela of the professor positions hitherto occupied by Juan Bautista Carreño in public law and Juan Vicente González in Spanish grammar, along with Francisco Díaz and the priest José Manuel Alegría, also disaffected with the government. This action was a direct interference of the Executive in the internal matters of the university and violated the dispositions of the code of public instruction, which established the authority of the Academic Tribunal to judge and penalize university personnel.\textsuperscript{179} The reason given for the removal of these professors was the abandonment of their chairs. However, the motive was clearly political, as stated in the postscript of the announcement: ‘It is possible that a liberal and generous thought, the thought of the nineteenth century, is going to dominate the academia, where the old and corrupt oligarchy has been muddying the clear sources of knowledge and preparing backward and anti-republican magistrates.”\textsuperscript{180}

In actuality the political hostility against Juan Bautista Carreño began some years before Monagas took power; it was conducted by guzmancists, if not by Guzmán himself. In 1844 the newspaper \textit{El trabuco}, affiliated with the publisher of Guzmán’s \textit{El venezolano}, carried out a smear campaign against Juan Bautista Carreño. An anonymous writer commented in a number of December: “It has been said that he is afraid that so many young men graduating now will overshadow and obliterate him at once, as if he were not already.”\textsuperscript{181} This enmity towards Juan

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\textsuperscript{177} José Tadeo Monagas was in office in 1847-1851 and 1855-58 while José Gregorio Monagas (b. Aragua de Barcelona, Venezuela, 1785; d. Maracaibo, Venezuela, 1858) was in office in the time in between, in 1851-1855.


\textsuperscript{179} R. Fernández Heres, \textit{La educación venezolana bajo el signo de la Ilustración}, 427.

\textsuperscript{180} “Universidad Central,” \textit{El faro} (Caracas), 17 Nov. 1848, 1, my translation. See also J. Gil Fortoul, \textit{Historia constitucional de Venezuela}, II: 282-83.

\textsuperscript{181} “Las Gracias de San José,” \textit{El trabuco} (Caracas), 19 Dec. 1844, 4, my translation.
Bautista Carreño resurfaced during Guzmán’s trial for his involvement in the riots of 1846. Acting as fiscal interino (interim prosecutor) at the Supreme Court, Juan Bautista Carreño had obtained evidence of Guzmán’s liability from testimonies of a case he was overseeing, which was used to substantiate the verdict given by the court that heard the case. Again, Carreño was involved as a judge in the case when it was appealed at the Supreme Court. Guzmán’s lawyer, Rufino González, requested his removal from the case on the grounds that he had already taken part in it. However, this request was denied.  

On November 1848, José Tadeo Monagas finally removed him from the Supreme Court; the same day he declared the vacancy of his position at the University.  

It is possible that Juan de la Cruz Carreño had also been subject to political pressure around the same time as his brother Juan Bautista. From at least 1846 he was appointed Judge of First Instance for the Province of Caracas. However, in October 1848 the newspapers announced his services in private practice as a lawyer in an office in Caracas. Later, he went to Curacao to participate in Páez’s rebellion against Monagas’ government in mid-1849. In August of the following year he left Venezuela, joining the group of pacecist exiles in New York. After about a year and a half of making a living as an English teacher and as author of a successful learning manual of English for Spanish-speakers published by D. Appleton and Co., Juan de la Cruz Carreño came back to Caracas.

Manuel Antonio Carreño had also left the governmental sphere. In 1847 he had served at the Congress as member of the Cámara de Representantes (Chamber of Representatives) for the Province of Caracas together with other well-known pacecists including Fermín Toro and Juan 

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183 “Vacante,” El faro (Caracas), 17 Nov. 1848, 1.
184 “Crónica Interior: Diputación Provincial,” La prensa (Caracas), 7 Nov. 1846, 3.
188 Ramón Palenzuela and Juan de la Cruz Carreño, Método para aprender a leer, escribir y hablar el inglés según el sistema de Ollendorf (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1851). The manual was widely advertised in New York and Boston newspapers and was reprinted several times between 1851 and 1909. The authors were identified in the advertising notes as language teachers from New York. Boston Daily Atlas, 13 Nov. 1851, and following days; New York Daily Times, 15 Nov. 1851, and following days.
Vicente González. In the following year he left to occupy a high ranked position at the General Administrator of the Caja de Ahorros (Treasury office). There is no evidence however that he remained in this position afterwards. He turned instead to educational and intellectual activity. From 1849 Manuel Antonio Carreño worked in collaboration with Manuel María Urbaneja in the translation of various textbooks: a method and a book of exercises for the study of Latin by Burnof and Vérien, respectively, and a Catholic catechism by the Abbé Therou. Around 1851, he established his own printing house, the Imprenta de Manuel Antonio Carreño. At that time the family moved to Cabudare, a town in the central-west region of the country. Manuel Antonio Carreño began then to make a living as a merchant, presumably with a retail store of his own. Upon his arrival from New York in early 1852, Juan de la Cruz entered into association with Manuel Antonio, thus taking care of the printing business in Caracas, afterwards called Imprenta de Carreño Hermanos. As a consequence of personal problems in Cabudare, Manuel Antonio Carreño also returned to Caracas. A false accusation against him had sent him to prison for about a month in mid-1852. According to his testimony published afterwards, he fell victim to a ruse and an unfair trial. He was set free after his lawyer demonstrated viciousness in the legal process.

Manuel Antonio Carreño continued doing intellectual activity while Carreño Hermanos grew into a book store of its own printed and imported books, and eventually also sold other imports, including office articles, jewelry, clothing, shoes, and toys. In December 1852,

189 “Miembros del Congreso en 1847,” La prensa (Caracas), 20 Jan. 1847, 3.
190 M. Alcibiades, Manuel Antonio Carreño, 53.
191 Mirla Alcibiades has suggested that Manuel Antonio Carreño supported Monagas’ government at least until August 1848. She bases her reasoning on the announcements of Carreño in July and August 1848 advertising his educational institution in the newspaper El republicano, owned by Blás Bruzal, (b. Cumaná or Barcelona, Venezuela, 1808; d. New York, 1882) a partisan of Monagas. Alcibiades, Manuel Antonio Carreño, 60-61. It is clear that he did not withdraw his support after the events at the Congress in January 1848. However, it is plausible that he did it later that year when his brother Juan Bautista Carreño was persecuted by the government.
193 M. Alcibiades, Manuel Antonio Carreño, 66.
195 “Aviso importante,” Diario de avisos, 8 Aug. 1855, 1.
Manuel Antonio and Juan de la Cruz’s newspaper, the Correo de Caracas announced that he had been granted the privilege to publish his Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras para uso de la juventud de ambos sexos. The text appeared first in installments of twenty-four pages each starting on December 15, 1852, and the first edition as a book in the following year. Both prints, the installment edition and the first edition in the book format, were prepared at Imprenta de Carreño Hermanos. It soon became the best-known text on civility and good manners in the realm of Spanish language readers. The impact of this book can hardly be exaggerated. It was immediately published in New York and Spain and became available in nearly every important city in Latin America. A press announcement of February 1855 flaunted “the extraordinary acceptance that the manual had been granted in Venezuela, Spain, Puerto Rico, Havana, and the North American United States, and even having been reprinted in Madrid and New York.”

A month later the Senate and Chamber of Representatives in Caracas promulgated a decree establishing a mandatory course in urbanity and good manners in all the universities and schools in Venezuela, exclusively based on Carreño’s Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, to be taught daily for one hour for the span of a year. The book has been reissued in innumerable editions since, from South to North America and to several countries in Europe. Indeed, it is still today a major cultural reference in Latin America and Spain, where is popularly known as “the Carreño.”

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196 The dates and circumstances of both the publication in installments and the date of publication of the first edition of Carreño’s Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras as well as the first edition of the book have been subject of controversy in scholarly literature. Nonetheless, Emiro Puchi Albornoz’s shed light on the issue with the citation of the announcement of the upcoming publication of installments (Correo de Caracas, 4 Dec. 1852) and the reproduction of the cover page of the book edition of the book in the following year (Caracas: Imprenta de Carreño Hermanos, 1853). A copy of the first edition was held at the library of the Academia Nacional de la Historia in Caracas at the moment that Puchi Albornoz prepared his writing. See Puchi Albornoz, “Manuel Antonio Carreño,” 22, 30. Puchi Albornoz’s dating of the first editions of Carreño’s Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras coincides the findings presented in the recent study of Natalia López Rico, “Los orígenes de un best seller: Publicación, circulación y recepción de la Urbanidad de Carreño en América Latina,” 644-48.


198 [Gobierno de Venezuela], “Instrucción pública, Decreto de 17 de marzo de 1855,” in Recopilación de leyes y decretos de Venezuela, III: 274-75.

199 In 1855 appeared also an abridged version of the text, also by Manuel Antonio Carreño, under the title of Compendio del Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras (Caracas: Imprenta de Carreño Hermanos). See M. Alcibiades, Manuel Antonio Carreño, 90.
In early May 1854, Manuel Antonio Carreño left Caracas for St. Thomas. Music historian Mario Milanca Guzmán assumes that he was traveling to Havana with the purpose of introducing his *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras*. As matter of fact, Havana newspapers began to advertise the manual, together with his other translations from at least June of that year. Extant evidence demonstrates that Manuel Antonio Carreño was also involved in political activities. For several years, Páez and other exiles and partisans in Venezuela continued advancing plans to depose the regime of the Monagas brothers. Juan de la Cruz Carreño had left Caracas for the United States two months before his brother. A resolution

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200 M. Milanca Guzmán, ¿Quién fue Teresa Carreño? 38.
201 “Realización de libros escojidos,” *Diario de la marina* (Havana), 20 June 1854, 1.
from the Executive sanctioned in late May prohibited the entrance into Venezuela to the two Carreño brothers, along with other seven comrades, including a former partisan of Monagas, Blas Bruzual. (See Figure 4.5 below.) The reason given was that they were plotting together with the exiles in the United States and the Caribbean islands “plans of hostility against Venezuela.”

Outbreaks of insurgence involving both paecists and members of the Liberal party occurred in the cities of Barquisimeto and Paraguaná, as the presidential elections planned for October 1854 approached. There were rumors that Páez would come back to Venezuela. In early August 1854, Monagas’ forces put down a rebellion in the North-West of the country attributed to Páez’s factions. In October Manuel Antonio Carreño was allowed to return to Caracas. Juan de la Cruz had traveled to England and returned to New York in September, this trip also being presumably associated with political activities. He apparently remained in New York until mid-1855. Supporters of Páez continued perceiving in Paéz, El ciudadano esclarecido (The Enlightened Citizen), as they dubbed him, the only possibility for peace, order and progress in the nation. Thwarted monagists also joined the rebellion in a desperate attempt to subvert the regime. The increasing discontent burst into the March Revolution of 1858 which finally overthrew José Tadeo Monagas.

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203 The document was signed on May 26, 1854. Other conspirators on the list were Gen. Justo Briceño, Manuel Camacho, Luis María Ustáriz, Ángel Aguerrevere and Vicente Ibarra. S. Planas, “Venezuela: Resolución ejecutiva prohibiendo la entrada al pais á varios venezolanos,” La gaceta (San José, Costa Rica), 5 Aug. 1854, 3.
204 L. Arráiz Lucca, Venezuela, 50.
205 M. V. Magallanes, Historia política de Venezuela, 562. The international press reported that the paecist party, numbering about 300 men, was defeated after an engagement of several hours against 1,300 men of the Government troops who occupied the city of Coro in Venezuela. Sun (New York), 17 Aug. 1854.
5. The Persistence of Musical-Literary Tertulias and Academias in Private Spaces

As political frictions became irreconcilable, the former core of patrons of musical associations dispersed, resulting in the dwindling of concert-making in Caracas as it had been envisioned at the dawn of the Republic. In 1850 the Teatro del Coliseo was abandoned and rapidly fell to ruin. The information that has survived from that time suggests a discouraging climate for the advancement of a public sphere of music and theater. The presentation of minor theatrical events with incidental music was offered in small and uncomfortable locales before
rude audiences. Also, opportunities for elegant forms of sociability at banquets, lavish parties, and balls suddenly declined. Brazilian diplomat Miguel Maria Lisboa, residing in Caracas during the period, commented that “since 1848, the political discussions and disagreements of many families [of] exiles have extinguished almost completely the social life in Caracas and diminished the occasions in which the fashionable grooming can be pleasantly shown off.” Social life in the mid-century was apparently reduced to private gatherings among small groups of partisans. This situation, nonetheless, seems to have favored the revitalization of small gatherings in residential spaces for concert-making and literary cultivation, a tradition that had presumably diminished during the 1830s and 1840s, the period of building of formal institutions for music education and concert-making.

According to music historian José Antonio Calcaño, during the 1850s the tradition of musical-literary tertulias had become common in Caracas. He reports the existence of gatherings sponsored by the letrados and members of the government Heraclio Martín de la Guardia and Jacinto Gutiérrez, and the musical tertulias organized by the letrados and distinguished aficionados José Antonio Mosquera and Eduardo Calcaño. The letrado Miguel

209 J. A. Calcaño, La ciudad y su música, 221-22, 255-58. Jacinto Gutiérrez (b. Cumaná, Venezuela, 1808; d. Caracas, 1884) was former member of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País. Throughout his life he occupied several political positions. Specifically, during the government of the Monagas brothers, Gutiérrez was appointed ministro de hacienda (secretary of finances) and ministro de interior y justicia (secretary of internal affairs and justice). His intellectual activities include teaching philosophy at Colegio Nacional de Cumaná and contributing to the periodical La revista oriental. E. Nieschulz de Stockhausen, “Gutiérrez, Jacinto,” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionemperaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/g/gutierrez-jacinto/. Jacinto Gutiérrez was the father of the renowned Venezuelan musician Pedro Elías Gutiérrez (b. La Guaira, Venezuela, 1870; d. Macuto, Venezuela, 1954). Heraclio Martín de la Guardia (b. Caracas, 1829; d. Caracas, 1907) was a letrado and military. He occupied different military positions in the military forces. Due to his support to the government of the Monagas brothers, De la Guardia was appointed for high position as director de fomento (director of development) in the Secretaría de Interior y Justicia (Department of Internal Affairs and Justice). His literary activities included articles for various periodicals in Caracas, including his own weekly El diamante. He wrote several dramas including Cosme II de medicis (1849), Don Pedro de Portugal (1851), Luisa de Lavallière (1853), Don Fadrique (1856), and Parisina (1858), which were presented in
Tejera stated that Mosquera “since childhood, he [...] dedicated himself to the violin on account of his genius and admirable execution.” The nineteenth-century historian Ramón de la Plaza described Mosquera as a “true artist [...] [who] much to his regret resigned himself to abandoning the artistic career.” Mosquera was a wealthy landowner involved in the production of coffee. Being educated in Paris, he earned a reputation as accomplished violinist. Both gatherings seemingly hosted reputed music aficionados and profesores. The German profesor Julio Hohené had connections with José Antonio Mosquera, allowing one to conjecture that he could have been an attendee at his gatherings. On the other hand, as mentioned previously, in 1844 José Antonio Mosquera had participated as volunteer assistant in Alessandro Galli’s and Luigia Busatti’s concerts in 1844 at the at the Salón Campignac, which suggests a personal closeness between Hohené and Mosquera. Likewise, the letrado and aficionado clarinetist Miguel Carmona, who was also an assisting artist to the Galli and Busatti concerts, could have been a member of Mosquera’s circle. Miguel Carmona was a lawyer and author of essays on music and literature. In 1858 he founded the prestigious newspaper El universal. The letrado Felipe Tejera stated of Miguel Carmona that he “performed the clarinet with perfection and he [also] devoted his best and seasoned fruits of his florid pen to the propagation of the divine art [of literature].” For his part, José María Suárez in his Compendio the historia musica published in 1909, described Carmona as a “clarinetist of great execution and erudite writer.”

For his part, Eduardo Calcaño performed the violin and the piano, and he composed as well. Some of his lighter compositions were published in the cultural periodical El cojo ilustrado, which circulated in Caracas in 1892-1915, playing an important role in the dissemination of locally composed music. Besides, the Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música at the Biblioteca


210 M. Tejera, Venezuela pintoresca é ilustrada, II: 447. All the translations from this source are mine.

211 R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 154. On José Antonio Mosquera, see also M. Landaeta Rosales, Los venezolanos en el exterior (Caracas: Tipografía J. M. Herrera Irigoren y Cía., 1903), 40; J. M. Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 61; “Mosquera, José Antonio,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela: II: 270.

212 Ramón de la Plaza refered Hohené’s participation in the gatherings of Fermín de Tovar. R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 158.

213 F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 96-97.

214 F. Tejera, Perfiles venezolanos, 122. All the translations from this source are mine.

215 J. M. Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 61. All the translations from this source are mine.
Nacional in Caracas preserves various works in religious genres, as well as songs and recitations with piano accompaniment, which could have been part of the music performed at his tertulias. Among these are the songs for voice and piano El ciprés (with poetry of José Antonio Calcaño), Atala, El arpa del desterrada, and Vorrei essere, melodía for voice and cello obligato. The collection also includes the recitations of poetry of P. A. Alarcón with piano accompaniment Amor imposible and El corazón y La flor. Music historian José María Suárez referred of Eduardo Calcaño as “an eternal music lover. Who promoted private concerts among his acquaintances.” Suárez also commented on Calcaño’s support of other musicians: “Calcaño was a friend of the musicians, and [...] no more credentials were needed than to be a musician to have access to his home, no matter how humble the person was.”

In the early 1850s Eduardo was still young. In 1854 he graduated at the Universidad Central de Venezuela, where he remained as a professor. Eventually, he developed an important career as a lawyer, politician, and writer of numerous articles on periodicals as well as poetry in the neoclassical style and theatrical dramas. Yet, there is evidence that already in 1856 he was involved in the organization of a public musical-literary event, similar in format similar to the private musical-literary tertulias. It is plausible, therefore, at that early time his private tertulia could have been active. Eduardo Calcaño belonged to a large family in which most of the members cultivated poetry and some of them music as well. His brothers José Antonio, as well as Eduardo himself, and later their brother Julio acquired great recognition as poets in Caracas’ cultural circles. Also, Eduardo and José Antonio, and their brother Juan Bautista gained fame as accomplished aficionado musicians. Jose Antonio performed the flute and the piano, and he composed as well. It is possible indeed that some, if not all, of the Calcaño brothers also

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216 J. M. Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 69.
217 Ibid.
218 Most of Eduardo Calcaño’s political activities date from the last third of the century. In the 1870s he was appointed ministro de relaciones exteriores (secretary of foreign affairs). Also, since the 1870s onwards he wrote for the periodicals El diario, La opinión nacional, and El monitor. His poems were partially compiled in the El Parnaso venezolano (1892), edited by his brother Julio. He wrote the dramas En pos de la Gloria (1890), and La loca de Macuto (1896). He was a founding member of the Academia Venezolana de la Lengua in 1883, and member of the Academia Nacional de la Historia (1901). W. Guido, “Eduardo Calcaño,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, 246. “Calcaño y Paniza, Eduardo,” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/c/calcano-y-paniza-eduardo/.
219 See Chapter 7.
participated in Eduardo’s tertulias. Music historian José Antonio Calcaño did not refer to the primary sources from which he obtained his information concerning Eduardo Calcaño’s tertulias, nor did he provide the sources for the tertulias of Gutiérrez and De la Guardia. Nonetheless, it should be observed that being a member of the Calcaño family it is possible that he had direct access to private family documents, as well as to direct information from his relatives. In fact, the historian José Antonio Calcaño was named after his grandfather, who was the brother of Eduardo Calcaño, the sponsor of the musical-literary tertulia. Moreover, José Antonio Calcaño, the music historian, participated in his paternal home in gatherings similar to the ones hosted earlier by his relatives. His father, Emilio Calcaño Sanabria was also a musician, and in the early twentieth century, his home was one of the most important centers in Caracas for the reunion of artists and intellectuals, where music-making and theatrical representations often took place. Consequently, the line of continuity established in the musical-literary tertulia in the case of the Calcaños, which spanned for three generations, suggests a considerable endurance for this practice.

Other references of private gatherings for the cultivation of music and literature have come from the nineteenth-century historian Ramón de la Plaza. In Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, he included some information that confirms the persistence of the practice of the musical-literary tertulia and the academia in the mid-nineteenth century in Caracas. Thus, De la Plaza referred to the “open musical soirées” hosted at the home of the letrado and violinist Fermín de Tovar, describing them as “a sort of cultured academia where the most knowledgeable profesores and aficionados of that time gathered.” According to De la Plaza, these gatherings were aimed at the cultivation of “classical music of the great masters.” The music performed in the academia included trios and quartets by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and the German composer Carl Gottlieb Reissiger. The Venezuelan professional musician Federico Villena, who had a great relevance in the last third of the century, owed much of his musical formation and acquaintance with chamber music repertories

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222 R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 158.
223 Ibid.
to Tovar’s gatherings, which he attended around 1858-1860. Fermín Tovar was a serious aficionado. He received a through education in Europe. Nineteenth-century historian Manuel Landaeta Rosales described him as an “admirable violinist who distinguished himself at the Paris Opera,” which suggests that he participated as amateur at the orchestra of the Opéra. At his return to Caracas, Tovar became involved in the nation-building activities of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País.

The aficionado and former independence hero José de Austria, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, was also involved in the activities of the Sociedad de Amigos del País, and given his closeness with Fermín de Tovar, it could be assumed that he might have participated as well in Tovar’s gatherings. The music historian José María Suárez counted Austria among the “many aficionados of true talent.” Fermín de Tovar was the brother of Manuel Felipe de Tovar, who occupied the presidency of Venezuela in 1859-1861. Both were the grandchildren of the mantuano Domingo de Tovar who presumably sponsored an academia filarmónica during colonial times. Whether this was the case, a continuity in the cultivation of the practice of the academia could be traced in the family line of the Tovars.

Another circle of aficionados was led by the lawyer José Lorenzo Montero, a member of a long family of accomplished musicians, which rivaled the Carreños in prestige. Not only did José Lorenzo composed symphonic music to be performed by the Sociedad filámonica, as stated above in this chapter, but he also cultivated chamber music privately. According to the historian Jesús María Suárez, José Lorenzo Montero, “did not dedicate himself to music but as an aficionado. A friend of the classical [music] [and] appreciative of the music of the great masters, he always hosted a string quartet in his house, in which he always performed the viola.” It can be presumed that his brother, José Ángel Montero as well as other members of his family could have taken part of these gatherings.

226 Manuel Landaeta Rosales, Los venezolanos en el exterior, 19.  
227 M. Tejera, Venezuela pintoresca é ilustrada, II: 447; R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 111.  
228 J. M. Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 75.  
229 As discussed in Chapter 2, Francisco Isnardi in 1811 in his article about the state of music in Caracas counted a Tovar among the sponsors of academias filarmónicas. Presumably, the person referred was Domingo de Tovar. [F. Isnardi], “Variedades. Literatura y bellas artes,” Mercurio venezolano 1 (Jan. 1811): 55-56. Manuel Felipe de Tovar (b. Caracas, 1803; d. París, 1866).  
230 J. M. Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 55.
There is no information that the prestigious aficionado Felipe Larrazábal had ever sponsored a private musical circle. Nonetheless, his compositional output, which included chamber music, suggests that he could have created that music for private concert-making.\textsuperscript{231} His Trio for Violin, Cello, and piano, op. 138, is an outstanding example of the cultivation of the genre during the period. It is possible that he was part of the musical gatherings held by his brother, Manuel María, who was a professional musician.\textsuperscript{232} Manuel María’s involvement in the cultivation of instrumental music for ensemble is suggested by the fact that on 1834 he was appointed secretary of the Sociedad Filarmónica. Music historian José María Suárez stated that Manuel María Larrazábal sponsored at his home a sort of informal \textit{academia}. The description suggests a practice in which music performance was combined with teaching:

Manuel [María] Larrazábal’s home served in Caracas as a \textit{rendez-vous} or artistic center, integrated by the most heterogeneous [people] that could be imagined. In it there was room for all the aptitudes: the outstanding, the mediocree and even the negative ones, since no one was rejected. From the children that formed the juvenile groups to the tenors and sopranos \textit{assoluti}; from the ones who blew any woodwind or brass instrument, or those who were considered percussionists to those who were deemed concert violinists. Everything entered that infinite welter that Don Manuel commanded, sitting at his grand piano, with shouts and huge knocks of his stick. Thus, he stimulated the taste for music [...] creating the stimulus that realizes the impossible. In this manner, with his musical fanaticism he formed disciples that nowadays honor his memory.\textsuperscript{233}

Another circle of aficionados was the one that formed around Manuel Antonio Carreño, in which his brothers might also have participated. References to this circle come from Teresa Carreño’s memoires dictated to William Armstrong, in which she stated that “all the musical people of Caracas [...] used to gather at our home.” She wrote that visiting artists coming to Venezuela asked for letters of introduction for her father’s house, as it was a “center for musical meetings and evening parties.”\textsuperscript{234}

\textsuperscript{231} Although most of Felipe Larrazábal’s compositions are lost, there is evidence that he composed several chambers works. Felipe Larrazábal published his in Curaçao, ca. 1870s. The Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas preserves a copy of the print. On Felipe Larrazabal’s musical output, see F. Rodríguez Legendre, “La actividad musical de Felipe Larrazábal, 1837-1873,” 211.

\textsuperscript{232} Manuel María Larrazábal made a living as a musician. From 1843 to 1848 he worked as interim \textit{maestro de capilla} at the Cathedral of Caracas. He also worked as a teacher. Yet, his overall education allowed him to access the public opinion as a writer on music. In fact, during the 1850s he wrote some articles for the \textit{Diario de avisos}. See for example M. L., “Recuerdos del concierto,” \textit{Diario de avisos}, 17 May 1856, 3.

\textsuperscript{233} J. M. Suárez, \textit{Compendio de historia musical}, 61.

Other aficionados of the period mentioned in contemporary sources who could have participated in private concert-making include the flutist Mateo Vallenilla, a soldier who studied in Berlin, the pianist Leopoldo Sucre, who developed a musical career in the last third of the nineteenth century, and the violinist Pedro M. Gómez, a medical doctor who earned a reputation as an accomplished musician.\textsuperscript{235}

The prestige that the aficionados enjoyed in Caracas musical culture as connoisseurs could be measured by the fact that since the 1830s not only did they patronized the formation of musical societies and musical schools, but they also occupied administrative positions in these organizations. Their prestige was maintained throughout the second thirds of the century. Illustrative of it is that when the Instituto Provincial de Bellas Artes (Provincial Institute of Fine Arts) was created in 1852, the appointed members of the Board of Directors for the area of music were the aficionados Fermín de Tovar and José de Austria, along with the professional musician Manuel María Larrázarbal. The purpose of the Instituto, as expressed in the document of foundation, was “to promote by every means within its reach the promotion and advancement of civilization, stimulating the youth to devote themselves to useful work in the Fine Arts and to its knowledge and perfecting.”\textsuperscript{236} Little is known about the activities of this institution. Yet, its statement of purpose leaves no doubt about its conformance to the Enlightenment-minded ideals of cultural and educational advancement and the belief in the social necessity of music that had been shaping the serious musical culture in Caracas since the late colonial times.

\textsuperscript{235} Mateo Vallenilla and Pedro M. Gómez are counted by Jesús María Suárez among the accomplished aficionados of the period. J. M. Suárez, \textit{Compendio de historia musical}, 75. Manuel Landaeta Rosales reported that Mateo Vallenilla was a military originally from Cumaná, who studied in Berlin and was for some time official of the Prussian army. M. Landaeta Rosales, \textit{Los Venezolanos en el exterior}, 19. Leopoldo de Sucre y Moor (b. Cumaná, 1838; d. Caracas, 1902) was a pianist, composer and conductor. He studied in Caracas and possibly also in Europe. It is presumed that he had been associated with the aficionado violinist Pedro Gómez. During the last third of the century he developed a career as a professional musician. S. García, “Leopoldo de Sucre y Moor,” in \textit{Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela}, II: 656-57. Pedro M. Gómez. (b. Trinidad, ca. 1826) was a member of a family of musicians from Cumaná. He as medical doctor who earned a fame as an accomplished violinist. It is presumed that he resided for a time in the region of Guyana where he contributed to disseminate the cultivation of music among aficionados. S. García, “Pedro Gómez Prieto,” in \textit{Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela}, I: 665. R. de la Plaza, refered the outstanding musical qualities of Pedro Gómez and his frequent participation in private and public concerts. R. de la Plaza, \textit{Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela}, 155.

\textsuperscript{236} [Diputación Provincial de Caracas], \textit{Ordenanzas, resoluciones y acuerdos de la H[onorabile] Diputación Provincial de Caracas vigentes el día 10 de diciembre de 1853} (Caracas: Imprenta de A. Damirón, 1854), 174-75, my translation.
1. “[...] un archipiélago de comarcas.”
2. “[un] diluvio de proclamas, de gacetas, de escritores, de oradores [...] los teatros en todas partes, sin fusiles ni bayonetas, declaraban contra la tiranía y en favor de la revolución y republicanoismo, la pintura y la escultura contribuían de un modo poco menos expresivos que los teatros a encender más la llama del patriotismo: las canciones, los himnos, etc., hijos de la poesía inflamaban de sobremanera el espíritu, y esto más que la guillotina de Robespierre [...] Nosotros pues, sin población debemos al lado de cincuenta mil fusiles colocar otros medios de persuasión para economizar la sangres de los americanos, porque de otra suerte quedaremos en desiertos.”
3. “V.A. se prepara para promulgar este acto de nuestra regeneración con toda la solemnidad que el merece [...] Yo [...] quisiera tener en este ahora todas las opulencias del mundo para prodigarlas en esta ocasión venturosa, y manifestar al universo que los Caraqueños saben apreciar la dignidad a que se han elevado; mas ya que mi fortuna es tan escasa, permítame V.A. que usando de la profesión a que he dedicado los años de mi vida, ofrezca al Gobierno la orquesta musical para la celebración de nuestra independencia [...] sin costo alguno de las rentas nacionales. Yo espero que V.A. se dignará a concederme esta merced, seguro de que así como siento no tener muchos tesoros para ofrecerlos con la misma voluntad, estoy dispuesto a sostener con mi sangre la libertad de mi patria.”
4. “El deseo de dar una completa instrucción a sus discípulos, y una diversion tan honesta y útil a los aficionados [...]”
5. “[Gallardo] ha hecho una Hermosa colección de obras de los mejores autores conocidos, y convocado a los mejores profesores en la facultad, de quienes espera no omitirán su tan preciosa asistencia [...]”
6. “[en] ésta no se permitirá a toda clase de personas.”
7. “[...] una diversion racional y agradable a los que sin ejecutar ningún instrumento son aficionados a la música.”
8. “La obligación [...] en que considero á cada ciudadano de contribuir á la ilustración y engrandecimiento de su Patria.” “Siendo la música una de las artes mas bellas y agradables, con la cual se expresan los diversos sentimientos del alma, y habiendo llegado á ser tan conocido su mérito que entre las naciones cultas del mundo todo se considera, como una parte esencial de la buena educación; parece indispensable le demos acogida y protección en nuestro suelo, que ha sido muy particularmente privilegiado por la naturaleza para producir genios capaces de perfeccionarse en todas ciencias y artes.”
9. “El aislamiento de las luces y los talentos del país en el recinto de las casas, o de pequeños círculos, a la vez que detienen el curso progresivo de los conocimientos útiles, no son por sí mismos benéficos a la dicha común. La empresa más popular, y de más conveniencia pública, es la de reunir los hombres de inteligencia, poseídos de amor patrio y de un espíritu nacional, bajo de un instituto benéfico que procure el bien de todos, restablezca entre nosotros el amor al trabajo y nos estimule a tareas ventajosas y productivas.”
10. “Esta [la riqueza pública] regularmente no permanece estacionaria, ni los elementos para su adquisición son puramente materiales. De aquí la necesidad de medir su estado actual, sus progresos y las leyes de su incremento: de aquí también la de apreciar debidamente las intimas relaciones que tienen la civilización y la moralidad de las naciones con el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas. De su profundo estudio, así como del de la influencia de las instituciones generales y locales en la educación y las costumbres, depende el juicio exacto de la fuerza moral de los pueblos, que es uno de los importantes fundamentos de su poder y su grandeza.”
11. “Generalizado el espíritu de asociación, las atracciones y simpatías que rigen y son influyentes en toda naturaleza, se estrechan y conocen: los sabios, los artistas, los especuladores, el agricultor y el comerciante, cada cual encontrará con su semejante, y sus afinidades producirán una cohesión de intereses que llevarán la organización social a la perfección que exige el honor y la gloria de esta tierra; y llegado así el tiempo en que así se entienda y ocupen las altas inteligencias de la patria, ellas deben acabar por destruir la disidencia de opiniones y fijar un solo espíritu y objeto en la Nación: la felicidad común combinada con la individual.”
xii “[..] la música es una ciencia que con el mágico influjo de la armonía, dulcifica las asperezas de la vida, corrigie la ferocidad de las costumbres, reanima el valor de los combates, aviva y aun hace nacer hermosos y grandes sentimientos; y sus progresos van siempre acompañados de la idea de la civilización del pueblo que lo consigue.”

xiii “[..] aquel instinto sublime de los caraqueños á la música, aquel vehemente conato á aprender y gustar del idioma encantador de los Dioses, se ha enervado bajo el peso de la opresión y la miseria.”

xiv “A mí podría desanimarme en esta empresa el desprecio con que ha sido vista siempre entre nosotros la música, y hasta los que dignamente han merecido el título de profesores; pero tengo muy presentes loselogios que de esa sublime ciencia han hecho un Tosca, un Rousseau, un Bails, un Iriarte, y otros muchos, cuya memoria respetable ofendería, si [atendiera] á los efectos que produce en algunos la ignorancia.”

xv “Hagan como les parezca las naciones y los pueblos que se dicen civilizados y cultos; cubran de estímulos y prodiguenprotecciones á la holgazanería del arte [...] [pero] nosotros pensamos de otra manera, porque estamos convencidos que de que la profesión artística es oficio bajo que debe ocultarse como una vergüenza y enrostrarse como una humillación. ¿Qué digo la profesión artística? Basta la habilidad en la ejecución de algún instrumento, la simple práctica probada de algún talento en ese ramo, para que tenga ya armas de vituperio la necedad para blandirlas en tono ridículo.”

xvi “La belleza de esta criatura llamó la atención de aquellos que veían con desprecio el arte divino que ennobleció a muchos profesores y que fue el secreto encanto del corazón humano.”

xvii “[..] por la razón de ser ensayo, como porque delante de ellas sería muy fuerte y desagradable la menor reprehensión.”

xviii “[..] nunca degenerarán en baile. En ellas se ejecutarán sublimes oberturas y sinfonías, conciertos obligados de diversos instrumentos, y piezas de canto; procurándose que todo sea lo más selecto en su género.”

xix “Además de los progresos obtenidos jeneralmente en la ejecución, se han ofrecido testimonios de jenios creadores. El Sr. Juan Meserón, continuando en sus composiciones, han producido algunas oberturas y sinfonías: El Sr. Manuel María Larrazábal ha puesto acompañamiento á toda la orquesta, á varias piezas de canto y oberturas estranjeras, que sólo tenían el de piano; y los señores Idefonso y Nicanor Meserón, han hecho su primer ensayo en la composición, presentando el primero una obertura y el segundo un concertino obligado de flauta.”

xx “[..] para que sirva de época á los que cuando haya nuestro país prosperado en las bellas artes, quieran escribir la historia de sus progresos.”

xxi “[..] la pintura permanece en el mismo estado de parálisis [...] [pero] la música finalmente ha hecho rápidos progresos por los esfuerzos del genio caraqueño y aunque [en] la clase de compositores apenas pueden señalarse uno que otro, en general hay disposición, buen gusto, y sobre todo, inclinación entusiasta por esta arte divino.”

xxii “[..] varias piezas de canto de música por algunas de las discípulas y sus hábiles maestros Sres. Manuel y Felipe Larrazábal y Demetrio Gámez [...] ejecutando igualmente algunas de las discípulas en los intermedios las graciosas danzas La Cachucha y baile inglés, con todo el encanto de la juventud y la perfección que es capaz una tierna edad.”

xxiii “[..] contribuye á suavisar las costumbres.”

xxiv “[..] la música por intermedio del oído, ejerce su imperio principalmente en lo moral, es decir, en aquella parte del encéfalo, ó cerebro, que preside á los afectos; y por consecuencia, determina en los órganos los mismos efectos que las pasiones a que dan origen.”

xxv “Todas las autoridades principales [estuvieron presentes]—ni brindis ni discursos. Música por la noche, que, en honor a la verdad fue distinguida y europea en alto grado. Segura, el talentoso violinista tocó muy brillantemente, y la Sra. Francia, la recién casada hija del general, bailó de la manera más graciosamente ‘La Cachucha’.”

xxvi “Varios amigos de las artes liberales, que deseaban proporcionar al señor Segura el medio de que se quedase en el país concibieron el proyecto de unos quartetos dominicales, haciéndose cargo cada uno de solicitar cuatro amigos que suscribiesen. En efecto, muy pronto se consiguió que comenzase; causando gran satisfacción la excelente ejecución del artista, y de los señores que lo acompañan ... El señor Ignacio Chaquert ofreció á la sociedad su casa ... los señores José [de] Austria, Ramón Silva, Juan de
la Cruz Carreño y José María Velásquez han tenido la bondad de acompañar al señor Segura en la ejecución, sin remuneración alguna [...] en lo adelante se ha convenido que la suscripción sea mensual [...] y pasan ya de setenta los abonados, entre ellos los señores Consules Sir R. Ker Porter y Caballero de la Palun [de Francia], y otros extranjeros. La concurrencia a los cuartetos comienza ya á ser de moda, y como hay en nuestra capital una suma falta de sociedad, deseamos que esta se fomente, pues ha de producir siempre muy buenos resultados; esto sin contar con la de fijar en Venezuela el excelentísimo artista.”

“Nos sobran elementos, nuestro país es músico por escelencia, esto es verdad, pero nos falta unidad de acción, nos falta método, nos falta dirección para obtener resultado ... Hagamos cuanto sea necesario para conservar al Sr. Segura entre nosotros, halaguémosle; procuremos organizar un club o Sociedad Filarmonica, que tarde o temprano venga a convertirse en Academia de Música.”

“Reconocida como una necesidad social la ópera italiana por el influjo que ejerce la música en el corazón humano, meditando sobre los bienes que pueden sobrevinirle al pueblo venezolano, nos creemos en el deber de invitar al Gobierno, a fin de que coadyuve en alguna manera a la protección de un espectáculo que tantos bienes puede proporcionar al pueblo, como órgano de la sociabilidad, de la ilustración, y buenas ideas, que pueden obrar una reacción completa en beneficio de la civilización popular.”

“[...] un Dilettante que se expusiera a tomar por su cuenta una nueva serie de funciones, visto el desaliento de la compañía y su resistencia a emprender trabajos por cuenta propia.”

“[...] decorada esquisitamente al gusto europeo [...] Dicha sala está adornada [...] con gusto y elegancia.”

“[...] algunos profesores y aficionados que generosamente cooperan con sus talentos.”

“[...] haciendo mi entierro cantado, según sea posible y según la cantidad que se me quiera hacer, por estar destituido de bienes.”

“[...] no hay quien los apetezca ni que presten la debida asistencia.”

“[...] y por deber ser su asistencia bastante frecuente no hay quien los apetezca ni que presten la debida asistencia.”

“[...] suplica se le conceda una gratificación a pesar del sueldo de 400 pesos que goza como maestro de capilla para poder sobrevenir la multitud de grandes e insuperables gastos que diariamente se le originan.”

“[...] hallarse sin aquella decencia debida para asistir a las funciones de su obligación [...] porque aunque tiene su renta, esta es muy corta y con ella paga el alquiler de la casa donde vive y lo que adquiere es tan poco que apenas le alcanza para sus alimentos.”

“[...] por haber procedido el maestro de capilla a empeñarse a trabajos los expresados papeles [de música] sin precedente consulta.”

“[...] no hallarse con inclinación al estado eclesiástico y tener la mira puesta en otro ejercicio.”

“[...] intención de optar por distinto empleo del que hasta ahora ha tenido.”

“[...] pensó tomar otro destino fuera de esta ciudad pero habiéndosele frustrado éste ... quiere volver de nuevo servir en este empleo.”

“[...] que le ensaye particularmente y le adiestre en tocar debota, piadoza, y gravemente como corresponde en las Yglesias catedrales.”

“[...] [que] toque por su propia persona el órgano.”

“...[...] ya han convidado a armarse a todos los suyos y les han ofrecido nuestras cabezas, la del presidente actual debe rodar ensangrentada; en las calles y en las casas, y en todas partes deben matarnos por ser enemigos suyos; al pueblo se le ha dicho que son dueños de nuestras propiedades y existencias; se le ha enseñado a despreciar la autoridad, a odiar al gobierno, a llamar libertad al desenfreno y la licencia.”

“[...] personas de órden y que condenan los excesos del partido anarquista.” “[...] el único fin de la asociación presente era influir del mayor modo en el acierto de las elecciones del CANTON sin excluir ningún partido ni candidato del día, sino solamente el candidato de sí mismo que no es ni puede serlo de ningún hombre patriota y de buen juicio, y el partido anarquista que no puede llamarse partido, sino una
mezcla confusa de malvados y ambiciosos, con algunos alucinados, sin principios ningunos y sin otra fé política que sus propios medros y la desmoralización de la República.”

xlvi “¡Ay! ¡Si consentimos que vuelva a levantarse el estandarte guzmancista, que la prensa vuelva a servir de vehículo a sus intereses!, él tendría por auxiliares a todas las pasiones, y los crímenes, él triunfaría con la caída de la sociedad, sería una bandera de tal poder que, acogida por la discordia, desalentaría a los ciudadanos y acarrearía nuestra pérdida. Fuerte es confesar que, tras el más leve descuido, la confusión y el caos nos esperan.”

xlvii “En progresiva decadencia la agricultura, las demás industrias sin aliento, en inanición el comercio, las rentas alcanzadas, la desconfianza en los empresarios y capitalistas, los ánimos desalentados y en ajitación, la sociedad en conmoción y efervescencia, he aquí el doloroso cuadro que ofrece la provincia de Caracas.”

xlviii “Id y decidle al general Monagas que mi cadaver podrán llevarlo preso pero Fermín Toro no se prostituye.”

xlix “Es posible que un pensamiento liberal y generoso, el pensamiento del siglo XIX vaya ahora a dominar en la Academia, donde se había encasillado la vetusta y corrompida oligarquía enlodando las fuentes claras del saber y preparando á la patria magistrados retrógrados y anti-republicanos.”

l “Dicen que él teme que, graduándose tantos jóvenes, le hagan sombra, y quede de una vez anulado; como que si no lo estuviera yá.”

li “[…] la extraordinaria aceptación con la que el Manual ha sido favorecido en Venezuela, España, Puerto-Rico, La Habana y Estados Unidos del Norte hasta haberse reimpreso en Madrid and New York.”

lii “Desde 1848, las discusiones políticas y los disgustos de muchas familias exiliadas han extinguido casi completamente la vida de sociedad de los caraqueños y disminuido las ocasiones en que pueden lucirse con gusto las Toilettes.”

liii “[…] se consagró […] desde niño al violín por su genio y su admirable ejecución.”

liv “[…] un verdadero artista, él se ha resignado, sin embargo, á su pesar, a abandonar la carrera del arte.”

lv “Tocaba con perfección el clarinete y á la propagación del divino arte dedicó los mejores y más sazonados frutos de su pluma floríada.”

lvi “Calcaño, eterno enamorado de la música, promovía entre sus relaciones conciertos privados.”

lvii “Calcaño era amigo de los músicos, y […] no se necesitaba más credencial que la de ser músico para tener acceso en su casa, por humilde que fuera la condición del individuo.”

lx “[…] las veladas musicales abiertas en la casa del señor Fermín Tovar, especie de academia culta donde se reunían profesores y aficionados de los más entendidos de la época.”

lx “[…] la música clásica de los grandes maestros.”

lxi “[…] violinista admirable que se distinguió en la Ópera de París.”

lxii “[…] muchos aficionados de verdadero talento”

lxiii “El Doctor José Lorenzo Montero no se dedicaba á la música sino por pura afición; amigo de la llamada [música] clásica reunía siempre en su casa un cuarteto de cuerda, en el cual llevaba siempre la viola, para saborear la música de los grandes maestros.”

lxiv “[…] promover, por cuantos medios estén á su alcance, el fomento y el adelanto de la civilización, estimulando á la juventud que se dedica á los útiles trabajos de las Bellas Artes á su conocimiento y perfección.”
Chapter 5: TERESA CARREÑO’S FIRST PIANO COMPOSITIONS AND THE SALON CULTURE

At the time that Teresa Carreño was born in 1853, Caracas consisted of sixteen longitudinal and seventeen cross streets, not completely urbanized, according to a description of Brazilian diplomat Miguel Maria Lisboa of 1852. Yet, the musical milieu in which Teresa Carreño grew up was considerably more diverse and widespread than that of the previous decades of the century, especially during the difficult years that followed the political crisis of 1848.

In 1854 a new theatre was built, Teatro de Caracas, which became the center of public entertainment in the city. Improvements in the economy and the building of roads made possible not only the arrival of touring opera companies and instrumentalists, but also the blossoming of a market for fashionable imports, which made readily accessible in Caracas a variety of European cultural products, including literature, musical scores and instruments. In 1840 President Paéz had needed forty men to carry on their backs the grand piano he bought in London through the rugged mountains that separated Caracas from the nearest harbor of La Guaira. However, in the mid-1850s the costs and difficulties of transporting goods had been lessened which also reduced the final prices. Abundant press announcements gave account of the sale in Caracas of concert grands of the reputed Erard and Pleyel companies as well as vertical and horizontal pianos of different sizes, and other instruments. The music store of

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1 M. M. Lisboa, Relación de un viaje a Venezuela, Nueva Granada y Ecuador (Caracas, 1954), cited in F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 9.

2 F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 14. Contemporary sources show disparity in the numbers of the population of Caracas around the mid-century. This is mostly due to the fact that there not existed reliable official censuses before 1873. However, history literature agrees in that there exited a reduction of the population in Caracas in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The scholar Manuel Beroes estimates that in 1800 it was around 40,000. After the earthquake of 1812, which caused about 10,000 victims, along with the migrations out of Caracas and the deaths caused during the Independence War, it dwindled even more. Nonetheless, it the following decades, the population grew, as according to the official estimates of 1869 reflect that Caracas’ population was of 47,013. M. Beroes P., “Caracas,” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/c/caracas/. The numbers of the scholar Pedro Cunill Grau are more conservative. According to him, in 1851 Caracas population was of 34,156. Pedro Cunill Grau, Geografía del poblamiento venezolano en el siglo XIX, III: 1603, cited in F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 14. On the other hand, newspapers in Caracas the mid-century estimate Caracas’ population in 50,000. “Teatro (Remitido),” Diario de avisos, 27 Aug. 1851, 3, cited in J. M. Salvador González, “Edificios teatrales en Venezuela durante el gobierno de los hermanos Monagas (1847-1858),” 87.

3 R. K. Porter, Diario de un diplomático británico en Venezuela: 1825-1842 (Caracas, 1997), 840, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 200; I. Quintero, La palabra ignorada, 156.
Eduardo Peyer y Cia., and the book shop of Rosa, Bouret y Cia were the most important importers of French pianos.\(^4\) Also, the store of F. Bottger y Cia. offered pianos made in Hamburg, suitable for Caracas’ temperatures.\(^5\) Similarly, local piano maker and tuner Carlos Gentzen offered grand and vertical pianos made in Europe according to his own design and especially adapted to the “tropical clime.” Gentzen’s announcement claimed that these instruments “for their proven strength and superiority have found universal acceptance among the educated people in Caracas.”\(^6\)

The thriving industry of music printing in Paris was also favorably received by the Caracas clientele. Rosa, Bouret y Cia., in addition to selling pianos and books, announced to the *artistas* and *aficionados* that they could “place their orders for all kinds of music at the book store. Because there is an ongoing relationship between the store and the greatest music store in Paris, their orders will be processed quickly and at very fair prices.”\(^7\) It also offered a fairly significant selection of piano-vocal scores. Pieces from the virtuosic repertory of opera *fantaisies* were for sale as well. Yet, easy music, mostly for piano but also for voice, guitar and other instruments, possibly constituted the largest portion of the offering of scores for sale in the newspapers.

The emergence of the musical market along with the incorporation of women into print culture through a greater attention to their education and wider access to cultural products brought dramatic changes to the musical life of the city. On the one hand, the dissemination of this repertory marked the appearance of a new form of amateurism that did not involve connoisseurship but focused on fashionable and undemanding music. It found a fitting place in the recreational forms of sociability that began to take shape in the domestic salons of the upper and ascending segments of the middle class of Caracas. A relevant connection between music and women was established when current models of education for girls fostered music instruction as appropriate for their gender and a desirable accomplishment in salon gatherings. Musical practices associated with the casual repertory for salon leisure were positioned

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\(^6\) “Cárlos Gentzen,” *Diario de avisos*, 17 Sep. 1856, 1, my translation.

alongside the old paradigm of serious music cultivation, problematizing to some extent the
dynamics of private music-making as it was known until then. Different repertories embodying
different levels of musical literacy and purposes, whether artistic or social, came to coexist in
private spaces, resulting in the need to establish boundaries between two different practices.
Waltzes, polkas and mazurkas and other dance genres became favorites of the facile repertory
for piano, being used in recreational contexts either for actual dancing or for listening. Serious
music continued to be associated with the repertory of chamber music, including music for
ensembles and demanding music for solo instruments.

Meanwhile, the new market for imported easy music and musical instruments widened
the possibilities of local musicians to work as music teachers as well as composers of music
suitable for private and salon entertainment. The immigrant composer profesor J. Famiere,
offered a subscription of his piano arrangements of Italian opera themes under the tile
Repetitorio della piccola dilettante. The newspaper advertisement remarked that these were
arranged “in such an easy way that a student who has had nothing but four or five months of
good lessons will be able to play them even without the help of a teacher.”8 (See Figure 5.1
below.) Similarly, local musicians including J. Famiere himself and the reputable composer José
Ángel Montero, took advantage of the growing demand for dance music and offered it for sale.9
The increasing popularity of dance genres resulted in the formation of a national repertory for
piano of considerable significance, best represented in the Venezuelan danza and the valse,

8 Little has been established yet about Famiere in scholarly literature. His name consistently
appears in Caracas newspapers as J. Famiere. Music historian José María Suárez lists in his book on music
history (pub. Caracas: 1909) a Gaetano Famiere, pianist, among the immigrant artists that established in
Caracas as music teachers. See Compendio de historia musical, 357. The scholar José María Salvador
González has identified this musician as Jaime Famiere. “Compañías y repertorios escénico-musicales en
la Venezuela de los hermanos Monagas (1847-1858),” 9. It is possible that Famiere had withdrawn the
name of Gaetano after establishing himself in Caracas, to adopt instead the more Hispanic name of Jaime.
Newspapers from near island of Trinidad report from the 1880s on of the activities of a professor J. or
James Famiere. Presumably, J. Famiere left Caracas at that time for Port of Spain, where he worked as
music professor at St. Mary’s College, as reported in his obituary. “Death of Professor Famiere,” Port of
Spain Gazette, 24 April 1910, 4. Further information on J. Famiere’s activities in Caracas will be presented
in Chapter 7.

9 Local announcements advertising dance pieces for piano include J. Famiere, “Musica nueva
para balles,” Diario de avisos, 1 Oct. 1856, 4, and following days. “Periódicos musicales,” Diario de avisos,
7 Feb. 1857, 1. Over a hundred pieces for piano in dance genres by José Ángel Montero are preserved at
the Archivo audiovisual, Colección de Música at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas. They have been
published as J.A. Montero, Obra pianística, ed. by A. Lagos (Caracas: Fundación Vicente Emilio Sojo, 1997).
For a study on José Ángel Montero’s piano music, see A. Lagos, “La Música para piano de José Ángel
Montero,” 401-22 and J. Peñín, “José Ángel Montero,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, II: 248-
54.
genres of distinctive indigenous features that epitomized the salon culture in Caracas from mid-nineteenth century onwards.

**Figure 5.1.** Advertisement of the local composer J. Famiere offering easy arrangements of opera themes by subscription. *Diario de avisos*, 27 Jan. 1858, 4.

This chapter examines Teresa Carreño’s musical upbringing and first piano compositions in the context of the bourgeois salon culture that took shape in Caracas towards the mid-nineteenth century and the influence that the growing market of musical instruments, scores, and magazines exerted on it. The first section considers the formation in Caracas of a women-inclusive and recreational modality of the tertulia, which contrasted with the older practice of the musical-literary tertulia that had been primarily aimed at intellectual discussion and serious appreciation of music and poetry. The following section looks into the contradictions involved in the incorporation of women in urban practices of sociability such as the recreational tertulia and the social role that the shapers of the process of nation-building had assigned to women as wives and mothers of the future citizens, thus confining them to the domestic sphere. The fourth section discusses Manuel Antonio Carreño’s position regarding the social and moral importance of adopting urban customs as well as his progressivist views concerning the participation of women in recreational practices of sociability as reflected in his highly influential book *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras*. The fifth section documents Teresa Carreño’s musical environment in her paternal home and considers the influence of the salon culture in her early musical experiences. The final section studies her first piano compositions in the light
of the distinctive stylistic traits that are associated with the recreational salon practices in nineteenth-century Caracas while elucidates their contextual musical and cultural value.

1. Women and the Salon Culture in Caracas in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

While the old tradition of the academia and musical-literary tertulia continued to be practiced during the mid-century within smaller circles of music aficionados and letrados, the more inclusive modality of the tertulia was established among the upper and middle classes. Different from the former, focused on discussion and serious cultivation of music and literature, this emerging variant of the tertulia was primarily aimed at entertainment and sociability. These tertulias were customarily hosted in the visiting room of urban homes, fashionably called salón after the French usage. The lady of the house presided over the gathering which accommodated guests from either one or both genders. This form of tertulia centered on casual conversation. Also, a variety of entertainment activities could be a part of the gathering, including voice or piano performance, exchange of poems, and social games. Appetizers and beverages usually made of fruit called refrescos were served. Frequently, the tertulias often, but not always, had regular meetings occurring at predetermined days and times.

Given the actual scarcity of public locales for socialization in Caracas, the tertulia became a fitting space for diversion and fraternizing, especially for women and girls of marriageable age, because it provided opportunities for controlled exposure. In actuality, the tertulia served throughout a good part of the nineteenth century as a context for the construction of the social identity of girls and women from well-off families. One of the reasons for the spread of the tertulia, as Mirla Alcibiades states, was that it offered them a space for social interaction, otherwise limited to attending mass or sitting at the large front windows of their homes to be seen, the latter an extensive custom among girls in Caracas. As early as in 1839 magazines like La guirnalda, one of the first local feminine periodicals, strongly encouraged its readers, “the beautiful Venezuelan women,” to participate in tertulias. It considered these gatherings “the means for expelling certain vices, promoting culture, forming opinion, making known talents, showing our ladies’ graces, and refining education.”

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10 M. Alcibiades, “Álbum y universo lector femenino,” 2.
11 Ibid.
12 La guirnalda (Caracas), 1 Aug. 1839, 18, quoted in M. Alcibiades, Manuel Antonio Carreño, 77, my translation. La guirnalda was the second magazine for women produced in Venezuela. The magazine bore as a subtitle the dedicatory: dedicada a las hermosas venezolanas (to the beautiful Venezuelan
Yet, the spread of recreational forms of sociability involving the participation of women did not lack detractors. In fact, conservative spokesmen launched fulminating critiques of the tertulia as it began to disseminate throughout the city. Pedagogue Feliciano Montenegro Colón, in his well-known textbook on morals and manners published in Caracas in 1841, Lecciones de buena crianza y moral, pointed to the inappropriateness of the tertulias, alleging that they fostered the inclinations of women to frivolity and idleness: “their continuous fanning to show off their rings ridicules them [...] they are the target of mockery when they indulge in the foolishness of laughing endlessly to show their clean and ivory teeth.”

As a corrective, Montenegro Colón advised the parents to remind their daughters that “in order to accomplish their future duties they are required, first of all, to learn housework associated with their [female] condition [...] [because] idle and careless [wives] do not deserve such a title; and rather than lying in the hammock or sitting at the window, they must be in charge of cleaning their houses and other various minutiae that should not be overlooked.”

Contested perceptions of the increasing involvement of women in tertulias and related forms of recreational sociability in private spaces reflected a change of customs that problematized the boundaries between the private and public spheres of life and the constructs of what was considered appropriate conduct for women. Yet, the implicit “law of being inside” that had regulated the everyday life of women since colonial times gradually lost its former meaning of allowing women to define a social place for themselves within the domestic domain. From the mid-century on a distinctive culture inextricably associated with politeness, feminine elegance, casual conversation, and music-making was established as an extended practice in Caracas.

2. Tensions Between Morals and Social Duties in the Education of Girls

The gradual involvement of women in forms of salon sociability runs parallel to a growing concern within the circles of Caracas intelligentsia with the quality of the education of women. The first feminine magazine appeared in 1826 under the title El canastillo de costura. On El canastillo de costura and La guirnalda, see E. Pino Iturrieta, Ventaneras y castas, 95; M. E. Díaz S. de Sánchez, Escritoras venezolanas del siglo XIX, 12-20.

13 F. Montenegro y Colón, Lecciones de buena crianza y moral (Caracas, 1841), quoted in E. Pino Iturrieta, Ventaneras y castas, 49, my translation.
14 Ibid.
15 I am borrowing the expression “ley de estar adentro” from E. Pino Iturrieta, Ventaneras y castas, 79. The expression refers to the patriarchal expectations of maintaining women confined to the domestic spaces.
In actuality, discussions on the convenience of advancing their education had been present since the foundation of the Republic. In 1831, advocates of the building of a public school system pointed to the importance of not excluding girls from the benefit of education because “women are frequently the only teachers of their children, and because of this their culture is of equal or greater [public] interest.”  

Persuaded that the urgent problem of illiteracy would be alleviated only if priority was given to the elementary levels of education, women would have the social responsibility of contributing to the first stages of education. Their role was more necessary given the precariousness of the present situation in the country, which the report described as “almost without having elementary schools in which to teach reading, writing and the basic rules of arithmetic, urbanity and religion; without having funds enough nor the possibility of finding teachers.”

The economic and social reality of a nation that had just begun to rise from a long and devastating period of warfare contributed to delay the integration of girls into the nascent school system. In general, throughout the decade of the 1830s the irregular and rudimentary course that their education had followed since colonial times continued. However, concerns regarding the state of education of girls intensified from the mid-1830s as morals became relevant to the public debate on school reforms. A change in the conception of womanhood was taking shape among the educated elite. Abandoning colonial beliefs of women as objects of concupiscence and perdition, the notables fostered the perception that women were the natural bastions of moral and religious values. As such, women were vindicated as the center of the family institution and the responsible party in modeling the conduct and morals of the future citizens of the republic. There was, therefore, a peremptory necessity of preparing girls for their duty ahead as caretakers and also instructional and moral preceptors of their own children. A writing circulating in Caracas newspapers in 1837 petitioning for the reform of

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16 For a thorough study on girls’ education during the Early Republic in Venezuela, see M. Alcibiades, Chapter Three, “Moral femenina y vida social: Los patricios auspician la instrucción femenina,” in M. Alcibiades, La heroica aventura de construir una república. See also E. D. Martínez Vásquez, La educación de las mujeres en Venezuela (1840-1912), passim.

17 “Instrucción pública,” Gaceta constitucional de Caracas, 24 Nov. 1831, my translation.

18 Ibid.

19 Apparently, there were no schools for girls in Caracas during this period besides the short-lived school directed by a Mrs. Campbell, operative in 1831. M. Alcibiades presumes that the Colegio Malpica, the school for girls funded in colonial times referred to in Chapter 3, was active through the early 1840s. M. Alcibiades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 155-56, 167-68 n13.

20 Ibid., 85-86, 158.
legislation on public education deplored the state of abandonment of girls on this matter. According to this, the preparation of girls was still a parental decision and, when not neglected altogether, was for the most part a “routine education rather consisting of teaching them housekeeping, which […] neglecting the intellect and forming their hearts makes them incapable of doing good, silly and pretentious […] and [it is] very damaging the influence they exert in us and the society in general.”

By the same token, the letrado Fermín Toro expressed his disagreement over the current practice among the well-off of disregarding the moral education of girls in favor of instructing them in subjects such as music, which served them as a social grace or “ornament” but was not necessary for proper functioning in everyday life. In this sense, he stated: “Regarding the elegant or ornamental education, it should be a secondary business. However, there are many parents who believe that learning some piano, harp or guitar, or singing, whether they have inclinations for it or not, and learning to dance is enough. But things that are more necessary must be learned first.”

Certanly, the model of girls’ education that Caracas’ letrados proposed went beyond providing girls with a basic instruction in subjects such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, besides music. For men such as Fermín Toro, education ought to emphasize moral content by paying proper attention to religion and precepts of good conduct. While this view gained ground in public opinion, some letrados went even further by advocating a more ambitious curriculum, as reflected in an article of 1838 which suggested that in addition to reading, writing, and religious principles, education should include “manners for the young girls. Drawing and music along with sewing and needlework and we also expect [to include] shortly elementary geography, history and some of physics to be applied to domestic work.”

In 1837-1839 at least three private schools for girls opened in Caracas: Colegio de Educandas, Colegio de la Concepción, and Colegio para Señoritas. These schools added to
other private initiatives of elementary and secondary education for boys that had been occurring in Caracas since the creation of Montenegro Colón’s Colegio de la Independencia in 1836.25 Also, in 1840 the state finally integrated the system of public schools with the creation in Caracas of Colegio Nacional de Niñas, operative from the following year. The schools accepted girls aged 7 or 8 to 14, without a precise division between elementary and secondary education.26 Official records and press notes of that time demonstrate that both private and public schools for girls accommodated moral content in the curriculum through classes on Christian doctrine and urbanity or politeness, along with the customary instruction consisting of reading, writing, basic arithmetic, and work apropiado para su sexo (appropriate for their gender), such as sewing and needlework. Spanish grammar, history, and geography were also part of the study plan. The students had also the option to take classes on what were considered ornamental subjects: drawing, music, and dance.27

In comparison with the course offerings in boy’s schools, girls received a differentiated education not only in regards to course content, which excluded intellectual subjects such as philosophy and Latin, commonly offered to boys, but also in regards to the restrictions placed on the pursuit of further studies.28 In addition, the study of the Constitution and civics, present in the curriculum for boys, was absent altogether in the education of girls.29 Surely, the programmatic content of girls’ schools was aimed at preparing girls for domestic work; their social duty as first educators of their offspring and upholders of moral and religious virtues was considered even more important. Boys’ instruction, instead, prepared them for their eventual exercise of citizenship in the public sphere, a competence reserved to educated males.30 The rationale for this educational model remained in effect in the years to come, as reflected in an official government document of 1854, which stressed the importance of preparing women for their social role:

25 See Chapter 4.
26 E. D. Martínez Velásquez, La educación de las mujeres en Venezuela, 137.
28 Post-secondary education was not available to women until 1898 with the creation of Escuela Normal para Mujeres in Caracas. See E. D. Martínez Velásquez, La educación de las mujeres en Venezuela, 224.
29 M. Alcibiades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 170; E.D. Martínez Velásquez, La educación de las mujeres en Venezuela, 184-86.
30 E. D. Martínez Velásquez, La educación de las mujeres en Venezuela, 28, 163, my translation.
Nowadays she has the same dignity as man, and although she has lesser strength, she excels in faith and love of virtue [...] It is very important to the society that the one who tomorrow is going to be wife, mother, widow or virgin know her own dignity, that by her intelligence she raise herself to the heights of her social rights and duties, that by the cultivation of the attributes of her soul she conforms to modesty and decorum, which are for women, as they are for men, the glory, the probity and the honor.  

Since in the case of girls, music was considered an ornamental skill, aimed to be used at best as a social grace, its study was not mandatory. However, it can be presumed that there was a demand for musical instruction in view of the fact that girls’ schools active in Caracas in 1840-1850s offered music lessons. This was true even for the public school Colegio Nacional de Niñas, where classes in music, as well as in dancing or drawing, although not funded by the government, were nonetheless were available through the payment of a fee. Although the girls did not seem to have benefited from the orchestral practice that was in use in the schools for boys Colegio de la Independencia, Colegio de la Paz, and Manuel Antonio Carreño’s Colegio Roscio, the extent of the musical education that some girls received should not be undervalued. Contemporaneous press commentaries on the participation of girls performing piano or guitar, singing, and dancing in school programs indicate that these institutions promoted the development and display of musical talent. Also, to the extent it is known, music education was in the charge of accomplished musicians. Felipe and Manuel María Larrazábal taught at Colegio de Educandas and Idelfonso Meserón at Colegio Nacional de Niñas. The offering of education in music for girls was not limited to Caracas.

Although most of the information circulating in the press at that time suggests that music education for girls was mostly aimed at the light music that was most suitable for recreational gatherings, it was possible to find, if only exceptionally, references of girls participating in serious musical activities. In 1840, the press of the small coastal town of Cumaná reported the existence of a musical society named Filarmonía in which various girls participated during an event. The note, as in other musical commentaries of the period, did not refrain from

31 Simón Planas, Memoria de la Secretaría del Interior y Justicia (Caracas: Imprenta de Carreño Hermanos, 1854, 59-60), reproduced in L. Peñalver Bermúdez, Historia de la educación venezolana, Doc. No. 29, [267].
32 M. Alcibiades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 290-93.
congratulating the achievements of the young performers, but observed the provision of not revealing their full names in order to not expose them to public opinion. In this sense it observed: “Miss M.B. sung with grace and clarity [an aria by Rossini] for which she deserves applause and our particular encouragement to continue cultivating her gift for singing [...] the instrumental part was very assembled [concertante] and agreeable, but it must be said that that the execution of Hummel’s sonata for piano by Miss C.V. was brilliant in regards to precision as much as in dexterity and good taste.” 35 xii

Yet, if early in the century, letrados and aficionados encouraged women to cultivate music on the grounds that it contributed to heighten the cultural progress of the nation, around the mid-century this view yielded to a more utilitarian conception. Accordingly, music-making among girls and women was primarily understood as part of the repertory of manners that regulated salon sociability. 36 As Mirla Alcibiades states, the course of girls’ education followed during the period, though satisfying the requirements of providing elementary instruction and moral formation, also addressed the preparation of girls for sociability. 37 Playing piano, dancing, and being instructed in rules of etiquette were certainly valuable skills for functioning appropriately in the salón. In this sense, the educational trend followed in Caracas served to smooth out the passage of girls from the private sphere to the social spaces that began to become accessible to them.

The aim of preparing girls for sociability is even more noticeable when considering the public exams taking place in girls’ schools in Caracas at the end of each school year. Open invitations to these were announced in the press and frequently commented upon afterwards. According to the reports, the girls presented exams on various subjects from reading to geography, history, arithmetic, and Christian doctrine. Their drawings, sewing, and needlework were also displayed. The evaluations were made in front of a varied audience which included intellectuals and other members of the education community serving as juries. Also, the girls demonstrated their artistic skills as music performers and dancers in a show. The highpoint of the activity consisted of the ceremony of awarding prizes to the best achievers in each branch. These prizes generally consisted of books or medals, though costlier prizes were not unusual.

35 El mensajero de Oriente (Cumaná, Venezuela), 6 Sep. 1840, quoted in M. Alcibiades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 292, my translation.
36 On the encouragement of women in the participation in serious music-making, see Chapter 3.
37 M. Alcibiades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 183-84, 187.
The practice of public examinations and awards had begun in the 1830s with the emergence of private schools for boys in Caracas and remained in use for several decades. However, its adoption in schools for girls led to severe criticism in some circles which did not approve the fact that young girls were publicly exposed and pressed to be in competition with their classmates. Besides, the high cost of the wardrobe and other supplies required for boarding students in some of the private schools for girls was also subject of adverse criticism. Admittedly, a desire to demonstrate a fluent social position underlay the decision of some in pursuing education for their girls. Indeed, the numbers corresponding to the decade of 1840s in Caracas show that the enrollment of girls was considerably inferior to boys as it pertains to the public system. Instead, the difference in enrollment numbers between boys and girls was much less for private schools. This indicates not only the greater attention that the upper classes bestowed on the education of their daughters but also in the particular model of education they sought.

In a sense, the educational undertakings of young girls, including music and dancing, for their eventual participation in the salón, served the families as “cultural capital” in the sense established by Pierre Bourdieu, according to which, social and artistic skills acquired through costly education were used as means to secure “profits of distinction.” This was chiefly true among the ascending segments of the middle class, which had a greater need to mark boundaries with the lower social layers. The point is illustrated by an anonymous writer in the populist newspaper Los ayes del pueblo, who attacked in a jocular tone the pretensions of class distinction of the family of a not-too-affluent political opponent as reflected in their excessive taste for luxury and fashion:

Moderation is a civil virtue and frugality too. On the contrary, ostentation and luxury are civic vices; that is, vices committed by the citizens [...] That showiness with which you live, being a poor and a backward producer, is not frugality, neither it is moderation that pretentious tone and conceit that characterizes all your royal family [...] You cannot afford your silverware, which you pawned, as it is rumored, you do not have [funds] for

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38 Ibid., 188.

39 According to a document from the Dirección General de Estudios, the national enrollment in public schools was 5,568 boys and 338 girls while in private schools it was 1,247 boys and 792 girls, for a national population of 904,000 inhabitants. Ramón Díaz, Apéndice no. 4 in Rafael María Baralt, Resumen de la historia de Venezuela (Paris: Imprenta de H. Fournier, 1841), 436-37. See also, M. Alcibíades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 161-62.

40 Pierre Bourdieu defines “cultural capital” as “the way in which several social groups use culture as a kind of capital, confirming their social position, and excluding other social groups, and guaranteeing the reproduction of these social divisions from one generation to another.” P. Bourdieu, Distinction, 562.
costly *soirées*, neither for big nor small tea parties with champagne and maraschino, etc., neither can you afford that your girls play the piano until dawn. 41 xiii

In actuality, in the mid-decades of the century the influence of fashion through a growing market of French imports, was emerging in several aspects of daily life in Caracas. A desire for being *à la mode* was exhibited not only in the personal appearance of women and men but also in food and home décor. Also, modes of social intercourse fashionable in Europe were introduced and imitated by well-off segments of the city’s population. In fact, the practice of emulation and social display of talents adopted in schools for girls in Caracas followed current models of girls’ education in France, as Mirla Alcibiades explains. 42 The adoption of foreign styles and conventions was perceived by a not insignificant portion of the intelligentsia as a sign of social advancement, if handled with moderation. In truth, since the first years of the Republic, the *notables* had yearned for the modernization of Venezuela. A change of customs towards urban forms of life as reflected in material improvement as well as polished culture and forms of sociability were a sign of modernity, when not evidence of it, as the Venezuelan historian Elías Pino Iturrieta holds. 43 In this regard, the *letrado* Fermín Toro, who was otherwise so critical of the education exclusively focused on elegance and ornament, had no trouble pointing at the concrete improvement of the nation in the early 1840s as a reflection of the current care for refinement and cosmopolitanism. In this regard he stated:

Men from other lands came with usages and customs different from ours and we felt ashamed of our habits, the absence of ornaments in our houses, the little lavishness of our wives and children, but we do not lack now cabinetmakers and jewelers, our rooms gain in external appearance, and at least, our beauties do not look dull for not having earrings. The study of French and English is disseminating quickly in the country and new ideas are adopted every day in regards to literature, arts, taste, manners, and social needs. 44 xiv

Misgivings over the influence of foreign fashions and refined customs seem to have been the result of the negative impact of an uncontrolled craving for luxury and stylishness. The burgeoning market of imports targeted at women, as well as the actual orientation of girls’ education towards emulation and distinction, concerned some groups because it could lead to a style of life devoted to frivolity, indulgence, and squandering, contrary to the virtues of modesty

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41 *Los ayes del pueblo*, 18 Oct. 1844, my translation.
42 M. Alcibiades, *La heroica aventura de construir una república*, 178.
and decency that they sought to strengthen in girls. This situation points at a contradiction between the republican social ideas about the role of women as mothers and models of moral virtues on the one hand and on the other hand the adoption of the urban customs and forms of sociability practiced in Europe. This created an acute inconsistency concerning the means and purposes of the education of girls.45

At the end of the decade of 1840s the country entered into a period of overall stagnation. Political hostilities between the partisans of José Antonio Páez, Antonio Leocadio Guzmán and José Tadeo Monagas, and the important contraction that resulted from the international crises of overproduction severely affected the social life that began to take shape during the 1840s, as well as commercial activity. However, already in the mid-1850s the country began to show signs of economic recovery with the rise of the international prices of coffee.46 Also, a new road completed in 1845 opened the possibility of reducing the costs of transportation of goods to Caracas from the nearest harbor of La Guaira. In the past, that travel was made by mule or horse through a narrow and dangerous trail that took five hours to complete. Large items had to be transported instead through the mountains on the backs of several men, which made imports only available to the wealthiest.47

This significant improvement was soon reflected in an increase in the commerce of imports of fashionable products and literature, which contributed to reactivate and expand the influence of French urban and print culture, especially among women. Magazines addressed to women circulating in Caracas informed readers of Parisian feminine fashions: laces, satin dresses, tulle overcoats, shawls, hats, and so forth were recommended to heighten the beauty of the fair sex.48 Piano music and novels coming from France soon became the favorite entertainment of girls. The bimonthly magazine El eco-hispano-americano, printed in Paris, offered supplements with choice novels, fashion plates, patterns for embroidered garments, and pieces of “modern music.”49 Similarly, the monthly La caprichosa, Periódico del buen tono

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45 Cultural scholar Rebecca Rogers demonstrates that a similar inconsistency underlay girls’ education in nineteenth-century France. See R. Rogers, From the Salon to the Schoolroom, 67.
46 R. Arraíz Lucca, Venezuela, 48, 50.
48 E. Pino Iturrieta, Ventaneras y castas, 94-95.
49 “El eco hispano-americano,” Diario de avisos, 27 Sep. 1856, 8. A copy of a musical supplement of El eco-hispanimericano issued in 1854 has been preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional in Santiago de Chile. Álbum de El eco hispano-americano: Colección de romanzas, canciones, melodias, etc. [piano],
(Newspaper of the *bon ton*), addressed to “the beautiful women of Caracas,” was also published in Paris, under the direction of E. Serrano Wilson.50 It offered articles on fashion, literature, theater and fine arts. (See Figure 5.2 below.) Also, announcements of up-to-date articles for sale, from stylish clothing to furniture and pianos, occupied larger spaces in newspapers. 51 Even the bookstore and printing establishment of Manuel Antonio and Juan de la Cruz Carreño extended its market offering in the mid-1850s, with products such as rubber combs to style the hair *à la pompadour*, capes, *fantasía* articles, rods of various sizes for ladies’ dresses, and the like.52

**Figure 5.2.** Advertisement of the first number of the monthly magazine for women *La caprichosa*, produced in Paris. *Diario de avisos*, 27 May 1857, 1.

Plainly stated, the print culture that gave women wider access to magazines, sheet music, and other cultural products was inseparable from the same commercial basis that promoted craving for fashion and consumerism. Even educative and moralizing literature, such as catechisms and instructive manuals, so strongly endorsed by advocators of social betterment, owed their diffusion to commerce. In addition to this, this diversification of the offerings of cultural products contributed to the opening of social spaces for women, which were otherwise

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52 The Spanish term *artículos de fantasía* translates to English as products using imitation rhinestones for either dresses or jewelry. “Aviso Importante,” *Diario de avisos*, 8 Aug. 1855, 1.
exclusive to men. In fact, some of the bookshops emerging in Caracas during those years, such as the establishment of Rosa, Bouret y Cia., created reading galleries for women, where they could satisfy their mounting fondness for fictional literature, in particular French novels by authors such as Honoré de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas and Eugène Sue. 53

The impact of the commerce in literary and musical products as a complement to schooling for the educational advance of women certainly contributed to normalizing the expectations of women’s literacy within the middle-class, as suggested in a newspaper article on public instruction that circulated in Caracas 1855 which considered that “the time has passed when knowing to read and write was seen as unfavorable for women.” 54 Yet, this change of perception is not to be overstated. Women were not yet expected to engage in intellectual pursuits or to develop a musical career. Their involvement in the print culture was socially accepted inasmuch as it did not distract them from their domestic duties as wives and mothers and did not jeopardize their moral integrity. However, the boundaries between the positive influence of commerce in the integration of women into urban and print culture and its negative effects of simulating consumerism and superficiality were not always obvious. A case in point was a heated diatribe generated over the influence of French novels on girls. The religious periodical Crónica eclesiástica de Venezuela, making an effort to exert moral authority, deprecated these writings, arguing that they “blind the intellect and mislead the heart; it is known that the novels substitute for a real and positive life a fictional one, and this cannot result but in [dis]repute and seduction.” 55 Definitely, the commercial basis of women’s incorporation into urban and print culture added another angle to the tension underlying educational practice, that between the adoption of urban customs and the strengthening of moral virtues in women.

53 Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850); Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870); Eugène Sue (1804-1857). These galleries became an alternative to the libraries in Caracas, which were created through the efforts of male associations and did not contemplate access to women. Besides the impact they might have had in the dissemination of literary products, these galleries also contributed to the alleviation of domestic seclusion by incorporating certain forms of sociability. See M. Alcibíades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 219, 271-72.


55 Crónica eclesiástica de Venezuela, 4 July 1855, quoted in E. Pino Iturrieta, Ventaneras y castas, 103, my translation.
3. The Value of Education and Sociability in Manuel Antonio Carreño’s *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras*

Carreño’s *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* represents an important landmark in the public discussion about the content and purpose of women’s participation in urban forms of sociability because it provided a conciliatory point of view between the messages that girls received from family and public discourse conveying modesty and decency. At the moment of its appearance in the early 1850s, the manual competed in importance and acceptance with other books on morals and etiquette circulating in Caracas, especially Manuel Montenegro Colón’s *Lecciones de buena crianza, moral y mundo*, published a decade before.  

However, the splendid reception that Carreño’s book enjoyed soon positioned it as the most authoritative and widely disseminated reference on morals and decorum. There is no doubt that the *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* became a major influence in shaping the core values of nineteenth-century Venezuelan society. Its conception of good manners, its practical rules of conduct, and its moral dictums were a reliable interpretation of the modern, urban and civilized society that the *letrados* had envisioned for the nation since the times of the foundation the republic. Notably, Carreño’s model of sociability with its sharp delimitations between the private and public spheres of life, the inclusion of women into various social activities, and the valorization of the middle class characterized the course of social interaction that prevailed for the remainder of the century.

For the most part, Carreño’s *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* consists of a systematic presentation of sets of norms derived from moral dictums aimed at regulating the behavior of individuals in a variety of circumstances, ranging from the most private activities, such as personal hygiene and sleeping, to social interaction with family, people with less familiarity, and strangers in either domestic or public settings. At a deeper level, the normative nature of the manual responded to the rising view of the need for social amelioration. Its

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56 Feliciano Montenegro Colón, *Lecciones de buena crianza, moral y mundo, o Educación popular* (Caracas, 1841). See N. Franceschi G., *Vida y obra del ilustre caraqueño Feliciano Montenegro Colón*, passim. Other publications on morals and manners circulating in Caracas during the period include the booklet *De las obligaciones del hombre* by Domingo Quintero (Caracas, 1840) and the books originally written in Spain and reprinted in Caracas, *Catecismo de urbanidad civil y cristiana para uso de las escuelas* by Santiago Delgado de Jesús y María (Caracas: Imprenta de Fermín Romero, 1833) and *Catecismo de Moral* by Joaquín Lorenzo de Villanueva. See M. Alcibiades, *Manuel Antonio Carreño*, 70-76 and *La heroica aventura de construir una república*, 103-08; E. Pino Iturrieta, “La urbanidad de Carreño,” 6, and *Ventaneras y Castas*, 30.
purpose was to transform individuals into morally solvent citizens as a precondition for social, economic, and cultural progress.

Figure 5.3. Title page of Manuel Antonio Carreño’s *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* (New York: D. Appleton y Cía., 1863), first published in Caracas by Imprenta de Carreño Hermanos in 1853.57

Carreño’s *Manual de Urbanidad y buenas maneras* epitomized the polite and cosmopolitan culture of socialization in Hispanic America. His theories were largely grounded on the Enlightenment-framed principles of association, tolerance, and sympathy, and their importance to the formation of civility. Cultural theorist Benet Davetian has pointed out the cultural ties existing between the notions of civility and politeness. In fact, the words “civility” and “politeness” share a similar root. “Civility’ derives from the Latin *civis*, “the city,” and “politeness” from the Greek *polis*, also “the city”. As Davetian states, civility and politeness are “indications of how life is to be best lived in cities in which citizens are dependent on one another and the state for functional relations within complex social networks.”58

cultural scholar Beatriz González Stephan has interpreted the rationale of Carreño’s manual in a Foucauldian frame, emphasizing the aspects of discipline of the body that pervade the text. According to González Stephan, the Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras represents a discursive strategy aimed at regulating the post-colonial hierarchies of society and controlling subjectivity. In an effort to domesticate what was deemed a barbarian form of sensibility, affirms González Stephan, the manual labels spontaneous and cultural impulses, denies organic functions, fragments and compartmentalizes all movements of the individuals, and establishes an artificial mediation between the individuals, the social body, and things. On her part, Mirla Alcibiades offers a compelling interpretation of the context of the prescriptive literature circulating in Caracas during the period, according to which the Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras reflected a modern vision of social life in comparison with other treatises, especially Montenegro Colón’s Lecciones de buena crianza y moral of 1841 mentioned above, which subscribed to much of the conservative views of morals and social interaction. The rapid and wide acceptance of Carreño’s manual could be explained by its overt and unprecedented acceptance of the influence of fashion and urban forms of socialization, says Alcibiades. Carreño accepted the social changes that were already taking root in Venezuela and contributed to overcoming the coercion of conservative thought. In support of Alcibiades’ thesis, the importance that Carreño conferred on sociability should be observed. About half of the manual is devoted to establishing rules of appropriate deportment in various forms of salon gatherings, providing detailed advice on aspects such as conversation, dancing, banquet eating, playing games, and music playing and listening. Moreover, the manual emphasized the importance of integrating women into these elements of society.

Manuel Antonio Carreño produced his Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras under social and political circumstances considerably different from those existing at the time that Montenegro Colón’s treatise appeared. As discussed in the previous chapter, the political consensus reached at the initial stages of the establishment of the republic, which joined together not only intelligentsia circles but also landowners, military men, bureaucrats, and merchants reached a point of definitive fracture in 1848 with José Tadeo Monagas’ assault on

60 M. Alcibiades, Manuel Antonio Carreño, 76.
the National Congress. Authoritarianism, political exclusion, and partisanship did away with
the associative efforts for organizing civil society undertaken in the two previous decades.

The project of modernization of Venezuela had turned into a slow and contradictory
process. Carreño’s position was to advocate a pacific advancement capable of outstripping the
asphyxia of thought that resulted from the infringement of the freedom of the press during the
authoritarian rule of the brothers José Tadeo and José Gregorio Monagas, as Elías Pino Iturrieta
argues. Also, Carreño’s emphasis on the importance of sociability within the boundaries of
mores and mutual respect can be fairly interpreted as an effort to restore the social fabric of
Caracas as well as to incorporate women into it. Carreño’s welcoming attitude towards urban
practices of conviviality was grounded on the belief that they promoted the exchange of ideas
and the strengthening of empathy and common interests that lay at the basis of a harmonious
and morally sound society. In particular, forms of social interaction associated with the salón
and recreational gatherings had for Carreño an educational value because they served as a
“school of good customs,” thus contributing to model the character and temperate the
passions. With respect to fashion, Carreño considered it an inherent aspect of urban life to
which we ought to submit “inasmuch as it does not deviate from morality and good
customs.”

Carreño accompanied his thorough inventory of practical rules of etiquette with an
introductory treatise on ethics, in which he elucidated the foundations of these rules. In his
ethical exposition, Carreño combined a teleological rationalistic approach with moral
sentimentalism which adhered to the utilitarian theories of Enlightenment thought. He held

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61 See Chapter 4.
63 M. A. Carreño used the Spanish expression escuela de las costumbres (school of good
customs). Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, 7. All the translations form this source are mine.
64 Ibid., 35.
65 The influence of the philosophy of the Enlightenment is noticeable in Carreño’s Manual de
urbanidad y buenas maneras. For example, similarities with the treatise by Anthon Ashley Cooper, Third
Earl of Shaftesbury (b. 1671, d. 1713), Characteristics of men, manners, opinions, times, 3 Vols. (pub.
1711), are traceable in Carreño’s book, particularly in that both complement sentimentalist ethics with
rational deontology. For an introduction to the moral philosophy of Shaftesbury, see Gill, Michael B., "Lord
Shaftesbury [Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury],” in The Stanford Encyclopedia of
writings circulating in Caracas during the nineteenth century, see M. Alcibiades, La heroica aventura de
construir una república, 117-25.

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that all the people have a natural disposition to benevolence, which is experienced as an agreeable sentiment that inclines us to desire and do good for others as for oneself.\(^{66}\) This is expressed in benefic actions for our fellows, such as respecting and comforting them, helping them when in need, and forgiving them. In contrast, egotistic actions are born out of our indulgence in “disordered passions,” which leave us trapped in our own outrage. It is, then, the awareness of our own sentiments and passions which allows us to discriminate morally appropriate behaviors from those that are not. Right actions are perceived as a pleasant sentiment in due course that are rewarded with happiness, while wrong actions are perceived as a disturbance.\(^{67}\)

Carreño’s utilitarian approach is manifest in that for him morality consists of choosing in every case those actions that produce the most good for our fellows and for us, which is the path to moral perfection, the only one that leads to true happiness.\(^{68}\) However, the commitment to persistence in our preference of moral actions to wrong actions is not founded in our sentiments, which ultimately serve only as a guide. The final cause of the commitment to moral choice in favor of the overall good is rather rational and incumbent, and it is grounded in the recognition of the obligations that emanate from God’s authority, as expressed in Christian Gospel and the Decalogue.\(^{69}\) Carreño postulated that God is “the source of all good, all comfort, and all happiness.”\(^{70}\) \(^{xx}\) Also, it is through the knowledge of our obligations with God and the understanding of the purposive quality of God’s moral laws that we commit to pursue the common good.

In Carreño’s view, there is a correspondence between human nature and divine laws. The natural disposition of men to benevolence is infused by God, “the primary origin of all the great sentiments.”\(^{71}\) \(^{xx}\) Therefore, the rational decision of following our natural altruistic sentiments equals the recognition and obedience of nature as well as obedience of the moral laws of God. Correlative to this is the need of men to live in society, which derives from both the purposive order of nature and God’s moral laws. Accordingly, Carreño states: “Providence [...] has not allowed men to be happy in isolation, neither to find in isolation the means to satisfy

\(^{66}\) The term *sentimiento de benevolencia* (sentiment of benevolence), as Carreño used it, is an umbrella concept that also comprehends “beneficence” and “charity.”


\(^{68}\) Ibid., 5. 11.

\(^{69}\) Ibid., 11.

\(^{70}\) Ibid., 10.

\(^{71}\) Ibid., 26.
their most urgent needs [...] wherever there is a gathering of human beings [...] there is a spirit of mutual benevolence more or less developed and perfect, in accordance to the influence they might have received from the sound and civilizing principles of religion and the true philosophy.”

In this context, the notion of “civilization” could be understood as synonymous with collective advancement, a progressive improvement of the quality and extent of social interactions that derives from the creation of material and cultural goods for the benefit of all, in conformity with nature and God’s moral laws. In this sense, in Carreño’s thought moral virtue has also moral civic or social significance, inasmuch as the habit of choosing right actions contributes to building the collective welfare, and therefore, collective happiness. From this perspective, an education aimed at the knowledge and understanding of moral precepts would prepare people for the exercise of the civic virtues and the pursuance of common good.

It is in Carreño’s views on the importance of education that the influence of the values of the Enlightenment is best revealed. There is no doubt that for him, education was paramount to the progress of civilization. Carreño held that education was in the first place the knowledge of moral principles and precepts, a pre-condition for both social order and the advancement of any other branch of knowledge. For him, the rational understanding of the moral principles was meant to put scientific, technological, intellectual, and artistic knowledge into the service of humankind, thus securing the cultural and social advancement of the collective. Because education was indispensable to fulfilling our moral and civic obligations, Carreño concluded that education could not but be a moral duty, one implicitly contained within all the other duties. Ultimately, education was the means to pave the way to collective and individual happiness.

Moral education, however, was not in Carreño’s view to be reduced to its intellectual aspect. It ought to involve also a practical aspect, which is nothing other than the exercise of the moral virtues in every circumstance of life, as manifested in actions and forms of behavior that communicate “dignity, decorum and elegance to our actions and words, and to show others the benevolence, attention and respect that they deserve.” This practice was regulated by a set

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72 Ibid., 21-22.
73 His notion of education reinstates the basic premises of the Enlightenment-framed educational reform promoted by Simón Bolívar and Carreño’s uncle Simón Rodríguez some decades earlier, in that for the three of them intellectual knowledge could not be separated from morals.
75 Ibid., 31.
of rules of behavior known as urbanity. Carreño distinguished two aspects in the moral practice. One is related to the moral content and purpose of urbanity, which is immutable and universal as it derives from God’s moral laws. In this respect, prescriptions of urbanity are mandatory for all. The other aspect is the one related to the actual form that urbanity takes in different places and times according to fashionable uses and customs. This aspect is for the most part conventional and refers to etiquette ceremonies and other ornaments that bring attractiveness and pleasure to social interactions, thus facilitating conviviality. These formalities do not derive from moral law, nor are they mandatory. However, they are justified by the natural inclination of humans to appreciate what is agreeable, beautiful, or appropriate, and to reject what is not.

The importance that Carreño attached to the cultivation of sociability is not to be underestimated. He believed sociability a voluntary and agreeable interaction between individuals based on mutual respect. 76 The Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras was unequivocal in its recommendation to look for this form of socialization. 77 The defense of sociability lay in his belief that social interaction gave individuals the opportunity to learn to moderate their passions, thus helping to expel moral vices. Also, sociability allowed the identification of appropriate role models in individuals of good moral character and education who Carreño saw as indispensable guides for the refinement of manners.

In this context, as it occurs in other contemporary writings, the concept of manners purported a meaning broader than is the case today. In Carreño’s manual, to have good manners was synonymous with having elegant movements, but also with having respect and consideration for others as for oneself, it is to cultivate the sentiment of benevolence. Also, it was synonymous with education and moral rectitude, developed out of self-consciousness about one’s responsibility to contribute to the social order and the pursuance of the common good. Norbert Elias in his seminal study the Civilizing Process, in which he explores the relationship between manners and social order, has advanced the thesis that throughout history manners have been the result of the social interactions that have made up the experiences of the individuals in the continuous course towards adjusting themselves to live with others, thus

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76 Ibid., 32. Carreño’s notion of sociability conforms to the concept of sociabilité as used by Enlightenment French philosophers such as Diderot and Voltaire, which broadly speaking referred to human relations occurring in the apolitical sphere in which individuals are free and unconstrained. Melton, Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe, 205.

77 Ibid., 39.
contributing to an ordered society. Accordingly, manners represent the visible aspect of the process of becoming “civilized,” while sociability operates as the primary setting where that process occurs. The relationship between manners, sociability, and civilization on one side and social order on the other elucidated by Elias is comparable with Carreño’s position, as he suggested in his Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras when he asserted that sociability was “the principle of conservation and progress of all the nations” and the condition of “existence of every ordered society.”

Carreño’s manual established that the rules of urbanity, when followed in every circumstance of social interaction, from family intercourse to public settings, guaranteed the rationality and moderation necessary to preserve the social order. Nonetheless, as reflected in the manual, the primary arena for sociability was the residential sala or salón, which Carreño considered “the general point of reception” and “the theater of every social genre.” His model of sociability was not restricted to structured gatherings such as tertulias, which supposed a certain regularity, but also to celebrations, banquets, and various other types of gatherings and visits, either formal or casual. Balls or saraos had also the greatest importance, as reflected in Carreño’s devoting an entire chapter to the rules of deportment in these gatherings. Seemingly, the aim was to expand as possible the opportunities for social interaction within a context of leisure and agreeability as a means to weaving a social network, often referred to as a sociedad (society).

Accordingly, Carreño not only did not exclude women from these forms of salon sociability but on the contrary, he encouraged their participation. As matter of fact, the Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras prescribed that women could visit each other “freely without previous announcement,” “even if they are not close acquaintances,” as much as it was done during visiting or tertulia times, customarily in the afternoon and evenings. In this regards, it recommended them to keep the home in perfect order, and to be properly dressed on a daily basis during visiting hours, thus being prepared to receive the eventual guests. A symbolic line between sociability and the domestic sphere drew the boundaries of private life, as reflected in

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78 For a thorough study on Elias’ concepts, see S. Mennell, Norbert Elias, 29-60.
79 M. A. Carreño, Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, 32.
80 Ibid., 77. Carreño’s detailed rules of “conduct in society” were set in residential salons and clearly differentiated from the rules pertaining “conduct in different places outside our home,” and “conduct with the public” referred to the ways to address the collective in press writing. Ibid., 319-22.
81 Ibid., 172, 100.
82 Ibid., 173.
some prescriptions, such as the one that prohibited sitting at the windows in the salón outside visiting times, given that these customarily faced the street.\textsuperscript{83} Similarly, the piano was not to be played except “in ordinary times of tertulia and only when executing pieces that we have already mastered; for the exercises of study we should retire to the interior of the house, or close the windows if we do not have another place to practice.”\textsuperscript{84} xxvi

Carreño considered conversation to be the core of salon sociability. The variety of topics to be treated as well as the reasoning and exchange of opinion among the participants conferred on conversation “a character eminently instructive” because it “effectively contributed to the development of the faculties and the knowledge of the world.”\textsuperscript{85} xxvii Also, conversation was certainly a fitting means of familiarizing the participants with print culture. In this sense, Carreño recommended as appropriate topics those “on literature, history, sciences, arts, and very especially those [topics] of public interest.”\textsuperscript{86} xxviii Nonetheless, in spite of an emphasis on the instructive aspects of conversation, Carreño strived to adjust it to the educational level and interests of all the partakers in order to securing the participation and ease of each one on the grounds of social tact. Erudite discussions, introducing citations or historical allusions, using artistic or scientific terms, or taking for granted that others were familiar with a particular writing, were proscribed in order to not expose their ignorance to others.\textsuperscript{87} In a similar way, social tact was also advised in regards to the inclusion of music in salon gatherings. Thus, the \textit{Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras} recommended to those who sang or performed an instrument to “adapt the pieces to the nature of the audience.”\textsuperscript{88} xxix Therefore, Carreño explicitly advised that “when the gathering is not exclusively philharmonic but it also has as its purpose other entertainments, the pieces to be performed should be always short to never bore the audience.”\textsuperscript{89} xxx

By favoring social inclusiveness over erudition, debate, or aesthetic appreciation, Carreño established a model of salon sociability that differed the associative practices of the letrados and aficionados, which centered on debate and literary or musical appreciation, when

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\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 100.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 91. The salón was invariably placed in a room near to the entrance with windows looking out to the street.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 132.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 137.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 276.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 279.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
not overtly political. His broadening view of practices of sociability occurred in a context of expansion and diversification of print culture, as reflected in the burgeoning of the market of variety magazines and other products of wider access that occurred in the mid-century. This circumstance was in contrast to the few previous decades, when the production and dissemination of print products was heavily focused on the political and intellectual interests of the educated elite. In summary, Carreño’s notion of recreational sociability represents a social space modeled after the values of urban and print culture, aimed at integrating individuals, especially women, into the social fabric. The observance of the norms of politeness and social tact guaranteed the agreeability of social interactions and the harmonious formation of the associative realm, central to the organization of civil society.

This social space that underlies Carreño’s views of polite interaction in contexts of recreational sociability coincides with what the sociologist Ding-Tzann Lii has termed the “social sphere.” According to Lii, “the social sphere represents a common space, which might be metaphorical, in which the members of society are able to meet through a variety of media, to engage in public performance and thus to form a collective sentiment.”\(^90\) Lii distinguishes the social sphere from Habermas’ notion of public sphere. Although they are related, there is a fundamental difference that separates them. Lii states that while the public sphere strives for negating particularity and partiality to rise above private views by means of rationality and thus reaching universal thought, the social sphere strives for creating “a shared living context in which the sensual perceptions of each individual member are articulated, and from which the social fabric among the members develop.”\(^91\) By social fabric, Lii refers to “the existence of a ‘lived’ relation among private members of a society” which allows the individuals to “cease to be social atoms with only egotistic concerns” and to create “an ethical relation, which is essential for the maintenance of public life.”\(^92\) Therefore, it is the societal organization of private individuals beyond families and close friends being brought together with the aim of interacting and creating a common world that ethical relations are created and public life can be sustained.\(^93\)

To be sure, Carreño’s model of recreational sociability which promoted the participation of women was inclusive and apolitical. His rules of urbanity and polite compliments were meant

\(^{91}\) Ibid.
\(^{92}\) Ibid.
\(^{93}\) Ibid., 116-17.
to create a harmonious weaving of society by establishing a sense of equality among the participants and avoiding every element that could potentiate discord. If accepting the applicability of Lií’s theory to the practices of sociability in Caracas, Carreño’s model came to counterbalance and make possible the sphere of public opinion, best represented in the discursive, erudite, and often politically embedded tradition of learned tertulias and academias, designed as either arenas for political or intellectual discussion or erudite appreciation of the music.

Accordingly, it is possible to perceive throughout Carreño’s rules of conduct in social gatherings an express effort to differentiate in terms of purposes and focus the practices of sociability that can take place in social gatherings. Thus some passages in the Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras could be read as the intent to create clear boundaries between two acceptable social practices, the recreational sociability, which was gender inclusive, and aimed at creating the social fabric, which would correspond with Lií’s notion of social sphere, and associations aimed at rational debate of political and literary matters or serious cultivation of the arts, affiliated instead with the public sphere, which was reserved for the inteligentes, either letrados or aficionados for being these ones with the education necessary to articulate their opinions about matters of public interest and to engage in a serious appreciation of the arts.

In the particular case of music, the difference between recreational gatherings and meetings within circles of aficionados and intellectuals was indicated in the manual through the prescription of two types of repertory. In this regard, Carreño stated that “serious and profound music is appropriate only within circles of aficionados, while brilliant and cheerful music is only that which pleases people without the necessary knowledge for liking the most sublime and difficult art.”

This twofold categorization of music into “serious and profound,” on the one hand, and “cheerful and brilliant,” on the other, also carried a differentiation between audiences as well as between modes of listening. In this regard, “serious music” required some sort of connoisseurship for proper listening. It was meant to be understood and only those of educated taste were in a position of fully appreciating its artistic merits and enjoying it. “Cheerful music,” instead, was accessible to general audiences who could take pleasure in it without need of prior

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94 M. A. Carreño, Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, 279.
musical education. It could be said that it was a casual way of listening. However, the lack of specifics about repertory in Carreño’s prescriptions barely allows a further characterization of his conception of musical practices for the recreational salón. It could be presumed that for Carreño, music of the “cheerful and brilliant” type comprised light genres that were undemanding in terms of listening. These were likely to include dance and character pieces, songs, and miniatures, as well as music intended to be performed in what was known as the “brilliant style of execution.” The latter, to use Carl Czerny’s categorization, referred to music of energetic character meant to raise the enthusiasm of the audience, most commonly associated with capriccios, fantasies on opera themes, and alike, to be played with piquant color and clear tone. Therefore, it could be assumed that easy opera phrases and fantasies were also part of the repertory that Manuel Antonio Carreño deemed suitable for the recreational tertulia and similar gatherings. “Serious music,” in contrast, was to be associated with the musical practices within circles of connoisseurs, centered around the performance of chamber music and aesthetic discussion, in short, the music associated with the old tradition of the academia and musical-literary tertulias.

Plausibly, Carreño’s concepts about music responded to a need to regulate the practices associated with the fashionable music that formed part of the growing market of print products and musical instruments, especially the piano. At the same time, his efforts might have been aimed at preserving the intellectual and cultured nature of the serious cultivation of music, as private gatherings of aficionados y profesores continued also being held in residential spaces. Reasonably enough, the confluence of different social activities and repertories in the same spaces could have indeed contributed to muddle up what was otherwise a discursive and concert centered activity. In fact, an overlap of repertories had been already taking place in private musical soirées in Caracas in 1840s. As discussed in the previous chapter, aficionados and profesores participated along with casual performers in gatherings that had a marked socialite purpose. The rationale for the distinction between one and another musical practice as represented in different repertories and forms of listening rested on differences of purpose, whether social or aesthetic, as well as the level of conceptual grasp involved in its appreciation. The light and broadly accessible nature of music of the “cheerful and brilliant” sort may have

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been in conflict with the Enlightenment-framed tenets involved in the cultivation of “serious music” within learned circles.

Yet, it would be erroneous to conclude that Carreño had a negative view of the light repertory. As suggested in the Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, the value of this music was in the first place social, determined by its suitability for bringing together and easing the differences among individuals of different cultural backgrounds, but also by adding allure to the salon interaction. From the point of view of sociability, music-making was considered part of the repertory of manners inasmuch as it was a social grace: it was a skill that served polite interaction in social contexts by providing a refined form of enjoyment. In particular, the manual stated: “it is a very appropriate and obsequious gesture during a visit, as long as it is not a visit required by etiquette, to request the hosts, if they have the ability, to sing or to play music.”96 Conversely, “it cannot be less [appropriate and obsequious] to make the same request of those visit us.”97

This does not mean, however, that the social utility of music precluded every form of aesthetic appreciation. In this context, the notion of aesthetic experience certainly did not correspond with the intellectual, uninterested, or even otherworldly idealism that informed the serious discussions of devoted aficionados and profesores. At a much less pretentious level, this music was expected to convey a sense of beauty and pleasure that was not at odds with the grounds of sociability. In this respect, the Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras prescribed an etiquette of silence and attention during the casual performance of music, which, even if for reasons of politeness, reflects the fact that it was expected to serve more than mere background for other activities. Thus, Carreño indicated that the readers should pay “all our attention whether or not we like what we hear because it is extremely impolite and offensive to be inattentive with those who occupy themselves with something with the intention of pleasing us, and also to display their talents.”98

Most of the references in the Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras dealing with the use of music in salon recreational gatherings are gender neutral, which suggests that for Carreño playing music in this setting was not, in principle, gender restricted. However, other passages are unambiguous in indicating that women were more inclined than men to engage in social

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96 M. A. Carreño, Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, 208.
97 Ibid., 216.
98 Ibid., 208.
graces, on account of the delicacy, sweetness, and “exquisite sensibility” that he deemed peculiar to their gender. In fact, Carreño legitimated differences of character between males and females on the grounds of a “different nature” and “different genre of life.” In particular, he ardently defended the moral superiority of women, which in turn justified the relevance of their contribution to the social order. Thus, Carreño held: “the woman entails in her being everything of good and interesting that exists in human nature; because of her physical and moral constitution and the peaceful life she has, she is essentially disposed to virtue, and in her heart dwell the most eminent social qualities.” As bastions of morals, women were designated to fulfill certain special functions. In the private sphere, they were obligated to domestic chores and economy, the affectionate and disciplined care of the family, and more importantly, the first education of children, on which “largely depends the fate of these as well as of the whole society.” In the social sphere, they were to called on to serve as role models of moral virtue and appropriate deportment. Also, they were “naturally” called to uplift social life with their graces.

The Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras was not specific about the type of education that was suitable for girls in view of their “social qualities” and “exquisite sensibility.” Nonetheless, Carrreño’s overt support to women’s participation in social settings suggests that to him instruction in ornamental subjects such as music or dancing was entirely acceptable, as it would smooth out the transition of girls to social life and urban culture. Yet, Carreño was emphatic in prescribing a rigorous observance of modesty and decency as a condition for the cultivation of ornamental skills. In this regards the Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras exhorted: “The girls who are being educated have to think that their soul, which has been tempered by the Creator for the exercise of virtue, ought to be nurtured only with useful knowledge that can serve it as a precious ornament [...] and in regards to the [social] graces, which can embellish everything but can also wreck everything, the girls must cultivate only those that are allied with [the virtues of] modesty and innocence.”

Although from the perspective of our current time the qualification of certain instructional subjects as “ornamental” is roughly interpreted in a demeaning sense, it could not
be said that this was the case in mid-nineteenth century salon culture. Learning music or dance was considered ornamental as much as it was a desirable social grace. Although not a part of the necessary subjects, which ideally included morals and religion, as well as basic intellectual instruction, the ornamental skills could entail moral and social significance, if intended to convey agreeability, elegance, or beauty to the social intercourse. These ornaments did not carry intrinsic moral connotations by themselves. Nonetheless, they were useful in heightening and making more agreeable the exercise of the virtues that could derive from sociability. In other words, they could contribute to civilize the society. Broadly speaking, a good part of the formalities involved in the precepts of urbanity could be considered ornamental, their value depending on whether or not they fulfilled a moral and social utility. As Carreño stated, “civility itself lends charm to virtue, and by making virtue pleasant and communicative, it conquers supporters and followers in favor of the moral and the good customs.” 104 Nevertheless, when social ornaments were used to indulge in egotism and boastfulness, they contributed instead to foster moral corruption and superficiality.

Certainly, the rhetoric of the moral superiority of women concealed the actual exclusion of women from other aspects of social life, especially those related to the public sphere of political opinion. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that it gave women social visibility and also contributed to bringing out the discussion about women’s education. Certainly, the transition of women to social life and improvements in their education opened venues for them to challenge their exclusion. Music was indeed one of those venues.

4. Teresa Carreño’s Musical Environment

As an adult, Teresa Carreño consistently attributed the awakening of her interest in music to the continuous exposure she received at home. In the memoirs she dictated to William Armstrong in 1917, published in the Musical Courier as “Teresa Carreño’s Reminiscences,” she traced her musical experiences from the time she was three years old, remembering that her house was a center of musical soirées and gatherings:

All the musical people of Caracas [...] used to gather at our home. The great artists coming to Venezuela asked for letters to my father’s house [...] my eldest sister played the piano beautifully [...] Whenever there was music I refused to go to sleep. My little bedstead, which I can see now with its tiny white curtains, stood in a room next to the parlor. A nurse would sit by me until I was supposed to be asleep. To keep her from

104 Ibid., 37.
seeing me still awake, I used to pull those little curtains close together, then sit up in bed and listen where she could not see me.\textsuperscript{105}

Commentaries of Manuel Antonio Carreño’s friends and acquaintances that appeared in the press during Teresa’s years as prodigy also attest to her striking reactions to the music that surrounded her. The letrado Andrés A. Silva, author of a detailed chronicle of Teresa’s early musical activities first published in 1865 in Caracas, stated that when she was two years old, she already “sang without words but with admirable intonation and correctness arias from \textit{Norma}, \textit{Lucia de Lamermoor}, and other operas that she heard her sister play on the piano, this being a regular entertainment of her child days.”\textsuperscript{106} xxxix It is evident that whether it was the performance of opera transcriptions and other fashionable piano genres for domestic and social entertainment, salon dancing, or the cultivation of sophisticated repertory with the participation aficiónados, profesores, and touring artists, music-making was a regular routine at the Carreños. Surely, Manuel Antonio’s fervent defense of both cultured and recreational sociability materialized in the frequent reunions that Teresa described as her everyday musical experience.

For various generations, the Carreños had cultivated music at the highest level in every important musical space in the city: at the cathedral, at the Sociedad Filarmónica, at private circles of connoisseurs. The family was central to the growing musical life of the city; from the musical flourishing of the late eighteenth century until the time of Teresa’s childhood, the Carreños continued to be involved with local music-making. The old tradition of the academia filarmónica and the cultured tertulia among groups of connoisseurs seems to have been preserved at Manuel Antonio’s home, coexisting along with the growing influence of opera and urban dancing. In the milieu of mid-nineteenth century Caracas, where not only musical entertainment but also concert life was primarily a private affair, the household of the Carreños must have been an exceptionally privileged place for music appreciation. This circumstance undoubtably was a catalyst for Teresa’s keen and precocious development as a musician.

5. Teresa Carreño’s Collection of Fifteen Dances and the Influence of the Salon Culture

Teresa Carreño’s early familiarity with repertories and practices associated with both the casual and serious cultivation of music shaped her early formation as a musician. Dance

\textsuperscript{106} A. A. Silva, “María Teresa Carreño,” in \textit{Hojas de todos colores: Mi ofrenda al Libertador, en la celebración de su primer centenario} (Caracas: Imprenta Bolívar, 1883), 12. All the citations from Silva’s article “María Teresa Carreño” correspond to this edition. All the translations from this source are mine.
genres in particular seem to have exerted the greatest influence on her early experiences at the piano. Teresa Carreño herself stated that she reproduced melodies with harmonic accompaniment at a young age:

To one of these musical evenings a friend of my sister’s brought some Polish melodies that she had found in Paris. The next morning after I had heard them I went into the parlor [...] The melody I picked out at once, and the common chords, but the chord of the seventh, which should come in response, I could not get. Standing on tiptoe I began to search for it on the piano. The song I had discovered was in F major. Beginning with E in my search for the missing chord, I built it up as far as the last note, which puzzled me [...] That was my first attempt to bring a melody with my two hands.

As soon as I found that I had made the Polish song my very own, I tried everything I heard. 107

Similarly, a friend of the family, the distinguished letrado Cecilio Acosta, referred to Teresa’s ventures. According to him not only did she reproduce music but also improvised: “When she could move the fingers with certain freedom,” he said, “she played on the piano compositions that she heard, or preluded simple but original musical thoughts, which amazed all who heard her for the first time, and were an augury for all who suspected her talent. 108 xi As anecdotal as these accounts might be they reveal first, the playful nature of Teresa Carreño’s initiation in music, and second, that her free exploration of sound while either finding melodies and harmonies she heard or creating new ones contributed to forwarding her aptitudes for performance, improvisation, and, eventually, composition.

The earliest records of Teresa Carreño’s compositional activities date from mid-1860, as indicated in a set of fifteen dances and three capriccios for piano copied down by her father and gathered in a bundle under the general title of Composiciones de Maria Teresa Carreño, now part of the Archives and Special Collections of the Vassar College Libraries. 109 The group of dances comprises nine waltzes, two polkas, one mazurka, and three pieces in the indigenous genre of the danza. All these pieces were carefully written and labeled with a number and the date of composition. (See Table 5.1 and Figure 5.4 below.) According to the manuscript, the dances were written in the span of little over a year from June 8, 1860 to September 14, 1861, when Teresa Carreño was aged six to seven years old. The fact that the music was notated by

108 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
109 Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, Series I, Folder 2.9, TCP. Teresa Carreño’s three Caprichos for piano will be discussed in Chapter 6.
Manuel Antonio Carreño may raise doubts about the authorship of the pieces in that collection. He may have well attributed the music to his daughter in order to inflate her accomplishments, as often occurred with other prodigies at that time. Nonetheless, there are some factors that counterbalance the argument against the authenticity of the music. First, there is no evidence that these pieces were ever publicized or that Manuel Antonio had ever profited from that collection, which survived unnoticed within Teresa Carreño’s papers until recent years. Also, there exist abundant reports of Teresa’s abilities to improvise on musical themes either of her own invention or given by others from the time she was living in Caracas, and also in New York and while touring in Havana, soon after leaving Venezuela. Moreover, Teresa Carreño in her memoirs dictated to William Armstrong in 1917 mentioned having composed some musical pieces at early age in Caracas. Reservations should be taken, nonetheless, regarding the possible imput of Manuel Antonio in editing Teresa Carreño’s compositions. Yet, the following discussion will assume that the reasons mentioned above suffice to believe that the pieces in the collection *Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño* are not spurious.

**Table 5.1. Content of the manuscript *Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño*.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Piece</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Notated date</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dances:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 1, Valse</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>8 June 1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2, Valse</td>
<td>G/D</td>
<td>8 June 1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3, Mazurka</td>
<td>e/G</td>
<td>10 June 1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4, Danza</td>
<td>C/G</td>
<td>13 June 1860</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>No. 5, Valse</td>
<td>F/Ab</td>
<td>6 Oct. 1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6, Valse</td>
<td>C/F</td>
<td>28 Oct. 1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7, Valse</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>8 Dec. 1860</td>
<td>“A Camero”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8, Valse</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>23 Dec. 1860</td>
<td>“A mamá Tutú”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9, Polka</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>15 April 1861</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>No. 10, Polka</td>
<td>Eb</td>
<td>5 June 1861</td>
<td>“A Manuel Lorenzo”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 11, Danza</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>8 June 1861</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 12, Valse</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>13 June 1861</td>
<td>“A mama”</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. 13, Danza</td>
<td>Eb</td>
<td>4 July 1861</td>
<td>“Juan de la Cruz”</td>
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<td>25 July 1861</td>
<td>“A Emilia”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Caprichos:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A, Capricho No. 1</td>
<td>Eb</td>
<td>10 July 1861</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B, Capricho No. 2</td>
<td>Db</td>
<td>12 July 1861</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allegro moderato</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Undated</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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110 The descriptions of Teresa Carreño improvising in her concerts in Caracas in 1862 will be discussed in Chapter 7.

That Teresa Carreño’s first compositions were mostly dances is not surprising. As discussed above in this chapter, Manuel Antonio Carreño defended the value of light music and social dancing as agents of sociability and refinement. His views on social music-making and dancing as emblems of urban culture and civilization are consistent with Teresa Carreño’s references to the frequent performance of dance music at home. Her acquaintance with the
conventions of dance music is manifest from the first piece in the collection, an enthralling fact when her youth is taken into account.

Interestingly, the given dates for the first pieces in the collection coincide with the time period when Teresa Carreño had just begun to study music in a systematic manner under the guidance of her father Manuel Antonio. The extant sources dealing with Teresa Carreño’s childhood, including her own testimonies, consistently show that Manuel Antonio began her music education at the age of six and half, which seems to indicate June 1860, the date when the first pieces were notated.112 Some sources also state that Teresa began her first explorations at the piano by the age of four. A lengthy article written 1863 by the Colombian man of letters Rafael Pombo, who was one of Manuel Antonio Carreño’s close associates in New York, is specific in this respect. This letter stated that “in 1858 she started as a performer: without lessons or without the help of anyone she began to perform some easy pieces in the piano with the corresponding accompaniment in the left hand.”113 A couple of sources also indicate the participation of Teresa’s mother, Clorinda García de Sena, in an initial stage of music education when the girl was five years old. José M. de Goizueta’s biographical account of Teresa appeared in Madrid in mid-1860, possibly based on information provided by Manuel Antonio himself, points that “it was at the age of five when she was introduced to the study [of music]; and a year later she began to learn in a dedicated manner under the direction of her father.”114 The nineteenth-century music historian Ramón de la Plaza leaves no doubt about Clorinda’s involvement in Teresa’s musical education. In his historiographical account of music in Venezuela which appeared two decades later, he states: “Her mother, a lady endowed with as much intelligence as instruction, took advantage of the rare aptitudes of her daughter to teach her the rudiments of the [musical] art.”115 No other mentions of the input of Teresa Carreño’s mother has been found in any other contemporary documents. This does not suffice, however,

115 R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 126.
to discard her involvement in the education of the girl. In a society that conceded importance to
the social role of women as the first preceptors of their children, it is not unreasonable that the
duty of guiding the first steps in music of Teresa along with other basic instruction in arithmetic,
reading, and writing rested on Clorinda. Nothing is known of Clorinda’s level of musical literacy.

If we accept the veracity of the information in the documents discussed above, it must
be concluded that when the music lessons under the care of Manuel Antonio began, Teresa had
already been experimenting at the piano for about two years, a time during which she became
familiar, even if only intuitively, with the basic traits of dance types, phrasing, character and
rhythms. It is plausible that Manuel Antonio had encouraged the girl to compose dance music as
part of his pedagogical strategy. The collection of fifteen dances would then be explained as her
father’s writing down Teresa’s most accomplished exercises in either composition or
improvisation as a proof of her inventiveness. Indeed, the approach of composing dances as part
of the initial education in music was an old practice in Europe, as Eric McKee has
demonstrated.116 The tradition could have passed through to Manuel Antonio by the way of
manuals, personal experience or otherwise. For instance, in the late eighteenth century the
German theorist and composition teacher Johann Kernberger in his *Recueil d’airs de danse
caractéristiques, pour servir de modèle aux jeunes compositeurs et d'exercice à ceux qui
touchent du clavcin* (pub. ca. 1777), recommended a wide knowledge of dance genres “in order
to acquire the necessary qualities of a good performance” of any sort of music, not only dance.
According to Kernberger, familiarity with the different characters, rhythms, and accents and
regular phrasing contributed to the development of musical abilities: “if one neglects to practice
the composition of characteristic dances, one will only with difficulty, or not at all achieve a
good melody.”117 It is known that Leopold Mozart incited Wolfgang Amadeus and his sister
Nannerl to compose and perform dance music as part of their educational routines. By the same
token, the improvisation and composition of dance music was also a central feature in Frédéric
Chopin’s education.118

The first piece in the collection of Carreño’s dances is a charming waltz in G major,
labelled No. 1, *Valse*. (See Figure 5.5 below.) The use of French word *valse* in the title of

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116 For a discussion on the use of dance music as a pedagogical resource in music, see E. McKee,
*Decorum of the Minuet*, 3-5.
117 Johann Kernberger (b. Saalfield, 1721, d. Berlin, 1783), *Recueil d’airs de danse caractéristiques*
118 Ibid.
Carreño’s piece, instead of “waltz” or even the Spanish word vals, was undoubtedly influenced by the market of Parisian music prints in Caracas at the time. In actuality, the term valse or vals was a customary denomination from this time on. It was retained even after it evolved into a creolized genre of distinctive indigenous characteristics, frequently referred to as valse or vals criollo (creole waltz). Stylistically, Teresa Carreño’s valse conforms to the conventions of the functional Viennese waltz (i.e. used in actual dancing) as demonstrated by the use of a formal organization in two sections and clear harmonic progressions mostly involving the tonic, subdominant, and tonic. A Certain level of sophistication is exhibited in its elegant, lyric melody as well as in the choice of strains of sixteen measures instead of the more common format of eight measures. The phrases are arranged into parallel double periods, II:aba’c:II and II:ded’f:II, where the first and the third phrases of each section begin the same way, as in the first strain, or very nearly, as in the second. It brings to the piece formal coherence as well as a sense of symmetry and effortless beauty. Particularly effective is the management of parallelism in the second section. The reappearance of phrase d, indicated as d’ (mm. 17 to 18 and 25 to 26), is not identical but set in the relative minor by means of the use of a secondary dominant in E minor. The procedure of tonicization not only indicates a certain level of musical dexterity from the part of the young composer but notably provides a subtle melancholic tinge to the piece.

Figure 5.5. No. 1, Valse from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.

The letters in italics indicate the phrasing.
The piece No. 3, the only mazurka in the collection, was written only two days after the first valse. In spite of its simplicity it also demonstrates familiarity with the formal conventions of the genre. The pervasive use of the rhythmic formula in triple meter of a dotted eight note and a sixteenth note followed by two quarter notes, characteristic of the mazurka, is present as well as other formal features. As shown in Figure 5.6 below, the piece is organized into two eight-measure sections following the melodic structure II:aa’:II II:bb’:II, a common feature of the mazurkas written early in the nineteenth century.

Figure 5.6. Formal and harmonic design of No. 3, Mazurka from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.

The letters in italics indicate the phrasing.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>mm. 1-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>a</strong></td>
<td><strong>a’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E minor: I-IV-V</td>
<td>I-IV-V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period II: 4+4 mm.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section B</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 9-16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b</strong></td>
<td><strong>b’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G major: I-ii-V-I</td>
<td>I-ii-V-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Carreño cast each strain of the piece in a different tonality. (See Figure 5.7 below.) The first section is in E minor and the second in the relative major. This procedure followed the common practice of functional dance music in the first half of the nineteenth century in which the music had to accommodate dancing needs. It is found not only in mazurkas but also in waltzes, polkas, and the like in either binary or ternary form. The custom in Venezuela apparently was to perform several pieces one after another in a chain. Endings of each individual piece in a tonality different from its original tonic could have been simply absorbed as a part of larger contexts, which included a variety of pieces in different tonalities and even different genres and rhythms. Repertories of dance music of the period, circulating in Europe and the Americas usually in music collections or inserted in dancing manuals, demonstrate that routinely for sections set in different tonalities the keys were closely related. The most frequent procedure was to assign the key of the dominant to the second, or following strains if there were more than two. The use of minor modes was less frequent. However, in such cases the minor mode was assigned to the first strain (or the central one in pieces using a ternary form) while the ending strain was set in a major tonality, either the major mode of the previous tonality or the relative major. The latter is the approach that Teresa Carreño followed in the mazurka. The procedure of having the first section in a minor key and the second section in a major key can be traced back to Schubert’s waltzes. Some instances of this practice are his waltz, No. 6 from Walzer, Ländler und Ecossaisen, op. 18. (D. 145), whose first strain is in B minor but the second is in B major, and his waltz No. 9 from Zwölf Grätzer Walzer, op. 91 (D. 924), whose first strain is in A minor but the second is in C major.¹¹⁹

**Figure 5.7. No. 3, Mazurka** from *Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño*.

The letters in italics indicate the phrasing. The brackets above the accompaniment indicate the drone-like figure.

Another noteworthy trait in this little piece is the use of a repetitive accompaniment in the first section, which with the exception of the cadences, is firmly anchored on the tonic chord in root position. Similar procedures can be found in other mazurkas written earlier in that century. For instance, the *Duke’s of Devonshire Favorite* Mazurka, an unattributed piece included in *Hart’s First Set of Mazurkas*, published in London ca. 1830 also features a quasi-static accompaniment based on the tonic chord in the first section of this piece, Figure 5.8, mm. 1 to 6 below. This convention is perhaps reminiscent of the drone on the tonic that was frequently used in the earliest folk mazurkas.¹²⁰

**Figure 5.8. Mazurka No. 3, The Duke of Devonshire’s Favorite** from Hart’s First Set of Mazurkas (London, ca. 1830).¹²¹

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¹²¹ Primary Sources for Historic Dance from the Collection of Richard Powers, http://socialdance.stanford.edu/Syllabi/Harts_Royal_Mazourkas.PDF.
Nos. 4, 11 and 13 in Carreño’s collection are danzas. They are dated June 1, 1860, June 8 and July 4, 1861. The danza is a creolized genre that developed from the French contradanse, or contradanza as it was locally known. It is estimated that the contradanza arrived in Venezuela via Spain around 1760s. From that point on, it became a favorite pastime of the aristocracy, being frequently danced in alternation with minuets. The extant repertory of Venezuelan danzas consistently shows the use of a format of two sections of eight or sixteen measures each in duple meter with hybrid style characteristics. The first section retains the musical traits of the old contradanza in duple meter, the most important being the predominance of binary rhythmic configurations. The second section, instead, introduces substantial rhythmic modifications to the basic layout of the contradanza. The most significant is the use of a rhythmic pattern of five eighth notes, traditionally notated as a succession of triplets and duplet in alternation. The

\[\text{For a discussion of the origin and social uses of the Venezuelan danza, see J. F. Sans, “El son claudicante de la danza,” 44-52.}\]
hybrid nature of the danza was also reflected in the choreography. Prussian physician and naturalist Carl Sachs, visiting Venezuela in the 1870s, described the first part as “a simple march, which the couples execute by walking in a long line and with movements that are similar to those used in the quadrille.”[^123] In the second section instead, “the steps’ pace is slow and hesitant. This part is danced in a circle, while the male dancer holds his partner by the waist,” according to Czech naturalist Enrique Stanko Vraz, who came to Venezuela towards the end of the century.[^124] For his part, Diplomat Lisboa had earlier expressed his amazement at this peculiar rhythm and the sensuality of the dance, referring to it as the “poetry of lasciviousness.”[^125] Carl Sachs, much more conservative in his observations, stated that the whole dance acquired “a strange stumbling sound, to which European ears hardly get accustomed at the beginning.”[^126]

It can be observed that the rhythmic notation adopted in the nineteenth-century of a triplet followed by a duplet for the characteristic rhythmic pattern of the danza does not reproduce the actual performance practice. Its emblematic rhythmic formula remained the basis of popular genres of central significance in Venezuelan musical culture such as the merengue and the aguinaldo, which evolved from the danza and displaced it once it declined as a salon genre at the turn of the twenty century.[^127] In the musical tradition based on the danza rhythm, the first four notes of the rhythmic the pattern tend to have a similar length, with the last eighth

[^123]: Carl or Karl Sachs (b. Neise, Prussia, 1853; d. Monte Cevedale, Prussia, 1878) visited Venezuela in 1876-1877. He recorded his observations in his Aus den Llanos. Schilderung einer Naturwissens chaftlichen Reise nach Venezuela (Leipzig: Veit und Comp., 1879). The book was translated to Spanish as De los llanos (Caracas: Conocit, Fondo Editoria, 1987). All the passages referring to music in Sach’s book (1987 ed.) are transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX. C. Sachs, De los llanos, 158-60, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 183-84. All the translations from this source are mine.

[^124]: Enrique Stanko Vraz (b. 1860; d. Praga, 1893) visited Venezuela in 1889 and 1893. His accounts were published in his Na pric Rovnikovou Amerikou (Praga, 1900). The book was published in Spanish as A través de América Ecuatorial (Caracas: Fundación Cultural Orinoco, 1992). All the passages referring to music in Vraz’s book (1992 ed.) are transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX. E. S. Vraz, A través de América Ecuatorial, 107, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 179-80, my translation.


[^126]: C. Sachs, De los llanos, 158-60, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 184.

note slightly elongated creating an agogic accent. Nineteenth-century descriptions of salon music in Venezuela refer to a similar interpretation of this rhythm. German writer Friedrich Gestäker, who had the opportunity of hearing danzas performed at the piano during his visit in Venezuela in 1868, described the genre in the following terms: “It is developed in a meter of 2/4. The first part does not offer anything extraordinary but in the second part while the right [hand] continues with the 2/4, the left [hand] plays a meter of 5/8, and this is not with a triplet and a duplet of eighth notes, but with a regular distribution of the five eighth notes for the entire measure.”

Teresa Carreño’s danzas in this collection conform to the stylistic conventions of the genre as described by Gestäker in 1868 and Sachs and Vraz in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This fact is relevant because most of the extant danzas of the nineteenth century lack precise dates, which has made it difficult to establish a reliable periodization of the emergence and development of the genre. Teresa Carreño’s compositions contribute to the documentation of the genre in the sense that they offer evidence that by the mid-century the danza had already acquired its peculiar musical characteristics. This date coincides with the earliest descriptions of the danza as a regular piece of salon dancing.

Other rhythmic features representative of the creolization of dance music in Caracas are also present in Teresa Carreño’s danzas. An intriguing example is the consistent use of a rhythmic figure consisting of a dotted eighth note followed by a sixteenth note and a duplet of eighth notes, commonly known as the rhythm of habanera, as in Figure 5.9 below. In actuality, this rhythm is used in other Caribbean dances that originated in the contradanza. In fact, the Cuban danza frequently features the repetitive use of the rhythm of the habanera in the

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128 Friedrich Gerstäker (b. Hamburg, 1816; d. Braushweig, 1872) recorded his impressions of his visit to Venezuela and other places in the Americas in his Die Blauen and die Geiben. Venezuelisches lebensbield (Jena: H. Costenoble, 1869) and Neue Reisen durch die Verinigten staaten, Mexiko, Ecuador, West-Indien und Venezuela (Jena: H. Costenoble 1869). An edition in Spanish dealing with his visit in Venezuela from Gerstäker’s books was published in Caracas under the title of Viaje por Venezuela en el año 1868 (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, Facultad de Humanidades y Educación, 1969). All the passages referring to music in Gerstäker’s book in Spanish (1969 ed.) are transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX. F. Gerstäcker, Viaje por Venezuela en el año 1868, 59, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 247-48, my translation. Enrique Stanko Vraz made observations similar to Gerstäker about the rhythm of the danza. According to Vraz, in the second part of the danza, the meter in duplet time featured a rhythmic formula in which eighteenth-note triplets and duplets were distributed in a way that they sounded as if they were divided by five. His accounts were published under the title Na pric Rovnikovou Amerikou (Praga, 1900). See E. S. Vraz, A través de América Ecuatorial, 107, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 179-80.
accompaniment. In Teresa Carreño’s danzas the habanera rhythm is placed in the melody instead. It produces an intertwining when combined with the five-note rhythm of the second strain, as in the danza No. 4. Another interesting combination of rhythms occurs in the same piece by means of a variation of the habanera rhythm, consisting of the first two notes of the motive, i.e. the dotted eight note followed by a sixteenth note, used in successive repetitions.

**Figure 5.9.** No. 4, Danza from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.

![Variation habanera rhythm](image1)

This second formula is used in the four final measures of the danza No. 11. (See Figure 5.10 below.) Here the rhythmic drive is combined with the use of a fortissimo and harmonies changing in every measure to create a sense of musical acceleration.

**Figure 5.10.** No. 11, Danza from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, mm. 21 to 24.

![Variation habanera rhythm](image2)

Rhythmic richness is also created by the use of a neighboring grouping of three or four thirty-second notes that replace the third eighth note of the danza rhythm in the melody at the beginning of the second section, the example is shown below, in Figure 5.11, mm. 9 to 15. This

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129 For a description of the Cuban danza, see Z. Gómez García and V. E. Rodríguez, Música latinoamericana y caribeña, 204.
variation functions as a sort of *rubato* embellishment, which serves the purpose of anticipating and emphasizing the fourth note of the five-note formula of the *danza* rhythm. In contrast, elements related to harmonic articulation and phrasing remain as simple as possible, diverting all the attention towards rhythm. The first phrase is anchored on the dominant of C major and the second on the dominant of G major, resolving to G major. The phrase design consists of a slightly modified sequence moving downwards, which outlines the notes of the chords of G major in the first sequence and of D major in the second.

**Figure 5.11.** No. 11, *Danza* from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, mm. 9 to 16.

The small brackets above the melody in mm. 9 to 11 indicate an embellished variation of the danza rhythm.

![Danza No. 11](image)

A different approach is shown in *Danza* No. 13, which is more complex in regards to form, phrasing, and harmonic design. The rhythmic aspect, in contrast, is relatively simple. The combinations of the habanera rhythm and the five-note danza rhythm are rather sporadic and appear only in the second section (B). More interesting is its unusual form, shown in Figure 5.12.

**Figure 5.12.** Formal and harmonic design of No. 13, *Danza* from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.

The letters in italics indicate the phrasing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period I: 3+3 mm.</th>
<th>Period II: 4+4+2 mm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section A</strong></td>
<td><strong>Period II:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mm. 1-16</strong></td>
<td><strong>4+4+2 mm.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bb major:</strong></td>
<td><strong>IV-I</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I-V-I</strong></td>
<td><strong>c</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td><strong>vi/vi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>a</strong></td>
<td><strong>vii/vi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A’</strong></td>
<td><strong>i-V-I</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eb major:</strong></td>
<td><strong>d</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V-I</strong></td>
<td><strong>ii-V-I</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Danza* rhythm
The piece is organized into two strains of sixteen bars, but, in contrast to the other two danzas in the collection, in this piece the danza proper begins in the first section. (See Figure 5.13 below.) Also uncommon is the asymmetrical organization of this section, following the structure II:aa'bcd:II. This section opens with a parallel period of two phrases of three bars each which serve as an introduction. The first is in the tonality of the dominant and the second in the tonic. A similar procedure is followed in the next eight bars, mm. 7 to 14, also organized as a parallel period, with the second phrase in the relative minor, and both featuring the characteristic five-note danza rhythm. The strain closes with a two-measure semi-phrase, mm. 15 to 16, in a style similar to the opening bars, which serves as a coda and that completes the sixteen measures of the strain. The second section is completely set in danza rhythm, with the structure II:ee’fg:II. The melody is derived from the progression of the harmony. The first progression spans the phrases e and e’, mm. 17 to 24, set in the tonality of the subdominant, and the second progression spans the two segments of the phrase f, mm. 25 to 28, in the tonic.
Figure 5.13. No. 13, *Danza* from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.

The letters in italics indicate the phrasing.
Two polkas in the collection, Nos. 9 and 10, composed on April 15, and June 5, 1861, respectively demonstrate Teresa Carreño’s grasp of the musical conventions of the polka as well. The functional format adopted in Europe in the 1840s for the polka is discernible in these two pieces: the use of duple meter, strains of eight measures in ternary form, and rhythmic patterns made of eighteenth and sixteenth notes. In both polkas she used the scheme ABC, instead of the simpler format of returning to A after B. Also, she used a sectional tonal setting, as was often used in functional dances, with the third section in the tonality of the subdominant. See for example No. 10, *Polka* in Figure 5.14 below.

**Figure 5.14.** No. 10, *Polka* from *Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.*

The capitalized letters indicate the sections.
Teresa Carreño’s attention to the polka, mazurka, valse, and danza reflects the preference that these genres enjoyed in Caracas in the 1850s. Other dances fashionable in Europe in 1830-1850, such as the polonaise, the gallop, the redowa, and the schottische occupied only a marginal place if any, being hardly mentioned in contemporary accounts of the social life of the city. In the particular case of the polka, possibly the most popular dance in Europe at that time, there is evidence that it arrived in Venezuela at about the same time it spread over from Paris in the early 1840s. The polka passed to England and the United States in 1844. From at least 1845, manuals for the instruction of polka dancing began to circulate in Caracas, as indicated in an announcement that appeared in the newspaper *El liberal*, informing readers about the sale of *La polka enseñada sin maestro: Su origen, su desarrollo e influencia en el mundo* (The Polka Taught without a Teacher: Its Origin, Development and Influence in the World) with engravings, written by Perrat and A. Robert and based on the method of maestro Corral, presumably a Spanish publication. Yet, the political and social crisis of the late 1840s that severed social life in Caracas must have tempered the polka craze that was being experienced in Europe. Once social dancing began to show signs of reactivation in the 1850s, the polka began to occupy a favored place together with the old contradanza and its creolized variant, the danza. Diplomat Miguel María Lisboa referred to this in his account of a lavish celebration held in 1852 in the residence of a Caracas mantuano. In this respect he stated: “the main hall shone with over three hundred lights, an orchestra of twelve musicians made vibrate the energetic chords of [Johann] Strauss, Herzog, [Joseph] Lanner, Burmeiller [Burgmüller] and the local composers [Atanasio] Bello, [Lino] Gallardo, [Juan José] Tovar and Montero, performing numerous contradanzas, danzas and polkas [...] This does not mean that balls abounded in Caracas.”

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131 M. M. Lisboa, *Relación de un viaje a Venezuela, Nueva Granada y Ecuador* (Caracas, 1954), 89, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, *Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX*, 175, my translation. “Burmeiller” is presumably a misspelling of Friederick Burgmüller (b. Regensburg, Germany, 1806; d. Paris, 1874). The identity of Herzog is rather obscure. Pazdírek’s *Universal Handbook of Musical Literature* (Vienna: Verlag des Universal-handbuch der Musikliteratur, 1904-1910) lists several composers of salon dances active in the mid-century under “Herzog.” The Music Division of the Library of Congress also preserves sheet music by various composers surnamed Herzog. Apparently, the most popular and prolific of them was A. Herzog. The composer Montero mentioned by Lisboa could have either been José Ángel, Ramón, Bernardino (d. Caracas, 1881), or José Lorenzo Montero, all of them members of the musical dynasty of the Monteros.
The popularity of social dancing rapidly soared in the next few years. In 1856 the orchestra mentioned in Lisboa’s account began a rivalry with a second ensemble, both offering in the newspapers their services to the “public in general” in “everything related to music,” most likely music for social entertainment. (See Figure 5.15 below.)

Figure 5.15. Newspaper announcements of two rival ensembles, identified as “orchestra of Caracas” and “another orchestra in Caracas.” Diario de avisos, 14 Jan. 1857, 1-2.

Salon dancing reached the middle class, ceasing to be the exclusive pastime of the wealthiest. It accommodated various segments of the upper and middle class, thus contributing to the creation of a common urban culture, symbol of cosmopolitanism and refinement. The spread of social dancing is further evidenced in the increasing offering of “new music for dancing” in the newspapers. J. Famiere advertised subscriptions in six volumes of his valses, polkas, and mazurkas. In the announcement appearing in October 1856 he persuasively suggested that “the elegant people in Caracas, as fond as they are for dancing, will accept these compositions as a gift for the upcoming Christmas, which is expected to be lively and fun.”

132 J. Famiere, “Musica nueva para bailes,” Diario de avisos, 1 Oct. 1856, 4, and following days. The Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música, at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas preserves printed copies of several of Famiere’s piano works, including La vuelta del proscripto, Romanza sin palabras, and a collection of valses and polkas with the titles La María Luisa, Mi nombre, El primer amor, La sirena, El teófilo, and La trenza muerta.
Similarly, Manuel E. Hernández sold his danzas, valsos, and mazurkas by subscription while José Ángel Montero offered dance compositions of “the best taste” in the form of periódicos musicales, consisting of a regular release of collections of pieces (see Figure 5.16 below).133

From this time on, travel literature frequently mentions the practice in Caracas and other cities in Venezuela of grouping four dances into a standardized set, customarily starting with a valse, followed by a polka or a mazurka or both and closing with a danza.134 There was however, a marked preference for the valse and the danza over the other two because of their indigenous style, as the Prussian naturalist Carl Sachs explained referring to his visit in Venezuela in the 1870s: “the usual pieces in these balls consisted of valsos, danzas, contradanzas, and polkas; nonetheless, the favorite are the two first [valsos and danzas], given that these are the proper national dances.”135

The enthusiasm for social dancing, in particular among women, and the fondness for danzas and valsos, is powerfully summarized in Sachs’ narrative: “Dance music is heard in many houses. The greatest passion of the criollas for dances is the reason that there is a piano in every well-off house in Caracas, which nonetheless, is hardly used but for dancing. Thus, at night one can hear here and there the limping and yet so

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133 “Piezas de baile,” Diario de avisos, 21 Apr. 1858, 1; “Periódicos musicales,” Diario de avisos, 7 Feb. 1857, 1. According to Montero’s announcement (Figure 5.17), he maintained two musical periodicals, one comprising salon dances and songs, and the other religious music. The latter included masses, pangelinguas (Pange Lingua hymns), and salves (Salve Regina antiphons). Manuel E. Hernández was a Venezuelan flautist and composer, active in Caracas during the second half of the nineteenth century. He enjoyed the respect of his colleges, who called him maestro de maestros (the master of masters). Little is known of his biography. His extant compositions are held in the Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música at the Biblioteca Nacional and Fundación Vicente Emilio Sojo, both in Caracas. For a catalogue of works, see F. Sangiorgi and J. Peñín, “Hernández, Manuel E.,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, I: 719.

134 The Hungarian naturalist and photographer Pal Rösti (b. Pest, 1830; d. Budapest, 1874), who spent a month in Caracas in 1857 during his travel in the Americas, observed that in dancing parties in Venezuela the pieces were performed in sets of three or four pieces. The last dance in each set was customarily a danza. See P. Rösti, Memorias de un viaje por America (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, Imprenta Universitaria), 72, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 175. Rösti’s book was first published as Uti Emplekezetec Amerikábol (Pest: Heckenast, 1861). On his part, the Czech naturalist Enrique Stanko Vraz, who visited Venezuela in 1889 and 1893 observed about dance music that each dancing set was integrated by four dances, which followed a specific order, first a valse, then a polka, after it a mazurka, and finally a danza. E. S. Vraz, A través de la América Ecuatorial, 107, transcribed in V. de Bendettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 179-80.

graceful rhythm of the danza and the vals [...] [The women] dance with the body and the soul." 136

Figure 5.16. Advertisement of the local composer José Ángel Montero offering periodical collections of dance pieces for piano and religious music for voice and organ. Diario de avisos, Feb. 7, 1857, 1.

By the turn of the twentieth century the creolized valse, with a distinctive character and shape that made it distinguishable from its antecedent the Viennese waltz, was positioned as the quintessential expression of Caracas salon culture, displacing the danza which was refashioned into the much popular genre of the merengue. In a situation similar to the danza, the scarcity of dated compositions prior to the last quarter of the century has made it difficult to trace the process of creolization of the valse. The earliest notices of the arrival of the waltz in Venezuela date to the 1820s. 137 Scholarly literature places the beginning of local production in

136 C. Sachs, De los llanos, 38, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 207, my translation.

137 The American men of letters William Duane and Richard Bache, companions during their visit in Venezuela in 1822-1823, mention in their traveling accounts the custom observed in dancing parties of alternating contradanzas with a certain type of vals danced in groups joining hands in circles. See W. Duane, A Visit to Colombia, in the Years 1822 and 1823, 102-03; R. Bache, Notes on Colombia, Taken in the Years 1822-3, 102-02. Doubts could be raised about the musical nature of dances described in Duane and Bache’s accounts on the grounds that the choreography does not conform to the common style of waltz dancing, commonly associated with the valse à trois temps, which consists of couples spinning around the floor dance in a close embrace. However, contemporary dancing manuals circulating in France and England include descriptions of a certain variant of the quadrille danced to a waltz that allows one to conjecture whether they correspond with the practices that Duane and Bache witnessed. Pollock in La Terpsichore moderne describes a choreography for four couples called Royal Spanish Quadrille to be danced in “waltz time.” J. S. Pollock, La Terpsicore Moderne: A Selection of the Most fashionable and Popular Quadrilles (London: Walworth and Newington Assembly Rooms, ca. 1828), 28-29. Also, Coulon’s famous dance manual, which appeared two decades later, describes a “Spanish dance” using waltz music in which “the couples are arranged for a country dance; the lady and gentleman at top changing places previous to commencement of figure; they then set with second couple, crossing into their places, set to partners cross over again to second couple, and then to partners; all join hands, advance, retire, and turn
the 1840s and the consolidation of the indigenous features into the distinctive genre of the
valse criollo by 1870s-80s.138

The most striking feature of the valse criollo or Venezuela valse is undoubtedly its
rhythmic richness, abounding in syncopations which confer to it a limping rhythm (ritmo cojo),
as Carl Sachs characterized it.139 Mariantonia Palacios lists as distinctive of the valse criollo the
following: anacrusic beginning, melodic disruptions by the use of abundant rests, hemiolas,
appoggiaturas, chromaticism, melodic, and harmonic progressions, minor keys in the first part,
greater rhythmic complexity and faster tempo in the second part, and possibly the most
conspicuous, the use of a rhythmic pattern of dotted quarter note, eighth note and quarter note
in the accompaniment instead of the “um-pah-pah” pattern in 3/4 meter.140

Some of these traits are present in one way or another in Teresa Carreño’s vals
es in the
collection. The valse No. 1, for instance, though formally conforming to the basic characteristics
of functional Viennese waltzes as explained above, exhibits at a deeper level a rhythmic and
phrase design of a certain complexity, which foreshadows the mature style of the valse criollo.
The pervasive use of syncopations, in particular the rhythmic figure of dotted quarter note,
eighth note and quarter note, though not in the accompaniment as customarily used in the
valse criollo of the late nineteenth century, is an important trait in this little piece. It is used as
the rhythmic motive of the last phrase of each section, mm. 12 to 13 and mm. 27 to 31. Also,
the closing phrase presented in parallel thirds, mm. 28 to 31 in the example below (Figure 5.17),
is another distinctive feature of the Venezuelan valse. It creates an effect of acceleration

round, four times repeated; concluding with pousette,- Dances to waltz music; and sixteen or twenty
couples may take part in it in a circle or line.” [E.] Coulon, The Ball-Room Polka, Polka-cotillon, and valse à
deux temps (London: David Bogue, 1844), 50-51. On the other hand, the combination of waltzes and
contredanses was not unusual in contemporary collections of dances. For instance, Louis-Jullien Clarchies’
Recueil des contre-danses et wals (Paris: Frère, ca. 1790-1815) is exclusively devoted to these two
genres. The waltzes contained in this collection are set to either triple or compound time and are
organized into two strains of eight bars. Each waltz is followed by a trio. On the Venezuelan valse, see José
Peñín, “Vals,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, II: 705-09. See also M. Palacios, “Rasgos
distintivos del valse venezolano en el siglo XIX,” 99-115.

138 Mariantonia Palacios states that among the earliest known waltzes published in Venezuela is a
small group of pieces under the title Vals by an anonymous composer included in the Nuevo método para
guitarra o lira by an anonymous author printed around 1840 by the press of Tomás Antero in Caracas. A
“wals” titled El churiador was included in an 1844 issue of the locally produced periodical El álbum, with
the composer identified as F. V. See M. Palacios, “Rasgos distintivos del valse venezolano en el siglo XIX,”
100-01.

139 C. Sachs, De los llanos, 158-60, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los
relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 183-84.

140 M. Palacios, “Rasgos distintivos del valse venezolano en el siglo XIX,” 104-11.
because of its combination with a descending melodic line featuring a progression based on a syncopated rhythmic motive and faster harmonic rhythm.

**Figure 5.17.** No. 1, *Valse* from *Composiciones de Teresa Carreño*, mm. 28 to 31.

The brackets above the melody indicate the rhythmic motive.

![Image of musical notation]

Also of interest is the metric conflict created between the “um-pah-pah” accompaniment in the 3/4 meter that characterizes the genre of the waltz and the melody. Thus, for most of the first period, the melody forms binary rhythmic groupings that could be read in the 3/2 meter, starting on the downbeat in the first measure. Accordingly, the first note (e) extends for four beats and it is followed by an eighth note figure starting after the syncopation in m. 2, which could be interpreted as a two-beat grouping. Also, the dotted quarter note on the second beat of mm. 4 and 6 produces a durational accent that organizes the melody, suggesting another two-beat grouping. A metrical conflict is therefore formed by the projection of the melody against the accompaniment, specifically at the beginning of the eight-note figure on the second beat of m. 2, and on the second beat of mm. 4 and 6 with the durational accents of the dotted quarter note. On the other hand, the downbeats of the accompaniment that coincide with the beginning of binary groupings of the melody are perceived as stronger than the downbeats of the remaining bars in this section. This occurs on the first beat of mm. 1, 3, 5, and 7. The overall effect is an alternation between weaker and stronger downbeats in the accompaniment, which forms segments of two bars that are largely perceived as being organized into a 6/4 meter instead of the notated 3/4, thus creating a hypermeter. In the example in Figure 5.18 below, the brackets at the top indicate the binary groupings in the melody, which suggest a 3/2 meter, while the brackets at the bottom indicate the two-bar segments in the accompaniment, which suggest a 6/4 meter.
Figure 5.18. No. 1, Valse from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, mm. 1 to 8.

The brackets below indicate two-bar segments in the accompaniment. The brackets above indicate binary groupings in the melody.

The use of various melodic and rhythmic resources to organize the music into two-bar segments is not exclusive to Venezuelan valses. In fact, this trait is frequently found in Viennese waltzes. As Sevin H. Yaraman and Erin McNee explain, the use of accentual patterns every six beats responded to the functional need of supporting the steps of the dance. The valse à trois temps, in vogue in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century, established a style of dance in which an undetermined number of dancing couples in embracing position moved continuously in the ballroom floor in large circles in counterclockwise motion while doing small turns clockwise. Each one of these small turns required six steps to be completed. This six-step dance pattern is best expressed in music through the use of a 6/8 meter. In fact, this meter was commonly used in waltz composition early in the nineteenth century. Later, when the 6/8 meter was replaced by the 3/4 meter, waltz composers looked for alternative ways to represent the six-step dance patterns in the music. From the 1830s Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauss, the Elder, while using hemiolas across two measures and other procedures to mark the six steps in the waltz’s round, began also to experiment with metrical disruptions in order to challenge the overly predictable rhythm of the waltz. Therefore, by the employment of anacrusic themes as well as sharply contrasting changes of texture, melodic material, orchestration, dynamics, and so forth, these composers effected temporary lags between the melody and the six-beat pattern of accentuation in the accompaniment. These disruptions were frequently placed at the beginning of the coda in the case of sets of waltzes framed by introduction and coda, possibly with the purpose of announcing that the dance set was about to end. However, disruptions of the six-beat pattern were also created during the course of waltzes.¹⁴¹ Dereck B. Scott and Erin

McNee have interpreted Lanner and Strauss’ attention to aspects not directly motivated in choreographic needs as a move towards aesthetic interests and freedom from functionality.\(^{142}\)

Disruptions of this sort also occur in Teresa Carreño’s \textit{valses}. Using again the first \textit{valse} in the collection as an example, an interruption of the sequence of two bar segments occurs in the melody at the beginning of the last phrase of the first section, mm. 13, when a notated accent on the appoggiatura on the second beat weakens the metrical accent on the downbeat, expected to be the first, and therefore strongest, of the six-beat pattern, displacing it to the second beat (see example in Figure 5.19 below). Also, the 3/2 groupings that had been heard in the melody are temporarily disrupted by the use of syncopations in mm. 12 and 13. This creates a metrical conflict or metrical dissonance, which serves to mark the climactic point in this section of the piece. The metrical dissonance is resolved on the downbeat of m. 15 when the regular pattern of accentuation resumes by means of a metrical and durational accent. A sense of metric consonance is further achieved at this point by the resolution of the chord of the secondary dominant into the dominant in root position.

\textbf{Figure 5.19. No. 1, \textit{Valse} from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, mm. 6 to 16.}  
The brackets below indicate two-bar segments in the accompaniment. The brackets above indicate rhythmic disruptions in the melody to that pattern.

Another type of disruption occurs in the second section of this \textit{valse}, No. 1. This time it is generated by the displacement by one bar of the strong downbeat that marks the beginning

\(^{142}\) E. McNee, \textit{Decorum of the Minuet}, 111; D. B. Scott, \textit{Sounds of the Metropolis}, 94.
of the six-beat pattern. This results in an interruption of the regular sequence of two-bar segments that had been established in the first section. This is attained by means of a one-bar-long anacrusis at the beginning of the section, m. 17 (see example in Figure 5.20 below). The dominant chord in first inversion in the accompaniment of this opening measure also helps to weaken the downbeat of measure. In contrast, a great emphasis is placed on the first beat of the following bar, m. 18. A chord change to the root position in the accompaniment and the duplication of the bass note in the melody of a dotted half note duration creates a harmonic, durational and metric accent.

Figure 5.20. No. 1, Valse from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, mm. 17 to 20.

The bracket below indicate a two-bar grouping in the accompaniment. The bracket above indicate a rhythmic disruption in the melody to that pattern.

A metrical conflict similar to the one in the first section, also placed towards the end of the section, occurs in mm. 29 to 30. (See Figure 5.21 below.) There, the metrical disruption is effected by means of an accented appoggiatura on the second beat of the two consecutive measures. It is moreover underlined through a displacement of the rhythmic motive of a dotted quarter note, eighth note, and quarter note by the insertion of an additional quarter note on the first beat of m. 29. The metric disagreement between melody and accompaniment and the gap of one bar initiated at the beginning of the section is finally resolved in the last two measures by means of an arpeggiated chord in root position and a six-beat-long note in the melody.
Figure 5.21. No. 1, Valse from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, mm. 22 to 32.
The brackets below indicate two-bar segments in the accompaniment. The bracket above indicate rhythmic groupings in the melody.

Similar stylistic procedures can be found in the other eight valsés in Teresa Carreño’s collection. In the valsés Nos. 5 and 6, the effect of two-bar segmentations suggesting a 6/4 meter is created by the use of syncopations in the melody. A four-beat note extending from the first beat of one measure to the following one weakens the second downbeat in the segment. A second syncopated figure, consisting of a dotted quarter note and eighth note, as in valse No. 5 (see example in Figure 5.22 below), or a double-dotted quarter note and sixteenth note, as in valse No. 6 (see example in Figure 5.23 below), is used to create an anticipatory effect that underlines the stronger beat of the two-bar segment.

Figure 5.22. No. 5, Valse from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, mm. 1 to 4.
The brackets below indicate two-bar segments in both melody and accompaniment.
Figure 5.23. No. 6, Valse from Composiciones de Teresa Carreño, mm. 17 to 20.
The brackets below indicate two bar segments in both melody and accompaniment.

In the valse Nos. 7 and 8, a syncopated motive placed in the second bar of the two-bar segments serves, as in the previous example, to weaken the second downbeat in the segment as well as to reinforce the accentuation of the strong downbeat of the following two-bar segment. Nonetheless, in the valse No. 8 (see Figure 5.24 below) the syncopated figuration is preceded by rests. These serve to separate the melody into two-bar segments, thus creating a sense of recurrent interruption that is distinctive of Venezuelan valse, commonly known as saltaperico melody.  

Figure 5.24. No. 8, Valse from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño, mm. 1 to 11.
The brackets below indicate two bar segments in both melody and accompaniment.

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143 M. Palacios, “Rasgos distintivos del valse venezolano en el siglo XIX,” 105.
Compositional procedures aimed at creating rhythmic variety and metric disruptions that are identifiable in the Venezuelan \textit{valse} were conceivably an influence of the Viennese waltz of the second quarter of the nineteenth century as developed by Lanner and Strauss, the Elder. Peculiar to the Venezuelan \textit{valse} was, nonetheless, the emphasis on rhythm. Rhythmic intricacy through the use of syncopations, hemiolas, and the like became increasingly conspicuous in the Venezuelan genre and, by the last quarter of the century, its most defining aspect. This certainly contributed to a greater stylistic sophistication and artistic focus in a genre originally intended for functional purposes, though, on the other hand, it undermined the rhythmic clarity required in actual dancing. Yet, Venezuelan \textit{valse} dancers were seemingly capable of adapting themselves to the rhythmic ambiguities in the locally produced music. The difficulty of dancing to the intricate rhythms of Venezuelan \textit{valses} was a point of commentary among foreigners visiting the country. In the 1870s Carl Sachs narrated his unsuccessful attempts to keep the steps of the \textit{valse} without losing his footing:

I tried to grab in my memory the steps of the \textit{valse}, since the dance seemed to me of a vexing complication. As soon as I believed myself ready, I engaged a couple. After a few steps, however, I noticed that my feet, in vile rebellion against the brain, gave up into the usual routine of the waltz from the North. What I had so painfully learned was as if gone with the wind. In full shame, I had no options but return the lady to her seat.\footnote{C. Sachs, \textit{De los llanos}, 158-60, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, \textit{Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros}, 184-85, my translation.}

The attention to rhythmic complexities certainly made the dance choreography more demanding; however, it did not seem to have created an irreconcilable breach between the functional use of the \textit{valse criollo} as music to be danced and a more autonomous use as music to be heard and appreciated for itself in the context of recreational salon gatherings. Indeed, in much of the repertory of nineteenth-century Venezuelan \textit{valses}, functional utility, or a clear reference to it, and artistic intent overlapped. In the particular case of Teresa Carreño’s dances in the collection, given her young age, it is unlikely the music had been written with the purpose of being used in actual dancing. Regardless of whether they were either composed as instructional exercises, as seems to be the case, or composed as a pastime, or even improvised, it is evident that they were modeled after the conventions of functional dances. Nonetheless, traits of sophistication that point to a conception of music not totally regulated by the practical requirements of actual dancing are also discernible in some of the pieces, especially in the last
valses, Nos. 12, 14, and 15, and the danza No. 13, manifestly more elaborate in terms of melodic, harmonic, and formal design.

To be sure, the pieces in the collection do not conform to the type of salon concert dances in brilliant style cultivated in Europe beginning in the second quarter of the century and which eventually flourished in Venezuela and materialized in a copious repertory of valses de salón. Instead, all of Teresa Carreño’s pieces in this collection of dances exhibit the basic characteristics of functional music: diatonicism, slow harmonic rhythm, little or no motivic development, strains of eight or sixteen measures, and harmonic progressions that are almost exclusively limited to the tonic, dominant, and subdominant. However, there are formal and harmonic features that indicate greater musical refinement and aesthetic concern. As shown in Table 5.2 below, most of the pieces follow either binary form, AABB, or ternary form, AABBC, as customary in functional dances. Nonetheless, valses Nos. 12 and 15 move beyond the standard format, by extending over four sections to an AABBCDD form.

In regards to the tonal plan, in most of the pieces the key is set by sections. Thus, in binary-form pieces, the second strain is set in closely related keys, either the key of the dominant, as in valse No. 2 and the danza No. 4, or the relative major as in the mazurka, No. 3 and valses Nos. 5 and 8. Only a few dances are solidly cast in the same tonality, with the first strain progressing from tonic to dominant and the second from dominant to tonic, as in the valses Nos. 1, 7 and 11. (See the last column on the right, Table 5.2.) On the other hand, in ternary-form pieces, the first two sections are set in the same tonality, the second one starting in the dominant and progressing to the tonic, while the last section is set in a related key, as in the valse No. 6 and the two polkas, Nos. 9 and 10. Within sections, any incursion to other tonalities is restricted to the use of secondary dominants.

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145 See for example the valses de salón composed by Ramón Delgado Palacios (b. Caracas, 1867; d. Caracas, 1902) in Obras completas para piano, ed. by J. F. Sans and M. Palacios (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, Fondo Editorial de Humanidades y Educación, 2003). See also the collection of valses composed by Federico Villena preserved at the Archivo Audiovisul, Colección de Música at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas.
Table 5.2. Comparison of the fifteen dances from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition:</th>
<th>Meter and bars:</th>
<th>Form:</th>
<th>Endings:</th>
<th>Keys in each section:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 1 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 16+16</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: G (I-V), 2nd: G (V-I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 16+16</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: G, 2nd: D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3 Mazurka</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 8+8</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: e, 2nd: G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4 Danza</td>
<td>$\frac{2}{4}$: 8+8</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: C, 2nd: G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 16+16</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: C, 2nd: G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 16+16+16</td>
<td>AABBCC</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: C (I-V), 2nd: C, 3rd: F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 16+16</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: G (I-V), 2nd: G (V-I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 16+16</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: c, 2nd: Eb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9 Polka</td>
<td>$\frac{2}{4}$: 8+8+8</td>
<td>AABBCC</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: C, 2nd: C (V-I), 3rd: F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 10 Polka</td>
<td>$\frac{2}{4}$: 8+8+8</td>
<td>AABBCC</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: Eb (I-V), 2nd: Eb (V-I), 3rd: Ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 11 Danza</td>
<td>$\frac{2}{4}$: 8+16</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: C, 2nd: C (V-I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 12 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 8+12+8+8</td>
<td>AABBCCD</td>
<td>Conclusive</td>
<td>1st: c, 2nd: G, 3rd: C, 4th: C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 13 Danza</td>
<td>$\frac{2}{4}$: 16+16</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>1st: Bb–Eb, 2nd: Ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 14 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 16+16</td>
<td>AABBBAA</td>
<td>Conclusive</td>
<td>1st: C-d-C, 2nd: G-a-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 15 Valse</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$: 16+16+16+16+16</td>
<td>AABBCCD</td>
<td>Conclusive</td>
<td>1st: C, 2nd: d-F-d-C, 3rd: f-Db, 4th: C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An intriguing characteristic of Teresa Carreño’s collection of dances is the use of non-conclusive or open endings in most of the pieces. (See the third column, Table 5.2 above.) With the exception of valses Nos. 6, 12, 14 and 15, the pieces in the collection lack clear endings in the sense that neither the accompaniment nor the melody feature a conclusive rhythmic design. Representative of this feature is the piece No 2, Valse, shown in Figure 5.25 below. The piece consists of two strains, the first spanning from m. 1 to m. 16, and the second from m. 17 to m. 32. The last bar of each strain (mm. 16 and 32) has a sign of repetition. The expectation of an immediate reprise in both bars is reinforced by the rhythmic design of the accompaniment, which consists of three quarter notes. The lack of a long-note value in the accompaniment in either bar, along with the absence of indications such as da capo or fine, creates confusion about how the reprises should be played. Moreover, it is not clear whether the piece ends on m.
32 or on m. 17. Since the first strain is in G and the second in D, it is reasonable to assume that a reprise of the first strain in the tonic occurs after playing the second strain in the dominant, with the piece ending on m. 17. Nonetheless, because each strain is firmly cast in its respective key, with no modulations involved and with the last bar of each on the tonic, it would be also possible to end the piece on either strain, with each section functioning independently from the tonal point of view. Indeed, the notational ambiguity exhibited in Carreño’s dance collection could be interpreted as a reflect of the practice of performing sectional repetitions or da capo reprises ad libitum and concluding at the end of one or another strain. For those pieces in which the harmonic progressions permitted, the notes corresponding to the accompaniment in the last bar of either strain would be omitted and the performer would end the piece there, or immediately pass to another piece. This practice was common during the nineteenth century when the music was intended for actual dancing. It responded to the functional need for the music to continue as long as desired as in waltzes and polkas, or to accommodate the music to the number of participants in choreographic dances such as the mazurka. Ending a piece in a key different from the beginning did not undermine the coherence of the music inasmuch as these pieces were performed in larger contexts that involved a multiplicity of dances performed one after another, as explained above. Therefore, the term “open ending” has been adopted in this study to reflect the freedom of the performer to decide where to end the piece, as suggested in the ambiguity of the musical notation of the bars at the end of each strain.

In view of the above, it is possible to discern in Teresa Carreño’s collection of dances a correspondence between the sectional setting of tonalities, the indications for sectional repeats and/or da capo reprises, and the use of open endings. Nonetheless, the converse stylistic feature is also found in the same collection. It is represented by the use of conclusive endings in the waltzes Nos. 12, 14 and 15, which coincides with the use of a larger number of distinct sections, and the setting of the outer sections in the tonic. (See columns 4 and 5 in Table 5.2 above.) This procedure underpins more autonomy for these pieces from the musical point of view, making them suitable to be performed as separate pieces to be heard, and not necessarily as constituent of a chain of pieces meant to keep the dance going on. Besides, these three pieces are considerably more complex in terms of harmony in comparison with the pieces with open endings, as reflected in the use of brief modulations, some to unexpected keys, either from one section to another or within sections. Particularly interesting in this respect is the valse No. 15. Here, as shown in Figure 5.26, the tonal design involves several modulations.
Figure 5.25. No. 2, Valse from *Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño*. Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.

At the top, manuscript of the full piece. At the bottom left, detail showing the end of the first strain and the beginning of the second strain (mm. 16-17). At the bottom right, detail showing the end of the second strain (m. 32).
Figure 5.26. Formal and harmonic design of No. 15, Valse from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.

The letters in italics indicate the phrasing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section A</th>
<th>Period I: 4+4 mm.</th>
<th>Period II: 4+4 mm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 1-16</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C major: I-V</td>
<td>I-V-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a’</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V-I</td>
<td>I-IV-ii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section B</th>
<th>Period III: 4+4 mm.</th>
<th>Period IV: 4+4 mm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 17-32</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D minor: V-i</td>
<td>D minor: V-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ger.</td>
<td>Ger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F major: i</td>
<td>C major: ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I-V-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section C</th>
<th>Period V: 4+4 mm.</th>
<th>Period VI: 4+4 mm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 33-48</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F minor: i-V</td>
<td>F minor: i-V-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V-i</td>
<td>Db major: I-V-I-Ger.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section D</th>
<th>Period VII: 4+4 mm.</th>
<th>Period VIII: 4+4 mm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 49-64</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C major: V-I</td>
<td>C major: V-I-Ger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V-I</td>
<td>V/Iii-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V/Ivii</td>
<td>I-V-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Harmonically, the valse moves from C major in the first section to D minor, F major, and C major in the second section, then to F minor and Db major in the third section, to finally return to C major in the last section. The modulations from D minor to F major and from Db major to F minor are effected by means of German sixth chords, as shown in Figure 5.27 below, mm. 21 to 22 and 44.
Figure 5.27. No. 15, *Valse* from *Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.*

The letters in italics indicate the phrasing.
Figure 5.27 (continued)
The valse No. 15 is also remarkable in regards to melodic and rhythmic design. It is organized into four double-period sections, of sixteen bars each, with phrases regularly spanning four bars. A hypermeter of 6/4 is established by means of a consistent change of melodic motives and harmony every two bars for most of the piece. Metric variety is achieved not by disruptions of the metrical regularity, as in other pieces in the collection, but by the use of contrasting rhythms within segments. Notably, brief hemiola passages consisting of the superposition of a 6/8 meter in the melody on the 3/4 in the accompaniment are used to build up a climactic point in both the first strain, mm. 13 to 14, and the third strain, mm. 45 to 46. Rhythm is also offered as an element of contrast at a larger scale, as in the second strain, mm. 17 to 32, where a percussive rhythmic motive of two eighth notes and two quarter notes with marked accents on the first and the third beats is felt throughout the section. This is strikingly in contrast to the previous section, which is of a lyrical nature. In other respects, the use of progressions, parallel thirds in the melody, and passages of rhythmic intricacy, including syncopations with the figure of a dotted quarter note, eighth note, and a quarter note, convey an unmistakable Venezuelan flavor to the piece.

Undoubtedly, the formal, melodic, harmonic and rhythmic complexity exhibited in the last pieces in the collection, in particular No. 15, reflects Teresa Carreño’s quick progress from sheer adherence to the conventions of functional music towards greater inventiveness and artistry. These last pieces are at the notational and formal level regulated by what Lynda Goehr typifies as the “work-concept,” i.e. music represented in the score in a way that it can be “regarded as having a fixed structure with a sharply defined beginning and end.”146 This contrast with the relatively unstable musical practice of functional dances represented in the example at hand by the non-fixed pieces of sectional tonality, open endings and ad libitum repetitions, Nos. 1 to 11. The use of a fixed and conclusive formal notion in the most accomplished pieces does not imply, however, that they were intended to be appreciated as “serious music,” in the sense of works meant to belong outside recreational settings. This would certainly be an overstatement. Unquestionably, the context of performance of this music was either actual dancing or musical amusement. These pieces correspond to the “cheerful” type that Carreño’s Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras prescribed for casual forms of salon sociability, and as such, they fulfilled a social utility.

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A matter of discussion, nonetheless, is the one concerning the historiographical value of Teresa Carreño’s collection of dances. Carl Dahlhaus’ well-known and controversial position about what he deems “trivial music,” excludes from historiographical accounts salon music and functional dances on the grounds of their lack of artistic quality. In this respect, Dahlhaus states that “the vast output of nineteenth-century music which served an estimable function” leaves us “under no compunction to include them in a history of music as art.” 147 Teresa Carreño herself dismissed the importance of the pieces of the collection. In 1917, looking in retrospect over her music-making in Caracas at that early age, she told William Armstrong: “I had even composed, compositions which will not go on to posterity, I assure you.”148 Nonetheless, her opinion was not directed against salon genres or dance music. The remark was for what she surely considered juvenile larks. As a matter of fact, about a fourth of Teresa Carreño’s over forty extant compositions for piano (besides the collection of dances under discussion) stylistically correspond to the salon genres. These include valses, polkas, mazurkas, and polonaises. Indisputable examples of Teresa Carreño’s adherence to the aesthetic of salon music are her Le printemps, triosième valse de salon, op. 25 and her Mazurka de salon, op. 30.149

Similar observations about the significance of salon music could be made over the larger body of Venezuelan music-making during the period. A substantial portion of the surviving works produced by Venezuelan composers during the nineteenth-century belongs to salon dances, with an overwhelming dominance of the valse criollo followed by the danza and similar genres. More specifically, after the efforts of the notables in building philharmonic societies vanished around the late 1840s, most local production and performance came to center around the emerging culture of the middle-class salon. At that time the Catholic Church continued patronizing religious music for liturgical services as well as cofradías and parish celebrations. Still, the church had long lost the preeminence that it enjoyed during colonial times. From this perspective, it becomes evident that agreeing with Dahlhaus would leave most

147 C. Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 102. Dahlhaus identifies as “trivial music” the repertory of dance halls, promenade concerts, salons and variétés. See pp. 311-20.
149 T. Carreño, Le printemps, triosième valse de salon, op. 25 (Paris: Heugel, [1868]); Mazurka de salon, op. 30 (Paris: Heugel 1869). For a modern edition of Teresa Carreño’s extant piano compositions, see Obras para piano, ed. J. F. Sans and L. Pita. For a list of her output for piano, see the preliminary study, ibid. Although most of Carreño’s compositions were for piano, she also composed a couple of works for voice and orchestra (Himno á Bolívar, comp. 1885 and Himno al Ilustre Americano, comp. 1886), as well as a few other pieces of chamber music (Romance for violin and piano, comp. ca. 1880; Quartet in b minor, publ. 1896; Serenade for string orchestra, comp. 1895).
of the local practices of nineteenth-century Venezuela outside of the historical narratives, for considering this music inconsequential from the historical point of view. At this point, the difficulty lies not in the need to resort by force to a repertory of a supposedly non-artistic standing in view of the lack of better options. The matter is, as Juan Francisco Sans points out, that the music that culturally identifies not only nineteenth-century Venezuela but Latin America as a continent is that “trivial music” that Dahlhaus so much despises, and not any other. No less pressing is the issue of whether aesthetic assumptions based on idealistic ontologies that privilege the “work-concept” over relatively unstable practices and the notion of autonomy over functionality are to monopolize the historiographical discourse over a period such as the nineteenth century, which was shaped around competing and often contradictory values and hierarchies. The latter observation points not at the cultural differences that might exist between Europe and Latin America as much as at the actual coexistence of contesting urban musical cultures throughout the nineteenth century, whether these be in Paris, Vienna, Havana, or Caracas.

Dahlhaus’ central argument against the artistic legitimacy of salon music is that in the first place the production and reception of music was regulated by the common belief that music fell into the categories of either highbrow or lowbrow. According to Dahlhaus, the classification of music prints occurred in the nineteenth-century with the increasing industrialization and commercialization of music creating the conditions for the commodification of certain repertories, which differed not only in kind but in quality from art music. Thus, a dichotomous relationship between what Dahlhaus dubs “trivial music” and what was then referred to as “serious music” was established. The former was characterized by over simplicity, conventionality, and emphasis on emotional aspects, leading to self-indulgent and sentimental forms of listening. However, even if accepting Dahlhaus’ argument, charges of non-artistry and triviality against salon genres are at best pointless when considering the difficulties involved in tracing the boundaries between highbrow and lowbrow music in the historical context. In actuality, the notion of “high art” worked as an ideal category, mostly

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151 C. Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 311-20.
applied to dead composers and genres based on the sonata form. The reception of contemporary music was rather a local and otherwise contested matter, which hardly depended only on aesthetic considerations.

The specific case of salon music was markedly ambiguous even in Europe, given the attention that many leading composers, often associated with the “serious” musical genres, granted to the so-called minor genres as well. Musicologist David Gramit has observed in regards to Schubert’s music, which could be taken as a representative case, that if taking into account the tensions that shaped the context of creation and performance, neither his dances nor his other compositions considered “high art” are to emerge in scholarly study as “unambivalent, univocal objects, but rather as elements in a shifting, contested realm of valuation and self-definition.”152

In nineteenth-century Caracas, the music market never achieved the level of mass production of industrialized cities in North America and Europe, which Dahlhus refers to as a factor for the commodification of music. Although local professional musicians found in the composition, performance, or sale of salon music a means to make a living, it does not seem that it was profitable enough to divert their attention from the wider range of musical activities they had been accustomed to until then, which included teaching, performing, and composing for the church, as well as partaking in private concerts within circles of aficionados. On the other hand, as discussed previously in this chapter, the growing commerce of scores, books, and magazines in Caracas was largely perceived as a sign of cultural advance. In actuality, it contributed to diversify and widen access to print and urban culture, with important repercussions for the integration of the rising segments of the middle-class, especially women. To be sure, mid-nineteenth century Venezuelan musical culture is much closer to the educational and philanthropic ideals of the Enlightenment thought than to the romantic aesthetics of uninterested and reverential contemplation that created an apparently irreconcilable rift between art and entertainment.153

In the specific case of Teresa Carreño’s collection of dances, the very fact that Manuel Antonio Carreño decided to write down the pieces, either with the purpose of keeping a record of Teresa’s compositional exercises or to document some of her moments of spontaneous

153 The topic of the influences of Enlightenment writers in Caracas musical culture will be further explored in Chapters 6 and 7.
creativity, or with any other purpose, suggests a conceptual frame according to which that
music was deemed to represent a certain degree of artistic achievement. From this perspective,
in the context of Caracas musical culture, dance music fulfilled a social role allied with the ideals
of civility and the adoption of urban customs advocated by the progressive-minded
intelligentsia. The fact that this music did not respond to lofty artistic pretentions does not
necessarily mean that dance music was perceived as aesthetically valueless. To assume that the
social value of dance music, even in its most functional variety, precludes it from aesthetic
considerations would be an understatement grounded on the ideological assumption of the
supposed autonomy of art. Therefore, the social functionality of salon music is not necessarily
an indication that salon music should be considered “non-art,” to use Dahlhaus’ term. There are
no reasons, then, for not regarding from an aesthetic point of view Teresa Carreño’s collection
of dances for what they are: simple, delightful and well-crafted pieces of music, comparable in
that respect to the compositions in J.S. Bach’s Notenbüchlein für Anna Magdelena Bach or
Lepold Mozart’s Nannerl Notenbuch.154 In the local context, Teresa Carreño’s pieces serve as
relevant examples of the musical practices and tastes during the mid-nineteenth century in
Caracas. Also, they help to document still uncertain stages of the process of creolization of
danzas and vals, a most characteristic expression of Venezuelan salon culture. From a purely
biographical perspective, the collection demonstrates the relevance that dance music had in the
development of Teresa Carreño’s musicianship as a pianist-composer. Her familiarity with
creolized dance genres reflected in many of her compositions from later years, notably in her Un
Bal en rêve, fantaisie-caprice, op. 26, which features sections in danza rhythms, and in her vals
Mi Teresita and Vals Gayo, op. 38, which are both representative examples of the mature style
of the Venezuelan valse criollo.155 Furthermore, Teresa Carreño’s comprehension of dance
genres and style underlay more subtle aspects of her compositional style, even in genres other

154 J. S. Bach compiled two collections of keyboard and vocal music for pedagogical purposes,
dated 1722 and 1725 respectively. The second, prepared for his second wife and commonly referred to as the Notebook of Anna Magadelena Bach. This contains music by J. S. Bach and other composers, much of it dances including minuets, gavottes, marches, musettes, and polonaises. Nanerl’s Music Book, also a compilation of keyboard music, was prepared by Leopold Mozart from 1759 to about 1764 with the purpose of teaching Nannerl and Wolfgang Amadeus. It contains various minuets and other short pieces by anonymous composers as well as pieces by C. P. E. Bach, Georg Christoph Wangslel, and Leopold Mozart. Also a few of Wolfgang Amadeus’ earliest compositions notated by Leopold are included in the collection.

155 Un bal en rêve, Fantaisie-caprice, op. 26 (Paris: Heugel, ca. 1869); Mi Teresita, Vals, composed ca. 1886 (Stockholm, 1891; Leipzig: Fritsch, 1896, as Kleiner Walzer); Vals gayo, op. 38, composed 1910 (New York: Church, [1919]). For a modern edition of these compositions, see T. Carreño, Obras para piano, ed. by J. F. Sans and L. Pita.
than concert dances, which is reflected in aspects such as the choice of characteristic tempos, meters, symmetric and regular phrasing, and melodic gestures associated with dance music.

Finally, Teresa Carreño’s dance collection serves as documentary evidence of her precocious musical ability as well as of her rapid advancement in musical literacy, as it traces her growing fluency in harmony and formal aspects of composition.

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i “Por su experimentada solidez y superioridad han encontrado una aceptacion tan universal de parte de los ilustrados habitantes de Caracas.”

ii “[...] pueden dirigirse á la libreria para toda clase de encargos de música; porque como existe entre ella y el mayor almacén de música de París una relación continua, estos pedidos serán cumplidos con la mayor brevedad y á precios sumamente equitativos.”

iii “El medio para que se destierren ciertos vicios, de que se fomente la cultura, de que se forme la opinión, de que se den a conocer los talentos, de que luzcan sus gracias nuestras damas, y de que la educación se refine.”

iv “Las ridiculiza el continuo abaniqueo, para hacer galas de sus anillos […] son blanco de la sátira, si dan en la necedad de reírse sin cesar, para que todos vean sus limpios y marfileños dientes.”

v “[…] para llevar sus futuros deberes están obligadas, antes de todo, al aprendizaje de los oficios caseros anexos a su condición […] que no merecen este título [de esposas] las ociosas y descuidadas; y que con preferencia á la hamaca y la ventana, deben ocuparse del aseo de sus casas y en varias minuciosidades que no son de olvidarse.”

vi “[…] las mugeres suelen ser con frecuencia las únicas maestras de sus hijos, y por lo mismo interesa tanto ó más su cultura.”

vii “Sin tener casi una escuela de primeras letras donde enseñar á leer, escribir y las primeras reglas de aritmética, urbanidad y religión; sin contar con rentas suficientes, ni la posibilidad de hallar maestros.”

viii “[…] educación rutinera que consiste más bien en enseñarles oficios domésticos, que descuidando […] el entendimiento y formarles el corazón: las hacen incapascales del bien, tintas y presuntuosas […] y muy perjudicial el influjo que ejercen en nosotros para la sociedad en jeneral.”

ix “Tocante a la educación elegante ó de mero adorno, esta debe ser un negocio secundario. Sin embargo muchos padres hay que están creyendo que con tocar un poco de piano, arpa, ó guitarra; cantar un poco, tengan ó no disposición para ello; y bailar otro poco ya está hecho todo: otras cosas más necesarias hay que aprender primero.”

x “[…] las maneras de las jóvenes. El dibujo y la música acompañan á la costura y al bordado, y entre poco esperamos que los elementos de geografía, historia y algo de física con aplicación á las agendas domésticas.”

xi “Ella tiene hoy la misma dignidad moral del hombre, y aunque le sea inferior en fuerza, le sobresale en fe y en amor á la virtud […] Importa mucho a la sociedad, que la que ha de ser mañana esposa, madre, viuda o virgen conozca su propia dignidad, que se eleve por su inteligencia a las alturas de sus derechos y deberes sociales, que penetre por el cultivo de las dotes de su alma cuánto valen la modestia y el pudor, que son para la mujer, lo que son para el hombre, la gloria, la probidad y el honor .

xii “La señorita M.B. cantó con gracia y claridad [un aria de Rossini] mereciendo particulares aplausos y nuestra particular esitantion á que continúe en la práctica de la buena disposición con que ha sido dotada para el canto […] la parte instrumental estuvo todo muy concertante y amena; empero es justicia esponer, que la ejecución de la sonata de Hummel para piano de la Señorita C.V. fue brillante tanto en la precisión, como en destreza y buen gusto.”

xiii “La moderación es una virtud civil: también lo es la frugalidad. Al contrario, la ostentación y el lujo son vicios civiles ó seáanse vicios de los ciudadanos […] Ese boato con el que vivís, siendo un pobre y atrasado industrial no es frugalidad: ni es moderación ese tomo de altivez y petulancia que caracteriza á toda vuestra real familia […] No teneis para vagillas de plata, empeñadas hoy según voz pública: no teneis
para suarées costosos, ni para grandes y pequeños tées con champaña, marrasquino, &c., ni para que vuestras niñas amanezcan en el piano.”

xiv “Hombres de otras tierras también vinieron con usos y costumbres diferentes a las nuestras y nos avergonzaron de nuestros hábitos, de nuestras casas desadornadas, del poco lujo de nuestras esposas e hijos, pero ya no faltan ebanistas y joyeros, nuestras habitaciones ganan en apariencia exterior, por lo menos, y nuestras hermosas no se deslucen por falta de unos pendientes. El estudio de las lenguas francesas e inglesa se difunde rápidamente en el país, y nuevas ideas se adquieren diariamente respecto de la literatura, artes, gusto, maneras y necesidades sociales.”

xv “A las hermosas caraqueñas.”

xvi “Ya pasó el tiempo en que se creía que el saber una mujer leer y escribir era un mal indicio contra ella.”

xvii “[…] esa lectura obceca el entendimiento extraviando el corazón; se sabe que las novelas sustituyen a la vida real y positiva una vida fantástica, y que no pueden producir otro efecto que el [des]prestigio y la seducción.”

“El imperio de la moda, á que debemos someternos en cuanto no se aparte de la moral y de las buenas costumbres.”

xix “[…] la fuente de todo bien, de todo consuelo y de toda felicidad.”

xx “[…] origen primitivo de todos los grandes sentimientos.”

xii “La Providencia […] no ha permitido que los hombres sean felices en el aislamiento, ni que encuentren en él los medios de satisfacer sus mas urgentes necesidades […] y donde quiera que se ve una reunión de seres humanos […] hai un espíritu de mutua benevolencia […] mas ó menos desarrollado y perfecto, según es la influencia que en ellas han podido ejercer los sanos y civilizadores principios de la religión y de la verdadera filosofía.”

xvii “[…] dignidad, decoro y elegancia á nuestras acciones y palabras, y para manifestar ‘a los demás la benevolencia, atención y respeto que les son debidos.”

xvii “[…] el principio de la conservación y progreso de los pueblos” y la condición de “existencia de toda sociedad bien organizada.”

xxiv “[…] el punto general de recibo;” “[…] teatro de toda especie de sociedad.”

xxv “[…] libremente sin previo permiso;” “aunque no medie entre ellas ninguna confianza.”

xxvi “[…] en horas ordinarias de tertulia, y eso cuando lo que ejecutemos sean piezas cuyas dificultades hayamos ya vencido; pues para los ejercicios de puro estudio deberemos retirarnos á algún sitio interior de la casa, ó cerrar las ventanas de la sala, si no podemos ménos que practicarlos en ella.”

xxvii “[…] un carácter eminentemente instructivo, y la hacen servir eficazmente al desarrollo de las facultades y al importante conocimiento del mundo.”

xxviii “Sobre literatura, historia, ciencias y artes, y muy especialmente sobre los asuntos que tengan vivamente interesada la atención pública.”

xxix “La persona que cante o toque en una reunión, deberá adaptar sus piezas á la naturaleza de su auditorio.”

xxx “[…] cuando la reunión no es exclusivamente filarmónica, sino que tiene además por objeto otros entretenimientos, las piezas que se canten ó se toquen deben ser siempre cortas, á fin de que no lleguen á fastidiar al auditorio.”

xxx “La música séria y profunda es tan solo propia para los círculos de aficionados; así como la música brillante y alegre, es la única que agrada entre personas que no poseen los conocimientos necesarios para poder gustas de lo más sublime y recóndito del arte.”

xxx “[…] es un acto muy oportuno y obsequioso en una visita, con tal que esta no sea de etiqueta, el exitar á cantar ó á tocar á las personas de la casa que posean una ú otra habilidad.”

xxx “[…], no puede serlo máenos [oportuno y obsequioso] el hacer esta excitación á las personas que nos visitan.”

xxxv “[…] toda nuestra atención, sea ó no de nuestro gusto lo que oigamos, pues es un acto de sobrenatamente inurbano y ofensivo, desatender al que se ocupa en una cosa con la intención de agradarnos, y aun de lucir sus talentos.”
“La mujer encierra en su sér todo lo que hai de mas bello é interesante en la naturaleza humana; y esencialmente dispuesta á la virtud, por su conformación física y moral, y por la vida apacible que lleva, en su corazón encuentran digna morada las mas eminentes cualidades sociales.”

“Piensen, pues, las jóvenes que se educan, que su alma, templada por el Criador para la virtud, debe nutrirse únicamente con los conocimientos útiles que sirven á esta de precioso ornamento [...] y que en las gracias, que todo pueden embellecerlo y todo pueden malograrlo, tan solo deben buscar aquellos atractivos que se hermanan bien con el pudor y la inocencia.”

“La civilidad presta encantos á la virtud misma; y haciéndola de este modo agradable y comunicativa, le conquista partidarios é imitadores en bien de la moral y las buenas costumbres.”

“ [...] cantaba sin palabras, pero con admirable entonación y corrección, arias de Norma, Lucía de Lammermoor, y otras óperas que oía tocar a su hermana en el piano, siendo éste un habitual entretenimiento de sus días infantiles.”

“ [...] cuando aun se alimentaba á los pechos, seguía siempre con la cabeza el compás de la música: jamás se dormía en la casa mientras se tocase en la sala; i cuando apenas podía mover con alguna libertad los dedos, ponía en el piano composiciones que oía, ó preludiaba pensamientos sencillos pero originales que eran un asombro para los que la oian, sin conocerla, i un augurio para los que sospechaban sus talentos.”

“ [...] En 1858 se inauguró como ejecutante: sin leccion ni ayuda de nadie dióse trazas de tocar en el piano algunas piezas fáciles, con su respectivo acompañamiento con la mano izquierda.”

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Chapter 6: TERESA CARREÑO'S VIRTUOSIC PIANO TRAINING AND THE SOCIAL PRESCRIPTIONS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION

W. S. B. Mathews' booklet Teresa Carreño: Biographical and Critical, published in Chicago in 1885 and aimed at offering an assessment of the concert career of Carreño, then in her early thirties, described her piano playing with the following terms:

Her deeply musical nature reflects with almost equal clearness the limpid and inexhaustible freshness of Bach, the deep and occasionally somber meditations of Beethoven, the gnome-like fantasy of Schumann, the so-called "morbidezza" of Chopin, and the dazzling but still beautiful sensationalism of Liszt. The solidity of her technique is such that all of these things are easy for her. The execution ceases to occupy the main part of her attention, or, to express it more truthfully, the fingers respond so readily to her moods that the playing comes to the listener with the warmth of improvisation. It is no longer a reading, a recitation, a repetition of such and such compositions [...] : it is music's self.

It is most fortunate that this warmth of conception finds expression through so thoroughly trained an apparatus as the technique of Mme. Carreño.1

Mathews was a music educator and critic who had earned a reputation for his numerous writings on music appreciation and piano pedagogy in various American musical journals and was also a fervent admirer of Teresa Carreño. Genuinely interested in learning about piano education and technical routines, Matthews asked Carreño for her “training or mode of practice by means of which she had reached her present attainment,”2 which she answered with a letter, also included in the booklet:

The best method (to my mind) to practice the piano has never been published (which was the one my father employed with me) [...]  
To make the work quicker and easier, my father wrote five hundred exercises, which I had to do over every day for a year, comprising all the scales, arpeggios, trills, thirds, octaves, etc., etc. and difficult passages from different works of all the composers he knew (and they were quite a number!); and these I had to do every day, as I say, - each day in a different key, both major and minor; and when I finished all the twenty-four modes, I had to begin again, and so on until I suppose the end of my life. I had to do these running the whole length of the keyboard, in four or five different "touches," including "staccato." As you can imagine, when the time came to take up the "studies," my execution had reached such a point that the controlling of the difficulties in these was a matter of comparative ease, and very quick work.

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2 Ibid., 3.
To this day I begin with my practicing always by two hours of these exercises of my father’s, which of course I have to reduce to a certain limit so as to be able to do the rest of my work. ³

In this letter as in other interviews and articles appeared during her adult age, Teresa Carreño recalled details of her daily practice and the musical education received from her father from the time they were in Caracas, drawing attention to the efficacy of his instructional approach. Thus Carreño sought to dispel the myth of her unlearned and miraculous abilities, which very much shaped the early stages of her concert career as a child prodigy in the United States after her successful debut in New York at the Irving Hall on November 7, 1862. ⁴ Besides, Teresa Carreño could have also desired to do justice to the role of her father in her musical formation, as newspaper commentaries during her youth commonly overlooked his input, attributing her early education to the exclusive guide of Louis Moreau Gottschalk. Pointedly, a letter of introduction written by Gioacchino Rossini on behalf of Teresa Carreño after her arrival in Paris in 1866 assured, as many others in one or another way did during her years as a child prodigy in New York, that Teresa Carreño is a genius of the purest stamp, a pearl of price, to be treasured and fostered to a development of the god-like powers with which Nature has so richly endowed her. ⁵

⁴ Around the time that Teresa Carreño made her debut as a child prodigy in New York the newspapers in that city spread the myth of her unlearned genius. Thus, Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper stated, “the dark-eyed little darling, Teresa Carreño, from Caracas, is no instructed parrot, but a thinking, feeling artist, who while eliciting astonishment by her executive power, raises astonishment to a higher pitch by the maturity of her style, by a pervading judgment, by her appreciation of light and shade, proportion and the nicer grades of relative musical values, and, lastly, by a sentiment and expression which has come to her, Heaven only knows how. [... ] She is a genius of the purest stamp, a pearl of price, to be treasured and fostered to a development of the god-like powers with which Nature has so richly endowed her.” (8 Nov. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 9, TCP, my translation.) Some commentators, instead, mentioned the involvement of Teresa Carreño’s father in her musical education but understated it. In this sense, the Spanish-language periodical La América also from New York said: “Por lo que toca a los estudios de esta niña puede decirse que han sido muy limitados. Nacida en Caracas, Venezuela, ha tenido muy pocas ocasiones de oir grandes maestros en el arte, y tuvo que limitarse á las lecciones que recibió de su padre durante los dos últimos años; pudiendo decirse que desde que aprendió a leer la música no ha tenido más guía que la de su ardiente imaginación.” (“In regard to the studies of this girl, it can be said that they have been very limited. Born in Caracas, Venezuela, she has had very few occasions to hear great art masters and had to limit herself to the lessons that she received from her father during the last two years. It can be said that since she learned to read music she has had no other guide than her ardent imagination.” 15 Nov. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 17, TCP, my translation.) Similarly, The World said: “To this [art] she has devoted a little more than two years, under the guidance of her father, an amateur of good judgment, but who now finds himself far behind his ambitious pupil both in comprehending and overcoming the technicalities of the foremost writers of the pianoforte.” (10 Nov. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 14, TCP.)
prodigy, “She is a pupil of nature, which always will be the mother of the Fine Arts and has been perfected by the celebrated Gottschalk.”

Teresa Carreño’s testimonies, along with other contemporary sources, indicate that from the time that Manuel Antonio Carreño took charge of her education in Caracas around mid-1860 when she was six and a half years old, he continued guiding her training throughout her teenage years. In addition she received advice and occasional lessons from the German pianist Julio Hohené for about four months in 1862 while still in Caracas, the American virtuoso

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6 According to Manuel Antonio Carreño’s associates in New York, the Venezuelan diplomat Simón Camacho and the Colombian man of letters Rafael Pombo, Teresa received piano lessons in Caracas with Julio Hohené during the four months that preceded the departure of the family to the United States, presumably from May to July 1862. [S. Camacho,] La América (New York), 17 December 1862, and R. Pombo, La crónica (New York), 12 Mar. 1863, in Álbum “Al genio,” Nos. 82 and 171, TCP. Teresa Carreño occasionally also referred to having taken classes with Hohené. See G. L. Graff, “Teresa Carreño,” The Lyre of Alpha Chi Omega (Indianapolis) 7 (1913-1914): 498-500. The biographical information on Carreño included in a booklet prepared for her American tour during the concert season of 1913-1914, plausibly with information provided by Carreño herself, also refers to her education under Hohené. Wolfsohn Musical Bureau, “Teresa Carreño: The Queen of Pianists” (New York: ca. 1913). This booklet is preserved at the Archivo Histórico de Teresa Carreño in Caracas. Similar information is repeated in “Concert Bulletin: Official Program of Will. L. Greebaum’s Attractions,” [U.S., 1913-14], also preserved at the Archivo Histórico de Teresa Carreño. Nineteenth-century Venezuelan music historian Ramón de la Plaza also mentioned Hohené’s lessons to Teresa Carreño. See R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 126.
Louis Moreau Gottschalk in New York from 1862 or 1863 to 1865, the French pianist George Mathias in Paris between around 1868 and 1869, and Anton Rubinstein from around 1868 until

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7 Louis Moreau Gottschalk (b. New Orleans, U.S.A, 1829; d. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1869) met Teresa Carreño and her family soon after their arrival in New York in August of 1862. Gottschalk, then on his second American tour and at the peak of his fame, offered the girl occasional piano lessons when his career permitted. Although the girl apparently received advice from Gottschalk from the time they first met, more formal lessons seem to have taken place after she had already initiated her career as a child prodigy, as suggested in a letter by Gottschalk to L. Fayette Harrison, proprietor of the Irving Hall and Teresa’s first manager. Gottschalk commented on being pleased about the “furore” that her concerts were creating in New York and also stated his intentions to give lessons to her: “She is not only a wonderful child but a real genius. As soon as I am in New York, settled down, and at leisure I intend to devote myself to her musical instruction. She must be something great and shall be.” (Cincinnati, 12 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 68, TCP.) Many years later, Gottschalk’s brother Louis Gaston (b. New Orleans, 1845; d. Chicago, 1912) in a note for W. S. B. Matthews’ journal Music stated having witnessed how Teresa between the age of nine and twelve worked for several hours with Gottschalk in a home on 9th street where he used to stay during his visits in New York. L. G. Gottschalk, “Things Here and There: Carreño and L. M. Gottschalk,” Music, Devoted to the Art, Science, Technical and Literature of Music (Chicago) 11 (1897): 457. The frequency of these lessons must have been rather sporadic. As both Gottschalk and Carreño each had a busy concert schedule, they could not have coincided in New York often. In April of 1863, Gottschalk referred to this fact in a public letter published in the newspaper El siglo in Havana: “Yo no le he dado aun mas que seis ú ocho lecciones, y sin embargo le han bastado para vencer obstáculos que para otros habrian sido barreras insuperables.” (“I have not given her more than six or eight lessons, yet they have been enough for her to overcome obstacles that for others would have been insurmountable barriers.” 8 Apr. 1863, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 194, my translation.) The lessons must have continued at that sparse pace until the Spring of 1865 when Gottschalk visited New York after the end of his tours. Gottschalk spent the following months in California and in the Fall he departed for South America never to return to the U.S. On Gottschalk’s concert tours, see S. F. Starr, Bamboula! The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, passim. Teresa Carreño’s continuing studying under the guidance of her father while taking occasional lessons from Gottschalk has been referred in Church’s Musical Visitor (Cincinnati), “Evening Mail: Mlle. Teresa Carreño,” (Oct. 1872): 5; W. S. B. Mathews, A Hundred Years on Music in America, An Account of Musical Effort in America (Chicago: G. L. Howe, 1889; Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1900), 118, 120; H. G. Kinscella, “A Half Century of Piano Playing as Viewed through Teresa Carreño’s Eyes,” Musical America (New York) 25, No. 9 (30 Dec. 1916): 5; T. Carreño, “Distinctive Piano Playing,” in J. F. Cooke, Great Pianists on Piano Playing, 115. Cooke’s book was first published in Philadelphia in 1917 by the Theodore Press.

8 Teresa Carreño mentioned in a few interviews having received lessons from Georges Mathias (b. Paris, 1826; d. Paris, 1910), a piano professor at the Conservatoire in Paris and former student of Frédéric Chopin. Nonetheless, little information about the nature of their affiliation has survived. A few commentaries that appeared in the newspapers in Paris suggest that these lessons began around early 1868 and that they took the form of occasional advice on the interpretation of classical music. Thus, Ernest Prévost stated in La France: “A l’exception de quelques conseils qu’elle a reçus du savant professeur Mathias sur l’interprétation de la musique classique […] Mlle. Carreño est exclusivement l’élève de son père.” (“With the exception of some advice that she received from the erudite Professor Mathias on the interpretation of classical music, Miss Carreño is exclusively a pupil of her father.” 28 Apr. 1868, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 307, TCP, my translation.) Likewise, a critic from Le Ménestrel observed, “Les conseils de G. Mathias l’ont initiée à la musique classique qu’elle interprete aujourd’hui avec autant de style que de maestria.” (“G. Mathias’ advice introduced her to the classical music, which she pays today with as much style as mastery.” 12 July 1868, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 313, my translation.) It is unlikely that these meetings had extended beyond the fall of 1869 due to Carreño’s busier concert touring outside Paris from that time on. For Teresa Carreño’s testimonies on her lessons with Mathias, see G. L.
1872 at the latest. Nonetheless, although Teresa Carreño often acknowledged the influence that these musicians exerted in her pianistic formation, she consistently credited her father for the underpinning of her piano technique and musicianship on the whole. Thus, as late as 1913 an interview with Harriet Brower published under the forthright title of “Carreño’s Technique [a] Parental Gift,” she left no doubts about it. “The fact that I began my studies at a very early age was a great advantage to me [...] [and] another fact which was of the utmost advantage to me was that I had an ideal teacher in my father,” said Carreño to Brower; “He saw that I loved the piano, and decided I must be properly taught. [...] He developed a wonderful system for teaching the piano, and the work he did with me I now do with my pupils.” And after explaining the practice routines followed under her father’s guidance, she added: “So you see I [have] been well grounded; indeed I have been grateful all my life for the thorough foundation which was


9 Teresa Carreño was very fond of Anton Rubinstein (b. Vykhvatinets, Podolia Governorate, Russian Empire, 1829; d. Peterhof, St. Petersburg, 1894) and they maintained a long-lasting relationship, first as student and teacher and later as colleagues and friends. They possibly met for the first time in London in 1868 as suggested in an article published in Le Menestrel from Paris, which reported on a matinée concert offered by Teresa Carreño on June 29, 1868 at Hanover Square Rooms. On their meeting, it commented: “Parmi les assistants qui donnaient les plus frequent témoignages d’admiration, on remarquait Rubinstein; il avait pris son billet comme un simple mortel. Entre deux parties du concert, le celebre compositeur-pianiste est venu complimenter sa jeune émule, et lui q dit ave un sincere enthouiasme, qu’il avait rarement entendu jouer du piano d’une manière aussi remarquable.” (“Among the attendees that offer frequent expressions of admiration [for the pianist] was Rubinstein, [who had] acquired his ticket as a simple mortal. In the intermission, the celebrated composer-pianist went to compliment his young emulator and said with sincere enthusiasm that he rarely had heard [anyone] performing the piano in such a remarkable manner.” 12 July 1868, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 313, TCP, my translation.) Teresa Carreño offered information about Rubinstein’s pedagogical approach and advice to her in several sources. Nonetheless, little is known about technical details of their practice or about the place or frequency of these lessons. Presumably, the lessons occurred sporadically from 1868 until 1872 at the latest, in either Paris or London or wherever place they coincided. In 1867 Rubinstein had returned to concert touring after serving for a few years as director of the Imperial Conservatory in St. Petersburg. His continuous concert engagements kept him traveling unceasingly. Teresa Carreño, although based in Paris and from 1871 in London, also traveled with certain frequency in France, Britain, and the Netherlands. Therefore, although they were both in Europe, the possibilities for them to meet in the same city were certainly reduced. During the season of 1872-1873 both Rubinstein and Carreño toured in the United States, but besides a brief meeting at the beginning of the season, their touring itineraries with different companies left little opportunities for coinciding again. It is possible that they did not meet together until many years later. On Teresa Carreño’s testimonies on her lessons with Rubinstein, see T. Carreño, “Individuality in Piano Playing,” The Etude (Philadelphia) 27, No. 12 (Dec. 1909): 805; T. Carreño, “Idealism in Music Study,” The Etude (June 1917): 369; H. G. Kinsella, “A Half Century of Piano Playing as Viewed through Teresa Carreño’s Eyes,” 5. On Rubinstein’s European and American tours in 1867-1863, see P. Taylor, Anton Rubinstein: A Life in Music, 123-55. On Rubinstein’s American tour, see R. A. Lott, From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland, 169-230.
laid for me. 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.”

Similarly, in her memoirs dictated to William Armstrong, which appeared in 1917, Carreño also expressed her gratitude for her musical upbringing: “You see what a foundation I had from my father who, in all his busy life [...] found joy in training his little girl in the art which he so dearly loved, and of which he was himself in reality a master.” Further words of admiration are found in an interview given to Armstrong during the same year: “When I give up my public performances I still can have the greatest delight in teaching. I learned that from my father, who was a born teacher, and I think that I have really inherited his zest for it; otherwise I should not possess the patience that I have with pupils.”

From a biographical standpoint, the topic of Teresa Carreño’s musical apprenticeship under her father stems from the interest given the role that Carreño herself ascribed to it as the basis of her piano technique, practice discipline, and the pedagogical approach that she later adopted in her own teaching. More importantly, Teresa Carreño’s early musical education constitutes a relevant case to consider in the scholarly effort to reconstruct the piano pedagogical practices of the mid-nineteenth century. At that time, as for much of the century, private musical instruction remained a chief means of musical training, even with the growing number of conservatories and musical schools that were being established in Europe as well as in the Americas. Nonetheless, little is yet known about the practices involved in private piano learning. Musicologist James Parakilas has pointed out the centrality of the piano lesson and daily practice in shaping the musical culture of the nineteenth century, as well as the difficulties involved in their historical reconstruction: the subject of the evolution of the piano teaching practices “is as elusive as is momentous,” he states.

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The obstacles to documenting the history of the piano lesson are even greater in the case of child prodigies, who constituted a conspicuous group within the virtuosic piano culture of the first two thirds of the nineteenth century. Their education, aimed at developing outstanding skills at an early age, was often concealed by the contemporary rhetoric which deemed them a God-given gift, substituting with farfetched biographical accounts the tremendous discipline and endless hours of practice that sustained their remarkable achievements.

In addition to the unavailability of reliable sources, a great skepticism about the musicological relevance of child prodigies resulted in a generalized underestimation of the topic in traditional scholarship. This contrasts with the extensive research already undertaken in the field of cognitive psychology of music, as reflected in numerous studies by John Sloboda, Jane Davidson, and Michael J.A. Howe, among others. New approaches to the musicological discipline, however, with a greater interest in cultural issues, performance practices, formerly marginalized musical styles, and non-main-stream musicians, have resulted in a growing attention to the piano virtuosic culture, and with it a revalorization of the historical importance of the child-prodigy pianist.


Two historiographic surveys recently carried out by Ingrid Fuchs and Yvonne Amthor demonstrate that the participation of child-prodigy instrumentalists in European concert life throughout the nineteenth century was a rather extended phenomenon. Fuchs listed 213 children from ages four to sixteen reported in the Leipzig musical periodical *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* on musical events from all over Europe from 1798 to 1844 who were considered prodigies in early childhood by their contemporaries. Amthor on her part listed 379 children of advanced abilities by the age of thirteen who emerged into European concert life from 1791 to 1860 based on information drawn from newspaper commentaries that appeared in various cities, and other archival sources.  

The musicologist Reinhardt Kopiez in his study of the data provided in Fuchs’ survey concludes that the concept of the musical child prodigy is to be understood only in a social and historical context. Kopiez observes that even though there are reports of children of exceptional precocity and outstanding achievements at various musical skills since ancient times, it is not until the historical development of two larger historical frameworks, the concept of childhood and the concept of individuality, that a concern for early achievement emerged. As he states, “These two historical frameworks may explain the increasing public interest in the musical child prodigies and a cumulative number of reports in contemporary sources.” On her part, Amthor argues that cultural fascination for child prodigies began to take shape in the late eighteenth century, when interest in the supernatural and spectacular acquired preeminence.

Thus, not only Mozart and his sister Nannerl but also Ludwig van Beethoven entered concert life as child-prodigies, as did some of their contemporaries, including the famed pianists Maria Teresa von Paradis, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Friedrich Kalkbrenner, and Johann Peter

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19 Ibid., 226. Kopiez is drawing this notion of childhood as a concept historically constructed from Philippe Ariès who argues that prior to the seventeenth century a social consciousness of an autonomous childhood was not yet culturally formulated. P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, 128-33. On the other hand, Kopiez’s notion of individuality is derived from the field of social psychology and rests on the assumption that although a shift from the collective to the individual occurred during the fifteenth-century, it is in the eighteenth century when it acquired greater connotations, as group membership was no longer defined by birth status and conditions to acquire and determine power began to be replaced by individual traits.
However, it was after his death in 1791 that the archetype of the *Wunderkind* began to be unequivocally linked to Mozart, as Amthor explains. During the first half of the nineteenth century the participation of child prodigies in European concerts continued growing, and with it contested views about their worth. Revered by some while considered freaks of nature by others, when not deemed the result of the charlatanism and excessive ambition of their parents, the figure of the child prodigy reached an important peak during the period from the 1830s to 1840s. This time coincides with height of the virtuosic culture, as Gerd-Heinz Stevens has observed in his study “Das Wunderkind in der Musikgeschichte.” In fact, virtuosic performative display with brilliant pieces of dazzling figuration became customary in child-prodigy concerts with the piano as the favorite choice, followed in importance by the violin.

Many among the most renowned piano virtuosos born in Europe by 1840s had their concert debut as child prodigies at a young age. These include Karl Czerny, Ignaz Moscheles, Henri Herz, Frédéric Chopin, Franz Liszt, Sigismund Thalberg, Charles-Valentin Alkan, Stephen Heller, Theodor Kullak, Anton Rubinstein, Theodor Leschetitzky, Alfred Jaëll, and Carl Tausig. Several European women pianists of this time including Fanny Mendelssohn, Marie Pleyel, Clara Schumann, Arabella Godard, and Marie Jaëll, were also considered prodigies during childhood, as they demonstrated extraordinary abilities as performers from a young age after performing in

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23 Kopiez, based on Fuch’s data, establishes two peaks, one from 1829 to 1833 and the second from 1839-42. R. Kopiez, “The Musical Child Prodigy (Wunderkind) in Music History,” 229. Stevens also noticed an increase of the public presentations of child prodigies from 1830 to 1848. G.-H. Stevens, “Das Wunderkind in der Musikgeschichte,” 111.
25 Data regarding the choice of instruments differs in Amthor and Fuch’s studies. According to the information collected by Amthor, almost 38% of the child-prodigies had the piano as their principal instrument, 26% the violin, with the rest distributed among other instruments. Y. Amthor, “Wunderkinder: Musical Prodigies in European Concert Life between 1791 and 1860,” 104. According the analysis provided by Kopiez based on Fuch’s study, 51% were pianists while almost 25% were violinists. R. Kopiez, “The Musical Child Prodigy (Wunderkind) in Music History,” 230. On the repertory used in child prodigy concerts, see the programs reproduced in O. Biba, I. Bodsch, I. Fuchs et all., *Beethoven und andere Wunderkinder*, passim.
private or public concerts. In addition, some musicians of the period who later made a respectable career as either conductors or composers were first known to public audiences as child-prodigy pianists. That was the case for Giacomo Meyerbeer, Felix Mendelsohn, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Frederick Cowen.

Although from the mid-nineteenth century important changes in compositional styles, piano performance practices, concert programming and musical taste in general began to take place in Europe, the notion of the child prodigy benefited from the uneven pace at which concert life assimilated that process. Child prodigies continued to appear with considerable frequency in public concerts until the 1870s, when public exposure of children began to be severely questioned and claims of child exploitation became more common in public opinion. Among the child-prodigy pianists who emerged during the third quarter of the century, besides Teresa Carreño, could be mentioned Marie Krebs, Raoul Pugno, Moritz Rosenthal, Eugen d’Albert, Adele aus der Ohe, and Ferruccio Busoni. Despite increasing misgivings about child prodigies in the last decades of the century, well-respected pianists such as Josef Hoffmann and George Enescu made noticeable entrances to concert life at a young age.

Although many of the renowned piano virtuosos of the nineteenth century initiated their careers as child prodigies, the reverse was not always the case. In fact, only a relatively small number of prodigies continued performing publicly in adult life. Yet, the manifest presence of child prodigies in European concert life throughout at least the second third of the nineteenth century suffices to illustrate that the child prodigy represented a paradigm of artistry on its own, which was nurtured from the conventions, aspirations and values of the virtuosic culture.

Musicologist Grete Whemeyer has pointed out that intense practice during childhood was

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29 B. Cooper, *Child Composers and Their Work*, 16.


intrinsic to the conceptions of piano virtuosity of the first half of the nineteenth century. 32 On a similar premise, scholar James Deaville has suggested the influence that famous virtuosos may have exerted as catalysts for early virtuosic training: “given the success of a Kalkbrenner or Liszt, just to mention two names that were in the air, many a parent wondered if they did not have a Wunderkind under their own roof.” 33

For Amthor, the various patterns followed in the musical training of child prodigies, along with family support and a stimulating musical background, were central to the emergence of their supposedly exceptional abilities and played a greater role in their lives than acknowledged at that time. 34 Moreover, Amthor has found that receiving intense musical education at a tender age after demonstrating genuine interest in music, either by singing or picking up tunes on an instrument, was a common course among child prodigies. 35 The initial stage of music training was primarily aimed at the development of technical and theoretical skills, which were considered the foundation of musical development. There were also other reasons for this stage to be determinant. As Amthor states: “The first instructors become important not only in respect of their actual contribution to a child’s musical education, but also with regard to the advice and direction many of them will have given, and the introduction to more skilled or experienced colleagues and patrons.” 36 The first teacher was expected to guide the child towards achieving an acceptable level of technical proficiency as to be accepted as a student of an eminent master, often a famous virtuoso pianist who would usually focus on interpretation. 37 While information about the advanced stage of education provided by the eminent masters in several cases has survived, either through musical commentaries, letters, diary entries, class notes, autobiographies, or the like, detailed information about the initial training of musical prodigies is rather rare, as Amthor has pointed out. 38

35 Ibid., 146-47.
36 Ibid., 147.
37 Ibid., 146-47.
38 Ibid., 147. J. Deaville for example, is his article “A Star is Born? Czerny, Liszt and the Pedagogy of Virtuosity,” 52-66, provides a fine study of the relationship between Carl Czerny and Franz Liszt when the latter being still a boy studied with him in Vienna in 1822-23. For materials of nineteenth-century piano master classes (though not necessarily with prodigies), see for example, Whilhelm Jerger, ed., The Piano Master Classes of Franz Liszt, 1884-1886: Diary Notes of August Göllerich (Bloomington, Ind.:
Examining Teresa Carreño’s early musical education under her father is also relevant from a local perspective. The ongoing research of the musicologist Fernando Carrasco Vázquez on the Mexican girl pianist and composer María Garfías and of the musicologist José Manuel Izquierdo on the Chilean girl pianist and violinist Josefina Filomeno demonstrate that Carreño’s musical beginning as a girl prodigy was not an isolated case in nineteenth-century Latin America, but rather a relatively extended phenomenon. From Carrasco Vázquez it is known that María Garfías initiated her studies at an early age in Mexico City with a female piano teacher, Refugio Valenzuela, and later studied with two locally renowned teachers, Agustín Balderas, with whom she continued studying piano, and Cenobio Paniagua, with whom she studied composition. By the age of twelve, María Garfías already had two of her compositions for piano published, *Mélodie* and *Gratitude*. In November 1862, Garfías made her debut concert at the Gran Teatro Nacional in Mexico City performing piano virtuosic pieces, including her own composition *Fantasía para piano sobre temas de Martha* [de F. von Flotow]. The newspapers referred to her as “a girl of only thirteen years old who is a precocious prodigy of the art.” Izquierdo’s research shows that Josefina Filomeno was educated by her father, a musician by trade and string player. In 1866 and with the support of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, being then about twelve years old, she traveled with her father to New York where she embarked on an international concert career as a child prodigy with concerts in various cities of the United States and abroad. The many similarities in the musical paths of Carreño, Garfías, and Filomeno could be


39 María García Malabear, also known as María Garfías (b. Mexico City, 1849; d. 1918). F. Carrasco Vázquez, *María Garfías (1849-1918): Una fugaz presencia de la música mexicana decimonónica*, 11-14. The pieces were published in the musical periodical *El Repertorio* (Mexico) 11, Nos. 21 and 28 (1862) and are reproduced in Carrasco Vazquez’s study. José Crescencio Agustín Balderas Araoz (b. Mexico City, 1823; d. Mexico City, 1876) has been known in Mexican history for being the teacher of Ángela Peralta (b. Mexico City, 1845; d. Mazatlán, 1883), a singer, pianist, and composer who developed a renowned international career as an operatic soprano. Balderas was also a founding member of the Conservatorio de la Sociedad Filarmónica in Mexico City in 1866. Cenobio Paniagua y Vásquez (b. Tlalpujahua, Michoacán, 1821; d. Córdoba, Veracruz, 1882) was a professional violinist and composer. His musical archive, recovered in 2002 by the musicologists Eugenio Delgado and Áurea Maya, comprises over 300 items in the genres of religious music, chamber music, and opera. It is currently housed at Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical Carlos Chávez (Cenidim) in Mexico City. On María Garfías’ piano compositions, see also A. Barrañón Cedillo, “Antología pianística de las compositoras mexicanas María Garfías y Guadalupe Olmedo,” passim.

40 *El siglo diez y nueve* (Mexico City), 19 Dec. 1862, 3, cited in F. Carrasco Vázquez, Ibid., 14, my translation.

41 J. M. Izquierdo, “The Lady of the Euphonious Name: Josefina Filomeno, or the Failed Career of an American Woman,” passim.
explained as a by-product of the increasing influence of the European virtuosic culture in Latin America from the second third of the century, with a growing market for pianos, music print products, and visiting itinerant virtuosos. In particular, the admiration professed in South America and the Caribbean of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, also a former child prodigy and a key personality in the musical exchange that operated across the Americas and between the Americas and Europe, proved to have also left an imprint on the formation of child prodigies in Latin America as demonstrated by the cases of Carreño and Filomeno.42

In the more limited context of Caracas’ musical culture, the virtuosic pedagogies that Manuel Antonio Carreño employed in the early formation of his daughter reflect the emergence of an educational paradigm that diverged from the practices that had been in use during the previous decades. Teresa Carreño’s intensive piano training must have had little in common with the piano lessons that were commonly offered to the girls in Caracas to round off an education firmly oriented to prepare them to fulfill their future duties as wives and mothers, as well as to prepare them to perform with taste and grace in recreational salon gatherings. Manuel Antonio Carreño’s approach also seemingly differed in general format and purpose from the education imparted in the short-lived musical schools and musical societies organized during the first half of the century as well as in regular schools for boys, mainly intended for preparing instrumentalists for instrumental ensembles. Moreover, Teresa Carreño’s education seems to have been in sharp contrast with the wider but plausibly less meticulous training that her father and his brothers received as musicians by trade, which allowed them to function properly in a variety of capacities from choir boys to keyboardists, composers and maestros de capilla at the church, as well as string performers in academias and philharmonic gatherings. Definitely, the case of Teresa Carreño’s piano instruction is important for Venezuelan music history because it sheds light on various aesthetic and social themes linked to the influence of the virtuosic culture in musical education in Caracas during the second third of the nineteenth century, for which little documentation has survived.

This chapter aims at studying Teresa Carreño’s education in the context of nineteenth-century piano virtuosity and its influence in Caracas musical culture. The first section documents the teaching and practicing routines that Manuel Antonio Carreño employed in the musical instruction of his daughter as reflected in her testimonies, scattered over various interviews and

42 On Gottschalk influential presence in mid-nineteenth-century Latin America, see S. F. Starr, Bamboula!, passim.
articles that appeared in musical journals and newspapers during her adult life, as well as in biographical and musical commentaries written in the 1860s by acquaintances and friends of the Carreño family, including the Venezuelan men of letters Felipe Larrazábal, Cecilio Acosta, Jesús María Sistiaga, and Andrés A. Silva, the Colombian Rafael Pombo, and the Spaniard José María de Goizueta. Next follows a discussion of the abundant manuscripts of Manuel Antonio Carreño that survived among Teresa Carreño’s papers, and which consist of sketches and various sets of piano exercises of his design, along with three improvisatory-like pieces attributed to Teresa and produced during the time they were in Caracas, which provide first-hand information on the technical and pedagogical rationale of Manuel Antonio Carreño’s virtuosic teaching practices. The final sections discuss aesthetic, social, and gender aspects related to the pedagogical virtuosic paradigm of piano training within the context of Caracas’s musical culture during the second third of the mid-nineteenth-century.

1. Teresa Carreño’s Piano Lessons and Daily Practice

Manuel Antonio Carreño took charge of Teresa’s musical education in mid-1860, when she was six and a half years old. The Spaniard José M. de Goizueta, in his biographical account of Teresa Carreño of 1866, explained the reasons for waiting until that age for initiating her formal education, even though she had shown a marked interest in music since early age. According to Goizueta, “Being [as she was], too tender to undertake any genre of study, and her body, still too weak to acquire the strength that is necessary for it, her parents waited for her to reach at least an age where she could withstand the work load of the first rudiments of the piano.” Teresa Carreño’s testimonies as well as contemporary accounts of her education at that time describe an intensive and systematic training, primarily aimed at acquiring an advanced level of mechanical dexterity, as well as skills in sight-reading and transposition. Teresa’s rigorous daily routine in Caracas included four hours of lessons and practice under the supervision of her father. As an adult she commented on these early days: “I practiced [...] two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon, and the rest of the day I played with my doll.”

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43 Chapter 5 discussed the possible involvement of Teresa Carreño’s mother, Clorinda García de Sena in providing her daughter with a casual introductory music education.
The Venezuelan letrado Andrés A. Silva, possibly conveying information provided by Manuel Antonio Carreño himself, offered in his biographical account of 1865 of Teresa an overview of her musical training in Caracas. He stated that “For eighteen months Teresa was playing scales and exercises, through which she acquired so much agility and finger dexterity and mastered so many difficulties that very soon she could play bravura pieces.” Thus, Manuel Antonio Carreño deferred Teresa’s study of musical works until she acquired a considerable level of finger dexterity. Accordingly, she underwent a preparatory period of over a year in which her daily practice mostly focused on drills aimed at training the fingers to cope with a variety of technical difficulties.

Manuel Antonio Carreño himself designed the technical exercises that he employed in Teresa’s training. According to the testimony offered to the American pedagogue Harriet Brower in 1913, Teresa Carreño said that her father “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.”

Manuel Antonio Carreño’s exercises consisted of trills, scales, and arpeggios in all the keys, as well as a series of patterns involving thirds, octaves, and so forth, throughout the length of the keyboard. She also stated that she had to practice these exercises “in four or five different touches.” These included “legato, staccato, half-staccato, and so on.” In addition, she practiced them “with all kinds of shading,” or dynamics. Some other exercises consisted of

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46 A. A. Silva, “María Teresa Carreño,” 12.
47 Teresa Carreño’s testimonies over the length of this preparatory mechanical training are inconsistent. In her interview with Harriette Brower in 1915 as well as in her memoirs appeared in 1917, she indicated that this period spanned one year. H. Brower, “Carreño’s Technique Parental Gift,” 5; W. Armstrong, ed., “Teresa Carreño’s Reminiscences [I],” 6, Nonetheless, in an article published in 1872 the interviewer stated that this period extended for two years. “Evening Mail: Mlle. Teresa Carreño,” 5. However, all the sources are consistent in asserting that her musical education in Caracas under the guidance of her father spanned two whole years and that at the end of the second year she had already mastered a sizable repertory of pieces for piano.
52 Ibid.
difficult passages taken from other composers’ pieces, which Manuel Antonio arranged in a way that the two hands had the same amount of work, so she could develop equal dexterity.  

**Figure 6.1.** *Teresita Carreño*, lithograph by Dominique C. Fabronius, in *Museo venezolano* 1, No. 5 (1 Dec. 1865): 33-36. Colección de Manuscritos y Libros Raros. Biblioteca Nacional, Caracas.

After that initial period solely devoted to drills, Manuel Antonio Carreño began to incorporate in her daily routine technical studies by Johann Baptist Cramer, Henri Bertini, and “a great deal of [Carl] Czerny.” Teresa was not specific in her childhood accounts about the

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53 Ibid.


studies she practiced at that time in Caracas. Nonetheless, in her letter to W.S.B. Mathews in 1884, she indicated that she started with their most basic methods and moved on progressively until eventually reaching Bertini’s *Grandes Études Artistiques*, op. 122 and Czerny’s *The School of Velocity*, op. 299. At a more advanced stage she would have added “Cramer, [Muzio] Clementi, [Stephen] Heller, and crowning it all by [Frédéric] Chopin’s *Études*.” It is most likely that the study of Clementi, Heller, and Chopin occurred after she left Caracas. In addition to this, Teresa Carreño referred to having studied a series of twelve little preludes that her father composed to provide her with practice material. These preludes do not survive. Finally, sight reading was also part of her daily routine from the second year of formal study. According to Teresa Carreño’s testimony, her reading practice was limited to ten minutes each day so that she would not tire out. Thus, she stated, “What was the result? In my fourteenth year I could read music as I read a book.”

As a complement to Teresa Carreño’s mechanical daily practice from the very beginning, Manuel Antonio Carreño also insisted on developing her abilities at transposition. Not only did he request that Teresa practice her drills in every key, but that she perform each study and prelude in a different key every time, so she could learn “all the chords and their relations.” Teresa Carreño, in her memoires dictated to William Armstrong, recalled how effectively he persuaded her to accomplish this work: “He would say, 'Do you think you could play this prelude in G major? I don't think you can.' And I would answer hotly, 'Indeed, I can!' doing it in a flash, of course, by ear. Thus I learned transposing. Later, when I began to study harmony seriously, I

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59 Ibid. See also H. Brower, “Carreño’s Technique [a] Parental Gift,” 5.
exclaimed, ‘For heaven’s sake I know all that!’ Also, Teresa was encouraged to transpose piano pieces and accompaniments of vocal music so she could play them in any key. She observed that her ability to transpose was so completely absorbed from such an early age that throughout her life she could practice it effortlessly: “[I] hardly know when I learned to transpose, so natural did it seem to me. [...] So I may say that whatever I could perform at all, I was able to play in any key.”

Andrés A. Silva, in his biographical writing on Teresa Carreño, stated that during the six months that preceded the departure of the Carreños from Caracas in August 1862,

Teresa continued studying and practicing [...] always under the guidance of her father. At that time she delighted all who heard her, including noteworthy professors, by reason of the neatness of her execution, the taste with which she played classical music, the ease with which she executed pieces of great bravura by Thalberg, Mendelssohn, and other composers, her memory, which allowed her to learn in a few days and play from memory the most elaborated compositions, and her remarkable ease in improvising pieces of exquisite merit either on themes given to her or of her own.

Among the pieces studied at that time, Silva counted Sigismund Thalberg’s Fantaisie on Norma, presumably the Grande fantaisie et variations sur des motifs de l’opéra Norma de Bellini, op. 12, published in Paris in 1834. On her part, Teresa Carreño stated that her “first piece [...] was nothing less than the Capriccio of Mendelssohn, op. 22.” This was Felix Mendelssohn’s Capriccio brillant in B Minor, originally composed for piano and orchestra (pub. 1832), and presumably given to Teresa in an arrangement for piano solo. As for the “classical music” referred to by Andrés A. Silva, it is possible that these were older composers such as Johann

62 Ibid.
63 A. A. Silva, “María Teresa Carreño,” 12.
64 Sigismond Thalberg composed two more fantasies on Norma, the Fantaisie sur l’opéra Norma de Bellini, No. 4 in the Decameron: Dix morceaux par le piano servant l’école préparatoire à l’étude, op. 57, published in 1846, and the “Casta Diva,” cavatina de Norma de Bellini included as No. 19 in L’art du chant appliqué au piano, Series IV, published in 1863. The second, under op. 57 is discarded as a possibility for chronological reasons. This piece is arguably easier than the Grande Fantaisie op. 12, which makes it plausibly the piece referred in Silva’s account. Nonetheless, newspaper commentaries of Teresa Carreño’s concerts in Caracas and later in New York referring to her performance of Thalberg’s Fantaisie on Norma suggest a concert work of great difficulty, which conforms better to op. 12, which had become a standard in the programming of virtuosic concerts. For a list of Thalberg’s compositions, see Daniel L. Hitchcock, “Sigismund Thalberg, Lista delle opera,” in Centro Studi Internazionale Sigismund Thalberg, http://www.centrothalberg.it/Opere.html.
Nepomuk Hummel. Musical commentaries on Teresa Carreño’s concerts given in Caracas 1862 referred to her playing music of this composer. Other musical works studied at that time, not mentioned in the documents dealing with her education in Caracas, but related to her concert-making before her departure to the United States, include Thalberg’s Fantaisie sur l’opéra Moïse de Rossini, op. 33 (pub. 1839), Henri Herz’s Variation IV from Hexameron: Grandes variations de bravoure sur la Marche des Puritains de Bellini, S392/R131 (pub. 1839), Émile Prudent’s Fantaisie de Lucie de Lamermoor de Donizetti, op. 8 (pub. ca. 1840), and Alexandre Édouard Goria’s Souvenir d’il Trovatore de Verdi, op. 79 (pub. 1856).

Concerning Teresa Carreño’s level of performing proficiency, Andrés A. Silva observed that “she could execute Thalberg’s Fantaisie on Norma, and other difficult pieces as well […] with such taste, correctness and neatness that no one who had heard without seeing her would have believed that it was played by a girl still in infancy. She was just eight years old. Silva might have exaggerated Teresa’s piano mastery at that age. Nonetheless, there is no doubt of the advanced level of technical difficulty involved in these works. According to Antoine-François Marmontel’s Vade Mecum du professeur de Piano, a well-known late nineteenth century catalogue of piano music which classified piano methods and repertory according to levels of technical demand, the pieces that Carreño played in Caracas ranked from the “very difficult” level to the level of “transcendental virtuosity,” a level reserved for maximum difficulty.

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67 A discussion of the identification of these pieces is included in Chapter 7. Émile Prudent (b. Angoulême, France, 1817; d. 1863). Alexander Édouard Goria (Paris, b. 1823; d. 1860).
68 A. A. Silva, “María Teresa Carreño,” 12.
69 Antoine François Marmontel’s system of classification of levels of difficulties of piano methods and repertory listed in his catalogue was indicated by numbers from 1 to 35, according to following the criteria: Nos 1-4: “très-facile” (very easy); Nos. 4-8: “facile” (easy); Nos. 8-12: “intermédiaire entre facile et la petite moyenne force” (intermediate between easy and medium difficulty); Nos. 12-15: “progressif entre le premier degré de la petite moyenne force et la force moyenne plus brillante” (progressive between the first degree of medium difficulty and the more brilliant medium difficulty); Nos.15-20: “progressif entre la difficulté moyenne et attaquant la virtuosité facile, mais non le difficile” (progressive between medium difficulty and easy virtuosity, but not the difficult virtuosity); Nos. 20-25: “progressif de cet ordre de difficulté au très difficile” (progressive from the previous level of difficulty to very difficult); Nos. 25-30: “du très difficile à la virtuosité transcendant” (from very difficult to transcendental difficulty); Nos. 30-35 “maximum difficile” (maximum difficulty). A. Marmontel, Vade Mecum du Professeur de Piano, 7-8. According to this catalogue, the level of difficulty of Prudent’s Fantasie on Lucie de Lamermoor corresponds to Nos. 20-30, Mendelssohn’s Capriccio brillant to Nos. 20-35, and Herz’s Fantasie on I Puritani to Nos. 25-35. Thalberg’s Fantasie and variations on Norma (original pieces for piano 4 hands) is not ranked numerically but is described as belonging to “un ordre de difficulté superieure” (an order of superior difficulty). Antoine-François Marmontel (b. Clermont-Ferrand, France, 1816; d. Paris, 1898), Vade Mecum du professeur de piano: Catalogue gradué et raisonné des meilleures méthodes, études et œuvres
Throughout her life Teresa Carreño life consistently expressed her appreciation for the earnest attention that her father gave to her musical education, acknowledging his focus on the technical aspects of piano playing, his insistence on building skills such as sight reading and transposition, and for the tangible results of his method in allowing her to master a highly demanding repertory at a young age. The encouragement she received from him to develop a critical attitude about her own performance was particularly important to her. In this regard she stated:

Part of my training consisted in being shown how to criticize myself. I learned to listen, to be critical, to judge my own work; for if it was not up to the mark I must see what was the matter and correct it myself. The earlier this can be learned the better. I attribute much of my subsequent success to this ability. I still carry out this plan, for there on the piano you will find all the notes for my coming recitals, which I work over and take with me everywhere. This method of study I always try to instill into my pupils.\(^\text{70}\)

2. Teresa Carreño’s Musical Education and the Mechanical Paradigm of Piano Training

During the second half of the eighteenth century the piano coexisted with the clavichord and the harpsichord. The general perception was that the technique required to perform these instruments was largely interchangeable. Indeed, the manuals circulating at the time usually did not establish substantial differences between the clavichord and the piano. Nonetheless, the improvements made on the mechanism of the piano in the last two decades of the eighteenth century illustrate the piano’s capacity for producing an idiomatic sound. Changes in piano building gave way to the formation of a technique specific to the piano, and with it, manuals exclusively designed for the piano. One of the earliest methods of this sort was Johann Peter Michelmeyer’s *Die whare Art das Pianoforte zu Spielen* (The true Art of Playing the Pianoforte) published ca. 1790. In this book, the author established a focus on the mechanical aspects of piano playing and made a point about the inconvenience, based on technical reasons, of not using the keyboard instruments interchangeably. Michelmeyer believed that the students should begin their practice directly on the pianoforte.\(^\text{71}\) This marked an important change in the conception of musical pedagogies; one that traces a shift from a general keyboard training to a specific training aimed at mastering the sound possibilities that the piano offered.

\(^{70}\) H. Brower, “Carreño’s Technique [a] Parental Gift,” 5.

\(^{71}\) S. Soderlund, *How Did They Play?* 199, 213.
The piano scholar James Parakilas has explained it in the following terms: “learning to play keyboard became a distinct branch of music, and studying the piano became a distinct form of keyboard study. Taking piano [lessons] in other words, became an activity in itself rather than a part of—and a means to—a broader achievement.” Likewise, practicing “started having a function of its own.”

Accordingly, the piano manuals that appeared at the turn of the nineteenth century, including Ignaz Pleyel’s and Jan Ladislav Dussek’s *Méthode pour le piano-forte* (pub. 1797), Jean-Louis Adam’s *Méthode ou Principe Général du Doigté pour le Fortepiano* (pub. 1798), and Muzio Clementi’s *Introduction to the Art of Playing the Piano Forte* (pub. 1801), centered on mechanical exercises, which were aimed at developing finger dexterity through the use of five-finger patterns, scales, and arpeggios performed up and down through the whole keyboard. They also reflect a preoccupation with distinct touches, ranging from legato to staccato, with other articulations in between. Fingering, aimed at obtaining a continuous and even melodic flow by placing the appropriate fingers when changing the position of the hand, was also a central concern in these methods. Adam’s manual also introduced an interest in developing distinct dynamic ranges, which then became a feature of the piano methods of the period.

A rapid succession of piano methods followed in the next four decades. They contributed to the construction of a paradigm of a piano pedagogy and piano technique based on the development of mechanical skills through intensive training. Among the landmark manuals of the period were Johann Baptist Cramer’s *Instructions for the Pianoforte* (pub. 1812), Clementi’s *Gradus ad Parnasum* (pub. 1817-1819), Johann Nepomuk Hummel’s *Auszählische theorisch-praktische Anweisung zum Piano-forte Spiel* (Detailed Theoretical-Practical Instruction for Piano-Forte Playing, pub. ca. 1827), Friedrich Kalkbrenner, *Méthode pour apprendre le piano à l’aidée du Guidemains* (pub. 1831), Ignaz Moscheles’ and François-Joseph Fétis’ *Méthode des méthodes* (pub. in 1837), Carl Czerny’s *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School* (pub. 1839) and Henri Bertini’s *Méthode complète et progresive de Piano* (pub. ca. 1840).

These manuals developed the idea of daily mechanical practice into a rigorous approach to

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73 Ibid.
74 Ignace Pleyel (b. Ruppersthal, Austria, 1757; d. 1831). Louis Adam (b. Muttersholz, Alsace, France, 1758-1848).
75 Friedrich Kalkbrenner (b. 1785; d. 1849). François-Joseph Fétis (b. Moinz, Hainaut, Belgium, 1784; d. 1871)
piano training for developing virtuosic skills. Among these, Hummel’s monumental method in three volumes, containing hundreds of mechanical exercises, constitutes a conspicuous example of the trust that piano pedagogues at that time placed in the intensive practice of drills as the foundation of piano virtuosity. His exercises Nos. 1-34 in the first volume, designed for the purpose of creating finger flexibility and equality of touch while keeping the hand in a still position, illustrate this. In terms of pattern design all the exercises constitute a set of slightly different variations of the same rhythmic pattern. (See Figure 6.2 below.)

Figure 6.2. Mechanical exercises Nos 1-34 from Johann Nepomuk Hummel’s Ausführliche theorisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-forte Spiel.76

The paradigm of mechanical virtuosity emerged in Europe in a specific social and cultural context. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the piano industry and the market of musical prints were growing immensely. This occurred in tandem with the ability of

the bourgeoisie to purchase musical goods, to attend concerts, and to use education and the work ethic as a form of social ascent. As James Parakilas has observed, a factor in the increasing popularity of piano methods was that they offered a method for achieving virtuosic skills to those who were willing to engage in the intensive practice of piano drills.\textsuperscript{77} In this sense, individuals such as the pedagogue and music businessman Muzio Clementi had an enormous impact, if only for pecuniary reasons, in changing the eighteenth-century perceptions that virtuosity was reserved for a few rare individuals.\textsuperscript{78}

Yet, the ideal of piano virtuosity acquired through mechanical training was not only sustained by the profitable market of piano building and methods. Reputable musical institutions such as the Conservatoire in Paris also determined the ascendancy of the mechanical paradigm of piano pedagogy. The piano methods of Jean-Louis Adam and Friedrich Kalkbrenner were used as standard pedagogical materials for the piano courses that the Conservatoire offered.\textsuperscript{79}

Thus, the use of piano methods involving an intense practice of piano drills was not only standardized among those who aspired to be professional musicians. As paradoxical as it might be, girls often followed a course of training similar to the boys, even though for reasons of prevailing gender restrictions the possibilities of women to engage in a professional career as concert pianists were considerably limited.\textsuperscript{80} Thus, the mechanical approach to piano training was established throughout the first half of the nineteenth century as the prevalent pedagogical trend. Despite the changes of taste that occurred in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, changes in piano technique brought by further improvements introduced by French piano builders and pianists such as Franz Liszt, and the stronger criticism raised concerning this method of music education by conspicuous musicians such as Robert Schumann, the use of mechanical exercises remained considerably entrenched in the musical culture of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{81} German institutions, such as the Stuttgart Conservatory, for example,

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{79} On the piano methods and the pedagogical ideals of the piano teachers at the Conservatoire in Paris during the first half of the century, see C. Timbrell, French Pianism: A Historical Perspective, 34-46.
\textsuperscript{80} On the similarities between girls and boys in piano training in Europe during the nineteenth century, see J. Parakilas, “Girls, Boys, and Pianos,” in Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano, 119-24, ed. by J. Parakilas.
\textsuperscript{81} For a study of Robert Schumann’s position regarding the paradigm of mechanical virtuosity, see A. Stefaniak, Schumann’s Virtuosity, 1-15.
continued encouraging a systematic and rigorous approach to piano training throughout the
century, as they encouraged encouraging virtuosity as an end in itself.\textsuperscript{82}

The pedagogical approach adopted by Manuel Antonio Carreño in the piano training of
his daughter conformed to several of the prescriptions that had become common in the
manuals that circulated throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, more specifically
those concerning the age to start studying, starting a several-hour daily practice of scales,
arpeggios, and drills, and developing skills in sight reading and transposition early. As matter of
fact, it is possible to establish important similarities between Teresa’s practicing routines and
many of the recommendations that Czerny included in his famous \textit{Complete Theoretical and
Practical Piano Forte School}, op. 500.

Czerny indicated in the Preface of his method the age of eight or ten as a reasonable
time for a child to start learning the piano. Nonetheless, he observed that “in truth we ought to
commence as early as possible, if we wish to attain any degree of proficiency in playing.”\textsuperscript{83}
About the practice of scales and mechanical exercises, Czerny advised in his “Observations
addressed to teachers,” to initiate them before learning to read music. In this sense, he noted:
“by a lengthened practice of the scales, shakes, and other easy and common passages, they [the
students] may in the most pleasant manner acquire a certain degree of mechanical facility in the
fingers, before they proceed to the more difficult acquisition of a knowledge of the notes.”\textsuperscript{84}
Czerny’s reason for this was that acquiring a “flexibility in the nerves of the fingers” was central
to the development of piano skills.\textsuperscript{85} The testimonies discussed above regarding Teresa
Carreño’s training suggest that this was the path taken by her father. As was stated, for the first
year of training Teresa’s daily practice was solely focused on mechanical exercises. It was not
until the second year when her father introduced her to reading, performing studies, piano
pieces and sight reading.

With respect to transposition, Czerny advised implementing it into the daily practice
right after learning the names of the notes on the keyboard, and even before or at the same
time sight reading was learned.\textsuperscript{86} Czerny felt that “to play a piece in another key than that in

\textsuperscript{82} For the Adoption of the mechanical paradigm in German conservatories, see E. D. Bomberger,
\textsuperscript{83} C. Czerny, \textit{Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School}, I: i.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., I: 29.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid, I: ii.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., I: 29-42.
which it was composed even when ‘played at sight’ was a fundamental skill.” In order to achieve mastery in this, Czerny deemed it “necessary to practice it [...] by daily transposing in this way [at sight] into several keys, at first very easy pieces, and gradually others that are more difficult.” As discussed earlier, Teresa Carreño began to transpose from the very beginning, as her father requested that all the drills had to be played in different keys. In the second year, when she started to read music and to perform studies and pieces, her father encouraged her to transpose the music as well. There is no evidence, however, that Teresa had been encouraged to transpose while sightreading. Nonetheless, given the importance that her father placed on both sight reading and transposing, one could assume that this was also a skill that she eventually developed. In regard to sight reading, it can be noted that Czerny considered it “among the most creditable and even indispensable qualities of a good player.”

3. Manuel Antonio Carreño’s Piano Exercises

Manuel Antonio Carreño’s adherence to the mechanical paradigm of piano training is best reflected in the piano exercises that he designed for his daughter’s practice. Teresa Carreño usually referred to her father’s exercises as a specific method, consisting of 500 or 580 exercises, depending on the source. Nineteenth-century Venezuelan historian Ramón de la Plaza also suggested that these exercises formed a finished work. In this sense, he stated that Manuel Antonio Carreño’s “method for the study of the piano, is one of the most synthetic and progressive that have ever been written.” In addition to this, in 1869 the Parisian musical journal *Le Ménestrel* indicated that

Mr. Carreño, the father and teacher of the admirable young virtuosa Teresa Carreño, is completing the theory and exercises of a new treatise on the mechanics of playing the piano, which promises to represent [...] a considerable progress in the field of music education. [...] His method, which has been already applied not only to his very musically privileged daughter, but also to [some other] young amateur students, will

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87 Ibid., III: 101.
88 Ibid.
90 R. de la Plaza, *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela*, 100.
produce wonderful results. M. Carreño plans to publish his new treatise on piano-
playing mechanics in the near future.\(^{91}\) viii

Nonetheless, if Manuel Antonio Carreño completed his piano method, it has not
survived in a finished version. However, the archival collection of the Teresa Carreño Papers at
Vassar College Libraries holds several manuscripts by Manuel Antonio Carreño, including an
incomplete fair copy in French of a two-volume piano method titled “*Cours complet d’exercices
de piano: écrits dans tous les tons et soigneusement doigtés lesquels réfèrent de nombreux
exemples depuis les traits les plus faciles jusqu’aux principales difficultés du clavier*” (Complete
course of exercises for the piano, written in all the keys and carefully fingered, which include
numerous examples based on keyboard treatises from the easiest to those comprising the
principal difficulties).\(^{92}\) As suggested in the title, Carreño’s aim with this method was to create a
compendium of piano exercises covering the principal mechanical difficulties, with his own
exercises as well as with other taken from previous methods. According to the index, the
method consisted of an ambitious work in two volumes. The first was aimed at dealing with the
mechanism of piano playing. It was organized into nine sections, according to the following
outline: 1. Conjoint degrees; 2. Broken 3\(^{rd}\)s and conjoint and disjoint degrees; 3. Broken 6\(^{th}\)s and
octaves; 9. Chords. Unfortunately, only the sections 1 through 5 have survived. The second
volume, titled “Partie Supplémentaire” (Supplementary Part), is complete. It consists of a
treatise aimed at teaching the accurate playing on the piano rhythms that are asymmetrically
distributed between the two hands, as for example three eighth-notes in the right hand against
two in the left hand, five quarter notes in the right hand against three in the left, and so on. The
theory is accompanied by a series of piano exercises.

Gerardo Rosales Pulido has studied the fair copy of Carreño’s *Cours complet d’exercices
de piano*. According to this study, the present form of Carreño’s method only includes 306
exercises. Rosales Pulido argues that Carreño never completed the work.\(^{93}\) According to him,
the personal difficulties that Manuel Antonio Carreño faced at that time, along with the criticism

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\(^{91}\) *Le Ménessret* 48 (31 Oct. 1869), reproduced in G. Rosales Pulido, “El método de enseñanza
para el aprendizaje del piano de Manuel Antonio Carreño,” 22, my translation. A similar announcement
was published later on the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, No. 45 (7 Nov. 1869): 467.

\(^{92}\) Series I, Folders 3.1 to 3.10, TCP.

\(^{93}\) G. Rosales Pulido, “El método de enseñanza para el aprendizaje del piano de Manuel Antonio
Carreño,” 26-27.
that his manuscript of the method received from the French pianist and pedagogue Antoine-François Marmontel, might have persuaded Carreño not to finish it, and to decline altogether the possibility of publishing it with the firm of Jacques-Léopold Heugel in Paris, as originally planned. The polemic between Marmontel and Carreño is also examined by Rosales Pulido, who reconstructed it based on two documents presumably written around 1869, also included in the collection Teresa Carreño Papers. The first is a manuscript by Marmontel under the title of “Observations générales,” in which he presents a series of remarks on Carreño’s method. Among other points, Marmontel argued that the method did not represent a new contribution to the pedagogical literature for the piano. The second document is a manuscript titled “Replique,” in which Carreño responded to Marmontel’s objections, defending his method. This document was not addressed to Marmontel, as it might be expected, but to Heugel.

Yet, the polemic could be interpreted in a different light. It is possible indeed that Marmontel, acting as a peer reviewer for Heugel, did not recommend Carreño’s method. This explains why the work was never published. On the other hand, whether or not the Cours complet d’exercices de piano was ever completed, the existence of several other manuscripts also in the Teresa Carreño Papers (Series I, Folders 3.12 to 3.13) suggests that the incomplete fair copy of the method was preceded by various other series of piano exercises, some of them in clean copies in Spanish, which could have been produced several years earlier. (See Table 6.1 below.) According to this interpretation, Manuel Antonio Carreño would have prepared the fair copy of his Cours complet d’exercices de piano for Heugel in the late 1860s while living in Paris, while other shorter sets of piano exercises, which have been identified among other documents in the collection, could have plausibly been used in Teresa Carreño’s training in the early 1860s. On the other hand, Teresa Carreño’s consistent reference to a set of 500 or 580 exercises could well have been a way to indicate that Manuel Antonio did not necessarily include in a single set the exercises that he had been designing since the times he began to teach her in Caracas.

The table presented below (Table 6.1), includes information pertaining to nine identifiable sets of piano exercises presently preserved in the Teresa Carreño Papers. Most of them are complete.

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94 Ibid. Jacques-Léopold Heugel (b. La Rochelle, France, 1811 ; d. Paris 1883).
95 Ibid., 29-42. See also G. Rosales Pulido, “El Método de piano de Manuel Antonio Carreño: Su importancia histórica y la polémica con Antoine François Marmontel,” 173-98.
Table 6.1. Manuscript sets of piano exercises by Manuel Antonio Carreño, other than the fair copy of his *Cours complet d’exercices de piano*. Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item description</th>
<th>Physical description</th>
<th>Observations</th>
<th>Technical content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Set No. 1]</strong></td>
<td>Single detached folio.</td>
<td>• Complete.</td>
<td>• The first series addresses foundational skills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two series of exercises:</td>
<td>• M.A. Carreño's handwriting.</td>
<td>• Presumably for practicing.</td>
<td>• The second series addresses more advanced skills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nos. 1-10.</td>
<td>• Clean copy with no revisions or additions.</td>
<td>• All notations in Spanish.</td>
<td>• All the exercises consist of drills featuring:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nos. 1-20.</td>
<td>• In ink.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Set No. 2]</strong></td>
<td>Binding of 6 folios.</td>
<td>• Complete.</td>
<td>• All the exercises consist of drills featuring:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven series of exercises:</td>
<td>• Clean copy with no revisions or additions.</td>
<td>• Presumably for practicing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Diariamente”: Nos. 1-19.</td>
<td>• Ink and marginal notations in pencil.</td>
<td>• M. A. Carreño’s handwriting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Primer día”: Nos. 1-24.</td>
<td></td>
<td>• All notations in Spanish.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Segundo día”: Nos. 1-24.</td>
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<td>• “Tercer día”: Nos. 1-23.</td>
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<td>• “Cuarto día”: Nos. 1-22.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Quinto día”: Nos. 1-24.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Sexto día”: Nos. 1-24.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.1 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item description</th>
<th>Physical description</th>
<th>Observations</th>
<th>Technical content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Set No. 3]</strong> Three series of exercises:</td>
<td>Two detached folios. • Clean copy with minimal corrections. • Ink with a few notations in pencil.</td>
<td>Nearly complete. • Presumably for practicing. • All notations in Spanish.</td>
<td>All the exercises are drills featuring: o Trills, turns, and tremolos. o Patterns by conjoint and disjoint degrees. o Scales. o Arpeggios. o Stack and broken octaves and 5ths. o Octaves in staccato from the wrist. o Chords. o Skips. o Thumb passing. o Repeated notes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- “A”: Nos. 1-21
- “B”: Nos. 1-24
- “C”: Nos. 1-90
- “Ejercicios del perlé”: [not written down]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item description</th>
<th>Physical description</th>
<th>Observations</th>
<th>Technical content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Set No. 4]</strong></td>
<td>Binding of five folios.</td>
<td>• Complete.</td>
<td>Exercises Nos. 1-137 and 139bis are drills featuring:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One series of exercises:</td>
<td>• Clean copy with sketchy additions after exercises Nos. 137 and 139. Exercises Nos. 140-145 seem to have been later additions.</td>
<td>• Presumably for practicing.</td>
<td>o Trills, turns, and tremolos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nos. 1-145</td>
<td>• In ink.</td>
<td>• M. A. Carreño’s handwriting.</td>
<td>o Patterns by conjoint and disjoint degrees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Notations in French and Spanish.</td>
<td>o Scales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Arpeggios.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Stack and broken octaves and 5ths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Chords.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Skips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Thumb passage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Repeated notes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exercises Nos. 138-139: chords progressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exercises Nos. 140-145 consist of short studies featuring:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Skips of octaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Octaves with skips of octaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o Chords with skips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Set No. 5]</strong></td>
<td>Pages 1-15 of a 10-folio binding containing also:</td>
<td>• Working draft.</td>
<td>All the exercises consist of drills in order of progressive difficulty. The content is similar to Set No.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One series of exercises:</td>
<td>• Sketches No. 1 (pp. 16-19)</td>
<td>• Presumably an early version of the Cours complet d’exercices de piano.</td>
<td>• Indications of fingering are included in some exercises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nos. 1-281.</td>
<td>• Cover A: Gymnastique du Piano (p. 18)</td>
<td>• M. A. Carreño’s handwriting.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Exercises Nos. 97-99 are omitted in the manuscript.</td>
<td>• Set No. 6 (p. 20)</td>
<td>• Notations in French with revisions in Spanish.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Exercises Nos. 1-66 in clean copy with crossing outs and revisions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Exercises Nos. 67-122 still in a fairy clean copy with some original corrections with later crossing outs and revisions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Exercises Nos. 123-281 in draft quality also with crossing outs and revisions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ink with a few notations in pencil.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item description</td>
<td>Physical description</td>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>Technical content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **[Set No. 6]**  | First and second page of a 10-folio binding written upside-down (indicating page numbers 19-20) containing also:  
  - Set No. 5 (pp. 1-15).  
  - Sketches No. 1 (pp. 16-19).  
  - *Gymnastique du Piano* [Cover A] (p. 18) (right side of the binding).  
  - Entire material is crossed out.  
  - The writing was done upside down (right side of the notebook, the numbering is what is upside down).  
  - Page numbered 20 on the left corner on the bottom (upside down).  
  - In ink. | • Rough draft.  
  • Presumably an early version of the *Cours complet d’exercices de piano*.  
  • M. A. Carreño’s handwriting.  
  • All notations in French. | • All the exercises consist of drills featuring patterns with conjoint and disjoint degrees.  
  • Indications of fingering are included. |
| **[Set No. 7]**  | Single detached folio from a former binding with sketches.  
  - The first exercises are crossed out.  
  - Several exercises are renumbered.  
  - In ink. | • Rough draft.  
  • Presumably an early version of the *Cours complet d’exercices de piano*.  
  • M. A. Carreño’s handwriting.  
  • No notations neither in English or French. | • All the exercises consist of drills featuring patterns with conjoint and disjoint degrees. |
The Sets Nos. 1 through 3 consist of clean and complete or nearly complete copies of mechanical exercises with notations in Spanish. They were plausibly used for daily practice. The increasing complexity and extension exhibited in these three sets suggest that Set No. 1 was the earliest of them, and that Set No. 3 was reasonably produced after Set No 2. On the other hand, if one considers the language used in the notations of all the sets as a criterion to date these manuscripts, it could be conjectured that Sets No. 1 through 3, completely in Spanish, were prepared sometime between 1860, when Teresa Carreño started to study the piano in Caracas, and 1866, when the Carreños moved to Paris. Manuel Antonio was fluent in French, so he should not have had problems in using French for preparing any manuscripts while living in Paris. Nonetheless, his knowledge of English was very limited, therefore while living in New York, i.e. between 1862 and 1866, he could have continued using Spanish in the preparation of any musical manuscripts.

The Sets Nos. 4 through 6 include notations in French besides some other notations in Spanish. Of these, Set No. 4 could have been a copy destined for piano practice, presumably

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item description</th>
<th>Physical description</th>
<th>Observations</th>
<th>Technical content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Clean copy with no additions or editions.</td>
<td>• M. A. Carreño’s handwriting</td>
<td>• Both studies feature chords in the right hand and arpeggios in the left hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• In ink.</td>
<td>• No notations neither in English nor French.</td>
<td>• No fingering indicated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Set No. 9] Two series of exercises: Ex. Nos. 1-7 and 7 bis.</td>
<td>Single detached folio.</td>
<td>Complete.</td>
<td>The exercises consist of drills featuring:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “Part I: Trills”:</td>
<td>• Teresa Carreño’s handwriting.</td>
<td>o Trills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “Part II: Scales and Exercises on Diatonic Intervals.”</td>
<td>• All notations in English.</td>
<td>o Scales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Clean copy with no additions or editions.</td>
<td>Presumably Teresa Carreño’s materials for teaching.</td>
<td>o Patterns on diatonic intervals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• In ink.</td>
<td>• All notations in English.</td>
<td>• Indications for dynamics are included.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Indications of fingering are included.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dating from the time the Carreños were already living in Paris. Instead, the Sets Nos. 5 and 6 are in draft form. The abundant corrections and the content of the notes in these manuscripts suggest that they were drafts associated with an earlier version of the *Cours complet d’exercices de piano*, presumably made sometime around 1866-1869. Set No. 7 does not include notations in any language. However, its rough form suggests that it was not used as practice material. Set No. 8, consisting of two short studies, could have been used for practice either in Caracas of afterwards. The last one, Set No. 9 is in Teresa Carreño’s handwriting and could have been used as teaching material while she lived in the United States.

Even when recognizing the conjectural nature of the dating and overall organization of Manuel Antonio Carreño’s manuscripts proposed above, it is still possible to assume that any of the three first sets, Nos. 1 through 3, are representative of the type of drills that Teresa Carreño practiced in Caracas during in the early 1860s. Given the importance that this type of mechanical training had in her early musical formation, the study of these manuscripts, if only as an illustrative example, serves to illuminate the mechanical pedagogical approach that Manuel Antonio Carreño followed in teaching her.

Accordingly, Figure 6.3 shows the set that has been identified as No. 1, presumably the earliest of all the sets described above. One can observe that in this set, the exercises are organized into two series, the first consisting of fourteen exercises and the second of twenty exercises. The table that follows (Table 6.2) indicates the type of technical skill that is addressed in each of the exercises of this set. The first column in the table indicates the number of each exercise, a second column indicates Manuel Antonio Carreño’s notations in Spanish, which in every case describes the type of exercise to be practiced, and the third column includes a description of the musical skill involved in those exercises in music notation for which Manuel Antonio Carreño did not indicate any instructions.
Figure 6.3. Manuel Antonio Carreño’s set of thirty-four piano exercises [Set No. 1]. Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.

Table 6.2. Technical skills addressed in Manuel Antonio Carreño’s set of thirty-four piano exercises [Set No. 1].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exercise No.</th>
<th>Notations by Manuel Antonio Carreño</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Patterns by conjoint degrees and 3rds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Trills”(^{97}) (Trinados)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>“Two diatonic scales” (Dos escalas diatónicas)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>“Two arpeggios with the 7(^{\text{th}})” (Dos arpegios con sensibles)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>“Chromatic scale” (Cromática)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>“Diatonic scale in 3rds” (Escala diatónica en 3(^{\text{as}}))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{97}\) The original terms in Spanish are given in this table in parenthesis below the translations to English. The translation is mine.
Table 6.2 (continued)

**[Set No. 1] First section:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exercise No.</th>
<th>Notations by Manuel Antonio Carreño</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>“Chromatic scale in 3rds”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Escala cromática en 3º)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>“Exercises over the same key”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Ejercicios sobre una misma tecla)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>“Chords with the 7th [with] two hands”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Acordes con sensibles - 2 manos)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>“Exercise No. 9 from the center to the extremes”</td>
<td><em>(Chords in contrary motion)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(El nº 9 del centro a los extremos)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>“Chromatic scale in octaves”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Cromática en 8va)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>“No. 11 with two hands”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(El nº 11 a 2 manos)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>“Scale in octaves relaxing the wrist”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Escala en 8vas aflojando las muñecas)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>“Exercises for the left hand”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Ejercicios de la mano izquierda)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**[Set No. 1] Second section:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exercise No.</th>
<th>Notations by Manuel Antonio Carreño</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[Music notation] “Leggiero”</td>
<td>Stacked octaves in <em>staccato</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ornaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Arpeggios with staked octaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves and thirds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>“Broken chords on any two keys”</td>
<td><em>(Arpegios cortados en dos tonos)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Turns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Double turns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Passing trills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Back turns of three notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves in patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves in patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and descending scales in stacked octaves alternating hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves with skips of an octave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves in patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>“Arpeggios with dissonances”</td>
<td><em>(Presumably arpeggios with the dominant 7th or diminished 7th)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Disonancias en arpeggios corridos)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves in patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves in patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>“Two quick strikes on the same key in octaves”</td>
<td><em>(Dos golpes rápidos sobre una misma tecla en octavas)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Patterns by conjoint degrees and 3rds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Broken octaves in patterns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first series of drills in the table above (Table 6.2) involves technical skills that could be considered basic, such as trills, diatonic and chromatic scales, arpeggios, and chords. The second series includes exercises addressing more advanced skills, such as turns, more complex forms of trills, stacked and broken octaves, and exercises aimed at practicing staccato octaves articulated from the wrist, as in Exercise No. 1, Section 2, as well as exercises aimed at developing a light, legato touch, as in Exercise No. 9, Section 2.

Set No. 2, also in Spanish and presumably used as practice material as well, presents a more ambitious design than the first set. Here, Carreño included a first series of nineteen piano exercises, meant to be practiced every day. This series is repeated on every page of the six-folio binding, indicating that they are to be practiced daily (“diariamente”). (See Figure 6.4.) Six more series of some twenty to twenty-four exercises each are also included in this set. Each of them corresponds to a different day of the week, from day one to day six. Figures 6.5 and 6.6 below reproduce the exercises corresponding to the first day and the fourth day.

Figure 6.4. Section with exercises to be practiced daily (fol. 2r), from Manuel Antonio Carreño’s six-folio binding with piano exercises [Set No. 2]. Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.
Figure 6.5. Exercises for the first day (fol. 2r), from Manuel Antonio Carreño’s set of daily piano exercises [Set No. 2]. Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.

Figure 6.6. Exercises for the fourth day (fol. 3v), from Manuel Antonio Carreño’s set of daily piano exercises [Set No. 2]. Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.
The table that follows (Table 6.3 below) indicates the type of technical skill that is addressed in each of the exercises of the first section of Set No. 2. As shown in the table, the drills included in the section to be practiced daily involve basic skills such as five-finger patterns with conjoint and disjoint degrees. This is the case of the exercises Nos. 1 and 2, aimed at achieving finger independence and flexibility. There are also diatonic and chromatic scales, chords, and arpeggios. Some other drills are much more challenging. This is the case of exercise No. 14, indicating chords with skips, exercise No. 17, indicating an arpeggio with the five fingers with the hand in a fixed position, which requires certain extension, or exercise No. 18, which involves scales and arpeggios in stacked octaves.

Table 6.3. Technical skills addressed in Manuel Antonio Carreño’s six-folio binding with piano exercises [Set No. 2], section with exercises to be practiced daily.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exercise No.</th>
<th>Notations by Manuel Antonio Carreño</th>
<th>Description of technical skill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Exercise for the independence of fingers” (Ejercicio para la independencia de los dedos)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Patterns by conjoint degrees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>“Only with both hands” (Solo á dos manos)</td>
<td>Patterns by conjoint degrees and 3rds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>“The five fingers following one another” (Los cinco dedos seguidos)</td>
<td>Patterns with chromatic notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>“Series of scales with fingers Nos. 5 and 3 with the hands in fixed position, with the exception of c and g” (Serie de escalas con dedeo de 5 y 3, sin que las manos cambien de posición con excepción de do y sol)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending patterns by conjoint degrees with accent on the pinky finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending patterns by conjoint degrees with accent on the thumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>“Diatonic scale” (Escala diatóncia)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>“Chromatic scale” (Escala cromática)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>“Diatonic scale in 3rds with both hands” (Escala diatóncia en 3as de ambas manos)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>“Chromatic scale in 3rds with both hands” (Escala cromática en 3as de ambas manos)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>“Exercises of 6ths” (Ejercicios de 6º)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98 The original terms in Spanish are given in this table in parenthesis. The translation is mine.
Table 6.3 (continued)

“Diariamente” (Daily): Section with exercises to be practiced every day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exercise No.</th>
<th>Notations by Manuel Antonio Carreño</th>
<th>Description of technical skill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>“Chords” (Acordes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>“Chords wth skips” (Acordes en salto)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>“Arpeggios in general” (Arpegios en general)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>“Broken arpeggios” (Arpegios cortados)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>“Arpeggios with the five fingers in fixed position” (Arpegios en teclas blancas, con los cinco dedos seguidos)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>“Stacked octaves: diatonic scale, chromatic scale, arpeggio on the perfect chord” (8vas plaqués: Escala diatónica/Escala cromática/Arpegio del acorde perfecto)</td>
<td>Broken perfect chord with skips of an octave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and descending arpeggio with the hand in a fixed position, ending with a skip of an octave.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table below (Table 6.4) corresponds to the technical skills addressed in the series comprising days one to six. The information has been organized not according to the exercise numbers, as in the previous tables, but according to the skills that are practiced throughout the week in order to determine their recurrence. In this sense, the daily practice of trills suggests the importance given to this skill. Similar observations could be made of the practice of a series of chords over the same root, arpeggios, ascending and/or descending patterns with broken octaves, and ascending and/or descending patterns with chromatic intervals, all of them practiced every day. Other skills, such as large skips of a 16th and a 18th are practiced on alternate days, which suggests their relative importance. Similarly, exercises involving major or minor patterns are practiced in alternated days. Finally, other skills are only practiced occasionally, as with the case of chromatic scales with alternate hands, as well as ascending and descending octaves with both hands at the distance of a 3rd.
Table 6.4. Technical skills addressed in Manuel Antonio Carreño’s six-folio binding with piano exercises [Set No. 2], sections with exercises to be practiced from days first to sixth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notations by M.A. Carreño 99</th>
<th>Description of technical skill</th>
<th>1st day</th>
<th>2nd day</th>
<th>3rd day</th>
<th>4th day</th>
<th>5th day</th>
<th>6th day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Trills</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Grace notes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked 3rds with grace notes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Major intervals&quot; (Écarts mayor)</td>
<td>Tremolos</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Minor intervals&quot; (Écarts menor)</td>
<td>Broken chords in major and minor modes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Broken chords with the natural 7th</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves with skips of an octave</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves with skips of a 10th</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Stacked octaves with skips of a 16th</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Skips of 16th&quot; (Saltos de 16°)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Skips of an 18th&quot; (Saltos de 18°)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Skips on the same root note, ascending and descending&quot; (Saltos repitiendo una misma nota baja y avanzando y viceversa)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Varied chords on the same root-note&quot; (Acordes variados con una misma nota baja)</td>
<td>(Two different major or minor keys everyday)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Octaves ascending and descending by 3rds&quot; (8vas - 3és subiendo y bajando)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;General arpeggios&quot; (Arpegios generales)</td>
<td>(Two different major or minor keys everyday)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Arpeggios with dominant 7th&quot; (Arpegios de 7° de dom®)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arpeggios of diminished 7th in octaves (8vas. Arp’ de 7a dim.das)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Arpeggios in octaves with alternated hands</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Held octaves with repeated notes with the index and ring fingers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99 The original terms in Spanish are given in this table in parenthesis. The translation is mine.
### Table 6.4 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notations by M.A. Carreño</th>
<th>Description of technical skill</th>
<th>1st day</th>
<th>2nd day</th>
<th>3rd day</th>
<th>4th day</th>
<th>5th day</th>
<th>6th day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Exercises on the same key (scales and arpeggios)” (Trabajos sobre una misma tecla (escalas y arpegios))</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Chromatic scale with alternated hands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chromatic scale in octaves with the two hands” (Cromática en 8vas á 2 manos)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Chromatic scale in broken octaves</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and/or descending patterns with broken octaves</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and/or descending patterns with stacked octaves</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and/or descending patterns with stacked 5ths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and/or descending patterns by conjoint degrees</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and/or descending patterns with chromatic intervals</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and/or descending patterns with varied intervals</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Music notation]</td>
<td>Ascending and/or descending patterns with varied intervals alternating the hands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The technical skills present in the Sets Nos. 1 and 2 discussed above are commonly found in piano music employing the *stile brillante*, also characteristic of the pieces that Teresa Carreño studied in 1860-1862. The *stile brillante* features the use of rapid ornamental and figurative passages in an improvisational-like style. Sections with these types of passages are aimed at displaying virtuosic skills such as trills, tremolos, scales, arpeggios, octaves, repeated notes and chords, and skips. Sections exhibiting a slower-paced melody imitative of singing usually alternate with virtuosic sections. The *stile brillante* is best represented by the
compositions of Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Friedrich Kalkbrenner, and Sigismund Thalberg.\textsuperscript{100} Manuel Antonio Carreño’s focus on virtuosic skills often seen in the music of these composers establishes a relevant link between Teresa’s training and that specific musical repertory. A fragment of Thalberg’s *Grande fantaisie et variations sur des motifs de l’opéra Norma de Bellini*, op. 12, mm. 50-59, which Teresa studied in 1862, serves to illustrate several of the skills addressed in Sets Nos. 1 and 2. These include ascending patterns of stacked octaves in the right hand (m. 50-51), trills in the right hand (mm. 51 and 54), *leggiero* diatonic scales in the right hand (mm. 51-52), repeated chords in the right hand (mm. 53-54 and 57-59), repeated chords in the left hand (mm. 54-55 and 59), octaves with skips in the left hand (mm. 50-52, 55-56), and arpeggios with the right hand in a fixed position (m. 55). (See Figure 6.7 below.)

Manuel Antonio Carreño’s affiliation with the *stile brillante* is further suggested in his adherence to the light, clear sound that is possible to achieve through training the fingers to perform with a minimal movement of the hand. In truth, this type of sound was originally linked to the light mechanism of the Viennese pianos of the first third of the nineteenth century. Hummel, who had a marked preference for the Viennese piano, advised to always play with a light, quiet hand, even when performing on the heavier English pianos.\textsuperscript{101} The light clear sound of the *stile brillante* was later associated with the type of sound that was characteristic of Thalberg, which since the 1830s was commonly referred to as the *jeu perlé*. Piano scholar Charles Timbrell states that the term *jeu perlé* was used as “a metaphor of ‘pearls’ to describe [the] rapid, clean, and even passage work” of Thalberg.\textsuperscript{102} Kalkbrenner, also a chief representative of the piano style of the *jeu perlé*, was often associated with a piano technique that favored the utmost control of the fingers, the achievement of an unforced tone, and the equality of touch.\textsuperscript{103} After the 1840s, the sound ideal of piano virtuosity represented by the *stile brillante* and the *jeu perlé* continued to exist, even though it was challenged by the modern piano technique of Franz Liszt, who used hand and arm movement to take advantage of the improvements in piano building, which allowed for a wider dynamic range and a fuller sound.


\textsuperscript{102} C. Timbrell, *French Pianism*, 45.

\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., 38.
In this sense, the recommendations that Manuel Antonio Carreño provided in the introduction to his *Cours complet d’exercices de piano* included several remarks that clearly conform to the type of finger technique that was representative of Thalberg’s and Kalbrenner’s *jeu perlé*. Thus, in the first recommendation, Manuel Antonio stated: “the object of the exercises is to a play with the greatest rapidity possible; but it must always be done with clarity, and with a scrupulous equality in strength that is employed to hit the key.”¹⁰⁵ Later, in his eighth recommendation, Manuel Antonio observed that “in the faster passages, which are more conducive to a flexible or light execution, the hand has to maintain a quiet and elegant position

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¹⁰⁵ M. A Carreño, “Avertissements indispensables,” *Cours complet d’exercices de piano*, TCP.
as much as the passage permits it.”\footnote{Ibid.} Just as significant is that Teresa Carreño during her young adult years was often considered an outstanding exponent of the light and equal tone that the *jeú perlé* represented.\footnote{See for example, the remarks of the Chilean pianist Claudio Arrau or Teresa Carreño’s *jeu perlé* in J. Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau*, 1982.} She herself stated her affiliation to this ideal of piano playing as suggested in her recommendation that “one should be able to play with a glass of water balanced on the wrist.”\footnote{J. Methuen-Campbell, *Chopin Playing: From the Composer to the Present Day* (New York: Taplinger, 1981), 163. See also C. Timbrel, *French Pianism*, 36.}

4. Teresa Carreño’s *Caprichos* for Piano

Among Teresa Carreño’s papers also survive three rhapsodic pieces copied by her father and attributed to her, which are part of the collection *Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño* in TCP. Two of these pieces are identified as *Capricho* No. 1, *A piacere*, and *Capricho* No. 2, *Moderato*. The first is in Eb major and is dated July 10, 1861. (See Figure 6.8 below.) The second is in Db major and is dated July 12, 1861. The third one, in G major, conforms to a similar style as the other two pieces. Nonetheless, it was simply identified as *Allegro moderato* and was not dated. Also, it presents several corrections and additions, which suggests that it was still in draft form.
Figure 6.8. Manuscript of Capricho No. 1 from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño. Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.
Figure 6.8 (continued)
There are reasons to assume that these pieces are not fully-fledged compositions but training exercises in improvisation copied by Manuel Antonio Carreño, perhaps with the aim of keeping a record of Teresa’s progress as a virtuoso. In terms of style, the three pieces conform to the performative technical demands that are characteristic of the *stile brillante* in which Teresa Carreño was trained, as reflected in their abundant use of figurations, scale and arpeggio passage work, trills and runs. Furthermore, the existing similarities between Teresa Carreño’s *Caprichos* and some of the descriptions provided by Carl Czerny on his treatise on improvisation *Systematische Anleitung zum Fantazieren auf dem Pianoforte* (A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte) permit one to conjecture that these pieces conform to the conventions of virtuosic improvisation.\(^{109}\) It is not known how Manuel Antonio Carreño or his daughter became acquainted with these conventions. Nonetheless, Czerny’s treatise was a guide to study the conventions of virtuosic improvisation, as it was one of the very few pedagogical texts that documented the virtuosic improvisational practices that were current in Europe in the first part of the century.\(^{110}\)

Thus, at the beginning of the treatise, Czerny discussed the main components of improvisation. The first is natural aptitude, which according to him is already revealed in early youth. It consists of inventive power, lively imagination, ample musical memory, a quick flow of thoughts, and good fingers.\(^{111}\) A second component is thorough training in all branches of harmony. The final main component is “the highest dexterity of the fingers in all keys, “as well as in everything that pertains to beautiful, pleasing, and graceful performance.”\(^{112}\) After this, Czerny began to discuss the main types of improvisation, distinguishing three of them: the *prelude*, which was used before the beginning of the piece, also the *cadenza* and *fermata*, to be introduced in the middle of a piece, and finally, fantasy-like improvisation.\(^{113}\) In this last category Czerny included six sub-types, among which he listed the *capriccio*. Finally, Czerny stated that “all these types can be combined with one another in one and the same fantasy.”\(^{114}\)

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\(^{109}\) Carl Czerny’s *Systematische Anleitung zum Fantazieren auf dem Pianoforte* was first published in Vienna ca. 1836 by A. Diabelli. The musical examples form this source presented below are taken from this source. Nonetheless, all English citations of text are taken from Alice L. Mitchell’s edition *A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte* (New York and London: Longman, 1983).


\(^{112}\) Ibid.

\(^{113}\) Ibid., 2-3.

\(^{114}\) Ibid., 3.
Regarding the capriccio, Czerny characterized it as "the most free and unrestrained type" of all the types of virtuosic improvisation.\textsuperscript{115} Considering its form, Czerny wrote that it "is in the true sense the freest form of improvisation in fantasy style, namely an arbitrary linking of individual ideas without any particular development, a whimsical and swift shifting from one motive to the other without further relationship than that bestowed by chance or, unintentionally, by the musical inclination of the performer."\textsuperscript{116}

In addition, it can be observed that the use of abundant chromatic passages and unprepared modulations through unrelated chords was also characteristic of the capriccio type of improvisation, as suggested by the several examples of the genre that Czerny included in his treatise. The first measures of Czerny’s Example No. 51 demonstrate this point. (See Figure 6.9 below.) The example opens with an octave passage followed by three chords, which establish F# major as the tonality in m 4. Then, in the next six measures, the harmony moves abruptly from G major (m 5) to the dominant of A major (m 10) through a progression that does not use secondary dominant chords, but rather unrelated chords. Thus, the progression in mm 7-10 unfolds as follows: G major, to C minor, to G7, to B major, to C major, to end on a fermata in A major.

Concerning the type of improvisation identified as the prelude, Czerny distinguished two subtypes, the “short” and the “longer and more elaborate prelude.”\textsuperscript{117} Accordingly, the short prelude, consists of “only a few chords, runs, passage work and transitional materials.”\textsuperscript{118} Its purpose is “Trying out the instrument, warming up the fingers, or arousing the attention of the listeners.”\textsuperscript{119} Given the simplicity of the shorter preludes, Czerny recommended concluding them “with the complete chord of the principal key of the work to be performed afterwards.”\textsuperscript{120} The examples that Czerny provided for the short prelude show that they are non-thematic and based on a short chord progression that ends on the tonic. The simplest way to perform the

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid, 121.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 5.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.

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The prelude is demonstrated in Example No. 1 (see Figure 6.10 below). It consists of playing a short progression with block chords in both hands. The prelude could be also played in a more embellished way by substituting the block chords with fast arpeggiations and some passage work of the notes of the chord as in Example No. 2. (See Figure 6.10 below.) A much more sophisticated option is presented in Exercise No. 3 (see also Figure 6.10), where the right hand plays figurations with patterns that change freely throughout the course of the prelude, while the left sustains the chords. As for the longer type of preludes, Czerny lists the following features: the use of borrowed thematic materials from the piece to be introduced, the use of modulations, and ending “with a cadence on the seventh-chord of the dominant of the following piece.”

Figure 6.9. Example No. 51 (excerpt) from Carl Czerny’s *Systematische Anleitung zum Fantazieren auf dem Pianoforte*, illustrating the type of improvisation corresponding to the capriccio.

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121 Ibid.

The style exhibited in Teresa Carreño’s *Caprichos* suggest a combination of the features of the *capriccio* improvisation described by Czerny with those that are common to the short prelude. Thus, chromatic passages and abrupt modulations similar to the Example No. 51 of Czerny’s *capriccio* discussed above are present in the three of the pieces by Teresa Carreño. Also, the use of various embellishments as well as various patterns of passagework for the right hand.

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hand over a progression of block chords on the left hand ending on the tonic chord of each piece are featured in all of Teresa Carreño’s *Caprichos*.

An example of this is *Capricho* No. 2. (See Figure 6.11 below.) It consists of a non-thematical piece in triple meter. In terms of the performative style, this *Capricho* includes fast arpeggiation, as in mm 1-2, which are similar to those used in Czerny’s Example No. 2, as well as various patterns of passage work for the right hand over block chords on the left hand, as those used in Czerny’s Example No. 3. Accordingly, m. 9, for example, present a descending pattern of figuration in which each group of 32\textsuperscript{nd} notes are preceded by a turn. Also, mm 11-13 present scale and arpeggio passages for the right hand with occasional trills over long chords on the left hand. A variation of it is found in m 16 where the left hand is embellished with a fast arpeggiation. The following measures of the *Capricho* No. 2 become more complex as rapid sequences of chords, embellishments and arpeggios and scales passages are also played with the left hand (mm 17-22).
Figure 6.11. Capricho No. 2 from Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño.  

\[\text{Moderato}\]

124 T. Carreño, Capricho No. 2, in Obras para piano, ed. J. F. Sans and L. Pita, 144-45, from the manuscript in Composiciones de Teresa Carreño, TCP.
Figure 6.11 (continued)
Harmonically, Teresa Carreño’s *Capricho* No. 2 uses a brief chord progression, thus conforming to Czerny’s description of the short prelude, but also it features abrupt modulations as in Czerny’s examples of the *capriccio*. Also, it presents the whimsical lack of development that Czerny’s associated with the *capriccio*. (See Figure 6.12 below). Accordingly, the first period, mm 1-8, begins in Db major and abruptly modulates to Eb major. For the second period, mm 9-16, the piece remains in Eb major. The third period, mm 17-21, features a second, abrupt modulation, this time from E minor to Db major. This third period ends with a chromatic modulation that serves as a bridge to open the last section. This chromatic modulation goes from the secondary dominant of the seventh degree of Db minor, to e minor, to eb diminished, to the dominant of Db major, finally resolving into the tonic at the beginning of the last period, mm 22-27.

**Figure 6.12.** Formal and harmonic design of *Capricho* No. 2 from *Composiciones de María Teresa Carreño*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period I: mm 1-8</th>
<th>Period II: mm 9-16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Db major: I-V-I-V/ii</td>
<td>vii-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eb major: V-I-V</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I-V-I-V-iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eb major: ii-V-i-V-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period III: mm 17-21</th>
<th>Period IV: mm 22-27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Db major: vii/V- em to eb° -V</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E minor: vii-Vi-i-ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether these *Caprichos* were improvised or not, they still serve to document the Carreños familiarity with the basic conventions of virtuoso improvisation and the importance that this type of musical style had in her formation as a virtuoso.

5. The Influence of Virtuosic Music and the Specialized Model of Music Education in Caracas

The highly specialized approach that Manuel Antonio Carreño employed in the education of his daughter focused on the development of advanced performing and improvisational skills according to the paradigm of the *stile brillante*. This was notably differed from the broad musical education that he and his brothers received from their father in the early nineteenth century.\(^{125}\) As stated in a previous chapter, Cayetano Carreño, then *maestro de*  

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\(^{125}\) The musical activities of Manuel Antonio Carreño and his brothers were discussed in Chapter 4.
capilla at the Cathedral of Caracas, brought all his male children at an early age to work there under his care, where they developed a variety of musical skills that were necessary to fulfill their duties as church musicians. They started as singers and as time progressed they were employed at the church in a variety of positions such as choir singers, organists, and maestros de capilla. In addition to this they must have received training from their father in the performance of string instruments, as there is evidence that at least Juan de la Cruz and Juan Bautista Carreño performed in the concerts for the Sociedad Filarmónica in Caracas during the 1830s. In addition, most of the Carreño brothers developed skills in composition, as demonstrated by the few works and references that have survived.

Little is known about the way in which the Carreños were educated. Common sense indicates that most of their skills must have been developed throughout the years from their direct experience working at the choir, making copies of the compositions needed for the services, seeing and assisting their father perform the organ or directing the church musicians, and so on. This working environment sharply contrasts with Teresa Carreño’s home practice of drills, sight reading, transposition, and improvisation with her father supervising over her shoulder for four hours a day. The case of the Carreños illustrates the deeper changes that occurred in the realm of music pedagogies during the first half of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the model of a specialized music education.

Manuel Antonio Carreño’s contact with the virtuosic style of piano playing must have occurred during his young adult years. The evidence suggests that he was trained first in general keyboard skills, rather than being specifically trained on the piano. In a document previously discussed, written by Carreño for Jacques-Léopold Heugel in 1868, he stated that he “studied the piano for over forty years, after having done his first training with his father, who was an excellent pianist and remarkably skillful in fingering.”

126 M. A. Carreño, Observation 6ème in “Réplique” to Jacques-Léopold Heugel (response to François-Antoine Marmontel’s observations of the manuscript of Cours complet d’exercices de piano), Series I, Folder 3.10, TCP.

127 No keyboards from the period before the second half of the nineteenth century have survived in Caracas. In addition to this, contemporary references to the keyboard instruments existing in Caracas at that time are very succinct and the terminology was in most cases ambiguous. For example, a document of 1789 referred that Don Gervasio Navas possessed a “clave-piano” and that Juan Manuel Olivares left at the moment of his death in 1797 an “unfinished piano.” Calzavara, Historia de la música en Venezuela, 54. In Spain, and possibly also in Caracas, the upright piano was often called “clavicordio” (clavichord) or
piano coincides with Manuel Antonio Carreño’s appointment in 1826 as interim organist at the Cathedral of Caracas at the age of fourteen. The designation occurred after his brother Juan Bautista had to resign to pursue studies at the Universidad Central de Venezuela after thirteen years of service in that position. It is possible that at that time Manuel Antonio was not ready to undertake that duty satisfactorily, as the Cabildo Eclesiástico (Ecclesiastical Council) ordered his father to “rehearse individually and instructed him to play with devotion, piety, and seriousness.”

In the following year Manuel Antonio was dismissed from this position. It can be presumed that it was not until the 1830s or 1840s that Manuel Antonio Carreño had the opportunity to be trained in the virtuosic style. Some information appeared in European periodicals during the mid-1860s which indicates that Manuel Antonio Carreño “had been a pianist during his youth and that he had being formed by the best German musicians that lived in Venezuela.” Nonetheless, no other information has been found that could provide specifics about these teachers.

After the Independence War, some foreign musicians began to establish themselves in Caracas as piano teachers, as reflected in the newspaper announcements that circulated at that time, in which these musicians gave notice of their arrival in the city with the purpose of recruiting students. Music historian Mario Milanca has identified some of these foreign teachers, including the Danish Teodoro or Theodor Pederson, who offered piano and voice lessons, and a G. W. Kruse, who was an instrument maker and piano technician. Nonetheless, nothing is known regarding their familiarity with the virtuosic style. On the other hand, a German pianist named Germán Voigt is known to have also performed piano transcriptions of operatic overtures in the concerts offered in Caracas by the members of the company of Luigi Vita from December of 1852 to March 1853 at the Teatro Apolo. According to the press

\[\text{“clave de piano” (piano clavier) or “clave de martillo,” (hammer clavier) while the square piano was indistinctly called “fortepiano” or “piano forte” or simply “piano.” See R. L. Pajares Alonso, Historia de la música: Los instrumentos, 355-56.} \]


\[\text{129 Actas del Cabildo Eclesiástico xxvii, fol. 90, cited in M. Castillo Didier, Cayetano Carreño, 127.} \]


\[\text{131 M. Milanca Guzmán, La música venezolana: De la Colonia a la República, 112} \]

\[\text{132 J. M. Salvador González, “Compañías y repertorios escénico-musicales en la Venezuela de los hermanos Monagas (1847-1858),” 4.} \]
reports, Voigt was the accompanist for this company. However, it is not clear whether he was established in Caracas or if he also traveled with Vita.

Perhaps the only German pianist established in Caracas at the time whose abilities as a piano virtuoso are known was Julio Hohené, who in the years to come established a formidable reputation. The nineteenth-century historian Ramón de la Plaza referred to him as a “celebrated pianist.” According to Mario Milanca, Hohené arrived in Caracas in 1842. In February of that year, the newspapers announced his recent establishment in the city as a teacher of piano, violin, and voice. Hohené was one of the very few local pianists who participated in public concerts as performer of virtuosic music for the piano in the style brillante during the second third of the century. Evidence of this are musical soirées organized by Alessandro Galli and Luigia Busatti in 1844 in which Hohené played the Fantaisie et variations sur ‘Au clair de la lune,’ op. 50, for piano and orchestra by Ignaz Moschelles, among other virtuosic pieces. Likewise, in 1850 the press reported Hohené’s participation in public concerts performing again works in the style brillante, including Hummel’s Rondo Brillante for piano and orchestra and the Variations brillantes di Bravura sur le trio favori sur ‘Pré aux clercs’ de Ferdinand Hérold, op. 76 by Herz for piano and instrumental ensemble. It is possible that he built much of his prestige through his involvement in the private gatherings of aficionados. As mentioned in a previous chapter, he participated in the private academia sponsored by the elite violinist and aficionado Fermín de Tovar. It is possible that he also attended the musical-literary tertulias of the aficionado José Antonio Mosquera. It is not clear whether Hohené’s participation was as violinist or pianist or both. Besides his activities as performer of virtuosic and chamber music, Hohené also made a living as a composer and possibly also as performer of dance music. The Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas, contains manuscript parts for flute and violin of sections from a quadrille by Hohené under the titles of Le pantalon, L’Été, La pastourelle, La poulle, and Finale.

Hohené’s local notability as music master explains Manuel Antonio’s decision to trust him with the music education of Teresa during the four months that preceded the departure of

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133 R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 158.
134 El liberal, 4 Feb. 1842, quoted in M. Milanca Guzmán, La música venezolana: De la Colonia a la República, 112.
135 “Teatro de Caracas,” Diario de avisos, 1 Apr. 1856, 4. These concerts will be discussed in Chapter 7.
136 See Chapter 4.
the family for the United States in August of 1861. It is indeed possible that Manuel Antonio anticipated Teresa’s introduction to the musical circles in New York and would have wanted Hohené to work with her, polishing her interpretation of her ambitious virtuosic repertory.

Other students of Hohené were the local musicians Federico Villena and Cesáreo Suárez. According to Ramón de la Plaza, Federico Villena met Hohené at Fermín de Tovar’s musical gatherings. Villena was also a violinist and therefore it is not clear whether Hohenés’ tutoring was perhaps related to the performance of chamber music for strings. In either case, Villena established himself as one of the most prolific Venezuelan composers of the last third of the nineteenth century. An important part of his production consists of a large collection of piano valses of a great stylistic sophistication, which show a marked influence of the virtuosic style. For his part, Césareo Suárez developed professional musical activities during the last third of the century as well. Of Suárez’s lessons with Hohené, Ramón de la Plaza stated that he “acquired an advanced knowledge in the mechanism of the piano, under the intelligent guidance of his teacher Julio Hohené, a German pianist well experienced in the methods of teaching. Because of this, Suárez later developed those special aptitudes that distinguished him as a teacher of great notability.”

During the 1850s the growth of the musical market led to an expansion of instruments and scores unprecedented in Caracas. Modern pianos from the firms Erard and Pleyel, as well as pianos imported from Germany, and even pianos made in Caracas, were often advertised in Caracas’ newspapers. The stores also advertised the sale of music for piano, most of it consisting of fairly easy pieces for recreational use, but some selections of virtuosic methods and music were also available. For example, the book store Rosa, Bouret y C.ia offered in 1856 piano methods and progressive studies by Johann Baptist Cramer, Sigismud Thalberg, and Henri Rosellen. They also carried opera fantaisies in the stile brillante for two and four hands by Franz Liszt, Alexandre Édouard Goria, Theodor Döhler, Emile Prudent, and Camille-Marie

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138 R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 158.
141 R. de la Plaza, Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela, 152.
142 See Chapter 5.
The piano had gained popularity, leading to an increasing demand for piano teachers. However, only a very few teachers besides Hohené and possibly other foreigners seem to have been offering specialized virtuoso training in the piano at that time.

Figure 6.13. Advertisement of the Librería de Rosa, Bouret y Compañía offering imported music for various instruments. *Diario de avisos*, 12 July 1856, 4.

An interesting exception was the announcement in 1856 by Carlos Miyares Egui, a former *aficionado* originally from Cuba, who arrived in Caracas to establish himself as a piano teacher. Miyares Egui offered lessons beginning piano lessons for children through a systematic and intensive practice. He promised that the students would progress quickly, allowing them to move soon to study with a piano master:

> My particular aim is to give lessons to teach the children who begin with the instrument [and work with them] until they are in a short time ready to perfect their execution with a master specialized in the advanced part of teaching. I offer to leave nothing to be desired regarding the efficiency of the method I use. My course is aimed at preventing my students from acquiring any of the vices that are so hard to eliminate when it comes to mastering the instrument in depth.xvii

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144 Theodor Döhler (b. Naples, 1814; d. Florence, 1856).
Little is known about Miyares Egui or the students that he had in Caracas. Nonetheless, his statement provides evidence of a specialized type of education beginning to be offered at a beginners’ level for those children who had musical aspirations. This course of study to some extent is comparable to the pedagogical approach that Manuel Antonio Carreño took in the education of his daughter. The case of Miyares Egui is also relevant because it documents the adoption in Caracas of a pedagogical practice that was already common in Europe. According to the music scholar Yvonne Amthor, during the first half of the century in Europe, most child prodigies began their studies at the care of a professional or a highly skilled amateur, in many cases the father himself, ensuring that this first teacher would provide a thorough and intensive education in the mechanical and theoretical foundations of music. The purpose of this was to prepare the prodigy for musical training at a higher or master level.\textsuperscript{146} This practice certainly differed from the broad music education offered at the church. It also differed from the formal education that had been offered through musical societies during the 1830s and from the 1840s in some schools for boys, which was principally aimed at preparing students of an older age to perform instrumental ensemble music. Finally, this approach was different from the non-specialized offering of most of the private teachers, who taught a variety of skills, most often including piano, voice, and violin. Some others even included lessons in foreign languages as well as other non-musical subjects. This was the case, for example of a French teacher surnamed Berard, who arrived in Caracas in 1857 and who offered lessons in piano, voice, violin, Latin, French, literature, and history. (See Figure 6.14 below).

Figure 6.14. Announcement of the French teacher Berard offering lessons of music, French, Latin, literature, and history. \textit{Diario de avisos}, 1 April 1867, 4.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|}
\hline
El señor y la señora de Berard, recien llegados a esta capital, tienen el honor de participar al público, que deseano permanecer en Caracas, quisierean encontrar lecciones, la señora de Berard, de lengua francesa, y el Sr. de Berard del mismo idioma, y además de piano, de canto, de latín, literatura, historia, &c. Dirigirse al Sr. de Berard en la posada Delfino, calle del Comercio. \\
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Another interesting case was the one of the French teacher Ernestine de Villiers, who arrived in Caracas in 1856, and claimed to have been assisting performer for Gottschalk’s concerts in New York. (See Figure 6.15 below.) Villiers offered a couple of concerts in Caracas

\footnote{146 Y. Amthor, “Wunderkinder: Musical Prodigies in European Concert Life Between 1791 and 1860,” 217.}
and looked to establish herself there as a piano and French teacher. Nonetheless, she only stayed in Caracas for about four months.147

**Figure 6.15.** Announcement of the arrival of Ernestine de Villiers in Caracas and her plans for offering concerts and piano lessons. *Diario de avisos*, 14 June 1856, 4.

![MADAMA DE VILLIERS.
Ha llegado á esta capital Madama Ernestina de Villiers profesora de gran crédito en el piano y conocida en el mundo musical por composiciones de mucho mérito. Se propone dar algunos conciertos en esta capital y dedicarse á la enseñanza del instrumento que posee. Su talento ha sido rejoneado por los periódicos de la Unión Americana. Todo el mundo sabrá lo que es Gottschalk: en el piano y este célebre instrumentista lo ha prestado su valiosa cooperación en los conciertos que ha dado en New York. Muy pronto tendrá el gusto de agradar la población de esta capital.](image)

Despite the arrival of the virtuosic piano style in Caracas through foreign pedagogues and piano methods and music, its spread among local pianists seems to have been rather slow. Only very few local musicians active in Caracas during the second third of the nineteenth century seem to have developed piano skills at the virtuosic level. Among this small group was Francisco Manuel Tejera, who gained fame as a talented and dedicated pianist and teacher.148 Nothing is known about his piano pedagogy. The accomplished pianist Leopoldo de Sucre, a student of Tejera, performed in some public concerts during the late 1850s. Ramón de la Plaza described him as “skillful, very skillful in the execution.”149 Nonetheless, de Sucre was not significantly active in Caracas until the last third of the century. This was also the case of the above mentioned Cesáreo Suárez and Federico Villena, as well as of other notable pianists such as Manuel F. Azpúrua and Sebastián Díaz Peña.150

6. Perceptions in Caracas Concerning Girls’ Proper Music Education

During the second third of the nineteenth-century there were even fewer possibilities for girls to receive virtuosic training than for boys. The references that have survived indicate

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149 Ibid.
that Teresa Carreño’s case was rare for her gender. Due to the spread of recreational sociability among the middle and upper classes in Caracas during the mid-century, apparently more girls were receiving piano lessons than before. But it seems unlikely that in most cases their piano practice had been intensive. As discussed in the previous chapter, newspaper advertisements of music addressed to women, as well as reports of girls performing in school events, suggest that their musical education was basically focused on the easy repertory of dances and other light genres. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century when the number of women pianists who stood out as performers of virtuosic music and composers grew significantly.  

In contrast, in Europe, by the mid-nineteenth century, the virtuosic training through piano methods and repertory had become the ideal model of piano education for both boys and girls. Even though few European women had the possibility of developing a professional career as a pianist, the number of girls dedicated to disciplined piano practice increased significantly during the second third of the century. As the scholar Dana Davies has explained, during the first half of the nineteenth century in Europe, piano instruction had become an important aspect of the education of bourgeois girls, and a stereotypical indicator of values of leisure, prosperity, and cultivation of that social class. The spread of the virtuosic model of piano education among girls occurred in tandem with the thriving of the industry of music publishing. The availability of virtuosic piano methods on the market, as well as the large offering of piano teachers, contributed to ignite the musical ambitions of women beyond the interest of learning music as a domestic pastime.

The belated spread of the virtuosic model of piano education among girls in Caracas could be explained by two correlated circumstances. First, during the first half of the nineteenth century public opinion regarding the expectations of music education for women began to change. The second circumstance concerns the spread of the salon culture in Caracas since the 1840s.

151 On women pianists and composers during the late nineteenth century, see D. T. Agostini García, “Música para piano de compositoras venezolanas publicadas en El cojo ilustrado entre 1892 y 1907,” passim.


The references that have survived regarding the involvement of women in music cultivation in the first half of the century in Caracas demonstrate the existence of a social dynamic that increasingly curtailed their participation in practices of serious music-making, favoring instead a less intense education aimed at performing music in recreational contexts. Thus, in 1810, the *letrado* Francisco Isnardi boasted about Cayetano Carreño’s contributions to the advancement of Caracas society for having “disseminated with taste and singular mastery the taste for the piano among the beautiful sex.”¹⁵⁴ Likewise, Landaeta’s “certamen of vocal and instrumental music” of 1811 called for the participation of women in these settings by performing an instrument or singing.¹⁵⁵ Still in 1822 or 1823, Manuel and María de Jesús Blandín, the sisters of the sponsor of *academias filarmónicas* Bartolomé Blandín, performed on the piano and sang in a serious gathering in their *hacienda* on the outskirts of Caracas for their distinguished guests, the Americans William Duane and Richard Bache.¹⁵⁶ Nonetheless, as the nineteenth century advanced, women’s serious dedication to music began to conflict with the social role that the republic assigned to them as wives, mothers, and bastions of morality, thereby restricting them to domestic pursuits. Thus, the Project for the Sociedad filarmónica of 1831 expressly forbade the participation of women in the weekly gatherings of that institution, allowing them only to attend the concerts that were offered every two weeks as part of the audience.¹⁵⁷ By the end of the 1830s sincere advocates of educational reform such as Fermín Toro, argued that musical education for girls had to be “a secondary business,” asserting that “things that are more necessary must be learned first.”¹⁵⁸ As discussed in a previous chapter, in the 1840s the distinction between essential versus ornamental subjects became commonplace in the discussion of girls’ education in Caracas. Music was then considered an ornamental subject whose study was expected to be undertaken as a pastime and not as a serious pursuit. This created a tension between the moral value of music, which encouraged music education on the grounds of civilizational progress, and the social value of music, which imposed social

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¹⁵⁵ Ibid.
¹⁵⁶ W. Duane, *A Visit to Colombia, in the Years 1822 and 1823*, 111. See Chapter 2.
restrictions on women concerning the time they could devote to music education and the possibilities for social and public exposure as musicians.

The result of this situation was a gendered model of music education, according to which a lenient training in voice or piano, conforming to the uses of music as a domestic pastime and social grace in recreational salon gatherings, became stereotypically feminine. In contrast, a more dedicated education for boys, with emphasis on the learning of instruments suitable for chamber or orchestral music, conforming to the practices of the serious cultivation of music, became stereotypically masculine. The piano occupied an ambiguous position in this gendered model, as it was not exclusive to the feminine domain. For example, the respected Colegio de Santo Tomás in Caracas offered piano education under the tutoring of the profesor Román Isaza. Nothing is known about the musical curriculum employed by Isaza. Nonetheless, the program included in a press report of an acto de fin de curso (end of school-year presentation) held on August 10, 1857 at that school sheds some light on the type of repertory that the students studied under Isaza. Although the list of pieces does not indicate the name of the composers but only the name of the students who performed, it is still possible to identify their genres. They consisted of music for instrumental ensemble, which was a genre favored in the circles of gatherings like academias and musical-literary tertulias:

1. Overture for grand orchestra.
2. Duet for flute and piano [performed] by Ramón Ceballos and P. Valbuena.
3. Andante with variations for orchestra.
4. Duet for violin and piano [performed] by Pío Ceballos and P.A. Sederstrong.
5. Duet for flute and piano, [performed] by Pedro Manrique and Pedro A. Sederstrong; and
6. Air from Linda di Chamounix, for orchestra. 159

The two duets for flute and piano, and the duet for violin and piano could have been older works, or even perhaps contemporary pieces from the repertory of fantaisies for instrumental duets on opera themes, which were common in virtuosic concerts in Europe. Regardless, the case is representative of how the piano acquired masculine connotations when used within an instrumental ensemble. 160

160 There is no evidence that Isaza had developed virtuosic skills as a piano performer. Nonetheless, the early twentieth-century historian Jesús María Suárez asserted that he was a pianist of a rare ability. J. M Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 341. Isaza was educated by his father, who was presumably one of the members of a Sociedad filarmónica created in 1834-1835 under the protection of the Sociedad de Amigos del País. See Chapter 4. His musical activities were related to the performance of
In this context, it is apparent that the adoption of the virtuosic paradigm of piano education for women was problematic. The dedication in terms of time and effort that the practice of drills and virtuosic repertory involved contravened republican discourses on proper education for girls. On the other hand, the adoption of a lenient approach to music education for girls was substantiaed by the imported prescriptive literature that circulated in Caracas at that time, which was largely perceived by the progressive intellectuals as a proven model of conduct in culturally advanced societies, which should be locally emulated.

The German Enlightenment philosopher Joachim Campe was one of the greatest ideologists of the social prescriptions that confined women to the domestic sphere on the name of their role as guardians of the family, thus restricting the pursue of intellectual or artistic, activities. His prescriptions for women were translated into Spanish under the title of *Eufemia ó La muger bien instruida: Sacada de la Elisa del célebre alemán Campe* (*Eufemia, or the Well Instructed Woman: Taken from the Elisa by the celebrated German Campe*). (See Figure 6.16 below.) Upon its appearance in the early nineteenth century, the book enjoyed wide acceptance in the Hispanic world, with numerous reeditions throughout the first half of the century. In 1833 the book was released in Caracas in a local edition by Tomás Antero. As late as 1857, Campe’s book was still sold in Caracas through various book stores, including Manuel Antonio Carreño’s Librería de Carreño Hermanos.

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dance music for balls as well as the direction of instrumental ensembles. From the mid-nineteenth century, Isaza also participated as music director for the instrumental ensembles that accompanied the itinerant opera companies that visited Caracas, as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

161 Joachim Heinrich Campe (b. Deesen, Germany, 1746; d. Braunschweig, Germany, 1818) was a writer, educator and publisher, and a major figure of the German Enlightenment.


Campe advised women about the study of music on the grounds of the benefits that this could bring in coping with domestic life. On this premise he stated: “A woman can pursue the agreeable arts because such exercises, when taken with measure and with pure and reasonable intentions, are compatible not only with the occupations that are necessary to acquire the essential talents and with the dignity that the mother of a family [should have], but also because they would bring [the possibility] for her to rejoice with her husband, to dispel preoccupations and sorrows, and to enliven the whole family with a pure and beneficial joy.”  

By “agreeable arts,” Campe understood music, drawing, and dance. With this term he indicated the ornamental and subsidiary subjects of study that served to complement the essential or necessary studies, which were aimed at preparing women for their domestic roles as mothers and wives.

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165 [J. H.] Campe, Eufemia, ó La muger bien instruida, 102-03. All the translations from this source are mine.
166 Ibid., 102.
167 On the distinction between ornamental and essential or necessary subjects in prescriptive literature on women’s education, see Chapter 5.
For Campe, the line between how much was appropriate and how much was excessive in regard to the ornamental study that a girls and women could pursue had to be drawn at with attention to both practical and moral reasons. Concerning the practical criterion, Campe pointed out that “the answer of reason is that it is appropriate for them to be occupied [in the agreeable arts] as far as their essential instruction, which is necessary for their particular destiny, does not suffer, nor their health, and [all of this] with the restriction that they do not dedicate to the agreeable arts the time and the forces that their main duties demand.”

Concerning morals, Campe limited the ornamental activities to those that could be done with the purpose of “mere recreation and the utility of her family, and never to show off or show more than what the domestic sphere permits.” Then he emphasized that “when a young woman [...] learns with steadfastness everything she should know to fulfill her future role as a mother of the family [...] then she may employ [her time] in learning drawing, dancing, and music, thus occupying a time that so many waste in useless reading and pernicious nothingness, but with the condition that she does so with the intention that has been said, and not for vanity, or looking for admiration and applause.”

With this statement Campe not only disallowed women altogether from a dedicated cultivation of music but also encouraged them to renounce any talent or knowledgeable interest that was not directly related to their duties as wives and mothers. Accordingly, in the specific case of music, Campe observed that “the mother of a family should never be an outstanding singer, not even in the class of amateurs, nor should she try to excel in any of the other agreeable arts.” Consequently, he advised a woman who was fond of the arts to “renounce to all the aspirations of recognition that separate her from her destiny.”

Campe’s prescriptions resolved the tension between women’s social role as guardians of the domestic sphere, and the enlightened views of the moral value of music, but only in a deceptive manner. Any moral value that might be attributed to music became diluted within an argumentative strategy that invariably assumed perverse intentions in those women who honored their musical interests and inclinations and ventured to step outside the strict circle of the family. The core of the problem was not music, nor the social role assigned to women as

169 Ibid.
170 Ibid., 104-05.
171 Ibid., 102.
172 Ibid., 107.
guardians of the domestic sphere. Rather, it was women’s supposedly natural inferiority. In this sense, Campe plainly stated:

Nature and society have wanted man to be the protector of the woman: that she should join him [...] confessing her weakness, showing gratitude for the exercise of his superiority, and being interested in him, and acting towards him with kindness and with gentle and modest manners.

But what happens?

That our ladies [...] behave ordinarily with a conduct that is contrary to this principle. Although at each step [they take] they find themselves in need of protection, they do not want to reveal what they are. [...] They do not want to recognize that they rely on us, and they want us, to whom nature has given more strength, to look to them for support. They try to set the tone, not only in the tertulias, where they could be tolerated, but in the arts, in the sciences, and even in business, for which they have no capacity whatsoever. They always expect and demand to be honored by men, and men always scoff at them.173 xxvi

The famous book Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo por una señora Americana of 1824 did not attempt to soften Campe’s position about the perils involved in women’s indulging in an enthusiastic dedication to music. The book was produced in London to be exported to Hispanic America and took the form of a set of letters written by an anonymous Argentinean lady, a supporter of the Independence War in Argentina who was exiled in Europe, willing to illustrate and advise her compatriots on the customs she observed in the civilized European countries, specially England and France. With this book she expected to contribute to “propagate good morals, to reform education, and to inspire in the americanas the desire to carry forward such an important task.”174 xxvi (See Figure 6.17 below.)

Despite the feminine Hispanic American persona assumed by the author of the text, scholarly research has shown that Cartas sobre la educación del Bello sexo was written by the Spanish man of letters José Joaquín de Mora.175 He was at that time established in London and associated with notable Hispanic American intellectuals and supporters of the independence cause, including the Venezuelan Andrés Bello, the Argentinian Bernardino Rivadavia, and the Ecuadorian José Joaquín Olmedo. The book thus added to the literature produced in London, already driven by Andrés Bello and Juan García del Rio, among others, that promoted

173 Ibid., 137-38.
174 [J. J. de Mora,] Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo por una señora americana (London: R. Ackerman, 1824), iii. All the translations from this source are mine.
175 For a discussion of the authorship of the book, see I. Macintyre, Women and Print Culture in Post-Independence Buenos Aires, 114ff.
educational reforms of part of the Hispanic American *letrados’* nation-building project. The book circulated widely in Hispanic America, with numerous local reeditions in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Venezuela. It was also translated into Portuguese and circulated in Brazil and Portugal. In Caracas, the reedition was prepared by Tomás Antero and released in 1833, the same year that Antero released his edition of Campe’s book. As late as 1857 Manuel Antonio Carreño still advertised the sale of the book in his Librería de Carreño Hermanos.

Figure 6.17. Title page of *Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo por una señora americana* (Londres: R. Ackermann, 1824).  

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176 José Joaquín de Mora (b. Cádiz, 1783; d. Madrid, 1864); Bernardino Rivadavia (b. Buenos Aires, 180; d. Cádiz 1845); José Joaquín Olmedo (b. Guayaquil, 1780; d. Guayaquil, 1847).


178 On Tomás Antero’s edition of 1833 of *Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo*, see M. Alcibiades, “Escritoras, editoras y directoras de revistas en el siglo XIX,” 293.


In reference to music, *Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo* reflected the contemporary circumstances in the European musical world, where intense virtuosic training in piano and voice, and the subsequent entrance of women into concert life as virtuoso singers and pianists in either in academias and tertulias or in the public scene, had become a more frequent event than a quarter a century before, when Campe’s prescriptions were compiled. On this premise, Mora crafted an intricate argument plausibly aimed at persuading Hispanic American female readers from taking the path of an intensive study of music and eventually trespassing the boundaries of domesticity, surely anticipating the burgeoning of concert life that would follow the formation of the Hispanic American republics.

Mora addressed first the topic of the moral value of the ornamental subjects. He believed that the fine arts served “to perfect our faculties, to ennoble our imagination, to form our taste, and to provide the means necessary to enjoy an innocent and agreeable entertainment without requiring anyone else.” Also, they served to provide “new resources for the attainment of personal merit and to preserve the affection that we could inspire.” In short, the cultivation of the arts was for Mora aimed at refining taste, inspiring elevated sentiments, and creating affective bonds. These functions conformed to the social and moral values that the Hispanic American *letrados*, following the philosophers of the Enlightenment, deemed conducive to the civilizing progress of their budding nations.

Concerning music, Mora defended its benefits as a “delightful art, whose impressions move my soul and make it experience the most pure and intense pleasures.” Nonetheless, his claims do not reflect more than a rhetorical and weak strategy to acknowledge Enlightenment-minded views of the moral and social value of music, while discouraging women from engaging with the musical fashions that he believed threatened the purity of domestic life. Simply, Mora recommended drawing as most suitable for girls: “drawing seems to me preferable in any case over to dancing and music [...] because [drawing] is more moral in this practice as well as in its consequences.” Mora seems to have been daunted by the flourishing of the music market and the rising of the virtuosic culture in Europe. The increasing dissemination of fashionable music, along with the technical demands and showy attributes of

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181 [J. J. de Mora,] *Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo*, 61-62.
182 Ibid.
183 Ibid., 65-66.
184 Ibid.
185 Ibid., 62.
virtuosic music, certainly challenged contemporary ideals of feminine modesty and patriarchal expectations of women’s selfless and uncorrupted dedication to their domestic duties. “The fondness for music is excessive in Europe. In this interest there is a lot of pedantry, some ostentation, and vanity, and very little of what is commonly called the bon ton [good taste],” he stated.\textsuperscript{186} Mora’s criticism mainly addressed what he considered the excesses that were becoming normal in music education. Thus he asserted: “In the first place, once the general rule that all young ladies must learn music has been established, what happens is that these girls, who often lack a constitution suitable for a study that should only serve as recreation and ornament, end being tormented and hating music. [...] How much time wasted! How much money squandered! And all that to embitter the character, to provoke disobedience, and to counteract the natural dispositions!”\textsuperscript{187} Mora also found a great deal of dissipation in the education provided to those with a legitimate inclination to music: “When these [young girls] are suitable for the study of music, another mistake is made, which is not less prejudicial in its consequences. All the time, all the faculties, all the attention is granted to this single object in detriment to not only the other branches of intellectual education, but also to the subjects that are necessary for domestic [life].”\textsuperscript{188} Mora spent several paragraphs offering a compendium of the misfortunes that await those women who decide to devote themselves to music as a serious pursuit. Accordingly, women’s participation in academias and tertulias carried moral and psychological dangers that compromised their possibility of having a fulfilling life:

The dominant idea of her life, the only purpose of her hopes and desires, is the preservation of the applause that her talent arouses in the tertulias and the academias. The most delicate part of her interior existence, her self-love, [...] acquires greater degrees of irritability, and becomes a violent disease, which the slightest contradiction, which the smallest circumstance worsens. Publicity, the great world, the whirlwind found in the gatherings, become absolutely necessary scenarios for those who do not know their role in a quiet and withdrawn life. [...] The one who has become so fixed in success, in adventure, in attracting the attention [of others], and in making everyone admire her talents, cannot like anything but what flatters this passion. Boredom will consume her when in solitude, and even when surrounded by her family.\textsuperscript{189} 

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\textsuperscript{186} Ibid., 66. \\
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., 66-67. \\
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid., 67-68. \\
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., 68. \\
\end{flushright}
In order to persuade Hispanic American women not to engage in a career in music, Mora described the life of misery and pain that, according to him, those women who decided to abandon the moral riches of domestic life for success on the public stage experienced.

I have seen in the European societies many of these women, generally praised for their extraordinary merit as singers or pianists, and I confess that the kind of worship that is paid to them is capable of upsetting the most solid head, and of seducing the firmest heart. I have followed these women inside their house, and I saw how costly their triumph is, how sharp are the thorns that hide under the roses with which they are crowned, and how many pitfalls threaten them in the career that with so much effort and abandon they have undertaken. 190

Finally, a dangerous cycle of self-interest, ambition, envy, mistrust, and solitude is augured by Mora as the final reward for those women who pursue a career in music. 191

The tensions between social prescriptions that limited women’s music education and their involvement with it to a casual pastime and the actual dedication of of many of them contravening those expectations certainly was not exclusive to Hispanic America. Carl Czerny in his Letters to a Young Lady on the Art of Playing the Piano-Forte (pub. in 1837), a text aimed at giving counsel to girls with musical aspirations, recommended his twelve-year-old imaginary addressee Cecilia to dedicate herself to the piano practice for “only three hours” a day. 192 This would suffice “to attain a very commanding degree of excellence, without necessarily obliging [her] to neglect [her] other pursuits.” 193 Scholar Deana Davies has interpreted Czerny’s statement as a rhetorical effort to use his authority as a pedagogue to endorse “the construct that subjugated female musical amateurism to domesticity” while apparently offering the means of satisfying the musical ambitions of women. 194 Whether this was the case or it was instead that Czerny, if only moved by the interest of selling his methods, wanted to circumvent the social censure that would fall on musically ambitious girls by negotiating a reasonable study-period of three hours a day, the fact is that there existed a social tension. The piano, as one of the greatest ornamental accomplishments for a woman, had become, under the ascendancy of piano virtuosity, a means for her personal realization.

190 Ibid., 72.
191 Ibid.
192 C. Cerny, Letters to a Young Lady, 28.
193 Ibid.
The issue was problematic in Europe, where some women, despite prevalent prejudice, could still aspire to a professional career as performers. This was not the case in Caracas, principally for reasons of class more than of gender. Men of the educated segments of the middle and the upper classes avoided pursuing a professional career in music, preferring to be identified as *aficionados*, even in those cases when they made a living out of music. That was clearly the case of Manuel Antonio Carreño, who after working for several years at the church, began to be identified as an *aficionado*, as the term represented his social ascent.\(^{195}\) Likewise, Felipe Larrazábal, who occasionally worked as a teacher, was also considered an *aficionado*.\(^{196}\) Also, in those cases when the *aficionados* performed in public, they did so for no fee, as will be shown later in this study. In this context, it is unreasonable to expect that a woman, despite her level of mastery, would have pursued a professional commitment beyond teaching the piano to girls. Therefore, the social tensions that hindered women’s dedication to music beyond casual and recreational purposes in mid-nineteenth-century Caracas are to be found in the moral connotations involved in neglecting domestic duties, and in the pursuit of personal satisfaction. Furthermore, the ideal of womanhood in Caracas at that time, constructed around the values of modesty and decorum, could have certainly problematized the participation of women in private gatherings, when their performative skills showed an accomplishment that was above average. This could have been easily interpreted as pretentious, and therefore morally transgressive.\(^{197}\) Consequently, it is in the moral terrain where the boundaries between what was acceptable and what was not had to be negotiated.

**7. Manuel Antonio Carreño’s Rationale for His Daughter’s Virtuosic Education**

Manuel Antonio Carreño’s rationale for the intensive musical education that he imparted to his daughter, which evidently contradicted the prevalent social prescriptions, is difficult to determine. In his *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras*, Carreño did not establish a position regarding the type of music education that the girls should receive. Nonetheless, as stated in the previous chapter, Carreño accepted the distinction between necessary and

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\(^{196}\) As mentioned in Chapter 5, in the early 1840s the brothers Felipe and Manuel María Larrazábal worked as music teachers at the Colegio de Educandas.

\(^{197}\) On the constructions of womanhood in Caracas during the mid-nineteenth-century in Caracas, see Chapter 5.
ornamental education for girls, and encouraged the cultivation of ornamental activities, including music, as an acceptable complement to the essential formation. Thus, in several passages, the manual endorsed the role of women in using their ornamental abilities to beautify and smooth out the domestic and social spheres to which they belonged. Regarding the moral implications of this issue, he emphasized that “the girls must cultivate only those [graces] that are allied with [the virtues of] modesty and innocence.” He also observed that these ornaments “can embellish everything but can also wreck everything.” 198 Thus Carreño recognized that the cultivation of the subjects that were embraced by the ornamental education could be conducive to moral and social benefits. Nonetheless, he did not clarify the boundaries of moral acceptability.

El libro de la infancia por una amigo de los niños (The book of infancy by a friend of children) written by the letrado Amenodoro Udaneta and published in Caracas in 1856, presented the issue in a different light, as it established an unequivocal defense of the inclusion of artistic subjects as part of the essential formation of children on the grounds of their moral value. 199 Urdaneta’s book is relevant for two reasons. The first is that it was the first Venezuelan publication devoted to the education of children. The second is that it reinstated in the public discussion the entrenched belief in the intrinsic moral value of the arts, without establishing differences of gender. Accordingly, Urdaneta saw in art education the only way “to nurture the heart with the beauties of virtue.” 200 Yet, by artistic education, Urdaneta understood not the instruction that would eventually prepare the individuals for a particular ability, trade, or profession, but a formation that would influence their moral faculties. Urdaneta did not explain how this artistic education had to be undertaken, but it is plausible that it primarily consisted of

199 Amenodoro Urdaneta (b. Bogotá, 1828; d. Caracas, 1905), El libro de la infancia por un amigo de los niños (Caracas: Imprenta de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, 1865, facsimil reproduction (Caracas: Biblioteca Nacional / Fundación Latino, 1993). Amenodoro Urdaneta was the son of the independence hero Rafael Urdaneta. Since childhood he and his family resided in Caracas. He held several public positions which included the provisional presidency of the Apure state in 1864. He wrote poetry, articles for newspapers and journals in Caracas and other Venezuelan cities, and several educational works, including El libro de la infancia por un amigo de los niños (pub. 1865), Fábulas para niños (pub. 1874), Catecismo republicano, o sea La constitución política e Venezuela (pub. 1877), and Diálogos sobre la instrucción religiosa (pub. 1896). He was a member of the Academia de Ciencias Sociales y Bellas Artes (1869) and of the Academia Nacional de la Historia (1888). “Urdaneta, Amenodoro,” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/u/urdaneta-amendodoro/.
200 A. Urdaneta, El libro de la infancia, 186. All the translations from this source are mine.
stimulating children to appreciate music, literature, or other arts rather than developing advanced artistic competences. In this respect Urdaneta stated:

Understand that education and instruction are two different things. Instruction forms the talent. But education [forms] the genius, which is nothing other than the harmonious joining of all our faculties in order to seize the beauties and satisfactions of the eternal truths. In other words, genius is not only a superior level of intelligence but, more properly, the harmonious and complete unfolding of all of our faculties, [which are] the powers of our nature. Only a well-directed education can lead to this result. 201 xxxviii

Nonetheless, because Urdaneta’s book did not frame the issue of art education as a practical instruction, he did not resolve the problem of the whether or not an artistic intensive training was still morally acceptable.

In contrast, the book of the French writer Natahlie de Lajolais, *Le Livre des mères de famille* (The book of family mothers), which circulated in Caracas during the mid-nineteenth century, explicitly addressed this issue. This text provides a plausible context to understand how a virtuosic training for girls could be negotiated in the prescriptive literature without threatening the moral principles that were expected to regulate their overall education.

Lajolais’ book was published in Paris in 1841 under the title *Éducation des femmes, Manuel à l’usage des mères de famille et des institutrices*. Since then it has acquired considerable resonance in the Francophone world. It received the recognition of the Académie française and was reissued in the following year as *Le Livre de mères de famille et des institutrices sur l’éducation pratique des femmes*. A second edition of the latter followed in 1843, and a third in 1847 with the shortened title of *Éducation des femmes*. 202 In Caracas, Lajolais’ book was commercialized by at least the mid-1850s. The newspapers advertised it as an “excellent treatise on the practical education of women. A work crowned by the French Academy.” 203 xxxix Yet, Lajolais’ book did not enjoy in Caracas the ample reception that other imported texts such as *Cartas sobre la Educacion del bello sexo* or Campe’s *Eufemia ó La muger*
bien instruida had. On the contrary, the fact that it was not translated into Spanish and that it was quite long and abundant in scholarly argumentation must have made it unappealing to those readers who looked for a practical guide to deal with girls’ education. There is no evidence that Manuel Antonio Carreño was familiar with Lajolais’ book. Nonetheless, given his undisputable authority in prescriptive literature and interest in education it is difficult to believe that Lajolais’ book had gone unnoticed by him.

Figure 6.18. Nathalie de Lajolais’ Le Livre de mères de famille et des institutrices sur l’éducation pratique des femmes, 2nd edition (Paris: Didier, 1843).

Regardless, Lajolais’ book is representative of a group of prescriptive writings produced from the mid-nineteenth century on, which despite conforming to the rhetoric of female domesticity and female subordination to male authority, were persuasive at a deeper level in negotiating spaces for feminine development in educational and social areas. Definitely, nineteenth century prescriptive literature was not as monolithic as is often erroneously

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204 Google Books, https://books.google.com/books?id=qiMPAAAAQAAJ&q=inauthor:%22Nathalie+de+Lajolais%22&source=gbs_navlinks_s, from a copy preserved at the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, Ghent, Brussels, 444
assumed. Lajolais made a point of teaching women to be homemakers and mothers, as other writers did, but she did something else. She argued for the education of women in areas where most of the authors insisted on curtailing their aspirations. Lajolais grounded her reasoning on a sense of moral integrity:

women deserve to be educated for their own sake and not like those flowers whose perfume is intoxicating. They should not be exploited like a vein of ore. [...] It is necessary that they [women] understand the dignity of their being and that they possess a wealth of ideas and sentiments which derive from justice and truth [and] which must guide all humanity without exception. They must learn that goodness is the only element of happiness, that it must be the goal, the rule, the most intimate sentiment of life, and that the most valuable science to acquire is to offer this goodness or this individual happiness for the benefit of the family and society. 

Concerning the way in which the overall formation of women was to be undertaken, Lajolais adopted the distinction between “education” and “instruction,” which was already presented in the discussion of Urdaneta’s book. For Lajolais, education was aimed at the formation of “the soul [and] the customs” while the latter was of “the spirit and the intelligence.” Lajolais observed that because both modalities were interrelated they should not be separated. Yet, she argued that education prevailed over instruction as, in a strict sense, education dealt with moral formation. Therefore, it was of fundamental importance: “Education proper is the learning of virtue,” she said. Instruction, instead, covered all the subjects of practical, intellectual, or artistic content.

At a deeper level, Lajolais introduced another distinction within the domain of female instruction. This concerned the difference between the instruction essentielle or essential instruction and the instruction perfectionnée, or perfected instruction. The instruction essentielle consisted of the subjects that were considered a requirement for the students in general. These included moral science and religion, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, elements of history and geography, elements of natural history, lineal design and principles of geometry, and vocal music. On the other hand, the instruction perfectionnée was meant to be offered only to

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205 On feminist writers of prescriptive literature in France, see C.G. Moses, *French Feminism in the 19th Century*, passim.
206 N. de Lajolais, *Le Livre des mères de famille*, 2nd ed., 17-18. All the translations from this source are mine. Unless otherwise stated, all the citations from Lajolais’ *Le Livre des mères de famille* correspond to the 2nd edition (Paris: Didier, 1843).
207 Ibid., 1.
208 Ibid.
209 Ibid.
210 Ibid., 311-12.
those, “who have the faculties necessary to receive [a] complete [instruction], and who could enjoy it without being lost and abandoned in a world that was apart from that of their parents, or their friends, apart from their habits and customs of the social rank where they were born.” 211 The subjects included in the instruction perfectionnée comprised all of those that were part of the instruction essentielle, but at an advanced level of study. In addition, Lajolais included what she called the études accessoires or accessory studies, among which were the belles lettres, notions of physics, astronomy and chemistry, drawing, painting, principles of music harmony, piano, dance, and foreign languages. 212

With this arrangement, Lajolais avoided the problems involved in the more common division between necessary and ornamental education. What she proposed was a graded system for those subjects that had been considered problematic in women’s education. Some subjects were not perceived as compatible with the roles that society deemed acceptable for women, as was the case with science. For other subjects, like music, although they were acceptable, the quantity of study required for their mastery was perceived as excessive. On the other hand, the twofold criteria proposed by Lajolais, involving the condition of possessing a natural talent and conforming to limits of their own social class, opened the possibility for personal development without transgressing either the natural or the social order. In this sense, Lajolais stated, “This line of separation, when it is wisely established, will not prevent special vocations from manifesting themselves, nor from receiving a proper direction.” 213

With the argument of class, Lajoias wanted to address the undesirable consequences of providing the girls with a course of instruction that did not correspond to the social reality that they would face in the future. At this point, Lajolais was rather conservative, as her prescription was aimed at conforming to the values and conventions of class to which the girl belonged. It is possible, indeed, that a desire to prevent the use of music or any other ability as a cultural capital for prestige and social ascent underlay her argument. In this respect she observed that “to push the mass of the youth through ways where they will not find support or guidance, will only give them a taste of the intellectual pleasures that will divert them from the serious labors of life, and which do not have a direct relationship with the knowledge that these labors

211 Ibid., 6-7.
212 Ibid., 309-10.
213 Ibid., 7.
demand. This is at the very least a dangerous education, if it is not fatal, and it is important at all costs to adopt better principles.” 214 xlv

At the same time, the argument of the individual faculties appealed to the still-ingrained Enlightenment-minded belief in nature as a reliable model for behavior. Although the notion of nature was the subject of a variety of interpretations among Enlightenment philosophers, it could be asserted that there existed a general agreement about the underlying rationality of nature. Accordingly, models of political organization, educational programs, and social organization were often shaped after specific interpretations of the natural order. 215 In fact, a good part of the claims presented in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century prescriptive literature aimed at establishing differences in the social roles of men and women were grounded on the idea that physical, intellectual, or psychological differences were imposed by nature and therefore they had a social and moral purpose.

In this vein, Lajolais’s trust in natural talent was unproblematic. For her, the individual marks of talent were objective and directly observable: “It is always easy to distinguish the fortunate dispositions of a young person, and to give these dispositions the culture they deserve, as far as this development will be advantageous.” 216 xlvi For Lajolais the instruction perfectionnée had to be imparted in proportion to the natural dispositions of the student. Therefore, she suggested that “it would be much better to explore the means of the pupil by a sort of test, in order to recognize those dispositions for the fine arts, [...] once we have consulted [the student] about its taste and desire.” 217 xlvii In this context, the natural talent of the student functioned as the ultimate and undisputable justification for the time and effort that they had to employ in perfecting her artistic abilities: “The advanced talents (talents perfectionnées), [...] require such hard work [and] absorb so much of the day, that a pupil should only undertake their acquisition when there is a favorable augury, when she has the moral certitude of success, as well as all the faculties necessary to cultivate them. In this way she will not regret later the number of hours lost, if she would have employed those precious and useful years otherwise.” 218 xlviii

214 Ibid.
216 N. de Lajolais, Le Livre des mères de famille, 7.
217 Ibid., 312-13.
218 Ibid.
Lajolais also discussed the issue of providing the girls intensive piano training. She not only unambiguously endorsed the use of virtuosic piano methods, but she also recommended beginning study at an early age as the virtuosic manuals usually recommended. In this sense she stated: “The mechanism of the piano requires that the work of those who want to pursue it is begun precociously. The child must therefore begin to learn it at the right time, when her nerves are still flexible and easy to adapt to all the difficulties.”

Lajolais highlighted the advantages of Friedrich Kalbrenner’s famous *Méthode pour apprendre le piano à l’aide du guidemains*, op. 108. This text was first published in Paris in 1831 and was representative of the *stile brillante* that was cultivated at the Parisian Conservatoire during the second third of the nineteenth century.

Considering it, she observed:

> Although everyone knows that the method of Mr. F. Kalkbrenner for this instrument is the method *par excellence*, here we will recommend it to our female readers, who are eager to obtain in a quick way the most brilliant results and are able to appreciate all the merit of these exercises so skillfully composed, fingered, and progressively ordered, and of the analytical studies containing in a graceful and varied form, all the rules of art, which may serve as an introduction to all the works of the great masters.

Lajolais did not explain what composers she considered as the great masters. Despite this, the passage is illuminating in that it suggests a link between high art and the *stile brillante*.

It is reasonable to presume that Manuel Antonio Carreño could have adopted a position similar to Lajolais to justify his daughter’s intensive training. At least, it may be safely accepted that his preference for the *stile brillante*, as well as his views on the importance of cultivating music and the arts gravitated towards an aesthetic, moral, and social range of values that was comparable to those supported by Lajolais. Also, a belief comparable to Lajolais that a natural talent for music could be identified from an early age through markers that were objectively observable also underlies many of the commentaries on Teresa Carreño’s childhood. In this respect, accounts of Teresa Carreño’s infancy were shaped by this assumption, that a patent interest and an outstanding facility for music were irrefutable signs of genius. In this regard, Cecilio Acosta’s report of a conversation with Manuel Antonio Carreño is revealing, as it leaves no doubt about his perception that Teresa Carreño demonstrated unequivocal signs of a God-given talent. Thus, Acosta wrote:

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219 Ibid., 432.
One of the branches to which Teresita [...] was dedicated [...] was the piano. [Her parents] began to notice, from very early on, rare qualities of performance and inventiveness. Her father, Don Manuel Antonio Carreño, a musician himself, and a man as discreet as he was enlightened, after [seeing that] the girl had already grown, after he knew what she was going to be, after her genius appeared in all its colossal dimensions, after it was not possible to deny it any longer, because the gift that God had given to her was already recognized by all, told us one day when she was eight years old: “Now that it cannot be attributed to paternal blindness, I can confess several things of my daughter that seem incredible.”

These signs included following the musical rhythm with her head while still a baby, singing in perfect tune, and reproducing melodies and preludes at the piano as soon as she could reach the keyboard.

Teresa Carreño herself spoke of the motivation of her father in the memoires that she dictated to William Armstrong in 1917. Here she pointed at a similar rationale: “In my sixth year, and in Venezuela, my father began to teach me to play the piano. I had even composed, compositions which will not go on to posterity, I assure you. [...] When he saw, though, this definite wish that I had to cultivate music as my life's happiness, and when his child, his little Teresita, showed this absolute desire to play, sing, and compose, then he began to teach me, both for the pleasure he had in it, and because it would help me.”

From Teresa Carreño’s statement one can infer that her father held a position genuinely framed by the values of the old philosophies of the Enlightenment, as he seems to have perceived that her natural inclinations were purposeful. Accordingly, nurturing them through a thorough education that would suit her individual abilities was a rational way to recognize the order of nature, which was none other than the path for self-development and happiness.

In conclusion, Teresa Carreño’s intensive and systematic musical education conformed to the paradigm of piano virtuosity that was represented in the stile brillante that was cultivated in France during the second third of the nineteenth century. Her display of interest in music from early infancy was interpreted as an unequivocal sign of natural talent and also as social allowance for providing an education at an advanced level that in the case of most other girls would have been considered transgressive of the prevalent social prescriptions for females. A paradoxical dynamic between natural talent and systematic training was then a part of her musical education.

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222 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
“Essa è l’allieva della natura, che sarà ognora la madre dell’Arte, e perfezionata dal celebre Gottschalk.”

“María Garfias, niña que apenas tiene trece años y que es un prodigio de precocidad en el arte.”

“Demasiado tierna para para someterla á ningún género de estudio, sus padres aguardaban á que llegase por la menos á una edad en que pudiera soportar el trabajo de los primeros rudimentos del piano, y en que sus órganos, aun demasiado débiles, adquiriesen la fuerza necesaria para tal objeto.”

“Diez y ocho meses estuvo Teresa tocando escalas y ejercicios, con lo cual logró adquirir tanta agilidad y destreza en el dedeo, y vencer tantas dificultades, que muy luego pudo tocar piezas de fuerza.”

“[…] continuó Teresa estudiando y practicando […] siempre bajo la dirección de su padre, y ya para esta fecha deleitaba á todos los que la oían, entre los cuales había profesores de nota, así por la limpieza de su ejecución, el gusto con que tocaba, su manera de interpretar hasta la música clásica, la facilidad con que ejecutaba las piezas de gran fuerza de Thalberg, Mendelssohn y otros autores, y su rara memoria, que la hacía aprender en pocos días y tocar de memoria las composiciones más elaboradas, como por su admirable facilidad para improvisar; ya sobre argumentos que se le daban, ya de su propia cuenta, piezas de exquisito mérito.”

“[…] ejecutaba la fantasía de Thalberg sobre la Norma, y otras piezas difíciles; haciéndolo con un gusto, corrección y limpiezas tales, que nadie que la hubiera oído sin verla, habría creído que quien tocaba era una niña aún en la infancia. Apenas tenía entonces ocho años.”

“M. Carreño, le père et professeur de l’admirable jeune virtuose Teresa Carreño, termine en ce moment la théorie et les exercices d’un nouveau traité de mécanisme applicable au piano, qui promet de faire […] un progrès considérable á l’enseignement. […] Sa méthode, appliquée non seulement á l’organisation musicale toute privilégiée, de sa fille, mais aussi á des jeunes élèves amateurs, produirait de merveilleux résultats. M. Carreño se propose de publier prochainement son nouveau traité de mécanisme du piano.”

“1o. Todos los ejercicios que están escritos para solo la mano derecha, se harán también exactamente con la izquierda. 2º. Los ejercicios cuyo carácter lo permita, se harán siempre en la mayor extensión posible del teclado.”

“[…] dans les mouvements rapides [et] les plus propices, à la souplesse de l’exécution et ces qui permettront dans tous les cas de conserver, autant que possible, la plus tranquille et la plus élégante belle position de la main.”

“[…] j’ai trouvé généralement dans les bonnes Méthodes et dans les Études et les morceaux bien doigtés, pendant plus de quarante ans que j’ai étudié le piano, après avoir fait mon premier apprentissage avec mon père, qui était un excellent pianiste et très remarquable dans le doigté.”

“[…] que le ensaye particularmente y le adiestre en tocar debota, piadoza, y gravemente como corresponde en las Iglesias catedrales.”

“[…] lui-même avait été pianiste dans sa jeunesse, et s’était formé auprès des meilleurs maîtres allemands résidant dans cette capitale.”

“[…] célebre pianista.”

“[…] adquirió conocimientos muy ventajosos en el mecanismo del piano, bajo la inteligente dirección de su maestro Julio Hohené, pianista alemán muy versado en los métodos de la enseñanza, de donde deriva [Cesáreo] Suárez más luego aquellas aptitudes especiales que le distinguieron como maestro de gran notabilidad.”

“Me encargo particularmente de dar lecciones á los niños que principien á conocer el instrumento hasta ponerlos en breve tiempo en estado de perfeccionar la ejecución con profesores de nota especialmente dedicados á esta última parte de la enseñanza. Ofrezco no dejar nada que desear respecto á la bondad del método que empleo á fin de que mis alumnos no adquieran, en el curso de mi
cargo, ninguno de esos vicios que tanto trabajo cuesta destruir cuando se trata de poseer a fondo el instrumento."

taxviii “Diestro, muy diestro en la ejecución.”


taxx “Una muger puede aplicarse á las artes agradables, porque semejantes ejercicios cuando no se toman sino con medida y con intenciones puras y razonables, no solamente se concilian muy bien con las ocupaciones necesarias para adquirir los talentos esenciales, y con la dignidad de una madre de familia, sino porque la pondrían en estado de alegrarse ella misma con su esposo, de ayuentar los cuidados y pesares, y vivificar toda la familia con una alegría pura y benéfica por consiguiente."
”Cuando estas [las jóvenes] favorecen el estudio de la Musica, se comete otro error no menos funesto en sus consecuencias. Todo el tiempo, todas las facultades, toda la atención se aplican a este solo objeto, y a el se sacrifican no solo los demas ramos de la Educacion intelectual, si no la enseñanza indispensable de la domestica.”

”La idea dominante de su vida, el fin único de sus esperanzas, y deseos, es la conservacion de los aplausos que su talento arranca en las tertulias, y academias. La parte mas delicada de nuestra existencia interior, el amor propio, [...] adquiere mayores grados de irritabilidad, y se convierte en una enfermedad violenta, que la menor contradiccion, que la mas pequeña circunstancia empeora. La publicidad, el gran mundo, el torbellino de las concurrencias numerosas, he aqui las escenas que llegan a ser absolutamente necesarias, a la que no sabe qué papel hacer en las [escenas] de la vida tranquila y retirada. [...] La que ha llegado a fijar toda su gloria, toda su aventura, en llamar la atencion, y en hacer admirar sus talentos, de nada puede gustar, sino de lo que lisonjea esta pasión. El aburrimiento la consumirá en la soledad, y aun en el seno de su familia.”

”He visto en las sociedads de Europa muchas de estas mujeres, generalmente encomiadas por su merito extraordinario en el canto o en el piano, y confieso que la especie de adoracion que se les tributa, es capaz de trastornar la cabeza mas solida, y de seducir el corazon mas firme. Las he seguido en lo interior de su casa, y he visto cuan caro les cuesta su triumfo, cuan punzantes son las espinas que se ocultan bajo las rosas con que se ven coronadas, cuantos escollos las amenazan en la carrera que con tanto aturdimiento, y embriaguez discurren.”

”... alimentando su corazon con las bellezas de la virtud.”

”Entiéndase que son cosas distintas la educacion i la instruccion. Esta forma el talento, aquella el genius, que no es otra cosa que el concurso armónico de nuestras facultades para posesionarse de las bellezas i satisfacciones de las verdades eternas; o en otros términos: «el genius no solo es un grado superior de intelijencia, sino mas bien el desenvolvimiento armónico, completo, de nuestras facultades, de las potencias de nuestra naturaleza,» i solo una educacion bien diriguida puede llevar a este resultado.”

”Excelente tratado sobre la educación práctica de las mujeres. Obra coronada por la Academia francesa.”

”... la femme mérite en effet d'être cultivée pour elle-même et non comme ces fleurs dont on aspire le parfum avec ivresse. Elle ne doit pas non plus être exploitée comme une veine de métal. [...] il faut [...] qu'elle comprenne la dignité de son être et qu'elle possède ce fonds d'idées et de sentiments, dérivés de la justice et de la vérité, qui doivent guider sans exception l'humanité entière. Il faut qu'elle apprenne que le bien est le seul élément du boheur, qu'il doit être le but, la règle, le sentiment le plus intime de la vie, et que la science la plus précieuse à acquérir consiste à mettre ce bien ou ce bonheur individuel en rapport avec celui de la famille et de la société.”

”L'une s'applique à former l'ame et les moeurs, l'autre à former l'esprit et l'intelligence."  

”L'éducation proprement dite est l'apprentissage de la vertu." 

”(...) l'instruction élémentaire ou essentielle doit être générale, et [...] l'éducation perfectionnée, embrassant toutes les sciences, les letters et les arts, doit être le partage des personnes qui ont les facultés nécessaires pour la recevoir complète, et qui peuvent en jouir sans se voir perdues, abandonnés, dans un monde à part de celui de leurs parents, de leurs amis, en dehors de moeurs et des habitudes du rang social où elles sont nées.”

”Cette ligne de séparation, quand elle sera sagement établie, n'empêchera pas les vocations spéciales de se manifester, ni de recevoir une direction convenable.”

”(...) pousser la jeunesse en masse dans des voies où rien ne doit la soutenir ni la guider, lui donner l'avant-goût de plaisirs intellectuels propres à la détournar des labeurs sérieux de l'existence, et qui n'ont pas un rapport direct avec les connaissances que ces labeurs réclament, est pour le moins une éducation dangereuse, si elle n'est pas funeste, et qu'il importe à tout prix de voir régir par de meilleurs principes.”

”Il est toujours facile de distinguer les dispositions heureuses d'un jeune sujet, et de donner à ces dispositions la culture qu'elles méritent, lorsque ce développement peut être un avantage.”

”(...) l'instruction doit embrasser les connaissances dans un degré relatif aux dispositions naturelles [...] il faut rendre propres à l'enfant malgré ses répugnances, qu'aux objets d'agrément qui sont le luxe de l'éducation. Nous voulons donner à entendre qu'il serait beaucoup mieux de sonder les moyens
de l’élève par une sorte d’épreuve, afin de reconnaître ses dispositions pour les beaux-arts [...] avoir consulté au préalable son goût et son désir.”

xlviii “Les talents perfectionnés, [...] réclament un travail si assidu, ils absorbent une si grande part de la journée, qu’une élève ne devrait entreprendre de les acquérir que sous des auspices bien favorables, quand elle aurait la certitude morale d’y réussir, ainsi que toutes les facultés nécessaires pour les cultiver, afin de n’avoir pas à regretter plus tard une somme d’heures perdues, qui, autrement employées, eussent fait des années précieuses et utiles.”

xlix “Le mécanisme du piano exige un travail précoce de la part de ceux qui veulent le posséder.
Un enfant doit donc commencer à l’apprendre de très-bonne heure, pendant que ses nerfs sont souples et faciles à se plier à toutes les difficultés.”

1 “Bien que tout le monde sache que la méthode de M. F. Kalkbrenner pour cet instrument est la méthode par excellence, nous la recommanderons ici à celles de nos lectrices qui, désireuses d’obtenir d’une manière prompte les plus brillants résultats, sont capables d’apprécier tout le mérite d’exercices habilement composés, doigtés, gradués, et d’études analytiques renfermant, sous une forme gracieuse et variée, toutes les règles de l’art, et pouvant servir d’introduction à toutes les œuvres des bons maîtres.”

li “Uno de los ramos á que fue dedicada [...] Teresita [...] fue el piano, en el cual se empezaron á notar mui desde los principios dotes raras de ejecución é inventiva. Su padre, Don Manuel Antonio Carreño, músico el mismo i sujeto tan discreto como ilustrado, después que ya la niña se había desenvuelto, después que ya se sabia lo que había de ser, después que su ingenio aparecía en todas sus colosales dimensiones, después que no se podía negar porque se reconocía i se confesaba por todos el don que Dios le había dado, cuando ya tenía ocho años, nos dijo un dia: ‘Ahora que no puede atribuirse a cegedad paternal, puedo revelar mi conciencia, i contar de mi hija varias cosas que parecen increíbles.’”
In the months prior to the departure of the Carreño family for the United States in August of 1862, Teresa Carreño, then eight years old, performed on the piano in a series of private gatherings in Caracas. These were offered by her father with the purpose of introducing her to the intellectual and musical circles in Caracas and to announce the forthcoming departure of the family for New York, Havana, London, and Paris. In these concerts, Teresa Carreño improvised and executed several virtuosic fantasies on operatic themes as well as other pieces of considerable difficulty in the *stile brillante*.

These concerts preceded several other private presentations that she offered in the following months in the Venezuelan port town of Puerto Cabello in the days before they embarked for the United States, and later in New York before her public debut in November of 1862. Teresa Carreño continued offering private concerts even after she began a public career as a child prodigy, as reflected in various newspaper commentaries that appeared in New York and Havana during the 1860s. These documents leave no doubt about the importance that private concert-making had in the formation of her musicianship during her early years. Yet, the biographical literature on Teresa Carreño has somewhat underestimated the importance of these private performances.

Teresa Carreño’s concerts in Caracas are documented in three lengthy newspaper articles written by three major figures of the political and cultural life of the city, the reputed *aficionado* and *letrado* Felipe Larrazábal, and the distinguished *letrados* Cecilio Acosta and Jesús María Sistiaga. These articles have survived in a notebook belonging to Teresa Carreño that contains newspaper commentaries and letters pertaining to her musical activities during her years as a child prodigy from May 1862 to July 1868. This is a luxurious but sober notebook bound in red leather, which on the front side indicates in golden letters “Teresa Carreño. 22 de Diciembre. 1862.” (December 22, 1862.) The spine shows the dedication, also in golden letters,

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“Al genio” (To the genius). It was prepared by Manuel Antonio Carreño, presumably as a gift presented to her on her ninth birthday. (See Figure 7.1 below.)

Culturally, this notebook is representative of a Hispanic American practice that spread in the mid-nineteenth century among women of the educated segments of the middle and upper class, generically referred to as álbum de señoritas or álbum de señoritas (young-lady or lady album). The practice consisted of keeping a notebook with poems, music, drawings and similar items dedicated to the señorita or señora who owned the álbum, with the purpose of showing it to friends and acquaintances as a record of the courteous appreciation that the educated authors of these gifts had for her. Cultural historian Mirla Alcibíades has traced the adoption of this practice in Caracas to the late 1830s. As Alcibíades has observed, in 1834 the Caracas newspaper El nacional lamented that the fashion of keeping an álbum, “despite being cultivated across Europe and part of this continent, has not yet arrived in our country,” 4 i But five years later, the feminine periodical La guirnaldia already encouraged its feminine readers to keep an álbum, explaining that it was a “black book with fine paper, exquisitely bound, where female and male friends and acquaintances write.” 5 ii

In Hispanic America, women used the álbum to collect and display their favorite poems and musical pieces, along with portraits and dedications from friends and acquaintances. Mirla Alcibíades has demonstrated that in the case of Caracas, the practice of the álbum grew as part of the salon culture. Specifically, the recreational tertulias that developed since the 1840s, which encouraged the participation of women in social and leisure activities such as casual conversation, piano playing, similar pastimes, became the place where the señoritas and señoritas established acquaintance and friendship with the writers or composers who eventually contributed to their álbumes. Also, these recreational gatherings functioned as the appropriate place to show and share these álbumes. In addition to this, Alcibíades has pointed out that an

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3 Teresa Carreño’s álbum is cataloged in the Teresa Carreño Papers as Scrapbook I (Series IV, Folder 11.1, Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College). Nonetheless, it seems that the nineteenth-century American cultural practice of scrapbooking notably differs in many aspects from the Hispanic American practice of the álbum de señoritas or señoritas. Although this topic needs further research, for the purposes of this study it suffices to state that the álbumes were principally aimed at collecting poetry, music or drawing, especially dedicated to the owners of these álbumes. Other objects of a sentimental and personal value usually found in American scrapbooks, such as random personal notes, locks of hair, and other ephemeral items were usually not included in the álbumes.

4 El nacional (Caracas), 1 Apr. 1834, 2-3, quoted in M. Alcibíades, “Álbum y universo lector femenino,” 2.

5 La guirnaldia (Caracas), 4 Sept. 1839, 50, quoted in M. Alcibíades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 240-41.
important part of the practice was that the álbumes were borrowed by the members of the social circle to which their owners belonged, thus becoming a vehicle for disseminating the cultural products included in them. The relevant existing link between the recreational tertulia and the álbum is further evidenced by the fact that the poetry and the music included in both routinely had feminine and sentimental connotations. As such, the poetry often exalted the personal attributes of the women to whom the poem was dedicated. Stylistically, these poems differed from the poetry associated with academic contexts, which typically included abundant use of citations in Latin and similar allusions to neoclassical aesthetics. Similarly, the musical pieces that were likely to be found in an álbum were valses or songs or similar salon pieces with feminine titles or dedications, which were the most suitable genres for the recreational tertulias.

There is evidence that Manuel Antonio Carreño used the álbum de señorita that he prepared for Teresa as a record of the polite perceptions that his friends and acquaintances of the community of letrados in Caracas, New York, Havana or Paris had of his daughter, as expressed in their newspaper commentaries where they referred to her. In this álbum Manuel Antonio also included only the most flattering commentaries that Teresa Carreño’s public concerts raised, leaving aside the critiques that were not favorable. An article of 1863 titled “El álbum de Teresita Carreño,” prepared by Simón Camacho, a Venezuelan letrado and a close friend of the Carreños in New York, gives an account of the practice of Manuel Antonio lending Teresa’s álbum to members of his social circle so as to share its content. In this article Camacho

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6 M. Alcibiades, “Álbum y universo lector femenino,” 1-11.
7 The topic of the musical content found in the álbumes de señoritas and señorasyseventeenth-century Caracas requires further research as well. The inclusion of songs, piano valses, and similar dance pieces as prototypical of these álbumes is inferred from the numerous publications of appeared in the last third of the nineteenth century in the form of collections conventionally referred to as álbumes. Pieces in those álbumes were customarily dedicated to women, some of them indicating that they were composed for the álbum of a particular lady. On the female dedicatees of salon music repertories in nineteenth-century Caracas, see M. Palacios “La música en las publicaciones periódicas venezolanas del siglo XIX,” 13. On printed musical álbumes in Caracas, see D. T. Agostini Garcia, “Música para piano de compositoras venezolanas publicadas en El cojo ilustrado entre 1892 y 1907,” 32-33. For a study on both home-made and printed musical albums for women in nineteenth-century Mexico, see Y. Bitrán Goren, “Musical Women and Identity-Building in Early Independent Mexico (1821-1854),” 60-110. The Biblioteca Nacional de Chile preserves a rich collection of home-made and printed feminine musical álbumes. I am grateful to the Chilean musicologist Fernanda Vera Malhue for making me aware of that collection.
commented a great detail on the content of Teresa’s álbum with the purpose of informing readers in Havana about Teresa Carreño’s musical achievements in Caracas and New York.⁸

Figure 7.1. Teresa Carreño’s álbum “Al genio.” Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.⁹
At the top, front cover. At the bottom left, spine. At the bottom right, page 14 showing Louis Moreau Gottschalk’s letter to Lafayette F. Harrison (12 Dec. 1862) and clipping from The Illustrated News (New York), 13 Dec. 1862.

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⁹ Scrapbook I, Series IV, Folder 11.1. The letter on the right was written by Louis Moreau Gottschalk on 12 December 1862 to Lafayette F. Harrison, administrator of The Irving Hall in New York. In it, Gottschalk commented on Teresa Carreño’s recent success in her public concerts in New York. The newspaper clipping also on the right corresponds to a musical commentary that appeared in The Illustrated News (New York), 13 December 1862 also referring Teresa Carreño’s concerts.
Although there was a strong connection between Teresa Carreño’s álbum as a record of her reception in Caracas and the salon culture that the practice of the álbum represented, there are firm reasons to believe that Teresa Carreño’s concerts were influenced by the serious values of the academia and the musical-literary tertulia. As matter of fact, the attendees of Teresa Carreño’s performances were members of the musical and intellectual circles in Caracas. The deep philosophical content of the musical commentaries of Larrazábal, Acosta, and Sistiaga included citations in Latin of Ovid and Dante, strongly suggesting the serious and academic connotations of these concerts as well their importance as artistic events. This does not mean, however, that Teresa Carreño’s concerts easily fit the cultured musical practices sponsored by the aficionados in Caracas. On the contrary, her gender and age as well as the aesthetic values associated with the virtuosic repertory and improvisations that she presented in these concerts problematized the social and musical conventions that shaped the production and reception of music during the first two thirds of the nineteenth century in Caracas. Indeed, the reception of Teresa Carreño’s concerts, although remarkably favorable, reveals at a deeper level the tensions and paradoxes that existed in Caracas musical culture within the interplay of stereotypical...
constructions of gender, the aesthetic values of virtuosic music, and the high cultured and civilizing aspirations of the local intelligentsia.

The anxiety that the ongoing Federal War generated also created tensions within the intellectual circles in Caracas. In 1859, after almost three decades of a relative strengthening of the republican order, the profound social and political conflicts that had not been resolved since the Independence War escalated, giving rise to a bloody war that threatened the collapse of the republican institutions. Among the most salient causes of conflict was the promise of abolishing slavery that had been made by the advocates of the republic since the time of Independence War, and that had been continuously postponed. The state of economic devastation in which Venezuela initiated its republican life was considered by certain segments of society as an impediment to proceeding further with the process of abolition. A final decree in 1854 ended slavery definitively. However, the economic structures of the nation continued to still be largely shaped by the feudal-like system inherited from colonial times. The integration of former slaves into the new social structure was uneasy. On the other hand, in 1857, the discontent with the authoritarian government of the brothers José Tadeo and José Gregorio Monagas, who had alternated in power since 1847, grew after a constitutional reform issued in April 1857, which allowed for the immediate election of the president and an extension of the current period for two more years. The March Revolution of 1858, led by General Julián Castro, counted on the support of a coalition formed between liberals and the followers of the former president and independence hero General José Antonio Paez. Together, they exerted political pressure until José Tadeo Monagas resigned. A provisional government by Julián Castro took charge of the Executive until a new constitution was prepared. This constitution was sanctioned in December of 1858 in the midst of a profound division between liberals and conservatives. The liberals proposed a federal system of government while the conservatives insisted on the convenience of maintaining Caracas as the center of political and economic power. Certain segments of the Federalist wing fueled the populist revolts that initiated the Federal War. The centralists opposed their cause, arguing for a cohesive system of government that would not allow the regional caudillos to disperse the power in small feuds controlled not by constitutional rule but by military force. Julián Castro was deposed in 1859. Three more

short-term presidential tenures followed until September 1861, when the former President José Antonio Páez executed a *coup d’etat*, in an attempt to take control until the country could be pacified. This move was interpreted by many members of Caracas intelligentsia as a serious menace to the social and political institutions that had been built amid great difficulties in the few decades of the independent life of the nation. Against this backdrop, commentaries on Teresa Carreño’s concerts, with plentiful references to the present political and social turmoil, functioned also as a reflection on the role of the arts in restituting the path of social and cultural progress, something that the shapers of the nation-building project had longed for Venezuela.

This chapter aims at examining the concerts that Teresa Carreño offered in Caracas in 1862, within two main contexts. The first concerns the social and aesthetic aspects involved in the elusive but important tradition of private concert-making in Caracas. The second relates to the interplay of contemporary perceptions in Caracas of the value of virtuosic music, gendered constructs of piano playing, and the anxiety produced by the Federal War. In terms of the chapter’s organization, the first section studies the expansion of concert life in Caracas, the organization of public concerts featuring virtuosic music, and the reception of touring musicians. The following section discusses the format of Teresa Carreño’s private concerts and its divergences with the conventions of public concert-making in Caracas during the mid-nineteenth. Afterwards, it discusses the ontological and aesthetic problems involved in assimilating virtuosic music to the serious musical culture and private music-making practices. Finally, it discusses the aesthetic and historical significance of Teresa’s concerts as reflected in the philosophical interpretations that Felipe Larrazábal, Cecilio Acosta, and Jesús María Sistiaga gave to her music-making.

1. Public Concert Life in Caracas in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Itinerant virtuosos began to visit the United States in significant numbers in the early 1840s. Among the first-rate musicians touring in mid-decades of the century were the singers Laure Cinti-Damoreau, Jenny Lind, Marietta Alboni, Henriette Sontag, and Giovanni Mario and the violinists Alexandre-Joseph Artôt, Ole Bull, Henri Vieuxtemps, and Camillo Sivori. Also,  

three of the most renowned piano virtuosos of Europe visited the United States: Leopold de Meyer toured in 1845-1847, Henri Herz in 1846-1850, and Sigismund Thalberg in 1856-1858. The American virtuoso Louis Moreau Gottschalk, after a long stay in Europe, also returned for a tour, first in 1853 and again in 1862-1865.\(^{13}\)

Customarily, itinerant companies included a renowned virtuoso along with other instrumentalists and singers who served as supporting artists. The various musicians that formed each itinerant company added variety to the programs that they presented, which were expected, according to the concert conventions of that time, to suit the wide-ranging tastes of the general, and often musically illiterate, audiences. The boom of the railroad at that time facilitated the formation of concert circuits, which most often began in New York, continued to Boston and then expanded through the interior, encompassing the most important urban centers as well as small towns.

In increasing numbers, touring singers and instrumentalists extended their routes down to the Caribbean and South America. Among the touring pianists who made the greatest impact were Henri Herz, who toured Mexico in 1849-1850, Sigismund Thalberg, who went as far as Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro in 1855, and Louis Moreau Gottschalk, who traveled for very extended periods in the Caribbean and South America. Gottschalk visited Cuba in 1854 and again in 1857, where he embarked on a tour of the Caribbean, visiting Haiti, St Thomas, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Trinidad, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and back to Cuba in 1860, where he stayed until January 1862. From 1865 to his death in 1868 he toured in Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil.\(^{14}\) Numerous opera companies also visited Hispanic America with increasingly frequency after the 1840s. Some of them came directly from Europe but in most cases the itinerant opera troupes traveled south after touring in the United States, looking for new audiences in the Americas. Cities such as Buenos Aires developed as musical centers of great appeal for operatic impresarios and singers. Other cities, which only had a marginal interest, also benefited from the occasional visit of the itinerant troupes who stimulated the growth of concert life on a commercial basis.

\(^{13}\) On the visiting and reception of touring piano virtuosos in the U.S., see R.A. Lott, From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland, passim.

\(^{14}\) On Henri Herz’s visit to Mexico, see Y. Bitrán Goren, “Henri, Heinrich, Enrique Herz. La invención de un artista romántico en el México decimonónico,” passim. On Louis Moreau Gottschalk tours and reception in the Caribbean and South America, see S. Frederick Starr, Bamboula!: The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, passim.
Caracas was not visited by any of those first-rate itinerant virtuosos or singers but by more modest opera companies and instrumentalists. They had to deal with a variety of limiting circumstances that made Caracas a less attractive destination for touring. In the mid-century the population of Caracas did not surpass 50,000 inhabitants, according to the most generous estimates. The lack of reliable roads reduced the possibility of touring in the Venezuelan territory to Caracas, and perhaps the much smaller port towns of La Guaira and Puerto Cabello, through which visitors coming from abroad had to travel in order to reach and leave Caracas. The nonexistence of an institutional structure for concert-making, along with the lack of audiences beyond the small group of members of the educated elite with a taste for concert music, made Caracas an unsuitable place that could not support the expenses involved in traveling and the production of musical events. The efforts that members of the educated circles in Caracas had made in the early years of the Republic to establish local opera companies and concert institutions such as the Sociedad Filarmónica and the musical society patronized by the Sociedad de Amigos del País had proven insufficient by the early 1840s. As discussed in a previous chapter, Alessandro Galli’s opera company had already met with great difficulties in carrying out their presentations in Caracas in 1843-1844. The press reports suggest that the company was barely sustained by the generosity of the local aficionados and other local musicians, who offered their support through the press in an attempt to attract audiences for the operatic presentations, and who volunteered in the concerts that were organized at the end of the season for the benefit of the members of the company.  

Reports of the visit in Caracas in 1850 of the European violin virtuoso Franz Coenen reveal that the conditions for receiving itinerant artists were still unfavorable. Coenen came to Caracas as part of an extended tour that he undertook after his successful visit to Mexico in 1849, where he was introduced to the local audiences by the famous Henri Herz. Little is known about Coenen’s concerts in Caracas. However, the newspaper commentaries suggest that his visit was not commercially satisfactory. Thus, a few days before his departure from Caracas, the letrado and music lover Mariano de Briceño expressed in the Diario de avisos the

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15 For Galli’s visit, see Chapter 4.
16 The visit of Franz Coenen has been referred by the musicologist José Ángel Viña in “Música y Caridad, Conciertos benéficos en la Caracas del siglo XIX,” 4-5.
17 C. Díaz y de Ovando, Invitación al baile: Arte, rito y espectáculo en la sociedad mexicana (1825-1910), 87. According to this source, in 1854 Coenen was back again in Mexico.
appreciation of the aficionados for Coenen’s concerts, while lamenting the unsuitability of Caracas for providing financial support for the artist:

We are left with the delicious impressions of his musical evenings: we are left with the memory of his glory in this capital. Expressive applause, flowers and crowns, literary tributes, presents from friends and all sorts of gifts have been offered to Mr. Coenen to demonstrate that if this nation cannot reward talent with riches because of its small population, it knows at least how to appreciate and honor it.

[Coenen] plans to travel two more years through South America, visiting the capitals of its extensive coastline. May its high mountains and its leafy virgin forests inspire his genius to a new flight, to new creations that Europe does not know! […] Mr. Coenen left on Thursday for La Guaira where he will give two concerts. The aficionados have made him promise that he will return to the capital next Tuesday in order to offer them a concert. \[18\] iii

The lack of an appropriate venue in Caracas to host theatricals and concerts was a critical barrier to reestablishing a concert culture. The problem was made worse around 1850, when the main theatre, the Teatro del Coliseo, was no longer operative. Therefore, the presentations of the Compañía Lírica de Ópera Italiana, which visited Caracas in December of 1852, occurred under precarious conditions. \[19\] They had to be held in a locale that was fashionably dubbed Salón Apolo or Teatro Apolo, which in truth was an unpretentious space with a stage that was barely supported by a scaffold. The venue had been established in a building that once housed the Convent of San Francisco and had lately been serving the purpose of presenting comedies and other theatrical performances. \[20\]

The Compañía Lírica de Ópera Italiana was a small company directed by the baritone and bufo singer Luigi Vita, his wife, the soprano Luisa de Vita (Luigia Caranti di Vita), the bass/baritone Luigi Corradi, and the tenor Manvilli. The spouses Vita had been active in Havana and New York in the late 1840s. \[21\] The presentations consisted not of fully staged operas but of selected scenes and arias from various Italian operas by Gioachino Rossini, Gaetano Donizetti, Vincenzo Bellini, Luigi Ricci, and Giuseppe Verdi. \[22\] As the company could not count on the aid of

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\[19\] The presentations of the Compañía Lírica de Ópera Italiana have been studied by José María Salvador González in “Compañías y repertorios escénico-musicales en la Venezuela de los hermanos Monagas (1847-1858),” 3-5 and “Mariano de Briceño,” 3-5. See also Fidel Rodríguez Legendre, *Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos*, 97-100.


\[21\] V. B. Lawrence, *Strong on Music*, I: passim.

\[22\] Luigi Ricci (b. Naples, 1805; d. 1859).
an instrumental ensemble, a German pianist named Germán Voigt, presumably one of the several foreign musicians established in Caracas, was in charge of performing the instrumental accompaniment as well as the overtures from piano transcriptions. One month after the opera company performed in Caracas, the music commentator Mariano de Briceño, stated in the press that the company had to leave Caracas due to the inability of the Teatro Apolo to host their presentations any longer. The problem of Caracas’ lack of appropriate venues is revealed in Briceño’s commentary: “Caracas without a theatre! Caracas, so rich, with infinite resources, with a taste for the fine arts that has been conferred by its delicious weather, its pure tropical sky, and its perfumed environment; Caracas, forced to expel a lyric company of merit because the locale it uses […] has been only granted for a month!”

Luigi Vita must have resolved the problem with the administrators of the Apolo, as the company’s presentations extended until March of 1853. In total, the company gave about seventeen presentations in Caracas. Two more presentations followed at the Teatro Filantrópico in the nearby port town of La Guaira before they left the country.

1.1. The Building of the Teatro de Caracas and the Reestablishment of Concert Life

Mariano de Briceño belonged to the group of letrados yearning for a public sphere for music and theatre that could elevate Caracas to the dignity of an educated and modern city. Briceño was a lawyer and an intellectual possessing a thorough education, who had a taste for the arts which he refined through his travels to Europe. His numerous articles, appearing in his own periodical *Diario de avisos* in the next few years, would make him one the most visible and substantial advocates for the establishment of a healthy concert and theatrical life in Caracas. José María Salvador González’s study of Mariano de Briceño’s musical and theatrical commentaries during the 1850s demonstrates his efforts to create and educate audiences that could eventually sustain a sphere for public entertainments with visiting and local artists.

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26 J. M. Salvador González, “Mariano de Briceño,” 1-17. Mariano de Briceño (b. Maracaibo, Venezuela, 1810; d. Caracas 1875) was a lawyer and writer. In 1837 he was appointed Secretario de la Corte Superior de Justicia (Supreme Court of Justice). The *Diario de avisos* circulated in Caracas from 1850 to 1860 and was one of the most important newspapers in Caracas. Other commentators on music and
Mariano de Briceño’s grumbling about the lack of a decent theatre was not the first of that kind in the newspapers. According to Salvador González, public petitions for the creation of a proper theatre in Caracas had become common. Projects to build a dignified venue for public musical and theatrical events can be traced to as early as 1824. In the same vein, Mario Milanca Guzmán also brought to light a project advanced in 1838 by the then President Jose Antonio Paéz for the construction of an ambitious theatre in Caracas. Páez’s intentions did not come to fruition at that time for reasons that are not yet clear. It is apparent that the new Teatro del Coliseo, built in 1831, did not satisfy the expectations of the Caracas intelligentsia. Therefore, the desire for a better venue was consistently reappearing in the public opinion, as the projects that were proposed did not come to fruition.

In 1851 the public’s desire to build a decorous theatre in Caracas grew even stronger. In August of that year, and coinciding with the visit of the virtuoso Franz Coenen, the Gobernación de la Provincia de Caracas (Government of the Province of Caracas), created a company to build the venue, which was to be called Teatro San Pablo. An article included in the *Diario de avisos* justifying the need to carry out the project stated that it was “shameful that Venezuela was the only republic in South America whose capital did not have a theatre.” Still plans for a theatre did not materialize at that time. In October of the following year the interim governor of Caracas, Jesús María Blanco, dedicated a plot of land to build the theatre and petitioned the legislature for funds to finance the construction. After the legislature declined, the project had to be cancelled.

In February of 1852, with Luigi Vita’s opera company still in Caracas, a group of affluent individuals proposed the construction of the *Teatro de Caracas*. This was a private initiative, different from the failed projects of 1838, 1851, and 1852. It was carried out by four

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30 “Teatro (Remitido),” *Diario de avisos*, 27 August 1851, 3, quoted in F. Rodríguez, Caracas, 97, my translation.
31 Ibid.
33 On the construction of the Teatro de Caracas, see J. M. Salvador González, ibid. 88-96.
shareholders, Pardo & Co., Kennedy & Hann, Fortunato Corvaia, and Martín Tovar y Galindo. The architectural design and process of building were under the direction of the English engineer Hugh Wilson. The costs of the construction, including the purchase of the lot and the construction materials, furniture, and decorations, which were brought from the U.S. and England, were covered in equal parts by the four investors. Unforeseen expenses forced the selling of shares to new minor shareholders, who received an annual profit sharing and were given preference in the selection of boxes and seats for the theatrical events.

The original plan was that Luigi Vita’s company was going to be brought to Caracas for the opera season that would inaugurate the venue. Rumors in June of 1853 about the death of Luigi Vita in St. Thomas caused the Board of Directors to look for alternatives to keep afloat the inauguration of the theatre, planned for the following year. In November 1853, the Board of Directors of the theatre decided to sign a contract for three years with the Venezuelan impresario Carlos Páez to produce the lyric and dramatic spectacles to be presented in that venue. The sources also mention a Miguel García Meza, presumably an investor working with Carlos Páez. Little is known about them. It is most likely that Carlos Páez was an entrepreneur, adventuring for the first time into the opera business. According to the contract, Carlos Páez had the obligation of offering a three-month opera season for the inauguration of the theatre, as well as an opera season every year lasting a minimum of three months each with two presentations a week and a guarantee that public order and decorum would be maintained at the venue. The impresario also had to pay rent for every day that an event was offered. In exchange, he could sell tickets for all the locations except for the four boxes that belonged to the Board of Directors.

34 Ibid., 88.
35 Ibid., 89.
36 Ibid., 90-91.
39 Perhaps the only antecedent known to date of a local impresario organizing an opera season was José Reina, who took charge of the representation of Alessandro Galli’s opera company in 1844. As shown in Chapter 4, Galli’s company came to Caracas in 1843, presumably on Galli’s own initiative, and given the economic difficulties to maintain their presentations afloat, Reina intervened as impresario. In consequence Galli and his company extended their visit in Caracas some more months.
The input of the educated elite in organizing the events at the Teatro de Caracas can be measured by the fact that the official representative of Venezuela in Paris, Minister Lucio Pulido, served as intermediary in the hiring of the opera company. This is suggested in a public letter written by him on May 30, 1854, which appeared in the *Diario de avisos*. Here Pulido endorsed the quality of the company, preparing a favorable disposition in Caracas for the inauguration of the opera season: “I am pleased to inform [you] that the company led by Páez is excellent, complete, and well organized. The artists who form it could be considered here in Paris of a second order, and they are worthy of the richest and most accomplished capitals of Hispanic America. It is infinitely superior to what has been seen there yet in that line.”

The company he referred to was the *Compañía de Ópera Italiana*, which featured a young German soprano named Cecilia Saemann as the principal artist. The troupe also included the soprano Teresa de Compagnoli, the contralto Baldessarone, the tenors Luis Soler and Luis Cereza, the baritone Francesco Dragone, and the bassos Vicente Caspani and the Venezuelan musician Ramón Caballería.

After several setbacks with the construction and the arrival of the opera company, the Teatro de Caracas was finally inaugurated on October 22 with the presentation of Verdi’s *Ernani*. Mariano de Briceño was greatly satisfied with the event. He observed with reverential attitude that the day “will have to be registered in the annals of the lyrical art in this country. Caracas has consecrated a temple to it and Verdi has had the honor to be the first heard with one of his great musical creations.” About the visiting troupe he stated that “never before has there been seen in this capital a most capable company, dignified enough to interpret the great compositions of the celebrated masters.”

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42 The artistic profile of Cecilia Saemann is discussed in [M. de Briceño], “Teatro de Caracas,” *Diario de avisos*, 28 Oct. 1854, 4, quoted in J. A. Viña, “Música y caridad,” 5. The article states that Saemann was originally from Germany and that she received there a through education. The artistic profile of Dragone is discussed in “El Señor Dragone en Trinidad,” *Diario de avisos*, 31 Dec. 1856, 4, which informs that Dragone was educated at the Conservatory in Naples, Italy where he studied for four years. Afterwards, he entered the San Carlo opera house in Naples.

one of those magnificent [theatres] of Europe that attract the attention of the travelers for their richness and elegance, it is a modest and colorful building on the outside.\textsuperscript{44} ix

Certainly, the design of the Teatro de Caracas was not as sumptuous as the educated elite might have desired for its main theatrical venue. Yet it certainly was now one of the most luxurious buildings in Caracas. (See Figure 7.2 below.) More importantly, it served its purpose as a proper venue for theatricals and musical events, being able to host comfortably 1,200 spectators. It also had the first system of gas illumination installed in Caracas, seats and sofas covered in damask, separate salons for women and men to rest, rooftops for the refreshment of attendees, and an internal patio.\textsuperscript{45} For several decades, the Teatro de Caracas stood as the most important center of Caracas cultural and social life, being only surpassed by the Teatro Municipal, inaugurated in 1881. It remained operative until it was destroyed by fire in 1919.\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{Figure 7.2.} Teatro de Caracas, lithograph by Henrique Neun, in Álbum de Caracas y Venezuela (Caracas: Litografía La Sociedad, 1877-1878).\textsuperscript{47}

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\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{teatro_de_caracas_lithograph}
\caption{Teatro de Caracas, lithograph by Henrique Neun, in Álbum de Caracas y Venezuela (Caracas: Litografía La Sociedad, 1877-1878).}
\end{figure}
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\textsuperscript{45} J. M. Salvador González, “Edificios teatrales en Venezuela durante el gobierno de los hermanos Monagas (1847-1858),” 95.
\textsuperscript{46} N. Tortolero, “Teatros,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, II: 668-69.
\end{footnotesize}
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The Compañía de Ópera Italiana stayed at the Teatro de Caracas until June of 1855, giving at least eighteen presentations of various operas by Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, and Verdi. The critical commentaries on the opera season reveal the determination of the local intelligentsia to support the theatrical events without reservations, on the conviction that they would provide a beneficial influence in Caracas society through the formation of audiences appreciative of the arts. Yet the economic problems faced by the impresario Páez and the administrators of the Teatro de Caracas in keeping the opera business afloat were not insignificant. They included unexpected expenses, the falsification of tickets by a group of scammers, and delay in the payment of tickets that had been acquired under promise of immediate reimbursement. At the end of 1854 the administrators of the Teatro de Caracas had to request from the Government of Caracas authorization to sell more shares in order to increase the cash flow. Also, the opera impresarios Páez and Meza had to appeal for the cooperation of the audiences in the newspaper. In this sense they stated: “we are in an extremely exceptional position, for undertaking the task of sustaining an expensive lyrical company, in a city without [the population] which it is generally supposed to be necessary to bear that expense, and in the harsh obligation imposed on us by the particular circumstances of the country, according to which we have to present every week new operas, in the midst of new difficulties that only the company can weigh with accuracy.”

The press also reported failures in the gas illumination system, which led to the cancelation of some events and also internal conflicts among the members of the troupe. The lack of opportunities for the local performers who played with the orchestra and choir to rehearse was a problem constantly discussed in the newspapers. The letrados assumed a protective attitude guiding them in order to improve their performance as well as to smooth out the possible criticism of the audience that could jeopardize the reception of the opera season.

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48 For specifics on the presentations of the Compañía de Ópera Italiana in 1854, see J. M. Salvador González, “Mariano de Briceño,” 7-10, 14 and “Compañías y repertorios escénico-musicales,” 7-9. See also F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 100-03.
Regarding the opening performance of the season, Mariano de Briceño observed that the local musicians did “more than what could be expected given the haste with which the rehearsals were conducted”\(^{53}\) By the same token, he advised: “From the intelligent \textit{profesores} who form [the orchestra] the audience expects redoubled efforts in order to achieve security in the ensemble, and the mastery of their own performance to follow instead of holding back the singers.”\(^{54}\) This supportive attitude continued throughout the season. In a review of a presentation of \textit{Norma} on November 12, Mariano de Briceño excused the orchestra and the choirs for their less than stellar performance, claiming that “security in the instrumental ensemble and invariable dependability [in accompanying] the singing, is only achieved even among the most renowned \textit{profesores} in the world after much rehearsal.”\(^{55}\)

\subsection*{1.2. Concerts with Virtuosic Music}

In alternation with the opera presentations at the Teatro de Caracas, the members of the opera Compañía de Ópera Italiana offered several vocal-instrumental concerts, which conformed to the format of benefit concerts that had become common in Europe and the U.S. during the first half of the century. Those types of concerts were typically organized not by the opera or concert impresario but by one of a small group of individuals with the purpose of raising money for a beneficiary, usually the principal artist in that concert. Sometimes the beneficiary was an institution such as a hospital; in such cases they functioned as charity events. The assisting performers of a benefit concert usually participated on a voluntary basis, so all the funds raised went to the beneficiary. The programming typically included operatic arias interspersed with instrumental numbers, usually operatic fantasies by one or more soloists. As these concerts depended on volunteer assistance, their resources were rather limited, so that the accompaniment to the vocal and the instrumental pieces was done with a piano or a small ensemble of instruments rather than by a band or an orchestra.\(^{56}\) This concert format was not totally new in Caracas, as a variation of it had already been used in the vocal-instrumental


\footnote{\(54\) Ibid.}

\footnote{\(55\) [M. de Briceño], “Ópera italiana,” \textit{Diario de avisos}, 15 Nov. 1854, 3, quoted in J. M. Salvador González, “Mariano de Briceño,” 11.}

\footnote{\(56\) On the format of benefit concerts used in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century, see W. Weber, \textit{The Great Transformation of Musical Taste}, 5-6 and J. Ritterman, “Piano Music and the Public concert 1800-1850,” 17.}
subscription concerts organized by Alessadro Galli and Luigia Busatti in 1844 at the Salón Campignac, as discussed in Chapter 4. For the particular case of the benefit concerts of 1855, the instrumental numbers were performed by local aficionados and profesores, some of them presumably involved in the opera presentations at the Teatro de Caracas as members of the instrumental ensemble. Even though the vocal pieces outnumbered the instrumental ones, these concerts were important for familiarizing Caracas’ audience with the virtuosic repertory.

An instance of this was the benefit concert for Luis Cereza on March 18, which featured a capriccio for the piano by Ernesto A. L. Coop on Donizetti’s Les Martyrs, performed by the profesor J. Famiere, who had been working as music director for the opera company.57

During the following year, the Teatro Caracas did not offer opera performances but two series of concerts, presumably as a lower-cost alternative to the opera season. The first series ran from March to May of 1856 and consisted of about eight concerts that featured as the main artist the favorite singer of the former Compañía de Ópera Italiana, Cecilia Saemann, who had apparently married the opera impresario Carlos Páez. These concerts were billed as “grand concerts.” In terms of format, they conformed to the type of concerts that the music historian William Weber has identified as orchestral concerts, which included instrumental numbers and operatic selections such as overtures performed by an ensemble of instruments, and arias and other vocal excerpts accompanied by the ensembles.58 Clearly, most of these were not benefit concerts but more sophisticated programs organized by Páez, which involved a greater number of artists and an instrumental ensemble.59 Accordingly, Saemann’s grand concerts were


58 On the description of the orchestral concerts, see W. Weber, The Great Transformation of Musical Taste, 7-8. In this context, the term “orchestra” was ambiguously used to indicate an ensemble of instruments, which sometimes could be large with ten or more instruments but most often was a small as a trio. The type of instruments obviously depended on the availability of instrumentalists and monetary resources at the time of organizing the concert.

59 Only two concerts of this series were billed as benefit concerts: the concerts of May 1, for the benefit of charity hospitals, and the concert on May 11 for the benefit of Cecilia Saemann de Páez.
structured in two or three parts, each one comprising four numbers with operatic vocal excerpts and instrumental pieces in alternation. The first number was almost invariably an opera overture performed by the instrumental ensemble, which consisted of two violins, viola, cello, flute, clarinet, and piano. The other instrumental pieces consisted of operatic fantasies of great difficulty including pieces for solo instruments, as well as duets, trios, and other ensemble configurations. Examples of this were the Variations brillantes di Bravura sur le trio favori sur ‘Pré aux clercs’ de Ferdinand Hérold, op. 76 by Herz for piano and instrumental ensemble, performed by the profesor Julio Hohené as soloist on the concert of March 30; the solo for flute on Mayerbeer’s Robert le diable, by Anton Füsternau, performed by the aficionado Mateo Vallenilla on the concert of April 3 (see Figure 7.3 below); the Potpourri on Verdi’s Ernani for clarinet and piano by Ferdinando Carulli, performed by Hohené and the aficionado Miguel Carmona on the concert of April 13 (see Figure 7.4 below). Other instrumental pieces had a serious character, such as Bériot’s Concerto for Violin, No. 6, performed by the aficionado Pedro Gómez with Hohené as pianist substituting for the orchestra in the concert of March 30. Another work of this group was Hummel’s Rondo Brillante for piano, with a quartet substituting for the orchestra, performed by Hohené as soloist for the concert of April 4. Instrumental pieces originally composed by some of the participants were also included. That was the case of the Potpourri on various opera themes for the guitar, composed and performed by the profesor Francisco Benedit for the concert of May 8. Also, on the concert of March 30, instead of the customary overtures used to open each section of the program, a Sinfonia by the profesor Famiere was performed. The score of Famiere’s Sinfonia has not survived. The announcement for the concert indicated that the instrumentation consisted of piano, flute, two violins, viola,
clarinet, and cello, which was the same instrumentation used to perform the overtures in these concerts. This allows one to conjecture that the sinfonia conformed to the form of the operatic overture.64

Figure 7.3. Announcement of Saemann de Páez’s Third Grand Concert at the Teatro de Caracas on April 3, 1856. Diario de avisos, 2 April 1856, 4.

Figure 7.4. Announcement of Cecilia Saemann de Páez’s Fifth Grand Concert at the Teatro de Caracas on April 13, 1856. Diario de avisos, 12 April 1856, 1.

Saemann’s concerts were received enthusiastically. Mariano de Briceño’s review of the first concert of the series on March 25 congratulated Cecilia Saemann for attracting a good crowd to the event, while observing the challenge involved in raising the interest of the general audience in the concert format. Thus he wrote: “In our society as in any other, not everyone has the ability of attracting audiences to a concert. It is necessary that the vocal and the instrumental parts have something extraordinary, so the crowds get encouraged and excited, and resolve to listen to abstract music. Therefore, the artist who manages to gather a neat audience just by saying “tonight I sing or perform,” offers a proof of talent that nobody could deny.”

Interestingly, by “abstract music,” Mariano de Briceño meant not only instrumental music but vocal music as well, which when not being staged, lacked the visual component that made the opera more understandable and therefore more appealing to the musical lay person. Certainly, the concert format was still a novelty for most of the Caracas audience that was beginning to coalesce around the opera. Against this background, it is important to note that several of the musicians who performed virtuosic pieces in Cecilia Saemann’s concerts were members of the private circles aimed at the cultivation of serious music. That was the case of the profesor Hohené, and the aficionados the clarinetist Miguel Carmona and the violinist Pedro Gómez. Another participant, the profesor Francisco Benedit, was known for his contribution as a pedagogue to the dissemination of chamber music. This suggests that the virtuosic culture had already found a place within the circles of serious music-making. Other participants in Cecilia Saemann’s concerts, such as the aficionado flutist Mateo Vallenilla and the French profesor J. Famiere, could also have been involved in the performance of virtuosic music in private gatherings.

The second series featuring a newcomer, the soprano Catalina de Ferrari as the principal artist, started on May 25. The company also included the tenor Luis Soler and the baritone

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66 The affiliation of these musicians to the academias and musical tertulias active in Caracas in the mid-nineteenth century was discussed in Chapter 4.
67 José Velásquez has indicated based in newspaper reports that Francisco Benedit or Benedid played a role in disseminating the works of some composers of chamber music of the first half of the nineteenth century La Guaira where he was established as a music teacher in the 1840s. J. Velásquez, “Benedid,” Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, I: 187.
68 “Teatro de Caracas: Gran función de lírica de la señora Catalina de Ferrari,” Diario de avisos, 24 May 1856, 1.
Francesco Dragone, who had also been part of the operatic presentations of the previous year. Ferrari’s concerts differed from Cecilia Saemann’s series in that they were closer to opera presentations, as they followed a semi-staged format, which included costumes and scenery as well as the participation of an operatic choir. Each program, billed as “Gran Función Lírica,” included three sections. An opera overture performed by an instrumental ensemble opened each of these sections. However, no other instrumental numbers were included, the only exception being the concert on 24 May in which the profesor Juan José Tovar performed some variations for solo flute by an undetermined composer. A Spanish popular song was featured at each of the programs to close the concerts. The newspapers announced that the orchestra was under the direction of the profesores J. Famiere and Román Isaza and that it was formed by “several profesores and some aficionados who graciously offered their cooperation” to the artists.

The musical commentaries in the press suggest that despite the successful beginning of the musical season with Cecilia Saemann’s presentation on March 25, the audience did not respond as well to the concerts as their organizers expected. Accordingly, already in late July an anonymous writer, commenting on the poor attendance at Ferrari’s concert on July 13, urged Caracas’ society to support the upcoming events:

Despite the scarce audience, despite the orchestra that was cold, inanimate, and discordant, despite the defects of the theatre, [...] she offered a splendid proof of what she is capable of.

We encourage Caracas’ society, those with taste, those who love the progress of art and worship all glory and every branch [of the arts], [and] because it is as just and generous as it is proper for that level of culture and intellectual advancement, to favor

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69 The Spanish term *gran función lírica* can be translated into English as “grand lyric event.”

70 “Gran función lírica,” *Diario de avisos*, 21 May 1856, 1. The nineteenth-century music historian Ramón de la Plaza described his contemporary Juan José Tovar in the most complimentary terms as a flutist, composer, and music teacher, noting his solid musical knowledge as well as his moral character. R. de la Plaza, *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela*, 111-13. He taught music at Colegio Independencia. He also composed dance music. S. García, “Tovar, Juan José,” in *Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela*, II: 689. Birth and death dates of Juan José Tovar are unknown.

71 “Gran función lírica,” *Diario de avisos*, 14 May 1856, 1, my translation. Román Isaza was born to a family of musicians by trade. Birth and death dates of Román Isaza are unknown. His father was José María Isaza, presumably one of the members of the Sociedad Filarmónica created in 1834-1835 under the protection of the Sociedad de Amigos del País. See Chapter 4. Román Isaza developed a career as a pianist and composer of dance and religious music. During the second third of the nineteenth century the newspapers often advertised his dances for piano. Many of his dances and religious pieces are preserved in the Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de música at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas. From the 1850s, Isaza participated as music director of the choir and orchestral groups of local musicians that participated in opera productions and vocal-instrumental concerts. See J. Peñín and F. Moncada, “Román Isaza,” *Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela*, II: 43.
with its numerous attendance [the presentations] of that worthy actress who has come to visit us from remote shores, bringing us a divine voice and words of consolation, rich in faith, love, and hope. 72 xvi

It is possible that the impresario abruptly stopped Ferrari’s concert series afterwards. The Diario de avisos advertised three more concerts running from July to September. Nonetheless, these were clearly benefit concerts. One of them featured Catalina de Ferrari as the main artist, and the other two Francesco Dragone and Luis Soler, respectively. In every case, the newspapers advertised that the participation of the assisting singers was voluntary. 73 An additional concert billed as “Gran concierto vocal é instrumental” (grand vocal and instrumental concert) for the benefit of J. Famiere was announced in the newspapers. (See Figure 7.5 below.)

Figure 7.5. Announcement of J. Famiere’s benefit Grand Concert at the Teatro de Caracas on July 27, 1856. Diario de avisos, 23 July 1856, 1.

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72 “La señora Ferrari. (Remitido),” Diario de avisos, 30 July 1856, 3, my translation.
73 “Teatro de Caracas: Gran concierto por el señor Dragone,” Diario de avisos, 27 Aug. 1856, 1. “Gran concierto por la señora Catalina de Ferrari,” Diario de avisos, 3 Sep. 1856, 1; “Gran concierto por el señor Luis Soler,” Diario de avisos, 10 Sep. 1856, 1.
This concert followed the format adopted for Cecilia Saemann’s concerts earlier during that season, as it included operatic overtures performed by the ensemble and alternated operatic vocal excerpts and virtuosic numbers. Nonetheless, J. Famiere did not count on the assistance of any local aficionados. His assisting musicians were Cecilia Saemann, Catalina de Ferrari, Luis Soler, and Ernestine de Villiers, the French piano teacher who had recently arrived in Caracas, all of them volunteering for this event. A public letter by Famiere published in the *Diario de avisos* on the day previous to the concert revealed the way in which the dynamics of mutual assistance among local and musicians worked in the preparation of these concerts.

As mentioned in a previous chapter, J. Famiere was a French musician active in Caracas during the decade of 1850s who made a living as a music teacher and composer of dance music and easy arrangements of operatic fantasies for the piano, which he advertised in the newspapers. From the establishment of the Teatro de Caracas, Famiere volunteered his services as a music director of the instrumental ensemble and the choir. In the present season he worked in the same capacity in Cecilia Saesmann’s and Catalina de Ferrari’s concert series, and on the benefit concerts offered afterwards. As a way to pay tribute to Famiere’s participation in these concerts, the principal musicians involved with them organized a benefit concert on his behalf. Famiere explained the rationale of this practice:

The nobleness of some friends who believed [themselves] to be obliged for services that I have not given, but as my quota of enthusiasm for genius or merit, and never seduced by a mean and sordid calculation, nor less by the hope of reward, which I judged [having] received when I saw the ovations that the public offered towards those who allowed me the honor to accompany them: that typical nobility, so natural to the artists, [who] spontaneously offered me a benefit [concert], which not without embarrassment I accepted, either to please them or because I was flattered with the dream of exhibiting under my auspices all the notable artists that are now in the country. 74 xvii

The main point of Famiere’s letter was, nonetheless, to express his disappointment with the behavior of Cecilia Saemann, who left the country before honoring her promise to participate in Famiere’s benefit concert, without even notifying him. On this point, Famiere stated:

If after committing herself to do once for me what I had done so many times for her, she felt that the merit of her singing was not sufficiently paid with my recognition, she could demand the gold that she esteemed [fair]. And I, committed as I already am to a society which I deeply respect, would have [preferred to do] everything I could to satisfy her

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ambition, rather than having to say with the shame that honesty demands, “I have lied, I have deceived you,” as I am now forced to do.  

It is not clear if Famiere’s benefit concert took place on the following day. But, this case illustrates the ambiguities that surrounded the musical profession in Caracas. Despite the social changes that occurred in the previous decades that favored the professionalization of music through a greater demand for performers and teachers, in terms of social prestige, music as a means of subsistence did not yet rise above artisanship. Therefore, either because paid performers tended to be considered skilled salaried workers but not true artists, or because serious concert-making had been for long time an activity organized in the private circles of elite aficionados, a tacit code of respectability prevented local musicians of advanced ability from performing in concerts for remuneration. Plausibly, benefit concerts were exempt from these considerations, as they involved a special form of peer recognition. Similarly, teaching and composing were considered not only acceptable but commendable. Behind this idea was the cultural assumption nurtured by the members of the educated circles that concert-making, more than a commercial activity, was an important means to promote the artistic cultivation of music and with it the social and cultural advance of the nation. This point of view was plainly conveyed in the musical criticism that circulated in Caracas at that time. In fact, Manuel Larrazábal, in one of his reviews of Cecilia Saemann’s concerts, referred to her as “an artist to whom our cultured society owes so much.” In the same vein, Larrazábal affirmed that she deserved “the same honor as anyone who discovers, founds, or introduces to a nation a means of civilization or progress.”

It is apparent that class conventions, which shaped the formation of a serious culture of music-making around the figure of the aficionados as musicians of elevated artistic aspirations not mediated by pecuniary interests not only organized the musical practices of the philharmonic circles that met in the private sphere, but also began to permeate the public sphere of concert-making. The aficionados, as representative of the progressivist aspirations of the educated, supported the growth of concert life through their voluntary participation as

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75 Ibid.
76 Another concert for his benefit was announced in the newspapers for September 21 at the Teatro Caracas, with the volunteer assistance of Catalina de Ferrari, Luis Soler, and Francesco Dragone “Teatro de Caracas. Último concierto,” Diario de avisos, 20 Sept. 1856, 1.
78 Ibid., my translation.
performers in concerts and as writers stimulating the visiting and local musicians and forming a new audience through their commentaries in the newspapers. Moreover, the aficionados must have expected that the professional musicians who formed part of their private circles would agree with their Enlightenment-minded belief in the social necessity of music. Similarly, the music professional’s voluntary involvement with public concert-making became a way to earn social prestige because of the nation-building connotations that the educated circles attributed to the establishment of concert life. On this premise it is understandable that Famiere had a sense of obligation to contribute to the ongoing concert activities in Caracas. In fact, he stated in his public letter that he organized his benefit concert as a way to give “recognition to the attentions that [he] owed to this society.”

1.3. Musical-Literary Tertulias at the Café Español

The input of the aficionados in influencing the public sphere of music in Caracas was also felt through the musical-literary tertulias that began to be organized at the new Café Español. Beginning in December 1855, the press told of the reopening of the café in a luxurious locale next to the Government House. It described a salón, “adorned with elegance and good taste; it has in the front a magnificent piano, and on it a pedestal with the bust of the Libertador [Simón Bolívar].” Its owner, Fausto Teodoro Aldrey was an educated man who had interests in both journalism and business. He had received governmental privilege to introduce the industry of ice cream to Venezuela and decided to open an establishment in order to commercialize it, while offering a space for the socialization of the well-off. An anonymous writer, evidently publicizing Aldrey’s commercial enterprise in the newspapers, observed: “Our population, deprived of public places for recreation, without tertulias in which to enjoy the charms of good society, without boulevards where we may walk on the arm of a friend in our beautiful spring afternoons, the youth of Caracas, festive and sociable by nature, being of this quality encouraged by the republican institutions that govern us, felt the need for a public

80 “Crónica de la capital: Nuevo círculo de recreo,” Diario de avisos, 8 Dec. 1855, 3.
establishment, comfortable and elegant, decorated with the luxury demanded by our advanced civilization." 83 xxiii

In truth, public spaces for socialization in Caracas were very scarce, and the opening of a venue shaped after the cafés that had become popular in Spain since the 1840s in which people gathered for conversation, the reading of periodicals, and listening to operatic arias, piano music, and poetry recitations, must undoubtedly have been a striking novelty.84 In this sense, the newspapers informed their readers of the availability at the Café Español of “national and foreign periodicals, a cultured and elegant society, careful and diligent service, ]and] an abundance of exquisite dishes, rich wines, and aromatic chocolate.”85 xxiv Also, musical gatherings had begun to take place at the Café Español. In this respect the article stated that “artistas and aficionados frequently have philharmonic, vocal, or instrumental sessions, whose torrents of harmony run in the midst of the religious silence of the audience. They charmingly contrast with the clash of glasses and bottles that cover the magnificent tables of marble, with the delicate jokes of the attendees, and with the vivifying murmur that is heard as soon as the artistas and the dilettanti stop. 86 xxv

With the flourishing of concert life that began with the establishment of opera and concert seasons at the Teatro de Caracas, the dilettante emerged as a new figure in Caracas musical culture. The term began to be used with increasing frequency in the mid-1850s when it represented the opera and concert-goer. The dilettante differed from the aficionado in that the dilettante was not necessarily someone devoted to music as a life pursuit, as was the case of the aficionado, who often had a thorough music education. More importantly, the dilettante was culturally associated with the audience that frequented the public sphere of music while the aficionado represented the serious cultivation of music, whether as performer, composer, or attendee of private philharmonic circles, musical societies, or through the support of local and visiting artists.87 The call in the newspapers to the dilettanti to attend the gatherings of

84 C. Alonso, “La canción lírica española,” 362.
86 “Crónica de la capital: Nuevo círculo de recreo,” Diario de avisos, 8 Dec. 1855, 3.
87 The musical commentaries suggest that the meaning of the terms aficionado and dilettante in Caracas can be loosely compared to contemporary uses of the terms amateur and dilettante in Paris. According to the scholars Dana Gooley and James H. Johnson the term dilettante had aristocratic resonances and was mostly applied to enthusiast audiences of Italian opera. Conversely, the term amateur, was mostly applied to non-professional music performers in general, and more particularly to performers of instrumental music. Nonetheless, there existed two main differences between Paris and
aficionados and artistas taking place at the Café Español is to be interpreted as a public attempt to overcome the exclusivity that had characterized the philharmonic and poetic circles, so they could expand their sphere of influence and “make known our advancements”\textsuperscript{88} xxvi This is even more evident in the petitions made in the newspapers for opening an alternative salón at the Café Español in order to attract the attendance of women. In this sense, the Diario de avisos stated that “only one thing is needed to turn that mansion into a paradise. Our readers will have guessed that we are referring to the fair sex. We take this opportunity to say that it would not seem inappropriate that Mr. Aldrey should establish an area for the ladies. This would establish among them the custom of gracing these types of establishments, as occurs in European cities and in most of the Americas.”\textsuperscript{89} xxvii

The presence of recreational activities such as eating, drinking, and conversing at the café certainly problematized the seriousness of the musical or poetic events presented there. Yet, descriptions of those gatherings tended to emphasize the etiquette of silence observed by the dilettanti during the musical and poetical activities, which was interpreted in the press commentaries as a sign of the advanced level of cultural progress achieved by Caracas society. The anonymous writer referred to above provided a description of a musical-literary event that occurred at the Café Español on March 28, 1856, in which the reading of poetry alternated with the performance of operatic vocal and instrumental excerpts. For the writer the value of this event lay in that “the Venezuelan muses had a seat and a voice in the concert. Progress of high transcendence that solves a question with a three-fold social object: create honest [entertainment] for the lovers of the belles lettres, stimulate its cultivation, and give wide opportunities to its young champions.”\textsuperscript{90} xxviii The document is relevant for two important reasons. The first is that it details the conventions involved in the organization of a musical-literary tertulia in the mid-nineteenth century. The second is that it demonstrates the flexibility with which the old tradition of the cultured tertulia had to absorb genres and styles other than Caracas. First, in Caracas the aficionado had a dignified status in terms of social class, as most of the aficionados were intellectuals who occupied governmental positions, and also in terms of knowledge, as the aficionado was identified with the connoisseur. Second, the dilettante in Caracas represented people from the upper as well the middle class who began to form part of the public sphere of music. Although primarily identified with the opera, they could also be supporters of instrumental music. See D. Gooley, The Virtuoso Liszt, 30-32 and J. H. Johnson, Listening in Paris: A Cultural History, 190-99, 197-205.\textsuperscript{88} Un Observador," Comunicados: Conciertos públicos," Diario de avisos, 2 Apr. 1856, 2.\textsuperscript{89} “Crónica de la capital: Nuevo círculo de recreo,” Diario de avisos, 8 Dec. 1855, 3.\textsuperscript{90} Un Observador, “Comunicados: Conciertos públicos,” Diario de avisos, 2 Apr. 1856, 2.
symphonic and chamber music, provided that these could also be representative of the aesthetic and moral values of high culture, as was the case of opera.

According to this writer, the participants in this event included the aficionado and poet Eduardo Calcaño who was involved in the organization of private musical-literary tertulias, as well as his brothers, the poets Arístides and Julio Calcaño.91 Other poets were Eloy Escobar and Francisco G. Pardo.92 The assisting aficionados were the physician and violinist Pedro Ramos, the baritone Ramón Sánchez, J.V. Rodríguez, and A. Barboza.93 Interestingly, the accomplished composer José Ángel Montero, who made a living as a professional musician, was considered an aficionado, most likely for reasons of social prestige.94 J. Famiere was also part of the group of performers, as well as a profesor Toledo, presumably Manuel Toledo.95

The program consisted of two parts, each one beginning with an operatic overture performed by an instrumental ensemble, as was customary in the vocal-instrumental concerts taking place in Caracas at that time. For the rest of the program, the reading of poems alternated with the performance of music. The event opened with Eduardo Calcaño’s arrangement of the overture of Nabucco for horn, clarinet, flute, cello, and piano, which was “greeted with resounding applause.”96

91 The musical-literary tertulia sponsored by Eduardo Calcaño was discussed in Chapter 4.
92 No information on Eloy Escobar has been found. Francisco Guaicaipuro Pardo (b. Caracas, 1829; d. Caracas, 1882) was a lawyer, poet, essayist, and politician. In 1858 he was appointed secretario de la Corte Suprema de Justicia (secretary of the Supreme Court), in 1862 director del Departamento de Guerra, Ministerio de Guerra (director of the Department of War), in 1869 secretario general de la presidencia del Estado Bolívar (general secretary of the state of Bolivar), and in 1878 director of the Ministerio de Crédito Público (director of the Department of Public Credit). His numerous poems are in the neoclassical style. They circulated in the newspapers in Caracas. H. Biord Castillo, “Pardo, Francisco Guaicaipuro,” in Diccionario de historia de Venezuela, http://bibliofep.fundacionempresaspolar.org/dhv/entradas/p/pardo-francisco-guaicaipuro/.
93 On Pedro Ramos, see Chapter 4. J. V. Rodríguez and A. Barboza have not been yet identified. In this source Ramón Sánchez was not identified as an aficionado. In truth, the source did not state whether Sánchez was considered a profesor, a dilettante, or an aficionado, which suggests a certain difficulty in considering a singer like him as an aficionado. The difficulty lay in the fact the term aficionado until the mid-nineteenth century was mostly used in Caracas the non-professional practitioners of the cultivation of instrumental music for ensemble. Nonetheless, other sources that appeared later referred to Sánchez as an aficionado, certainly as a result of the importance that opera began to acquire in Caracas’ musical culture. See for example, J. M., “Comunicados,” Diario de avisos, 4 Feb. 1857, 3.
94 On José Ángel Montero, see Chapter 5.
95 The identity of Toledo is not clear. It is possible that it was Manuel Toledo, who worked as organist of the Iglesia Metropolitana in Caracas in 1848. From 1848 to 1853 he engaged in several musical activities for the church together with Ramón Caballería, who was at that time maestro de capilla, and in 1843-1844 he was involved in the presentations of the operatic company of Alessandro Galli. “J. Velásquez,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, II: 682.
96 Un Observador, “Comunicados: Conciertos públicos,” Diario de avisos, 2 Apr. 1856, 2.
young poet Eloy Escobar. In it the author expressed disillusionment for the cultural stagnation experienced in Venezuela due to the current political divisions. The neoclassical poetic theme of the *americanos* summoning the muses to the *New World*, so well represented in Andrés Bello’s *Alocución a la poesía* of 1823, is alluded to in Escobar’s poem. Nonetheless, Escobar departed from the optimistic tone of Bello to crudely describe how the muses refuse to give their inspirational power to a nation in insane and destructive discord. In summary, Escobar enumerates the hopes and sacrifices that Venezuelans made during the Independence War in pursuit of forming a virtuous nation. Then he laments the present state of frustration and discord, which contradicts the former patriotic ideals:

> Y tú, patria del Grande Americano,  
> Dichosa un tiempo, si postrada ahora,  
> ¿Por qué te humillas bajo el hierro insano,  
> Tú de cinco naciones redentora?  
> ¿Por qué en tu seno hermano contra hermano  
> La discordia provoca destructora,  
> Y no tienes ni un vate, que a tu abrigo,  
> Si no canta á ti llore contigo?  
> Infeliz Venezuela, dónde huyeron  
> Tu paz y tu virtud no aseguradas?  
> En la sangre se ahogaron que vertieron  
> Tus venas por los tuyos desatadas.  
> De tus hijos de los unos qué se hicieron?  
> Por qué de los otros tan turbadas  
> Miro las greyes? Y tu amor no inspira  
> De un vate solo la vibrante lira?  
> No inspira, no, que la celeste musa  
> Los campos huye do la sangre humea  
> Y el noble canto y su poder rehusa  
> Al pueblo que el puebladas se recrea.  
> De civil tempestad en la confusa  
> Sombra de horror, su luz no centellea,  
> Que allí do habita la concordia solo  
> La corte reina del divino Apolo.  

Despite its disconsolate subject, the poem was received with “a general applause, lively and prolonged.” The program continued with an aria for baritone, “Qui mi accolse oppreso, errante” from Bellini’s *Beatrice di Tenda*, performed by the aficionado S. Sánchez, which was

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97 Andrés Bello’s poem *Alocución a la poesía* was discussed in Chapter 3.
99 Ibid.
also “warmly applauded.”\footnote{Ibid.} Afterwards, Francisco G. Pardo read a jocular poem by Eduardo Calcaño, “El poder de la ilusión” (The Power of Illusion), which consisted of “easy verses, fluid, rich in humor and grace.”\footnote{Ibid.} An undetermined Fantasia brillante on Lucia, followed by another arrangement of the same overture from Nabucco closed the first section. Both the fantaisie and the overture were performed by the instrumental ensemble. After an intermission, the concert resumed with an overture for Romeo and Juliet by an undetermined composer. Then Simón Calcaño read another poem written by his brother Aristides, dealing with the invocation of the muses to dwell in the New World, called América. Another poem by Heraclio de la Guardia, also of patriotic content, was read by Eduardo Calcaño. The concert ended with a Barcarolle by the Italian opera composer Giovanni Todalini, which was “sung with such grace and gentleness by Mr. Sánchez, that the enthusiastic audience requested a repetition, to which he acceded with courtesy.”\footnote{Ibid.} xxxiii

The writer concluded his article anticipating that “there will come a time in which our painters will come solicitously to its elegant halls in the midst of numerous concurrences, the musicians will come to perform their concerts, and the Venezuelan muse will come to sing her songs.”\footnote{Un Observador, “Comunicados: Conciertos públicos,” Diario de avisos, 2 Apr. 1856, 2.}

1.4. Piano Concerts

As shown above, despite the visible growth of concert life in Caracas that occurred after the Teatro de Caracas was built, virtuosic music occupied a subsidiary place. Most of the programming of the concerts was centered on the participation of the visiting opera singers, while virtuosic pieces were interspersed with the purpose of satisfying the taste for variety that was conventional for concert-making at that time.\footnote{As music historian William Weber explains, since the late eighteenth century and for a good part of the nineteenth century, concerts in the public sphere followed a collegiate format. Accordingly, in their programming it was important to include numbers performed by several musicians in a variety of genres and instrumentation in order to make them as varied as possible, so they could accommodate the diversity of tastes and levels of musical literacy of the general audiences. W. Weber, The Great Transformation of Musical Taste, 1ff.} Prestigious profesores such as the pianist Julio Hohené and accomplished local aficionados such as the clarinetist Miguel Carmona, the
flutist Mateo Vallenilla, and the violinist Miguel Gómez participated as assisting performers in charge of the virtuosic pieces.

A concert of presentations prepared by the French pianist Ernestine de Villiers after her arrival in Caracas in mid-1856 served to diversify the concert options, with a program centered on the piano as the main feature. According to an introductory letter published by Mariano de Briceno in the Diario de avisos, Villiers had worked for some time as a concert pianist and a teacher in New York and sought to establish herself in Caracas as a piano and French teacher for women.\(^{105}\) The concert was then aimed at attracting the attention of possible patrons. Briceño’s letter also indicates that Villiers had been already introducing herself to Caracas musical authorities through private presentations. Accordingly, he observed: “We have privately heard this teacher, and it must be confessed that never has there been to Caracas an artist who meets in such an outstanding degree the qualities of a marvelous execution and the exquisite delicacy of touch and accuracy that is required in the interpretation of musical compositions. In her hands the piano is not a simple instrument: it is an orchestra that is full of feeling.”\(^{106}\)\(^{xxxv}\)

It is possible that the flattering writing style of Briceño’s letter reflected more the manners of an educated gentleman determined to support the advancement of musical culture in Caracas than the true merits of Villiers. In either case, the concert was presented on July 10 in a venue opened at the salón of the inn where Villiers was temporarily lodged, elegantly referred to in the press as the Salón Defino.\(^{107}\) (See Figure 7.6 below.)

The press announcement billed it as a “Gran concierto vocal é instrumental,” as was customary to indicate the use of an instrumental ensemble. Villiers counted on the assistance of the soprano Catalina de Ferrari, the baritone Ramón Sánchez, and the profesor J. Famiere, presumably in charge of the piano accompaniment for the vocal pieces. Other performers listed in the program were a Mr. Alas and B. Montero, presumably the violinist aficionado José de Jesús Alas and the cellist Bernardino Montero, a music teacher in Caracas and member of one of the most prestigious families of musicians in Caracas, which included the renowned aficionado José Lorenzo Montero.\(^{108}\) The program consisted of two sections, each opening with an

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\(^{105}\) M. de B., “Concierto de Madama de Villiers,” Diario de avisos, 28 June 1856, 4.

\(^{106}\) Ibid., my translation.

\(^{107}\) The inn was known as Posada del León the Oro, located on 110 Calle del Comercio. Its owner was J. Delfino.

\(^{108}\) Bernardino Montero (d. Caracas, 1881). The program does not indicate whether Bernardino Montero was considered a profesor or an aficionado. In either case, it is known that he made a living teaching music and performing the cello and the bass. The Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música at
instrumental trio, presumably for violin, cello, and piano, being performed by Villiers, Alas, and Montero. The first was a *fantasie* on Michele Carafa’s *La prison d’Édimbourg* by N. Louis, an arranger and composer active in Paris in the mid-century.¹⁰⁹ The second trio was a Rondo on a theme by Giacomo Meyerbeer.¹¹⁰ The remaining numbers in the program alternated vocal and instrumental pieces, consisting of operatic vocal excerpts and instrumental pieces. These included two duos for violin and piano, the *Fantaisie sur une romance favorite, Vierge timide du bocage*, op. 4 by N. Louis, and a *fantaisie* on theme from Bellini’s *I Puritani* by Georges Alexandre Osborne and Charles de Bériot.¹¹¹ Only two pieces for piano solo performed by Villiers were included in the program, an *Étude de concert* by Alexandre Édouard Goria and an undetermined *fantasie* by Louis Moreau Gottschalk.

**Figure 7.6.** Announcement of Ernestine de Villier’s Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert at the Salón Delfino on July 20, 1856. *Diario de avisos*, 19 July 1856, 1.

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¹⁰⁹ Michele Enrico Carafa di Colobrano (b. Naples, 1787; d. 1872). N. Louis was a prolific arranger and composer of fantasies, dances, and other pieces for various instruments. The *Catalogue de Henry Lemoine* (Paris: Imprimerie Centrale des Chemins de Fer, 1861) lists several of his works.


¹¹¹ Georges Alexander Osborne (b. Limerick, Ireland, 1806; d. 1893) was a virtuoso pianist. He co-authored over thirty duos for violin and piano with the violin virtuoso Charles de Bériot.
It is telling that Villiers, seeking to introduce herself to Caracas' society as a piano teacher, recruited for her concert Alas and Montero, two respectable members of the musical circles in Caracas. Indeed, the assistance of the visiting artist Catalina de Ferrari and the local baritone Ramón Sánchez would have added enough variety to make the program attractive. Nonetheless, the participation of two musicians related to the circles of aficionados meant something different. Certainly, the families interested in engaging the services of Villiers as a teacher must have taken the presence of Alas and Montero as an endorsement of her competency as a teacher. Patently, the support of the aficionados was important to establish a professional reputation in Caracas.

Whether Villiers was as qualified as the conventions of Caracas musical culture might have suggested is difficult to determine from the newspapers. The next information about Villiers was a notice by Mariano de Briceño which appeared two months later in the Diario de avisos. Here he appealed to the compassion of Caracas' society to support her in a difficult moment through their patronage of a concert to be given at the Teatro de Caracas:

A talented artist, Mme. de Villiers is today in a difficult position due to domestic misfortunes, which have fanned the sympathies of all her friends. Consequently, they have determined to assist her with a concert that will be held the coming week, whose success will depend absolutely on the favorable disposition of the families that can dispense a generous protection for the pianist. Hopefully, the principal artists will be associated with this charitable work in the spirit of confraternity that should always guide us to mutual help. 112 xxxvi

The concert took place on September 18 and it repeated the pieces for instrumental ensemble performed in the previous concert, while adding other pieces for piano solo by Henri Herz, Sigismund Thalberg, Henri Bertini, and Theodor Döhler. These were placed in the program in substitution of the vocal numbers, as neither Catalina de Ferrari, Ramón Sánchez, nor Famiere participated in it. 113 It is possible that Ernestine de Villiers left Caracas soon afterwards. Newspapers in New York report that in 1862 she was teaching in Brooklyn and that she had recently offered a series of concerts.114

113 “Gran concierto artístico de Madame Ernestina de Villiers,” Diario de avisos, 17 Sept. 1856, 4.
114 New York Times, 17 Mar. 1862; New York Times 30 June 1862. The concerts took place in New York from March to June of 1862. Vera Brodsky Lawrence reports that the reception was not favorable. The critic Hagen said of her debut that it was “very useful in order to show how not to play the piano,” Review and World (New York), 12 Apr. 1862, 86, quoted in V. B. Lawrence, Strong on Music, III: 535.
Possibly more consequential was the visit of the young French pianist Eugénie Barnetche in December of 1856. Like Villiers, Barnetche was introduced to Caracas readers though a public letter that appeared in the newspaper, this time written by the former hero of the Independence War and aficionado José de Austria. Austria stated in the letter that Barnetche’s visit to Caracas was part of her family’s extended travels to the Americas. As was apparently customary in Caracas, Barnetche had already offered private performances for the aficionados. On it, Asutria stated: “We have had the pleasure of appreciating her in various circles of society, in which she has kindly given us an idea of her rare ability in the execution of the most difficult pieces for fortepiano; and in her we have seen the confluence of her cleanliness and brilliance and her great sweetness, delicacy, and melodic expression.”

Austria seems to have been genuinely impressed with Barnetche’s “privileged talent,” which, according to him, positioned her “on the front line of the women artists that perform this instrument in Europe.” Finally, Austria announced the plans for a series of subscription concerts featuring her as the main artist:

Several aficionados have convinced her to agree to give some public concerts before her departure. For that purpose, they have made available a subscription, to which we invite all the lovers of good taste. We hope that our young ladies, who dedicate themselves to the piano, would take advantage of the time that she will stay among us receiving lessons from her.

At the time of her arrival in Caracas she was twenty-four-years old. She had received a thorough education at the Conservatoire in Paris under Georges Mathias. It is possible that she had also received lessons from Sigismund Thalberg and Emile Prudent, as Austria wrote in his letter. Barnetche’s musical education and compositional output has been the subject of scholarly study, because in 1879 Barnetche became the stepmother of the then thirteen-year-old Eugénie Barnetche (b. Rochefort, France, 1832 ; d. Paris (unattested), 1916).

As discussed in Chapter 4, during the years that followed the establishment of the Republic, José de Austria was involved in the establishment of musical institutions through the patronage of the Sociedad de Amigos de País. More recently he had been one of the three appointed directors of the Music Department of the Instituto Provincial de Bellas Artes created by the Government of Caracas in 1852.

J. A., “Plausible anuncio,” Diario de avisos, 10 Dec. 1856, 1. All the translations from this source are mine.

Ibid.

Ibid.


old Erik Satie, and was a musical influence on him. According to the musicologist Robert Orledge, she was the daughter of Jean Barnetche, a medical doctor who was a Naval Health Officer. It is possible that it was in this capacity that the family made their way to the Americas. The point is relevant because it allows one to assume that Barnetche’s upcoming concerts in Caracas were not for the purpose of making a living, as was the case of the itinerant artists. Instead, she could have been intending to establish a prestigious name as an artist of extraordinary abilities among the circles of letrados and aficionados. Restrictions of class and gender prevented Barnetche from organizing her own concerts, a task performed by Caracas aficionados who proposed and planned them as a form of recognition and a way to promote the growth of Caracas concert life.

Barnetche’s first concert was offered on December 23 at the salón of the Posada Saint Amand, also known as the Posada Bassetti, an inn in downtown where the Barnetches presumably stayed. The press announcement billed her as an “artist from Paris, member of the Society of St. Cecilia and disciple of the celebrated masters Prudent and Thalberg.” From a review by Mariano de Briceño it is known that Barnetche’s concert was well attended. She was assisted by the Italian singer Francesco Dragone, who established himself in Caracas after his participation in the vocal-intrumental concerts that occurred earlier that year. The pieces performed included an unidentified fantaisie by Sigismund Thalberg and Julius Scholhoff’s Galopp de bravura, op. 17, a difficult concert work in the stile brillante featuring abundant passages of octaves and wide skips in fast tempo. Barnetche also performed a Capriccio that she composed, which Mariano de Briceño described as “a dazzling composition,” “notable for its originality and harmony, which deserved to compete with other works of the celebrated profesores.”

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122 Eugénie Barnetche married Alfred Satie (b. Honfleur, France, 1842; d. 1903) on 21 January 1879. R. Orledge, “The Musical Activities of Alfred Satie and Eugénie Satie-Barnetche,” 272. According to Orledge it was through Barnetche’s input and connections that Erick Satie (Honfleur, France, 1866; d. Paris, 1925) entered the Conservatoire. Nonetheless, Satie was uncongenial with her and he eventually “rejected the sort of bourgeois salon music that his stepmother personified.” Ibid., 288.

123 Ibid., 273.

124 “Avisos: Concierto,” Diario de avisos, 20 Dec. 1856, 8, my translation. The Posada Bassetti was located on Calle de Carabobo, Esquina de la Sociedad, according to an announcement on Diario de avisos, 19 Jan. 1857, 4.

125 Julius Schulhoff (b. Prague, 1825; d. 1898) was a Bohemian pianist and composer of virtuosic salon pieces.

126 M. de B., “Primer concierto de la Señorita Barnetche,” Diario de avisos, 27 Dec. 1856, 4, my translation. According to Robert Orledge, Barnetche’s compositional style shows certain refinement from a technical and harmonic point of view and demonstrates a clear influence of Felix Mendelssohn and
According to Briceño, it was upon the request of “many dilettanti,” who saw the success of Barnetche at the modest Salón Bassetti, that the later concert was arranged for the Teatro de Caracas, surely on the certainty that she would be able to fill the theatre. The concert was first announced for 30 Dec. 1856, but it was cancelled due to rain, and rescheduled for the following day. An anonymous dilettante offered his perceptions of the concert in the newspaper. According to this article the artist that was expected to assist Barnetche could not attend the concert. In light of this, “Famiere spontaneously offered to accompany Miss Barnetche in the execution” of a duet. The work was presumably a vocal piece sung by Barnetche. It seems that given the absence of an assistant originally appointed, she decided to perform also as a singer in order to add some variety to the concert. On her abilities as a singer the dilettante stated that “the voice of Miss. Barnetche is pure, flexible, graceful, and of a sweetness that enchants; and if as a singer she is not of the top class, the applause of the audience showed that her voice had been accepted with general sympathy.” Her numbers for piano solo included a Polonaise and Scherzo of her own authorship, besides an undetermined valse by Frédéric Chopin, Franz Liszt’s transcription of Rossini’s La regatta veneziana (S424), and a fantaisie on Donizetti’s Lucrezia Borgia by Alexandre Édouard Goria. The commentary of the dilettante on the latter piece describes the French performing style of the jeu perlé, which she seems to have handled with mastery: “The Lucrezia Borgia by Goria, a piece

Camille Saint-Saëns. R. Orledge, “The Musical Activities of Alfred Satie and Eugénie Satie-Barnetche,” 280. According to Orledge, in the 1860s and 1870s Barnetche had already published several salon pieces with Heugel and Schott. Her husband Alfred Satie also edited some of her music through his own music publishing firm opened in 1882 (pp. 273-74). The Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris preserves some twenty-five printed items by Barnetche. The earliest of these items is a set of pieces for piano, Les trois sœurs, Recueil de trois romances sans paroles, published in Paris by Heugel in 1861 and a Marche for piano, Ronde de nuit, op. 17, published in the following year also by Heugel. Although Barnetche remained a relatively unknown composer, some of her salon pieces acquired a certain popularity. Orledge states that her Ronde des sorcières, op. 85 for piano, published in Paris in 1882 by Wiart was her most famous composition. The registers of the Bibliothèque Nationale, listing several arrangements for piano solo, violin and piano, and harmonium and piano of her Sois bénie!, Romance instrumentale, Romance sans paroles, op. 64 suggests the popularity of this piece as well. This work was published in Paris by Schott in 1876-77. Barnetche’s last known composition, according to Orledge’s partial catalogue, was Guilleret Danse, op. 96, published in 1896. Besides salon music, Banetche composed also a Sonate en fa mineur and a Sonate à deux pianos, which were announced for an upcoming publication by Alfred Satie’s published house, though were apparently never printed. R. Orledge, Ibid., 290-97.

128 Un dilettante [sic], “El concierto vocal é instrumental,” Diario de avisos, 3 Jan. 1857, 3. All the translations from this source are mine.
129 Ibid.
that demands a long, brilliant style and extreme delicacy, was crowned with a well-deserved applause. The audience admired in it the prodigious execution of the young artist, who made burgeon like pearls so many notes with an incredible agility.”  

Despite the good reviews, it is apparent from the diletante’s writing that Barnetche’s second concert was only attended by a select group of music lovers. Clearly, a program that mostly relied on the piano did not turn out to be sufficiently appealing for the general public, who were much more familiar with operatic events. It is plausible that in order to mend the lack of general interest in piano concerts, Barnetche resorted to the idea of programing for her last concert a piano arrangement for eight hands of the Overture of Rossini’s *Semiramide* and a *fantaisie* for two pianos on *Robin des Bois*, the French version of Carl Maria von Weber’s *Der Freischütz*. (See Figure 7.7 below.) For that concert the assistance of the profesores J. Famiere, Román Isaza, Francisco de Paula Pascual and a pianist surnamed Creips was expected. Also there were vocal pieces to be sung by Barnetche and the baritone Ramón Sánchez, besides the variations on the *Polka national* for piano by Apollinaire de Koutski. 

**Figure 7.7.** Announcement of Eugénie Barnetche’s Instrumental and Vocal Concert at the Teatro de Caracas on January 17, 1857. *Diario de avisos*, 14 Jan. 1857, 1.

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130 Ibid.

131 As mentioned in Chapter 6, Francisco de Paula Pascual had been active in Caracas as a piano and voice teacher since at least 1856. In November of 1856 he participated as a performer in a concert at the Café Español. Afterwards the newspapers announced the sale of the score of two *Caprichos* on Bellini’s *Norma*, which he composed and performed in that concert. “Dos caprichos,” *Diario de avisos*, 29 Nov. 1856, 1.

132 Apollinaire de Kontski (also spelled Koutski, b. Warsaw 1825; d. 1879) was a violinist who made a career in Europe as a virtuoso. He also composed works for violin as well as transcriptions, variations, operatic fantasies, and similar pieces for the piano and other instruments. His *Polka national* is listed under A. de Koustki in the *Catalogue of the Universal Circulating Musical Library with Supplement* (London: Gustav Scheuermann and Co., 1855), 708.
The concert promised to be a great success, if only for the novelty of having four pianists on the stage. Nonetheless, the concert was cancelled on the day it was going to be offered. The announcement states that for unforeseen reasons it had to be rescheduled for January 22, not at the Teatro de Caracas but at the *salón* of the Posada Bassetti. On the same day, the *profesor* J. Famiere communicated in a public letter his decision to withdraw from his role as supporting artist in Caracas’ concerts from that point on. His reason was that gossip had begun in the musical circles that his participation was motivated by pecuniary interest and not by the philanthropic obligation he felt to cooperate in the concerts of the visiting and local artists with “everything that was on [his] hands to make them less expensive.” Then Famiere added:

Neither interest nor pride, which are absent in my character, nor any other wretched feeling have driven me to be supportive of all of those who have invited me to assist them.

In spite of such detachment, and not having received anything whatsoever from any of the artists in whose presentations I have performed, as a reward for my work, slandering or a despicable envious enemy has circulated [the rumor] that I have prostituted my profession up to the ridiculous extreme of engaging in competition and offering my services at a vile price

[…] I cannot overcome the repugnance that such an abominable calumny has inspired in me and at once I formally declare that I quit public concert-making, as hard as it is for me to have to deny my humble services to those who request this service from me in the future.

From the newspapers is not possible to determine whether Famiere’s reaction was caused by frictions with Barnetche, or with the members of the Compañía Lírica Francesa, which was then visiting Caracas and which Famiere had been assisting, or with anyone else. The result was that Barnetche had to abandon her original plans for her last concert and adopt more

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133 “Último concierto,” *Diario de aviso*, 17 Jan 1857, 1.
134 J. Famiere, “Conciertos,” *Diario de aviso*, 17 Jan. 1857, 4. All the translations from this source are mine.
135 Ibid.
136 The Compañía Lírica Francesa was a three-member troupe visiting at Teatro de Caracas from January to February 1857, as part of its touring in the Caribbean area. It comprised Félix Gallon (violinist), the alto Becker d’Almena, and the soprano Laura Quirot, under the management of V. C. d’Almena. They offered a series of five concerts (Jan. 11, Jan. 18, Feb. 1, Feb. 10) which consisted of semi-staged representations of individual acts from Donizetti’s *Lucia de Lammermoor*, Daniel Auber’s *L’ambassadrice*, Bellini’s *Norma*, and Fromental Hălevy’s *La Juive* along with vocal selections from other French and Italian operas in alternation with instrumental numbers. Famiere participated in the concert of January 11 assisting as accompanist to Félix Gallon in the opening overture as well as in various virtuosic pieces interspersed in the program. “Función lírica,” *Diario de aviso*, 10 Jan. 1857, 1; “Gran función lírica,” *Diario de aviso*, 17 Jan. 1857, 1; “Cuarta función lírica,” *Diario de aviso*, 31 Jan. 1857, 1; “Ultima función lírica,” *Diario de aviso*, 7 Feb. 1857, 1.
conventional programming. The concert finally took place on the 23 at the Salón Bassetti and according to the announcement the program repeated most of the pieces that she had already performed in her previous concerts. (See Figure 7.8 below.) A notable difference was that this time she was assisted by the flutist aficionado Mateo Vallenilla and the baritone Ramón Sánchez.

Beyond the anecdotal connotations that the incident with Famiere might have, it is still illustrative of how important it was for music professionals who aspired to reach a certain level of prestige in Caracas to engage in a code of honor that made them look as if they were apart from commercial or monetary interests. At the same time, the case demonstrates how limited the resources were in Caracas for keeping up concert life at that time and how dependent it was on the support of the aficionados. If the withdrawal of a single assistant sufficed to jeopardize an entire program, it cannot but indicate the existing difficulties of finding a suitable or affordable replacement among the professional class.

Figure 7.8. Announcement of Eugénie Barnetche’s last concert in Caracas on January 23, 1857 at the Salón Bassetti. Diario de avisos, 21 January 1857, 1.

The favorable reception given to Banetche in her last concert leaves no doubt that piano music, in particular the virtuosic repertory in the stile brillante, had been gaining acceptance
among the advocates of the serious musical culture. It is evident that the charges of charlatanism and superficiality that were often brought against virtuosos and virtuosic music around that time in Europe were completely absent in Caracas at that time. As the musicologist Robert Wangermee has observed, in nineteenth-century Europe connoisseurs and devoted music-lovers viewed the figure of the virtuoso with suspicion. They felt that the virtuosos misused their technical mastery by putting it at the service of an artificial display that made themselves more attractive to the general audience. Nonetheless, the commercial basis that sustained virtuosic touring and the flamboyance of virtuosic concert-making in Europe did not exist in Caracas. Certainly, the emerging concert life of Caracas was basically founded on the support of the intelligentsia. In particular, letrados and aficionados, in their multiple capacities of shareholders in the main theatre, writers of music commentaries in the newspapers, assistants to performers at the opera and concerts of visiting artists, and organizers of musical-literary tertulias in public venues, functioned not only as the taste-bearer stratum, to use Carl Dahlhaus’ term, but also as the segment that made the establishment of a public sphere of music organizationally, economically, and even musically viable. Clearly, in Caracas, music-making was not a profitable business, not yet at least. Therefore, since the commercial concerns that so much troubled connoisseurs and devoted music lovers in Europe did not yet exist, virtuosic music could be perceived as compatible with the idealistic and aesthetically elevated aspirations of the musical culture that the aficionados and the letrados advocated.

It is in this context that it is possible to understand the elevated place that Barnetche’s virtuosic music-making enjoyed within Caracas’ musical circles. That point of view is clearly articulated in the commentaries of Barnetche’s, last concert written by a J. M., possibly Jesús Montero, another member of the musically influential Montero family:

The allure of the last concert of Miss. Barnetche has been augmented with the talent of very distinguished aficionados, who have assisted her in an admirable manner. Mr.

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138 Carl Dahlhaus’ original German term is Geschmacksträgerschicht (taste-bearer stratum). C. Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 41.
139 Little is known about Jesús Montero. The Archivo Audiovisual, Colección de Música at the Biblioteca Nacional in Caracas holds about twelve compositions signed by him, which include religious music, marches and dances for ensemble of instruments, songs with piano accompaniment and piano pieces. See F. Sangiorgi, “Jesús Montero,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, II: 254-55.
Vallenilla has proven once again how exquisite his taste and his talent are. [...] Mr. Sánchez was not less successful [...].

We have the opportunity from her to appreciate the instrumental mechanism and the artistic understanding that poetizes the works that she made us know: long breath, strength and cleanliness of sound and brilliance are the rare qualities for which we were are pleased to honor her, and which we have found in Goria’s fantaisie on Lucrezia. In order to enjoy Prudent’s fantaisie on the Lucia de Lamermoor, it is necessary to imprint this with the heart’s sentiment, which does not depend on any school, and that only the privileged souls have. This will always make Barnetche an exceptional artist. 140 xlviii

Indeed, J. M. went as far as suggesting that in terms of aesthetic value the place of the piano in the repertory was comparable to that of strings, patently alluding to the chamber music that had been traditionally placed at the top of artistic hierarchies of Caracas’ musical culture: “In fact, we have heard for the first time the piano singing and competing in terms of sentimental expression with the string instruments, which are better suited [for such expression].” 141 xlix

It is noteworthy that Barnetche was treated as a true artist. As such, she was considered a member of a select group of beings who, besides possessing excellent technical skills, had been gifted with a special talent for understanding and expressing feeling. The category of the artist was then set apart from the figure of the aficionado, whose music-making depended on taste, which was refined through education, and from the profesor, whose music-making depended on the expertise and knowledge acquired through the exercise of the musical profession. What made the artists exceptional was not their education and taste, which they could also possess, but their extraordinary sensibility, which was inborn. It was precisely the exceptional talent along with the elevated artistic connotations that aficionados and letrados found in Barnetche’s artistry that allowed her to navigate the conventions of class and gender, which would have otherwise limited an upper-class women from having such exposure in the public sphere.

On Feb 25 Eugénie Barnetche and her family left Caracas for St. Thomas together with the members of the Compañia Lírica Francesa. 142 Mariano de Briceño offered her a heartfelt farewell:

\[\text{140} \text{ J. M., “Comunicados,” Diario de avisos, 4 Feb. 1857, 3. All the translations from this source are mine.}\]
\[\text{141} \text{ Ibid.}\]
\[\text{142} \text{ “Salidas,” Diario de avisos, 28 Feb. 1857, 1. Sometime after visiting Caracas, Eugénie Barneche and her family established residence in Havana. The newspapers in New York indicate that in 1862}\]
The public in Caracas perceives with sentiment the departure of Miss E. Barnetche. This young and distinguished artist has earned the esteem of the entire group of educated people of Caracas’ society. [...] Her talent is of the first order. She is a faithful interpreter of Liszt, Thalberg, and Shuloff [Sholhoff]. She has achieved the most complete success in the performance of the principal compositions of those great masters [...]. We wish good luck to our kind and distinguished pianist, and above all we wish her to soon return to Caracas.  

1.5. Political Unrest and the Decay of Concert Life

In early July 1857 a new opera company featuring the Italian baritone Signor Filippo Morelli, a favorite in New York since 1855, arrived in Caracas. Morelli was presented to Caracas’ audiences as an artist “credited and known at the Italian Theatre in Paris.” The company included the tenor Mario Tiberini, the bass Alessandro Gasparoni, and the alto Zoë Aldini, also visiting Caracas after performing in the United States. The soprano Cecilia Saemann, who had already sung in Caracas in 1854 and 1855, was also a member of Morelli’s company. They offered a series of at least seventeen presentations of various Italian operas by Donizetti, Bellini, and Verdi at Teatro de Caracas. As a special feature, in mid-August the company presented Verdi’s *Il Trovatore*, which had first premiered in Rome only four years earlier.

...
The visit of the French violin virtuoso Paul Jullien that occurred around the same time was overshadowed by Morelli’s opera presentations. Jullien’s concerts took place at the Teatro de Caracas throughout July and August in the evenings that the opera company was off. Julien was a prize winner at the Paris Conservatoire and had made an early career in Europe as a child prodigy. He was visiting South America after his successful tours in the United States in 1852-1856 and Havana in 1856. When he arrived in Caracas, he was seventeen years old at most. He traveled with his accompanist, the pianist Konrad Treuer, who also performed one or two numbers for piano solo in these concerts. (See Figure 7.9 below.) Besides these few pieces, the concerts centered on Jullien’s performative display, as he did not include any other assisting artist. This concert format was definitely a novelty in Caracas. Yet, the press commentaries of Jullien’s concerts reflect that serious musicians and music-lovers were genuinely impressed with his performance of operatic fantasies and other pieces of the virtuosic repertory. Indeed, Mariano de Briceño’s commentary on Jullien’s performance on a single string of Joseph Mayseder’s Air variée in E major dedicated to Paganini, was aimed at dispelling any doubt of charlatanism that Jullien’s status as a virtuoso could raise among less appreciative concert-goers. In this sense he stated:

he does not seek to be gimmicky or pretending that he overcomes artificial difficulties, by twisting himself or simulating surprising efforts; he tackles the difficulty frankly [...] To avoid any supposition of charlatanism, Paul Jullien removes from the public three strings of his violin, leaving only one, and comes to supply the lack of sonority and vibration of the other three strings going through the full length of the violin until the fourth octave, preserving all the melodious sounds, all the variety, all the delicacy of his ordinary way of playing.

In this there is something new and surprising, because it is not a vulgar charlatanism, nor a monotonous arch prestidigitation, but a miracle of skill in which the difficulties are overcome without sacrificing the art for that purpose. Likewise, a writer identified only as D. S. affirmed that “the people of Caracas recognize Jullien as an outstanding genius, because he deserved it more than anyone else who has

148 Paul Julien (b. France, 1841; d. ca. 1860). V. B. Lawrence, Strong on Music, II: passim; III: 216
149 Konrad Treuer was not a virtuoso. He seems to have had a modest career in New York as accompanist, arranger and composer of sheet music. The Library of Congress, Music Division (Washington, D.C.) and the Milton S. Eisenhower Library of The Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, Md.) hold several copies of Konrad Treuer’s music.
150 [M. de Briceño,] “Paul Jullien,” Diario de avisos, 22 Aug. 1857, 4. Joseph Mayseder (or Maiseder, b. Austria, 1789; d. 1863) was a violin virtuoso and at some point appointed concert master of the Vienna Court Opera and violin soloist of the Hofburg Palace Chapel Orchestra. His Ais variés for violin and orchestra or string quartet dedicated to Paganini bear the opp. numbers 18, 23, 33, 40, and 45.
reached this land, [someone] called to occupy with dignity a position next to the immortal names of Paganini, de Bériot, Alard, Haumn, and other great masters who have perfected the instrument [with] which [Jullien] has charmed us.”¹⁵¹ D.S. duly lamented the poor attendance at Julien’s concerts, attributing it to the lack of discernment of the general audience. “if the attendance at his concerts have not been as large as desirable,” he observed, “it is due to the unfortunate circumstance that [Julien] reached the country about the same time that an opera company that attracted the attention of most of the public, which here as everywhere else, likes noisy and ostentatious spectacles better than admiring true genius and outstanding ability.”¹⁵²

Figure 7.9. Announcement of Paul Jullien’s Farewell Concert at the Teatro de Caracas on August 28, 1857, Diario de avisos, 26 August 1857, 1.

It is evident that there was a growing desire among the aficionados and the letrados to diversify the musical options at Teatro de Caracas with the programming of instrumental music. Certain resentment against the primacy of opera began to surface in the public debate, as

¹⁵² Ibid., my translation.
letrados and aficionados began to openly discuss the low level of sophistication of Caracas’ general audience and its apathy towards non-theatrical genres. Surely, concerts featuring only instrumental music were only appealing to a small portion of the musically educated, and the programming of purely instrumental concerts with no vocal pieces, such as Jullien’s was not appealing enough to secure a broad patronage.

Yet, Mariano de Briceño, with a more accepting attitude, expressed his satisfaction that a taste for opera had been formed in Caracas, a sign that the Teatro de Caracas could be sustained with box office sales: “The first lyrical company that inaugurated the building put to the test for more than [a] year the resources that this city has to support the Italian opera companies; and the one that is representing it today has achieved and is achieving huge revenues that have satisfied the artists, and that perhaps would have fulfilled their desires in more than one evening, if the capacity of the coliseum was greater.”

Similarly, Briceño defended the natural taste of Caracas’ dilettanti: “Regarding competence, we are aware that the applause in Caracas is more honorable than that of some large capitals, where most of the audience hears music as a luxurious fashion and not because of an instinctive and concentrated taste.”

In truth, the public sphere of music was expanding. Since early 1857 the newspapers had announced several vocal-instrumental concerts for the benefit of locally established or recently arrived foreign musicians taking place in small venues such as the Salón Delfino. Even aficionado concerts completely integrated with musicians of the elite began to also be offered in Caracas. A program for the Concierto de aficionados offered at the Salón Delfino on May 19, 1857 shows a good balance between vocal and virtuosic numbers, presumably as part of the efforts of the aficionados to shape a taste for “abstract music” among the dilettanti. (See Figure 7.10 below.) The concert was organized for the benefit of the baritone Ramón Sánchez. Assisting performers included the flutist Mateo Vallenilla, who had previously participated as assisting

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154 Ibid., my translation.
155 An example of the concerts offered in venues other than the Teatro de Caracas is the “Grand Concert” for the benefit of the French music teacher G. Berard recently arrived in Caracas, offered on April 5 at the Salón Delfino. “Gran Concierto,” *Diario de avisos*, 2 Apr. 1857, 4. Another instance of concerts of this type isthe benefit concert for the Italian singer Stefano Busatti, the husband of Luigia Giovannini, the soprano of Alessandro Galli’s opera company visiting Caracas in 1843-1844. The Busattis looked to establish themselves as teachers in Caracas and were in economic difficulties. The concert took place in February in the Masonic House. “Al público,” *Diario de avisos*, Caracas, 27 Jan. 1858, 1; Varios masones, “Concierto Busatti,” *Diario de avisos*, 20 Feb. 1858, 3.
musicians in other public concerts in Caracas, as well as the prestigious physician and violinist, Dr. Pedro M. Gómez and the pianist Leopold Sucre, then nineteen years old at most, the three of them performing virtuosic music.  

Figure 7.10. Announcement of the Aficionados' Concert for the benefit of Ramón Sánchez at the Salón Delfino on May 19, 1857. *Diario de avisos*, 16 May 1857, 1.

![Concert Announcement](image)

The situation was certainly promising, and Caracas' advocates of cultural advancement had reasons to be optimistic, had it not been for a series of circumstances that made the growth of the public sphere of music slow down again. In late September 1857 the management of the Teatro de Caracas was forced to close after the whole iron structure of the roof collapsed during rehearsals of Morelli's company. The unfortunate condition of the venue abruptly brought the opera performances to an end. In addition, the increasing political tensions that preceded the Revolution of March 1858 contributed to a climate of restraint in the social activities of the city. The Hungarian aristocrat, naturalist and photographer Pal Rösti, who was visiting Caracas at that time, observed that social activities had disappeared from the public eye and taken had refuge in residential spaces: “There are not party rooms or theatres, not even walks; social life can only

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156 On Pedro M. Gómez and Leopoldo Sucre, see Chapter 4.
be found in the most intimate circles [...] The only amusement in Caracas is going to church." 158 lvii

Yet, despite the increasing political instability and social upheaval that culminated in the outbreak of the Federal War in February of 1859, efforts were made to keep the Teatro de Caracas open. The new impresarios in charge of the organization of the operatic presentations, Bernabé Díaz and the local musician Román Isaza, were on a two-year contract which began in November of 1857, and needed to honor their arrangements as far as possible. 159 In May 1858, the Teatro de Caracas hosted a new opera season. Filippo Morelli returned to Caracas, responding to “the invitations of the music aficionados.” 160 lviii He and his company, now joined by eight Italian singers, spent the summer at Teatro de Caracas. 161 From May to September 1858 they gave about twenty performances of operas by Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi. 162

During that period one more opera season took place at Teatro de Caracas. From November to December 1860 the Compañía Lírica de Ópera and from March to May 1861 the company of the celebrated Italian singers Adelaide Cortesi and Giuseppe Musiani offered in total some twenty-six performances of operas by Giovanni Pacini, Gaetano Donizetti, Federico Ricci, and Giuseppe Verdi. 163 Little is known about the organization or the reception of these operas.

158 P. Rösti Memorias de un viaje por América, 63-64, transcribed in V. de Benedettis, Presencia de la música en los relatos de viajeros del siglo XIX, 156, my translation.
161 The opera company included prima donna assoluta soprano Agnese Natali, primo tenor assoluto Leonardo Giannoni, mezzo-soprano Fanny Natali, contralto Zoë Aldini, tenor Eugenio Pellegrini, bass Luigi Rocco, baritone F. Morelli, and the local musician Román Isaza, in charge of the orchestra. Ibid.
163 F. Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 102, 107-08. Giovanni Paccini (b. Catania, Italy, 1796; d. 1867). (Federico Ricci, b. Naples, 1809; d. 1877). No information has been located yet about the members of Compañía Lírica de Ópera. In regards to the members of the Cortesi-Musiani Company, the music historian Jesús María Suárez listed the soprano Gordosa, the tenor Rossi, the baritone [Alessandro] Amodio (b. 1831, d. 1861), and the basses [Cesare] Nanni and [Federico] Amodio. J. M. Suárez, Compendio de historia musical, 362. From other sources it is known that the mezzo-soprano Adelaide Cortesi (b. 1828, d. 1899) made her debut in Florence in 1847. Afterwards she performed in Milano as prima donna assoluta at La Scala, then in Naples, Venice, and other Italian cities. She also toured to St. Petersburg. From 1857 to 1859 Cortesi performed in Mexico with marked success. The New York based impresario Max Maretzek (b.1821, d. 1897) engaged Cortesi for the Academy of Music, where she debuted as prima donna in the summer of 1859 with great acclaim from the audience. In 1859, Cortesi toured to Havana, also under Strakosch. In 1860 she returned to New York to perform at the Academy and later visited Boston with her own company, which was under the management and musical direction of her husband, the impresario Signor Servadio. The Cortesi-Servadio company included also the robusto tenor Giuseppe Musiani. In the 1850s Musiani had been primarily singing in Italy, and in
opera productions. Nonetheless, the sparse evidence that has survived suggests that both companies ventured to visit Caracas with their own managerial resources, as part of their touring of the Caribbean basin. Since the Federal War had already broken out, their presentations were done in the midst of straining circumstances. Nonetheless, because the fighting took place far from Caracas it can be presumed that these companies could undertake their activities within a certain margin of safety. Besides, with the high level of militarization that occurred during the Federal War, some bands were formed with the purpose of providing public entertainment. As such, some performances of the Cortesi company included the participation of the military band of the Batallion Convención, which interpreted arrangements of opera fantaisies.164

Yet, as the generalized situation of political unrest progressed, band music, together with opera, declined. The Federal War officially ended on 23 April 1863 with the Treatise of Coche. Nonetheless, it was not until 1864 when operatic activity could resume. Moreover, the devastating impact that the social and political conflict exerted on Caracas’ musical culture extended for several more years. In 1868, the aficionado and letrado Felipe Larrazábal, in considering the prospect of a philharmonic orchestra, offered a negative estimation of the musical resources available at that moment. Furthermore, what Larrázabal described was a desolate panorama in which salon music had been reduced to the mechanical accompaniment

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164 The band was created in honor to the National Convention held in the city of Valencia in 1858 with the purpose of writing a new Venezuelan constitution once José Tadeo Monagas was overthrown. The program for an opera performance held in April 1861 announced a “Grand concert piece on the opera Ernani” executed by the Banda Militar del Batallón Convención, under the direction of Albino Abbiati. “Teatro Caracas,” El heraldo, Caracas, 11 Apr. 1861, cited in Rodríguez Legendre, Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 41-65. Abbiati was the musical director of the Italian opera company Cortesi-Musiani, in charge of the representations held at Teatro de Caracas in 1861. Original from Italy, Abbiati remained in Caracas. In the years to follow he continued being involved in both opera performances and band music. J. Peñín, “Abbiati, Albino,” in Enciclopedia de la música en Venezuela, I: 2-3. Some military bands had been operative in Venezuela since colonial times. Their participation had been basically restricted to accompany military actions. According to F. Rodríguez Legendre, this is the first known band offering music for public entertainment. Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos, 64-65. A newspaper article that appeared in mid-1857 informs of the preparations in Caracas of three military bands aimed at public entertainment. The bands corresponded to Commanders Armas, Monagas, and Madrid. No information of their public activity if any is known to date. Unos amantes de la música, “Revista,” Diario de avisos, 13 June 1857, 4.
of dance tunes, virtuosic music was left in the hands of unskilled and artless performers, and the serious cultivation of chamber and symphonic music had little chance to subsist:

Unfortunately for the progress of art among us, many are today devoted to performing on the piano noisy accompaniments of danzas and valses, in a rhythm inexorable and boring, and very few are those who devote themselves to the study of the violin, viola, cello, horn, clarinet, oboe, etc. [...] There was more carefulness in the past about it. [...] day to day it becomes impossible to put together an orchestra and perform the works of the great masters. I do not think that there is a single person in Venezuela who plays the ophicleide. I do not know of many who play the trombone. There is no one who plays the oboe, nor the bassoon, or the alto trombone, or the tenor saxotromba, or the double-bass saxhorn of five cylinders, or the bass sax-horn of four cylinders. Only very few play the viola.

If music continues in Venezuela in the state it is today, without progress, it is evident that it will cease to exist, at least the great music, the serious music, for ensemble; and we should have to settle for some polkas, frantically executed on the piano, or at best, for some pieces by Liszt or Thalberg, in which the performer cannot be up to the author [because] he does not interpret, he does not give meaning to the phrase, he does not play with ease and with that serenity, [which is the] daughter of possession and talent.  

It was not until the late 1870s, under other political and social circumstances, that the nation-building process of institutionalization of music education, concert-making, and culture in general had a resurgence.

2. Teresa Carreño’s Performances in Caracas

The number and specific dates of Teresa Carreño’s performances in Caracas are unclear. The sources refer to at least four. Nonetheless, it is plausible that she had offered more, as suggested by Acosta who stated that when he heard her for the first time, some fifteen days before the Carreños left Caracas, Teresa Carreño’s “name was already known in the city.”

The first concert of which there is documentation was reported by Larrazábal; it was offered on

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165 F. Larrazábal "Bellas Artes: Sociedad filarmónica," El federalista (Caracas), 5 Dec. 1868,1, cited in F. Rodríguez Legendre, “La actividad musical de Felipe Larrazábal, 1837 y 1873,” 209, my translation. The list of brass instruments listed by Larrazábal should not lead to misleading assumptions about the type of instrumental ensemble he was referring, which was a philharmonic orchestra. These instruments conform to those described by Hector Berlioz in his famous Grand traité d’instrumentation et d’orchestration modernes (Paris: Henry Lemoine, 1844).

166 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
May 26 as the latest, presumably at the residence of the Carreños. \(^{167}\) The second and the third were reported by Cecilio Acosta; one was offered in Acosta’s residence around July 8 when the family paid him a visit to communicate their upcoming trip. The other was offered at the Carreño’s residence on the evening of July 10. The last one was reported by Jesús María Sistiaga; it was offered on July 14 or earlier, also presumably at the Carreño’s residence. \(^{168}\)

Cecilio Acosta wrote at length about the concert held at the Carreños home on 10 July 1862, providing profuse details about the pieces performed and also about the improvisations. \(^{169}\) These descriptions suggest a fairly structured program in which Teresa was the only featured performer. According to Acosta, the concert extended from six to ten in the evening, “four hours full of prodigious improvisation,” and was attended by “other various aficionados, inteligentes and artistas.” \(^{170}\) In it, she performed a series of pieces, followed by extended improvisations.

The reports of all of her concerts in Caracas indicate that the repertory she performed included a Rondo Brillant by Johann Nepomuk Hummel; the Grande Fantaisie et Variations sur des Motifs de l’Opéra Norma de Bellini, op. 12 by Sigismund Thalberg; the Variatiôn IV from the Hexameron: Grandes variations de Bravourer sur la Marche des Puritains de Bellini, S392/R131 by Henri Herz; the Capriccio brillant in B minor, op. 22 by Felix Mendelssohn, presumably in the arrangement for piano solo; the Fantaisie de Lucie de Lamermoor de Donizetti, op. 8 by Émile Prudent, and the Souvenir d’Il Trovatore de Verdi, op. 79 by Alexandre Édouard Goria. \(^{171}\)

A great part of the commentaries dealt with the improvisations, which was certainly what most impressed Teresa Carreño’s audience. Acosta’s descriptions suggest a great freedom and individuality in the interpretation of the pieces.

\(^{167}\) F. Larrazábal, “Tributo de justicia al mérito,” El independiente, 27 May 1865, Álbum “Al genio,” No. 1, TCP.


\(^{169}\) C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “Maria Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.

\(^{170}\) Ibid.

\(^{171}\) Some of the titles of the pieces that Teresa Carreño performed in these concerts are not established in the commentaries of her concerts in Caracas, as in the case of Mendelssohn’s Capriccio brillant and Hummel’s Rondo brillant. These as the remaining pieces performed by Teresa Carreño in Caracas have been identified with the aid of additional sources: Andrés A. Silva, “Maria Teresa Carreño,” 11-19; H. Brower, “Carreño’s Technique [a] Parental Gift,” 5, and the reviews of Teresa Carreño’s concerts produced in New York in 1862 included in the Álbum “Al genio,” Nos. 6-27, TCP. The identity of Hummel’s Rondo brillant is not clear yet, as it could either be op. 56 in A major, op. 98 in Bb major, Op, 109 in B minor, or op. 127 in F major. J. Sachs, “A Check List of the Works of Johann Nepomuk Hummel,” 732-754.
Every measure [produced] astonishment, every harmonic combination [resulted in] applause [...] The girl sometimes took pleasure in fooling the listeners. She would leave them for a moment in absorbed and restful attention. But suddenly she would be exalted, stirring to all of them. She raised them from their seats [and they responded] with a thousand bravos. [And then,] with naughty laughter and turning her joyful face, she would tease them with her favorite expression: “here there is nothing of that!”

And there was nothing but what she had wanted to play instead. It is a kind of stereotypical power that she has, which is created by her taste and her talent, which makes her place the things so that they remain the way she wants, changing the forte into a pianissimo, changing the phrases, correcting, improving. 172

In regard to the improvisations, Larrazábal described them as “animated sections (concitati), [with] variations in which she instinctively grouped double dissonances, progressions that betray the tonality to later surprise [the audience] with a simple and satisfactory resolution.” 173 Likewise, Sistiaga also refers to a free style of improvisation, in which she created her own musical themes, “motifs of a surprising originality,” and then proceeded with the improvisation. 174 Regarding this Sistiaga observed: “Teresa deceives us sweetly, and instead of the ending we expect, she modulates the phrase or the harmony [...] and makes us enter over and over into a series of delicious sounds that follow each other without hesitation and without effort.” 175

Larrazábal and Sistiaga suggest a style that is reminiscent of the fantasy type of improvisation associated with the capriccio, which Carl Czerny described in A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte. As discussed in a previous chapter, for Czerny this style was characterized by a non-developmental linking of the individual musical ideas, which followed one another as by chance with originality and humorous, piquant sense. 176 One could assume that Teresa Carreño’s improvisations might have conformed to the free and unrestrained style of her three compositions titled Caprichos which, as argued earlier, there could have well been improvisations notated by her father on the spur of the moment. 177

172 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
173 F. Larrazábal, “Tributo de justicia al mérito, El independiente, 27 May 1865, Álbum “Al genio,” No. 1, TCP.
175 Ibid.
176 C. Czerny, A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte, 3, 121.
177 See Chapter 6.
In addition, the sources refer to another type of improvisation executed by Teresa Carreño in her concert held at her home on July 10, 1862. Acosta described it as a sort of collaborative game between the girl and the audience. Accordingly, “each person gave her a motive or a fantastic argument. Some of those arguments lasted in the execution up to three quarters of an hour.” 178 She proceeded to present first an overture-style work on the piano and then continued providing the music according to the dramatic details that the audience gave to her. Sometimes the girl complemented with words the meaning of what she wanted to convey with the music explaining how it represented the story. Acosta gave details about one of these plots:

For Teresita to improvise, she was told about a newly married young woman, whose husband was absent as he had gone off to a dangerous [military] campaign. She was waiting for him, preparing everything for a party in the house [for his return], but she received a letter from him in which he said that he would not be able to return before a year because the battle was unequal and with disadvantages for his side, and he had the commitment to defend his position. 179 At some point of the storyline, the young wife received the news that her husband died. Nonetheless, to alleviate her pain a friend convinced her that the letter had been forged. “That was a solemn moment,” stated Acosta.

The friend had triumphed: the wife wanted to be deceived. She consoled herself, giving thanks to God and gently beseeching him with a prayer, a hymn in which the state of her soul should be expressed. That hymn was performed wonderfully by the immortal girl. There were in it [...] indefinite nuances [...]. It was the expression of a hope without faith, of a joy without conscience, of a vow in which confidence was as much a part as doubt. 180

These types of opera-like improvisations do not conform to any of the types that Carl Czerny codified in his treatise. In truth, it seems to be a quite idiosyncratic practice. One could question the actual understanding that Teresa Carreño at that time may have had of the overall format of an opera and how her playing could have conformed to the formal conventions of overtures, arias, hymns, and similar works. Some awareness could have come from the embeddedness in Caracas musical culture of operatic music after the establishment of the Teatro de Caracas in 1854. Also, it would not be unreasonable to conjecture that Teresa, even at that young age would have been taken to the theatre to attend the opera. It is also possible

178 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “La genio,” No. 56, TCP.
179 Ibid.
180 Ibid.
that she was instructed in some opera conventions, perhaps as a game so as she could grasp the
meaning of the various operatic fantasies that she played on the piano.

However, whether or not Teresa’s improvisations based on opera plots conformed to
the conventions of opera it is still noteworthy the great attention that Teresa Carreño’s
commentators paid to her capacity to express in music the feelings that the dramatic plots
suggested. Comparatively, the sources emphasized much more her ability to convey emotional
meaning through improvisation than her ability to freely improvise. As peculiar as the opera-like
improvisations were, they still have a certain foundation in the conventions of virtuosic
improvising. It can be seen that Czerny’s definition of improvisation, in the introductory chapter
of his treatise, suggests that not only are the formal aspects of music important or the capacity
of being freely guided by inspiration, but so is the capacity to convey feelings. Thus, Czerny
stated: “When the practicing musician possesses the capability not only of executing at his
instrument the ideas that his inventive power, inspiration, or mood have evoked, in him at the
instant of their conception but of so combining them that the coherence can have the effect on
the listener of an actual composition.”

During the first decades of the nineteenth century improvisation was an important
feature in the concerts of piano virtuosos. The scholar Alice L. Mitchell has observed that in
cities like Vienna, imaginative improvisation along with pyrotechnical display of technical
mastery was the focal point of the pianistic duels and contests in which the virtuosos
engaged. Carl Czerny referred to the importance that improvisation had in the perception of
the virtuoso in his treatise A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte, which
first appeared in 1836, explaining that the attainment of the art of improvising was “a special
obligation and crown of distinction for the keyboard virtuoso.” The centrality of improvisation
to the construction of virtuosity at that time was founded on the principle that it gave the
virtuoso the opportunity of demonstrating that he had a spontaneous ability for musical
invention, considered essential for an artist. As Mitchell explains, while the performance of
composed compositions, even when authored by the performer, served to demonstrate the
“disciplined talent and the schooled technique” of the virtuoso, “a pianist improvising before
the public could not only display courage in the face of indisputable danger but could also bid

181 C. Czerny, A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte, 1.
183 C. Czerny, A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte, 1.
for the recognition of his spontaneous originality, an attribute accorded a high priority by romantic audiences." 184 In short, the technically proficient performer was at best an accomplished musician, but true artistry could only be demonstrated by the special gift of creativity. Improvisation served then as an appropriate means to show how creativity manifested in a moment of pure inspiration. Czerny expressed it in these terms: “the talent and the art of improvising consist in the spinning out, during the very performance, on the spur of the moment and without special immediate preparation, of each original or even borrowed idea into a sort of musical composition.” 185 According to Czerny, improvising was important not only for the virtuoso, it was also gratifying for the listeners, “for there can prevail therein a sense of freedom and ease in the connection of ideas, a spontaneity of execution that one does not find in works that are composed (even if they are designated as fantasies).” 186

Mitchell remarks that there exists enough evidence that during the half of the century in Europe, improvisations customarily followed the performance of a virtuosic program, not only in public concerts before large audiences that were more prone to entertainment, but also in private concerts offered before a circle of connoisseur and music-lover elites. In every case, improvisation served the purpose of being a vehicle for the display of the virtuoso’s creative gift. 187 This was even more noteworthy in the case of the public debut of child prodigies. 188 Musicologist Janet Ritterman has also asserted the prevalence of improvisation in piano concerts. Nonetheless, she observes that in Europe, by the mid-1830s, the practice of improvising began to decline in public concerts. Changes of taste in the public sphere of music progressively shaped an ambiguous position about the value of improvisational display as a virtuosic skill. Nonetheless, in the private realm, improvisation seems not to have faded at the same pace. 189

185 C. Czerny, A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation of the Piano, 1.
186 Ibid., 2.
188 Ibid.
189 J. Rittermann, “Piano music and the public concert 1800-1850,” 26
3. Teresa Carreño’s Concerts and the Conventions of Music-Making in Caracas

It becomes apparent that many of the virtuosic musical practices popular in early nineteenth-century Europe lasted much longer in the Americas. Numerous newspaper reports have survived of Teresa Carreño improvising not only in Caracas but also in New York and in Havana, in both private and public concerts during her years as a prodigy. These consistently reflect a favorable reception from critics and audiences. Her routines in private concerts followed a style similar to the free capriccio-like improvisations and even to the “opera improvisations” that she offered in her concerts in Caracas. In public concerts, her improvisation seems to have been mostly limited to extemporizing either a short prelude which served as an introduction to the piece that followed, or an interlude in between two pieces, which served as a tonal bridge. Teresa Carreño maintained this practice of extemporizing before each piece well into her adulthood, as the American pianist Amy Fay mentioned in 1894: “there has never been anyone to compare with her in that, always striking into the key of the artist who preceded her on the *programme*, and modulating into one in which her solo was written. I have never known her to fail, so absolute is her sense of pitch.”

As important as improvisation was in Teresa Carreño’s private concerts in Caracas, it seems apparent that this practice was not done in public concert life. No musical commentary on the public concerts offered by Eugénie Barnetche or Julio Hohené, or any other pianist participating in public concert-making during the mid-nineteenth century, suggests that any improvisation had been performed. Likewise, Teresa Carreño’s private concerts did not conform to the conventions of public concert-making in Caracas at that time. Specifically, the principle of variety that had become standard in the programming of public concerts in Caracas was completely absent in Teresa Carreño’s private concerts. While several performers participated in the public concerts in a variety of vocal and instrumental numbers presented in alternation, Teresa Carreño’s private concerts were completely centered on her. If some resemblance is to be established between her concerts and those offered in Caracas’ public venues, which would

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perhaps be with the concerts of the violin virtuoso Paul Jullien at the Teatro de Caracas in 1857. His programming, as shown earlier, limited the participation of assisting artists to one pianist who performed at most a couple of solo pieces for the entire concert. Nonetheless it seems that neither Jullien nor his pianist assistant Konrad Truer had improvised in these concerts.

Acosta referred to Teresa Carreño’s performances by term *soirées.* 192 This denomination does not offer concrete information of the format to which these concerts conformed, if any, as the term *soirée* apparently served as an umbrella word used to represent a variety of musical practices. As seen in a previous chapter, the series of subscription concerts organized by the visiting opera company of Alessandro Galli in 1844 were publicized in the newspapers as *soirées.* These concerts held at the Salón Campinac featured several artists, who performed vocal and instrumental pieces in alternation. The instrumental numbers ranged from music performed by an ensemble of seven instruments to a duo for violin and piano, and a virtuosic work for piano with orchestral accompaniment, performed by a quartet. 193 The musicologist Janet Ritterman has written that in the first third of the nineteenth century in the context of public concert-making the term *soirée* applied to a rather modest event presented in a small location without a full orchestra for accompaniment, thus differing from the “concierto,” which usually was considered a bigger event featuring a fairly large instrumental ensemble. 194 This description of the public *soirée* would hardly apply to Galli’s concerts; moreover taking into account that at a time when public concert-making was not common, the use of an ensemble of seven instruments should have been perceived as an important event.

On the other hand, the term *soirée* as applied to events in residential spaces involved a variety of meanings. During the 1840s, as discussed earlier, a variety of practices ranging from recreational gatherings to more structured concerts including various performers were often ambiguously designated as *soirées.* The *soirée* offered by President José Antonio Páez in 1840 or 1841 is illustrative of how vague the term was at that time. For this event the well-known professional violinist Toribio Segura performed on the violin, presumably a virtuosic solo, while Páez’s daughter danced the fashionable choreography of *La cachucha,* and all of it in an

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193 F. Rodríguez Legendre, *Caracas, La vida musical y sus sonidos,* 95-96. On the concerts organized by Alessandro Galli, see Chapter 4.
atmosphere of sociability and casual conversation. In contrast, the nineteenth-century historian Ramón de la Plaza referred to the highly academic musical gatherings organized by the aficionado violinist Fermín de Tovar in the mid-nineteenth century as an “open musical soirée,” stating next that these gatherings were a “sort of cultured academia.”

According to the musicologist Celsa Alonso, around the 1840s in Spain the term soirée began to replace the more common term tertulia, used to refer to recreational gatherings including conversation about various topics, card games, casual singing or piano or guitar playing, and similar activities. At this time, the tertulia had lost in Spain its former formality to become a quotidian form of entertainment for most of the people, including the modest segments of the middle class. This scheme conforms to the current definitions of the term soirée in nineteenth-century French dictionaries, which refer to it as a recreational practice. Thus, Littre’s *Dictionnaire de la langue Française*, defined soirées as “Assemblies, gatherings held in winter evenings to chat, [and] play.” The entry also refers the existence of the variance of the “dancing soirée” (soirée dansante).

The sparse evidence that has survived in Caracas suggests a process similar to Spain in the sense that a recreational type of tertulia spread among the middle class. Also, the term soirée began to be used in the 1840s as well. Nonetheless, the word tertulia continued to be used in Caracas throughout the nineteenth century, but from the 1840s it referred either to a relaxed gathering in which men and women participated, as well as to a serious and exclusivist meeting of aficionados or poets, or both, as in the musical-literary tertulia. Also, the term sarao continued to be used in Caracas throughout the nineteenth century as a common name for dancing gatherings. It could be concluded, therefore that the adoption of the term soirée in Caracas overlapped with other designations, reflecting perhaps the desire to use a fancy French word to designate any gathering that was held at night, whether public or private, recreational or serious, involving dancing or not.

This ambiguous use of terminology in mid-nineteenth-century is a clear symptom of the lack of clear boundaries between the cultured and the recreational practices involving music.

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196 R. de la Plaza, *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela*, 158. On the musical gatherings of Fermin de Tovar, see Chapter 4.
that took place in residential spaces. This ambiguity was very much fed by the political
circumstances which limited on the one hand the building of spaces for sociability in the public
realm, and on the other a consistent growth of public concert-making. Besides, the increasing
market of fashion, magazines, scores, and pianos imported from Europe, especially from Paris,
must have contributed from the 1840s to reshaping the old cultured forms of sociability, causing
them to lose much of their original physiognomy. By 1853 the overlap between recreational and
cultured gatherings in residential spaces must have been problematic enough so that Manuel
Antonio Carreño included in his *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* a series of prescriptions
aimed at establishing boundaries between one and the other. As explained in an earlier chapter,
for Manuel Antonio Carreño the rules of etiquette demanded that the person who sang or
performed in a social gathering, had to “adapt the pieces to the nature of the audience.”
Accordingly, “serious and profound music” was appropriate “only within circles of *aficionados*,”
who had “the necessary knowledge for liking the most sublime and difficult art.” In contrast,
when the gathering was “not exclusively philharmonic but also had as its purpose other
entertainments, the pieces to be performed should be always short to never bore the
audience.”

There is no doubt that Teresa Carreño’s performances in Caracas, involving difficult
pieces of the virtuosic repertory which demanded the attention of the listeners in gatherings
that extended for several hours, did not belong to the type of recreational gatherings described
in the *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* where music was one among other components
of the entertainment. Indeed, it is possible that Teresa Carreño’s performances would also have
given room to intellectual discussion to judge from Acosta’s report that one of the gatherings
lasted four hours. Nonetheless, music would be still considered the main purpose of the event,
as was customary in the cultured practices associated with the circles of *aficionados* and
*letrados*. It seems therefore clear that Manuel Antonio Carreño abided by his own prescriptions
of serious music-making when he designed the concerts of his daughter in Caracas.

Music historian Mario Milanca Guzmán has also observed the inappropriateness of
considering Teresa Carreño’s concerts in Caracas illustrative of the practices of salon sociability.
Milanca grounded his remark on the fact that Acosta reported that the concert held at the

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201 Ibid.
Carreños’ home on July 1862 was not set in the salón but in a more intimate room of the house known as the gabinete. The gabinete was defined in contemporary Spanish dictionaries as “the room where the men of letters and/or business men gathered to study, to write or to work.” It is presumed that a second piano was placed in this room for the purpose of study. Having a room for study or business was in actuality an old European custom. Cultural historian Roger Chartier has written that since the Renaissance, some houses and palaces had a room for the master of the house for retreat, study, and keeping accounts. This room was called in France the cabinet, in Italy the studiolo, and in England studio. This room had therefore strong cultural connotations that linked any activity carried out there with the idea of masculine retreat and intellectual work.

It is important to note that the basic layout of the urban residential building in Caracas at that time reflected a logic in which the rooms were distributed according to a relation of continuity between the public and the private, i.e. a continuum from great social exposure to domestic privacy. Accordingly, the greatest level of social exposure was represented by the salón. This was a spacious room, located in the front with wide windows facing the street. When these windows were open, the activities held in the salón were visible to the passers-by. A series of social prescriptions ruled the times and occasions when the room should be used, when the windows had to be opened, or when the piano should be played. In the intermediate rooms, generally consisting of a second smaller salón, the dining room, and the gabinete, guests of greater familiarity could be received. These rooms were located around an internal patio and were interconnected by a corridor. Finally, the most private rooms, such as the bedrooms, were placed on the back side around the patio. The access to the private rooms was restricted to the family and servants. More luxurious homes could have additional internal patios and rooms. However, the basic layout was preserved.


204 The placement of a second piano in an internal room is recommended by Manuel Antonio Carreño in his Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, 91.


206 For a description of the architectural residential design in Caracas during the nineteenth century, see G. Grasparini, La casa colonial venezolana, 127ff.

207 Manuel Antonio Carreño refered in several places in his Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras to the proper uses of the window. See for example p. 91.
Since the house was accessed through a vestibule or foyer in the front, which merged into the corridor that connected the internal patio and rooms, it was not necessary to pass through the main salón when not in use. The main salón was instead accessed through a door in the foyer and was mostly reserved for social gatherings. Often, the gabinete was also accessible from the foyer through a second door. The immediate or nearly immediate access from the foyer to the gabinete allowed the man of the house to receive people who visited him for academic or business purposes not socially oriented, granting thus privacy to these gatherings that were separated from the salón as well as from the spaces where other members of the household dwelled.\(^\text{208}\)

Putting the private gatherings of the aficionados in the gabinete could have well been a strategy aimed at setting this practice apart from the publicity and the distractions of leisured sociability that characterized the republican salón. Moreover, it could be conjectured that the use of specific residential spaces, whether the gabinete or the salón, served to establish boundaries between cultured and recreational practices, therefore marking different degrees of privacy or publicity, and between focused attention to music or functional uses of it.

It is obvious that the masculine and academic connotations of both the gabinete and the format of the gathering of aficionados, according to which Teresa Carreño’s concerts in Caracas were set, were at odds with her gender and age. Nonetheless, as previously discussed in regard to her education, possessing an extraordinary talent was perceived as a justification for some girls in the mid-century to access a type of music education that would otherwise have been considered unacceptable for their gender.\(^\text{209}\) Likewise, according to the reports of José de Austria and Manuel Larrazábal mentioned earlier in this chapter, the foreign pianists Eugénie Barnetche and Ernestine de Villiers performed in private gatherings in Caracas for an audience of aficionados. Cultural historian Mirla Alcíbiades has also written about an exceptional case in which a woman writer, Hortensia Antommarchi, in 1869, participated in the academic meetings of a literary society established in Caracas under the name of Conferencias literarias. This society

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\(^{208}\) Manuel Antonio Carreño recommended to designate a room next to the main salón and to put a door from the vestibule in order to receive close friends and business associated outside the tertulia times. M. A. Carreño, Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, p. 77.

\(^{209}\) See Chapter 6.
consisted of such notable intellectuals as Cecilio Acosta, Felipe Larrazábal, and Amenodoro Urdaneta, among others.$^{210}$

However, another set of contradictions at the level of the aesthetic and ontological conceptualization of music-making contributed to problematize the hosting of virtuosic music in the serious academic practices of the aficionados, as will be discussed below.

4. Ontological Dichotomies in the Musical Culture of Caracas

Practices of serious music-making such as the philharmonic tertulia and the academia were constructed around the idea that music is an autonomous entity. As such, in serious culture, music was meant to be appreciated for its own sake and not as the recreational practice of sociability, where music fulfilled the purpose of being conducive to other social activities. Furthermore, the practices of serious music-making were aimed at the cultivation of specific musical genres that were deemed “serious and profound” to use Manuel Antonio Carreño words, and that required a certain level of music literacy to be properly enjoyed and understood.

As reflected in the few references that have survived of those occasions in which the piano formed part of the serious cultivation of music in Venezuela, whether in private gatherings of connoisseurs or in the concerts of the Sociedad filarmónica in Caracas and similar organizations, the music performed was either for instrumental ensemble, such as duos or some other chamber configuration, or for a solo instrument with piano accompaniment or the piano as a contributor. That was the case of several pieces found in the programming of the Sociedad filarmónica for 1837, which included the Variations for violin obligato and orchestra by the Viennese composer Franz Pecháček, with the orchestral part being performed by a piano and a double quartet. Also, the Sociedad included the Variations for violin obligato and orchestra by the Bohemian composer Jan Kalivoda, with the orchestral parts being performed as well by a piano and a double quartet, and the Duo concertante for piano and violin by the Venezuelan composer Juan Francisco Meserón.$^{211}$ It is also known that a sonata for piano by Johann Nepomuk Hummel was performed in a concert of a musical society Filarmonía in Cumaná in

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$^{210}$ The participation of Hortensia Antommarchi was reported in the periodical La prensa (Bogotá, Colombia) on 13 July 1860; cited in M. Alcibíades, “Álbum y universo lector femenino,” 10.

$^{211}$ F. Sangiorgi, “La música de cámara en el siglo XIX venezolano,” 782. On the activities of the Sociedad Filarmónica, see Chapter 4
1840, which occurred in a context where other works for instrumental ensemble as well as vocal pieces were performed.\footnote{The concert of Filarmonía was reported in El mensajero de Oriente (Cumaná, Venezuela), 6 Sep. 1840, cited in M. Alcibiades, La heroica aventura de construir una república, 292. On the press report of this concert, see Chapter 5.}

Teresa Carreño’s solo playing and improvisation contradicted the etiquette of associative, chamber performance that was characteristic of the serious-minded musical culture. On the other hand, her concerts did not follow either the principle of variety that was used in public concerts with more than one performer and alternating genres, in order to accommodate the diverse musical taste of the general audience. Teresa Carreño’s presentations occurred in gatherings for a select audience of inteligentes, aficionados, y profesores and this fact could explain the absence of other performers, as it be presumed that, given their musical literacy, a diverse program was not necessary. Yet, the aesthetic hierarches that organized serious music-making in Caracas, with a characteristic preference for chamber and symphonic music, could have worked against an unproblematic adoption of the piano virtuosic repertory as part of the serious culture.

From the late eighteenth century, the aficionado elites in Caracas considered chamber and symphonic music at the top of the aesthetic hierarchy. This situation continued fairly consistently throughout the first two-thirds of the century, when composers such as Haydn and Beethoven continued being referred to in musical commentaries with special reverence. Their compositions were considered models of profound spiritual expression. Accordingly, Larrazábal in his writing “Historia de los progresos del piano,” published in 1862, clearly aiming at offering an overview of the most important contributions of the piano to the “progress of music,” did not suppress his views of the prevalence of symphonic music over piano music. In this sense, Larrazábal observed about Haydn, whose music “exerted the greatest influence over the progress of the art,” that he “never was a pianist, in the general meaning of the term,” and that he only “looked to the piano for inspiration, leaving for others the mechanic aspects of execution.”\footnote{F. Larrazábal, “Historia de los progresos del piano,” in Obras literarias (Caracas: Imprenta de Jesús María Soriano, 1862), I: 357. All the translations from this source are mine.} Larrazábal’s comments on Beethoven were even blunter. In that sense he wrote: “When pronouncing this respectable name, one which will perhaps appear higher to the eyes of posterity; when speaking of Beethoven, the genius of symphony, whose music is

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inimitable, we must restrain our spirit, like those Israelites to whom Ezra had taught to read the Scriptures and who did not speak of Moses but with respect and religious veneration. “214 lxiv

**Figure 7.11.** Felipe Larrazábal, lithograph in Felipe Tejera’s *Perfiles venezolanos, ó Galería de hombres célebres de Venezuela en las letras, ciencias y artes*, Vol. 1 (Caracas: Imprenta Sanz, 1881).215

In this same article, Felipe Larrázabal considered the advantages of the piano over string instruments. It is significant enough that his argument was shaped around the benefits of this instrument in the domestic and social uses of music, and its accessibility to all levels of literacy, while setting it apart from the musical practices that were culturally associated with the autonomous cultivation of music: “If the violin is the king of the orchestra, the piano is the treasure of families and the most powerful element of amenity and contentment. How many soirées have been saved from discord when embellished with the allure of music thanks to the piano! In vain we would attempt to form a quartet [...] [but] the piano is there, and it is the center of all the comfort and the auxiliary of all the skills.”216 lxv The reasons that chamber and symphonic music as genres were considered to deserve a deferential attitude, separated from

214 Ibid., I; 360.
215 Google Books, https://books.google.com/books?id=1m0zAQAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s, from a copy preserved at The Bancroft Library, University of California.
216 Ibid., 357.
the distractions of recreational sociability, are to be found in the notion of the sublime, around which Caracas intellectuals established their artistic hierarchies. None of the letrados or aficionados left a systematic philosophical theory of music. Nonetheless, some of the writings of Acosta and Larrazábal offer a fairly articulated viewpoint about a variety of aesthetic topics, from which is possible to infer their understanding of how the concept of the sublime applies to music.

Felipe Larrazábal, in his article “Del sublime,” offered a discussion of the ontological nature of the sublime and the ways in which it could be discerned. For Larrazábal, the sublime is fundamentally associated with the faculty of feeling or sentiment and its capacity to express those moral qualities that best represent the divine essence:

The sublime belongs more to the domain of feeling than to that of reflection. It is produced by passion and it often is the son of magnanimity or of fortitude. Whenever there is elevation, greatness, vehemence, heat, energy in the discourse; [...] when the natural greatness seizes the soul and so to speak, enthralls it, transports it, and seems to elevate it above human nature [...] it can be said that there exists that quid divinum [divine being] to which, without defining it, we give the name of sublime. 217 lxxvi

Consequently, the sublime is by definition the highest possible expression of affection. “In truth,” says Larrazábal, “if there is something that properly characterizes the sublime, and through which it could be recognized, whether this be in images, thoughts, or feelings, it is the fact that when the sublime exists, it is such that neither the imagination nor the soul can conceive anything beyond it.” 218 lxxvii Nonetheless, Larrazábal made clear that the human expression of the sublime should not be confused with the sublime itself, whose ultimate reality is transcendental: “What is beautiful, what is great, what is strong, admits degrees, [it could be] more or less, [it can] increase or decrease. But this is not true for the sublime, which ceases to exist when it is not in the absolute sphere.” 219 lxxviii

Because of metaphysical reality of the sublime and its belonging to the sphere of the absolute, its emergence in the human realm is not necessarily circumscribed to the world of art. Therefore, not every artistic object, despite possibly being aimed at representing the sublime by means of an elevated style, will necessarily manifest it. The explanation that Larrazábal offered was obviously meant to establish a difference between the arts as a means to represent the

217 F. Larrázabal, “Del sublime,” in Obras literarias (Caracas: Imprenta de Jesús María Soriano, 1862), 93. All the translations from this source are mine.
218 Ibid., 94.
219 Ibid., 95.
sublime and the sublime itself. The ontological precedence of the sublime cannot therefore be constrained by the medium, whether artistic or not, used to express it. So, Larrazábal explained:

The sublime [...] is not the same thing as the sublime style. The latter could be held for a long time as occurs in a high, dignified tone; a noble, majestic march. [...] But the sublime itself is something else: it is a single blow, instantaneous, electric, which moves the soul, ignites it, and snatches it. A concept could be sublime without belonging to the sublime style; and a whole [art] piece could be written in the sublime genre, without even including a sublime idea. 220 lxxix

It is clear that for Larrazábal, Beethoven’s music did not only represent the elevated and dignified characteristic of the sublime style but also, and foremost, it embodied the otherworldly qualities of the sublime: “Beethoven’s expression was magic, infinite, [and] sometimes unbearable for the sensitive hearts.” 221 lxxx

Against this background, it could be assumed that what Caracas letrados meant by the term sublime was the ethereal and transcendental qualities that some music conveyed. In other words, for them there existed certain music whose value relied on its connection with a transcendental reality, and therefore its proper appreciation required a high degree of reverence and attention. This music was the object of elevated considerations because it expressed the feelings associated with the highest ideals of beauty and moral virtue. Therefore, such music was morally and aesthetically uplifting one could approach an experience of the divine by listening to it.

In a letter to the Mexican musician Octaviano Valle, Larrazábal stated his position regarding the superiority of music in relation to other artistic media. According to Larrazábal, the ultimate purpose of art was to convey feelings. The distinctiveness of music as a performative art made it more suitable than any other art to fulfill that purpose. Accordingly, he characterized music as “the most expansive and ideal [means] to imprint the soul with the most gratifying sensations.” 222 lxxxi It was in the unfolding of music during the span of time that the performance endured that explained why music was, according to him, more pleasurable: “A sonata, even a waltz, any composition, regardless how short it might be, needs time, so the succession of melodic motifs that translate the thought can unfold and complete the

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220 Ibid., 97.
222 F. Larrazabal, Letter to Octaviano Valle (b. ca. 1830), Mexico City, 1 Mar. 1868, published in El federalista, Caracas, 4 Sept. 1868; reproduced in N. Tortolero, “Carta de Felipe Larrazábal a Octaviano Valle,” 118. All the translations from this source are mine. The letter was written on the occasion of Larrazábal’s visit to Mexico, where he attended a concert organized by Octaviano Valle.
composer’s ideas, having the development it requires. [...] Hearing [...] takes time; the sounds are perceived successively, and this is, in my opinion, the triumph of music because [in this way] the element of pleasure lasts longer.” 223 lxxxii Therefore, the artistic value of music involved two inseparable and equally necessary aspects: its emotional meaning and the process of conveying it through the performance. In this sense,

The musical work is not complete in the written score but in the executed score. The composer needs a body, so that the listeners can judge and appreciate his composition. The performers, if they are artists, I mean, [...] if they know the resources of art in all their extension, [...] they use these resources with all delicacy and with all variety [...] On account of the performers, the inspiration of Mozart and of Rossini is more sublime; on account of them, it is possible to enjoy the sweet tunes of Weber, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, and the infinite power of genius; [on account of them,] the power of feeling and harmony joins the power of the mysterious accent, which penetrates to the foundations of our soul and moves it. There are two forces in music but only one that exists in painting. These [two] forces agitate us and therefore we get delight from the composer and from the artist that interprets him; both hurt our heart and make us shake in anguish. 224 lxxxiii

Larrazábal was certainly recognizing the importance of the interpreter in realizing the musical work. Since the early nineteenth century, a change in the conception of the role of the performer had occurred and much of the theoretical and critical writing on music during that time reflected these new perceptions. Musicologist Mary Hunter, whose work is based on sizable historical support, has demonstrated that in Europe the idea of performance from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century had progressively passed from a conception according to which the performer was perceived as a “mere vessel for the musical work,” to become a creative interpreter of the meaning of the composition. That represents a shift from the concept of the performer as executant to the performer as an artist interpreter. 225 This process, nonetheless, was not exempt from contradictions at the ontological and aesthetic levels, as the composer, the performer, and the listener competed in the construction of musical meaning, as Hunter has discussed. 226

On this premise, it is possible to perceive a tension of that nature in Larrazábal’s article “Historia de los progresos del piano” when comparing his comments on the value of symphonic

223 Ibid., 119.
224 Ibid., 120.
225 M. Hunter, “‘To Play as if from the Soul of the Composer’: The Idea of the Performer in Early Romantic Aesthetics,” 357-98.
226 Ibid.
music and composers such as Beethoven and Haydn, whom he considered representative of the expression of the transcendental, and his appreciation of the value of piano music, where he deliberately focused on the technical aspects of piano technique and the technology developed for the production of sound by piano manufactors:

From the first years of this century it was fairly observed that progress in the art of piano playing was going to be truly wonderful. A thrust has been given to it, and joyous consequences and abundant results of it have been expected. The Conservatoire in Paris has produced an army of highly talented instrumentalists, [and] as much as it could be said, it has also contributed to spread the taste for the piano and to bring forward its clean, graceful, and elegant [style of] execution to the high degree that we see today. On their part, the piano manufacturers Pape, Pleyel, Collard-Collard, Pfeifer, Cluesman, Roller, and above all, the Erard brothers have gradually improved and perfected the instrument to such an extent that the last pianos built by these skillful manufacturers are real prodigies of technology, which must be considered as some of the masterpieces of the human spirit in that genre.\footnote{F. Larrazábal, “Historia de los progresos del piano,” I: 366. Jean-Henri Pape (b. Sarstedt, Germany, 1789; d. Paris, 1875) was the proprietor of the piano factory Pape based in Paris and London. Frederick William Collard (b. 1772; d. 1860) and his brother William Frederick Collard (b. 1776; d. 1866) were partner-proprietors of the London based piano factory Collard and Collard. Joseph Anton Pfeiffer was the founder of the German piano factory J. A. Pfeiffer. Jean Baptiste Cluesman was the proprietor of the piano factory Cluesman based in Paris.}

Larrazábal’s attention to technological and performative aspects of piano music are even more evident in his comments on the touring virtuosos that appeared in the European scene in 1830-1840s, in particular Franz Liszt, Sigismund Thalberg, and the today obscure Theodor Döhler:

We must speak with enthusiasm and admiration [of] three lions of prodigious strength, who in the present represent the highest point of artistic perfection. Surely, after them there will be nothing but weakness and decay. The great geniuses to whom we are referring are Döhler, Thalberg, and Liszt. These Hercules of execution, truly absolute lords of the piano, have brought the speed of movement to such an extent that the eye cannot follow the hands, and with difficulty can the ear perceive with distinctiveness the sounds following each other with such a haste that is undiscernible to the sight.\footnote{Ibid., 367-68. Theodor Döhler (b. Naples, Italy, 1814; d. Florence, 1856) achieved considerable fame as a piano virtuoso during the late 1830s and 1840s in Paris and Vienna, realizing and Liszt. He initiates his career as a piano prodigy and took lessons with Carl Czerny among others.}

Neoclassical allusions, so routinely used by the letrados to refer high-culture values, were significantly interspersed in Larrazábal’s comments about Liszt’s powerful piano playing and the technological sophistication of the Erard pianos. With this Larrazábal leaves no doubt about his convictions of their elevated artistic status:
The colossus of performance only associates himself with the giant of [piano] manufacture. Erard is like the titanic Farnese Atlas, who carries on his back the immense weight of Liszt. This in turn, resembles the Jupiter of Phidias, sculpted in gold and ivory, the most admirable work that has come out of the hands of men, which by its attitude and the nobility of its forms, reveals not only one of the wonders of the world but also the most powerful god of Olympus. 229 lxxxvi

Yet, two sets of values seem to underlie Larrazábal’s perceptions of both Beethoven’s and Haydn’s symphonic and chamber music on the one hand, and on the other, the music of the touring virtuosos of the mid-century. Thus, while the classical composers were valued for their earnestness and deep expression of the transcendental, the virtuosos were appreciated for their contributions to the performative aspects of piano music. Descriptions of the first group are firmly anchored in the rhetoric of the sublime and its highest ideals of beauty and perfection. Descriptions of the second group are instead grounded on the rhetoric of modernity and progress, best symbolized by the present state of extraordinary mechanical and technological achievements. Connections between one and the other as representative of high art are barely held together by the fragile thread of neoclassical symbolism.

One could assume that each musical genre or style established its own set of values. Nonetheless, in a context where the hierarchies of art were so clearly aligned with the concept of the sublime, the fact that the advocators of the serious musical culture in Caracas considered virtuosic piano playing a high art was ostensibly problematic. Virtuosic music, with its focus on the technique of piano playing and the technology of sound production, left little room to the ethereal conceptions of music involved in the notion of the sublime. 230

The discrepancy between the values associated with the symphonic and chamber repertories and those associated with virtuosic music corresponds to the existence of two conceptions of the nature of music in a dichotomous relationship, which operated at in Larrazábal’s “Historia de los progresos del piano.” The ontology of music lying beneath Larrazábal’s descriptions of the classical symphonists corresponds with what the musicologist

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230 Lucy Green has used the term “technology of sound” in reference to female piano playing in order to contrast the feminine or natural elements of women in contrast with technology represented in the instrument. L. Green, Music, Gender, Education, 54. In the context of this chapter the term “sound technology” refers the existing connection between the development of piano technique and technological improvements in piano building aimed at enhancing the production of sound. On the other hand, a link was established between them through the ascent of the touring piano virtuoso and the growth of the market of pianos, as discussed in Chapter 6.
Davis Ferris has termed “composer’s music.” Larrazábal’s references to the piano virtuosos correspond instead to the ontological paradigm of “performer’s music.” Comparable categories have been proposed by other scholars. Carl Dahlhaus, for example distinguished between “interpretation” and “virtuosity,” establishing that in the first the musicians tend to adapt the pieces according to the circumstances of the performance while in the second the musicians are aimed at remaining faithful to the composition. Lawrence Kramer has distinguished instead between “realization of the composers’ work and ‘performative display.’” A common denominator in these two sets of categories is that in one case, music is primarily conceived as a work; it is an ideal entity and its existence is previous to any possible performance. In the other case, music is primarily conceived as a performance; it is the embodiment of sound through the agency of the performer that ultimately determines the identity of music. Virtuosic improvisation would stand as the most conspicuous case of “performer’s music.” Piano fantasies and paraphrases of the virtuosic fare would also clearly belong to the category of “performer’s music,” even more when is interpreted by the composer himself, as was the case for most of the touring virtuosos of the mid-century.

Nonetheless, boundaries between these two conceptions of music cannot always be established unambiguously, as Ferris has observed. Because the ideal and performative aspects of music cannot be distinguished from one another in a definite manner, musical genres and practices based on either paradigm have tended to pose contradictions at different levels. These contradictions become even more apparent when comparing Larrazábal’s references to symphonic and virtuosic music in his “Historia de los progresos del piano,” with the theory of music that he presented in his letter to Octaviano Valle. Larrazábal’s efforts in the latter to present an unproblematic theory of music according to which the performer shares artistic prevalence with the composer, and therefore both maintain a delicate but necessary balance between the expressive and performative aspects of music, becomes precarious when compared to his comments about the virtuosos, where the performative aspects of music are emphasized over the ideal existence of the work.

233 L. Kramer, Musical Meaning, 74. For a discussion of the differences and similarities in the notions of these two musical categories in Dahlhaus, Kramer, and other scholars, see D. Ferris, “Public Performance and Private Understanding,” 354-55.
234 Ibid.
Certainly, mid-nineteenth century touring piano virtuosos posed a significant difficulty for the transcendentalist conceptions of music. The virtuosic overpowering command of piano technique, along with the unavoidable link existing between their technique and the technology of the piano as a machine, led at last to an extremely individualized and embodied musical practice. Not only did the virtuosos as performers noticeably surpass average executants, but typically they aimed at developing an individualized vocabulary of musical figurations, ornaments, and sound effects, which they lavished on their performances, whether they performed their own, or music composed by others, or pieces that lie somewhere in between, as in the case of transcriptions and paraphrases. Notable examples of this vocabulary of sound effects are Liszt’s mighty octaves articulated from the arm and performed with alternating hands and Thalberg’s three-hand effect, where a melody performed in the middle register with the notes was distributed in between the two hands while quick arpeggios were played above and below it.\(^{235}\) It was in this context of the virtuosic cult of individuality that Liszt could conceive the format of the piano recital as an authentic expression of himself. As he stated in 1839 in a letter to Princess Christina Belgioso, “Le concert, c’est moi.”\(^{236}\) Musicologist Robert Wagermeée has identified individuality as the defining trait of the virtuoso of the first half of the nineteenth century: “Virtuosity is essentially a manifestation of individualism, which allows an artist to assert himself above those with whom he competes, and also to authenticate his genius through the recognition of those who listen to and admire him.”\(^{237}\)

Beyond the relevance conferred in the mid-century virtuosic culture to performative display, considerations of individuality complicate the ontological and aesthetic aspects of music as they relate to interpretation and expression of the transcendental. In the virtuosic culture, music interpretation was at best a highly individualized translation, when not the direct expression of its own subjectivity. To some extent, because in most cases piano virtuosos of that time performed their own compositions, their music-making was, more than in any other style, largely self-standing. Not only were the roles of the composer and the performer joined together in the same person, but also music was the expression of their own subjectivity, and if


no other performers were involved in the performance, the concert was nothing but about themselves, as Liszt posed it.

The importance of technique and the technology involved in the production of sound contributed to create a theatrical image of the piano virtuoso, where the visual aspects of music-making influenced the audiences’ perceptions of music.²³⁸ This is best illustrated in the virtuosos’ use of the imposing modern pianos, in their freely moving along the keyboard, sometimes contorting, sometimes in a majestic pose, but always pointing at their bodies as the center of music production. Then, if in the virtuosic culture music is constructed as a process, it follows that, as that process is located in the body, the myriad of visual symbols that the body created during the performance also became a part, to certain degree, of the ontological construction of music.

Musicologist Richard Leppert has called attention to the existing tension in music-making in general between the physical labor involved in the production of sound and the intangible and ethereal quality of sound itself, which decays without leaving traces of the musicians’ physical labor as they cease to play.²³⁹ For Leppert, this dynamic between the aural perception of sound and the physical production of sound “creates a semiotic contradiction that is ultimately ‘resolved’ to a significant degree via the agency of human sight.”²⁴⁰ Therefore, for the listeners the sight of the body producing the sound becomes not only an aural but also a visual presence of music. In this sense, “The body produces music,” states Leppert, and “whatever else music is ‘about,’ it is inevitably about the body.”²⁴¹ The relationship between music and body has been highly problematic and contradictory in Western culture, according to Leppert, generating “deep social cultural anxieties and contradictions.”²⁴²

Carl Dahlhaus has observed that in mid-nineteenth century Europe, advocates of “the edifying function of music and of autonomous music in particular” learned to detach themselves from the world of necessity in order to have an “esthetic contemplation” and “selfless immersion” in a music that was believed to “manifest another world.”²⁴³ This mode of listening,

²³⁸ Visual aspects of Liszt’s music-making during his touring years have been richly explored in D. Gooley The Virtuoso Liszt, passim, and L. Kramer, “Franz Liszt and the Virtuosic Public Sphere: Sight and Sound in the Rise of Mass Entertainment,” 68-99.
²⁴⁰ Ibid.
²⁴¹ Ibid., xx.
²⁴² Ibid.
²⁴³ C. Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 50.
according to Dahlhaus, was born out of “the need to understand autonomous, nonfunctional
music that made listeners silently retrace the act of composition in their minds.” The
contradictions between music as an ideal entity and the performer’s body in the process of
converting it to the sound medium were then resolved by minimizing the input of the “body’s
labor,” to use Leppert’s term, while focusing on the abstract elements of music, i.e. “retracing
the composition in the mind,” as Dahlhaus stated. In the case of piano virtuosos, it is precisely in
this contradiction where the deeply contested perceptions generated among critics and
audiences are to be found. Their body display, their technical control of the instrument, their
interpretive acting of themselves, raised fascination among some audiences, who treated them
as true celebrities, while the advocates of the transcendental paradigm of music, the virtuosos,
were received with hesitation when not with overt disdain.

From the extant sources of Caracas music-making it is not possible to reconstruct the
ways in which aficionados, profesores and letrados involved in serious music-making
experienced the performance of chamber and symphonic repertories. Yet, the writings of
Larrazábal, Acosta, and Sistiaga offer a detailed account of their perceptions of Teresa Carreño’s
music-making and how they resolved the contradictions that virtuosic piano playing involved.
Ultimately, the problem of the body is key to understanding the reception of Teresa Carreño’s
concerts in Caracas. The ontological tensions discussed above should have been more acute in
her case because the disparity between her advanced skill, and her small, female body must
have been so perplexing that a disembodied perception of her music-making, as the one
described by Dahlhaus, must have been not viable.

5. Ontological and Aesthetic Interpretations of Teresa Carreño’s Music-Making

The commentaries on Teresa Carreño’s concerts, even when reflecting a splendid
reception, suggest an effort from their writers to reconcile the conceptual tensions that these
events generated, and to design discursive strategies that gave account of her exceptionality
while preserving the aesthetic premises and the social conventions that organized the musical
life in Caracas.

244 Ibid.
245 On the ambiguous and debasing reactions of serious musicians and music lovers in Europe,
see D. Gramit, “Cultivating Music: The aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-
1848,139-43. On Liszt as a mass-culture celebrity, see D. Gooley The Virtuoso Liszt, passim.
There is no doubt of the reverence that Larrazábal, Acosta, and Sistiaga professed for Teresa’s music-making, and for the profound and serious connotations that they ascribed to her artistry. In fact, Larrazábal, by citing the words of the Italian neoclassical dramatist Vittorio Alfieri, placed her in the realm of high art:

Upon hearing her perform Thalberg’s *Norma*, where so many beauties concentrate; seeing her hitting the keys in her own way, vibrant, passionate, one remembers Alfieri’s words: *effetti che poche persone intendono e pocchissime provano; ma á que [i] soli pochissimi è concesso l’uscir dalla folla volgare in tutte le umane arti*. Only few people understand the emotions, and very few, very many few, can feel them, but to these alone it is bestowed to leave the sphere of the ordinary and to make a name in the fine arts.  

In truth, the extraordinary qualities that Larrazábal perceived in Teresa Carreño were far removed from the collective conception of genius that the early-nineteenth-century *letrados* attributed to the *americanos* as a trait of their national character. For example, when in 1811 Francisco Isnardi referred to “the genius of the *americanos*” as the sum of the “beautiful attitudes” that Hispanic Americans exhibited, which promised future developments in artisanry and the fine arts, provided that the upcoming-era of freedom would their cultivation. Nonetheless, half a century later Larrazábal referred to something ostensibly different when commenting about Teresa Carreño’s genius. Larrazábal, by using Alfieri’s words, was establishing Teresa Carreño as an extraordinary individual, setting her apart from most others. Also, her talent was not dependent upon an eventual development of intellectual or manual competence, as it belonged to another sphere of abilities, one that concerned feeling. Therefore, Larrazábal grounded the rationale of Teresa Carreño’s genius in her sensibility, her aptitude to experience and convey emotions, rather than in the technical, bodily aspects of piano playing. This sentimental aesthetic approach, which privileges feeling as the object of art, conformed to his own definition of music expressed in his letter to Octaviano Valle,

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according to which the purpose of music was “to imprint the soul with the most gratifying sensations.”

In truth, references about the mechanics of piano playing or the difficulties involved in the repertory that Teresa Carreño performed were rare and remarkably brief in the commentaries on her concerts in Caracas. When they occurred, they were consistently outweighed by profuse comments on the emotional connotations of her music-making. “The great artists of Europe would have asked for eight years of study to do what she does at the age of eight,” stated Larrazábal “and many would envy her sensitivity, her own way of expressing, her melancholic soul, her inspiration of fire.” 249 lxxxix Acosta, for his part, acknowledged the advanced level of the pieces that Teresa Carreño performed at his residence early in July of 1862, reportedly Thalberg’s fantaisie on Norma, Herz’s variations on I puritani, Prudent’s fantaisie on Lucia, and "other modern pieces, of the sort that are given to the great performers to prove themselves, arduous, plenty of difficulties as of true artistic beauties.” 250 xc Nonetheless, without dwelling on further details, he then described in a metaphorical manner how the sublime emerged from underneath her hands:

We saw then what we had not seen yet and could only imagine. That correction in the phrases, that roundness in the notes, that brilliance in the sound, [all] seemed to us barely possible. [It looked] as if she was some kind of a magician. We noticed the way in which the most sublime harmonies escaped to place themselves under her pretty little hands to charm [us], and how, by touching the keys with her skillful fingers, the hidden treasures of the music came out from the bottom side to tell her, “here we are,” as if [the keys] were some of the many doors of an enchanted palace. xci

Interestingly, the commentaries on the concerts in Caracas paid a great deal of attention to Teresa Carreño’s physical appearance. Larrazábal described her as “beautiful as Raphael’s bambini, and festive and boisterous as the nymphs in the Andes.” 251 xcii Acosta, on his part, was convinced that “so many gifts” could not “but reveal themselves in the appearance.” 252 xciii Then, Acosta studied her body and demeanor, and did it with such a detail as to suggest that it was in

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250 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
252 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
them where the keys to resolve the conundrum between her small body and the depth of her music-making were to be found. Thus, in an attempt to discern the traces that identified Teresa as an artist, he contrasted her attitude at the piano with her regular deportment as a child. By observing her pose, he stated: “At the piano, especially when improvising, she loses the childish physiognomy, usually so playful and graceful, and assumes an air of majesty that is indescribable. That is her empire. There are the secrets that only she can reveal: there, the hidden treasure of which only she has the key, the precious gold that she will coin to make the musical world richer.” Acosta examined her aside from the piano as well: “When standing up, and in a serious situation, her attitude is dignified and almost haughty. She suddenly passes from play to circumspection, as if she could completely separate such opposing facets: the girl and the genius.” Acosta not only perceived Teresa’s artistic persona as an identity disjointed from her appearance as a girl based on her manners but also discerned boundaries between her body shape and countenance. Thus, he asserted: “Her forms are soft and beautiful, but it is especially in her face where one can notice a set of slightly inclined curves that cross it, as if they were drawing a line in between her sex and her talent.”

Figure 7.12. Teresa Carreño (ca. 1864). Teresa Carreño Papers, Vassar College Libraries.

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253 Ibid.
254 Ibid.
255 Ibid.
It is striking that in Acosta’s description, Teresa’s gender is understood as a condition split from her talent. It was precisely her girlish graceful traits and not her mechanical skills that came to dislocate the already problematic coexistence between the visual aspects of sound production and the transcendental meaning that advocates of serious culture attributed to music. Therefore, while male piano virtuosos such as Thalberg, Liszt, and Döhler had been praised for their “herculean” execution, which was “undiscernible to the sight,” to cite Larrazábal’s words in “Historia de los progresos del piano,” in the case of Teresa Carreño, her playing was praised for its being in overt contradiction with her gender. And that contradiction had little to do with the mechanics of execution, but with the intangible, ethereal aspects of music.256

For Acosta the possible resolution of the conflict between Teresa’s girlish appearance and her artistry was to be found in a non-material reality, a spiritual source that was the ultimate cause of her overpowering genius. In this regard he observed:

From the chest to the top of the head the expression is singular: one sees elation, a calm movement, majestic action, consciousness of power, possession of an empire, an augury of immortality. The eyes give unending light. Their emanations can be accessed but not their source. There is a mystery in that look. Her eyebrows open when she is festive, and they also close often, which is rare at that age: [it is] as if she wanted with this to ignore a familiarity that is hindering her thinking. In short, the body presents a matter illuminated by the soul, and in it, it is possible to admire the genius as much as to love the woman. 257

It is paradoxical that in Acosta’s interpretation, Teresa Carreño’s body becomes not the place of music production, but a place from where the observer can reckon the existence of a non-material order. The body is therefore constructed as a map for a transcendent reality, a sign of something that cannot be perceived directly but by the imprints that it makes in Teresa’s music, which disappear as the sound ends and she goes back to her girlish existence.

This displacement of the reality of sound outside of the body suggested in Acosta’s writing conforms to an ontological conception in which music is defined as something removed from the physical world. Musicologist Philip Bohlman has observed that among the many dilemmas that the body creates in music at the ontological level is the weakening of its autonomy. 258 Therefore, some musical ontologies concerned with the consequences derived from the problems posed by the presence of the body in the production of music, construct music in a way in which it is “removed from the body as a site for its production and performance.” 259 In this ontology, music is conceived as existing “beyond the body,” its performance being in consequence transferred to a site of “otherness.” 260 On this premise, it could be affirmed that Acosta’s rationale in the construction of Teresa Carreño’s talent is aimed at preserving the transcendentalist philosophy of music that shaped serious musical culture in Caracas. As Teresa’s piano playing was organized around the idea of a transcendent source from which emanates her talent, and therefore the deep expression of her music, the problem of the body passes to a subordinated position. It is not the center of music production but a sign of a

257 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
259 Ibid., 33.
260 Ibid.
metaphysical reality, anterior to the contingency of its being manifested through sound or not. Teresa Carreño’s girlish appearance becomes then the demonstration that her body cannot be the explanation of her music; her music is explained by a reality that could inform, especially at those times when she is performing, but it is, in principle, other than her as a body.

In conformity with this sentimental construction of Teresa Carreño’s talent and this ontology that placed the reality of music “beyond the body,” the commentaries on her concerts in Caracas barely referred to her intense technical piano training. Indeed, the observations on her musical education underestimated the input that Manuel Antonio Carreño’s pedagogical routines could have had in the development of her musicianship.

In fact, Larrazábal dismissed the possibility of a course of formal training and attributed her growth in music to her own instincts, a circumstance that he compared to Mozart’s: “her parents taught her, like the old Mozart taught the boy of Salzburg, to find the thirds [...] and later on, they had nothing to teach her.” For Larrazábal, Teresa’s learning was not based on teaching or on daily practice, but in a process of discovery, in which she was solely guided by her genius. In this sense, Larrazábal stated: “The genius discovered the mysteries of art. Teresita guessed, invented traces and ways to get where she should go (inquirebat ingeniose) ingeniously inquired; she grew by herself, and the difficulties of Hummel, Thalberg, Mendelssohn were overcome; and all admired the traits of pathetic expression singularly passionate of her executions, more than anything, in the improvised motives in which she had no rival.”

Likewise, Acosta observed that Teresa’s inclinations for music emerged at an early age, when she spontaneously approached the piano to reproduce tunes and improvise, which he interpreted as an unequivocal sign of an inborn ability. Thus, Acosta affirmed, “this is not strange: ingenuity is unlearned. The head is but a small universe.”

The associations of Teresa Carreño with Mozart together with the minimization of the role that her father had in her education as reflected in the commentaries of Larrazábal and Acosta contributed to shape the myth of Teresa Carreño’s untaught genius, which became determinant to the reception of her concerts during her years as a child prodigy. Commentaries appeared in the U.S. and Europe in the following years, first in periodicals written by Hispanic

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262 Ibid.
263 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
American intellectuals and later in wide-spread newspapers for general readers, often including translations or some information taken from the articles in Spanish, which in most cases referred to her supposedly scant education in music, attributing her music-making to a wondrous or otherwise miraculous source. Hence, the newspaper La América, addressed to the Hispanic American community in New York observed later in 1862: “In regards to the studies of this girl, it could be said that they have been very limited. Born in Caracas, Venezuela, she has had very few occasions to hear great masters of the [musical] art, and had to limit herself to the lessons she received from her father during the last two years; [therefore,] it is possible to say that since she learned to read music she did not have any guide other than her ardent imagination.”

Still in 1866 the Caracas letrado Rafael Hernández Gutiérrez expressed with great pride “the astonishing talent” of Teresa Carreño, expressing that “it could be said that she has been formed without the need of learning or school. [...] A few lessons from her father were enough to make an artist of a six-year-old girl.”

Concerning Teresa Carreño’s likeness to Mozart, as late as 1917, her obituary which appeared in the U.S. periodical Musical America stated that “At the age of three Mme. Carreño’s musical talent began to manifest itself. Like the boy Mozart, she stole into the drawing room in the dead of night and tried to pick up chords upon the piano and play tunes that she had heard. Her father discovered her at the piano and decided to begin her training as musician at once.”

Larrázabal explicitly referred to the sources he used to compare Teresa Carreño’s genius with Mozart. These were the well-known biographical encyclopedia of the Belgium music critic and theorist Jean-François Fétis, Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique (pub. 1833-1844) and the influential biography of Mozart prepared by the Russian man of letters and state bureaucrat Alexandre Oulibicheff, Nouvelle biographie de Mozart (pub. 1843).

Larrázabal’s commentary on Teresa Carreño’s finding the thirds on the piano like

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267 F.-J. Fétis, Biographie Universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique, 8 Vols. (Brussels : Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1833-1844). Larrázabal cites Fétis’ work as Diccionario de músicos de todos los pueblos de la tierra, which presumably circulated in the French edition in Caracas. I have not found records yet of any edition of it in Spanish. Alexandre Oulibicheff [Aleksandr Ulibishev or
Mozart is a direct allusion to Fétis’ *Biographie universelle*, which in referring to Mozart states: “Never has a configuration been more auspicious for music, neither it has manifested itself with more certain signs. He was scarcely three years old [...] He often looked for the thirds, and when he found them, he expressed his joy with boundless excitement.”\(^{268}\) Further parallelisms could be established between Larrazábal’s constructions of Teresa Carreño’s genius and the biographical portrait that Oulibicheff offered of the child Mozart.

During the course of the nineteenth century several biographical accounts of Mozart appeared, which offered various and sometimes contrasting interpretations of genius, ranging from informed anecdotes of “the eternal child” to reverential romantic constructions. According to John Daverio’s study of nineteenth-century biographical literature of Mozart, Oulibicheff’s book represented a milestone, as this book was “one of the earliest forays into psychobiography.”\(^{269}\) Daverio states that Oulibicheff built his narrative “on the typical Romantic premise that an artist’s creative output offered a window into his soul.”\(^{270}\) This notion led Oulibicheff to perceive Mozart’s compositions “as revelations of his innermost being.”\(^{271}\) On this premise, Oulibicheff’s biography, as many others written in the nineteenth century, presented a mixture of factual and fictional information, as his interest, rather than offering a fact-based narrative of Mozart’s life, was first and foremost to access his inner life.\(^{272}\)

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\(^{269}\) J. Daverio, “Mozart,” in *Biographie Universelle des musiciens*, VI: 173. Oulibicheff’s biography of Mozart was translated to German through two translations appeared in Stuttgart, one in 1847 and the other in 1859. They were influential in disseminating Oulibicheff’s ideas in German-speaking countries. See J. Daverio, *Ibid.*, 260 n4. Nonetheless, it was not translated to Spanish. It is most likely that it circulated in Caracas in the French edition.


\(^{271}\) Ibid.

\(^{272}\) Ibid., 174.
Figure 7.14. Title page of Alexandre Oulibicheff’s *Nouvelle biographie de Mozart* (Moscow: Auguste Semen, 1843).

It is possible to perceive a similar approach in Larrazábal as well as in Acosta and Sistiaga, whose writings on Teresa Carreño suggest the intent to explore the psychological and metaphysical forces that operated in her creative process. This would explain, for example, why Larrazábal or Acosta, who were close enough to Manuel Antonio Carreño to know details of the thorough education that he gave his daughter, underrated it in their writings. To be sure, when Larrázabal and Acosta referred to Teresa’s unlearned genius, what they meant was not the sheer mechanical aspects of piano playing, but her abilities to embody and convey profound feelings, which for them were only explainable in metaphysical terms. Yet, although certain interpretive coincidences can be established between Oulibicheff and Larrazábal, some sharp differences can also be established as well. Particularly illustrative is Oulibicheff’s resolve to

explain Mozart’s music as a reaffirmation of his subjectivity, his creative self. This Romantic view, which construes art as the result of the artist’s inner drive, is contrary to the interpretations offered by Larrazábal of Carreño’s artistry. Larrazábal, as well as Acosta and Sistiaga, explained Teresa Carreño’s genius in otherworldly terms, thus devoicing her from any subjective agency.

The passages in Oulibicheff’s book dealing with Mozart’s early childhood, he is depicted as the instrument of impulses coming from a transcendental power, possibly because the author considered that at a young age Mozart’s subjectivity was not yet established in a definite manner. Regardless, even in those cases, Oulibicheff’s portrayal of the emotional world of Mozart, with passions suggesting irrationality, violence, or otherwise undignified emotions, clearly differs from the elevated and noble feelings that the commentators in Caracas attributed to Teresa Carreño. A clear example of it is found in Oulibicheff’s version of Mozart’s emblematic performance for Daines Barrington in London in 1764-1765. According to Oubilicheff, Mozart was asked [to improvise] an air de fureur [madness aria], which was improvised with the same speed and the same manner, and with all the vehemence that the word perfido [perfidious] demanded. When executing it, Mozart seemed to obey to an impulse that was completely new to him. The first moments of the dramatic inspiration acted on his nerves to such an extent that in the middle of the performance he jumped on his chair and hit the keys convulsively. It was the “Ecce Deus, Deus” of the pythone"s.

The Latin citation, “God, here is God,” comes from Virgil’s Aeneid and alludes to the exclamation of the sybil Cumana at being possessed by the prophetic influence of Apollo. With it, Oulibicheff left no doubt of the divine origin of Mozart’s musical expression. Nonetheless, the expressive content of this music, suggesting perfidious and furious feelings, which resulted in Mozart’s convulsive reaction, is diametrically opposed to Larrazábal’s, Acosta’s, or Sistiga’s

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274 A. Oulibicheff [Ulibîshev or Ulybyshev], Nouvelle biographie de Mozart, I : 20, my translation. Daines Barrington (b. London, 1727; d. London, 1800) was an English lawyer and magistrate who examined Mozart during his stay in London with the scientific interest of testing Mozart’s musical ability. The report that he produced of his visit was published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society 60 (1770): 54-64 under the tile “Account of a Very Remarkable Musician.” The passage of Barrington’s dealing with Mozart’s improvisation of the aria, which surely served Oulibicheff as source for his biographical account reads as follows: “The boy [...] [who continued to sit at his harpsichord] [...], and immediately began five or six lines of a jargon of a recitative proper to introduce a love song. Then he played a symphony which might correspond with an air composed to a single word, Affeto. It had a first and second part, which, together with the symphonies, was of the length that opera songs generally last; if this extemporary composition was not amazingly capital, yet it was above mediocrity, and eschewed most extraordinary readiness of invention.” Transcribed in C. Eissen, “Barrington, Daines,” in The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia, 43-44.

275 Virgil, Aeneid, VI, 46.
constructions of the beautiful and lofty musical expression of Teresa Carreño, which in every case derived from intense but gratifying sensations. As a case in point, Acosta’s description of Teresa Carreño in what could have also been a creative trance, showed her in a state that seems closer to the mystical rapture of a saint rather than to the frenzied force that moved Mozart in Oulibicheff’s account. Acosta’s passage on Teresa Carreño reads: “It is a particular thing that must be seen: [her eyes] always filled with light, spill out so much light that that the child appears as if she was behind a cloud of splendor. It is to be observed that from time to time she gently turns her face to one side or the other, as if she wanted to free herself for a moment from her brilliant atmosphere.” 276 cv

Descriptions of the sort of Oubilicheff’s passage on Mozart, conjuring dreadful intense emotions as part of musical expression and devolving into uncontrollable violent reactions, were not uncommon in musical criticism in mid-nineteenth century Europe. Musicologist Katherine Ellis has drawn attention to the influence of Romantic theories of the sublime and its effects on European nineteenth-century musical criticism in general, and in particular on the commentaries that Franz Liszt generated during his years as a touring virtuoso. 277 According to Ellis, the Romantic rhetoric of the sublime in musical critiques was very much influenced by the writings of the Irish philosopher Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful*, which first appeared in 1757. 278 As a common thread, musical reception framed by Burke’s philosophy tended to interpret music and music-making in terms of an “overwhelming expressive power” from the side of the musicians and of an “effect of ‘enthusiasm’ on the side of the listener.” 279

Burke’s notion of the sublime represented indeed a shift in Enlightenment aesthetic conceptions, which had been focused on the idea of beauty and its connections with the sphere of morals. As Enlightenment scholar Ellen Judith Wilson has observed, Burke’s theories identified the sublime with passions, such as violent emotions of love, hate, awe or fear, thus reinstating intense feeling in the arts and assigning them a special creative value. 280 The sublime was therefore set apart from the neoclassical conception of the beautiful, and psychological

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279 Ibid, 7.  
experience acquired centrality in aesthetic discussions. In this respect, Wilson points out the opposition existing in Burke’s theory between the concept of the sublime and the concept of the beautiful, each notion pointing at different set of values: “The beautiful causes the solid parts of the body to relax, while the sublime produces tension. The sublime emphasizes the isolation and individuality of human experience, whereas the beautiful urges people toward a refined life within civilized society.” Eventually, Burke’s notion of the sublime contributed to organizing the categories of Romantic thought. It is in the context of Burke’s conceptualization of the sublime where descriptions of Liszt as a romantic hero took place. As Ellis observes, Liszt’s commentators often attributed to him a demonic character combined with an ecstatic religiosity. Similarly, the reactions of writers and the audience to Liszt involved psychological and physiological symptoms of suffering mixed with pleasure.

Interpretations of Liszt’s music-making framed in Burke’s notion of the sublime are in sharp contrast to the commentaries on Teresa Carreño’s concerts in Caracas. Larrazábal’s, Acosta’s, and Sistaga’s writings were framed instead in an intellectual and musical culture that valued the role of feeling in conveying the ideal beauty. Their writings about Teresa Carreño are certainly abundant in descriptions of intense emotions, but these are consistently linked with a construction of the sublime that diverged from Burke’s text. In Larrazábal’s essay “Del sublime,” discussed in a previous section of this chapter, he identified the sublime with the expression of intense feelings. Nevertheless, at the same time, and in an unequivocal manner, he established the connections existing between the sublime and the highest aesthetic and moral values. Accordingly, Larrazábal suggested that the sublime was a moral virtue: "Usually, sublimity is the daughter of magnanimity or strength, and passions are the seed of great and generous thoughts." In another passage already cited in the same writing, Larrazábal compared the sublime with the perfection of the quid divinum. Finally, a link between the sublime beauty and the realm of the sacred is suggested in another of his essays, where Larrazábal, in discussing the literary value of the Bible, referred to the deserved tribute that notable men have historically given to the “beauty and sublimity of the Sacred Writings.”

281 Ibid.
282 Ibid., 8.
284 Ibid., 93.
Teresa Carreño’s commentators had no doubt of the elevation of the feelings that she expressed in music. Emblematically, Sistiaga perceived her music-making as a sacred occasion that allowed those who observed and heard her to come close to the experience of God:

Have you ever meditated about that kind of silent admiration that has the power to change the order of our ideas, when we look at the sea, or raise our eyes to the immensity of heaven? That will give you an idea of the feeling that possesses the one who contemplates her in one of her moments of inspiration, explaining with notes and harmonies a drama of infantile originality, which she imagines at the same time that she executes it. In those moments the hand of God is seen on her head; flashes of powerful genius emerge from her hands; and he who admires her adores that mystery [and] prostrates himself before the author of nature, because there he can see his works, [although] he cannot not penetrate beyond it. 286

The mystery that Sistiaga refers to seems to be the intriguing mechanism that allowed Teresa Carreño to express and convey feelings that surpassed ordinary human experience. It was obvious for her commentators that the emotions that she conveyed in music were not derived from experience, as her young age would not have allowed her to develop the understanding that was necessary to discern the nuances of profound sentiments, nor to decipher human nature. The issue was even more pressing during Teresa’s improvisations because on these occasions, when she could not rely on the mediation of a musical work composed by someone else, her ability to conceive and express emotions in music depended solely on her.

Historically, improvisation had been associated with trials to establish musical mastery, for example, the legend of Mozart nurtured from a jumble of stories of his competence as improviser. Oulibicheff’s description of Mozart’s improvising was just one component of a cultural image that had become commonplace in the construction of his genius, and which goes back to the times of his childhood. Accordingly, in contemporary correspondence the Baron von Grimm said of the eight-year-old boy that he would “improvise for one hour after another and in doing so give rein to the inspiration of his genius.” 287 A century later, the ability to improvise was still at the heart of the cultural constructions of the virtuosic genius. A main reason for this is that in principle, the improvisation involves a musical exploration into an unknown


287 Friedrich Melchior von Grimm (b. 1723, d.1807), Correspondence littéraire, 1 December 1763, quoted in M. Solomon, Mozart, 48 and 539 n23.
territory. The ontological status of the improvisation differs from the one of interpretation, as each improvisation is expected to be a singular and unrepeatable product emerging on a specific occasion. Although musicological research demonstrates that in practice no improvisation comes totally ex nihilo, its cultural legitimacy within the virtuosic paradigm of music has largely relied on the concept that the improvisation has served as a symbol of the individuality of the creative process. The performer’s immediate musical decisions have been historically perceived as the concrete unfolding of his or her unique creativity.

In Acosta’s commentaries on Teresa Carreño, her improvisations are the center point from which he derived his speculation about the nature and extent of her genius. “What we had seen until then was nothing in comparison,” stated Acosta about the moment when he first heard her improvising: “it was then when she revealed all her genius.” Acosta described one of Teresa’s sessions of improvisation:

It is not possible to paint with appropriate colors what we witnessed in those four hours of prodigious improvisation. [...] It was a singular thing to see her, after taking charge, to conceive an overture and play it; and afterwards unfolding the whole argument without stopping. [She did it] with so much property of expression, with such high concepts, with so much imitative harmony, so well dialogued, so animated in terms of [dramatic] action, so defined in the passions, that it seemed that she had studied for ten years just to admire that moment.

Teresa’s imaginative capacity was not only musical. In fact, what most astounded Acosta was her ability to express herself in improvisations of emotion, of which she barely had an intellectual understanding. Acosta attributed this to her imagination:

On some occasions she does not know what she is told, but she only needs a short explanation. On one occasion a plot began: “A young man was in love with a young girl, etc., and she graciously and simply asked: What is it to be in love? And she was told and immediately understood and worked wonders, as always. She does not stop, she does not hesitate. She sits at the piano as if she were going to rule, and she rules indeed. Her power of imagination is such that when she develops the theme that she was just given, she explains with her own words, “here goes this,” “there goes that.” And she understands, announces, inserts some new phrases of affection, passion, or dialogue, and one realizes that it was just what was needed to complete the plot as well as the musical thought.
The question for Acosta was then, about the origin of the affections that she embodied throughout the course of her extended improvisations: “How can she guess at the age of eight so many passions to paint them, so many natural phenomena to reproduce them in music? Who has taught that girl the silence of midnight with its somber religious majesty, the fury of the raging sea, the sinister noise of combats, conjugal love, motherly tenderness, the icy silence of terror? Where did she learn to know the human heart?”

Acosta advanced an explanation based on innatism, i.e. that ideas and the emotions that derive from them are not learned by experience but are inborn. For Acosta, Teresa was equipped with a metaphorical “deposit” of emotions and ideas of nature and morals to which she had access, presumably as a personal prerogative on account of her genius. In this sense, Acosta stated: “It seems as if she had an internal deposit with all the natural, moral, and psychological phenomena still in a dormant state due to her [young] age. She only needs to touch them, or that others touch them, [then] do they awaken and inspire her.”

Larrazábal also inquired about the origin of Teresa’s sensibility. His question, however, was specifically related to the physiological mechanism that operated in the formation of feeling: “A child is not called to feel or to make anyone feel. What outstanding faculties, what delicate and flexible fibers should we assume [to have] in an eight-year-old, who feels like a woman of thirty?”

Likewise, Larrazábal wondered about the apparent sophistication of her faculty of imagination. In that regard he observed: “What force of imagination is necessary to create the expression of pain, for someone who has only known children’s games and the affections and smile of her mother? To find accents of passion, for someone who does not know what passion is? To find the echo of resignation, that sacrifice of the soul that no one knows without having done it, for someone who has nothing to do with sacrifices, neither with doubts nor with hopes?”

Seemingly incapable of conforming Teresa’s emotional process to standard explanations, Larrazábal concluded that her sensibility had a supernatural origin: “These early affections are a phenomenon of nature; they are a miracle.”

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294 Ibid.
296 Ibid.
297 Ibid.
Larrazábal observations were framed in the empiricist theories of perception. In Caracas, Enlightenment empiricism had had an enormous influence since the late eighteenth century, especially through the writings of Étienne Bonnot, Abbé de Condillac. A heated controversy on the validity of Condillac’s theories of knowledge that aired in the newspapers in Caracas in the 1830s between the letrados Rafael Acevedo and Fermín Toro suggests that Condillac’s philosophies were still prevalent in Caracas. Fermín Toro contested the empiricist theories of Condillac and defended the existence of innate ideas. His argument was aimed at giving an epistemological foundation to the universal existence of moral ideas that ontologically preceded the knowledge of individuals. From that time, French currents of philosophical idealism, often referred to as French Spiritualism, came to counterbalance the influence of Empiricism. Nonetheless, Condillac continued being an important reference for Caracas intellectuals. In the 1850s his Oeuvres Complètes still circulated widely, to judge form the bookstore announcements which often advertised it. Condillac’s theories of the origin of emotions eventually became central to the development of utilitarian moral philosophies, which had an important place in Caracas intellectual circles. As discussed in a previous chapter, Manuel Antonio Carreño’s Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras was firmly grounded on the theory of moral utilitarianism, which suggests a continuity in Caracas of the influence of Enlightenment thought, and in particular of Condillac. It was not until past the 1860s that philosophical Positivism displaced the influence of the Enlightenment in the intellectual makeup of Caracas.298

For Condillac, as with many other Enlightenment empiricists, ideas and emotions had their origin in the physiological and psychological mechanism of perception. In his various works, especially Essai sur l’origine des connaissances humaines: ouvrage où l’on réduit à un seul principe tout ce qui concerne l’entendement (Essay on the origin of human knowledge, in which everything that concerns understanding has been reduced to a single principle, 1746) and Traité des sensations (Treatise on sensations, 1754), Condillac demonstrated his radical position concerning the role of experience in intellectual knowledge as well as in emotion.299 Condillac questioned Locke’s innatism implicit in his theory of knowledge, in which he distinguished

between the physical perception of an object and the idea of an object, thus leaving open the possibility of the existence of intuitive knowledge. As a reaction to this, Condillac defended the idea that all intellectual knowledge as well as passions, with no exceptions, derived from sensory experience of the physical world. According to this theory, the mechanism of senses initiates as a physiological response of the nerves, which after being affected by external stimuli, produce sensations. With the intervention of the intellectual faculties, the sensations are organized, compared and judged, thus giving place to the formation of ideas. These faculties included attention, memory, imagination, reflection, abstraction, comparison, composition, analysis, judgement, and most important of all, reason. For Condillac, feelings also subsumed to the mechanism of perception. A feeling was nothing for Condillac but the experience of pleasure or pain that arises in the process of sensorial perception. Accordingly, in a way analogous to the formation of ideas, passions are formed from the comparison of past and present experiences of pleasure and pain which with the aid of the faculties are transformed from sensation to passions.

Condillac’s work is mainly centered on epistemology, and in consequence he paid little attention to aesthetic issues. In *L’essai sur l’origine des connaissances humaines*, Condillac briefly discussed faculties associated with creativity and the arts, such as imagination, invention, and genius. In particular, Condillac stated: “In a proper sense, we do not create ideas, we only combine by composition and decomposition, those [sensations] that we receive through the senses. Invention consists in knowing how to make new combinations. There are two kinds [of invention]: talent and genius.” Moreover, for Condillac the difference between the genius and other individuals relies on the fact that the genius would have the ability of combining ideas in a way that is not common and could not usually be anticipated. Therefore, Condillac established on the one hand that the uniqueness of the genius consists in the results that he achieves but, in terms of the principle that makes possible understanding, both the genius and the ordinary individual operate in a similar way; both derive their ideas from sensations. With this, Condillac excluded any possibility of innatism in artistic creativity.

Condillac also discussed the emotion of enthusiasm, which has been historically linked with artistic inspiration, as well as with religious fervor. Condillac describes enthusiasm as “the

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state of a man who, considering the circumstances in which he is placed, is excited by all the sentiments that they produce, and who, in expressing what he feels, naturally chooses among those sentiments the one that is the most vivid.” Thus, enthusiasm is also derived from perception. For Condillac, the involvement of enthusiasm in the production of art is explained by the intervention of the faculty of imagination, which reunites and rearranges the ideas creating analogies of nature in the absence of the objects that arouse enthusiasm in the artist. Condillac dismisses altogether the idea that inspiration could have an origin other that experience: “I know that the beautiful spirits like to believe that they make by inspiration, without having observed, nor found. But I, who believe to know how their inspirations are produced, can assure them that they are not more inspired than me, who has never been [inspired].”

Philosophically, a main difficulty in Larrazábal’s position was that his compliance to the epistemological empiricism was incompatible with his transcendentalist view of music. Nonetheless, as music and art are a dominant theme of his intellectual interest, when in conflict he accepted alternative epistemological explanations that could preserve the idealistic grounding of his aesthetic conceptions. In his essay “Del sublime,” he had already left open the possibility for an inborn origin of sublime thoughts and affections: “In every genre [...] the sublime is rare. It is an instinctive gift, so to speak.”

In contrast, the idealistic philosophical positions of Acosta concerning ontological and epistemological issues regarding the arts are considerably consistent throughout his writings. Those passages dealing with art and literature unambiguously identify their origin and purpose with the transcendent. A fragment from his essay “Un libro de versos,” published posthumously, is illustrative: “Leaving aside the small [...] and taking flight to the region of art, it is easy to find in it the muse that inflames those privileged souls, capable of discovering and taking advantage of the treasures of sensitivity, piety, glory, of the plastic, the rhythm, the harmony, and the colors.”

Moreover, for Acosta, the universe consists of three worlds that are interconnected by a “mysterious link.” The first is the physical world. The second is the social world, where the “interests, sentiments and passions are meant to be harmonized by justice, religion, morals,

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303 Ibid., 233.  
305 C. Acosta, “Un libro de versos,” in *Opúsculos críticos* (Buenos Aires: Casa Editorial Hispano-Americana, 1913): 173. All the translations from this source are mine.
freedom, and customs.” The third is the “world of the imagination.” This is the realm where the fine arts and the true dwell. Acosta described it as a metaphysical vacuum that is undetermined and infinite, and where time occurs all at once. It is the realm of the spheres where God’s pure creativity can be traced through his filling the void with the making of worlds:

the world of the imagination [is], in a certain sense, the most vast, varied, and beautiful of all, because it not only embraces the infinite, which is the sea of time without borders; the undefined [...] and the mysteries truths; heaven [...], that not only presents in the fine arts the allure of imitation and forms, but it goes to other spheres, [...] it crosses space in a flight as if it were a hall, counts in minutes the solar systems, whose number is indeterminate [...], and follows the path of light until it reaches its hive, and sees, after the recent traces of God, immense groups of worlds emerging from it to fill the void.

In this idealized description Acosta left no doubt about the creative quality of the faculty of imagination. His metaphorical image of worlds emerging in the void through God’s power to create ex-nihilo suggests that the faculty of imagination has an unlimited creative power as well. Certainly, Acosta’s notion of imagination is far from the sensualist conception of Condillac, for whom imagining was limited to reorganizing the sensorial information obtained by experience. Acosta’s depiction of imagination as being able “to cross space in a flight” and “to count indeterminate solar systems in minutes suggests a process of knowledge that is immediate, because it occurs all at once, and that is whole, because it does not depend of the sensing of determined and discrete bodies as it occurs with the sensorial knowledge that derived from the physical world.

A similar functioning of imagination is suggested in Acosta’s interpretation of the faculty that allowed Teresa Carreño to improvise, as if in a frisky act of immediate creativity:

We know that for the great works it is necessary to conceive a plan, or organize it, and to execute it slowly, phrase by phrase, day by day, year by year; because ingenuity needs time for its fruit to be born, grow, and mature. But this is the first time that we have seen something be born and become perfect at the same time. [...] To do what she does is like creating the Aeneid or painting the frescos of the Vatican as a game.

This form of creative power had also a correlate in the reaction that it aroused in Acosta, which seems to have awakened in him an innate, primal enthusiasm: “Our impression was so profound

306 Ibid., 174.
307 Ibid., 174-75.
308 C. Acosta [Amphion, pseud.], “María Teresa Carreño,” El buen sentido, 6 Dec. 1862, in Álbum “Al genio,” No. 56, TCP.
that [...] we could not sleep for the remainder of the night, as if our souls had been ignited by the liveness of an elementary fire. The girl seemed to us an apparition, a prophetic spirit, a pagan god invented in a fable and heightened in history." \(^{309}\) cxxvi

As for Teresa’s inspiration, Acosta was certain that it had a divine origin. Her enthraling affections were none other than God’s voice speaking though her: “there is no age, there is no time; but there is an inner voice that speaks, that inspires, that moves, that agitates. *Est deus in nobis* [There is a god within us].” \(^{310}\) cxxvii

Larrázabal’s interpretation was also that Teresa was a vessel of God:

Reading Homer inspired Beethoven, Moses [inspired] Handel, [and] the poetry of Plato ignited Mozart’s soul and raised it to the regions of infinity; but, who inspires our Teresa? Who ignites her? Ah, she could say like Dante:

*Ecce Deus fortior me* [Behold a God more powerful than I am];

Or like Ovid:

*Est Deos in nobis* [There is a God within us].

There is a God within me, who fills my spirit with celestial clarity. He dominates me, he moves my hands, he inspires my delicious songs, my accents of pain, passion and mystery.  

*Est Deos in nobis.* \(^{311}\) cxxviii

It is noteworthy that Ovid’s words were also cited in 1811 by the *letrado* and shaper of the independence movement Francisco Isnardi, when he claimed that a transcendential power that worked as an “invisible principle” was guiding a political change meant to establish freedom and “regenerate” society as a whole. Isnardi affirmed then, “*Est Deos in nobis, agitante illo alescimus* [There is a God within us, and we glow when he stirs us]: Let us reflect on our current configuration and see in us an agent superior to our ordinary faculties.” \(^{312}\) In truth, the idea that a transcendent force that sustained the nation-building process remained a recurrent theme in the intellectual imaginary of the Caracas *letrados* from the early nineteenth century. Acosta’s “Un libro de versos” reflects how the cultural interconnection existing between the arts, the

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\(^{309}\) Ibid.

\(^{310}\) Ibid.

\(^{311}\) F. Larrazábal, Ibid. The first citation comes from Dante Alighieri, *La vita nouva*, Ch. II; it translates to English as “Behold a god more powerful than I.” It is an allusion to Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 46. Coincidentally, the latter was the source used by Oulibicheff in his description of Mozart’s improvisation. A. Oulibicheff [Ulibishev or Ulybyshev], *Nouvelle biographie de Mozart*, I: 20. The second citation in Larrazábal’s passage comes from Ovid’s *Ars amatoria*, Book III, 549 and Fasti, Book VI, 5.

\(^{312}\) [F. Isnardi], “Independencia,” *Mercurio venezolano* 3 (Mar. 1811): 6. This passage was discussed in Chapter 3.
cultural progress and the transcendent persisted for half a century in a consistent and compelling manner:

The most remarkable and transcendental [contributions] of imagination are its works, because of the influence that they have on the improvement and perfection of man. Religion, school, and industry are called to build moral, intellectual, and material progress, because of what they teach, and because they enrich and lead to independence. Likewise, the belles-lettres and fine arts are [called to build] the progress of that which could be called culture and refinement, because they exalt the soul, and because of the good that they do to society, by softening the feelings and directing the inclinations and tendencies to the good [...] [This] is the triumph of the ideal over the real, of the almost divine over the human.  

6. Patriotic Interpretations of Teresa Carreño’s Music-Making

In the context of the ongoing Federal War, the appearance of a musical prodigy with the artistic qualities of Teresa Carreño was interpreted as providential means to alleviate the distress through the power of music and to restore the trust in a future of peace and prosperity. Thus, Larrazábal exclaimed, “Heaven wishes that the sublime artist from Caracas can always sing the sorrows that she has not felt and pains that she has not suffered; and that [...] she can dissipate with magnificent chords the tempests of the heart that agitate and diminish our miserable existence.”  Concerning her travelling to New York, Sistiaga anticipated that “she will make [one] forget during the delicious hours that will fill with her genius, the horror of the war, which there like here, devours our brothers from the North.” Likewise, Acosta referred with reverence to “the genre of her astonishing talent” and “the awe and the hopes that emerge when one has the good fortune to hear her.”

After the outbreak of the Federal War, a good portion of the letrados had become apprehensive about the future of the republican institutions. Violence had replaced political rationality and it threatened the nation-building efforts of the past decades. Some of the intellectuals, like Larrazábal, had been politically involved in promoting changes in the Congress to establish the social equality needed to guarantee peace. In fact, Larrazábal had important
participation in urging the approval of the very much delayed law abolishing slavery. Yet, its final sanctioning in 1854 could not contain the break of the war. Other intellectuals, like Acosta, disillusioned with the political diatribe, avoided participating in the political administration. Acosta’s disappointment about the present course of politics, with bitter fighting between liberals and conservatives, federalists and centralists, was well known to the intellectual circles in Caracas, as he freely voiced it in his writings: “The honest and persevering practice of the political system, without those agitations that sicken, without the turbulences that corrupt, without those wars that lessen life and destroy property, is a condition for moving forward and without leaps. It is what prepares the railroads of society to keep going without hindrances.”

Above all, Acosta believed that the path for progress was to be found in education and individual effort and the role of politics was not to interfere in it. Thus, in his book *Cosas sabidas y cosas por saberse*, he warned: “Never forget that progress [...] is more an individual law than a government law. If nothing else is achieved with its intervention than public peace, the advance will come through natural development.”

Nonetheless, with unexpected but unwavering optimism, in a passage of Acosta’s article on Teresa Carreño, he interpreted the ongoing warfare in Venezuela as plausibly also in the U.S.’s Civil War, as a sign of political ripening. “América [referring to the Americas] is torn between order and freedom, and it will not find rest until it achieves both; it is a continent that grows today in the political life, which has all the fuss, the generous passions, the miseries, the aspirations, the fire, and the ambition for glory of the first age.” Moreover, he perceived the current situation as a part of the worldwide scenario. For Acosta, political unrest in Europe also threatened a continental war. But in either battlefield as in the silence of the gabinetes, “this fight shall end by changing the face of things [in the world] for the better.”

Acosta believed that the present circumstances in América were a painful but necessary course to give birth to an upcoming stage in the progress of humankind: “The partial chronicles will say otherwise; but the universal history [...] will say [of América] that its convulsions are nothing but the march of development towards civilization. The social bodies like the organic

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318 C. Acosta, *Cosas sabidas y cosas por saberse* (Caracas: Imprenta de Jesús María Soriano y Compañía, 1856), 7, my translation.
320 Ibid.
bodies do not stay still; they release layers and remnants." 321 It is possible to feel the pulse of the futuristic rhetoric that so much informed the discourses of the founders of the nation on the verge of the Declaration of Independence. Half a century had passed since then but the trust in an upcoming era of freedom and prosperity in which América would lead the path to progress for the rest of the world remained almost intact. There was also the belief that there existed a teleological rationale underneath the present circumstances, regardless of how chaotic and devastating they could appear, and that the triumph over seemingly insurmountable difficulties was inevitable. The course of history was for those men as it was for Acosta the design of Providence:

The economy of Providence is admirable in its slow but gradual unfolding of society. Social groups move forward without even knowing how, and after some time they find themselves, without meaning to, in front of other landscapes with a more beautiful view, with purer and more splendid skies. In this sense, [it could be said that] man is a traveler, [that] civilization is the panorama of the present, and perfection that we seek is the magnificent vision of the future. There is still work to be accomplished [...] but the truth is that most often we have been concerned more with the smaller rather than with the general; more with the effects rather than with the impulses, with the multifarious action of man than with the simple and secret action of God, without penetrating deeper, without delving into the causes, without discovering the internal threads that weave the wonderful web of progress. Thus, one gets lost in a labyrinth and gets tired in a sterile way. 322

It is possible to discern in Acosta’s confident optimism that history is a record of human progress towards a higher and more perfect stage of existence, the imprint of Enlightenment philosophers such as Turgot and Condorcet. Turgot conceived progress as the single unified advance of humankind through scientific discovery, political freedom, and individual genius. Similarly, Condorcet believed in the continuous progress of mankind towards perfection by means of individual welfare and general prosperity.323 Yet, Acosta’s rationale of historical development did not conform to the secular frame of mind of Condorcet and Turgot. Instead, the understanding that Acosta is offering in his reflections over Teresa Carreño’s music-making is firmly grounded on the idea that history is the fulfillment of God’s rational and coherent plan for humankind. Here, the philosophical connection is undoubtedly with the French bishop and

321 Ibid.
322 Ibid.
historian of the late seventeenth century Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet: “Only when one reeds Bossuet, Gizot, or Macaulay, or when one rises up by means of reason, can one find some hills from where to see from afar the wide, open plains,” said Acosta. 

Behind Gizot’s adherence to the precepts of Catholicism despite his Enlightenment-minded views of politics, education, and society, and Macaulays’ consciousness of the interrelation among seemingly disconnected events within the wider progress of society, it is possible to deduce the ideas that linked them to Bossuet, and all of them with Acosta’s interpretations of history. For Acosta, the current struggle lived in América should not lead to erroneously dismissing the universal forces that direct and regulate historical change. These universal forces are none other than the purposes and rational means of Providence that coordinate the series of human events into a lineal design towards greater stages of perfection.

The similarities between Acosta’s conception of history and Bossuet’s are striking. Bossuet in his Discours sur l’historie universelle (pub. 1681), established that beyond the particular histories of every country, there existed a universal history that encompassed all the regions of the world as in a general map. Thus, he stated: “particular histories show the sequence of events that have occurred in a nation in all their detail. But in order to understand everything, we must know what connection that history might have with others; and that can be done by a condensation in which we can perceive, as in one glance, the entire sequence of time.” For Bossuet, it was Providence alone that could be thought responsible for the condensation of all the multiplicities of the local histories of the world into a single, compressed, and unilinear unfolding of humanity, as historian Robert Nisbet has observed. Such condensation is what permits one to have a grand view of historical development. “You will see,” affirms Bossuet, “all preceding centuries developing, as it were, before your eyes in a few hours; you will see how empires succeeded one another and how religion, in its different states,

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325 François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (b. Nimes, France, 1787; d. Saint-Ouen-le-Pin, France, 1874) was a French historian and statesman, a dominant figure in French politics in 1830-40s. Thomas Babington Macaulay (b. Leicestershire, England, 1800; d. London, 1859), first baron of Macaulay was a British historian and politician who served in the government in 1830-1840s.
maintains its stability from the beginning of the world to our own time.” 328 During this course, some historical events serve as landmarks to the remaining multiplicity, and each of the landmarks creates a discrete section of time, which Bossuet conceived as an “epoch.” Thus, Bossuet states, “we must have certain times by some great event to which we can relate the rest.” Then he explains: “That is what we call an epoch, from a Greek word meaning to stop, because we stop there in order to consider, as from a resting place, all that has happened before or after, thus avoiding anachronisms, that is, the kind of errors that confuses all ages.” 329

Although for Bossuet Providence is the first cause as well as the final cause of historical progress, the means by which this is accomplished mostly belongs to the human realm. This means that the origin of historical development in regards to its design is caused by Providence. Its final purpose, which is the perfection of humankind, is also the working of Providence. Nonetheless, social, economic, cultural, and political circumstances also play a role in the progress, as well as in the decadence of societies. These circumstances operate as a cluster of material and efficient causes that intervene in the materialization of the course of history. Bossuet explained it this way:

For the God who caused the universe to be linked together and who, though all-powerful himself, willed, for the sake of order, that the parts of the great whole be dependent on one another—the same God also willed that the course of human affairs should have its own continuity and proportions. By this I mean to say that men and nations have had qualities proportioned to the heights they were destined to reach and that, with the exception of certain great reversals by which God wished to demonstrate the power of His hand, no change has occurred without causes originating in preceding centuries. 330

With this, Bossuet presented two sets of factors that must be looked at in order to fulfil the final design of historical progress. One of them, “continuity,” concerns the understanding of the circumstances that have brought the present about. The other, “proportion,” concerns the character and the capacity of men in a particular society to carry out God’s purposes. In Bossuet’s words: “we must observe the inclinations and ways or, to put it more succinctly, the character of the dominating nations in general, and of princes in particular, as well as that of the outstanding men, who, because of the important role they were given to perform in the world,

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329 Ibid, 143.
330 Ibid, 144.
have contributed for good or for evil to the change in empires and the fate of the nations.”

Therefore for Bossuet, Providence has conferred on societies a certain character: it is a temperament that is in proportion to the changes that they are meant to make in history. Likewise, at the level of the individual, certain men have been granted with a particular configuration that makes them suitable as historical agents, and as such, for embodying historical change in the way that Providence has designed it. Success or failure would largely be established, then, according to the understanding of all of these complexities. In this sense, Bossuet states that “the true science of history consists in uncovering for each age the hidden tendencies which have prepared the way for great changes.”

Historiography has considered Bossuet’s theories of history an effort to update St. Agustine’s conceptions of God’s design of the flow of time as a fulfillment of all that is good, as reflected in his De civitate Dei (The City of God). Bossuet took in his Discours sur l’histoire universelle St. Agustine’s idea of a continuous line of time that progressed from the past to present and from the present to the future through epochs or stages, according to the immanent design of God. Bossuet’s contribution, nonetheless, was to devise an organic view of this progress where all the partial histories could be integrated into a universal history, as Nisbet points out.

The influence of Bossuet in the philosophy of history of the eighteenth and nineteenth century was sizeable. Turgot and Condorcet, and Comte’s theories of historical progress, despite their secularism, are in one way or another in debt to Bossuet. In Hispanic America, Bossuet was known to the educated circles from late colonial times. As historian François-Xavier Guerra has reported, Bossuet’s writings circulated in French and in Spanish translations, and were used by the royalists to support the idea that the power of the king and his representatives came directly from God and that no right, either individual or collective, could be claimed against them. Bossuet was a strong advocate of political absolutism and the divine right of kings. In fact, Bossuet was the adviser of Louis XIV and he dedicated his Discours sur l’histoire universelle to the king’s son, the dauphin of France, who was his pupil.

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331 Ibid.
332 Ibid.
333 Agustine of Hippo (b. Thagaste, Algeria, 354 AD; d. Hippo Regius, Algeria, 430 AD).
335 Ibid., 140-45.
It is a historical irony that over a century and a half later, Cecilio Acosta, undoubtedly one of the most solid intellectuals at that time in Caracas, grounded his interpretations of the upcoming stage of greater order and freedom for América on Bossuet’s theories of historical development. One could attribute Acosta’s affinities with Bossuet to his proven Catholic fervor. In fact, Acosta had entered the Seminario Tridentino in Santa Rosa in Caracas at the young age of thirteen with the purpose of following an ecclesiastic career. Although nine years later he left the religious life to study law at the Universidad Central de Venezuela, his religious zeal did not fade. “Christianity is all, and the truth is that if we do not surrender to its arms, we will fall into the arms of despair,” he wrote elsewhere.337 cxl

Yet, the idea of a providential design in the path of order and freedom for the americanos was already present in the discourses on the ideologists of the independence movement in the early nineteenth century. As discussed in a previous chapter, intellectual leaders of the rupture of Venezuela with the Spanish Crown such as Francisco Isnardi, Ramón García de Sena, or William Burke, on the one hand defended the values of secularism and universality of reason as a rationale for the establishment of republican institutions, and on the other claimed that the New World was destined by Providence to be free.338 Whether it was a discursive strategy to mobilize the largely Catholic population of Venezuela, or it was the legitimate belief of the letrados, albeit the contradictions that it might involve, the notion of Providence as teleological justification for political change remained an indelible mark of the nation-building project.

Furthermore, the providential mission of América that letrados such as Andrés Bello articulated in his emblematic poem Alocución a la poesía of 1823 continued to be the basis of the discourses in favor of educational and cultural advancement throughout the second third of the century in Venezuela.339 Abundant neoclassical symbolism, along with idealized and sentimental references to the virgin landscape of América as a metaphor of the state of infancy of its civilization, plagued the writings of Caracas’ intelligentsia. A sense of national identity constructed around the promise of a future of progress and civility continued to live in the cultural imagination of Venezuelans.

337 C. Acosta, quoted in R. Cartay Angulo, Cecilio Acosta, 73, my translation. On Cecilio Acosta’s religious zeal, see Ibid., 71-79.
338 See Chapter 3.
339 Andrés Bello’s poem Alocución a la poesía was discussed in Chapter 3.
Thus, in an essay by Felipe Larrazábal, also published in Caracas in 1862, the myth of the
civilizational mission of América is reinstated with all of its initial force:

Yes, América will be in charge of the destinies of the world and of the future. [América] will be the leading power in the universal community. The fruits of the ancient experience will make up the precious treasures of América’s knowledge and thought. When the formerly powerful nations of the Old World will be done with their glorious mission of contributing to advancing the principles and humanity on the whole, when the already worn-out Europe will not be able to offer the invaluable benefits of the arts and civilization, the still-young América, inspired by the sublime genius of freedom, will gladly become a powerful initiator of a new era. 340 cxli

Allusions to the symbolic coming of civilization from Europe to América, very much reminiscent of Bello, were used by Larrazábal in his introduction of Teresa Carreño to the public readers of Caracas in 1862: “After a century, and not in the Old World, but in Columbus’ continent in South America, a zone of immigration for the sciences and the arts, and where the serene and pure sky magnifies the talents; here, I say, God called to life the successor and worthy emulator of Mozart. –It is a young girl from Caracas [...] her name is: Teresa Carreño” 341

With a similar premise, Sistiaga linked Teresa Carreño’s musical talent to the virginal allure of Venezuelan nature: “precious flower that is budding so healthily under the care of the life-giving sun of the tropics; bird of beautiful plumage and sweet singing that [spills out] [...] the immense treasures of harmony, which the nature of this land, so rich in poetry as in misfortunes, has gminated in her.” cxlii Interestingly, Sistiaga’s explicit reference to the incidence of tropical nature in the expressive content of Teresa Carreño’s music-making suggests a conciliation of the dichotomic notions of nature and civilization that very much organized the Enlightenment-framed constructions of cultural progress that shaped the thought of the letrados.

Since the eighteenth century, it was commonplace to conceive “civilization” as a human condition of people that at one moment in time had developed or progressed to a stage of civic refinement or civility. In this sense, civilization was in dichotomy with nature, provided that nature was understood as the state of people in the condition of “rural primitivism,” or “savagery.” Correspondingly, “civilizing” referred to the process whereby nature was tamed

through technology or, in a metaphorical manner, through education and manners. On a similar premise, the fine arts represented an utmost demonstration of civilizational refinement.  

Nonetheless, in Sistiaga’s construction, nature is not opposed to civilization. On the contrary, “the nature of Venezuelan land” is conducive to civilization; the latter being represented by the image of “the immense treasures of harmony,” which are none other than Teresa Carreño’s music-making. Thus, in Sistiaga’s passage, civilization is not a result of taming nature. Instead, it is nature with its rich qualities which ultimately makes her music meaningful through its germinating or impregnating the girl. In other words, as it pertains to Teresa Carreño, it is the work of nature that is making civilization richer.

The significance of Sistiaga’s figurative language is better understood in the context of the constructions of nation and civilization that emerged in relation to the nation-building project. As discussed in a previous chapter, in the early nineteenth century the concept of nature was central in the formulation of the cultural identity of the emergent Hispanic American nations. Nature was symbolically connected with the vision of a yet-untamed territory with a vast potential to be transformed into a civilized society, once educational and social improvements had taken place in a noticeable manner.

This symbolism was politically charged because a good part of the scientific rhetoric of the European Enlightenment dwelled around the idea that the climate in the Americas did not permit the development of good character or intellectual or artistic abilities in its population. Accordingly, among the arguments of the Spanish colonizers to exert political control over the American territories was the one that, being indigenous people unable to produce civilization on their own, they required the tutelage of a civilized nation. Advocates of the independence of Hispanic América resisted these lines of reasoning and a good part of their writings of the early nineteenth century went to reverse their demeaning symbolism. Plausibly in connection with the Rousseauian construct of the “noble savage,” the letrados began to understand the nature of Hispanic-American territories as a symbol of the innocence of its indigenous people, representative of the ideal and bucolic time of freedom that preceded the Spanish colonization. Thus, allusions to nature in the writings of Hispanic American progressive-minded letrados often conveyed the meaning of the capacity of the americanos to build a civilized nation, this

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342 On nature and civilization as dichotomic cultural constructions in Hispanic America, see G. Montaldo, “EL cuerpo de la patria,” 103-24.
343 See Chapter 3.
potentiality being based of the noble natural character of its people. Their reasoning was that granted that the americanos possessed a moral quality superior to the vicious modes of their oppressors, they would be in a better condition to create a stage of civilization, capable of overcoming what they considered to be the Old (and already worn out) World.

Statements of this sort were still common past the mid-nineteenth century. Cecilio Acosta, in a letter to the Colombian letrado and diplomat José María Torres Caicedo, wrote:

In our America [...] the building [of the nations] was founded on a clean area and the ground was laid with the most beautiful principles and the broadest rights. At the moment of its organization, society found itself to no longer have any masters. The gifts were distributed equally for all. There did not exist binding based on force, impositions of destiny, nor privileges, monopolies, nor powerful classes. The machine could work equally well for progress as it had worked well for glory. It is true that disorders have taken place, and that they will continue to exist for some time in the various nations, as well as upheavals, wars, and everything else that usually occurs in young nations. But it is not possible for any of this to destroy the anthropological physiology. It is to be noticed that bad governments can be overthrown in a short time, and that the caudillos pass [...] In this sense [it could be said that] immobility is death, as movement is life.

The [movement] of the spirits for all the conquests that they are capable of [...] which exists in everything is so great that these regions, if they do not have the greatest [civilization], they will have, in due time, the best civilization. In addition to this, [and] in order to make it desirable for all and to have the Old World transferred here, is this nature of ours, which has no enemies [...] and this splendid territory over which the sky spreads all its lights and nature spills out all its gifts. Columbus won América for geography, and Bolívar imprinted it as a diamond in the crown of Liberty. 344 cxliii

The “anthropological physiology” that Acosta is referring to is comparable to Bossuet’s notion, discussed above, of the collective character or inclinations of the people in a nation, which ultimately make possible for them to play the historical role that Providence has designed for a particular epoch. Recapitulating Bossuet’s argument, these human qualities, either collectively or individually, were “proportional” to the “role” that Providence gave to a society or to outstanding individuals “to perform in the world.” 345 If the comparison between Acosta and Bossuet is accepted, it could be stated that Acosta’s description of the “anthropological

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344 C. Acosta, “José María Torres Caicedo,” in Obras (Caracas: Empresa El Cojo, 1907), III: 134. All the translations form this source are mine. José María Torres Caicedo, b. Bogotá, 1830; d. Paris, 1889) has passed to history as one of the first intellectuals to coin the term “América Latina” in the late nineteenth century, thus discerning the cultural differences between Hispanic American and the English-speaking nations. Until that time, Hispanic Americans in general conceived all the countries in the Americas as a single geographical and cultural unity, referred to as América, and its habitants as the americanos.
physiology” of the americanos, if nothing else, is a detailed inventory of the “movement of spirit” necessary “for all the conquests that they are capable.” These qualities will permit the americanos, “in due time,” to fulfill their providential role of creating “if […] not […] the greatest, […] the best civilization.” 346

Figure 7.15. Cecilio Acosta, lithograph in *Opúsculos críticos* (Paris and Buenos Aires: Casa Editoria Hispano-Americana, 1913). 347

Acosta’s description of the qualities of Teresa Carreño, which as he suggests inclined her to produce a refined musical expression, could likewise be interpreted in the context of Bossuet’s notion of proportional qualities, now concerning not the collective, but the “outstanding” individual. Thus, Acosta observed that the care that Teresa’s parents offered to her was strengthened by the local nature and character, which resulted in her outstanding qualities that made her capable of connecting with artistic inspiration and civilizing ideals. On this premise he asserted: “From the beginning, her parents […] gave the girl a [formation] that could be considered everywhere as careful, and here, due to the generosity of nature, the

346 C. Acosta, “José María Torres Caicedo,” III: 134.
347 Hathi Trust, Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=txu.059173024357770;view=1up;seq=15, from a copy preserved at the Library of the University of Texas.
precocity of the native genius, the adaptability of our organization, and by the influence of [her] joyful nature, which has so much commerce with the soul, makes her widely open to every noble sentiment, to every idea of progress, to every artistic inspiration.” In this manner, the interplay between the notions of nature and civilization in Acosta’s writing served, as they did in Sistiaga’s poetic imagery, to convey the idea that Teresa Carreño’s music-making represented the fruitfulness of the natural qualities of the Venezuelan land and people to produce civilization.

There is no doubt that for Acosta, Teresa Carreño, despite her young age, had already displayed unequivocal signs of being one of those extraordinary individuals, to use Bossuet’s words, called to play a historical role. “We have said that the musical world is going to pass into another era. This assertion should not be risky, if the girl’s genius reaches its maturity,” asserted Acosta. Accordingly, Teresa Carreño’s genius was a Providence-given gift proportional to the epoch that she was meant to represent: “Providence knows how to supply resources for all necessities. And it gives birth to [...] privileged beings, called geniuses, who change the world with their writings or their deeds, allowing the human lineage to pass to another era.”

In Acosta’s view, the part that these geniuses from the sphere of knowledge and the arts were meant to perform was to occupy the cusp, to serve as precious ornaments for the stage of cultural and social perfection that their epoch embodies:

Thus, in the branch of literature, as well as in the industry and in the laws, it should not be forgotten that [in] the fine arts, which are the expression of good taste, elegant forms, and the ideal and perfect language of [all] the creations of the ingenuity, [the geniuses] have the main role in the work of progressive development. They form as the capitol of the great column of progress. Without the paintings at the Louvre, without the frescoes of Michelangelo, without the sublime harmonies of Mozart and Haydn, the world would be today semi-savage. Rossini and Verdi have done as much with their theatrical works for the culture of man, as the travels, the discoveries in mechanics, the scholars’ lessons, the lights shed from the tribunes, the abundant fruits harvested by the press in the span of some centuries [have done].

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349 Ibid.
350 Ibid.
The dynamics that positioned these geniuses at the apex of historical change was, according to Acosta, a sort of analogical interconnection existing between art, science and society. Acosta explained that the material aspects of historical progress did not occur alone; they were guided by the spirit. Acosta did not give further details about the constitution of this spirit. Nonetheless, it is possible to assume that this spirit is in some way related to the intelligent divine substance. Regardless, it is clear from Acosta’s writing that for him it is the genius of these extraordinary individuals that allows them to synthesize the spirit of their epoch. Their contribution is to articulate this spiritual reality through the medium of their arts and sciences in such a way that they can illuminate their epoch, thus revealing to the world the keys to understanding the present stage of civilization. In this sense, Acosta stated:

“Often it happens that extraordinary geniuses absorb the time in which they live. So, to write contemporary history, we only have to follow their traces, or read their works. They have such a power of concentration and attraction that they are like the focus of all the rays, and the key that explains all the current phenomena. The social world unfolds, moves, struggles, overcomes, advances, [and] improves all that is collected, saved, and immortalized in the works of rationality. The matter never operates or develops its force alone. The spirit is always with it, serving as a guide, as light, as monument, or as history. In this sense, talent represents something, [but] ingenuity [represents even] more. There exists the most complete analogy between the contemporary state of society, and the masterpieces, and the progress of the sciences and the arts [i.e. technology].”

For Acosta, at that moment, when the Americas were convulsing to give birth to an unprecedented stage of freedom and order, it was Teresa Carreño who was called to synthesize and illuminate the epoch:

“This state of affairs must have its artistic representative, or its chronicler, or its great and immortal interpreter. It could be another; but it could also be María Teresa Carreño. Are not the belle lettres and the [fine] arts [representative of] the present moment of history? Does not God give proof with these manifestations of genius that he does not want any teaching to perish, any remarkable event be erased? Would he give so much, so powerful, so inexhaustible genius to that girl to later leave her without becoming a [renowned] personality of her time? Who with more titles than her could consign in imperishable books, the feelings, the ideas, the aspirations, the hopes, the efforts, the conquests, the triumphs of glory of the time that flows before her eyes? Could there exist so much light to not shine, so much fertility to not produce? We do not believe

352 Ibid.
that. We believe, on the contrary, that Maria Teresa will be an ornament of her patria, [and] a glory of her century.\textsuperscript{353} cdix

This philosophical view of the role of the arts and artists in historical progress was not exclusive to Acosta. Felipe Larrazábal, in his aforementioned letter to the Mexican musician Octaviano Valle, defended the thesis that through history artists served as heralds of the “work of civilization” and “social advancement” that distinguished every epoch.\textsuperscript{354} cl Larrazábal’s writing offers further nuances, as he argued that some artistic media were more suitable than others to express the specific content of each historical epoch. On that basis, Larrazábal stated that during the Renaissance, painting took the lead in the “work of civilization” by expressing “the most beautiful of nature and the happiest sentiments” thus widening the sphere of prodigies with artists such as Ghirlandaio, Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo Da Vinci, among others.\textsuperscript{355} cli Nonetheless, when civilization progressed to the era embodied in the events of the French revolution, it was music and not painting that best expressed the transformation that humankind began to undergo. Larrazábal perceived the French Revolution as “an extraordinary, terrible event that removed Society from its foundations and raised the people.”\textsuperscript{356} clii According to Larrazábal, the patriotism and noble passions that the French Revolution stimulated, which unleashed enthusiasm for legitimate hopes, awe for all the virtues, and resistance against oppression, could not be conveyed by the medium of painting: “Music took a part, and certainly not a little, in the work of freedom and the regeneration of humankind. And at the pace of the progress towards the conquest of the rights that had been usurped by despotism, it widened more and more the sphere of prodigies.”\textsuperscript{357} cliv Thus, it was the turn of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Mendelssohn, Cimarosa, Paer, and Rossini to be the heralds of the “great events that renewed the world” through their “pathetic and sublime expression.”\textsuperscript{358} clv

In his article about Teresa Carreño, Larrazábal did not explain the content of the epoch that Teresa Carreño was meant to express. Yet, his allusions to God “calling to life” in South

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{353} Ibid.  \\
\textsuperscript{354} F. Larrazábal, Letter to Octaviano Valle, \textit{El federalista}, Caracas, 4 Sept. 1868, reproduced in N. Tortolero, “Carta de Felipe Larrazábal a Octaviano Valle,” 122, my translation.  \\
\textsuperscript{356} Ibid., 124.  \\
\textsuperscript{357} Ibid.  \\
\end{flushright}
America “the successor and worthy emulator of Mozart” suggests that it had to do with the capabilities of Venezuelans to create, to transform, and to produce unprecedented stages of civilization. After all, Larrazábal confessed, he produced his writing “with pride [and] patriotic satisfaction,” wishing “to consign a fact that honors Venezuela, my beloved patria. Do not the Germans remember Mozart with pride?” he asked.\(^{359}\) clvi

For a nation struggling to maintain its foundational precepts of freedom and order, Teresa Carreño came to augur the imminent upcoming of the promised era of prosperity, modernity, and unprecedented cultural achievements. Teresa Carreño represented the beginning of the redemption of América:

Venezuela is known today for its wars. But they will pass, and some day it [Venezuela] will be spoken of as was Greece, for its brightness without dissipation, for its courage without barbarism, for its delight for good taste without indulgence, for its beauty without dishonesty, and for its creative genius, not the one that creates idols and gods, but the one that works miracles of art and imitates the creation that proclaims the glory of the one God.\(^{clvii}\)

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\(^{1}\) “[...] después de haber recorrido la Europa in parte de este continente, aún no ha llegado a nuestro país.”

\(^{ii}\) “[...] libro blanco, de finísimo papel y primorosamente encuadernado, donde escriben sus pensamientos las amigas, los amigos y los que no son amigas ni amigos.”

\(^{iii}\) “Nos quedan las deliciosas impresiones de sus veladas musicales: nos queda el recuerdo de su gloria en esta capital. Aplausos expresivos, milicias de flores y coronas, tributos literarios, presentes de amistades y todo género de obsequios han manifestado al señor Coenen que si este pueblo no puede enriquecer al talento, por su escasa población, sabe apreciarlo y honrarlo cuando menos. / Durante dos años mas piensa viajar por la América del sur visitando las capitales de su extenso litoral. Ojalá que sus montañas elevadas y sus frondosas selvas vírgenes, inspiren á su genio nuevo vuelo, nuevas creaciones que la Europa no conozca! / [...] / El Sr. Coenen ha salido el jueves para la Guaira en donde dará dos conciertos. Los aficionados le han arrancado la promesa de que volverá á la capital el martes próximo con el fin de ofrecerle a ellos un concierto.”

\(^{iv}\) “Carácas sin un teatro! Caracas, rica, con recursos infinitos, con un gusto por las bellas artes propio de su clima delicioso, de su puro cielo tropical y de su ambiente embalsamado; Carácas, obligada á expulsar de su seno á una compañía lirica de mérito porque el local en el que trabaja ... apenas ha podido ser facilitado por un mes!”

\(^{v}\) “Vergonzoso era que Venezuela fuera la única República de Sur América en cuya capital no hubiera un teatro.”

\(^{vi}\) “Tengo el gusto de participarle que la compañía que lleva Páez es excelente, completa y bien organizada. Los artistas que la firman pueden considerarse aquí en Paris como de segundo orden, y son dignos de las más rica y cumplida capital de la América española. Es infinitamente superior á cuanto se ha visto allá en esa línea.”

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\(^{359}\) F. Larrazábal, “Tributo de justiciar al mérito,” El independiente, 27 May 1865, Álbum “Al genio,” No. 1, TCP.
“[…]

vii “[…] tendrá que registrarlo el arte lírico en los anales de su historia de este País. Carácas le ha consagrado un templo, y á Verdi le ha tocado el honor de hacer oír en primer lugar una de sus grandes concepciones musicales.”

viii “Nunca se ha visto en esta capital una compañía más capaz, mas digna de interpretar las grandes composiciones líricas de los célebres maestros.”

ix “[…]

“Nos hallamos en una posición en extremo excepcional, acometiendo la tarea de sostener una compañía lírica costosa, en una ciudad sin la que generalmente se supone necesaria para soportar la erogación, y en la dura obligación que nos imponen las particulares circunstancias del país, de montar cada semana operas nuevas con dificultades que solo la empresa puede pesar exactamente.”

x “[…]

xi “De los inteligentes profesores que la componen [la orquesta] espera el público esfuerzos redoblados para alcanzar la seguridad en el conjunto, y el dominio de su propio movimiento para seguir y no arrastrar á los cantantes.”

xii “[…]

xiii “[…]

xiv “En nuestra sociedad y en cualquiera otra no á todos es dado atraer a un concierto concurrida. Es preciso que las partes vocal é instrumental tengan de extraordinario alguna cosa, para que la multitudes se anime, se excite y se resuelva á oir música abstracta. Así que el artista que logra reunir in lucido auditório con solo decir esta noche canto ó ejecuto, ofrece una prueba de talento de esas que nadie puede sujetar a controversia.”

xv “[…]

xvi “A pesar de la escasez del público, á pesar de la orquesta que estuvo fría, inanimada y discordante, á pesar de los defectos mismos del teatro, […] ella dio una prueba espléndida de los que es capaz.”

“Excitamos á la sociedad de Caracas, á la que tiene gusto, á la que ama los progresos del arte, y rinde culto á toda gloria y á toda especialidad, porque es justa y generosa cual cumple á su cultura y adelanto intelectual, á que favorezca con su numerosa concurrencia á la digna actriz que ha venido á visitarnos de remotas playas, trayéndonos una voz divina y en ella una palabra de consuelo, rica de fé, de amor y de esperanza.”

xvii “La hidalguía de algunos amigos que se han creído obligados por servicios que yo no he prestado, sino como mi contingente de entusiasmo por el génio ó el mérito, y nunca seducido por un cálculo mezquino y sórdido, ni menos por la esperanza de recompensas, que juzgaba recibidas al ver las ovaciones que el público hacia á los que me permitían el honor de acompañarles: esa hidalguía tan propia, tan natural en los artistas, me ofreció espontáneamente un beneficio, que no sin pena acepté, ya por complacerles, ya porque halagaba el sueño de poder exhibir bajo mis auspicios todas las notabilidades artísticas que residen en el país.”

xviii “Si después de haberse comprometido á hacer una vez por mí lo que yo había hecho tantas por ella, sintió que el mérito de su canto no estaba suficientemente pagado con mi reconocimiento, pudo exigirme el oro en que ella lo estimase, que yo comprometido ya con una sociedad á quien respeto profundamente, hubiera puesto cuanto hubiese estado de mi mano para satisfacer sus ansias, antes que tener que decir con todo el rubor de la honradez, como me veo forzado a hacerlo” “he mentido, os he engañado.”

xix “Una artista á quien debe tanto nuestra culta Sociedad.”

xx “[…]

xxi “[…]

xxii “adornado con elegancia y buen gusto tiene en su frente principal un magnifico piano y sobre él en un pedestal el busto de Libertador.”

xxiii “Destituída nuestra población de lugares públicos de recreo; sin tertulias en qué gozar los encantos de la Buena sociedad; sin alamedas donde, de brazo de un amigo, pasear en nuestras hermosas
tardes de primavera, la juventud de Carácas, festiva por carácter y sociable por naturaleza, cualidad esta que allientan y desarrollan las instituciones republicanas que nos rigen, sentía la necesidad de un establecimiento público, cómodo y elegante, decorado con el lujo que demanda nuestra avanzada civilización.”

“[...] periódicos nacionales y extranjeros, culta y elegante sociedad, servicio esmerado y diligente, abundancia de platos esquisitos, ricos vinos y aromático chocolate.”

“Los artistas y aficionados tienen con frecuencia sesiones filarmónicas vocales ó instrumentales, cuyos torrentes de armonía que corren en medio de religioso silencio de la concurrencia; contrastan encantadoramente con el coque de copas y botellas que cubren aquellas magníficas mesas de mármol, y los delicados chistes de os concurrentes, y el vivificador murmullo que se deja oir, tan luego como dan una tregua los artistas y dilettanti.”

“[..] dar á conocer nuestros adelantos.”

“[..] una sola cosa falta para convertir aquella mansión en un paraíso. Nuestros lectores habrán adivinado que nos referimos á las bellas. Aprovechamos esta oportunidad para decir que no nos parecería inconducente que el Sr. Aldrey estableciese un departamento con destino á las señoras, pues esto asemejaría entre ellas la costumbre de embellecer esta clase de establecimientos; como sucede en las ciudades de Europa y de la mayor parte de la América.”

“[..] las musas venezolanas tuvieron asiento y voz en el concierto. Progreso de alta trascendencia que resuelve una cuestión de triple objeto social: recrear honestamente á los amantes de las letras, estimular á su culto y dar campo abierto á sus jóvenes campeones.”

“[..] saludadas con estrepitosos aplausos.”

“[..] un aplauso general, vivo y prolongado.”

“[..] aplaudida vivamente.”

“[..] versos fáciles, fluidos, ricos de chistes y donaires.”

“[..] cantada con tal gracia y suavidad por el S. Sánchez, que el auditorio entusiasmado pidió repetición, á cuya demanda accedió con caballerosa cortesía.”

“[..] vendrá un tiempo, en que acudan solícitos á sus elegantes salones, en medio de numerosa concurrencia, á nuestros pintores á exponer sus cuadros; los músicos á ejecutar sus conciertos; la musa venezolana á entonar sus cantos.”

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“[..] una lucida composición de capricho, notable por su originalidad y armonía, la cual ha merecido competir con otras de célebres profeseores.”
“[..] muchos dilettanti.”

“Famiere que se prestó espontáneamente a acompañar á la Srita. Barnetche en la ejecución”

“[..] la voz de la Srita. Barnetche es pura, flexible, graciosa, y de una dulzura que encanta; y si como cantatriz no figura de primera escala, los aplausos del auditorio manifestaron que había sido aceptada su voz con general simpatía.”

“La Lucrezia Borgia, de Goria pieza que exige un estilo largo, brillante y una extrema delicadeza, fué coronado de merecidos aplausos. El auditorio admiró aquí los prodigios de ejecucion de la joven artista, que hacia brotar como perlas tan numerosas notas con una agilidad increíble.”

“[..] cuanto estaba al alcance de mis facultades, á hacerlas ménos costosas.”

“No el interés, no un orgullo incapaz de mi carácter, ni otro sentimiento mezquino me han impulsado á ser condescendiente con cuantos me han invitado á acompañarlos. / “A pesar de este desprendimiento, y no obstante no haber recibido nada en recompensa de mi trabajo de ninguno de los artistas en cuyas funciones he tocado; la maledicencia, ó algún rastrero y envidioso enemigo, ha circulado, que he prostituido mi profesión hasta el ridículo extremo de entablar competencia y ofrecer mis servicios á vil precio. / “[..] no puedo vencer en mi la repugnancia que me ha inspirado tan abominable calumnia y al intento declaro formalmente que me retiro de los conciertos públicos, por caro que me sea tener que negar mis humildes servicios á los que lo solicitasen en lo sucesivo en este concepto”

“La seducción del ultimo concierto de la Srita. Barnetche se ha aumentado con el talento de aficionados muy distinguidos que le han prestado apreciable concurso. El Sr. Vallenilla ha probado una vez mas cuan exquisito es su gusto y su talento. […] El Sr Sánchez no estuvo ménos lucido […] / “Hemos apreciado en ella el mecanismo instrumental y el entendimiento artístico que poetiza las obras que nos dio á conocer: largo aliento, fuerza y limpiezas de sonido y sima brillantéz, son las cualidades bastante raras por las cuales nos complaciamos honrándola, y las hemos encontrado en Lucrezia de Goria. Para gozar de la Lucia de Lamermoor de Prudent es menester imprimir á esta música del corazón el sentimiento que no depende de ninguna escuela, que tan solo las almas privilegiadas tienen y hará en todos los tiempos de la Srita. Barnetche una artista excepcional.”

“En efecto, hemos oído acaso por la primera vez el piano cantando y disputar el sentimiento á los instrumentos de cuerdas mas favorecidos.”

“El público de Carácas ve con sentimiento la partida de la Srita, E. Barnetche. Esta joven y distinguida artista se había captado la estimación de toda la parte ilustrada de la sociedad caraqueña. […] Su talento es de primer órden. / “Fiel intérprete de Liszt, de Thalberg y de Shuloff [Scholhoff], ha logrado el éxito mas completo en la ejecución de las principales composiciones de aquellos grandes maestros […]. /“Deseamos buena suerte á nuestra amable y distinguida pianista, y sobre rodo su pronto regreso al suelo caraqueño.”

“[..] acreditado y conocido del teatro italiano de Paris.”

“[..] él no busca efecto haciendo ver que vence dificultades artificiales, torciéndose ó simulando esfuerzos sorprendentes; el aborda la dificultad francamente […] Para evitar toda suposicion de charlatanism, Paul Jullien quita á presencia del público tres cuerdas de su violín, no dejando mas que una sola, y llega á suplir la falta de sonoridad y vibraciones de las otras tres cuerdas, recorriendo toda la extension del violín hasta la cuarta octava, conservando todos los sonidos melódios, toda la variedad, toda la delicadeza de su modo ordinario de tocar.” / “En esto hay algo de nuevo y sorprendente, porque no se trata de un charlatanismo vulgar, ni de una monótona prestidigitacion de arco, sino de un milagro de habilidad en que las dificultades se vencen sin que el arte se encuentre sacrificado al efecto.”

“[..] los caraqueños reconocen en Jullien, porque lo merece mas que ningún otro que ha pisado nuestra tierra, un genio sobresaliente, llamado á ocupar dignamente un puesto al lado de los nombres inmortales de Paganini, De Beriot, Alard, Hauman, y otros grandes maestros que han ilustrado el instrumento con que nos ha encantado.”

“[..] si bien es verdad que la concurrencia á sus conciertos no ha sido numerosa como era de desearse, se debe esto á la circunstancia desgraciada de haber llegado al pais casi al mismo tiempo que una compañia lirica que atrae la atencion de la mayoria del publico, que, aqui como en todas partes, gusta más de espectaculos ruidosos y de grande aparato, que de admirar el verdadero genio y la habilidad sobresaliente.”
“La primera compañía lírica que inauguró el edificio puso á prueba durante más de [un] año los recursos con que cuenta esta ciudad para sostener las empresas de ópera italiana; y la que hoy está representando ha logrado y está logrando entradas pingües que han satisfecho á los artistas, y que tal vez habrían colmado sus deseos en más de una función, si fuera mayor la capacidad del coliseo.”

“En cuanto á competencia, tenemos la conciencia de que los aplausos de Carácas honran más que los de algunas grandes capitales, en donde la mayor parte de la concurrencia oye música por lujosa moda y no por gusto instintivo y concentrado.”

“No hay salas de fiestas ni teatros, ni siquiera paseos; vida social solo puede hallarse en los círculos más íntimos.” “La única diversión caraqueña es ir á la iglesia.”

“Para corresponder á las invitaciones de los aficionados.”

“Por desgracia para el progreso del arte entre nosotros, muchos se dedican hoy á ejecutar en el pianoforte acompañamientos ruidosos de danzas y valses, en un ritmo inexorable hasta el fastidio, y pocos son los que se consagran á estudiar violin, viola, violoncillo, trompa, clarín, oboe etc. [...] antes había más esmero en eso. [...] día por día, se hace más imposible reunir una orquesta y ejecutar las obras de los grandes maestros. No creo que haya una persona que toque hoy fígulo en Venezuela. No sé que haya muchos trombones. No hay ninguno que toque oboe, ni fagot, ni trombón alto, ni sax-tromba tenor, ni sax-horn contrabajo de cinco cilindros, ni el sax-horn bajo de cuatro. Muy contados serán los que toquen la viola. / “Si la música debiera seguir en Venezuela, tal cual hoy se halla, sin progreso, es evidente que dejaría de existir en poco tiempo, al menos la gran música, la música seria y de conjunto; y tendríamos que conformarnos con unas polkas, ejecutadas locamente en el piano, o cuando mas, con algunas piezas de Litz [Liszt] o de Thalberg, en que el ejecutante, que no puede estar á la altura del autor, no interpreta, no da el sentido á la frase, no toca con desambarazo y con aquella tranquilidad, hija de la posesión del talento.”

ya sonaba su nombre en la ciudad.”

“ [...] desde las seis de la tarde hasta la diez de la noche, en compañía de otros varios aficionados, inteligentes y artistas”

“ [...] cada compás era un asombro, cada combinación armónica un aplauso [...] La rapazuela algunas veces se complacía en jugar con los oyentes. Los dejaba algún momento en absorta y reposada atención: de súbito se exaltaba, conmovía á todos, los hacía levantar de sus asientos á la voz de mil bravos: i con traviesa risa entonces, i volviendo la festiva cara, los burlaba con su expresión favorita: “Aquí no hai nada de eso!” / “I no había en realidad sino lo que ella había querido sustituir. Es una especie de poder estereotipico el que tiene, creado por su gusto y su talento, i que le hace fijar las cosas para que queden siendo lo que ella quiere, cambiando el fortísimo en pianísimo, trastornando las frases, corrigiendo, mejorando.”

“Sus movimientos animados (concitati); sus variantes en que por instinto agrupa dobles disonancias, en que inventa movimientos de sucesión que tracionan la tonalidad para sorprender luego, con una resolución sencilla completa y satisfactoria.”

“ [...] improvisa motivos de una novedad sorprendente.”

“ [...] nos engaña dulcemente, y en lugar de la terminación que esperamos, modula una frase ó armonía de transición [...] y nos hace entrar en otra y otra serie de sonidos deliciosos que se suceden sin vacilación y sin esfuerzo.”

“Cada uno le daba un motivo ó un argumento fantástico. Alguno de esos argumentos duró en la ejecución hasta tres cuartos de hora.”

“Habíasele dicho á Teresita, para que improvisara, que una joven recién casada, ausente de su marido, que estaba en peligrosa campaña, i á quien le aguardaba por momentos, preparándolo todo, i la casa de fiesta para ello, recibe de él sin pensarlo, una carta en que le habla de que no podrá volver antes de un año de lo desigual de la lucha con las desventajas para su partido, i de lo comprometido del puesto que defiende.”

“La amiga había triunfado: la esposa quería ser vencida: se consuela un tanto, como para dar gracias i forzar suavemente á Dios con la oración, un himno en que debía aparecer el estado de su alma. Ese himno lo ejecutó maravillosamente la inmortal niña. Había en el [...] medias tintas [...]. Era la expresión de una esperanza sin fe, de una alegría sin conciencia, de un voto en que tenia tanta parte la confianza como la duda.”
“[…] veladas musicales abiertas […] especie de academia culta.”

“Assemblées, réunions qui on lieu dans les soirées d’hiver pour causer, jouer, etc.”

“La persona que cante ó toque en una reunión, deberá adaptar sus piezas á la naturaleza del auditorio. La música séria y profunda es tan solo propia para los círculos de aficionados; así como la música brillante y alegre, es la única que agrada entre las personas que no poseen los conocimientos necesarios para degustar de lo mas sublime y recóndito del arte. Y es de advertirse también que en uno y otro caso, cuando la reunión no es exclusivamente filarmónica, sino que tiene además por objeto otros entretenimientos, las piezas que se canten ó se toquen deben ser siempre cortas, á fin de que no lleguen nunca á fastidiar al auditorio.”

“El cuarto en que se recogen á estudiar, escribir y trabajar los hombres de letras ó de negocios.”

“Haydn no fue nunca un pianista, en la general acepción de la palabra; pero su música ejerció las mas feliz influencia sobre los progresos del arte […] buscaba en el piano la inspiración, dejando para otros el cuidado mecánico de la ejecucion.”

“Al pronunciar este nombre respetable, acaso el que figurará mas alto á los ojos de la posteridad: al hablar de Beethoven, el génio de la sinfonía, cuya música es inimitable, nosotros debemos recoger nuestro espíritu, semejantes á aquellos israelitas á quienes Esdras había enseñado á leer las escrituras, que no hablaban de Moises sino con un respeto y una veneracion religiosa.”

“Si el violin es el rey de la orquesta, el piano es el tesoro de las familias y el elemento mas poderoso de amenidad y contento. ¡Cuántas soirées robadas al enojo y embellecidas con los encantos de la música, al favor del piano! En vano se trataría de formar un cuarteto […] mas el piano está ahí y él es el centro de todas las complacencias y el auxiliar de todas las habilidades.”

“El sublime pertenece mas bien al dominio del sentimiento que al de la reflexion. Se produce por la pasión, y es ordinariamente hijo de la magnanimidad ó de a fortaleza. Toda vez que hay elevación, grandeza, vehemencia, calor, energía en el discurso; […] cuando lo maravilloso natural se apodera del alma, la arroba digamoslo así, la transporta y parece que la eleva sobre la naturaleza humana […] puede decirse que existe ese quid divinum á que damos, sin definirlo, el nombre de sublime.”

“Si existe, en verdad, algo que caracterice debidamente el sublime y por cuyo medio puede reconocerse, bien sea en las imágenes, en el pensamiento ó en el sentimiento, es que el sublime cuando existe, es tal en sí mismo, que ni la imaginacion ni el alma conciben nada mas allá.”

“Lo que es bello, lo que es grande, lo que es fuerte, admite grados, mas ó menos, aumento ó disminución. No así el sublime, que deja de existir cuando no está en la esfera absoluta.”

“El sublime […] es el mismo que el estilo sublime. Este puede sostenerse largo tiempo: es un tono elevado, digno; una marcha noble, majestuosa. […] Pero el sublime mismo, es otra cosa: es un golpe solo, instantaneo, eléctrico, que conmueve el alma, que la enciende, y la arrebata. Un concepto puede ser sublime, sin pertenecer al estilo sublime; y una pieza entera puede ser escrita en el género sublime, sin tener siquiera una idea sublime.”

“La expresion de Beethoven era mágica, infinita, á veces insoportable para los corazones sensibles.”

“[la música es el] arte más expansivo e ideal, [para] imprimir en el alma sensaciones gratísimas.”

“[…] una sonata, un wals mismo, cualquiera composición, por corta que sea, necesita tiempo para que la sucesión de motivos melódicos que traducen el pensamiento lleguen a completarse, y las ideas del maestro puedan tener el desenvolvimiento que requieren. […] Oir es […] moroso; los sonidos se perciben sucesivamente; y éste es, a mi juicio, el triunfo de la música, porque dura más tiempo el elemento del placer.”

“ […] la obra musical no está completa en la partición escrita, sino en la partición ejecutada. El compositor necesita órganos, para que los oyentes juzguen y puedan estimar su composición. Los ejecutantes, si son artistas, quiero decir, […] conocen los recursos del arte en toda su extensión, […] usan en toda su delicadeza y los emplean en toda su variedad […] Por ellos, la inspiración de Mozart y de Rossini es mas sublime, por ellos, se gustan mas los dulces cantos de Weber, de Mendelsohn, de Beethoven, y del poder infinito del genio, el poder del sentimiento y la armonía se unen al poder del acento misterioso, que penetra hasta el fondo de nuestra alma y la conmueve. Dos fuerzas hai en la
música por una sola de que la pintura goza. Nos agitan al par y no[s] encantan el autor y el artista que interpretan, hieren el corazón y nos hacen estremecer de angustia.”

lxxxiv “Desde los primeros años de este siglo se observó con razón, que los progresos en el arte de tocar el piano debían ser realmente maravillosos. El empuje estaba dado, y se guardaban oir consecuencia felices y copiosas resultados. El Conservatorio de París que ha producido ejército de instrumentistas de gran talento, ha contribuida también, cuanto no es dable decir, á generalizar el gusto por el piano y á llevar su ejecución limpia, graciosa y elegante hasta el alto grado en que hoy la vemos. -Por su parte, Pape, Pleyel, Collard-Collard, Pfeifer, Cluesman, Roller, y sobre todos, Erard hermanos, fabricantes de piano, han mejorado gradualmente y perfeccionado el instrumento hasta tal punto, que los últimos construidos por estos hábiles factores, son un prodigio real de mecanismo, que debe considerarse como una de las obras maestras del espiritu humano, es este género.”

lxxxv “[…] debemos nombrar con entusiasmo y con admiración, á tres leones, de fuerza prodigiosa, que expresan en la actualidad el último punto de la perfeccion artística, y que seguramente después de ellos, no habrá mas que debilidad y decadencia: los grandes génios a que aludimos son Döhler, Thalberg y Litz [Liszt]. Estos héroes de la ejecución, verdaderos señores absolutos del piano, han llevado la rapidez del movimiento hasta tal punto, que la vista no puede seguir las manos, y el oído, á duras penas, percibe distintamente los sonidos, que se suceden con una velocidad inapreciable.”

lxxxvi “El coloso de la ejecución no se acomoda sino con el gigante de la fabricación. Erard es como el Atlas titánico de Farnesio, que lleva sobre sus espaldas el peso inmenso de Liszt. Este a su vez, se parece el Júpiter de Fidias, esculpido en oro y en un marfil, la obra mas admirable que haya salido de las manos de los hombres, que por su actitud y la nobleza de sus formas, revela no solo que es una de las maravillas del mundo, sino que también es el Dios mas poderoso del Olimpo.”

lxxxvii “La virtuosité est essentiellement une manifestation s'individualisme qui permet à un artiste de s'affirmer au-dessus de ceux avec lesquels il rivalise, qui lui permit aussi d’authentifier son génie par la reconnaissance de ceux qui l’écoute et qui l’admirent.”

lxxxviii “Al oírla ejecutar la Norma de Thalberg, en cuya pieza están reconcentradas tantas bellezas: al verla herir la tecla de un modo propio, vibrante, apasionado, se recuerda uno de aquellas parabras de Alfieri: effetti che poche persone intendono e pocchissime provano; ma à que[i] soli pochissimi è concesso l'uscir dalla folla volgare in tutte le umane arti. Las emociones las comprenden pocas personas, y mui pocas, poquísimas son las que las sienten; pero á estas solas les es dado salir de la comun esfera y hacerse un nombre en las bellas artes.”

lxxxix “Los grandes artistas de Europa hubieran pedido ocho años de estudios para hacer lo que ella hace á los ocho años de vida, y muchos envidiarían su sensibilidad, su manera propia de expresar, su alma melancólica, su inspiración de fuego.”

xc “[…] otras piezas modernas, de esas que se dan á morder, i como prueba, á los grandes ejecutantes, erizadas, asi de dificultades, como de bellezas artísticas sin cuento.”

xci “Vimos lo que hasta entónces no habiamos visto, i solo imaginábamos. Aquella corrección de frases, aquella redondez de notas, aquella brillantez de sonidos, nos parecía apenas practicable. Como si hubiera sido una especie de maga, notábamos que las armonias mas sublimes venian al escape á colocarse, para encantar, debajo de sus lindas manecitas, i que al tocar con sus hàbiles dedos las teclas, como si fuesen otras tantas puertas de palacios encantados, salían del fondo los tesoros escondidos de la música para decirle ‘Aquí estamos.’”

xcii “[…] bella como los bambinos de Rafael; festiva y bulliciosa como las ninfas de los Andes.”

xciii “Tantas dotes así no pueden menos que revelarse en su aspecto.”

xciv “En el piano, especialmente improvisando, pierde la fisonomía infantil, de ordinario tan juguetona i graciosa, i asume un aire de majestad indescribable. Allí está su imperio: allí, los secretos que ella sola puede revelar: allí, el tesoro escondido de que ella nomas tiene la llave: allí, el oro precioso que ella acuñará para hacer mas rico al mundo músico.”

xcv “De pié, i apercibida de un situación seria, su actitud es digna i casi altiva; i pasa de repente del juego á la circunspección, como si pudiese separar del todo dos actos tan opuestos: la niña y el genio.”

xcvi Sus formas son suaves i hermosas; pero en la cara especialmente, es para notarse el conjunto de curvas ligeramente inclinadas que se cruzan, como para significar así el sexo i el talento.”
“Del pecho al extremo de la cabeza la expresión es singular: se ve elación, movimiento en la calma, acción en la majestad, conciencia del poder, posesión del imperio; en el todo, augurio de inmortalidad. Los ojos dan luz inagotable, accesible en sus emanaciones, pero no en su fuente; hai misterio en aquella mirada. Su entrecejo se abre cuando está festiva, pero también se cierra con frecuencia; cosa rara en esa edad: como si quisiese con esto desentenderse de una familiaridad que estorba á su pensamiento. En fin, el físico presenta una materia iluminada por el alma, i en que tanto se admira el genio como se ama á la mujer.”

“[...] sus padres la enseñaron, como el Viejo Mozart al niño de Salzburgo, á encontrar las terceras [...] y, mas después, nada tuvieron que enseñarle.”

“El genio descubría los misterios del arte.- Teresita adivinaba, inventaba trazas y modos de llegar á donde debía ir (inquirebat ingeniose); crecia por si misma, y las dificultades de Hummel, de Thalberg, de Mendelssohn quedaron vencidas; y todos admiraron los rasgos de expresión patética, singularmente apasionada, de su ejecución; mas que nada, en los motivos improvisados, en los que no tiene rival.”

“¿Habéis meditado sobre esa especie de muda admiración que tiene el maravilloso poder de cambiar, engrandeciéndolo, el orden de nuestras ideas, cuando miramos el mar ó levantamos los ojos á la inmensidad de los cielos? Ese os dará una idea del sentimiento que posée á quien la contempla en uno de sus momentos de inspiración, explicando con notas y armonías un drama de infantil originalidad que va imaginando á la vez que lo ejecuta: en aquellos momentos se ve la mano de Dios sobre su cabeza; se ven brotar de sus manos claros destellos de un genio poderoso; y quien la admira adora aquel misterio, [...] se prosterna ante el autor de la naturaleza, porque allí ve sus obras, pero no penetra mas alla.”
“A ocasiones no sabe lo que se le dice, i bástanle cortas explicaciones. Una vez principiaba un argumento: ‘Un jóven estaba enamorado de una jóven, &a.,’ i preguntó ella graciosa i sencillamente: ‘¿i que es estar enamorado?’ Se le indicó apénas, comprendió é hizo como siempre, maravillas.”

“No para, no vacila: se sienta al piano como quien va á reinar, i reina en efecto. Es tal el poder su imaginación que, á las veces, cuando desarrolla el tema que acaba de dárselle, i que ella va a explicando con las palabras “aqui es tal cosa,” “aqui tal otra,” ella misma comprende, anuncia i intercala alguna nueva frase de afecto, de pasión ó de diálogo; i ve uno que realmente eso faltaba para la unidad del pensamiento como de la música.”

“¿Cómo se pueden adivinar á los ocho años tantas pasiones para pintarlas, tanto fenómenos naturales para contrahacerlos con la música? ¿Quién ha enseñado á esa niña el silencio de la media noche con su majestad sombría i religiosa, la furia del mar embravecido, el ruido siniestro de los combates, el amor conyugal, la ternura materna, el silencio helado del terror? ¿Dónde aprendió a conocer el corazón humano?”

“¿Qué fuerza de imaginación no es necesaria para crear la espresion del dolor, quien no ha conocido sino los juegos de la infancia y los cariños y sonrisas de su madre? ¿Para encontrar los acentos de la pasión, quién no sabe lo que es pasión? ¿Para hallar el eco de la resignación, ese sacrificio del alma que ninguno conoce sin haberlo hecho, la que nada tiene que ver con sacrificios, ni con dudas ni con esperanzas?”

“Nos ne créons pas proprement des idées, nous ne faisons que combiner par des compositions et décompositions, celles que nous recevons par le sens. L’invention consiste à savoir faire des combinaisons neuves. Il y en deux espèces : le talent et le génie.”

“ […] l’état d’un homme qui, considérant avec effort les circonstances où il se place, est vivement remué par tous les sentiments qu’elles doivent porduire, et qui, par exprimer ce qu’il éprouve, choisit naturellement parmi ces sentiments celui qui est le plus vif.”

“Nous savons que para las grandes obras se concibe el plan, se ordena, i se le va ejecutando lentamente, frase por frase, dia por dia, año por año; porque el ingenio necesita de tiempo para que su fruto nazca, crezca y madure. Pero la primera vez que hemos visto una cosa nacer i perfeccionarse todo á un punto. […] Hacer lo que ella hace, es como hablar en Eneida, ó pintar por juego los frescos del Vaticano.”
“[...] fue tal í tan profunda nuestra impresion, que [...] no pudimos dormir en toda la noche, como si nuestra alma hubiera estado enardecida por la viveza de un fuego elemental. Nos pareció la niña una aparición, un espíritu profético, un dios gentílico inventado en la fábula i realzado en la historia.”

“[...] no hai edad, no hai tiempo; i sí hai una voz interior que habla, que inspira, que mueve, i que agita. / Est deus in nobis.”

“La lectura de Homero inspiraba á Beethoven: la de Moises á Handel; la poesia de Platon encendia el alma de Mozart y la elevaba á las regiones del infinito; pero ¿quién inspira nuestra Teresa? ¿Quién la inflama? -Ah! Ella podia decirnos como el Dante: / Deus fortior me / Ó como Ovidio: / Est Deus in nobis / ‘Hai un Dios dentro de mí, que llena mi espiritu de claridades celestes. El me domina: él mueve mis manos: él es quien inspira mis cantos deliciosos, mis acentos de dolor, de pasión y de misterio. / Est Deus in nobis.”

“Lo más notable y transcendental en la imaginación son sus obras, por la influencia que tiene en el mejoramiento y la perfección del hombre. Si la religión, la escuela y la industria están llamadas al progreso moral, intelectual y material, por lo que enseñan, y porque enriquecen é independizan, las buenas letras y las bellas artes lo están al progreso que pudiera llamarse cultura y pulimento por lo que enaltecen el alma y que por el bien que hacen á la sociedad, dulcificando los sentimientos y encaminando al bien las inclinaciones y tendencias [...] es el triunfo de lo ideal sobre lo real, de lo casi divino sobre lo humano.”

“[...] ella hará olvidar, durante las horas deliciosas que llene con su genio, el horror de la guerra que, como a nosotros, devora á nuestros hermanos del Norte.”

“[el] género de su asombroso talento, [...] del pasmo que produce i las esperanzas que emergen cuando se tiene la fortuna de oírla.”

“La práctica honrada y perseverante del sistema político, sin esas agitaciones que enferman, sin esas turbulencias que corrompen, sin esas guerras que diezman vidas y devoran propiedades, es una condición del movimiento sin saltos, y lo que prepara los carriles para que pase el tren social sin estorbos.”

“No se olvide jamás que el progreso [...] es más ley individual que ley de gobiernos. Si no se logra otra cosa con la intervención de ellos que el sosiego público, el adelanto vendrá por un desarrollo natural.”

“La América se inquieta entre el órden i la libertad, i no hallará reposo sino así que tenga ambos: es un continente que crece hoy en la vida politica, i que tiene todos los devaneos, las pasiones generosas, los extravios, las aspiraciones, el fuego i la ambición de gloria de la edad primera.”

“[...] debe terminar esta lucha en un desenlaze que cambie en mejor la faz de las cosas.”

“Las crónicas parciales dirán otra cosa; pero la historia universal [...] dirá de ella [de América] que sus convulsiones no son sino desenvolvimiento, i que marcha á la civilización. Los cuerpos sociales, como los cuerpos organizados, no vejetan sino soltando capas ó despojos.”

“Es admirable la economía de la Providencia en el desenvolvimiento que va dando, lento pero gradual, á las sociedades humanas, que se mueven adelante sin saber cómo, i se hallan al cabo del tiempo, sin intentarlo, con otros paisajes más hermosos ante la vista, i con cielos cada vez más puros i esplendidos. En este sentido el hombre es un viajero, la civilización el panorama de lo presente, i la perfeccion, en pos de la cual se va, la visión magnífica de lo porvenir. A la historia le hacen falta todavía grandes trabajos que hacer. [...] es la verdad que lo ordinario ha sido detenerse mas en lo por menor que en lo general, en los efectos que en los impulsos, en la acción multifaria del hombre que en la acción simple i secreta de Dios, sin penetrar mas adentro, sin ahondar en las causas, sin descubrir los hilos internos que tejen la trama maravillosa del progreso. Así se pierde uno en un laberinto, se cansa en un camino estéril.”

“[...] solo cuando se lee á Bossuet, Gizot ó Macaulay, ó se eleva uno con el propio raciocinio, encuentra algunas colinas para divisar desde ellas algo de la extensísima llanura.”

“El cristianismo es todo, y la verdad es que si no nos entregamos es sus brazos, tendremos que caer en los brazos de la desesperación.”
“Sí, la América se encargará de los destinos del mundo y del porvenir. Ella será la potencia directora de la asociación universal. Los frutos de la antigua experiencia compondrán los tesoros preciosos de su saber y de su especulación; y cuando las viejas potencias del orbe antiguo hayan perdido su misión gloriosa de ayuda al progreso de los principios y de la humanidad; cuando la Europa, gastada ya, no pueda ofrecer los beneficios inestimables de las artes y de la civilización, la América, joven aún, inspirada por el genio sublime de la libertad, se constituirá gustosa en potente iniciadora de una nueva era.”

“[...] flor preciosa que se abre lozana acariciada por el sol vivificante de los trópicos; ave de hermoso plumaje y de canto dulcísimo que [derrama] [...] los inmensos tesoros de armonía que fecundó en ella la naturaleza de este suelo, tan rico en poesía como en desdichas.”

“En nuestra América [...] se fundó el edificio sobre área limpia y los cimientos se echaron con los principios más hermosos y los derechos más amplios. La sociedad se encontró sin amos al organizarse; los dones se repartieron iguales para todos, no fueron vinculaciones de fuerza ó imposiciones del destino, ni privilegios, ni monopolios, ni clases poderosas, y la máquina pudo funcionar igualmente bien para el progreso como había funcionado bien para la gloria. Desórdenes es verdad ha habido y continuará habiendo por algún tiempo en los varios Estados, trastornos, guerras y los demás de que adolece la mocedad de las naciones; pero, sobre los que no es posible destruir la fisiología antropológica, nótese que los malos gobiernos se derriban pronto, que los caudillos pasan [...] En este sentido la inmovilidad es muerte, como es vida el movimiento. /[...] El [movimiento] que hay en los espíritus para todas las conquistas de que ellos son capaces [...] el que hay en todo es tan grande, que estas comarcas, si no tienen la más grande, van á tener, llegado el tiempo, la mejor civilización; á que se agrega, para hacerlo deseable por todos y que se traslade acá el Viejo Mundo, esta índole nuestra que no tiene enemigos [...] y este territorio espléndido sobre que el cielo difunde todas sus luces y la naturaleza derrama todos sus dones. Colón ganó la América para la geografía, y Bolívar la engastó como diamante en la corona de la Libertad.”

“Sus padres [...] dieron desde el principio á la niña la [formación] que se puede llamar cuidadosa en cualquier parte, i que aquí, por la generosidad de la índole, por la precocidad del genio nativo, por la adaptabilidad de nuestra organización, i por el influjo de una naturaleza risueña, que tiene tanto comercio con el alma, la abre expansivamente a todo sentimiento noble, á toda idea de progreso, á toda inspiración artística.”

“Hemos dicho que el mundo musico va á pasar á otra época; i no debe parecer aventurada la aserción, si llega á su madurez el genio de la niña.”

“[...] la Providencia sabe proporcionar los recursos á las necesidades, i hace nacer, [...] seres privilegiados, llamados genios, que cambian con sus obras sus escritos ó sus hechos la faz del linaje humano haciéndolo pasar así a otra era.”

“Así en las letras; así en la industria; así en las leyes: i no debe olvidarse que las bellas artes, que son la expresión del buen gusto, i la forma elegante i el lenguaje ideal i perfecto de las creaciones del ingenio, [los genios] tienen el principal parte en esta obra de desenvolvimiento progresivo, i forman como el capitel de la gran columna del progreso. Sin los cuadros del Louvre, sin los museos del Vaticano, sin los frescos de Miguel Angel, sin las armonías sublimes de Mozart i de Haydn, el mundo estaría hoy semisalvaje; i Rosini i Verdi han hecho tanto con sus obras de teatro para la cultura del hombre, como los viajes, como los descubrimientos de la mecánica, como las lecciones del profesorado, como el destello de la tribuna, como la abundantísima cosecha de la prensa en el espacio de algunos siglos.”

“De ordinario sucede que los genios extraordinarios absorben la época en que viven; así es que para escribir la historia contemporánea, no hai mas que seguir las trazas de ellos, ó leer sus obras. Tienen tal poder de concentración i atracción, que son como le foco de todos los rayos, i la clave que explica todos los fenómenos actuales. El mundo social se desenvuelve, se mueve, lucha, vence, adelanta, mejora, i todo eso queda recogido, guardado é inmortalizado en las obras del entendimiento. La materia no está nunca sola en sus funciones, ni en el desarrollo de sus fuerzas; con ella está siempre el espíritu, para servirle de guía, de luz, de monumento ó de historia. En este sentido, el talento representa algo, el ingenio mas; i hai la mas completa analogía entre el estado social contemporáneo i las obras maestras i los progresos de las ciencias i las artes.”

“Este estado de cosas debe tener su representante artístico, ó su cronista, ó su grande é inmortal intérprete. Puede ser otro; pero también puede ser María Teresa Carreño. ¿No son las letras i las
artes el momento contemporáneo de la historia? ¿No da Dios en estas manifestaciones del genio la prueba de que no quiere que ninguna enseñanza perezca, que ningún hecho notable se borre? ¿Habrá él dado tanto, tan poderoso, tan inagotable genio á la niña para que quede sin hacer figura en su época? ¿Quién con mas títulos que ella puede dejar consignados en impecederos libros, los sentimientos, las ideas, las aspiraciones, las esperanzas, los esfuerzos, las conquistas, los triunfos de gloria del tiempo que se le escapa i del que tiene delante de sus ojos? ¿Puede haber tanta luz para que no alumbre, tanta fecundidad para que no produzca? Nosotros no creemos eso. Creemos, al contrario, que María Teresa será un ornamento de su patria, i una gloria de su siglo.”

cl “[...+] obra de la civilización;” “adelanto social.”
cli “[...+] lo que la naturaleza tiene de mas bello y el sentimiento de mas feliz.”
cli “[...+] un acontecimiento extraordinario, terrible, que removió la Sociedad desde sus fundamentos, y levantó los pueblos.”
clii “¡Cómo exaltó el patriotismo! ¡Cómo levantó los ánimos para la admiración de todas las virtudes, para el reconocimiento de todos los derechos, para el entusiasmo de todos los valores, para el aprecio de todas las esperanzas legítimas, para la resistencia de todas las expresiones...!”
cliv “La música tomó parte, y no escasa por cierto, en la obra de la libertad y de la regeneración del hombre; y al compás de los progresos en la conquista de los derechos usurpados por el despotismo, ensanchó más y más la esfera de sus prodigios.”
clv “[...+] grandes sucesos que renovaron la faz del mundo [a través de su] expresion patética y sublime.”
clvi “Con orgullo, [y] con satisfacción patriótica [he deseado] consignar un hecho que honra á Venezuela, mi patria amada. ¿No recuerdan con vanidad los alemanes á Mozart?”
clvii “Venezuela no se conoce hoi sino por sus guerras. Pasarán, i de algún día se hablará de ella como de la Grecia, por el brillo sin la disipación, por el valor sin la barbarie, por los placeres del buen gusto sin la molicie, por la belleza sin la deshonestidad, i por el genio inventor, no el que crea ídolos i dioses, sino el que hace milagros de arte é imitaciones de la creacion que proclaman la gloria de un Dios único.”
CONCLUSIONS

Teresa Carreño’s musical experiences in Caracas were shaped by the values, aspirations and dilemmas of a musical culture that valued the role of music as a civilizing agent, conducive to the social and cultural progress of the newly founded nation. As a child she was exposed to diverse musical practices that proved to be influential in the development of her musicianship: dance-music repertories associated with the salon culture, virtuosic piano repertories and improvisational practices, and the Enlightenment-minded values of serious cultivation of music, which deemed concert-making a socially constructive and aesthetically meaningful experience.

The formation of a serious musical culture in Caracas can be traced back to the Influences of the ideologies of the Enlightenment that began to exert a determinant influence in Caracas from the late eighteenth-century. The dissemination of philosophical literature, musical repertories, and practices of cultured sociability associated with the Enlightenment contributed to the formation in Caracas of private groups of intellectuals and musicians that gathered for intellectual discussion and/or music appreciation. The formation of a sphere of public opinion in Caracas and the shaping of progressive ideals of independence and nation-building intertwined with the values and aspirations of those Enlightenment-minded circles. A link between serious music cultivation, civilizing ideals, and the aspiration of building a socially and culturally fit nation was established since early in the nineteenth century as part of the cultural patrimony of the progressive intellectuals and music connoisseurs in Caracas. Cliques of devoted musicians and intellectuals involved in the appreciation of music for its own sake were often also involved with politics. These groups continued sponsoring private gatherings for music appreciation throughout the 1860s and were instrumental in the creation of musical schools, musical societies, and structures for concert-making from the founding of the Republic in 1830. Various members of the Carreño family, including Manuel Antonio, Juan Bautista, and Juan de la Cruz, are representative of these groups and the values of the serious musical culture.

The establishment of the salon culture in Caracas can be traced to the 1840s, when the urban practices of recreational sociability along with the flourishing market in musical scores and instruments introduced important changes in the way people interacted and spent leisure time. New musical tastes and an intricate repertory of manners and social graces began to be established at that time in Caracas. The social value of women-inclusive recreational gatherings in which piano dances or songs combined with casual conversation, game playing, poetry
reading, and so on was contested. Conservative segments perceived them as contrary to morals and good customs. Nonetheless, progressive intellectuals viewed them as conducive to social refinement and civilization. Manuel Antonio Carreño’s famous *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* (pub. 1853) demonstrates how cultural negotiations operated in Caracas society. His adherence to the practices of salon sociability on the grounds of their civilizing value was instrumental in giving them moral support and to justify the inclusion of women in them. The collection of fifteen dances for piano attributed to Teresa Carreño (comp. 1860-1861) is representative of the musical repertories that were associated with the salon culture in Caracas. Stylistically, these pieces reflect an early stage in the process of creolization of the Viennese waltz, which by the last quarter of the nineteenth century under the generic term of *valse criollo* epitomized the local salon culture.

A renewal of Caracas’ musical life that occurred in the 1850s with increasingly frequent visits of itinerant opera companies was conducive to the flourishing of concert life. Virtuoso instrumentalists along with immigrant teachers began to visit Caracas, and the flourishing market in musical scores and instruments was conducive to the dissemination of the virtuosic pedagogical practices and repertories in Caracas. Practitioners of the serious cultivation of music consistently supported visiting and immigrant musicians through their patronage, assisting them as performers in their concerts, and educating the newly formed audiences. Their musical commentaries in the newspapers reflect the appreciation that Caracas’ musical authorities had not only for the visiting opera companies but also for virtuoso performers. Elite musicians such as Manuel Antonio Carreño received training in the virtuosic style through immigrant teachers. By the 1850s, the performance of virtuosic music was already included in the private gatherings sponsored by the practitioners of the serious cultivation of music. Manuel Antonio Carreño’s employment of virtuosic pedagogies in the education of his daughter demonstrates both his acquaintance with the stylistic conventions of virtuosic piano playing and the high perception that he had of the aesthetic value of virtuosic repertories and practices.

From another point of view, Teresa Carreño’s virtuosic piano training reveals the cultural tensions existing in Caracas’ musical culture concerning gender. While the education of women was perceived by progressive segments of society as sign of cultural advancement, republican discourses on the role of women as wives and mothers of the future citizens limited their education to the preparation necessary to fulfill their social duties. Abundant prescriptive literature circulating in Caracas at this time reinforced the set of social limitations that was
imposed on the educations of girls. Consequently, the aspiration of women to cultivate music as a life pursuit was in most cases viewed as socially transgressive and contrary to republican morals. The thorough music education based on virtuosic pedagogies that Manuel Antonio Carreño imparted to his daughter, as well as her participation in serious concert-making, was off-limits for most girls and women in mid-nineteenth century Caracas. Nonetheless, her extraordinary talent operated as an element of cultural transaction that granted certain social permissiveness. Her abilities were considered a natural gift that properly nurtured could contribute to the civilizational progress of society.

The private concerts that Teresa Carreño offered in Caracas in 1862 for select groups of music connoisseurs and intellectuals were received as events of the greatest artistic relevance, as reflected in several musical commentaries that appeared in the newspapers in Caracas. They show that she was perceived as a genius who acted as a vessel for a transcendental reality made manifest through the emotional power conveyed in her music. These concerts occurred during the bloody Federal War, which threatened the rationality and instability of the republican order. Against this context, her artistry was interpreted as unequivocal sign of the nation’s capacity to advance into an unprecedented era of cultural, social, and material achievements. This perception was crucial to the construction of Teresa Carreño as relevant cultural symbol in Venezuela.
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