Poetic influence, to many critics, is just something that happens, a transmission of ideas and images, and whether or not influence causes anxiety in the later poet is regarded as a problem of temperament or circumstance. But the ephebe cannot be Adam early in the morning. There have been too many Adams, and they have named everything. The burden of unnaming prompts the true wars fought under the banner of poetic influence, wars waged by the perversity of the spirit against the wealth accumulated by the spirit, the wealth of tradition.

—Harold Bloom, *Yeats*¹


the focus from composition to performance — in particular, to guitar performance and the question of Andrés Segovia’s influence on Julian Bream.

My one brief encounter with Bloom took place at his home near Yale University, in October 2012 — more than eleven years after defending my master’s thesis and six years after my doctorate. To my amazement, Bloom told me that he had read the book *Mahler in Schoenberg* (in the original Portuguese), following keenly the arguments found in between the more technical musical analyses. On that occasion I gave him a bound copy of my doctoral dissertation, and on reading the title, he exclaimed, “Oh, Julian Bream... the lutenist!”

Bloom’s junior by three years, Julian Bream died ten months to the day after him, on August 14, 2020. Musician and critic belonged to the same generation; they lived in the same world.

I

According to Bloom, “Poetry begins, always, when someone who is going to become a poet reads a poem.” Thus, “to see how fully he reads that poem we will have to see the poem that he himself will write,” which will thus be *his own* “reading.” Bloom further states that “if we are talking about two strong poets, then the reading we are talking about is necessarily a mis-reading or... a poetic misprision.” Since our two “strong poets,” Segovia and Bream, are musicians, it is the analogous activity of *listening* that will lead to interpretation. This reading-listening will necessarily be, in Bloom’s conception, a poetic misreading or misprision.4

In this context, *poetic embodiment*, that is, what makes a poet a poet — or a musician a musician — necessarily involves the artistic struggle of the younger artist with their immediate predecessor, their *poetic parent*.

Therefore — adapting Bloom’s terminology — an “ephebic instrumentalist” must misread their precursor, if their performance is not to be epigonic, idealized, weak. Yet this does not in the least imply that they will imitate their precursor’s style of playing, sound, choice of repertoire, or rhetoric. Quite the opposite, because for Bloom, “since poetic influence is necessarily misprision, a taking or doing amiss of one’s burden, it is to be expected that such a process of malformation and misinterpretation will, at the very least, produce deviations in style between strong poets.”5

Since this argument is not always fully grasped — even in other studies engaged in musical analysis based on Bloom’s theory6 — it deserves special attention: strong

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influence, in the sense used by the American critic, is quite distinct from citation, from quotation, from the controlled, conscious incorporation of previous sources; it is a key element of an artist’s art, the voice (or ghost) of another within a work (and not within a person). To be influenced, for Bloom, is to deviate from the precursor; it is to accept the cost of begetting one’s own artistic self.

Seeking to inspire a more practical, less idealized form of criticism, Bloom proposed a map of revisionary ratios—a sixfold cycle that represents the main stages of poetic embodiment and the dialectics of influence. These stages (or categories) can help us understand the process by which a performer misreads the work of an earlier generation, as we shall see when we analyze Bream’s discography in relation to Segovia’s.

Bloom’s stages are never to be applied literally; they are merely clues to help the critic dissect the pragmatic dialectics of influence. The whole cycle can be summed up in three key moments: (1) the initial ironic deviation from the precursor’s work; (2) the emergence of a hyperbolic, creative imagination based on the precursor’s work; and (3) the projection or introjection of the precursor. These three moments have a variety of possible applications. They may be used to identify landmarks in the lifelong development of the poet qua poet in relation to the poetic parent (who elected them as they once were elected)—characterizing movements of expansion and retraction along the artist’s path, from its earliest to its last stages. And with equal validity, they may describe instances and tendencies within a poetic text itself—in this case, a musical interpretation.

In music, by focusing on discography, we of course take advantage of the fact that Bloom (here too recalling Borges) locates the problem of literary signification in the realm of reading: that is, he establishes a relationship between reading and writing:

The reader is to the poem what the poet is to his precursor—every reader is therefore an ephebe, every poem a forerunner, and every reading an act of “influencing,” that is, of being influenced by the poem and of influencing any other reader to whom your reading is communicated.

7 [In this paragraph, idealized and practical are Bloom’s terms: idealized describes a critical approach that attaches no significance to poetic influence, seeking rather to understand a single poem as an entity in itself; a practical approach, by contrast, interprets a poem as a reading of what came before it. See The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry, 2nd ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 43. For reference, here are the six revisionary ratios of poetic influence as they appear on the contents page of The Anxiety of Influence (p. x; see also the summary on pp. 14–16): (1) clinamen or poetic misprision; (2) tessera or completion and antithesis; (3) kenosis or repetition and discontinuity; (4) daemonization or the counter-sublime; (5) askesis or purgation and solipsism; (6) apophrades or the return of the dead.—Ed.]

8 [The word ironic may be surprising here. For Bloom, when the later poet deviates from the earlier poet, it is first in the form of a correction, as though to say, “Just here is the direction you should have taken.” But this correction necessarily depends on the later poet’s misreading of the parent work. The act of writing a new poem, therefore, leads to both ambiguity and irony—the suggestion of rich and incongruous meanings beyond the literal words of the poem. Cf. Bloom’s first stage of poetic influence, “clinamen or poetic misprision.”—Ed.]

For our purposes, this can be parodied and turned into a relationship between musical listening and performance:

The listener is to the recording what the interpreter is to his precursor — every listener is therefore an ephebe, every musical recording a forerunner, and every listening an act of “influencing,” that is, of being influenced by the recording and of influencing any other listener to whom your listening is communicated.

II

OVER THE COURSE OF HIS CAREER, Julian Bream released some fifty albums: the first when he was twenty-two years old, the last when he was sixty-two. Of these fifty, seven are solo lute LPs — three dedicated solely to the music of John Dowland, and five with the tenor Peter Pears. This count excludes re-releases, compilations, and live concert recordings unearthed after Bream’s retirement.

In our classification of Bream’s discography — directly inspired by Bloom’s six categories — the first phase (ironic deviation from the predecessor) consists of his first six LPs, recorded between 1955 and 1958, when he was less than twenty-five years old. These albums precede his contract with RCA, which encompasses the four later phases; therefore, none of these first six records is included in the RCA retrospective released in 2013 — a box of forty CDs and two DVDs. Of the six discs that make up this first phase, three present Bream playing the lute, not the guitar; and two — including the first one of his career — were chamber projects in a voice-lute duo with Pears. In his second solo guitar LP, from 1956, Bream presents what seems to be the first complete recording of Villa-Lobos’s Five Preludes.

The second period (the period in which, in Bloomian terms, the younger artist complements, completes, or extends the work of the older artist) spans the period from when Bream was twenty-six to when he was thirty-one years old. It starts with his signing a contract with the record label RCA, to which Bream would be connected

10 For this brief summary of Bream’s discographic career through the lens of Harold Bloom’s categories, I am taking as a basis my article “Julian Bream: Interpretação musical como obra autoral” [Julian Bream: Musical Interpretation as Authorial Work], written and published on the day of the English guitarist’s death, August 14, 2020, in Acervo Digital do Violão Brasileiro (see https://www.violaobrasileiro.com.br/blog/julian-bream-interpretacao-musical-como-obra-autoral/368). [Since this work is not available in English, this section includes some editorial footnotes, approved by the author, whose purpose is to make the connection with Bloom’s six categories more explicit.—Ed.]

11 [In this paragraph, “the ironic deviation from the predecessor” refers to Bloom’s first revisionary ratio, “clinamen or poetic misprision.” — Ed.]

12 Classical Guitar Anthology: Julian Bream; The Complete RCA Album Collection (rca/Sony, 2013).

13 [Bloom calls his second revisionary ratio “tessera or completion and antithesis.” The antithesis arises from the argument — made implicitly in the work of the younger artist — that the older artist was on the right track but did not go far enough, a failing that the younger artist seeks to remedy.—Ed.]
for over thirty years. There are nine albums in this period, spanning from 1959 to 1964: two more albums with tenor Peter Pears (one with lute — recorded live — and the other with guitar), two albums performing with orchestras, one with his own early music ensemble (the Julian Bream Consort), a solo lute album, and three solo guitar projects. This is when Bream records the first works that were dedicated to him by English composers, such as Lennox Berkeley’s Sonatina and Malcolm Arnold’s Concerto.

Included in the third period is a historic album tetralogy: Baroque Guitar (1965), 20th Century Guitar (1966), Classic Guitar (1968), and Romantic Guitar (1970), interspersed by lute records and albums with the harpsichordist George Malcolm. In this tetralogy, Julian Bream seems to reverse Segovia’s discographic concept — the “LP-recital” — moving towards a concept of themed albums and a rhetoric that one might call “instruction in sound” — the album as wordless essay. Among the new works presented here is Benjamin Britten’s emblematic Nocturnal, acclaimed as one of the greatest compositions for guitar in all its history. In terms of Bloom’s theory, the interpreter now minimizes the importance of interpretation itself — thus minimizing the role of the precursor.14

In the following period — marking a shift toward the counter-sublime, that is, a sublimity counter in nature to that of the precursor15 — there would be eleven more albums, recorded between 1971 and 1978, when the artist was between thirty-eight and forty-five years old. Only four of the albums in this span are solo guitar albums; indeed, two of them feature the participation of orchestras. Two of these four solo guitar albums are devoted entirely to Villa-Lobos: the first from 1971, including the famous recording of the Concerto with the London Symphony Orchestra, conducted by André Previn; and the second from 1977, containing the complete Studies. In two other albums, Bream performs as a soloist with the Monteverdi Orchestra, under Gardiner’s baton. There are also two solo lute albums, one of them being — once again — entirely dedicated to Dowland. Finally, there are the three albums recorded with John Williams, of which the last was recorded live. In seven of the period’s eleven records, there are other musicians, ensembles, or orchestras by Bream’s side. Also included in this phase is the album Julian Bream 70s, a record with compositions written for him by William Walton — the first recording of the instantly famous Five Bagatelles — Richard Rodney Bennett, Alan Rawsthorne, and Lennox Berkeley. The 1974 album, meanwhile, restores to the repertoire Mauro Giuliani’s seminal Rossiniane.

The fifth period spans twelve years of work, from 1979 to 1991: Bream, now in his full maturity, began this phase at the age of forty-six and ended it at fifty-eight. It is in this period that he faced — in his own way — the Spanish repertoire immortalized by Segovia. Out of the eleven albums released in this period, seven feature all-Spanish music, and one presents orchestral works by Brouwer and Rodrigo. The

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14 [Bloom’s third category, “kenosis or repetition and discontinuity,” entails “a movement toward discontinuity with the precursor.” — Ed.]
15 [In Bloom’s terminology, “daemonization or the counter-sublime” (his fourth category). — Ed.]
others are *Dedication*, which inducted seminal works by Peter Maxwell Davies and Hans Werner Henze into the repertoire and included works by two other British composers; *Two Loves*, with music by Dowland interspersed with recited poems by Shakespeare; and the Julian Bream Consort’s second album. This period can be linked to Bloom’s fifth and sixth categories: it marks the moment of *askesis*, when the later poet at last addresses the work of the precursor; it also marks the point at which the later poet appropriates the earlier poet—what Bloom calls the “return” of the precursor, just as if the precursor were the ephebe, that is, as if Bream were the earlier artist and Segovia the later.¹⁶

This discography has a coda: four more albums, one with orchestra (featuring his fourth recording of *Concierto de Aranjuez*), one focusing on twentieth-century music, one entirely dedicated to Bach, and one containing three major sonatas for guitar. These albums present original works by Tōru Takemitsu and Leo Brouwer, while reviving works from the 1930s by Antonio José and by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco—the latter a composer somewhat neglected in Segovia’s repertoire. The albums of this last grouping, as with those of the first, are not included in the RCA box.¹⁷

### III

**Bream’s catalogue** includes a large number of re-recordings, which attest not only to the importance of context—the concept of the album, the instrument used, and so on—but also to a serious pursuit of nuance and meaning in certain works. It is this latter topic that will be our focus.

In both classical and popular music, a long career as a recording artist entails making new recordings of certain songs or pieces from time to time, whether for artistic or commercial reasons. An example of an organic justification for re-recording can be found in Bream’s history with Villa-Lobos’s Twelve Studies. He had already recorded versions of the fifth, seventh, eighth, and eleventh studies in different LPs released between 1962 and 1971; when he came to record the whole cycle in 1977, it was only natural that he should record these previously released studies afresh, so as to present the complete set in a homogeneous version.

Beyond a certain point, however, re-recording a piece cannot be explained by reasons that are external to the music itself. From the perspective of Bloom’s theory, an exaggerated, even unnatural emphasis on certain parts of the repertoire is a symptom of the anxiety of influence, a case of complex deviation from the predecessor.

¹⁶ [Bloom’s fifth category, “*askesis* or purgation and solipsism,” is a stage in which the artist asserts freedom from all influence. His sixth, “*apophrades* or the return of the dead,” explores the paradox that occurs when an earlier work gives the impression of being influenced by a later one, that the younger artist is now the model and the older artist the young *ephebe* or artist-in-training.—Ed.]

In Bream's case, if we ignore the dozens of pieces recorded twice, sometimes in very distant stages of his career and often to meet the needs of an album with a specific repertoire, we are left with a smaller number of works to investigate: works that he recorded three, four, or even five times, always in commercial albums that were released as LPs or CDs.\(^\text{18}\)

When considering the discography of such a responsible artist as Julian Bream, the pieces to which he persistently returned assume a special emphasis, either as a privileged site in the artist's search for meaning or as the object of some sort of dissatisfaction—of a continual inner struggle for a more satisfying performance. Whatever the case, there is something in Bream's relationship to these pieces that merits our scrutiny, some factor that mobilizes his creative energies.

What are these pieces?

Let us start with the lute, where there is an abundance of works in three, four, or even five versions.

Here are the pieces by John Dowland that Bream recorded three times—five in all: *The Frog Galliard, Can She Excuse, My Lady Hunsdon's Puffe, Melancholy Galliard, and Semper Dowland, semper dolens*.\(^\text{19}\)

Two Dowland pieces received a total of four recordings: *Queen Elizabeth's Galliard* and *Tarleton's Resurrection*, the latter being—in a rather unexpected and bold move for a classical album—recorded twice on the same disc, *Two Loves* (1988), with the two versions separated only by the third scene in act four from Shakespeare's *Othello*, narrated by the actor Peggy Ashcroft. The second interpretation is ten seconds longer than the first.\(^\text{20}\)

Finally, the champion among re-recordings: *Lachrimae Pavan*, also by Dowland, which Bream recorded five times between 1957 and 1988.\(^\text{21}\)

Among the guitar works with at least three recordings, we find Villa-Lobos's Prelude no. 4. Other works that received three phonograph recordings are the

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18 I am referring here to different interpretations, of course: they are actual re-recordings, not re-releases of the same tracks in different formats or compilations.


*My Lady Hunsdon's Puffe, Semper Dowland, semper dolens, and Melancholy Galliard*: Recorded together in the LPs *Julian Bream Plays Dowland* (1957); *The Dances of Dowland* (1967); and *Two Loves* (1988).

20 *Queen Elizabeth's Galliard*: Recorded in the LPs *Julian Bream Plays Dowland* (1957); *Julian Bream in Concert* (1963); *Lute Music of Royal Courts of Europe* (1966); and *Two Loves* (1988).


21 *Lachrimae Pavan* appears in solo lute version in the LPs *Julian Bream Plays Dowland* (1957); *The Dances of Dowland* (1967); and *Two Loves* (1988); and in ensemble version in the LPs *An Evening of Elizabethan Music* (1962), and *Fantasies, Ayres and Dances* (1987).
Andante largo from Fernando Sor’s *Fantaisie*, op. 7, Joaquín Turina’s *Fandanguillo*, op. 36, Manuel de Falla’s *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy* (1920), and the Sarabande and Bourrée from Bach’s Suite BWV 996.  

Finally, Bream recorded four complete versions of Joaquín Rodrigo’s *Concierto de Aranjuez*.  

Cross-referencing these works with Segovia’s discography, some interesting conclusions emerge.  

Segovia recorded a few works by Dowland (there are recordings of some of Bream’s favorite works, such as *Melancholy Galliard* and *My Lady Hunsdon’s Puffe*), but they were never highlighted in his discography. The same is true for the Sarabande and Bourrée from the Suite BWV 996, which Segovia performed on a 78-rpm disc from 1947, evidently to fill out the program.  

Similarly, although he engaged with Sor’s music from the time of his early 78-rpm records, going on to record dozens of his works (often more than once), Segovia did not record the Andante largo from Sor’s opus 7 until he was eighty-six years old, in the LP *Recital íntimo* (1973). Nor did the Spanish maestro ever record Villa-Lobos’s Prelude no. 4 (of the Five Preludes, he recorded only the first and the third).

### IV

*If we are to compare* Segovia with Bream, then, the most significant pieces are Manuel de Falla’s *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy* and—even more significant because it was dedicated to Segovia and one of his favorites—Joaquín Turina’s *Fandanguillo*, op. 36.  

Composed in 1920 at the urging of Miguel Llobet, the *Homenaje* is Falla’s only

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22 Villa-Lobos, Prelude no. 4: Bream made two complete recordings of the Five Preludes—one for the album *Villa-Lobos and Torroba* (1956) and one for the album *Julian Bream Plays Villa-Lobos* (1971), but he had recorded Prelude no. 4 separately for *Popular Classics for Spanish Guitar* in 1962.  

Sor, Andante largo: Recorded in the LPs *Sor, Turina and Falla* (1956); *Baroque Guitar* (1965); and *Music of Spain*, vol. 4, *The Classical Heritage* (1980).  


Bach, Sarabande and Bourrée from BWV 996: Besides the complete recordings of the suite, found in J. S. Bach: *Lute Suites nos. 1 and 2* (1966) and in J. S. Bach (1994), they were also recorded in the LP *A Bach Recital for the Guitar* (1957).  

23 Its versions can be found in: *Julian Bream: Rodrigo, Britten, Vivaldi* (1964; conducted by Colin Davis); *Julian Bream: Rodrigo and Berkeley Concertos* (1975); *Music of Spain*, vol. 8, Rodrigo (1984; both conducted by John Eliot Gardiner); and *To the Edge of Dream: Rodrigo, Takemitsu, Arnold* (1993; conducted by Simon Rattle).  


25 The Bourrée also appears on a 1954 LP.
original work for guitar. Segovia recorded it in 1953 in the LP *An Andrés Segovia Concert*. Bream’s first version, on his first solo guitar LP, from 1956, is serene and mournful, almost lute-like. It has nothing to do with the nervous Hispanicism found in Segovia’s interpretation of a few years earlier.

Segovia recorded masterful interpretations of Turina’s *Fandanguillo* in 1928 and 1949, on 78-rpm records. Bream’s inaugural version, on the same 1956 album as the *Homenaje*, strikes one as an ironic primary defense mechanism, a respectful acceptance of the repertoire dedicated to Segovia.

Bream’s second recordings of *Fandanguillo* and *Homenaje* appear together in the LP *Popular Classics for Spanish Guitar*, from 1962. The contrast is suggestive. In the first recording, everything seems a little too careful and worked out in advance; the performance is rather dry and metallic, and the Quine guitar lacks the resources of Bream’s later instruments. In the second, Bream’s mature fluency and Robert Bouchet’s magnificent instruments are subjected to excessive reverberation. Everything is exaggerated, hyperbolic: here, surely, is one reason why Bream resolved to return to them later.

Thus, it is with freedom, courage, and a spirit of confrontation that Bream decides to open his 1984 LP — significantly titled *A Celebration of Andrés Segovia* — with his third and definitive recording of Turina’s *Fandanguillo*. This is his most balanced recording of the piece: Bream seems to approach it with wisdom and simplicity; he no longer wants to compete with Segovia and especially not with the historic recording of 1928. Instead, Bream sounds like the older artist, the foundation, the reference, while Segovia sounds like the younger, impulsive artist who is trying to establish himself. Here, precedence is reversed.

This same album includes Bream’s third performance of Falla’s *Homenaje*. With each successive version, Bream distances himself further from Segovia. Bream’s obsession with the work seems to have borne fruit: the ambience, sonority, and tempo are perfect, the funeral march merges with the habanera rhythm, and the theme from Debussy’s “La soirée dans Grenade” emerges seamlessly.

**TO BLOOM,** every strong interpretation is necessarily inauthentic; it is really a *misinterpretation*: “Every poem is a misinterpretation of a parent poem. A poem is not an overcoming of anxiety, but is that anxiety…. There are no interpretations but only misinterpretations.”26 Bream never recorded Ponce, Segovia’s most treasured composer, and Segovia, in turn, never recorded *Lachrimae* or *Aranjuez*. In listening to works such as *Fandanguillo* and *Homenaje*, one should keep in mind that the contents of the score are but a pretext for an auditory and artisanal game — a game of influence that is played in the concrete materiality of strings and wood amid instances of deviation, exaggeration, and ambivalence.

Dedicated to the memory of Antônio Augusto—in reminiscence of our encounters in Belém, Pará.

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Bibliography


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