

Joaquín Rodrigo and Julian Bream

Aspects of a Relationship

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Translated by Eric Johns

IN THE 1950S, as Julian Bream was beginning his precocious career as a concert artist in England, Joaquín Rodrigo was reaching a highly productive creative maturity combined, at last, with a measure of serenity. The most challenging years of the post-war period had passed. Despite the profound isolation of autarkic Spain, Rodrigo succeeded in having his music heard beyond Spain's borders, thanks, to a great extent, to the impact of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* among a golden generation of guitarists, not only Spanish but also European and American. Little by little, these performers were taking the guitar out of the Spanish enclave to which it had previously been relegated.

But it wasn't all about the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, for this was the decade in which Segovia added the *Fantasia para un gentilhombre* to his programs, premiering the work in San Francisco in 1958. It was not only guitarists who spread the music and name of Rodrigo but also the leading Spanish artists with international careers, such as the harpist Nicanor Zabaleta, who played the *Concierto serenata* all over the world, giving its premiere in 1956, or the cellist Gaspar Cassadó, who from 1949 on kept the *Concierto in modo galante* in his repertoire. Alicia de Larrocha and Gonzalo Soriano played his piano music; Victoria de los Ángeles sang his songs; Ataúlfo Argenta conducted his symphonic works. Rodrigo benefited from this happy moment in the history of Spanish music, in which Spain had more performers on the international stage than ever before. Rodrigo thus became, unintentionally, the leading light of Spanish music and, even more, of Spanish culture that isolated Spain could itself project outside its iron borders.

Although it is always advisable to discuss Rodrigo in a way that avoids being drawn into the vortex of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, on this occasion we cannot avoid delving into this recurrent theme. For it is precisely the *Concierto de Aranjuez* that drew together the young Julian Bream, at the dawn of his career, and Rodrigo, who was beginning to enjoy an international reputation unequalled by any other Spanish musician of the twentieth century, save perhaps Manuel de Falla.

The International Spread of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*

The *Concierto de Aranjuez* did not become well known outside of Spain until well into the 1940s. For more than six years — from its premiere in November 1940 until January 1947 — it had formed an exclusive part of the repertoire of Regino Sainz de la Maza, who had performed the work extensively in Spain but had not managed to give it international exposure. While we do not have any document that shows Rodrigo gave Sainz de la Maza exclusive rights to perform his guitar concerto during this period, everything points to a tacit agreement between the composer and the performer. What is certain is that the “liberation” of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* and its consequent entry into the repertoire of the new generation of guitarists, more technically capable than Sainz de la Maza, would be decisive in the work’s popularization and the reputation of its composer.

Although Rafael Balaguer performed the piece in January 1947, the critical moment for the concerto would be in December of the same year, when Narciso Yepes interpreted it for the first time under the direction of Ataúlfo Argenta. After Yepes’s 1947 performance, Sainz de la Maza recorded the work with the Orquesta Nacional under the baton of Argenta for EMI-Odeón in 1948. With the publication of the score in 1949 under the patronage of the Marquis de Bolarque,¹ the *Concierto de Aranjuez* entered a new phase with such significant milestones as the Paris premiere by Ida Presti at the Pleyel Hall on March 24, 1949, and the subsequent Paris performance on May 9, 1950, by the National Orchestra conducted by Argenta with Yepes as soloist. This performance brings us to the matter at hand, as Wilfrid Appleby, a person very close to Julian Bream at the time, published the following article in May 1949 on recent interpretations of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*:

The “Concierto de Aranjuez” was broadcast from France on September 16 last, with Ida Presti and the French National Radio Orchestra. Those of us who heard this broadcast will never forget the thrill of that superb music so brilliantly played. It was a studio performance, but the music lovers of Paris heard Ida Presti repeat her performance on March 24 at the Salle Pleyel, with the Orchestre des Jeunes Universitaires.

1 The publishing house was a joint-stock company called the Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones. It was presided over by Luis de Urquijo, the Marquis de Bolarque, and based at Barquillo St. no. 1. It published books such as *Carlos V y sus banqueros* by Ramón Carande, *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII* by Emilio García Gómez and E. Levi Provençal, and *Zarismo y bolchevismo* by Jesús Pabón. The publishing company advertised the sale of the piano reduction for 90 pesetas, the score for 200 pesetas, and the orchestral material for 800 pesetas. A letter from Urquijo dated March 17, 1948, found in the archives of the Fundación Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo, provides a few interesting details about the publication: “We hereby order Banco Urquijo to credit the account of Amigos de la Música de Joaquín Rodrigo, opened at the said establishment, Pesetas 5,000 (five thousand pesetas) for their royalties for the publication of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*.” In reality, this publication was practically private. It hardly had any distribution, and we strongly doubt that the Sociedad de Estudios ever had the piano reduction or the orchestral materials, as Rodrigo supplied these from his own home.



Joaquín Rodrigo. Photo by Gynes. The Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

Earlier in March — on the 2nd — a special two-hour programme of Spanish music was broadcast by the Swiss Radio. It included orchestral works by Falla, Turina and other Spaniards as well as the “Concerto de Aranjuez” by Rodrigo.

The guitarist was Narciso García Yepes and the Orchestre de la Suisse Romande was conducted by Ataúlfo Argenta, director of the National Orchestra of Madrid. . . .

A friend, now living in Switzerland, wrote of this broadcast: “Not since Segovia’s visit to England have I heard such an outstanding and masterly performance as the Rodrigo ‘Concerto’ played by Narciso Yepes. He is in the very first rank. He interpreted this ultra Spanish music with a fiery musicality I have seldom heard equalled. His technique is so effortless that one does not notice it; his tone mellow and crystal clear. He made us live the very spirit of this remarkable modern work. The Adagio movement was particularly beautiful, full of restrained and dignified feeling, and the last movement was playfully sparkling. Altogether a remarkable performance by a remarkable young man.”

I hope the B.B.C. will soon arrange for us to hear Rodrigo’s “Concerto de Aranjuez.”²

Surely, this article by Appleby would attract the attention of the young Bream: Bream had seen Andrés Segovia for the first time in December 1947, performing Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s Concerto, op. 99; emulating Segovia, he had included the piano accompaniment version of Ernest Shand’s guitar concerto op. 48 in his repertoire from 1948.³ On other hand, Appleby’s expectations related to the BBC would go largely unnoticed by the English media giant. Nevertheless, strings were being pulled for Rodrigo’s presentation in England in considerably more elevated spheres, such as those of international relations and high culture, precariously close in this era to political propaganda.

2 Wilfrid M. Appleby, “The Spanish Guitar,” *BMG*, May 1949, 166–67.

3 Graham Wade, *The Art of Julian Bream* (Blaydon-on-Tyne, UK: Ashley Mark, 2008), 22.

Rodrigo in London

At this point, we will consider a fascinating and crucial figure in the relationship between England and Spain in the 1940s and 50s: the Irish philharmonic diplomat Walter Starkie. Starkie had been the director of the British Council's British Institute in Spain since 1940.⁴ Tireless, passionate about music, and unflinching in his fight for culture, Starkie had been in correspondence with Rodrigo since 1945. At that time, Rodrigo was musical advisor to the Dirección General de Radiodifusión (General Directorate of Broadcasting) and, as such, primarily responsible for the programming of the Orquesta de Cámara de Radio Nacional, which had been directed—since its foundation in 1945 and with Rodrigo's strong support—by Ataúlfo Argenta. The cordial and fluid relationship that Starkie maintained with Rodrigo facilitated Rodrigo's visit to England, which took place at the end of 1950:⁵

My dear friend:

In regard to your trip to England, I have been lobbying the British Council and the BBC to see about the possibility of arranging a radio broadcast with you, as I had promised. But the British Council in London has officially informed me that the BBC has a rule to directly arrange its agreements with the artists, without the intervention of anyone else, which sometimes gives rise to unpleasantness.

When you go to London, I will inform the BBC of your arrival and the British Council will arrange your official program of visits with English composers and concerts.

It is advisable that you contact the BBC directly or else you should contact Mr. Javier de Salas, director of the Institute of Spain in London, 102 Eaton Square.

Naturally, when you go, I will give you a personal letter for the BBC and London musicians.

With many regards, I remain your affectionate friend.

Walter Starkie⁶

In early January 1951, Rodrigo traveled to Rome to attend Gaspar Cassadó's performance of the *Concerto in modo galante*. There he reunited with a good friend, the influential critic and musicologist Federico Sopena, whom he informed of his

- 4 On Starkie's activities at the head of the British Institute and his relationship with music, see Samuel Llano, "Starkie y el British Council en España: música, cultura y propaganda," in *Música española entre dos guerras, 1914–1945*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares (Granada: Fundación Archivo Manuel de Falla, 2002), 187–217.
- 5 Rodrigo's wife, Victoria Kamhi, points to Starkie as key in this journey in her memoirs: "Through the recommendation of Professor Walter Starkie—a man whose erudition was as great as his musical ability—we were invited by the British Council to spend two weeks in London and it was time that we put to very good use." Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My Life at the Maestro's Side*, trans. Ellen Wilkerson (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review, 1992), 148.
- 6 Walter Starkie to Joaquín Rodrigo, December 14, 1950, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

forthcoming English campaign. Shortly afterward, Sopena wrote to him, “If you have any difficulty with London, don’t hesitate to talk to Ruiz-Giménez, who is leaving [Rome] for Madrid. He is about to have his seventh child, but it seems the trip has a lot of political interest.”⁷ The musicologist was well informed, because Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, until then the Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See, resident in Rome, and principal host of Rodrigo’s stay there, would be promoted to Ministro de Educación Nacional (Minister of National Education). From such a privileged position, Ruiz-Giménez greatly favored Rodrigo, creating for him the “Manuel de Falla” chair at the Universidad Complutense in 1952 and awarding him the Gran Cruz de Alfonso X “El Sabio” (the Great Cross of Alfonso X “The Wise”) in 1954. On this occasion, Rodrigo did not need to resort to Ruiz-Giménez’s help, as his trip to England was very well planned. On his return from Rome, he must have received the letter sent to him on February 5, 1951, by Xavier de Salas, who had replaced Antonio Pastor as director of the Institute of Spain in London. Salas was updating Rodrigo on the progress of the preparations for his trip:

My distinguished friend,

I just received your letter confirming what our mutual friends have told me and what the British Council has communicated to me. I spoke with the latter this morning. We are preparing a concert of yours for the first of March at the Institute. The British Council will arrange things so that all those in London who are interested in music can attend. For this, I ask that you send me by return of post the program of what you expect to play from your piano music in your response for our promoters.

I believe a lecture in Spanish would significantly limit the number of listeners who would be able to follow it. French would be impossible, and you are unable to do it in English. Would it be too difficult to ask you to reduce your lecture to brief comments on your works? This commentary could be copied on just a few pages, and it would enable the English audience to follow, if not word for word, at least the sense of the content of your presentation. I expect a quick response to this.

The British Council has given me the names of those who can prepare your broadcast and also the people of La Voz de su Amo (His Master’s Voice). I will contact them and let you know as soon as I know something concrete.

Fondest regards,

Xavier de Salas⁸

The next significant communication about this trip that we find in Joaquín Rodrigo’s splendid collection of letters is from Aurelio Valls, a Spanish diplomat

⁷ Federico Sopena to Joaquín Rodrigo, February 8, 1951, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation. See Javier Suárez-Pajares, “El epistolario entre Joaquín Rodrigo and Federico Sopena. Una historia entre líneas,” in *Joaquín Rodrigo y Federico Sopena en la música española de los años 50*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares, (Valladolid: Glares, 2008), 439.

⁸ Xavier de Salas to Joaquín Rodrigo, February 5, 1951, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

and poet who occupied the post of secretary at the Spanish Embassy in London. Valls wrote on February 12, 1951:

My dear friend,

You don't know how pleased we are to hear the news of your upcoming arrival. You did very well in writing and can count on us for all your needs.

I have been in touch with the British Council, and they tell me they are expecting you on the 27th. If you send me a note confirming the day of your arrival, I will try to be at the station too.

Of course, Javier Salas is willing to offer you the Institute for a concert. I also believe there will be no difficulty in having you perform on the BBC. I hope they will have worked something out between now and when you arrive.

The British Council also tells me they are taking care of your accommodation. You will be more comfortable there than at our home, where our guest bedroom is, frankly, meager. Of course, it will always be available just in case you need it, and, of course, we hope you visit us at home whenever you are free of appointments and engagements.

Do not hesitate to write for anything else you may need.

Hoping to see you very soon and with affectionate regards,

Aurelio Valls

P.S. I have just heard from the BBC that they have received several letters recommending you, including one from Starkie. They are very willing and will undoubtedly do something.⁹

On February 26, 1951, Joaquín Rodrigo and his wife, Victoria Kamhi, finally traveled to London, where Xavier de Salas and Aurelio Valls received them. They stayed there until mid-March as guests of the British Council. We find brief references to contacts they made on this trip in Victoria Kamhi's memoirs. Several ambassadors and representatives of Chester publishing, the BBC, and the British Council attended the concert Rodrigo gave at the Institute of Spain, including the director of the music department, Seymour Whinyates. But what stood out the most was the intense social life.¹⁰ In this regard, Victoria Kamhi wrote the following:

Among the many invitations we received, I want to mention those from Michael Wood, director of Convent Garden, of the pianist Harriet Cohen, of Arnold Haskell, director of Sadler's Wells and of Harold Livermore, director of Canning House, whose wife, Ann, a singer and musicologist, became a great friend of mine.

- ⁹ Aurelio Valls to Joaquín Rodrigo, February 12, 1951, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.
¹⁰ On his return to Spain, Rodrigo received a letter from Whinyates from the British Institute headquarters. It thanked him for sending a photographic portrait and said, among other things, "I hope so much that you had a good journey home and that you were not tired out by the many activities arranged for you by the British Council during your stay." Seymour Whinyates to Joaquín Rodrigo, April 23, 1951, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

We met composers Arthur Bliss and Lennox Berkeley, guitarist Julian Bream, Tom Goff and Brossa.¹¹

Victoria Kamhi's memory failed regarding Julian Bream, whom they did not meet on this occasion but a few years later. What is worth noting at this point, however, is that a trip by a leading figure of Spanish culture during these cold war years had little of the ingenuity or spontaneity of "pleasure" trips; it was more of a diplomatic mission. The English intended to show Rodrigo the prosperity of a democratic regime. But, on the other hand, the Spaniards were demonstrating, through their leading composer, a climate of civic normality.

London was recently the stage for a confrontation between the Instituto Español (Spanish Institute), directed by the exile Pablo de Azcárate, and the official organs of the Spanish state, such as the Embassy and the Instituto de España (Institute of Spain), whose deputy director, Leopoldo Panero,¹² was Azcárate's cousin and a good friend of the exiled Luis Cernuda. Indeed, Cernuda lived his last years in Oxford with the painter Gregorio Prieto, who in 1954 would draw a portrait of Joaquín Rodrigo with his edition of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* in his hand—the best visual representation of him in those years.

State reports circulated after Rodrigo's trip. Bartolomé Pérez Casas, the former orchestra conductor and Comisario General de Música (General Commissioner of Music), sent one of these reports to Rodrigo. It is a dispatch sent to the Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales (General Directorate of Cultural Relations) by the Duke of Sanlúcar, Chargé d'Affaires of Spain in London. The Duke had presided over the concert given by Rodrigo at the Institute of Spain. Its contents are as follows:

I have the honor to forward to your Excellency an article which appeared in the *Evening Chronicle* on the fifth of this month about the Spanish composer Joaquín Rodrigo's stay in London. This stay has now come to an end and can be described as very productive from the author's personal point of view and for furthering the knowledge of our music in this country. He had the full support and company of the Embassy, whose cultural secretaries have been in daily contact with him. Likewise, the Instituto de España (Institute of Spain) has given him all kinds of help, facilitating his stay, and making its halls available for a concert which, as you know, was performed by the composer on the 1st of this month.

Mr. Rodrigo has left satisfied with the attention paid to him, including that of the British Council. He recorded a concert of his piano works for the BBC's Third

¹¹ Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand*, 149.

¹² As early as 1946, Panero was the first to propose the performance of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* in London, a fact acknowledged in the following correspondence between Joaquín Rodrigo and Federico Sopena: "I just received a letter from Leopoldo Panero, who is the secretary of the Instituto Español in London. He wants to organize the premiere of the *Aranjuez* there. Think [you, Sopena] about this trick (*trompe-l'oeil*) it would give and whether it would be convenient to talk with Starkie. He is also talking with Regino." Federico Sopena Ibáñez to Joaquín Rodrigo, February 8, 1951, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation; See Suárez-Pajares, "El epistolario," 384.

Programme and gave a joint recital with Victoria de los Ángeles. He has also received offers to make gramophone records from Decca and La Voz de su Amo. He will need a second trip to complete this, which is being planned.¹³

At the end of the report, Pérez Casas added in his own handwriting: “We are very pleased to share with you the pleasant news which we fully endorse. Warmest wishes.” But if all the coverage that the Duke of Sanlúcar could find in the London press was limited to the *Evening Chronicle* article, we must assume that the reality was that Rodrigo’s visit remained relatively private, despite his public presentation at the Instituto de España. For example, there was no mention of the trip in *The Times*. Furthermore, if we read between the lines, it seems that the Spanish Embassy kept a very watchful eye over the visit. Consequently, if we were to assess Rodrigo’s first trip to London, we could assume that its most significant impact was that his music sparked the BBC management’s interest. They, in their turn, approached the young Bream to perform the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. This development, as we will see below, has a double meaning in the world of post-war diplomacy: the BBC certainly programmed Rodrigo’s work, but it did so with an English soloist — especially surprising at a time when it was not easy to find a guitarist capable of handling the concerto’s solo part. In this sense, a political balance was restored by programming the Spanish work with a young and promising English musician in a field dominated by Spanish performers.

Bream was barely eighteen years old at the time and the only English guitarist technically able to tackle a work of the magnitude of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. He had already collaborated with the BBC on quite a few occasions. On December 30, 1950, while Rodrigo was finalizing preparations for his trip to London, Bream wrote to Douglas Lawrence, in charge of light music programming at the BBC, declaring himself “a pupil of Segovia” and offering to give a concert for the British broadcaster.¹⁴ He merely wanted to give a solo recital with a complete program of music from his repertoire, which included “Dowland, Bach, Mozart, Albéniz, Turina, etc.” Yet the response was surprising. Lawrence hired him to perform Rodrigo’s *Concierto de Aranjuez* with the BBC Opera Orchestra under the baton of Stanford Robinson on April 21, 1951.¹⁵ We must again insist on this: with the most Machiavellian and subtle feel for the tensely cordial cultural relations between Spain and England, the BBC presented a Spanish work but did so with an all-English ensemble of performers — conductor, orchestra, and soloist.¹⁶

13 Bartolomé Pérez Casas to Joaquín Rodrigo, “Document sent by the Comisario General de Música,” October 10, 1951, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

14 Bream later acknowledged that he had received only a few lessons from Segovia between 1947 and 1950. Patrick A. McIntosh, “Conversation with Julian Bream,” *Guitar News*, August 1958, 25; Wade, *The Art of Julian Bream*, 54.

15 Stuart W. Button, *Julian Bream: The Foundations of a Musical Career* (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1997), 116.

16 This propagandistic use of Bream was not new. We also see it in the BBC’s broadcasts made exclusively for Spain, where Bream interpreted Spanish music for guitar in 1947 or music by a Spanish exile such as Eduardo Martínez Torner in 1948. See Jan de Kloe, “Julian Bream, su

The Connection between Rodrigo and Bream

News of the success of Bream's performance soon reached Rodrigo, who was trying to keep a close eye on how his music was doing abroad and who controlled its distribution, among other things. Rodrigo had not yet given the rights of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* to any publisher and instead sent the orchestral materials from his home. He wrote Bream a congratulatory letter that we do not have, but we do have the one Bream wrote back to him dated August 1, 1951:

Dear Señor Rodrigo,

Many thanks for your letter, I must apologise for not writing before.

I was so very pleased you heard good reports on my performance of your concerto, I felt that it was very well received by critics and public alike.¹⁷

Fortunately, I had the 2nd movement recorded from the broadcast, for my own personal use, so perhaps, when you visit London again, you might like to hear it and also give me your opinions on the interpretation.

I am most anxious for you to send me a new work of yours, as the only one I have at present is the *Sarabande Lointaine* — which is an admirable work.¹⁸

Have you ever written a chamber work for guitar? If you have, I would be most interested to get it, and if you haven't, would it be asking too much if you thought about the idea, one can't help admiring the way and the technique you use, in your instrumental writing, that makes the guitar sing through so well above other instruments.

I have done considerable research in lute and guitar chamber works, and I have found 2 concerti grosso for lute, 2 violins, viola, cello, as well as works by Haydn for the same combination — all of which I have played in public with great success.

With best wishes to your wife and yourself

Yours sincerely,

Julian Bream

P.S. Would you be so kind as to send the music at the above address — Many

Thanks

J.B.¹⁹

From 1951 to 1955, there was a hiatus in Rodrigo and Bream's relationship, possibly due to the mandatory military service that the latter had to fulfill during those

repertorio," in *Julian Bream*, ed., Julio Gimeno, *Nombres propios de la guitarra* (Córdoba: IMAE Gran Teatro-Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2009), 76.

17 On this point he may have exaggerated, as his friend, the critic Terry Usher, wrote: "In the 'Concierto d'Aranjuez' [*sic*] by Rodriguez [*sic*], Julian was unfortunately balanced with the orchestra so that despite the unusual volume he can produce, he was overwhelmed far too frequently." Terry Usher, "The Guitar," *BMG*, June 1951, 192.

18 Bream was likely introduced to the *Zarabanda lejana* by way of Andrés Segovia, who recorded it in 1955. However, the score was readily available, as Max Eschig published it in 1934.

19 Julian Bream to Joaquín Rodrigo, August 1, 1951, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.



Julian Bream

years. All the same, Bream became closer to Spanish culture in June 1954 through his participation in the exhibition of Goya's drawings from the Museo del Prado and the Museo Lázaro Galdiano organized by the Arts Council in London.²⁰ And on November 28 of that same year, Bream debuted the *Concierto de Aranjuez* at Tottenham Town Hall in London with the Tottenham Municipal Orchestra.²¹ After being discharged from his service as a regular in the Royal Artillery by the end of April 1955, Bream started a concert tour in Geneva.²² In May he visited Spain for the first time, performing in Barcelona at the invitation of the British Institute and Juventudes Musicales,²³ and performing in Madrid at the British Institute, where the personal meeting of Rodrigo and Bream took place:

News of Julian Bream's travels on the Continent includes a notice of his recital at the British Institute in Madrid early in May. His audience, mostly Spaniards, appreciated his playing and Mr. Bream will have derived some satisfaction that among his listeners were Señor Sainz de la Maza (the famous guitarist) and the blind composer Señor Rodrigo.²⁴

- 20 Rafael de Luis, "En Londres. Temas españoles de diverso orden," *La Vanguardia* (Spain), June 4, 1954, 11; Jacinto Miquelarena, "El Sordo' en un 'Square' de Londres," *ABC* (Madrid), June 16, 1954, 15.
- 21 *Banjo, Mandolin, Guitar* (BMG Magazine, January 1955, 112. Wade mistakenly dates this concert to May 30 (Wade, *The Art of Julian Bream*, 43). We thank Marie Betts for this correction.
- 22 "By the Way," *BMG*, June 1955, 235.
- 23 "Casa del Médico. El barítono Fredrick Fuller y el laudista y guitarrista Julian Bream," *La Vanguardia* (Spain), May 10, 1955, 18.
- 24 *BMG*, July 1955, 261. I am grateful to Marie Betts for providing the correct date for the first meeting between Rodrigo and Bream. Marie Betts also related this fact to a photograph that can be seen in the extras of Paul Balmer, *Julian Bream: My Life in Music* (Portsmouth, UK: Avie Records, 2003), DVD, in which Bream, Rodrigo, and Sainz de la Maza appear among others.

In the meantime, the choreographic version of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* premiered in Barcelona on April 12, 1952, with choreography by Pilar López and Luis Maravilla as soloist. This version was later presented at the Edinburgh Festival in September 1953 and contributed considerably to the popularization of the concerto.²⁵ Immediately afterward, the Stoll Theater in London staged a performance where a critic remarked favorably on “the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, which is a sort of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* for guitar (instead of piano) and orchestra, and which contains a Nocturne of much poetic imagination.”²⁶ Undoubtedly, both the radio and staged performances, along with Bream’s performance at Birmingham Town Hall with the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra on July 13,²⁷ paved the way for the definitive symphonic presentation of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* in London, which took place at last in September 1955: the soloist was again Julian Bream (performing it for the second time), and the occasion was the gala concert of the BBC Proms at Albert Hall, with the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra conducted by Charles Groves, marking the 60th edition of the festival. The critic for *The Times* wrote:

The orchestration is crisp and light, in spite of the considerable number of instruments used, so that with the assistance of a small microphone the soloist, Mr. Julian Bream, had no difficulty in making his guitar heard. All three movements of the concerto have a strong and attractive Spanish flavour, deriving in the first from dance rhythms, in the second from what sounded like a lavishly embellished flamenco lament, and in the finale from quasi-folk-song, treated in the manner of old sixteenth-century lute variations.²⁸

With the aid of a “little microphone” to overcome the problem of balance, the performance must have been a considerable success, as the work was programmed again on July 25, 1956, at the following series of Proms.²⁹ It was also performed on February 9 of that year at the Royal Festival Hall, with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra under Anatole Fistoulari.³⁰ At the 1956 Proms, the conductor was Sir Malcolm Sargent, and in his conversations with Tony Palmer, Bream related a curious anecdote about this concert. Apparently, the conductor was conducting the

25 “Spanish Dancing,” *Times* (London), September 3, 1953, 9.

26 “Pilar Lopez’s Spanish Ballet,” *Times* (London), October 1, 1953, 9.

27 *BMG*, August 1955, 285. We thank Marie Betts for this information.

28 “Rodrigo’s Concerto for Guitar,” *Times* (London), October 12, 1955, 3.

29 Marie Betts pointed us toward further information on the success of Bream’s first performance: “This concert on September 10th made history, for it was the first time that the guitar as a solo instrument had been heard in a programme of one of the ‘Proms’, as they are affectionately called. The conductor ... kept a perfect balance of tones and at no time was the guitar overwhelmed. Oboe passages were particularly beautiful and the guitar displayed a wide range of its musical capabilities in the hands of a musician of exceptional genius. The applause literally ‘stopped the show’. Soloist, conductor and orchestra made the usual acknowledgements but still the clamour for an encore persisted—long after the next item should have commenced. Finally Julian Bream appeared again and gave a slight shake of the head as he left the platform amid the roar of applause.” *Guitar News*, October–November 1955, no. 27: 15.

30 “Guitar Music and a Tango,” *Times* (London), February 10, 1956, 4.



Julian Bream in 1976 with the Silver Record from RCA for his recording of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. *Classical Guitar Magazine Archives*. Graham Wade, *The Art of Julian Bream*, 197.

last movement too fast at the dress rehearsal. Bream was very young and nervous, but he dared to ask the illustrious conductor to repeat that movement a little slower. Sargent said, “Well then, . . . let’s start from the beginning, and we’ll take it a little easier, especially for our poor young soloist.” He started a little slower but soon sped up. At the end of the rehearsal, Bream said, “Sir Malcolm, look, this is impossible to play at this speed. And not only is it impossible for me to play at this speed, but it’s losing its shape musically.” Sargent replied, “Well, not to worry, we’ll all get the tempo and shape right on the night.” But at the concert, finally, he attacked the finale even faster than in rehearsals. According to Bream, the movement lasted half as long as it usually does, and he didn’t know how he managed to keep going to the end with the orchestra. “My fingers were going nineteen to the dozen,” he told Palmer.³¹ *The Times* published a review of this concert on July 26, 1956, with no mention of the incident and little reference to Bream. It did, however, highlight Sargent’s work: “The orchestra contains trumpets, but the concerto is carefully scored and was no less carefully played by Sir Malcolm Sargent to secure a right balance between the frail

³¹ Tony Palmer, *Julian Bream: A Life on the Road* (London: Macdonald & Co., 1982), 168–69.

tone of the solo and its redoubtable accompaniment.”³² Perhaps Sargent was merely insisting on the 164 quarter-note tempo of the Allegro — more devilish than “gentile” as marked by Rodrigo in the score, and a tempo that in those years was beyond the technical reach of the best guitarists.

A year after this concert, in 1957, Rodrigo and Bream met once more, this time in England, possibly through the intermediary of Aurelio Valls, the Secretary at the Spanish Embassy in London, mentioned above in reference to Rodrigo’s first trip to London. In a letter Valls sent to Rodrigo in 1988, he nostalgically recalled the following:

I also have fun remembering when I arranged (with your permission) for you to meet the guitarist Julian Bream at our house in Wimbledon. I remember how he wanted to know the correct “tempo” of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* and how he would play you a phrase, and you would correct him, saying, “No! No! It should go tra-la-la-la-lá, trá-lá-lá, etc.!”³³

At this meeting, Rodrigo probably suggested the idea of composing a work for Bream, as is clear from a letter dated January 5, 1958, from the guitarist to Victoria Kamhi, the composer’s wife:

Dear Señora,

When I had the honour of meeting you and your husband last year, I was touched by the Maestro’s suggestion that he would like to write a piece for me. I have been thinking very much about it recently and I cannot express how much I am looking forward to playing the new work.

At the Aldeburgh Festival this year — a festival organised by our great composer Benjamin Britten — it has been proposed that a concert should be given paying homage to Spanish music. I have personally been entrusted with this concert and since this is a beautiful opportunity to present both Spanish culture and the guitar to an erudite audience, nothing would please me more than to introduce a new work from your husband’s pen on this occasion.

This festival takes place in early June and so it would be necessary for me to have the music as soon as possible, and no later than early May.

This season, I have included in my recital programmes two small pieces by the Maestro (*Zarabanda* and *En los trigales*) and they have been received by the English public with great favour.³⁴ I suggest, therefore, that a work slightly different

32 “Violin and Guitar,” *Times* (London), July 26, 1956, 5.

33 Aurelio Valls to Joaquín Rodrigo, April 5, 1988, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

34 Wade notes a performance of the *Zarabanda lejana* and *En los trigales* by Bream at the Cambridge Arts Theatre on November 16, 1958 (Wade, *The Art of Julian Bream*, 53), and again in 1959. Recently, Marie Betts brought our attention to a previous recital at Wigmore Hall on September 24 in which Bream played *Zarabanda lejana* and *En los trigales* (*Guitar News*, November–December 1958, no. 45: 14–15). Bream also selected *En los trigales* as the only work by a contemporary Spanish composer for his album *The Art of Julian Bream*, RCA RB 16236, 1960.

in character would enable me to include it in programmes for my next season of concerts which includes an extensive tournee in the United States. I would suggest a rather more extended work than the two pieces mentioned, more in the form of a three-movement sonata or sonatina. This would also be most agreeable since many pieces for the guitar, however charming, tend to be rather short.

I do hope that the Maestro will forgive me making this request at such short notice but I hope only that he will be agreeable to do this for someone who has so much admiration for his art and will be so honoured and touched by such a collaboration.

With my very sincere best wishes to you both,
Julian Bream³⁵

Rodrigo was very busy at this time. Shortly after he received this letter from Bream, he passed through London again on his way back from attending the premiere of his *Fantasia para un gentilhombre* by Andrés Segovia on March 5, 1958, in the United States (four years after Segovia had received this music from Rodrigo). He was exhausted, but it is also true that, apart from his other occupations, Rodrigo was in magnificent creative form, writing works for the leading foreign guitarists who had contributed to the promotion of his concerto abroad in the fifties. Thus, he wrote his *Tonadilla* for two guitars (1959) for the Ida Presti-Alexandre Lagoya duo, *Junto al Generalife* (1959) for Siegfried Behrend, and *En tierras de Jerez* (1960) for Luise Walker.

The quality of these three works shows us both the extraordinary moment of creative maturity achieved by Rodrigo and significant details about his aesthetic evolution. On the one hand, a piece such as *Tonadilla* looks back to the realm of bitonality visited in his earliest works. On the other, *Junto al Generalife* and *En tierras de Jerez* are the definitive culmination of Rodrigo's aesthetic journey from North to South, following the triptych *Por los campos de España*, which began with *En los trigales* (In the Wheatfields [of Castile]) (1938) and continued with *Bajando de la meseta* (Descending from the Plateau) (1954), finally coming to rest with *Entre olivares* (Among Olive Groves) (1956). After the composition of the *Sonatas de Castilla* (con *toccata a modo de pregón*) for piano — which can be considered the climax of Rodrigo's "Castilianism," premiered on November 18, 1951, at his inauguration as a fellow (*académico*) of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando — the composer shifted from the Castilian inspiration of late Falla to Andalusia, which had been crucial in the origin of Spanish nationalism. We could talk extensively about this transition and its significant implications on Rodrigo's work, but for the present, it is sufficient to note that both *Junto al Generalife* (dedicated to Behrend) and *En tierras de Jerez* (for Walker) are works that, in some way, indicate Rodrigo's respite in this return to Andalusia.

A statement by the composer to a correspondent of *The Times*, made while he was passing through London on his return from the United States, highlights the

35 Julian Bream to Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, January 5, 1958, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

aesthetic position indicated by works such as the ones we have just discussed. Asked whether his teacher Paul Dukas influenced him, Rodrigo replied: “I learnt a great deal from Dukas, but studying under him I became even more Spanish than I was before. Indeed, I feel that composers to-day must keep to their national idioms. So much of modern music is monotonous because all the younger composers write in the same atonal style.”³⁶

Let us now return to the work Rodrigo planned to compose for Bream. Rodrigo, who had an obstinate and radically independent disposition, was not at all compliant when it came to the requests of capricious interpreters. One thinks of Andrés Segovia, for example, who complained about the “sour” dissonances in Rodrigo’s music: Rodrigo then dedicated his *Tres piezas españolas* to Segovia, including a very sour passacaglia and a fandango whose opening chords are simple enough in their harmonic function but nigh-on raucous in their practical realization.³⁷ In the case of young Bream, however, Rodrigo was more accommodating: the guitarist had suggested a sonata in three movements or a sonatina of longer duration rather than the usual small pieces of the guitar repertoire, and ultimately Rodrigo sent him a piece in three movements carrying the title *Sonata* and lasting over ten minutes. The piece arrived at Bream’s home on April 21, 1959, while he was away on tour. The person in charge of his correspondence acknowledged receipt:

Maestro,

Julian Bream is in Germany now but I am sure he would have me write to thank you for your sonata which arrived safely today. He will be very excited to have it and I have no doubt that he will write to you when he returns to England.³⁸

But on his return Bream found the *Sonata giocosa* waiting for him, and his response to the work is, today, as surprising as it is puzzling.

The Rift between Rodrigo and Bream

On May 31, 1959, Bream wrote Rodrigo a letter in which he thanked him for sending the Sonata but, apologizing for his frankness, described the work as “a little empty and quite frankly lacking in invention” and expressed the view that it would have no place in his serious and austere programs. He was confident, however, that the piece would be to the liking of guitarists in general and offered to finger it quickly, which he duly did.³⁹

36 “A Modern Spanish Composer,” *Times* (London), May 19, 1958, 14.

37 See Javier Suárez-Pajares, “El encuentro de Rodrigo con la guitarra,” in *Centenario Joaquín Rodrigo: El hombre, el músico el maestro*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares (Madrid: INAEM-Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 2001), 39–49.

38 Letter sent on behalf of Julian Bream to Joaquín Rodrigo, April 21, 1959, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

39 Julian Bream to Joaquín Rodrigo, May 31, 1959, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

Barely ten days after receiving Bream's letter, Rodrigo sent the *Sonata giocosa* to the guitarist Renata Tarragó. She had taken an active role in disseminating his music with an outstanding performance in the orchestra that premiered the ballet *Pavana real* in December 1955 and the fingering of the guitar part in the piano reduction of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, published in 1959.⁴⁰ Renata Tarragó sent Rodrigo a letter from Barcelona on June 11, 1959, telling him,

I also want to thank you for the *Sonata* you have been kind enough to dedicate to me. I am sure I will like it very much as I like everything of yours. I hope you will send it to me to study right away. In a few days, I am going to Vienna to play Boccherini's quintets with the city Philharmonic quartet, and when I return, I may go to Madrid, but I am not sure; we will see.⁴¹

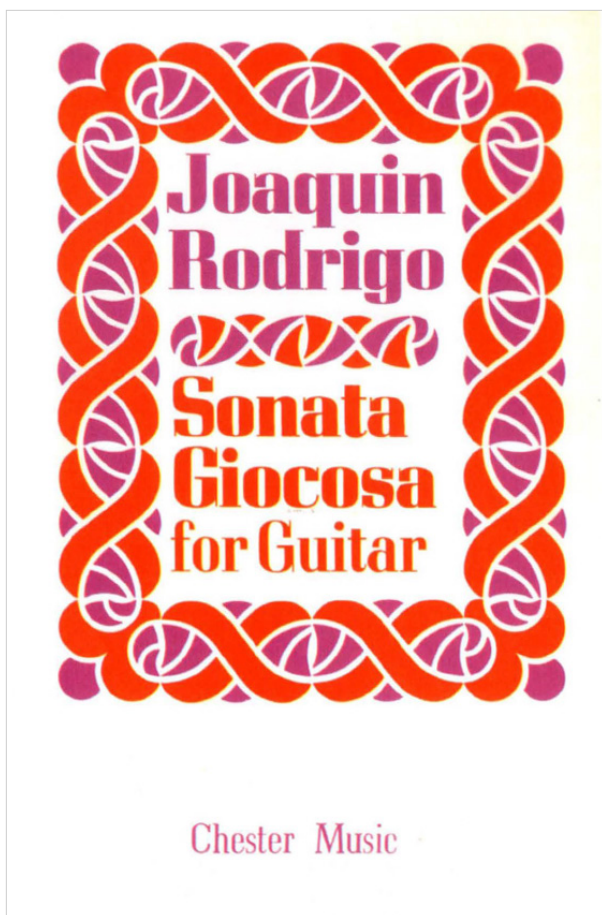
On June 26, 1960, the leading English music publisher Chester, through whom Bream was publishing his guitar repertoire, published the *Sonata giocosa*. The work appeared dedicated to "Renata Tarragó."

Having laid out these facts, we now come to the interpretive part of our investigation. What reasons could Bream have had for reacting so harshly to a piece that is, today, among the most valued of Rodrigo's work for the solo guitar—a work now ranked alongside the *Tres piezas españolas*, the *Invocación y danza*, and more recently the *Tocata*? But, in addition to the popularity it currently holds among today's guitarists, the *Sonata giocosa* presents, within Rodrigo's guitar works as a whole, some qualities that we must highlight here.

To begin, we can understand the *Sonata giocosa* as a creative rereading of the *Tres piezas españolas* written for Andrés Segovia in 1954. Of these pieces, Segovia played only the Fandango in 1957, including a performance in England that year, which makes it possible that Bream knew the piece and thus developed certain expectations that were then disappointed, at least in his eyes. In my view, the reinterpretation of the Fandango as a *seguidilla*, the Passacaglia as an aria, and the Zapateado as a *canario* is a very interesting transformation from a creative point of view, analogous to the way in which the final movement of the *Sonata giocosa* is related to the *canario* of the *Fantasia para un gentilhombre*, which Bream would not yet have known. It seems that Rodrigo constructed the sonata from scraps of the *Fantasia para un gentilhombre*. We do not mean this derivation to be pejorative in any way: after all, from scraps of the *Concierto de estío* for violin, whose first movement derives from the earlier *Tocata* for guitar, Rodrigo composed the extraordinary *Capriccio* for solo violin, in homage to Sarasate, and the *Rumaniana* for violin and piano. Similarly, using the leftovers from the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, he wrote *Homenaje a la Tempranica*. This process of

⁴⁰ In 1959, ten years after the first edition of the complete score, the solo guitar part was published in addition to the piano reduction, which significantly boosted the dissemination of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*.

⁴¹ Renata Tarragó to Joaquín Rodrigo, June 11, 1959.



The cover of the Chester edition of the *Sonata giocosa*.

creation is a pervasive and intriguing feature in Rodrigo's work, which sometimes seems to be a continual critical reinvention of itself.

In Bream's letter to Rodrigo dated May 31, 1959, one can read a certain disenchantment with Rodrigo's approach to sonata form between the lines: "I understand, only too well, the difficulty in writing a Sonata for the guitar (in 1959)". But Bream had asked for a sonata, and Rodrigo answered with a fully realized approach to the sonata principles with which he had thoroughly experimented in the composition of his *Sonatas de Castilla* for piano. Bream's own expectations about sonata form, on the other hand, must have been conditioned by the neoclassicism of the *Sonatina* that Lennox Berkeley wrote for him in 1957 and that clearly agreed with his tastes. Another influence must have been the conversations he had with Britten while dog walking at Aldeburgh:

We used to go for quite long walks, and it was absolutely fascinating, because we used to talk about music all the time; and he was often talking about sonata form, and he would... I could tell he was trying to think how he was going to write something for me, and he was telling me about the problems today of writing sonatas. And he felt that the last great sonatas were written by Debussy, for example, which

were the last pieces of music he ever wrote. And his feeling was, when you use an old form, you've got to rethink it, and he somehow felt he wasn't in the frame of mind, at that point, to rethink sonata form.⁴²

On the other hand, the tonal language of Rodrigo's sonata, less adventurous than that of the *Tonadilla* for two guitars or even the *Tres piezas españolas*, was not what Bream was looking for at the time. Although in his letter to Rodrigo, he referred to the "advent of Schonberg [*sic*] and his rather unfortunate tone row,"⁴³ Bream was nonetheless inclined toward this modern language—if not strictly serial, then at least atonal. As early as 1957, Bream had introduced Reginald Smith Brindle's *El Polifemo de Oro* (1956) into his recitals, a work that signaled a fundamental shift in the guitar idiom.

But it was not only the form and the tonal language of the *Sonata giocosa* that clashed with Bream's expectations and taste; it was the very character of the work, so diametrically opposed to the moods that attracted Bream, influenced as he undoubtedly was by the lachrymose world of the Elizabethan lute. Thus his fascination with the nocturnal (Benjamin Britten's *Nocturnal* [1963] or Tōru Takemitsu's *All in Twilight* [1988]), the ghostly (the second movement of Berkeley's *Sonatina* [1957]), and the elegiac (Rawsthorne's *Elegy* [1971] or Brouwer's *Concierto elegiaco* [1986]). It is in this context that Bream tells Rodrigo that his sonata would be out of place in his serious and austere programs. Rodrigo, far removed from the difficult times of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, was enjoying years of tranquility, reflected in the luminous registers of his music—witness the playful and carefree character of the outer movements of the *Sonata giocosa*. Then there is the second movement's Baroque seriousness—sad, evocative, dignified, distant, and yet without anguish—which fades away rather than reaching a conclusion: one is surprised that the profound and touching lyricism of the second movement did not strike a chord with Bream's heart if he had looked at it with any attention.

In any case, the *Sonata giocosa* was not what Bream expected, not what he was looking for, nor even what he liked. Rodrigo was well accustomed to such vicissitudes in his relationship with performers: the *Tres piezas españolas* did not please Segovia very much, while the *Tocata* he composed for Regino Sainz de Maza in 1933 remained in a drawer for over seventy years. Yet Rodrigo did not deserve to be judged so cavalierly: he was an authority on Spanish music, and Bream addressed him in a way he would surely never dare to address notable English composers like Tippett, Britten, Smith Brindle, or Malcolm Arnold. His response was insensitive, abrupt, unnecessary, and lacking in the slightest prudence. But, more than a particular artistic judgment, it demonstrates a certain degree of immaturity.

We are left to speculate about how to make sense of Bream's blunt reaction. Bream's relationship with Spain was a continuous internal struggle—on the one hand, the need to liberate the guitar from the local dominance of the Spanish; on the other,

⁴² Balmer, *Julian Bream*, timing 1:41:15.

⁴³ Julian Bream to Joaquín Rodrigo, May 31, 1959, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.

recognition of the extent to which Spain is inseparable from the guitar. We know, for example, that Bream's father had undertaken a crusade to free the guitar repertoire from Spanish influence, seeking out alternative English traditions based on the work of Ernest Shand and the music of Cyril Scott, with its connections to Occultism. These works would serve as a banner for the English in the same way that Falla's *Homenaje a Debussy* and the works of Turina served as a banner for twentieth-century Spanish guitar music.⁴⁴ To this Julian Bream added the Elizabethan tradition, above all the monumental figure of John Dowland. The Spanish counterpart to Dowland is the vihuela tradition that opened up a new field of possibility to composers—not least Rodrigo himself and his *Zarabanda lejana*, dedicated to the vihuela of Luis Milán. In this sense, the key work of all this English renewal can be none other than Britten's *Nocturnal* of 1963 with its transcendent language.

For a long while, Britten had deliberated over sonata form for a composition for Bream but finally reached an impasse. Ironically, it was hearing Bream perform the *Homenaje a Debussy* by Falla that opened his eyes to exploring other ideas. In the *Nocturnal*, three essential elements converge: a historical reference (Dowland), an English composer (Benjamin Britten), and a performer of the stature of Julian Bream. And this convergence is almost dramatic, like a piece of theatre in which the performer reveals step by step how the key behind Britten's new language is Dowland. Bream's commitment to the formation of a renewed English guitar repertoire is as evident as the fact that this renewal arose in opposition to the Spanish guitar tradition and the revival of the repertoire begun twenty years earlier with Segovia at its center. Bream had become the standard-bearer of a cause, and a work like the *Sonata giocosa* was openly inimical to that cause.

By the time Bream received Rodrigo's Sonata, he was trying to disassociate himself from Andrés Segovia,⁴⁵ moving away from what he thought were Segovia's "meringues and lollipops" programs.⁴⁶ Indeed, when he programmed works such as *El polifemo de oro* by that ardent devotee of Lorca, Reginald Smith Brindle, he used the English title *Four Fragments for Guitar* in the program.⁴⁷ What is more, the progressive political and social ideas shared by Bream and Britten within the tolerant comfort of a democratic regime did not fit into the conservative and intolerant National Catholicism of Franco's Spain. Bream had traveled to Spain only once, in 1955, and held a somewhat clichéd image of the country, evident in his conversation with Tony Palmer:

The Spaniards are by nature, one might say, an old-fashioned and conservative people. The Spanish spirit was never thwarted by the industrial revolution and their insularity to the world outside is often arrogantly guarded. So I don't think you should be too surprised that they write conservative music; and perhaps the

44 Button, *Julian Bream*, 80–82.

45 McIntosh, "Conversation with Julian Bream," 12.

46 Balmer, *Julian Bream*, timing 39:27.

47 May 7, 1958, concert at the Sidney Sussex College Musical Society at Cambridge. See Wade, *The Art of Julian Bream*, 50.

very identification of the guitar with Spain and with Spanish folk culture, which Segovia naturally encouraged, may have held up the guitar's progress toward a more universal musical integration. Who knows? The more neutral sound of the piano, for instance, perhaps gave composers greater scope, uncluttered by national lineage and folk-lorical [*sic*] considerations. For many composers, the guitar may have had too much evocative colour, too many subjective associations.⁴⁸

This supposed isolation of Spain is a strange way of seeing a peninsula nuanced with two modes of relation: a land track that connects the nation to France and a maritime route that joins it to Italy. Setting aside the irony—and inaccuracy—of an Englishman accusing the Spanish of insularity, Bream held an image of Spain that was promulgated by the Ministerio de Información y Turismo (Spanish Ministry of Information and Tourism)—one of emblazoned antiquity, wrought iron, the convent, mysticism, the Castilian steppe, and the exotic frill of a flamenco dancer's dress. Yet the two mainstays of Spanish genius, Castilian vigor and Andalusian joviality, are both steeped in the most ancient tradition. These were precisely the clichés captured in Bream's documentary *Guitarra! A Musical Journey through Spain*.⁴⁹ And so, with particular knowledge of the facts, he would declare in another, later documentary: "Nobody could be less Spanish than I am."⁵⁰

Epilogue

After their falling out, Bream did not stay away from Rodrigo's music for long. He performed the last movement of *Concierto de Aranjuez* at the Royal Artillery Band Bicentenary Concert in the Town Hall, Woolwich, on March 25, 1962, and gave an illustrated talk on the concertos of Arnold and Rodrigo at the BBC Network 3 on May 8.⁵¹ The following year, Bream took the *Concierto de Aranjuez* on his 1963 international tour. He performed it in Manila on March 9, and on May 1 he played it in England with the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra conducted by James Loughran in Swindon.⁵² The following year, he released his first commercial recording of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*.⁵³ From that time on, he made a new recording of the same work every decade: in 1974 with the Monteverdi Orchestra, conducted by John

48 Palmer, *Julian Bream*, 53.

49 Barrie Gavin, *Guitarra! A Musical Journey through Spain*, (Kultur International Films, 1985). According to Marie Betts in communication with the author of this article, Bream "was aghast when he saw the 'tourist' pictures, which he felt detracted from the music, and tried to postpone the release."

50 Balmer, *Julian Bream*, timing 1:28:05.

51 I thank Marie Betts for this information, which helped me to change my point of view on Bream's relation with Rodrigo's music after the sonata affair.

52 Wade, *The Art of Julian Bream*, 72–73.

53 Julian Bream, *Rodrigo, Vivaldi, and Britten*, with the Melos Chamber Ensemble and Colin Davis (conductor), recorded at Walthamstow Town Hall, London, England, October 22, 24–26, 1963, RCA RB 6634, May 1964, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm.

Eliot Gardiner along with the first recording of Berkeley's *Guitar Concerto*;⁵⁴ in 1983, again under Gardiner's direction, this time with the Chamber Orchestra of Europe on a disc entirely dedicated to Rodrigo;⁵⁵ and lastly in 1991 with Simon Rattle and the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, along with Malcolm Arnold's *Guitar Concerto* and Tōru Takemitsu's *To the Edge of Dream*.⁵⁶ In addition, in 1987, he recorded the *Fantasia para un gentilhombre* as a means of promoting the first recording of the *Concierto elegiaco* dedicated to him by Leo Brouwer, with the Victor Chamber Orchestra conducted by Brouwer himself.⁵⁷

Thus, in one sense Bream was an effective promoter of Rodrigo's music, although we can also hold the opposite opinion — namely, that the inclusion of Rodrigo's music on the records mentioned in the previous paragraph made Rodrigo an unwitting partner in spreading the new repertoire for guitar and orchestra promoted by Bream. There is little doubt that Bream used his regular performances of Rodrigo's concertos to make appealing record productions featuring new works that would otherwise have attracted little interest in the complicated recording market.

In 1961 Rodrigo pulled out of the drawer his *Invocación y danza*, a tribute to Falla most likely composed at the end of the 1940s. With it, he won the Radio France composition competition Coupe Internationale de Guitare. This competition was directed by Robert Vidal, a central figure of the French guitar scene and the person responsible for Bream's first radio performances in France in 1958. Had Rodrigo been less diligent, then instead of composing a new work for Bream he might have presented him with the *Invocación y danza*. In that case, the guitarist could have avoided the nationalistic, political, or aesthetic considerations that affected and clouded his judgment of the *Sonata giocosa*, and we might have had a different story

- 54 Julian Bream, *Rodrigo and Berkeley*, with the Monteverdi Orchestra and John Eliot Gardiner (conductor), recorded at Walthamstow Town Hall, and Rosslyn Hill Chapel, London, November 18, 1974, and May 7, 1975, RCA ARLI 1181, October 1975, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm.
- 55 Julian Bream, *Joaquín Rodrigo: Last of the Spanish Romantics*, Music of Spain, vol. 8, with the Chamber Orchestra of Europe and John Eliot Gardiner (conductor), recorded at St. John's Smith Square, London, and Wardour Chapel (Chapel of All Saints) at Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, Dorset, England, October 2, 1981, December 1982 and January 1983, RCA RL 45548, January 1984, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm. This disc also includes Bream's historic recordings of the *Tres piezas españolas* and the *Invocación y danza*.
- 56 Julian Bream, *To the Edge of Dream: Rodrigo, Takemitsu, Arnold*, with the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra and Simon Rattle (conductor), recorded at Butterworth Hall, Warwick University, and EMI Abbey Road Studio no. 1, London, October 1990, June 1991, and February 1992, EMI Classics 0777 7 5466126, 1993, CD.
- 57 Julian Bream, *Guitar Concertos: Rodrigo and Brouwer*, with the RCA Victor Chamber Orchestra and Leo Brouwer (conductor), recorded at Henry Wood Hall, London, England, July 7–9, 1987, RCA RD87718, CD. In response to a question from the author of this article, Leo Brouwer admitted that if it had been possible to avoid commercial consideration, a good choice to accompany the first recording of his *Concierto elegiaco* would have been Maurice Ohana's *Tres gráficos*. See Leo Brouwer, "Julian Bream: Disidente de la era Segovia," in *Julian Bream*, ed. Julio Gimeno, *Nombres propios de la guitarra* (Córdoba: IMAE Gran Teatro-Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2009), 63–64. Curiously, the first recording of Ohana's *Tres gráficos* was made in 1963 by Narciso Yepes with the Orquesta Nacional de España, under the direction of Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos, where it appeared with Rodrigo's *Fantasia para un gentilhombre*.

to tell. But at this point, we have exceeded the limit of research and entered the realm of fiction — a fiction that is, nonetheless, very suggestive.



“Joaquín Rodrigo and Julian Bream: Aspects of a Relationship” was first published in Spanish as “Joaquín Rodrigo y Julian Bream: Aspectos de una relación,” in *Julian Bream*, ed. Julio Gimeno, *Nombres propios de la guitarra* (Córdoba: IMAE Gran Teatro-Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2009), 61–102. This translation incorporates significant revisions made by the author.

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