Essays on Roberto Gerhard

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Edited by

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This book is dedicated to the memory of Dr Rosemary Summers (1931-2017) executor of the Gerhard Estate. Dr Summers was a passionate advocate of Gerhard's music and worked ceaselessly to promote his compositions and writings. All of the authors in this book would like to acknowledge their debt and gratitude to Dr Summers' kindness and generosity in supporting their research over many decades.

CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

MONTY ADKINS AND MICHAEL RUSS

The second decade of the twenty-first century has seen the publication of several books reflecting the upsurge of interest in the music of the Catalan composer Roberto Gerhard (1896–1970).[1] The present volume brings together a number of essays on this composer, several of which have their origins in a conference on Gerhard held at the University in Alcalá de Henares, Spain, a city notable for its being the birthplace of Cervantes whose *Don Quixote* was a source of fascination for Gerhard (as is discussed by Walshaw in this volume).

Opportunities to hear the music of Gerhard in live performance still remain rarer than the quality of his music deserves. The symphonies and chamber music written in the closing decades of his post-war exile in Britain are affectionately remembered by many older music-lovers and enthusiasts for contemporary music, not least for their intense musicality. These are challenging and expensive works to perform, but as with nearly all of his music, fine recordings are available and new ones continue to appear. Broadcasts of his music also occur occasionally, in both Britain and Spain. Although in Britain he is still highly respected among academic commentators and composers, it is interesting to speculate whether if he had been born in this country, his name might have been as familiar to the musical public as those of Britten, Tippett, and Walton. For much of his time in Britain, he suffered from being an outsider; he was known more for his ability to produce incidental music and music with a Spanish

[1] Monty Adkins and Michael Russ (eds.), *The Roberto Gerhard Companion* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013); Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, *Pasión, desarraigo y literatura: el compositor Robert Gerhard* (Madrid: Fundación Scherzo-Antonio Machado Libros, 2013). Monty Adkins and Michael Russ (eds.), *Perspectives on Gerhard: Selected Proceedings of the 2nd and 3rd International Roberto Gerhard Conferences* (Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press, 2015); Gabriela Lendle, *Zwölftontechnik als neue Form von Tonalität: Zu Roberto Gerhards quixotischem Code* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2015).

flavour, his "commercial" music as he referred to it, than for his concert works.

In his native country, and in Catalonia in particular, his significance is now increasingly recognized as the Franco years when he was virtually written out of Spanish musical history (as discussed by Castillo in Chapter 3), recede into the distance. It is certainly the case that Gerhard, in the interwar years in Spain and for much of his time in Britain, suffered from his closeness to the then bogeyman Arnold Schoenberg. Unsurprisingly perhaps, it was not by following the advice of his rather conservative critical detractors, but by reformulating Schoenberg's ideas, extending them to time as well as pitch and perhaps above all finding through his experiments with electro-acoustic music a new relationship between time and timbre that finally secured his reputation in the 1960s. A decade characterized by greater openness to more avant-garde music in Britain.

Of course, Gerhard's music composed before the mid-1950s is inventive and often modernist rather than avant-garde as the ballets *Pandora* and *Don Quixote* dating from the 1940s attest. In this volume these works are given detailed consideration by Julian White and Trevor Walshaw respectively. Ballet was an important medium for Gerhard; but unfortunately, these works survive largely through the suites derived from them, abridgments which inevitably result in much of their meaning being lost. Here the two writers explore the complete works, but the challenge is considerable; while the score of a ballet (perhaps annotated with some details of the staging) can give us a good and detailed idea about the nature of the music, traces of the original choreography have long disappeared, and the authors have only descriptions in program notes and reviews to guide them. In addition Walshaw draws upon interpretations of Cervantes' novel by Spanish writers, interpretations which may well have influenced how Gerhard conceived this work whose central character is for him, as Walshaw argues, a personification of the Spanish psyche. Unamuno speaks of the work in almost biblical terms and David Drew is said to have observed that Cervantes' *Don Quixote* was "like the Bible" for Gerhard. Furthermore, through his interpretation of the story and his very particular mix of the Spanish traditional and the modernist in his music, Gerhard, in the manner of a latter day Don Quixote, was providing an interpretation of the plight of Spain in the 1940s.

Both *Don Quixote* and *Pandora* were written against the background not only of Franco's regime, but also of the Second World War. *Pandora* is a rejection of war (albeit one that ends up with "a message of renewal and hope for the future"). As Julian White points out, there are references not only to Spanish/Catalan popular song, but also to music as diverse as

"Roll out the barrel" and the "Marseillaise." He remarked to Josep Valls that "there is a clear 'ideological' intention in all this and I'm not sure if the audience will understand the intricacies of it" and he clearly had the events of the Spanish Civil War in mind as he undertook the process of composition. In this respect he seems to have embedded references in his scores that he was well aware his English audiences would not grasp, and, by and large, he did not seek to explain these references in any real detail in program notes or in his own writings (which tended to focus on technical musical matters and on issues in composition). The degree to which Gerhard's own political (if not his nationalist) ideology is embedded in his work is a source of fascination.

Gerhard makes use of a twelve-note row (albeit one with nine pitch classes) in *Don Quixote*, but its use is hardly rigorous or all-pervasive. For *Don Quixote* and *Pandora*, Gerhard constructs his own eclectic language, sometimes tonal (but rarely in a strongly goal-directed way) with touches of octatony; the music is often highly dissonant, but with an inherent sensitivity to register and sonority. Gerhard had made use of a seven-note row two decades earlier in his Wind Quintet (1928) written as his period of study with Schoenberg was concluding (partially serial writing also appears in several other works written towards the end of Schoenberg's tutelage). Clearly some elements in the way Gerhard handles rows (the free use of permutation and the integration of little twists and turns of melody with a distinctively Spanish flavor for example) look forward to his later serial practice. In her essay on the Wind Quintet, Rachel Mitchell explores Gerhard's idiosyncratic use of serial techniques in this work, taking the view that it represents a "manifesto" for the twelve-note works of the 1950s.

This view, that the seeds of the later practice are embedded in the earlier works, is attractive and certainly Gerhard's earlier experiments with rows would have fed into the intense period of theorizing that took place as the 1940s turned to the 1950s. But to a significant extent, this period of renewal was only possible after the very retrospective Violin Concerto of 1941–43 had closed a chapter in his past. As Michael Russ explores in Chapter 4, there is a sense in which Gerhard saw his move to twelve-note writing and subsequently to the serialization of time, as a very distinct change of direction, one underpinned by a root and branch reconsideration of the nature of musical materials and in particular of twelve-note writing. The failure of his opera *The Duenna* (1945–47) to achieve a fully staged performance may also have been a stimulus for him to build a new language to explore in purely instrumental works. Schoenberg and Gerhard remained friends after his studies with the German master and in

a long letter in 1950 Gerhard sought validation from him for his fresh approach to twelve-note writing. Had he had the energy to reply to Gerhard before he died the following year, Schoenberg may well have disagreed with the younger man's concept of a new twelve-tone tonality founded on permuting the notes within each hexachord in a way similar to Hauer's tropes or some modern reconception of modality.

After his thoroughgoing exploration of pitch relations, Gerhard soon turned his attention to the serialization of time. These explorations are generally taken to have begun in the early 1950s. Gerhard outlined these techniques in an article of 1956, "Developments in Twelve-Tone Technique," and there is no doubt that serialization of time was used in the String Quartet No. 1 completed in the previous year. In that year too he mentioned to his one-time pupil Joaquim Homs that he had been working with these ideas. However, Darren Sproston, after close analysis of proportions in the earliest of Gerhard's twelve-note works including the Capriccio for Solo Flute (1949) and the Three Impromptus for piano (1950), presents evidence that suggests Gerhard may already have been experimenting with proportional schemes based on the ratio that can be generated by summing the six integers in each hexachord of the row (the integers themselves being determined by counting the distance in semitones of the particular pitch class above a predetermined base line). Sproston's evidence suggests that Gerhard's experiments place him alongside, rather than a little after, the first experiments in the serialization of time undertaken by Messiaen, Boulez and Stockhausen. Whatever the date of his first experimentation, a strong guiding principle for Gerhard was to find a very practical approach, one that would allow him considerable freedom to make his own compositional decisions and to have a greater degree of control over his materials than he observed in Stockhausen, for example.

In his other contribution to this volume, Darren Sproston looks in detail at the reworking of Symphony No. 2 into *Metamorphoses*; nowhere is Gerhard's insistence on being guided by his ear rather than by any system more in evidence. While students of his music are endlessly fascinated by his place in developing total serialism, in practice when composing with such a system he was just as likely to abandon it for a while as employ it strictly. The system was there to help Gerhard form and shape a composition; as Homs pointed out, it was a means not an end. Gerhard's reshaping of Symphony No. 2 into *Metamorphoses* was as much about changing texture and timbre and modifying the flow of the form through adjusting the length of sections as it was about preserving the underlying serial framework. While we tend to connect Gerhard to

Schoenberg through serial practice, in his late works, both acoustic and electronic, Gerhard is as much the heir to the technique of *Klangfarbenmelodie* evident in Schoenberg's *Farben* from the Five Orchestral Pieces, Op. 16.

Julian White considers Gerhard's very distinctive approach to the serialization of time in works of the 1950s, particularly the Harpsichord Concerto (1955–56). As he points out, Gerhard was never a total serialist, that would have been far too mechanical for him, and he restricted his serial explorations to time and tone. The rows themselves are hard to determine without knowledge of Gerhard's precompositional planning and evidence of that is scant, although some sketches remain for the Harpsichord Concerto. As if to confuse the future analyst, that work opens with a twelve-integer time set, but one in which the hexachords are not only presented in reverse order, but also the second is itself retrograded. Drawing on Gerhard's notebooks, White is able to show how the time set is used to suggest proportions for metric structures, through phrases and periods to the whole of the first movement of the concerto. Readers may notice some inconsistencies of terminology between White's chapter and Sproston's. As White is drawing upon Gerhard's own notebooks and sketches, it has been necessary to preserve Gerhard's own, sometimes a little confusing, terminology rather than employing Sproston's more precise and neutral analytical approach which draws evidence only from the music, without the aid of any of the composer's sketches or charts.

On his return to Spain after his studies with Schoenberg, Gerhard faced resistance to his music for two reasons. First, following his studies with Pedrell, rather than following in the line of that master or adopting the neoclassicism of Falla, he had chosen to study in Austria and Germany and to develop a modernist style at odds with the Spanish musical establishment. Second, Gerhard's parents were Swiss and Alsatian and therefore to some he was not truly Spanish. The effect of these factors was to lead to him being unjustly marginalized in books written in Spain about the contemporary music of the time, as Belén Pérez Castillo documents. After then building a reputation in Catalonia in the years immediately before the Civil War, his subsequent exile led to him being almost airbrushed from Spanish writing about music during the Franco regime with its vaunting of *flamenco* and the promotion of Joaquim Rodrigo.

His neglect in music histories of Spain in the interwar period notwithstanding, Gerhard was well connected with Spanish intellectuals; for example, he knew and admired Lorca who was to be murdered by Franco's regime. The *Lament for the Death of a Bullfighter* (1959), as Gregorio Garcia Karman explains, is a tribute both to the bullfighter and to

Lorca himself. It is also an extraordinarily accomplished work for electronic tape (including a recording of the spoken poem), composed using what now would be considered primitive methods of recording, altering, and juxtaposing a wide range of sounds, many originating in percussion instruments, others in snippets of works by Gerhard himself. These constant references are always open to interpretation – are they autobiographical in some way? Gerhard regarded Don Quixote as the "Knight of the Hidden Images" perhaps, as Walshaw argues, the same observation might be made about Gerhard himself.

Gerhard's relationship with Cage, for whose collection of examples of notation he wrote *Claustrophilia*, cannot be regarded as close. Monty Adkins and Carlos Duque consider the circumstances surrounding Gerhard's only open, chance-based composition including the irony that Gerhard wrote his score on the back of a page from a draft of the Concerto for Orchestra and Cage took this to be Gerhard's composition! Perhaps the whole thing was intended as a joke, but as Adkins and Duque argue, such an interpretation is belied by the care Gerhard took in planning the composition and the fact that he took time to compose this work at a very busy point in his life. Nevertheless, Gerhard was wedded to the craft of composition and to maintaining a strict degree of control as he wrote to Cage "I am not for scrapping notation in favor of diagrams, doodlings or *musikalische Graphik*" and he still gave "pitch pride of place among materia musica's prime constituents."

CHAPTER ONE

DON ROBERTO = DON QUIXOTE

TREVOR WALSHAW

Is there a Spanish philosophy? Yes, the philosophy of Don Quixote.[1]

Introduction

In the decade following his exile from Spain, the five most significant works produced by Roberto Gerhard were three ballet scores, *Alegrías/Flamenco* (1941–43), *Pandora* (1943–44) and *Don Quixote* (1940–50), the Violin Concerto (1942–45) and the opera *The Duenna* (1945–47). It is possible to regard them as reflecting different reactions to the Spanish Civil War and his situation as a Catalan Spaniard in exile. Although he was always reluctant to discuss either his personal affairs or his compositions in public,[2] examinations of his writings, scores, and scenarios reveal personal and political ideas and attitudes being articulated, as is already evident in the first ballet to reach the stage, *Alegrías/Flamenco*, a single score for which two scenarios were created. Both are described by Samuel Llano, albeit with reservations, as embodying Gerhard's mockery of, and opposition to, Franco's promotion of flamenco as virtually the sole form of Spanish traditional culture, a policy designated by Washabaugh as *nacionalflamenquismo*.[3]

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[1] Miguel de Unamuno, *Our Lord Don Quixote: The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho with Related Essays*, trans. Anthony Kerrigan (London, 1967), 290. Originally published in Madrid in 1905, with an expanded edition appearing in 1914.

[2] The trait is demonstrated in "A Conversation with Robert Gerhard," *Mirador* 49 (1929), 5. Gerhard's responses to questions about his own works and musical tastes are factual and guarded, but those about young Catalan colleagues are open and enthusiastic. I am grateful to Dr. Rosemary Summers for drawing my attention to this article and for providing a translation.

[3] Samuel Llano, "Dissidence and the Poetics of Nostalgia: Narratives of Exile in

Pandora, composed in collaboration with the modernist, cosmopolitan choreographer Kurt Jooss, whose company had been forced to flee Germany for political reasons,[4] was an antiwar ballet. Although intended for an English audience, the score is saturated with obscure references to Catalan and Spanish musical traditions. The Catalan pilgrims' "dance of death," *Ad mortem festinamus*,[5] for instance, is used throughout as a melody in its own right and as a basis for other structures, in the manner of a chorale tune in a Bach cantata; the music for the ballet, therefore, reflects "the contemporary tragedy of his homeland,"[6] as interpreted by both Ramon Ribé and Julian White.[7]

Gerhard himself is the source of interpretation for the Violin Concerto, as in a letter to Leo Black cited by Russ he writes that the score "became intensely biographical … [I] simply could not avoid the past resuscitating in every one of its dim fleeting fases [*sic*] and faces. Incidentally, the 12-note episodes are '*memories*, not anticipations'."[8] This suggests nostalgia, although Russ, after tracing the origins of the "borrowed" material embedded in the score, remarks:

> One can only surmise from the musical context and the emotions evoked what significance these events had for the composer. Many of the musical borrowings in the concerto take the form of snippets of melody. Even in the increasingly athematic, twelve-tone phase of Gerhard's career that followed, melodies occasionally appear in his symphonic and chamber music that retain the enigmatic quality of some in the Violin Concerto: they seem to refer to something, but quite what is not always evident.[9]

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the Music of Roberto Gerhard," paper presented at *Staging Exile, Migration and Diaspora in Hispanic Theatre and Performance Cultures* (University of Birmingham, September 2008), 3ff, citing William Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion, Politics, and Popular Culture* (Oxford, 1996), 162–63. See also Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, "Roberto Gerhard's Ballets: Music, Ideology and Passion," in Monty Adkins and Michael Russ (eds.), *The Roberto Gerhard Companion* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 98.

[4] Anna Markand and Hermann Markand, *Jooss* (Cologne, 1985), 53.

[5] Julian White, "National Traditions in the Music of Roberto Gerhard," *Tempo* (New Series) 184 (March, 1993), 8.

[6] Ramon Ribé, email 13 April 2013; see also White, "National Traditions," 8.

[7] See Chapter 2.

[8] Michael Russ, "Music as Autobiography: Roberto Gerhard's Violin Concerto," *Roberto Gerhard Companion*, 132, citing Gerhard letter (his emphases) quoted in Leo Black, *BBC Music in the Glock Era and After. A Memoir* (London, 2010), 109.

[9] Ibid., 151.

In the case of *The Duenna* Gerhard was attracted by Sheridan's play, the great appeal being: "the beauty of Sheridan's English, however, the sparkle and elegance of his dialogue which I found irresistibly attractive. There is, I think, some affinity between Sheridan and the imaginative humour and wit of the Andalusian people and their polished turn of speech."[10]

To fully capture the rich diversity of Sevillian street life with its mixture of "wealth and fashion rubbing shoulders with beggars, gypsies and picaresque rogues"[11] he needed only to interpolate appearances of his *bêtes noires*, the Holy Brethren, into scene 1 and supplement the crowds in the finales of the two acts with pickpockets and street children to harass the bourgeoisie.

Of the works listed, however, it is apparent that for Gerhard *Don Quixote* was the most significant:

> As is so often with Gerhard [*sic*], the story begins with Cervantes and his Don Quixote … Yet Gerhard saw Don Quixote as the "Knight of the Hidden Images" and in his various scores of the 1940s sought to portray him "from within" – that is from **within** the musical structures no less than through the musical characters.[12]

and Leticia Sánchez de Andrés cites David Drew as saying that *Don Quixote* was "like the Bible" to Gerhard,[13] lending strength to her suggestion that it was the composer who chose *Don Quixote* as the subject for a ballet when commissioned by Harold Rubin to compose a piece for the Arts Theatre Ballet in Cambridge in 1940.[14] The significance of the work for Gerhard is indicated by the fact that whereas he pragmatically accepted the abandoning of the staging of two earlier ballets, *Ariel* and *Les Feux de St. Jean*, he persevered with *Don Quixote* for ten years when Rubin's company disbanded soon after the start of World War 2, returning to the work at regular intervals and including passages in the incidental music for an adaptation of the novel by Eric Linklater for a radio drama. Work on *Don Quixote* in various forms spans eighteen years:

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[10] Roberto Gerhard, "The Duenna," in *Gerhard on Music: Selected Writings*, ed. Meirion Bowen (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2000), 81.
[11] Ibid., 81.
[12] David Drew, CD booklet notes, *Roberto Gerhard: Portraits and Horoscopes*, Nieuw Ensemble, cond. Ed Spanjaard (Largo 5134, Cologne, 1996), 4, (Drew's emphasis).
[13] Sánchez de Andrés, "Roberto Gerhard's Ballets", 92, n. 61, citing Javier Alfaya, "Tras las huellas de Don Roberto", *Scherzo* 7/61 (Jan.–Feb. 1992), 52.
[14] Ibid., 92.

1940–1941: *Don Quixote* ballet, first version;
1941: *Don Quixote,* Suite No. 1;
1943-44: *The Adventures of Don Quixote*. Incidental music for Linklater's radio adaptation;
1947: Dances from *Don Quixote* for piano solo;
1947: *Don Quixote*, Suite No. 2;
1947–49: *Don Quixote* ballet, second version;
1948: Correspondence with Constant Lambert regarding production of *Don Quixote* by Sadler's Wells. Lambert later recommends production to company;
1949: Correspondence with Ninette de Valois regarding Sadler's Wells' production at Covent Garden;
1950: *Don Quixote* ballet. First performance 20 February;
1950: "On Music in Ballet," lectures at London University vacation course;
1951: "On Music in Ballet I and II" articles based on lectures published in *Ballet*;
1958: Dances from *Don Quixote* for orchestra.

As can be seen, the correspondence with Constant Lambert, then music adviser to the Covent Garden-based Sadler's Wells,[15] lead to the recommendation that the company should take up *Don Quixote*, and it is the version of the score and scenario as used in those performances in 1950 that is the basis of this chapter.

Literary Background

During his correspondence with Lambert Gerhard draws attention to an article by Gerald Brenan: "With relation to the curious dream of D. Q. in the Cave of Montesinos, I would like to mention Gerald Brenan's illuminating comments in his essay on Cervantes in the July issue of 'Horizon', which you may have seen."[16] Although the reference is to a specific episode from the novel and the ballet, the subject of the essay is the pre-occupation of contemporary Spanish intellectuals with the essential nature of Don Quixote, and Gerhard clearly regarded himself as of their company:

> The Spaniards of today, moved by the insatiable passion for understanding and explaining themselves that has come over them since the turn of the century, have found in Don Quixote with his delusions and his wisdom, his

[15] Michael Kennedy and Joyce Bourne, eds., "Lambert, (Leonard) Constant," *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music* (Oxford, 1996).
[16] Roberto Gerhard, letter to Constant Lambert, 11 December 1948. CUL, Gerhard 14.232.

> violence and his courtesy, his egoism and his moral fervour the type and symbol of the Spanish character and have built upon his story a philosophy of the tragic attitude to life. But this is only one more interpretation of an endlessly interpretable book, and it would be beyond the scope of this study to discuss it.[17]

The reasons for Brenan's dating the phenomenon to the "turn of the century" can be found in his own account of the origins of the Spanish Civil War, *The Spanish Labyrinth.* For him, the pivotal date was 1898 and the crucial event was the war with the United States, the consequence of which was the loss of Spain's remaining colonies – Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines:

> [producing] consternation in the country, but so little reflection as to its causes and so little change of heart that Silvela, the Conservative Prime Minister, remarked with despair that he "could scarcely feel the pulse of Spain." Yet this in fact was the lowest moment and the end of an era. From now on a new Spain began.[18]

Brenan demonstrates that between 1898 and the beginning of the Civil War Spain underwent a process of disintegration and of partial regeneration, notable for the fact that between 1902 and 1923 the country had "thirty-three entirely different governments."[19] Sánchez de Andrés explains that the literary consequence of the "Disaster of 98" was that the character of Don Quixote was established as an iconic figure inspiring a series of interpretations in which he was transformed into a Spanish archetype, "a model for the regeneration of the nation, a cultural myth in which they sought to acknowledge the more valuable qualities of the Spanish

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[17] Gerald Brenan, "Novelist-philosophers: XIII – Cervantes," *Horizon* (July 1948), 45–46 (accessed via UNZ.ORG, 28 January 2014). An indication of Gerhard's approval of Brenan can be found in a notebook (CUL 7.151, f11) in which he cites the Preface to Brenan's *The Spanish Labyrinth* where Brenan himself cites Marx, "There is perhaps no other country except Turkey, so little known and falsely judged by Europe as Spain (Karl Marx, cited by Gerald Brenan <<The Spanish Labyrinth>>) perqué els historiadors: <<instead of viewing the strength and resource of these peoples in their provincial and local organisation they have drawn at the source of their court histories>>" (Gerhard's parentheses and Spanish interpolation).

[18] Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth* (Cambridge, 1943), 17–18. It is worthwhile consulting the Chronological Table (xxv–xxvi), a catalogue of strikes, assassinations and changes of government, which, recurring more or less annually, reveal an almost permanent state of civil strife.

[19] Ibid., 23, n. 1.

people."[20]

As will be discussed in detail below, Gerhard's scenario for the ballet as it appears in *Gerhard on Music*[21] reveals that at least three commentaries on *Don Quixote* provide a background for his interpretation: *Vida de Don Quixote y Sancho* (1905) by Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936), *Meditaciones del Quijote* (1914) by José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1958), *Guía del lector del Quijote* (1926) by Salvador de Madariaga (1886–1978) (plus its 1935 translation by the author and his wife, *Don Quixote: An Introductory Essay in Psychology*). All of these texts regard Don Quixote as the manifestation of the Spanish psyche in times of crisis and contemplate his significance in modern Spain. The catalogue of Gerhard's library[22] reveals that from the above list one essential volume, *Vida de Don Quixote y Sancho*, is missing (although Unamuno is represented with eight other volumes of essays and two biographical studies), while the editions of Madariaga post-date the gestation period of the first version of the ballet.[23]

Despite the missing volume and the late editions it is inconceivable that a man as dedicated to *Don Quixote* as Gerhard had not read such significant contributions to the literature, a fact accepted by Gabriela Lendle who, having studied Gerhard's markings and annotations in his books, observes that for Unamuno "philosophy, life and *Quixotismo* are

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[20] Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, "Rootlessness and Patriotism: The Gerhardian Search for National Sentiment in the Myth of Don Quixote," paper read at the Third Annual Conference, *Cervantes and Quixote in Music* (Madrid, 6–8 November 2012), 1.

[21] Roberto Gerhard, "Music and Ballet," in *Gerhard on Music*, ed. Bowen, 97–100 (hereafter "Music and Ballet"). Bowen's editing conflates Roberto Gerhard, "On Music in Ballet I," *Ballet*, 11/3 (April 1951): 19–24 and "On Music in Ballet II," *Ballet*, 11/4 (May 1951): 29–35; the dates of 1950 and 1954 as given by Bowen in his end note (83, p. 239) are clearly a slip of the pen. Other synopses can be found in the anonymous program notes for the first performance at Covent Garden (London, 1951) and preceding the study score (Boosey and Hawkes, HPS 1147), probably by David Drew (London, 1991).

[22] Accessible at www.lib.cam.ac.uk/Departments/Music/Gerhard/Music.html. Other significant texts in the library are four copies of *Don Quixote* (two in Spanish, two in English) together with further interpretations of the novel by Azorín and Rusiñol.

[23] The shelf numbers at CUL are for the Madariaga: 744: 27.d.90.20: Cervantes. Madariaga, S. de, *Guía del lector del Quijote*, ed. Sudamerica, c1943; 1961.8.2952: Cervantes. Madariaga, S. de. *Don Quijote: an introductory essay*…rev. ed. OUP, 1961. That for Ortega y Gasset is: MRS.31.347: Ortega y Gasset, J., *Meditaciones del Quijote*, 2a ed. Calpe, 1921.

inseparable" and that these ideas serve as a background to the ballet.[24]

While Brenan only names Madariaga, he clearly draws on Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset. Gerhard's scenario and score parallel these lines of thought in that Brenan and the three philosophers all shared the belief that Don Quixote personifies the Spanish psyche in times of strife. The works of Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset and Madariaga appeared at, or shortly after climactic moments during thirty years of turmoil in Spain – in 1905, 1914 and 1926 respectively – years of strife that culminated in the greatest crisis of all and the cause of Gerhard's exile, the Civil War of 1936–39. While their ideas often overlap, there are also significant differences between the three writers' interpretations of the myth. The ballet reflects aspects of all three, although Ortega y Gasset's voice is peripheral.

Miguel de Unamuno, the oldest of the three writers, was a leading figure in the tradition of re-interpreting *Don Quixote*. The epigraph heading this chapter is from *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, which is a chapter by chapter gloss on the novel and on the character of Don Quixote, followed by a collection of essays commenting on aspects of the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance and on his meaning for contemporary Spain. As a philosopher, he was described by Walter Starkie as "modern Spain's apostle of Quixotism";[25] Harold Bloom put it more forcefully, "For Unamuno, Alonso Quixano is the Christian saint, while Don Quixote is the originator of the actual Spanish religion, Quixotism,"[26] an assertion made by Unamuno himself:

> And we are going to undertake a campaign for the canonization of Don Quixote, to have him declared Saint Quixote of La Mancha. If the Roman Church, which has canonized not a few poetic subjects of far less historical reality than Don Quixote, opposes the move, then perhaps the moment has arrived for schism and the establishment of the Catholic – that is, Universal – Spanish, Quixotic Church.[27]

Unamuno justifies the re-interpretations of the myth of Don Quixote

[24] Gabriela Lendle, *Zwölftontechnik als neue Form von Tonalität: Zu Roberto Gerhards quixotischem Code* (Stuttgart, 2015), 176 (Lendle's italics). The author is grateful to Janis Scott for translating; minor amendments were made by the author.

[25] Walter Starkie, "Introduction," Unamuno, *Our Lord Don Quixote*, ix. The appellation "Quixotism", or *quixotismo*, appears to have been first coined by Unamuno as the title for an essay in *Vida de Don Quixote y Sancho*, ibid., 329.

[26] Harold Bloom, "Introduction: Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra," in Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quixote*, trans. Edith Grossman (London, 2004), xxi.

[27] Unamuno, *Our Lord Don Quixote*, 430.

by taking literally Cervantes' assertion that he was not the author of the novel, as in Chapter IX of the First Part of the work he describes how, in Toledo's Alcalá market, he discovered a reference to "This Dulcinea of Toboso" in an assortment of "notebooks and old papers" written in Arabic. A Morisco[28] standing nearby provided a translation, "saying that it said: *The History of Don Quixote of La Mancha, written by Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arab historian*" whereupon he "bought all the papers and notebooks from the boy for half a *real*," following which the Morisco was persuaded to begin a translation of the work at Cervantes' home, "where, in a little more than a month and a half, he translated the entire history, just as it is recounted here,"[29] thus Cervantes is the author only at second remove, and, taking him at his word, Unamuno assumes the right, as did later writers, to re-interpret the novel:

> I am personally not one of those who suppose that the word of Cervantes possesses any esoteric sense whatever, or that he sought to embody symbols in the characters of his story, but I do believe that we have the right to see our own symbols in these characters.[30]

This, in turn, enabled him to establish the faith of *quixotismo*, in which the core belief is that the glory of Spain was founded in knight-errantry:

> There are those who believe that he was resurrected on the third day, and that he will return to earth clothed in mortal flesh and ready to engage in knightly adventures. And he will return when Sancho, who is today bowed down with memories, feels the hot coursing of the blood he stored up in his squirely wanderings, and when he mounts Rocinante, as I said, and, wearing his master's armor, takes up his lance, and sets out to play the role of Don Quixote.[31]

Unamano's imagery recalls Drew's 'like the Bible', and the final image of the ballet is of Sancho kneeling in supplication to a Dulcinea/Madonna (a concept introduced in Gerhard's synopsis when describing scene 1, and hinted at in outlining the Epilogue).[32]

Madariaga, having considered the idea that Cervantes was "the stepfather of Don Quixote,"[33] rejects it, seeing him instead as the

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[28] A Morisco was "a Moor who had been converted to Christianity"; see Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* translator's note 4, 67.
[29] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 67–68.
[30] Unamuno, *Our Lord Don Quixote*, 358.
[31] Ibid., 321.
[32] "Music and Ballet," 98 and 100 respectively.
[33] Salvador de Madariaga, *Don Quixote, An Introductory Study in Psychology* (this

personification of Quixote: "But how often, in true imitation of Don Quixote, does he [Cervantes] gallop through the fields of imagination and lose sight of earth!"[34]

For Madariaga, Cervantes was,

> however, purely concerned with creating characters, and that is why he succeeded in giving the world eternal symbols. For even as the stone that strikes the water, though merely intent on obeying the law of gravity, will cause ever-widening circles to rise on the surface of the liquid, even so the creator that succeeds in touching the sea of the spirit will stir circles on it beyond the bounds of his limited sight. Not what Cervantes meant, but what he did is our patrimony, and when speaking of *Don Quixote* we can choose any of the infinite number of circles which surge wider and wider round the spot where the book first fell.[35]

There are three major differences between Madariaga's approach to the novel and that of Unamuno. Firstly, rather than attempt a gloss on the entire novel he focuses on a few key characters or incidents; secondly, he eschews the quasi-religious rhetoric often assumed by Unamuno in favour of a more measured discussion of the text; and, finally, he avoids directly relating the novel to visions of a revitalized Spain: he notes in his chapter "The Rise of Sancho" the strengthening of Sancho's influence on events as the novel nears its end, but there is no suggestion that he will resume his master's quest.[36]

The only major episode selected for discussion by Madariaga included in the ballet is "The Cave of Montesinos." It is described as: "a sort of 'harmonic' of the whole book, an illusion within an illusion, like the seed within the fruit."[37] In his analysis of the adventure, Madariaga points out that the Don's sudden awareness of reality and his subsequent disillusionment is precipitated by Dulcinea's action following her dance:

> Don Quixote's imagination leads him to fancy that Dulcinea, enchanted, is in need of money and is sending one of her companions to raise some by pawning a dimity petticoat. This bringing into contact of Dulcinea, the symbol of illusion, and money, the symbol of material form, is in itself a piece of cruel realism.[38]

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edition London, 1935), 4.
[34] Ibid., 52.
[35] Ibid., 8–9.
[36] Ibid., 140ff.
[37] Ibid., 131.
[38] Ibid., 136.

Like Madariaga, Gerhard regards this as, "the beginning of the end: the Don's faith in himself, his ideal love and his mission of knight-errantry, has begun to crumble."[39]

Standing between the visionary Unamuno and the pragmatic Madariaga, however, is the third interpreter of the novel, José Ortega y Gasset, whose *Meditations on Quixote* also contains ideas paralleled in Gerhard's approach, but his contemplation on the significance of Don Quixote as the divine manifestation and Saviour of Spain, although it accords with the visionary aspects of Unamuno, is more general in outlook and barely treats specific adventures at all:

> in a certain way, Don Quixote is the sad parody of a more divine and serene Christ: he is a Gothic Christ, torn by modern anguish; a ridiculous Christ of our own neighborhood, created by a sorrowful imagination which lost its innocence and its will and is striving to replace them. Whenever a few Spaniards who have been sensitized by the idealized poverty of their past, the sordidness of their present, and the bitter hostility of their future gather together, Don Quixote descends among them and the burning ardor of his crazed countenance harmonizes those discordant hearts, strings them together like a spiritual thread, nationalizes them, putting a common racial sorrow above their personal bitterness. "For where two or three are gathered together in my name," said Jesus, "there am I in the midst of them."[40]

He rejects Unamuno's concept of Cervantes being merely the "stepfather" of *Don Quixote* and, like Madariaga, prefers to see the character as a projection of the personality of the author: "but artistic things – like the character of Don Quixote – are made of a substance called style. Each aesthetic object is the individualization of a style-protoplasm. Thus, the individual Don Quixote is an individual of the Cervantes species."[41]

The first of the two major points on which the three writers agree, therefore, is that embedded within the novel are concepts of "duality" and the right to interpret the novel from a contemporary perspective. In Unamuno there is a double duality – the separation of the author from his "stepson," and Don Quixote's mixture of madness and sanity:

> His madness, then, did not flourish until his sanity and goodness were well-seasoned. He was never a lad who threw himself helter-skelter into an unfamiliar career, but a judicious man who went mad from pure maturity

[39] "Music and Ballet," 99.
[40] José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditations on Quixote,* trans. Evelyn Rugg and Diego Marín (New York, 1963), 51.
[41] Ibid., 51–52.

of spirit.[42]

For Madariaga, Cervantes' contrary nature drives him to purport to undo, "the authority and welcome which Chivalry books enjoy,"[43] while he is in fact trying to emulate the genre:

> I venture to think that the real inception of *Don Quixote* must be found not in a desire to destroy, but in the ambition to emulate, the popularity of Amadís of Gaul and his race. Cervantes' first idea must have been that of writing a model Chivalry book.[44]

Embracing yet another interpretation, Ortega considers the variety of attitudes toward Quixote:

> Nevertheless, the errors to which the isolated consideration of Don Quixote has led are really grotesque. Some, with charming foresight, advise us not to be Don Quixotes; others, following the latest fashion, invite us to an absurd existence, full of extravagant gestures. For all of them, apparently, Cervantes did not exist. Yet Cervantes came upon this earth to carry our minds beyond that dualism.[45]

The second point of agreement is that the myth of the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance is essentially tragic, and as such can be regarded as a reflection of the plight of Spain in times of distress. Of the three, Unamuno is the most dramatic, "the passing grandeur of our Spain is eternalized in a work of Mockery … And this work of mockery is the saddest history that has ever yet been written."[46] Madariaga, taking a less histrionic approach, is more elliptical:

> Cervantes realizes that laughter cannot be whole-hearted when raised at the expense of a noble character, since man's deepest instinct leads him to recognize his own ideal self in all that is noble and when we laugh at our own selves we can only laugh with "monkey laughter".[47]

Ortega y Gasset, with his "sordidness of their present, and the bitter hostility of their future," is as pessimistic as Unamuno. Gerhard, who witnessed "the bitter hostility of their future" and who in his other ballets

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[42] Unamuno, Our Lord Don Quixote, 27.
[43] Madariaga, Don Quixote, An introductory Study, citing Cervantes' Prologue to Don Quixote, 10.
[44] Ibid., 37.
[45] Ortega, *Meditations*, 51.
[46] Unamuno, Our Lord Don Quixote, 244.
[47] Madariaga, Don Quixote, An Introductory Study, 6.

seems to have been tilting at Francoist windmills, could justifiably regard himself as a modern personification of the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance – expressing the concept in the compositional methods applied in the ballet by getting "into the skin" of Don Quixote:

> The problem of Don Quixote's impersonation is in itself a twofold one, since the Knight of La Mancha is by no means a madman pure and simple, but the most subtle mixture of sense and folly, a compound of sweet reasonableness and delirious hallucinations … There was nothing for it but to get into the Don's skin and impersonate him.[48]

The idea that the artist, whether dancer or composer, should assume the skin of his or her role pervades the second section of the essay, beginning with a statement about the willingness of the composer, "to take his inspiration not from the literary aspect … but from within the movement of the dance itself – from dance as impersonation."[49] But the composer owes the dancer an even greater obligation:

> I knew that I had given the dancers music and rhythm into which they could slip as into fitting garments. Yet this is only half of the musician's task ... above all, it must also *impersonate.* The word itself could not be a happier one as an expression of what it stands for. *Persona* originally applied by the Latins to the actor's mask, means literally *that which sounds through* (*per-sona, per sonare*) the sound behind the mask.[50]

In other words, just as the dancers need to "get inside" the characters they represent so must the composer sound through the mask to *impersonate* Don Quixote.

There follows a description of the way in which Gerhard solves the problem of the duality of Don Quixote's character by discovering a theme from which he is able to extract a twelve-note series. From the Schoenbergian point of view the series is deficient, consisting of nine pitch classes only, with three repeated, but, "it was given to me in and with my original theme which … had been one among many discarded ones that had come spontaneously to my mind from the first."[51] It was, in other words, the product of intuition (an important subplot in Gerhard's writings).

The structure of the scenario ensures that as the ballet proceeds the incidence of episodes that re-interpret the myth steadily increases, serving

[48] "Music and Ballet," 94.
[49] Ibid., 93.
[50] Ibid., 94 (Gerhard's italics).
[51] Ibid., 96.

to articulate and synthesize a number of the concepts found in twentieth-century interpretations of *Don Quixote,* enabling the composer to identify with Brenan's "Spaniards of today," although he must have known that very few of the intended audience would be sufficiently conversant with the novel to recognize the nature of his adaptations, and, as with the Catalan references in *Pandora*, even fewer would comprehend the contemporary Spanish resonances.

But the most significant musical and psychological factor in the work is the intuitive discovery of the means of impersonating, of *becoming* the Knight of the Hidden Images, by "getting inside his skin."[52]

The Ballet: Scenario

However skilfully the scenario is composed, in the medium of ballet it is possible to portray only the essence of an idea as complex as a reinterpretation of the myth of Don Quixote. The detail of the argument, if discernible at all, will be evident only to those with an intimate knowledge of Cervantes' novel. Table 1.1 gives the basic outline of the scenario and an indication of Gerhard's arrangement of the scenes from the novel as described in "Music and Ballet."[53] Those in roman text are narrative and those in italics are primarily meditative and the change from roman to italic predominance demonstrates the move from *ballet d'action* to a more contemplative idiom and the way in which the philosophical content increases as the narrative unfolds. A full appreciation therefore depends on shedding expectations of a divertissement depicting the spectacular adventures of a deluded old man (probably unavoidable in the light of previous interpretations) in favour of something more introspective.

[52] Ibid., 95. As far as the author can discover the appellation of the "Knight of the Hidden Images" is Gerhard's own coinage.

[53] Unless stated otherwise all references are to the synopsis as it appears in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 97–100, which reprints the version first published in David Drew, ed., *The Decca Book of Ballet* (London, 1958), 153–56.

Table 1.1. Roberto Gerhard, *Don Quixote*: outline scenario.

Section of ballet	Episode in novel
Introduction	Don Quixote's vision
Scene 1	Don Quixote's room: preparations
Interlude I	Don Quixote and Sancho set out
Scene 2	The Inn
	Arrival of Don Quixote
	Vigil at arms
	Duel with muleteer
	The knighting of Don Quixote
Interlude II	
Scene 3 The Plain of La Mancha	The Windmills
	The Barber and his basin
	The Age of Gold
	The Galley-slaves
Interlude III	
Scene 4	*The Cave of Montesinos*
Interlude IV	
Scene 5	*The Prison*
Epilogue	*The death of Don Quixote and supplications of Sancho*

The Music

The subtlety of Gerhard's interpretation of *Don Quixote* lies in the fact that not only could he conceive a ballet expressing philosophical ideas engendered by the myth of Don Quixote in the light of historical events,