

Programming Early Portuguese Repertoires Beyond the Pyrenees: The Pioneering Contribution of Macario Santiago Kastner

Sonia Gonzalo Delgado

soniagondel@gmail.com

Resumo

Macario Santiago Kastner (1908-92) é reconhecido como ‘o primeiro que entre nós soube escrever o nome de Portugal no mapa da musicologia internacional’ (Manuel Carlos de Brito 1989). Kastner estabeleceu-se em Lisboa, em 1934, e dedicou parte do seu percurso a descobrir a música portuguesa e espanhola dos séculos XVI a XVIII. Fascinado pela música ibérica desde o início da década de 30, dedicou-se à programação de repertório português para tecla por toda a Europa, desenvolvendo uma longa carreira como intérprete. Kastner foi, ao longo dessa década, o primeiro a interpretar Carlos Seixas em Sofia, Amesterdão e Helsínquia, também o primeiro a publicar uma colecção de peças portuguesas para tecla – *Cravistas Portuguezes* (1935) – e pioneiro na introdução do clavicórdio na interpretação desse repertório de acordo com a sua visão da prática instrumental historicamente informada. Existe um grande número de fontes por explorar (programas de concertos, recensões de concertos, correspondência com o seu mentor Joan Gibert Camins, o seu currículo pessoal e brochuras promocionais), preservadas na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal e na Biblioteca de Catalunya, entre as quais se podem encontrar documentos relativos ao início da sua carreira. Pretende-se neste artigo analisar a actividade de Kastner na década de 30 na promoção da música portuguesa por toda a Europa, com particular ênfase nas estratégias de configuração dos programas – tanto do repertório, como da abordagem organológica – de forma a criar um nicho para a expansão no mercado da música antiga.

Palavras-chave

Programação; Música Antiga Portuguesa; Santiago Kastner; Década de 1930; Europa; *Performance* historicamente informada.

Abstract

Macario Santiago Kastner (1908-92) is recognised as the first to put ‘the name of Portugal on the map of international musicology’ (Manuel Carlos de Brito 1989). Settled in Lisbon from 1934, Kastner’s lifetime focus was on the uncovering of sixteenth to eighteenth-century Portuguese and Spanish music. Captivated by Iberian music from the early ‘30s, he began to programme Portuguese keyboard repertoires across Europe, developing a substantial career as a performer. Kastner was, during that decade, the first to play Carlos Seixas in Sofia, Amsterdam and even Helsinki, the first to publish a modern collection of Portuguese early keyboard pieces—his *Cravistas Portuguezes* (1935)—and a pioneer in introducing the clavichord to play these repertoires in his vision of the historically informed performance practice. A large amount of unexplored source material (concert programmes, concert reviews, correspondence with his mentor Joan Gibert Camins, his own curriculum and Promotional Brochure), preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal and in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, document Santiago Kastner’s early career. The purpose of this article is to analyse Kastner’s activity

during the '30s in championing Portuguese music across Europe with particular emphasis on the way he configured his programmes—both repertoire and organological approach—in order to create a niche in the expanding early music market.

Keywords

Programming; Early Portuguese music; Santiago Kastner; 1930s; Europe; Historically informed performance.

MACARIO SANTIAGO KASTNER (1908-92) was a British scholar performer¹ settled in Lisbon since early 1934 (see Figure 1). He was 'o primeiro que entre nós soube escrever o nome de Portugal no mapa da musicologia internacional' [the first to put the name of Portugal on the map of international musicology],² as Manuel Carlos de Brito stated in 1989, and his legacy is recognised by musicologists, harpsichordists, clavichordists and organists all over the world. That said, his lifetime achievements need to be appraised and studied in order to understand the pivotal role Santiago Kastner played in the dissemination of Iberian music beyond the Pyrenees and in the foundations of Musicology as a scientific discipline in both Spain and Portugal during the last century, especially bearing in mind that Kastner was the mentor of many international and Iberian early music performers and musicologists.³

Widely praised in the many biographical sketches that have appeared during the last three decades for his command of all major European languages and his vast knowledge of Iberian keyboard literature,⁴ Santiago Kastner clearly became, as Robert Stevenson remarked, 'the scholar

An earlier version of this article was read at the *V Encontro Nacional de Investigação em Música* (Évora 12-14 November 2015). The results shown in it are part of my doctoral dissertation and the topics included in the study framework of the Research Project *Applied Musicology to the Classical Concert in Spain (Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries). Historical, Productive, Performing and Ideological Issues*, I+D HAR2014-53143-P, Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad. Gobierno de España hosted at the Universidad de La Rioja. I wish to thank Manuel Carlos de Brito, Rui Vieira Nery and Manuel Morais for providing me with their personal insight into the character of Santiago Kastner during our interviews in Lisbon in January 2015 and January 2016. I am also grateful to Juan José Carreras and Sally Doyle for their readings and useful comments on the several drafts of this article.

¹ The term 'scholar performer' is extensively used to define a performer concerned with performance techniques, instruments and traditions during the period in which the music performed was written in the search for so-called authenticity in performance. For a brief list of the beginnings of this phenomenon see Thomas Forrest KELLY, *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction* (New York - Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 94-7.

² Manuel Carlos de BRITO, *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1989), p. 22. Unless otherwise stated, all translations have been made by the author.

³ Clavichordists such as Bernard Brauchli, Joan Benson and Steve Barrell; organists such as Jens Christensen, José Luis González Uriol, Sergio Vartolo and Dorthy de Rooij; harpsichordists such as Cremilde Rosado; vihuela players such as Manuel Morais; and musicologists such as Gerhard Doderer, Manuel Carlos de Brito, Rui Vieira Nery and María Ester Sala are among his students.

⁴ See María A. ESTER SALA, 'Homenaje a M. Santiago Kastner. Biografía y semblanza', in *Musicología Hispánica. Tres Maestros* (Madrid, Fundación Juan March, 1983), pp. 57-65; María A. ESTER-SALA, 'Macario Santiago Kastner at 75', *Inter-American Music Review*, 5/3 (1983), pp. 1-2; José Augusto ALEGRÍA, 'A singularidade da obra do Prof. Kastner no panorama musicológico português', in *Livro de homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner*, edited by Maria Fernanda

and performer long hailed as the foremost Iberian authority on early peninsular keyboard music'.⁵ Kastner's lifetime focus was on the uncovering of early Iberian music but, his unparalleled relevance lies in the fact that he was a pioneer in the way he embedded the Iberian repertoire within the broader scenario of the European history of music with a primary purpose: its performance.

This double profile as performer and musicologist was not unique during those years of the former early music revival. From the renowned instrument maker Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940) to the harpsichordist Wanda Landowska (1879-1959), several performers carried out, during the first decades of the twentieth century, musicological and historical studies in order to provide their interpretations of the music of the past with alleged accuracy and contextualization.⁶ Most importantly, and especially in peripheral countries, performers provided themselves with a 'new', i.e. national historical, repertoire that marketed them in the rising and competitive early music market. That is the case of the Spanish-Cuban pianist Joaquín Nin (1879-1949), who published several eighteenth-century Spanish keyboard pieces during the 1920s with Max Eschig in Paris.⁷ Not so different from nineteenth-century early music editions, these triggered the interest and the integration of eighteenth-century Spanish music within international musical discourses and concert programming.⁸

Cidrais Rodrigues, Manuel Morais and Rui Vieira Nery (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1992), pp. 18-32; Rui Vieira NERY, 'Macario Santiago Kastner (1908-1992). In Memoriam', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 2 (1992), pp. 5-11; Águeda PEDRERO ENCABO, 'Kastner, Macario Santiago', in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, directed by Emilio Casares, vol. 6 (Madrid, Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2000), pp. 649-50; Manuel Carlos de BRITO, 'Kastner, Macario Santiago', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 9 (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 2003), pp. 1537-8; Cornelia ULLRICH-EBERIUS and Wolfram ULLRICH, 'Macario Santiago Kastner in the Memory of His Family', in *De Clavicordio VIII. Proceedings of the VIII International Clavichord Symposium (2007)*, edited by Bernard Brauchli, Alberto Galazzo and Judith Wardmann (Magnano BI, Musica Antica a Magnano, 2008), pp. 45-57; Rui Vieira NERY, 'Kastner, Carl Macarius Santiago', in *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, edited by Salwa E. Castelo-Branco, vol. 2 (Lisbon, Temas & Debates - Círculo de Leitores, 2010), pp. 671-3; Manuel Carlos de BRITO and José LÓPEZ-CALO, 'Kastner, Macario Santiago', in *Grove Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> (accessed 2 February 2016).

⁵ Robert STEVENSON, 'Review: *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón. Eine Chronik dargestellt am Leben zweier Generationen von Organisten by Macario Santiago Kastner*', *Notes*, 34/3 (March 1978), pp. 594-5, at p. 594.

⁶ For brief studies on the early music revival see Harry HASKELL, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1988) and KELLY, *Early Music* (see note 1). For further information about Arnold Dolmetsch see Margaret CAMPBELL, *Dolmetsch: The Man and His Work* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1975); concerning Wanda Landowska see Martin ELSTE (ed.), *Die Dame mit dem Cembalo: Wanda Landowska und die Alte Musik* (Mainz, Schott Music, 2010) and Jean Jacques EIGELDINGER (dir.), *Wanda Landowska et la Renaissance de la Musique Ancienne* (Arles - Paris, Actes Sud - Cité de la Musique, 2011).

⁷ *Classiques Espagnols du Piano: Seize sonates anciennes d'auteurs espagnols: Padre Antonio Soler, Mateo Albéniz, Cantallos, Blas Serrano, Mateo Ferrer*, musical edition and preface by Joaquín Nin (Paris, Max Eschig, 1925) and *Classiques Espagnols du Piano: Dix-sept sonates et pièces anciennes d'auteurs espagnols: deuxième recueil / Padre Vicente Rodríguez, Padre Antonio Soler, Freixanet, Padre Narciso Casanovas, Padre Rafael Anglés, Padre Felipe Rodríguez, Padre José Gallés*, musical edition and preface by Joaquín Nin (Paris, Max Eschig, 1928).

⁸ Joaquín Nin's activity in championing early Spanish music was appraised in the panel discussion 'El Pasado idealizado: Joaquín Nin, José Subirá y la recuperación del siglo XVIII a comienzos del siglo XX' held at the International Congress *Performing Eighteenth-Century Early Iberian Music* (Barcelona, 14-16 July 2014), and in María CÁCERES-PIÑUEL, 'El revival de música del siglo XVIII en España durante el periodo de entreguerras. Cuatro casos de estudio relacionados con la red social de José Subirá', *Revista de Musicología*, 39/1 (2016), pp. 143-72, Liz Mary DÍAZ PÉREZ DE ALEJO, 'Estudio del epistolario inédito de Joaquín Nin Castellanos conservado en el Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català',



Figure 1. Macario Santiago Kastner, undated photograph, Lisbon, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, caixa D

Bearing in mind that Santiago Kastner was the first to publish a modern collection of Portuguese early keyboard music—*Cravistas Portuguezes*⁹—and considering his substantial career as scholar performer during the 1930s, this article aims to analyse Kastner’s pioneering activity in championing Portuguese repertoires in the context of the early music revival with special focus on his programming and reception across Europe. For this purpose, a large amount of unexplored source material preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP) and in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC) has been studied. The BNP keeps the *Espólio de Santiago Kastner*, donated by Manuel Morais and Rui Vieira Nery in July 2009,¹⁰ consisting of thirteen folders that contain programmes, personal correspondence, newspaper reviews written by/on Santiago Kastner, pictures

in *Entre Espacios: La historia latino-americana en el contexto global. Actas del XVII Congreso Internacional de AHILA, Berlin, 9-13 Septiembre 2014*, edited by Stefan Rinke (Berlin, Freie Universität, 2016), pp. 1857-77 and Sonia GONZALO DELGADO, ‘¿Un nuevo repertorio? La inclusión de los clavecinistas ibéricos del siglo XVIII en la actividad concertística española. La figura de Joaquín Nin’, *Revista de Musicología*, 39/1 (2016), pp. 173- 209.

⁹ *Cravistas Portuguezes. Band I*, edited and revised by Macario Santiago Kastner (Mainz, Schott’s Söhne, 1935).

¹⁰ ‘Doação do Espólio do musicólogo Santiago Kastner à BNP’ <http://www.bnportugal.pt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=408:doacao-do-espolio-de-santiago-kastner-&catid=49:aquisicoes&Itemid=453> (accessed 9 March 2016).

and some personal documents.¹¹ The BC keeps, in its many personal collections, different corpuses of correspondence between Kastner and other leading figures of Spanish musicology, the correspondence between Kastner and Higini Anglès (Fons Higini Anglès),¹² and between Kastner and Joan Gibert Camins (Fons Josep M. Mestres Quadreny),¹³ being especially relevant for this article.

Macario Santiago Kastner and the Iberian Peninsula

A British citizen, born in London to German parents—Maximilian Macarius Kastner and Karla Franziska Kastner, née Zimmermann¹⁴—Karl Macarius Kastner was educated in London, Freiberg, Amsterdam and Leipzig.¹⁵ His father founded in 1903 the Kastner Autopiano (pianola) factory and, after settling temporarily in Freiburg and Amsterdam during World War I, the family established a branch in Leipzig in 1920, where Santiago Kastner received most of his musical training with Hans Beltz (piano), Stephen Krehl and Paul Högner (harmony and theory), Ernst Müller (musicology), and Günther Ramin (harpsichord) along with piano manufacture at Julius Feurich, founded in 1851.¹⁶ In the early 1920s, Kastner became acquainted with early music and historic musical instruments with Gertrud Wertheim in Berlin and, following the death of his father in the mid '20s, his 'Iberian soul' was shaped in his many travels across the Iberian Peninsula as a businessman for the family company.¹⁷ He visited Manuel de Falla in Granada and established a long-lasting friendship with the Catalan composer Manuel Blancafort,¹⁸ who then worked at his father's company Rotlles Vitòria, which manufactured rolls for autopianos.

It was really following his arrival in Barcelona for the 1929 World Fair that Kastner's attachment to the Iberian Peninsula began. He endeavoured to be a harpsichordist and pianist under the tutelage of Joan Gibert-Camins (1890-1966)—who had studied with Wanda Landowska in

¹¹ A catalogue of this *Espólio* does not exist. I would like to thank Sílvia Sequeira, Head of the Music Section at the BNP, for her support during my research visits to Lisbon in January 2015 and January 2016 and for providing me with a summary inventory of the *Espólio de Santiago Kastner*.

¹² The inventory of the correspondence from the Fons Higini Anglès can be found at <<http://www.bnc.cat/eng/Collections/Search-the-collections/Angles-Higini>> (accessed 4 February 2016)

¹³ The Fons Josep M. Mestres Quadreny is still being processed and the inventory is not currently on the BC website. I would like to thank Rosa Montalt, Head of the Music Section, and Montse Molina Egea, Staff Member of the Music Section, for their help and information regarding the source material related to Kastner preserved in the BC.

¹⁴ ULLRICH-EBERIUS - ULLRICH, 'Macario Santiago Kastner' (see note 4), p. 46.

¹⁵ ULLRICH-EBERIUS - ULLRICH, 'Macario Santiago Kastner' (see note 4), pp. 50-2.

¹⁶ A detailed report of this training is noted in 'Macario Santiago Kastner's Curriculum Vitae', BNP *Espólio de Santiago Kastner*, SK/VAR/Cx1, pasta 4:8.

¹⁷ ULLRICH-EBERIUS - ULLRICH, 'Macario Santiago Kastner' (see note 4), p. 52.

¹⁸ A few letters between Macario Santiago Kastner and Manuel Blancafort survive at the BC Fons Manuel Blancafort, M 4896/1. They suggest that their relationship started in the late '20s due to their similar businesses and it would have facilitated Kastner's knowledge of the Catalan school of composers of the 1920s, represented by Blancafort, Mompou and Montsalvatge, being of great relevance in his programming and musicological activity during the 1930s and 1940s.

Paris—and persisted in his musicological studies with Higini Anglès (1888-1969), who was by then Head of the Music Section of the Biblioteca de Catalunya. Settled in Barcelona, his acquaintance with early Iberian music may have begun with the performance of pieces included in Joaquín Nin's edition of eighteenth-century Spanish music and Pedrell's *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra*.¹⁹ The lack of available editions of Portuguese early music lead him to publish on 5 December 1930, and still signed as C. Macario Kastner—it was a few days prior to his baptism in Barcelona, when he took the name Carlos Macario Santiago,²⁰—the article 'Portugal e a música do cravo dos séculos XVII e XVIII' in *O Comércio do Porto*.²¹ The following fragment situates this article as a statement of intent of Kastner's forthcoming career and the point at which the first contact with Ivo Cruz (1901-85) might have taken place.²²

[...] Os antigos mestres portugueses merecem ser conhecidos pelo resto do mundo. Não deve esquecer-se que Portugal teve músicos muito notáveis, como, por exemplo, Seixas, o padre Coelho e muitíssimos outros que não precisam de esconder-se à frente dum Scarlatti, de um Rameau, de um Byrd. Na verdade, as obras portuguesas não devem ficar mais tempo empoeiradas nas bibliotecas [...].

[The old Portuguese masters deserve worldwide recognition. Nor should we forget that Portugal possesses remarkable musicians such as, for example, Seixas, the Padre Coelho and many others who should not be hidden behind Scarlatti, Rameau, Byrd. Indeed, Portuguese compositions should not remain any longer in dusty libraries].²³

Ivo Cruz was the founder and leader of Renascimento Musical, the movement that promoted the revival of early Portuguese music.²⁴ He premiered, at the inaugural concert of Renascimento

¹⁹ Felipe PEDRELL, *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra: Opera Varia (saecul. XV, XVI, XVII et XVIII)*, 8 vols. (Barcelona, Juan Bta Pujol y Cía, 1894-8). An annotated edition of Felipe Pedrell's *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra*, VII: *Antonius a Cabezón* is part of the Fundo Macario Santiago Kastner preserved at the Departamento de Ciências Musicais, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. I would like to thank Luísa Cymbron, Head of the Department, for allowing me access to this collection, which contains Kastner's valuable music library.

²⁰ Santiago Kastner's baptismal register reads: 'adulto nacido en Londres a quince de octubre de mil novecientos ocho, hijo de los consortes D. Macario Masimiliano Kastner y Da Carla Francisca Zimmermann, naturales de Pretzschendorf y Parchim respectivamente. Se le pusieron los nombres de Carlos, Macario, Santiago. Fueron Padrinos D. Pedro García Coixet, soltero y Da Enriqueta Clariana Berenguer, casada, natural de esta'. The baptism was held at the Parroquia de los Santos Mártires Gervasio y Protasio y Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova (Real Santuario), Barcelona, on 14 December 1930. The certificate is signed by Luis de F. Xiró Roig, priest at the named parish, in Barcelona on 10 March 1931, BC Fons María Ester Sala, M 4887/2.

²¹ *O Comércio do Porto* was founded in June 1854 by Manuel Carqueja and Henrique de Miranda. Following a drop in its readership during the 1990s, the last edition was issued on 30 June 2005.

²² I could not establish the origins of their relationship. However, Santiago Kastner confessed to his pupil María Ester Sala in the '80s that it was Ivo Cruz who made him come to Portugal when talking about Cruz's grandsons: 'Les tengo un cierto cariño, en parte debido al hecho que su abuelo me hizo venir a Portugal', BC Fons María Ester Sala, M 4887/379, handwritten letter from Santiago Kastner to María Ester Sala, dated Lisbon 15 July 1981.

²³ C. Macario KASTNER, 'Portugal e a música do cravo dos séculos XVII e XVIII', *O Comércio do Porto* (5 December 1930), press clipping, BNP, Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier [without catalogue number].

²⁴ Renascimento musical was founded in 1923 in Lisbon by Ivo Cruz, Eduardo Libório (1900-46) and Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro (1898-1966) to promote the revival of Portuguese seventeenth-century polyphony and eighteenth-century instrumental music, to integrate this music into the European tradition through their programming and to influence

Musical, on 31 January 1924, some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Portuguese pieces: Rodrigues Coelho's *Tento in D*, a *Toccata* by Carlos Seixas, a *Toccata* by Francisco Xavier Baptista, an *Andante* by João de Sousa Carvalho, João Domingos Bomtempo's *Fantasia Op. 14* and Joaquim Casimiro's *Sonata a quatro mãos*;²⁵ pieces that, soon after, Santiago Kastner programmed and, most importantly, published for the first time in a modern edition in 1935: *Cravistas Portuguezes*,²⁶ following his premise that they deserved to be unveiled. For that purpose, and prematurely aware of the devastating consequences of the National Socialist German Workers' Party's arrival in the German Parliament in 1933, he decided to settle in Lisbon with his mother and sisters.²⁷

Portugal e a música do cravo dos séculos XVII e XVIII beyond the Pyrenees

Only a year after the publication of 'Portugal e a música do cravo dos séculos XVII e XVIII' Macario Santiago Kastner made his debut in Barcelona at the Sala Parès on 7 December 1931 (see Figure 2). From that date until prevented by World War II, Kastner gave countless concerts and conferences focusing on early Iberian music. Under the slogan of Renascimento Musical, 'Por mares nunca d'antes navegados',²⁸ he included at the Sala Parès a *Fugato* by Carlos Seixas, the *Toccata in G minor* wrongly attributed to Sousa Carvalho and later included in his *Cravistas Portuguezes*,²⁹ and the *Rondo in B flat* by Felipe Rodríguez published in Joaquín Nin's *Classiques Espagnols du Piano*,³⁰ together with English, Dutch and French composers (see Figure 3). Critics highlighted Kastner's interest 'por las obras nuevas y desconocidas' [in new and unknown pieces] presented to the public in 'programas inteligentes e interesantemente combinados' [intelligent and interestingly crafted programmes].³¹ Kastner dedicated the first, second and first pieces of the third

contemporary national composition. The origins of Renascimento Musical as well as the political and nationalistic discourse that supported it are studied in Teresa CASCUDO, "Por amor do que é português": El nacionalismo integralista y el renacimiento de la música antigua portuguesa entre 1924 y 1934', in *Concierto barroco. Estudios sobre música, dramaturgia e historia cultural*, edited by Juan José Carreras and Miguel Ángel Marín (Logroño, Universidad de La Rioja, 2004), pp. 309-33; and Manuel Deniz SILVA, 'O projecto nacionalista do Renascimento musical (1923-1946)', *Ler História*, 46 (2004), pp. 27-57.

²⁵ Ivo CRUZ, 'O Renascimento Musical. Prefácio da 1ª edição da Abertura em si bemol para orquestra de arco de Carlos Seixas. Lisboa, Conservatório Nacional, 1965', in *Documentos para a história da música portuguesa I* (Lisbon, Renascimento Musical, 1991), p. 1.

²⁶ *Cravistas Portuguezes* (see note 9). Cruz stated that Kastner was the first to publish a modern edition of Portuguese composers. CRUZ, 'O Renascimento Musical' (see note 25), p. 4.

²⁷ NERY, 'Kastner, Carl Macarius Santiago' (see note 4), p. 671.

²⁸ 'Por mares nunca d'antes navegados' is a verse from the epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (Canto I) by Luís de Camões (c. 1524-80) and the slogan under which Renascimento Musical started its activity championing early Portuguese music.

²⁹ *Cravistas Portuguezes* (see note 9), pp. 46-51. João Pedro d'Alvarenga recently discovered that the *Toccata in G minor* was written by the Italian composer Mattia Vento (1735-76). João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Sobre a autoria das obras para tecla atribuídas a João de Sousa Carvalho', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 4-5 (1994-5), pp. 115-45, at pp. 115-7.

³⁰ *Classiques Espagnols du Piano* (see note 7), pp. 39-42.

³¹ J. P. *Las Noticias* (8 December 1931), press clipping, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier [without catalogue number].

part of the programme to seventeenth and eighteenth-century composers and the last part of the programme to ‘alguns músicos russos, de Romania, de l’Uruguay, Xile [...] i la Garriga’ [some Russian composers, from Romania, Uruguay, Chile [...] and La Garriga].³² Thus, Kastner presented himself as a versatile performer playing seventeenth and eighteenth-century music on a Pleyel harpsichord and, from Mozart’s *Fantasy in C minor* K 475 onwards, on a Blüthner piano. The same programme with minor changes—mainly, the addition of the *Diferencias sobre el canto del caballero* by Antonio de Cabezón (1510-66)—was performed at the Grassi Museum in Leipzig in February 1932,³³ and at the Conservatorio ‘Giuseppe Verdi’ in Milan, in April.³⁴ This last concert was especially successful according to his correspondence with Gibert Camins, to whom he wrote that the audience of around 800 preferred the harpsichord and demanded four encores: one on the piano—a *Dance* by Enrique Granados—and three on the harpsichord: a *Finale* by Haydn, a piece by Handel and the *Rondo in B flat* by Felipe Rodríguez.³⁵

These first examples show, on the one hand, Kastner’s commitment to championing Portuguese—and Spanish—repertoires expressed in ‘Portugal e a música do cravo dos séculos XVII e XVIII’ and, on the other hand, Kastner’s commitment in bringing the harpsichord back to life in order to play early music according to historical style.³⁶ The latter is supported in ‘Die Heutige Cembalokunst’ published in *Die Musik*³⁷ in October 1932, a seminal article of Kastner’s early career. Like Wanda Landowska—whom he admired—he defended playing early repertoire before Mozart on a modern harpsichord inspired by the best known prototype; for example, the Pertici harpsichord with 8’, 4’ and 16’ stops on its lower manual preserved in the Heyer Collection in Leipzig.³⁸ Kastner might have known this instrument in the mid 20’s when he still lived in Leipzig

³² F. Ll. ‘Crónica Musical. Sala Parès’, *La veu de Catalunya* (11 December 1931), Edició del Matí, p. 5.

³³ *Concert Programme, Cembalo und Klavier Abend, Macarius Kastner, Grassi Museum zu Leipzig (Montag 1 Februar 1932)*, BC Fons Manuel Blancafort, M 4897/23/54.

³⁴ *Concert Programme, Recital Macario Santiago Kastner (clavicembalo e pianoforte), sala del Regio Consevatorio ‘G. Verdi’ Milano (Sabato 2 Aprile 1932)*, BC Fons Manuel Blancafort, M 4897/23/57bis.

³⁵ ‘Salí con toda tranquilidad delante de un público de unas 800 personas [...]. Después de la primera parte ya tuve que salir 3 veces [sic]. Al final 1 propina al piano (Granados Danza) y 3 de clave, Finale de Haydn, parte de Handel y el Rondó del P. Rodríguez. Pues un gran éxito público y espero que las críticas sean buenas. Tocé [sic] piano Pleyel, era algo por el estilo como aquel en el Palau pero encuentro que he tocado bastante bien, pero se ve que el público prefiere el clave’. Handwritten letter from Santiago Kastner to Joan Gibert Camins, dated Milan, 3 April 1932, BC Fons Josep M. Mestres Quadreny, carpeta Gibert Camins.

³⁶ ‘Das Bedürfnis nach stilgerechter Ausführung historischer Musik hat das Cembalo zu neuem Leben gebracht’, Macario KASTNER, ‘Die Heutige Cembalokunst’, *Die Musik*, 25/1 (October 1932), pp. 41-3.

³⁷ *Die Musik* was established by Bernard Schuster in 1901 and was the most successful of the periodicals intended for a wide and inclusive readership. Based in Berlin, it became in 1933 the official music journal of the Nazi Party and changed its name to *Musik im Kriege* in 1943.

³⁸ The Heyer Collection of Musical Instruments has been displayed and changed its name to the Grassi Museum of Musical Instruments of the University of Leipzig since May 1929. The collection returned to Leipzig—from Cologne—in 1926 when the University of Leipzig bought it from the heirs of the paper manufacturer Wilhelm Heyer, who had previously bought it in 1905 from the Dutch collector based in Leipzig, Paul de Witt. For further information see ‘The History of the Museum of Musical Instruments’ <<http://mf.uni-leipzig.de/en/dasmuseum/Geschichte.php>> (accessed 5

and visited the ‘office and workshop of the famous Paul de Witt’,³⁹ as he told Bernard Brauchli, and he became especially familiar with it during his visit to the Grassi Museum in February 1932. This best-known prototype in fact inspired the modern models built by Neupert and Pleyel among others,⁴⁰ specifically, the Grand Modèle de Concert that Landowska displayed in all her recitals after 1912 and that accompanied Kastner during the 1930s, since he bought his own instrument in Paris in 1932.⁴¹

This purchase, together with the existence of the following documents in his *Espólio*: the dossier including programmes and reviews from the early 1930s⁴²—which Kastner gathered together in a promotional brochure in around 1935⁴³—, and his personal *curriculum* compiled during the late 1940s,⁴⁴ show Kastner’s aim to establish himself as a historically informed harpsichordist and a specialist in Spanish and Portuguese music. Critics highlighted his mastery in the use of the limited sonority of the ancient instrument and his knowledge of a vast keyboard repertoire and the different styles of each period.

Especially relevant is the last review included in the promotional brochure, since it summarizes Kastner’s ideas exposed in his concert-lecture held in Amsterdam on 14 November 1932, given to a selected group of around 80 members and invited guests of the Amsterdam College of Music (see Figure 4).⁴⁵ The lecture was on keyboard music before 1650 in the first half and, in the second, on eighteenth-century Portuguese and Spanish keyboard music. It briefly outlined the content of his later publication *Música hispânica* (1936),⁴⁶ and some of the ideas he noted down in the preface of his *Cravistas Portuguezes* (1935). In particular, Kastner first discussed the influence of English virginalists on other schools of the time and the influence the Dutch composer Sweelinck had in Portugal and Spain. He subsequently played the *Diferencias* (variations) *sobre el canto del*

February 2016). When Landowska was carrying out her research in order to build her Pleyel Grand Modèle de Concert, the Heyer Collection was based in Cologne.

³⁹ Bernard BRAUCHLI, ‘Interview with Professor Macario Santiago Kastner (Lisbon, July 1984) by Bernard Brauchli’, in *De Clavicordio VIII. The Clavichord in the Iberian Peninsula. Proceedings of the VII International Clavichord Symposium, Magnano, 5-8 September 2007*, edited by Bernard Brauchli, Alberto Galazzo and Judith Wardman (Magnano, Música Antica a Magnano, 2008), pp. 63-7, at p. 65.

⁴⁰ Edward Kottick analyses how, from Parisian to German and English builders, the harpsichord revival was accomplished by piano manufacturers who developed modern prototypes based on or inspired by historical models—German especially by the so-called ‘Bach harpsichord’ with 1x16’, 2x8’ and 1x4’ stops—but implementing the advantages of modern industrial methods in the manufacturing process. See Edward L. KOTTICK, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Bloomington - Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 407-34.

⁴¹ ULLRICH-EBERIUS - ULLRICH, ‘Macario Santiago Kastner’ (see note 4), p. 53.

⁴² BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier [without catalogue number].

⁴³ ‘Promotional Brochure. Santiago Kastner. Clavecin et Piano’, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, SK/VAR/Cx1, pasta 7:4.

⁴⁴ ‘Macario Santiago Kastner’s Curriculum Vitae’ (see note 16).

⁴⁵ *Algemeen Handelsblad* (15 November 1932), press clipping. ‘Promotional Brochure’ (see note 43), p. 4.

⁴⁶ Santiago KASTNER, *Música hispânica. O estilo do Padre Manuel Rodrigues Coelho e a interpretação da música hispânica para tecla desde 1450 até 1650* (Lisbon, Ática, 1936).

caballero—suggesting, in *Música hispânica*, that he played the entire piece in *Andante*, slightly *ritardando* at the end of each variation and paying deep attention to the articulation in order to make the four-voice counterpoint understandable⁴⁷—and the *Pavana Italiana* by Cabezón, ‘op welker thema eveneens door Sweelinck en Bull composities waren geschreven’ [upon which theme, compositions by Sweelinck and Bull were also written].⁴⁸ He continued with *Wolseys Wilde* by Byrd, the *Fantasia Cromatica* by Sweelinck and a *Canzona* by Girolamo Frescobaldi, with the novelty of placing the *Tento in D* by Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, the opening piece of his *Cravistas Portuguezes*, before Sweelinck’s *Fantasia* and thus exposing the similarities and discrepancies between these composers. Kastner stated that ‘Coelho terá conhecido as obras de Jan Pietersz. Sweelinck, o grande organista da “Oude Kerk” de Amsterdão’ [Coelho would have known the output of Jan Pietersz. Sweelinck, the great organist of the ‘Oude Kerk’ in Amsterdam], as he later explored in his *Música hispânica*.⁴⁹ Next, and before closing the programme Bach’s magnificent *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue* BWV 903, Kastner discussed the influence of Domenico Scarlatti in the Peninsula, illustrated by the works of two of his disciples: a *Toccatà* by the Portuguese Carlos Seixas, and a *Sonata in D minor* by the Spaniard Antonio Soler. They kept, though, ‘o seu próprio feitio’ [their own style], according to Kastner,⁵⁰ and he was especially praised for playing ‘een aantal Werken in manuskript’ [some works from the manuscript] by Seixas, Frey Jacinto and Sousa Carvalho,⁵¹ as they were being edited for his *Cravistas Portuguezes*.

A few days after this concert-lecture, Kastner prepared the next milestone in his championing of Portuguese repertoires and his first public concert in Portugal to that date: the premiere of Carlos Seixas’ *Harpsichord Concerto in A major* on 13 February 1933 (see Figure 5), with Ivo Cruz as conductor at the Teatro Nacional de São Carlos in Lisbon, with 1500 people in attendance.⁵² This success was probably the result of Ivo Cruz’s intelligent programming, which included the premiere of Sousa Carvalho’s *Amor Industrioso Overture* together with the brief Seixas *Concerto* in the first half and W. A. Mozart’s *Requiem* to close the *soirée*. Kastner himself disliked Seixas’s *Concerto* and considered it ‘difícil [and] *gauche*’ [difficult, *gauche*],⁵³ but the Lisbon press was keen to

⁴⁷ KASTNER, *Música hispânica* (see note 46), pp. 115-6.

⁴⁸ *Algemeen Handelsblad* (see note 45). Kastner explored this issue in depth in Santiago KASTNER, ‘Parallels and Discrepancies Between English and Spanish Keyboard Music of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century’, *Anuario Musical*, 7 (1952), pp. 76-115.

⁴⁹ KASTNER, *Música hispânica* (see note 46), p. 46.

⁵⁰ *Cravistas Portuguezes* (see note 9), p. 2.

⁵¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad* (see note 45).

⁵² ‘El lunes fue el concierto de orquesta, iba muy bien, hubo 1500 personas en la sala, muchos aplausos y tuve que tocar 2 piezas de propina’, handwritten letter from Santiago Kastner to Joan Gibert Camins, dated Lisbon, 15 February 1933, BC Fons Josep M. Mestres Quadreny, carpeta Gibert Camins.

⁵³ Handwritten letter from Kastner to Gibert Camins (see note 52).

publish that ‘continuando a sua cruzada de propaganda das obras dos cravistas peninsulares, e em especial dos portugueses, [Kastner] vai executar este *Concerto* dentro de poucos dias em Paris, Haia e Barcelona’ [continuing his crusade in favour of the works of Iberian harpsichordists, especially of the Portuguese, [Kastner] is going to play this *Concerto* in a few days in Paris, the Hague and Barcelona].⁵⁴ On 20 April 1934, Seixas’s *Concerto in A major* for harpsichord was indeed the opening work of a concert organised by the Parisian Festival de Musique Ibérique (see Figure 6). Ernesto Halffter was the conductor of a concert that also featured Kastner playing the harpsichord part of Manuel de Falla’s *Concerto pour clavecin et cinque instruments* and *El retablo de Maese Pedro*. The programme concluded with a selection of contemporary dances written by the Portuguese António Fragoso and the Spaniards Rodolfo and Ernesto Halffter, and Manuel de Falla. The critic André Himonet stated that ‘les noms, moins illustres de Carlos Seixas, António Fragoso, Ernesto et Rodolfo Halffter, figuraient également au programme, complétant la physionomie d’une des écoles les plus vivaces de l’Europe actuelle’ [the less celebrated names of Carlos Seixas, António Fragoso, Ernesto and Rodolfo Halffter were also on the programme, completing the profile of one of the most vibrant contemporary European schools],⁵⁵ i.e., the Iberian, being by that time highly personified in Manuel de Falla’s *Retablo* and *Concerto*.

In summer 1934 Kastner wrote to Gibert Camins about the repertoire he was preparing for his future engagements. It included Haydn’s harpsichord *Concerto in D major*—Kastner giving the modern première in Lisbon on February 1935—⁵⁶, a few pieces by Scarlatti, Bach and ‘una Sonata en la menor del P. Soler, es del 2º tomo [Nin’s *Classiques Espagnols du Piano*], muy graciosa y muy española’ [a *Sonata in A minor* by P. Soler, from the second volume, very amusing and very Spanish],⁵⁷ according to Kastner. All these works together with Seixas’s harpsichord *Concerto in A major* made up his programmes on the Nordic Tour through the Baltic and Scandinavian countries in March and April 1935. The Portuguese press regarded Kastner as the best Ambassador of Portuguese music in places such as Tallinn, Vyborg, Helsinki and Stockholm, ‘com um zelo e um fervor mais próprios dum nacional patriota que dum simples hóspede’ [with zeal and fervour more suited to a compatriot than to a foreigner].⁵⁸ The choice of Haydn’s and Seixas’s concertos as the

⁵⁴ ‘A música. Santiago Kastner’, unidentified journal, press clipping, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier [without catalogue number].

⁵⁵ André HIMONET, ‘Les amis des artistes’, *L’Ami du Peuple*, transcription included in BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier [without catalogue number].

⁵⁶ *Concert Programme, Academia de Amadores de Música, Lisboa (22 Fevereiro 1935)*, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier [without catalogue number].

⁵⁷ Handwritten letter from Santiago Kastner to Joan Gibert Camins, dated Lisbon, 21 July [1934], BC Fons Josep M. Mestres Quadreny, Carpeta Gibert Camins.

⁵⁸ ‘A Música’. *Diário de Notícias* (30 May 1935), press clipping, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier [without catalogue number].

core of his repertoire during that tour consolidated Kastner's belief that Portuguese music deserved its place in international concert programming. Both concertos were played on his Pleyel harpsichord and Helsinki critics praised him for providing audiences with 'a graphic idea of how in days gone by were placed the old masters' compositions', in contrast to modern soloists, who played them on the grand piano with the accompaniment of a grand orchestra.⁵⁹ The critic from *Helsingin Sanomat* considered Seixas 'more suited for the nature of the instrument',⁶⁰ something Kastner agreed with as he considered that 'el segundo tiempo [de Haydn] sonará siempre mejor en piano. Lo mejor me sale este concierto es con antiguo piano que tengo y que data del 1840' [the second movement will always sound its best on the piano. I play this concert best on an antique piano that I own dating from 1840].⁶¹

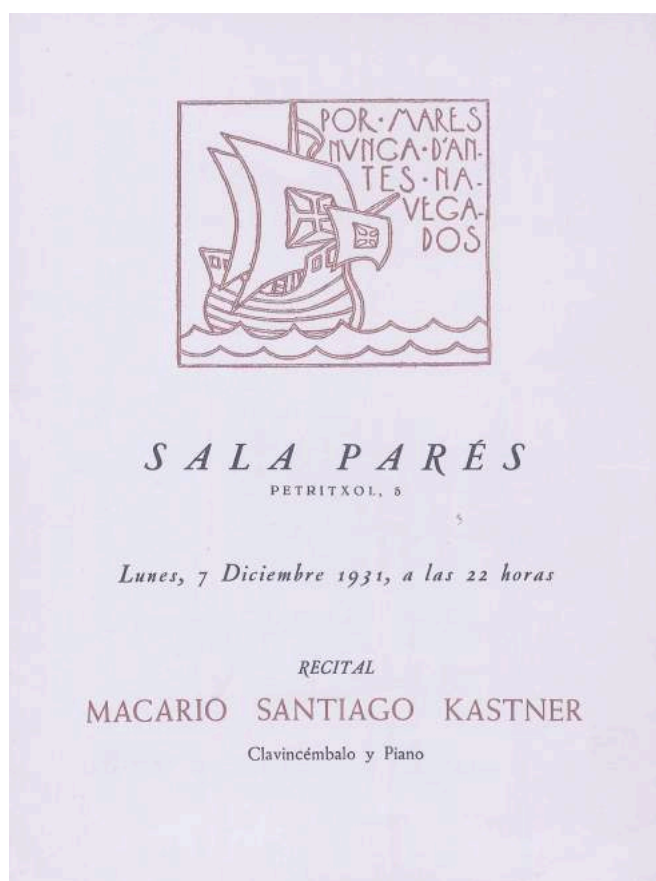


Figure 2. Concert programme, recital de Macario Santiago Kastner, clavicémbalo y piano, sala Parès, Barcelona, Lunes 7 Diciembre 1931 [Cover] Lisbon, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier C

⁵⁹ Y.S. *Uusi Suomi*, Helsingfors (23 March 1935), translated by M. S. Kastner, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier B.

⁶⁰ E.K. 'Symphony Concert XIII', *Helsingin Sanomat*, Helsingfors (23 March 1935), translated by M. S. Kastner, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier B.

⁶¹ Handwritten letter from Kastner to Gibert Camins (see note 57).

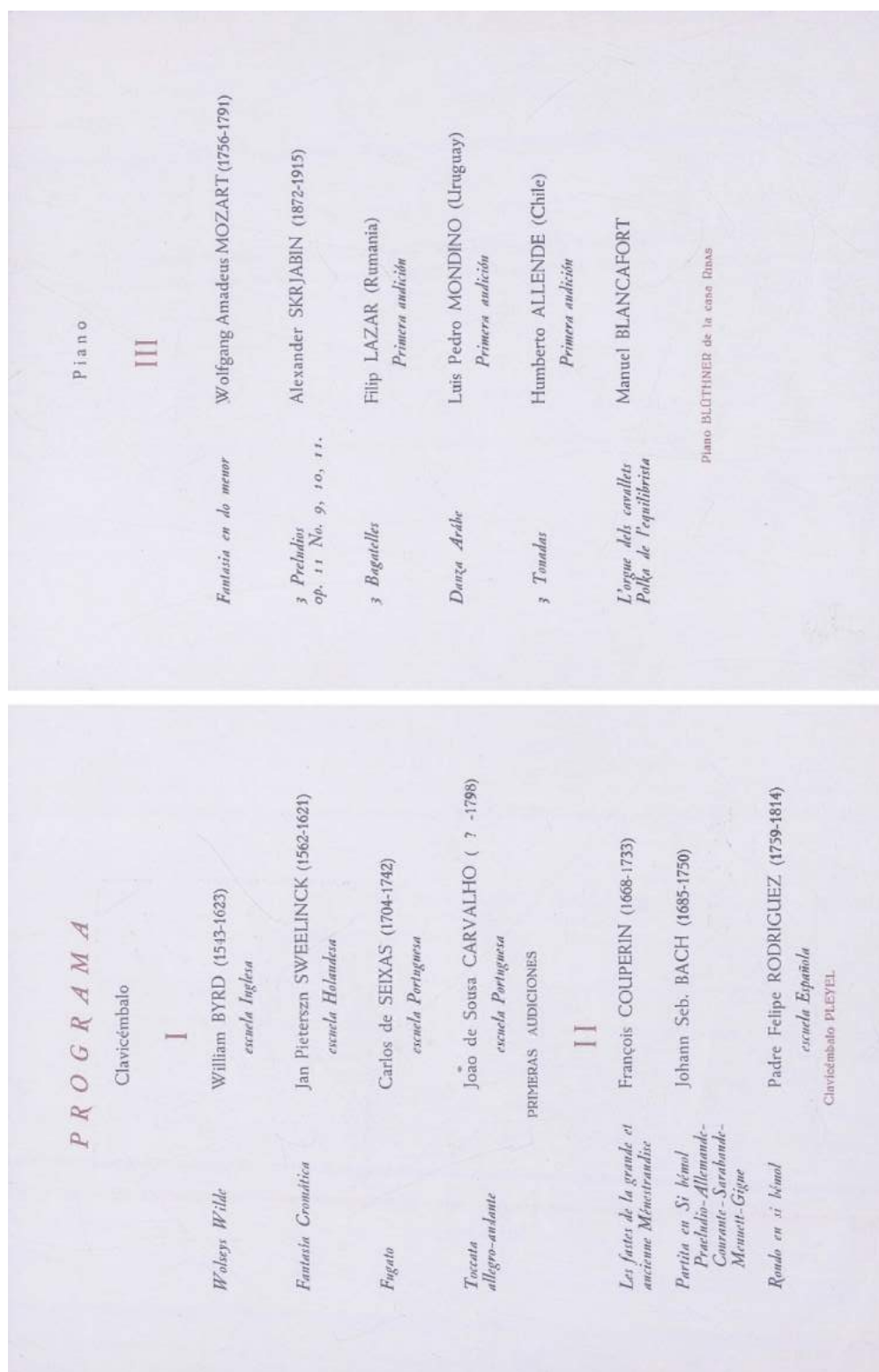


Figure 3. Concert programme, recital de Macario Santiago Kastner, clavicémbalo y piano, sala Parès, Barcelona, Lunes 7 Diciembre 1931, Lisbon, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier C

<u>AMSTERDAMSCH MUZIEKCOLLEGE</u>		
PROGRAMMA		
van de door		
<u>MACARIO SANTIAGO KASTNER te spelen werken.</u>		
<u>Klaviermuziek van vòòr 1650</u>		
Diferencias sobre el canto del Caballero		
Pavana Italiana	Antonio a Cabezon	1510-1566 Spanje
Wlseys Wilde	William Byrd	1543-1623 Engeland
Tento op de 1. toon	P. Manoel Rodriguez Coelho	ca. 1580-1622 Portugal
Fantasia Cromatica	Jan Pieterszn Sweelinck	1561-1621 Nederland
Canzona	Girolamo Frescobaldi	1583-1643 Italie

II		
<u>18e eeuwse Klaviermuziek uit Spanje en Portugal</u>		
Toccata	Carlos de Seixas	1704-1743
adagio cantabile-Allegro		Portugal
Menuett	Fray Jacinto	ca. 1750 Portugal
Sonata re mineur	P. Antonio Soler	1729-1783 Spanje
Toccata	João de Sousa Carvalho	? - 1798
allegro-andante		Portugal
Chromatische Fantasie en Fuge	Joh. Seb. Bach.	1685-1750

Pleyel-cembalo van de Fa. Duwaer en Naessens, Stadhouderskade 19-20		

Figure 4. *Concert Programme, Amsterdamsch Muziekcollege, programme van der door Macario Santiago Kastner te spleen werken*, Lisbon, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, SK/VAR/Cx1, pasta 7:4

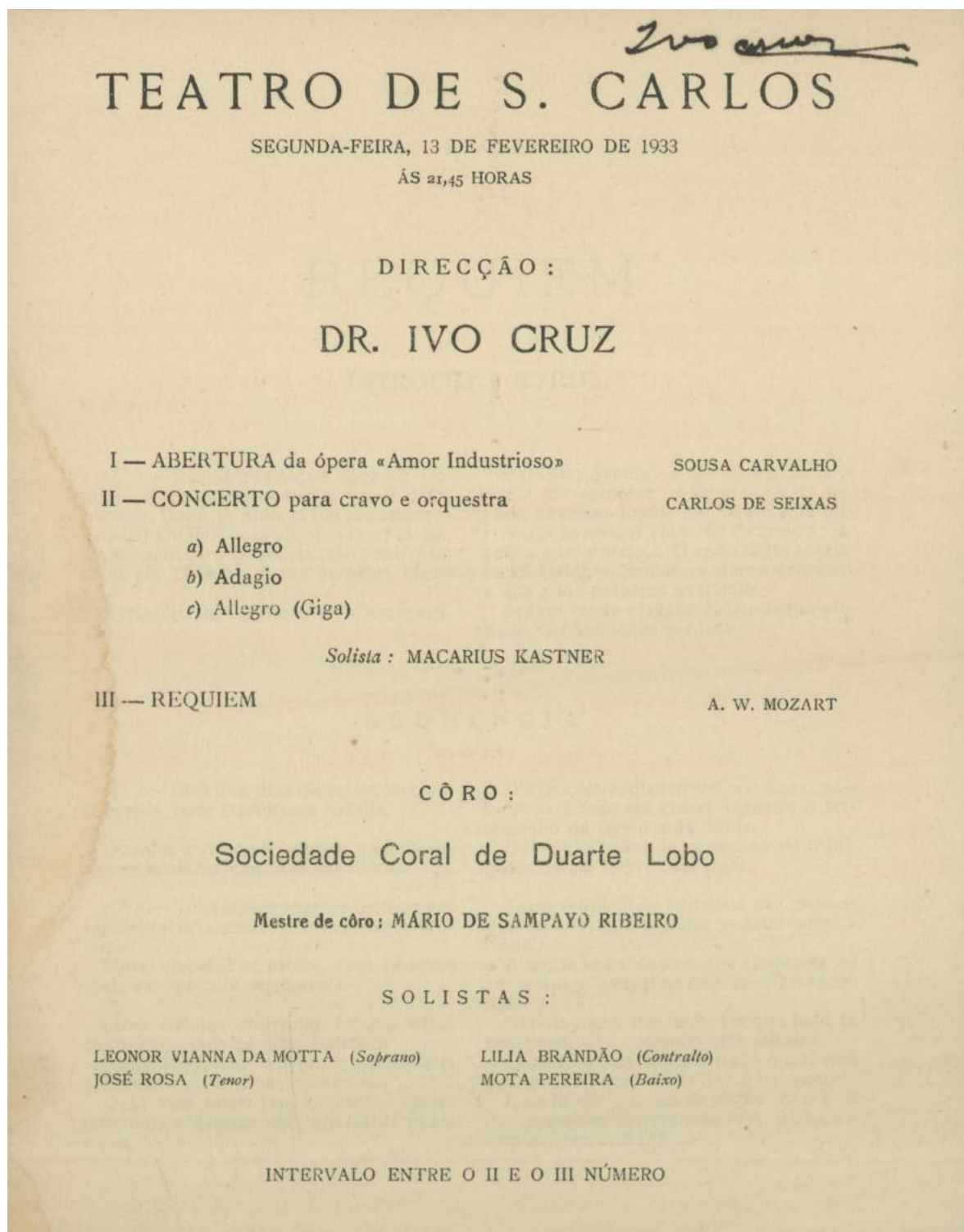


Figure 5. Concert Programme, Teatro de S. Carlos Lisboa, 13 de fevereiro de 1933, direcção: Ivo Cruz, Lisbon, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier C

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**ADMINISTRATION DE CONCERTS
DE L'OFFICE INTERNATIONAL DES ARTISTES**
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SALLE DE L'ÉCOLE NORMALE DE MUSIQUE
Vendredi 20 Avril 1934 à 5 h. 30 précises

FESTIVAL DE MUSIQUE IBÉRIQUE
AU BÉNÉFICE DE L'ŒUVRE DES VIEUX MUSICIENS
Reconnue d'Utilité Publique et de Bienfaisance
(décret du 17 nov 1929)
avec le concours de

L'ORCHESTRE DE CHAMBRE DES
“AMIS DES ARTISTES”
Directeur-Fondateur: Jacques **SERRES**
Sous la direction de

Ernesto HALFFTER

I **Concerto**, (pour clavecin et orchestre à cordes) CARLOS DE SEIXAS
Allegro — Adagio — Allegro (Gigue)
(Première Audition)
Au clavecin : **MACARIO SANTIAGO KASTNER**

II **Concerto**, (pour clavecin, flûte, hautbois, clarinette, violon,
et violoncelle) MANUEL DE FALLA
a) **ALLEGRO**
b) **LENTO** (Giubiloso ed Energico)
c) **VIVACE** (Flessibile Scherzando)
MM. F. MARSEAU — HEURTEFEUX — H. DIONET —
Y. SERPINET — J. REGULARD.
Au clavecin : **MACARIO SANTIAGO KASTNER**

III **Les Tréteaux de maître Pierre** MANUEL DE FALLA
(El Retablo de Maese Pedro)
Audition Intégrale
Don Quichotte, (Baryton) **Gustave SIMON**
Maître Pierre, (Ténor) **Pierre BERNAC**
Le Truchement, (Soprano) **Madeleine CHARDON**
Au clavecin : **MACARIO SANTIAGO KASTNER**

IV 1) **Danse** ANTONIO FRAGOSO
(Première Audition)
2) **Prélude et Fugue** RODOLFO HALFFTER
(Première Audition)
3) **Danse du Meunier** MANUEL DE FALLA
Piano Solo : **Colette GRAS**

V **Suite de Danses du Ballet „Sonatina”** ERNESTO HALFFTER
1) **LES SUIVANTES**
a) Rigaudon
b) Sarabande
c) Fandango
d) Gigue
2) **DANSE DE LA BERGERE**
2) **DANSE DE LA GITANE**
4) **DANSE FINALE**
Au piano Pleyel : **Colette GRAS**

Figure 6. Concert Programme, Festival de Musique Ibérique Paris, Orchestre de chambre des 'Amis des Artistes', sous la direction de Ernesto Halffter, Granada, Archivo Manuel de Falla, FE 1934-020

Santiago Kastner, Schott's Söhne and the Dissemination of Portuguese Early Music

In the summer of 1934 Kastner also sent to his publisher Schott's Söhne in Mainz the proofs of his *Cravistas Portuguezes*.⁶² This edition was finally released in April 1935⁶³ and it heralded the beginning of a fruitful association with the German publishing house that lasted until 1972, when Kastner published the two volumes of Antonio Soler's *6 Conciertos de dos órganos obrigados*.⁶⁴ *Cravistas Portuguezes* included the *Tento in D* by Manuel Rodrigues Coelho—opening the edition—, a *Toccata in D minor* by Frey Jacinto, twelve *Toccatas* by Carlos Seixas that belong to manuscripts preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (MM 338) and in the Biblioteca da Ajuda (MM 48-I-2),⁶⁵ an anonymous *Toccata* and, closing the edition, the *Toccata in G minor*, wrongly attributed to Sousa Carvalho.

Whether Kastner's criteria in editing early music evolved along his career, or whether they were or not appropriate at the time he published the first volume *Cravistas Portuguezes*, exceed the limits of this article. However, focusing on this particular edition of *Cravistas*, we must say that Kastner not only made a fair transcription of the sources, according to his criteria, without amending minor errors and entrusting their correction to the performer,⁶⁶ but also included some personal interpretative criteria, the result of his many years playing these pieces all over Europe, to make the edition understandable to people 'que tivessem pouca prática na execução da música dos séculos XVII e XVIII' [not very much trained in the performance of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music].⁶⁷ He subsequently achieved a suitable edition for performance standards at that time, quite removed from the Urtext ideal that, later in the twentieth century, contaminated performance as Richard Taruskin claimed in 1984,⁶⁸ but a step forward from Joaquín Nin's *Classiques Espagnols du Piano*. With regard to this last premise, Kastner himself indicated that the sort of 'sobrecarregadas' [overdone] editions—of which Nin's *Classiques* was an example—required for the beginnings of the twentieth century were no longer accepted because 'não se chega a saber o que é dos antigos espanhóis e o que é do Sr. Nin' [one does not get to know what belongs to the Old

⁶² Handwritten letter from Kastner to Gibert Camins (see note 57).

⁶³ 'Die "Cravistas Portuguezes" sind inzwischen erschienen', typewritten letter from Schott's Söhne to Santiago Kastner, dated Mainz, 11 April 1935, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier A.

⁶⁴ A total of eighteen volumes of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century music were edited by Macario Santiago Kastner and published by Schott's Söhne between 1935 and 1972. These are especially important not only because of their international impact at that moment but also because they are still, in many cases, the only modern editions of some Iberian masterworks available in the international market.

⁶⁵ For a detailed relation of Carlos Seixas's *Toccatas* included in *Cravistas Portuguezes* (see note 9) and *Cravistas Portuguezes. Band II*, edited and revised by Macario Santiago Kastner (Mainz, Schott's Söhne, 1950); see *Carlos Seixas: 80 Sonatas para instrumentos de tecla*, 10: *Portugaliae Música*, transcription and study by Macario Santiago Kastner (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1965), pp. xxii-xxvii.

⁶⁶ Santiago KASTNER, 'Sobre "Cravistas Portuguezes"', resposta ao Sr. Lopes Graça', *Seara Nova* (12 March 1936), pp. 195-7, at pp. 196-7.

⁶⁷ *Cravistas Portuguezes* (see note 9), p. 2.

⁶⁸ Richard TARUSKIN, *Text and Act. Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 71.

Spaniards and what belongs to Nin].⁶⁹ Example 1, showing Nin's vast array of dynamics, tempo indications and expressive signs—i.e. ligatures or *staccatos*—in opposition to Kastner's neater version of the score, is revealing.

Example 1. Left: Antonio Soler, *Sonata in C minor* [no. 3], *Classiques Espagnols du Piano: Dix-sept Sonates* (Paris, Max Eschig, 1928), p. 12. Right: Carlos Seixas, *Toccata in F minor* [no. 3], *Cravistas Portuguezes. Band I.* (Mainz, Schott's Söhne, 1935), p. 14.

In any case, and despite Fernando Lopes Graça's criticism of first, Kastner's scarce indications in fingerings and interpretative signs and, second, the several errors in either the copy from or the selection of the manuscripts⁷⁰—which Kastner attributed to the modest and practical, rather than scholarly, character of the edition—,⁷¹ Kastner's *Cravistas Portuguezes*, as well as many other former early music editions that reflect their simultaneous fashion in performance, may, nowadays, condition the performer in his approach to this repertoire, as Margaret Bent recently pointed out.⁷² Nevertheless, we should accept this as a minor inconvenience given the importance, at that time, of the edition in making early music accessible to the public. Moreover, we need to regard *Cravistas Portuguezes*, on account of its international impact, as the tool that 'heest [...] het repertoire van klavecijnisten en pianisten verrijkt' [enriched the repertoire of harpsichordists and pianists] with Portuguese music, as stated in the Dutch paper *Telegraf Zondag ochlind*, December 1935.⁷³

⁶⁹ KASTNER, 'Sobre "Cravistas Portuguezes"' (see note 66), pp. 196-7.

⁷⁰ Fernando LOPES GRAÇA, 'Panorama musical português. Os Cravistas Portuguezes', *Seara Nova* (27 February 1936), pp. 163-5, at p. 164.

⁷¹ KASTNER, 'Sobre "Cravistas Portuguezes"' (see note 66), p. 196. Kastner mentioned the impossibility of including—in this cheap edition by Schott, intended for private use—the necessary amount of information arising from the copies and manuscripts needed for 'edições críticas e científicas'. However, he did include these tables in *Carlos Seixas* (see note 65).

⁷² Although referring primarily to an earlier repertoire, Margaret Bent has explored how former practical editions may condition the reader as they reflect a fashion in performance. Margaret BENT, 'Editing early music: The dilemma of translation', *Early Music*, 22/3 (1994) pp. 373-92.

⁷³ 'Vergeten Muziek vraagt nieuwe Belangstelling. Portugeesche meester van het cembalo', *Telegraf Zondag ochlind* (8 December 1935), press clipping, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier B.

Portugal and the Clavichord

Santiago Kastner's decision to settle in Lisbon in early 1934 clearly favoured the publication of *Cravistas Portuguezes*, the edition of *5 Tentos* by Manuel Rodrigues Coelho a year later and,⁷⁴ ultimately, the publication of *Música hispânica*, bringing a musicological perspective to Renascimento musical. Additionally, Kastner intensified his concert activity in the Iberian Peninsula, especially in Portugal, and the number of Portuguese pieces appearing in his programming, as the concert given in Cascais on 24 August 1934 illustrates (see Figure 7). Organised by Ivo Cruz to celebrate Portuguese music at the Curso de Férias da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, this programme included ten of the sixteen pieces published in *Cravistas*. Kastner played on his Pleyel harpsichord the *Tento in D* by Rodrigues Coelho, the *Sonata in D minor* by Frei Jacinto and the *Sonata in G minor* by Sousa Carvalho in addition to seven sonatas by Carlos Seixas. A selection of songs by contemporary Portuguese composers performed by Maria Amélia Cid with the accompaniment of Ivo Cruz on the piano completed the programme.

CONCÊNTO DE MÚSICA PORTUGUESA			
ORGANIZAÇÃO E DIRECÇÃO: DR. IVO CRUZ			
COLABORAM:			
	D. MARIA AMÉLIA CID (soprano)		
	MACARIO SANTIAGO KASTNER (cravo)		
	DR. IVO CRUZ (acompanhamentos no piano)		
I — TENTO EM RÉ II — SONATA EM RÉ MENOR III — a) ADÁGIO DA SONATA EM DÓ MENOR b) ALLEGRO DA SONATA EM DÓ MAIOR c) ALLEGRO-MINUETO DA SONATA EM RÉ MENOR d) ALLEGRO DA SONATA EM SOL MENOR para cravo IV — CANÇÃO DA ALMOTOLIA (Afonso Lopes Vieira) V — CANTIGA DE EMBALAR (Cândida Aires de Magalhães) VI — NEVE EM FLOR (Afonso Lopes Vieira) VII — QUEIXA, AO FILHINHO QUE LHE MORREU (António Sardinha)	<i>Manuel Rodrigues Coelho</i> 1980—7 <i>Frei Jacinto</i> Sec. XVIII <i>Carlos de Seixas</i> 1704—1742 <i>Honorina de Moraes Graça</i> <i>Confessa de Prouença-a-Velha</i> <i>Laura White Marques</i> <i>Francine Benoit</i>	VIII — MELODIA IX — CANÇÃO DO BERÇO (popular) X — PASTORAL (Popular) XI — AQUELA MOÇA (Augusto de Lima) XII — a) SONETO DE AVILA (António da Silva) b) SOROR MARIANA (Afonso Lopes Vieira) para canto XIII — SONATA EM RÉ MENOR. Largo—Allegro SONATA EM RÉ MENOR. Moderato. Giga-Minuto ALLEGRO DA SONATA EM FÁ MENOR SONATA EM SOL MENOR. Allagro—Andante	<i>Alfredo Keil</i> <i>A. Rey Colaço</i> <i>Vianna da Matta</i> <i>Luiz de Freitas Branco</i> <i>Ivo Cruz</i> <i>Carlos de Seixas</i> 1704—1742 <i>Sousa Carvalho</i> ?—1798
Cravo: PLEYEL — Paris	Piano: PHILLIPS		

Figure 7. Concert Programme, *Concerto de Música Portuguesa*, organização e direcção: Dr. Ivo Cruz. Cascais, Museu-Biblioteca do Conde de Castro Guimarães (24 Agosto 1934) Lisbon, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier [without catalogue number]

⁷⁴ P. Manuel Rodrigues COELHO, *Fünf Tentos*, edited and revised by Macario Santiago Kastner (Mainz, Schott's Söhne, 1936).

Similar programmes resulted from the collaboration between Ivo Cruz and Santiago Kastner during the following summers. Of particular note is the concert-lecture given in Coimbra on 6 August 1936.⁷⁵ Following a summary of the history of keyboard music in the Iberian Peninsula dating back to the use of organs in churches from the eleventh to the fifteenth century and its blossoming during the sixteenth century, Kastner talked about the influence of Scarlatti and Jomelli in Portugal through the eighteenth century and named Carlos Seixas as the most significant composer of those days. To conclude, he recurred to a commonplace: ‘O século XIX com a vitória do piano forte é tão pobre em obras positivas para Portugal como para Espanha, e podemos dizer que só no século XX a música de tecla toma na Península novas formas, de maneira a ocupar posição independente no concerto das nações’ [the victory of the piano in the nineteenth century means a poor artistic period for Portugal and Spain, and we can say that only in the twentieth century did keyboard music develop new forms in the Peninsula, taking up its independent place in the Concert of Nations].⁷⁶ These statements not only formed the basis for his *Contribución al estudio de la música española y portuguesa*,⁷⁷ but also inspired some programmes in the forthcoming years. This programming consisted of a repertoire of early and contemporary Portuguese music and appeared in his tour through the Balkans in June 1938. Kastner visited places such as Zagreb (Croatia), Belgrade and Niš (Serbia), Sofia (Bulgaria) and Skopje (Macedonia),⁷⁸ another step in his championing Portuguese repertoires beyond the Pyrenees with mini-recitals introduced by some texts written by Kastner himself broadcast on local radio stations.⁷⁹ In addition to the *Tento in D* by Coelho, a *Toccata* by Seixas, and the *Toccata in G minor* by Sousa Carvalho, he included works by his contemporaries Ruy Coelho (1889-1986), Óscar da Silva (1870-1958), and Frederico de Freitas (1902-80).⁸⁰ These programmes exemplified his great belief that there should exist ‘uma linha de continuidade entre o passado e o presente’ [a line of continuity between the past and the present], an issue he had explored in a series of conferences given in Lisbon, ‘Problemas da Música Contemporânea’,⁸¹ immediately before his departure for the Balkans.

⁷⁵ The concert-lecture was entitled ‘A música portuguesa nos séculos XVII, XVIII e XVIII’ and took place on 6 August 1936 during the Curso de Férias at the Faculdade de Letras da Universidade da Coimbra.

⁷⁶ A review and summary of the conference were published in ‘Em Coimbra. Notabilíssima conferência—concerto pelo eminente cravista e musicólogo sr Santiago Kastner’, *Novidades* (10 August 1936), press clipping, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier B.

⁷⁷ Santiago KASTNER, *Contribución al estudio de la música española y portuguesa* (Lisbon, Ática, 1941).

⁷⁸ The programmes of this tour are preserved in several clippings located at the BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier B and SK/VAR/Cx1.

⁷⁹ Letter from Radiostanica Zagreb to Santiago Kastner, dated 24 May 1938, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner. SK/VAR/Cx1, pasta 3:22.

⁸⁰ Santiago Kastner included in his programmes in Zagreb, Belgrade and Sofia the following works: *Sonatina* by Ruy Coelho, *Toada Beiroa* by Óscar da Silva, *Sede no deserto* and *Ribatejo* by Frederico de Freitas and a *Danza* by António Fragoso. See BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier B.

⁸¹ Francine BENOIT, ‘Problemas da música contemporânea’, *Diário de Lisboa* (4 April 1938), press clipping, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner. Dossier B. Kastner’s interest in contemporary repertoires was life-long and enriched his approach

Kastner's programming in the late 1930s was also influenced by the interpretative criteria he had previously explored in his monograph *Música hispânica*, the very first monograph on the interpretation of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Iberian music. Its first part, 'O estilo musical do Padre Manuel R. Coelho', showcases Kastner's research previously presented in the article 'El Pare Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, compositor de música per a instruments de tecla envers 1600' in 1933,⁸² and in the paper read at the Third Congress of the International Musicological Society in Barcelona in April 1936: 'O estilo musical do Padre Manuel Rodrigues Coelho'.⁸³ Its second part, 'A interpretação da música hispânica para tecla desde 1450 até 1650', needs to be appraised as the written testimony of Kastner's activity in championing early Iberian keyboard repertoires: Kastner examined the discourse that supported the first half of his many programmes toured during the 1930s. It provides us with the historical or theoretical explanation that connects English and Dutch sixteenth-century music with the Iberian Peninsula, stating that influences from the Netherlands came to the Peninsula through Charles V and that the genre of the *Diferencia* set on secular melodies influenced English composers for the virginal.⁸⁴ His former student and friend María Ester Sala rightly stated in this regard that Kastner's 'postura musicológica es la de desarrollar un amplio y profundo trabajo de investigación e interpretación de estas nuevas fuentes [...] aportando una nueva manera de entender la música ibérica a través de la imbricación con la historia de la música y la historia de Europa' [musicological approach was to develop a wide and deep research and interpretation of these new sources [...], contributing to a new way of understanding Iberian music interweaving it with musical history and European history].⁸⁵ Most importantly, Kastner stated in

to the study of early repertoires. During the early 1940s he developed a substantial career as music critic in Lisbon ranging from early music concerts to opera and in 1942 he embarked upon Sonata, a musical association founded by Fernando Lopes Graça, Francine Benoit, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Silva Pereira and Kastner himself and committed to promoting contemporary music in Portugal. See BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, SK/HEM/Cx1-3 for an overview of Kastner's activity as music critic and reviewer and Fernando LOPES GRAÇA, 'Sonata', in *Dicionário de música (Ilustrado)*, vol. 2 (Lisbon, Edições Cosmos, 1958), p. 565.

⁸² Macario Jaume KASTNER, 'El Pare Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, compositor de música per a instruments de tecla envers 1600', *Revista Musical Catalana*, 356 (August 1933), pp. 324-7.

⁸³ The Third Congress of the International Musicological Society was held in Barcelona, 18 to 25 April 1936. Kastner read his paper on Monday, 20 April, in the following panel: Chair: Paul Marie Mason; Emile Haraszi (Paris): 'Le double aspect de l'art de François Liszt'; Santiago Kastner (Lisbon): 'O estilo musical do Padre Manoel Rodríguez Coelho'; Edgar Istel (Madrid): 'Work and personality of Felipe Pedrell'; José Subirá (Madrid): 'La música instrumental al servicio de las obras dramáticas declamadas'. For more information about the congress, see Igor CONTRERAS ZUBILLAGA, 'Ciencia e ideología en el III Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología (Barcelona, 18-25 Abril 1936)', in *Música y cultura en la Edad de Plata 1915-1939*, edited by María Nagore Ferrer, Leticia Sánchez de Andrés and Elena Torres Clemente (Madrid, ICCMU, 2010), pp. 143-56, María CÁCERES-PIÑUEL, *Musicología, nacionalismo y activismo social en la España de entreguerras. Una biografía intelectual de José Subirá (1882-1890)*, [Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation]. Bern Universität and Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014, pp. 100-13— I would like to thank the author for allowing me to read this work prior to its publication—and César CALMELL I FIGUILLEM, 'El III Congreso Internacional de Musicología en Barcelona 1936, a partir de la documentación guardada en el Fondo Higiní Anglès de la Biblioteca de Catalunya', *Anuario Musical*, 70 (2015), pp. 161-78.

⁸⁴ KASTNER, *Música hispânica* (see note 46), p. 28.

⁸⁵ ESTER SALA, 'Homenaje a M. Santiago Kastner' (see note 4), pp. 59-60.

Música hispânica the organological criteria that he experimented with in recitals and that established him as a pioneer in the use of the clavichord as a concert instrument, having learnt the technique ‘principalmente exhumando os tratados antigos’ [chiefly through the study of long lost treatises], as he remarked in his curriculum.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the international recognition of *Música hispânica* was jeopardized by the outbreaks of the Spanish Civil War and World War II, which prevented translations into Spanish and English in 1936 and 1939 respectively.⁸⁷

The use of the clavichord in a public performance took place in December 1938, when Kastner broadcast two concert-lectures entitled ‘Introdução à série de recitais e concertos sobre a evolução da música de piano’ at Emissora Nacional in Lisbon (see Table 1).⁸⁸ He had previously explored the evolution of harpsichord and clavichord music from the fifteenth century to J. S. Bach in a series of concert-lectures in Lisbon in 1936 and,⁸⁹ in spite of arguing that Portugal had developed an increasing acquaintance with the virginal and other plucked instruments from the beginning of the sixteenth century in contrast to Spain,⁹⁰ he programmed on 1 December 1938 pieces by Conrad Paumann, Hans Kotter and the *Diferencias sobre el canto del caballero* by Antonio de Cabezón on the clavichord to illustrate some of the finest examples composed for that instrument. In the second session on 8 December, he played on the clavichord the *Suite in A major* by J. K. F Fischer, a *Ground* by Purcell, a *Sonata* by Seixas, a *Prelude and Fugue* by J. S. Bach and the *Fantasy in C minor* by C.P.E. Bach, alternating them with some other compositions on the harpsichord in order to explain the differences between these two keyboard instruments, especially those concerning ornamentation (see Table 1). This was indeed a key issue in his *Música hispânica* and the reason why he argued in *Cravistas Portuguezes* that, taking into account that the pieces could be played on the organ, clavichord, harpsichord or the modern piano, it is not possible to fix interpretative or expressive criteria,⁹¹ because each instrument imposes its particular style and ornamentation.⁹²

⁸⁶ ‘Macario Santiago Kastner’s Curriculum Vitae’ (see note 16).

⁸⁷ Kastner referred to these two misfortunes: ‘Me alegra saber que le agradó la “Música hispânica”, mala suerte tengo con ella; pues cuando la aceptó un editor madrileño y hecha la traducción castellana vino la guerra española y quedó todo deshecho. La traducción y el editor ya no están allí. Hace un año más o menos M. D. Calvocoressi me hizo un gran elogio en el Musical Times de Londres, recomendando al mismo tiempo una traducción al inglés. Visto que la recomendaba nadie menos que Calvocoressi, encontré un editor, en esto vino la guerra y nuevamente me encontré cortado del eje’, typewritten letter from Santiago Kastner to Joan Gibert Camins, dated Lisbon 11 March 1940, BC Fons Josep M. Mestres Quadreny, carpeta Gibert Camins.

⁸⁸ Programmes included in press clippings, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier B.

⁸⁹ Nogueira de BRITO, ‘Música’, *Diário de Notícias* (18 June 1936), press clipping, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, dossier B.

⁹⁰ KASTNER, *Música hispânica* (see note 46), pp 46-7.

⁹¹ *Cravistas Portuguezes* (see note 9), p. 2.

⁹² KASTNER, *Música hispânica* (see note 46), p. 49.

Date/Place	Programme
1 December 1938 Lisboa, Emissora Nacional	<i>'Stantipes'</i> - ca. 1350. Ex Robertsbridge Codex (harpsichord)
	<i>Mit ganezem Willen wunsch ich Dir (Canção glosada)</i> , Conrad Paumann, 1410-1473 (clavichord)
	<i>Fuga trium vocum</i> , Jan Ockeghem, 1430-1495 (harpsichord)
	<i>Preambulum</i> , Hans Kotter, 1485-1541 (clavichord)
	<i>Diferencias sobre el canto del caballero</i> , António de Cabezón, 1510-1566 (clavichord)
	<i>Wolseys Wilde</i> , William Byrd, 1543-1623 (harpsichord)
	<i>The Kings Hunt</i> , John Bull, 1563-1628 (harpsichord)
	<i>Fantasia cromática</i> , Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, 1562-1621 (harpsichord)
	<i>Toccata</i> , Girolamo Frescobaldi, 1583-1643 (harpsichord)
	<i>Tento</i> , P. Manuel Rodrigues Coelho (ca. 1560) (harpsichord)
	<i>Les fastes de la grande et ancienne Menestrandise</i> , François Couperin, 1668-1733 (harpsichord)
	<i>La Poule</i> , Jean-Philippe Rameau, 1683- 1764 (harpsichord)
	<i>Auf die Mayerin</i> , Johann Froberger, 1600-1667 (harpsichord)
<i>Toccata con lo Scherzo del Cucco</i> , Bernardo Pasquini, 1637-1710 (harpsichord)	
8 December 1938 Lisboa, Emissora Nacional	<i>Suite A major</i> , J. K. F. Fischer, 1650-1746 (clavichord)
	<i>Ground</i> , Henry Purcell, 1658-1695 (clavichord)
	<i>Sonata prima: Il combattimento tra David e Goliath [Biblical Sonatas]</i> , Johann Kuhnau, 1660-1722 (harpsichord)
	<i>Sonata</i> , Domenico Scarlatti, 1685-1757 (harpsichord)
	<i>Sonata</i> , Carlos Seixas, 1704-1742 (clavichord)
	<i>The harmonious Blacksmith (Suite in E)</i> , G. F. Handel, 1685-1759 (harpsichord)
	<i>Prelude and Fugue in F minor (The Well-Tempered Clavier, 2)</i> , J. S. Bach, 1685-1750 (clavichord)
	<i>Prelude and Fugue in G minor (The Well-Tempered Clavier, 2)</i> , J. S. Bach (harpsichord)
	<i>Italian Concerto BWV 971</i> , J. S. Bach (harpsichord)
	<i>Fantasia in C minor</i> , [C.] P. E. Bach, 1714-1788 (clavichord)
<i>Toccata in G minor</i> , Sousa Carvalho, ?-1798 (harpsichord)	

Table 1. Programmes: 'Introdução à série de recitais e concertos sobre a Evolução da Música de Piano, Emissora Nacional', December 1938

Conclusion

Santiago Kastner should be considered the first scholar performer to champion Portuguese repertoires prior to the eighteenth century beyond the Pyrenees, his first volume of *Cravistas Portuguezes* acquiring high acclaim in Europe, and the first performer to take up the clavichord as an organological choice to meet the standards of historically informed performance of sixteenth and seventeenth-century repertoires.

World War II prevented Kastner from continuing his international career as performer and confined him to Lisbon, but his results during the 30's were satisfactory enough to establish him as an undisputed voice in Iberian musicology. His two appointments in 1947 as Professor of

Harpichord, Clavichord and Interpretation of Early Music at the Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa and as Permanent Member of the Instituto Español de Musicología manifestly prove this. Most importantly, Santiago Kastner established the main research lines he would develop in depth throughout his career: the editing of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Iberian music and the systematization of the principles of the interpretation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iberian keyboard music through the study of treatises and organology.

Our current knowledge and appreciation of Portuguese music starts with Kastner's legacy but Kastner's importance is in danger of being taken for granted. Further research is needed into the exact nature of his contribution. I aim to analyse his pioneering work in making practical editions of Iberian music for international publishing houses and also his authority in the construction of an interpretative tradition of sixteenth-century Iberian keyboard repertoire. The simultaneous study of Kastner's editions, scarce recordings of these repertoires and his many essays on the topic will lead to a hitherto unexplored perspective on his particular historically informed interpretative approach to these repertoires and its inclusion in international concert programming.



Figure 8. *Macario Santiago Kastner playing the clavichord, photograph [1938] Lisbon, BNP Espólio de Santiago Kastner, caixa D*

Sonia Gonzalo Delgado has completed her PhD at the Universidad de Zaragoza in July 2017 with a work titled *Programming Early Iberian Keyboard Music. From Wanda Landowska to Santiago Kastner*. She has published different articles and presented papers in Spain, the UK, Portugal and Switzerland focussing on Wanda Landowska's reception in Spain and on Joaquín Nin's and Santiago Kastner's role in including early Iberian repertoires into concert practice. She also works in the arts management industry in Spain with the Otoño Musical Soriano Festival, and in the UK as concert manager at SJE Arts, Oxford.

Recebido em | *Received* 03/05/2016

Aceite em | *Accepted* 16/11/2016

