



Ferdinand Rebay and the Reinvention of Guitar Chamber Music

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ABSTRACT

Ferdinand Rebay (1880-1953) was a pioneer among the non-guitarist composers who started to write for the guitar in the 1920s. However, in spite of having composed close to 400 guitar works, he is today undeservedly obscure. This thesis examines his more than 30 sonatas or sonata-structured works for guitar, most of which is made of chamber music for combinations that range from duos to a septet. In Part 1, I situate Rebay's chamber sonatas within the guitar repertoire, understanding it as a reaction to the lighter repertoire of the guitar clubs, the turn-of-the-century's main guitar niche in German-speaking territories. After investigating the guitaristic context, I look at Rebay's career and interactions with the Viennese guitar circles, highlighting the work of his main champion and niece-guitarist, Gerta Hammerschmid. Later, I analyse his compositional style and demonstrate that, by associating the guitar with the Austro-German Romantic sonata prestige, Rebay may have intended to elevate the instrument's status in the eyes of the mainstream Viennese audiences. His exploration of the guitar in chamber music is equally paradigmatic, as he frees the instrument from its typical accompaniment roles and explores a fully-balanced texture in his sonata writing. In Part 2, I approach a selected group of seven chamber sonatas from a performer's point of view. Faced with the lack of a continuous performance tradition of Rebay's guitar music, I propose to incorporate an extended stylistic and technical mindset largely supported by historical investigation, which helps understand Rebay's meticulous notation and realize it convincingly. Finally, I trace Rebay's collaborative steps through the layers of information available in his manuscript sources, also proposing a "posthumous collaboration" to deal with score-based issues and make problematic passages—or in some cases, full works—playable and idiomatic. By initially situating Rebay's guitar music and later addressing some of its most important performance aspects, I hope to provide secure historical and interpretative grounds for the modern guitarist interested in his music.

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TECHNICAL NOTE

Throughout this thesis, I have translated titles or portion of titles when they refer to generic terms such as *Sonate* (sonata), *Streichquartett* (string quartet), *Sinfonie* (symphony) or *großes* (grand). Therefore, *Sonate in d-Moll für Klarinette und Gitarre* was translated as Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar, and *Großes Duo für Zwei Gitarren* to Grand Duo for Two Guitars. However, I kept the original titles when they are non-generic ones, such as in *Sonate in einem Satz* (Sonata in one movement) or *Variationen über ein altes Volkslied* (Variations on an old folk-song). Names of foreign institutions were preserved in their original language, such as Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and Stift Heiligenkreuz. German texts from primary sources were copied exactly as they appear in the original, and some inconsistencies may be occasionally noticed in relation to writing style and/or spelling, when compared to the current usage of the language. Musical examples and pictures will be given credited in their own captions, except for the ones taken from Rebay's manuscripts. In these, as a general rule, those that refer to Rebay's autographs are held in the music collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and those that refer to manuscript guitar parts are held in the music archives of the Stift Heiligenkreuz. All translations are my own, unless specified.

Musical notes were referred to in concert pitch, using the Helmholtz notation in square brackets, to avoid confusion with the main text. Therefore, the middle C is represented by [c'] and the normal range of the six-string guitar goes from [E] to [b'']. Harmony was represented by chord symbols that include the root in capital letter followed by its qualification and added notes, such as in Gaug (G augmented) or A^{7b9} (A dominant-seventh flat-ninth), and on a few occasions I made use of Roman numeral notation (e.g. I, ii, iii, IV, V, vi, vii^o) to illustrate my functional analyses of Rebay's music. Guitar fingerings are represented in current notation standards: for the right hand, *p* (thumb), *i* (index), *m* (middle) and *a* (ring); and for the left hand, 1 (index), 2 (middle), 3 (ring) and 4 (little). Likewise, guitar strings are represented by numbers enclosed in circles, from 1 to 6, with 0 representing an open string.

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Ferdinand Rebay in 1943 (Source: Stift Heiligenkreuz)

INTRODUCTION

Ferdinand Rebay (1880-1953) was one of the first non-guitarist composers to write for the guitar in the early twentieth century, and his vast output is still unequalled among composers who do not play the instrument. His progressive attitude and legacy can be seen from both practical and symbolic perspectives. For example, Rebay proved that it was possible to write well for the guitar without being a guitarist, contradicting a myth perpetuated since Berlioz that only those initiated on the instrument could compose well for it.¹ In addition, through his music he helped rescue the instrument from its former isolation in the guitar clubs and introduce it to the mainstream Viennese audiences, taking advantage of the Wiener Akademie's environment.² By the same token, many of his guitar works represent a paradigm change in the repertoire, offering sophisticated and extended multi-movement sonatas as an alternative to the usual late-nineteenth century miniatures by guitarist-composers. Finally, by composing primarily chamber music for guitar, Rebay not only drew from a Viennese tradition but challenged the current trends that favoured solo repertoire.

Nevertheless, much of today's guitar community is unaware of Rebay's music. In an attempt to do justice to his significance, my first research question involves situating his music within the guitar repertoire, with a focus on his chamber sonata output. This delimitation is justified by the fact that the guitar lacks large-scale chamber music from the Austro-German Romanticism, to which Rebay's idiom stylistically belongs. Therefore, his contribution is unique and potentially fills a repertoire gap. Rebay's relative obscurity partially arises from the fact that his guitar music did not have a chance to circulate widely outside of his Viennese environment, and after his death his manuscripts remained publicly unavailable until the first

¹ Hector Berlioz and Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise. A Translation and Commentary*, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 86.

² In 1909 the former Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde was renamed k.k. (kaiserlich-königlich) Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst, and after WW1 it became the Staatsakademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst, conserving this name until the Anschluss, when it was renamed Reichshochschule. After WW2, it acquired higher-education status under the name Akademie für Music und darstellende Kunst Wien and in 1998 it was finally renamed Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien. Throughout this thesis, however, I will refer to it simply as "Wiener Akademie". Lynne Heller, "Die Geschichte der mdw", accessed 14 December 2018, <http://www.mdw.ac.at/405>.

modern editions appeared in the early 2000s. As a consequence, his works have never truly entered the performing canon, which, being a creation of the twentieth century, mainly revolved around the solo repertoire of major guitarists such as Segovia and Bream. The disconnection from Rebay's musical world that results from the lack of a continuous performance tradition gives rise to my second research question, which involves devising informed performance strategies for Rebay's guitar music.

This thesis is divided in two parts, following the nature of the two research questions proposed above. My approach integrates musicological investigation with practice in such a way that one is supported by the other. For example, while the means for understanding Rebay's sonatas true significance can only be developed upon getting acquainted with them through performance—particularly when considering how little they have been played and recorded so far—conceiving an informed interpretation depends largely on drawing information from historical sources. This open dialogue between theory and practice will underpin all investigations in this thesis.

Part 1 looks at the guitar heritage with a critical eye, while focusing on Rebay's output. As put by Weber, "A performing canon is more than just a repertory: it is also a critical and ideological force".³ Thus, a comprehensive approach is necessary in order to situate Rebay's chamber sonatas, understanding the historical and ideological circumstances that supported their genesis, performance and reception. First, it is important to contextualize the *künstlerisches Gitarrespiels* (artistic guitar playing) around the turn of the twentieth century and how it differed from the mainstream concert-hall ideology.⁴ This is the goal of Chapter 1, which is based on Rebay's own opinion about the guitar, as expressed by him in an article from 1926.⁵ By elaborating on his criticisms to the guitar repertoire, the chapter covers from

³ William Weber, "The History of Musical Canon", in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 340.

⁴ The term *künstlerisches Gitarrespiels* is seen in much of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century literature in German language. It referred to the activity of playing "classical music" on the guitar by employing staff notation, as opposed to the practice of folk-music accompaniment popularized among amateurs and relying on chord notation. However, it also carried aesthetical connotations, establishing a separation between low- and highbrow music.

⁵ Ferdinand Rebay, "Prof. Ferdinand Rebay - Gitarrekompotion", *Österreichische Gitarre-Zeitschrift* 1, no. 1 (1926): 2-3.

the emergence of the amateur guitar clubs in German-speaking territories to the implementation of the Wiener Akademie's guitar programme in 1923 and its chamber music outcomes. In Chapter 2, I describe the highlights of Rebay's career while relating them to the general and guitaristic contexts of his hometown, Vienna.⁶ Besides amplifying what is already known about him, the chapter introduces Rebay's main Viennese guitarists—most notably his niece-guitarist, Gerta Hammerschmid—and analyses the contemporary reception of his music. It also considers reasons for why his guitar music performances remained essentially restricted to Vienna. Chapter 3 narrows the investigation down to his more than 30 sonatas or sonata-structured works for guitar. By taking a historical perspective of the Romantic sonata and its constructed prestige, I propose that Rebay chose the genre to elevate the guitar's status, inviting the instrument to join the Austro-German mainstream tradition from which he himself emerged.

Part 2 focuses on interpretative strategies for performing Rebay's guitar music, under the parameters of practice-led research. In this process, I make direct or indirect use of selected autoethnographic principles, such as the emphasis on personal experience to justify artistic choices.⁷ Being an expert in my own field, I can draw upon hands-on experience with the music that would most likely not be accessible to someone who would always need to rely on the experience of others. I am aware that first-person research is restricted by its own subjective nature. However, so is the nature of music-making. Musicians are ultimately valued by their individual interpretations, which, although framed by collective convention, are always shaped by a personal understanding of the composer's text. Upon reconciling with this intrinsic nature of artistic activity, I propose to lessen the importance of the musical text as a reified object while focusing on the act of critically interpreting it. As put by Cook, "Scores are

⁶ The adjective "guitaristic" is used throughout this thesis with the meaning of "pertaining to the guitar or to guitar playing".

⁷ For more on general autoethnographic principles, see Carolyn Ellis and Tony E. Adams, "The Purposes, Practices, and Principles of Autoethnographic Research", in *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Patricia Leavy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 260-64.

much more like theatrical scripts than the literary texts as which musicology has traditionally understood (or misunderstood) them”.⁸

Among Rebay’s vast sonata output, I chose to scrutinize the six sonatas for woodwinds and guitar, based on their uniformity of instrumentation, overall period of composition and textural similarities, allowing the identification of recurring patterns which are used to trace the main performance issues. Rebay himself seemed to privilege the combination of woodwinds and guitar, as expressed by him in his 1926 article mentioned above. I also include Rebay’s Grand Duo for Two Guitars to the list, which, besides being a one-of-a-kind Romantic work for this ensemble type, offers stylistic and structural contrast in relation to the aforementioned group of sonatas.

The seven chosen sonatas are listed in Table 0.1, in chronological order of composition. They will be referred to in Part 2 as “selected sonatas”.

Table 0.1. List of Rebay’s selected sonatas.

Sonata	Year	Movements
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	1925	I. Lebhaft bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell II. Menuett III. Sehr ruhig, doch nicht schleppend IV. Rondo. Frisch bewegt
Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars	1940	I. Sehr bewegtes Zeitmaß II. Variationen über Schuberts „Morgengruß“ III. Frisch bewegt
Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar	1941	I. Allegro molto moderato II. Thema mit Variationen. Einfach innig (wie ein Volkslied) III. Tanz – Rondo. Allegretto
Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar	1942	I. Allegretto (moderato) II. Thema mit Variationen. Ruhig, mit zartem Ausdruck III. Scherzo. Presto (ma non troppo) – Trio. Etwas mäßigeres Zeitmaß (Tempo di Valse) IV. Rondo (über einem Beethoven'schen Tema [sic] frei nachgebildeten Hauptsatz): Allegretto grazioso
Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar	1942	I. Allegro moderato II. Langsam und ausdrucksvoll III. Scherzo: Presto – Trio IV. Rondo - Finale: Allegretto grazioso
Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar	1942	I. Allegro, molto moderato (Lebhaft, aber keinesfalls schnell!) II. Sehr ruhig, mit zartem Ausdruck (aber nicht schleppen!) III. Scherzo. Lebhaft launig (Allegro giocoso) – Trio. Mäßiges Walzertempo IV. Thema mit Variationen. Moderato

⁸ Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score : Music as performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1.

Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar	1942	I. Sehr ruhig und sehr leise beginnend. Allegro, ma non troppo II. Variationen über das „Volksliedschen“ aus Schumanns Jugendalbum. Ruhigeres Zeitmaß III. Scherzo. Presto (ma non troppo) – Trio. Ruhiger Walzer IV. Finale. Allegro moderato
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The investigation starts in Chapter 4 by examining the textual sources, justifying my choice of working with manuscripts because of the layers of information they provide. In Chapter 5, I approach the realization of Rebay's notation, framing my interpretation by what I call an "expanded stylistic and technical mindset", a concept mainly drawn from historical sources and filtered through my modern performer's lenses. It includes an extensive historical survey of the guitaristic procedures that probably informed Rebay's guitarists in regard to accentuation, phrasing and articulation, dislocation and arpeggiation, vibrato, portamento, and rubato. Chapter 6 focuses on the needs for performer intervention in making the music idiomatic. The topic is particularly relevant for most of the music written by non-guitarist composers that has appeared since the 1920s. Besides critiquing Rebay's collaborative activities with Hammerschmid, I illustrate my own "posthumous collaboration" input through three case studies.

Although I acknowledge the fundamental role of performance in helping pursue my scholarly inquiries, as the product of a practice-led research this thesis does not include an artistic portfolio. For reference purposes, however, three sonatas recorded at the Royal College of Music Studios in 2016 and 2017 can be heard in my SoundCloud channel.⁹ Furthermore, excerpts were recorded in audio and video to illustrate specific issues, identified by icons next to the text and accessible through the thesis' companion website at <http://www.luizmantovani.com/phd>.

⁹ Available at http://soundcloud.com/luiz_mantovani.

PART 1 - SITUATING REBAY

1 THE GUITARISTIC ENVIRONMENT OF THE EARLY 1900s

1.1 INTRODUCTION

As suggested in this thesis' Introduction, Ferdinand Rebay's guitar music represented a reaction to the marginal position that the guitar and its repertoire occupied in relation to the musical mainstream around the turn of the twentieth century. This chapter's goal is to understand what this reaction was against and the circumstances that supported it. Rebay's contribution to the guitar illustrates a local development of a much larger movement that had started in the late nineteenth century, traditionally understood as having its seeds in the work of Spanish guitarist and educator Francisco Tárrega (1852-1909). Wade calls this period the guitar's "golden age".¹ In this thesis, I will refer to it as the "twentieth-century guitar renaissance", because there was indeed a reappraisal of values which led to a renewed posture towards the instrument and its repertoire.

The chapter starts by outlining the general guitaristic context, focusing on repertoire issues and two of the most significant representatives of the so-called "Spanish School": the former Tárrega student, Miguel Llobet (1878-1938) and the greatest guitarist of the twentieth century, Andrés Segovia (1893-1987). The latter's contribution was particularly important for expanding the repertoire, whose limitations were once considered the main obstacle for the guitar to achieve its full potential on the concert platform. Next, I analyse the situation of the artistic guitar playing in German-speaking territories around the turn of the century. I start from Rebay's own account of the repertoire weaknesses, as diagnosed by him in an article written in 1926. Belonging to the musical mainstream and having no previous relationship with the guitar, Rebay was free from the affective biases that permeated the amateur guitaristic environments, setting out implicit and explicit goals to be achieved with his compositions. I will briefly review the reasons for the decline in guitar activity in the post-1850s and investigate the emergence, repertoire and aesthetic values of the guitar clubs, with an emphasis on the Internationale Gitarristen-Vereinigung in Munich. Guitar clubs were the main centres of guitaristic activity in this period, but their mostly amateur membership

¹ Graham Wade, *Traditions of the Classical Guitar* (London: John Calder, 1980), 131.

shaped their repertoire in ways that were seen as limiting by some of their more progressive members.

Munich-based guitarist Heinrich Albert (1870-1950) is given particular attention, since he was both a performance and teaching reference in Germany and Austria before the Spanish School took over, and his pedagogical output will be a substantial source of information for Part 2. A brief look at the guitar as a lied-accompaniment instrument follows, not only because this role was stressed by Rebay in his article but also because *Volkslieder* dominated the guitar club's repertoire, second only to solo guitar music. The chapter concludes by investigating the circumstances that surrounded the creation of one of the first European conservatoire-level guitar programmes at the Wiener Akademie in 1923, thanks to its guitar professor, Jakob Ortner (1879-1959). As will be detailed in Chapter 2, the Academy's environment enabled Rebay's initial acquaintance with the guitar, also offering the instrument the possibility of interacting with symphonic instruments in chamber music, an aspect embraced enthusiastically by Rebay and many of his colleagues.

1.2 THE GUITARISTIC ZEITGEIST AND THE REPERTOIRE PROBLEM

When Rebay started to write for the guitar in 1924, the instrument was going through a turning point in its history. On the one hand, it was enjoying renewed interest and gaining a growing access to the concert platform. These circumstances are frequently associated with the international careers of Llobet and especially Segovia—whose Paris debut in 1924 launched a new era for the instrument—although it also happened on national and regional levels through lesser-known performers.² On the other hand, the guitar still carried the reputation of a folk-instrument to the mainstream concert audiences, lacking serious repertoire and being more suitable to amateur song-accompaniment than professional concert music. In German-speaking territories, this had been a direct consequence of the instrument's previous isolation within the domestic and guitar-club environments, an aspect that will be scrutinized later.

² For more on the reception of Segovia in Paris during the 1920s and 1930s, see Allan Clive Jones, "The Judgement of Paris. Part 1", *Classical Guitar* 16, no. 179 (1998): 24-30; "The Judgement of Paris. Part 2", *Classical Guitar* 17, no. 180 (1998): 22-27; "The Judgement of Paris. Part 3", *Classical Guitar* 17, no. 181 (1998): 20-27; "The Judgement of Paris. Part 4", *Classical Guitar* 17, no. 183 (1998): 16-21; "The Judgement of Paris. Part 5", *Classical Guitar* 17, no. 183 (1998): 24-28.

Guitarists such as Llobet and Segovia had thus to engage on a double mission which is still familiar to today's guitarists: not only did they have to perform at a high level that would artistically match that of their mainstream colleagues, but also had to convince concert presenters, reviewers and audiences that the guitar was an instrument worth listening to in the concert hall. In spite of its low volume, the main obstacle to overcome seemed to be the repertoire limitations, almost entirely made of music written by guitarist-composers. A glimpse at contemporary programmes reveals that guitarists relied mostly on unpretentious miniatures in folk- or salon-style, which, although charming and appealing to amateurs, were not sophisticated enough to make their way into the concert halls.³ A quest for affirmation through repertoire can be illustrated by the excitement in the guitar community upon the discovery of Schubert's Quartet for Flute, Viola, Guitar and Cello in G, D. 96, in 1918. To their regret, however, it was soon established that the piece was in fact Schubert's arrangement of Matiegka's Trio for Flute, Viola and Guitar in G, Op. 21, with a newly-composed cello part.⁴

The lack of concert repertoire was not exclusive to the guitar. Instruments like the harp, flute or oboe also suffered from a relative lack of substantial Classical and Romantic repertoire, particularly in the Austro-German tradition. However, while performers of those instruments still enjoyed a conservatoire education and performed as orchestral players, the possibility of interacting with the canonized composers and their works was virtually non-existent for guitarists. As will be made clear below, the nineteenth-century guitar legacy was radically different from that of the piano, the violin or traditional chamber ensembles such as the piano trio or the string quartet. These dominated the solo and chamber recital programmes and their repertoire was the basis for all the surrounding activities that supported these branches of public concert life in Europe.⁵

³ Authors such as Wade and Huber offer several samples of guitar programmes from around the turn of the century. See Graham Wade, *A Concise History of the Classical Guitar* (Pacific: Mel Bay Publications, 2001); Karl Huber, *Die Wiederbelebung des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels um 1900 : Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Laienmusikwesens und zur Tradition der klassischen Gitarre* (Augsburg: Lisardo, 1995).

⁴ For more on the polemics involving Schubert's Guitar Quartet, see Otto E. Deutsch, "Schubert ohne Gitarre", *Schubert-Gabe der Österreichischen Gitarre-Zeitschrift* (1928): 18-26; Reinhard van Hoorickx, "Schubert's Guitar Quartet", *Revue Belge De Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap* 31 (1977): 111-35.

⁵ According to Bashford, the repertoire of chamber music concerts in the second half of the nineteenth century was "based on the emerging canon of Viennese classics, and the shapes

One way of compensating for this deficiency was to rely on transcriptions and arrangements. Adapting works to other media was also a popular practice among other instruments and ensembles. It can be verified, for example, in Brahms's piano duet arrangements of his own symphonies for domestic use,⁶ or in Rebay's fantasies on Wagner's operas for piano, piano duet or violin and piano.⁷ In the case of the guitar, while Tárrega was certainly not the first one to realize this possibility, with him the practice became established and still endures. Among Tárrega's transcriptions there are works by such canonized composers as Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, Schumann, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Wagner and, naturally, his countryman Albéniz. What makes the guitaristic practice different from its domestic pianistic counterpart is that, until new guitar repertoire was widely available, many of these adaptations were also featured in concert programmes.⁸

Many of Tárrega's pupils followed his steps in this respect, often achieving a high degree of sophistication. For example, Miguel Llobet's adaptation of Manuel de Falla's *Siete Canciones Populares Españolas* for voice and guitar became as popular as its original version for voice and piano. However, perhaps the most successful guitar transcription of all times can be credited to Segovia: the Chaconne, from Bach's Violin Partita No. 2 in D minor, BWV 1004. Although essentially a reworking of Busoni's famous arrangement for piano, since its

of programmes subject to local tastes and traditions, both in established centres of concert-giving and elsewhere". Christina Bashford, "Chamber Music", *Grove Music Online*, accessed 8 March 2019, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05379>.

⁶ Robert Pascall, "Brahms Arranges his Symphonies", in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall : Between Private and Public Performance*, ed. Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 137-57. Curiously, Pascall points out that, while these arrangements were originally conceived for *Hausmusik*, they are being revived nowadays as concert works.

⁷ Rebay's numerous fantasies were published by Breitkopf & Härtel between 1912 and 1914. He later also wrote several arrangements for guitar, of which more will be said in Chapter 2.

⁸ Examples of concert usage of transcriptions and arrangements can be seen in programmes from Segovia's early career. In a concert at the Real Academia de Santa Cecilia in Cádiz in 1914, for example, aside from two short pieces by Tárrega and one study by Coste, all other featured pieces were transcriptions of works by Bach, Beethoven, Chopin and Albéniz. Quoted in Wade, *A Concise History of the Classical Guitar*, 106.

1935 premiere in Paris it has achieved tremendous success—not without some controversy—and helped project the instrument as one capable of tackling serious concert music.^{9 10}

Nevertheless, the understanding of guitarists such as Llobet and especially Segovia was that the guitar needed more than transcriptions and arrangements: it needed original new music. The first to write a significant guitar piece in the twentieth century was Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), whose *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy* (1920) was edited by Llobet and first performed by him in 1921. By that time, the young Segovia had already established his career goals, which, besides “redeeming the guitar from the folklore”, included encouraging non-guitarist composers to write for it.¹¹ In fact, his repertoire excluded most music composed by guitarist-composers, which—with the exception of Sor and Giuliani—he disliked. To him, the guitar would only benefit from works written by the “real, symphonic composers”.¹² Although loaded with prejudice and even a certain contempt, the comment clearly shows how Segovia drew a border between the guitar’s past and the path he envisioned for its future. The results of this enterprise are well known and need not be detailed here. The guitar repertoire grew exponentially from the 1920s onwards, and a wealth of original new music started to be featured in concert programmes, bringing renewed interest to the instrument. Segovia set an example to later generations, who continued to enlarge the repertoire through commissions. I will return to this in Chapter 6, when analysing aspects of collaboration between guitarists and non-guitarist composers.

Segovia’s main legacy was a solid concert and pedagogic canon, influencing generations of guitarists. However, his selective taste imposed clear limitations. According to Buckley, “By 1950, Segovia had expanded the guitar repertoire with commissions reminiscent of the late-romantic style that contrasted with the contemporary works written for other

⁹ For more on Busoni’s influence on Segovia’s arrangement, see Christopher Berg, “Bach, Busoni, Segovia, and the Chaconne”, *Guitar Whisperer Blog*, accessed 23 November 2018, <http://blog.christopherberg.com/2015/12/28/bach-busoni-segovia-and-the-chaconne>.

¹⁰ According to Clive Jones, although the Parisian performance is usually referred to as the premiere, the Chaconne was actually first performed by Segovia in London a few days before. Clive Jones, “The Judgement of Paris. Part 4”, 21.

¹¹ Andrés Segovia and Graham Wade, *Maestro Segovia : Personal Impressions and Anecdotes of the Great Guitarist* (London: Robson Books, 1986), 23.

¹² Colin Cooper, “Andrés Segovia, Still on the Road”, *Classical Guitar* 1, no. 3 (1983): 13.

instruments”.¹³ In fact, he is often criticized for not having used his prestige to approach contemporary composers such as Stravinsky, Ravel or Schoenberg. Furthermore, the fact that he ignored much of the existing guitar literature also kept some of the strongest original pieces of the repertoire in oblivion until fairly recently. One may think of Mertz, Regondi, or even Segovia’s contemporary, Barrios, whose pieces never entered his repertoire. However, it would be unfair to demote Segovia’s contribution to the twentieth-century guitar renaissance; in its own way, his attitude towards the expansion of the repertoire was progressive and visionary.

The same guitaristic zeitgeist was felt in Vienna, encouraging non-guitarist composers such as Rebay to write for the guitar. However, unlike the solo music that made up the bulk of Llobet’s and Segovia’s repertoire, a surge of chamber music appeared there, which can be measured by the 80 chamber-music works for guitar written by Rebay alone. The fact that Rebay did not directly belong to Segovia’s circle makes his massive output even more impressive. It is a confirmation that, although the traditional twentieth-century guitar narrative is centred around the towering figure of Segovia, the instrument’s repertoire also developed autonomously in different environments.

1.3 REBAY’S ARTICLE OF 1926

Having established himself professionally in Vienna for two decades, first as a choirmaster and vocal composer, and then teaching piano at the Wiener Akademie, Rebay encountered the guitar and its repertoire with a fresh and inquisitive mind. Introduced to it by the Academy’s guitar professor Jakob Ortner, he quickly acquired a genuine interest in the instrument and detected an unexplored potential, particularly in the field of chamber music. In August 1926, having already composed 42 works for the guitar, Rebay wrote an article for the first number of the *Österreichische Gitarre-Zeitschrift*, a quarterly published by Ortner between 1926 and 1929. In it, he criticized the current repertoire and described his process of gradually gaining confidence to write for the instrument, culminating in chamber music. The article is transcribed in its entirety below, due to its historical importance.

¹³ Morgan Buckley, “Creative Performer Agency in the Collaborative Compositional Process” (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2017), 21.

NEW GUITAR LITERATURE

Prof. Ferdinand Rebay: Guitar composition

Encouraged by my esteemed friend and colleague Prof. Jacobus Ortner, the guitar master of Vienna, I became thoroughly acquainted with this instrument and its repertoire. Regrettably, I found out that the guitar literature has been idle for half a century. This does not mean that there is little composed for the guitar nowadays, quite the contrary! However, like in other fields, it is not the quantity that matters, but the quality.

How much potential lies in there for this wonderful accompaniment instrument, if played as in the excellent school of our dear master Ortner—and what do these dozens of so-called guitar composers write! Always these simple, occasionally tasteless, often mediocre and clumsy amateurish lute-songs from an artistic point of view, in which even a diminished seventh chord of the second degree is reason for awe. But there is no chord or modulation impossible for the guitar, not to say the effects of which only the guitar is capable.

It is far from my intention to promote myself. I would also like to stress right away that I am not a guitar player. However, while I avoid subjects which do not interest me or which I do not consider myself capable of dealing with, I fully embrace the ones which I can understand. The latter happened in regard to the guitar.

After composing a number of different folk- or art-songs, serious or cheerful in character, I went on writing duos for woodwind instruments and guitar accompaniment, realizing that the blending of the oboe or clarinet with the guitar results in a far more delightful sound than their association with the piano. After further exploring the possibilities of guitar playing while composing a few solo pieces, I progressed to writing chamber music with the guitar. There are some charming pieces from the times of Mozart and Beethoven, such as those by Boccherini, for example. However, almost nothing of what is written for the guitar nowadays keeps up with those standards. They may be valuable from a guitaristic point of view, but are musically and artistically insignificant, unfortunately. With my pieces, that exceed by far the scope of the guitar's contemporary output, I intend above all to stimulate my composer colleagues. What makes me believe that I am on the right path is not only Master Ortner's enthusiasm and commitment, but that of his pupils who are studying the pieces which are not simple, and sometimes quite uncomfortable and difficult, as well.

But genuine success comes as a reward, along with their, mine and hopefully all of the true guitar friends' enjoyment.¹⁴

¹⁴ Rebay, "Prof. Ferdinand Rebay - Gitarrekompotion", 2-3. A reproduction of the original article in German can be found in Appendix 1.

Rebay's article provides a good summary of the circumstances that are being investigated in this chapter, albeit grounded in personal opinions. I will briefly comment upon the major topics raised by him, which will then be scrutinized in subsequent sections.

In the first paragraph, after praising the work of Jakob Ortner, Rebay remarked that the guitar literature had not evolved in the last fifty years, a judgement that can only be understood in comparison with the mainstream developments during the same period. Since the article was written in 1926, Rebay was roughly referring to the third quarter of the nineteenth century, which coincides with the post-1850 period that Buek described as the decline of guitar activity and its subsequent retreat to the niche environments of the guitar clubs.¹⁵ As will be detailed later, these environments were largely supported by amateur playing, which may partially explain the supposed repertoire stagnation when compared to the professional, mainstream environments.

In the second paragraph, Rebay focused on the guitar's potential as an accompaniment instrument, again criticizing the current repertoire, which he labelled "amateurish lute-songs".¹⁶ The guitar is a harmonic instrument, traditionally suited for accompanying the voice in domestic music-making. The popularity of this practice can be traced as far as the Renaissance lute song and, in the context of Viennese music, may be measured by the fact that a handful of Schubert's lieder arrangements was published around his lifetime with simplified guitar accompaniments.¹⁷ By the turn of the century, the guitar's affordability, portability and relative ease of playing at an elementary level made it the quintessential companion for *Volkslieder*. Rebay's criticism was supposedly directed at an underdeveloped accompaniment writing. While this is true for most of the music that was cultivated in the guitar clubs, there were exceptions, such as a few art-songs by guitarist-composer Heinrich Albert.

¹⁵ Fritz Buek, *Die Gitarre und ihre Meister* (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Schlesinger'sche Buch- und Musikhandlung, 1926), 115.

¹⁶ Although a revival of early-music instruments was already on its way, the instrument mentioned by Rebay and often seen in advertisements from instrument makers is not a proper lute but a lute-shaped guitar, also known as *Zupfgeige*.

¹⁷ Two illustrative examples are Anton Diabelli's arrangements of a selection of lieder from *Die schöne Müllerin*, D. 795 and Napoleon Coste's arrangements of fourteen lieder by Schubert (translated to French), both published in the 1830's, soon after Schubert's death.

In the article's continuation, Rebay stressed that he was not a guitar player himself. He then described his acquaintance with the instrument, in what seems to be a step-by-step process that started with guitar lieder and culminated with chamber music. The differentiation made between the guitar's use in accompaniment and in chamber music settings suggests that he regarded the latter as the ultimate repertoire achievement. In his music, this can be identified by a more balanced texture, one in which the guitar's role is of equal importance to that of the partnering instruments.

In spite of his appreciation of early-nineteenth century guitar chamber music, Rebay's diagnosis of the scant contemporary repertoire is no more encouraging than about guitar lieder, rating it "musically and artistically insignificant". Taking into consideration his background, he might have measured it against the Austro-German mainstream repertoire, one that had its seeds in the serious chamber music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, and was continued by composers such as Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms. Rebay considered his guitar chamber music far more sophisticated than the available contemporary repertoire and sought to encourage other composers to write for the instrument.

His last statement about the enthusiasm and efforts of Ortner and his students in successfully dealing with his music reinforce the importance of the Wiener Akademie's environment, and his mention of difficult passages that had to be dealt with is relevant to this thesis, as the performance issues covered in Chapters 5 and 6 will reveal.

Overall, a critical tone pervades Rebay's article, but it also signals an honest attempt to rescue the guitar from its small and tight-knit world. It is noteworthy that he does not talk about the guitar's low volume, an often-used argument to justify its previous isolation. Instead, the emphasis is on the repertoire's inadequacy and the instrument's underexplored potential. As will be seen later, his opinion had many points in common with that of Heinrich Albert, the period's most active and influential German guitarist.

1.4 THE DECLINE OF GUITAR ACTIVITY AFTER 1850

Following a blossoming period in the early-nineteenth century, the guitar's presence in the European mainstream concert-life shrank noticeably. This process has often been referred to as the "downfall of the guitar", meaning the decline of guitar activity in the concert halls and its exclusion from the mainstream shared canon-building process. In fact, Hackl observes that by 1850 the guitar scene in Vienna had already stagnated, with only a few concerts given by

Mertz, Dubez, Sokolowski and Szczepanowski.¹⁸ This is also corroborated by the publications of guitar music in that city, which from an astounding number of 2,000 titles published between 1800 and 1830 gradually declined towards the middle of the century (with the exception of guitar lieder).¹⁹ I present an overview of the possible reasons for this decline below, based on complementary discussions by three authors from different periods: Berlioz, Buek and Britton.

The decline of guitar activity in the nineteenth century was not restricted to German-speaking territories, also happening in other main European cities in which the guitar had formerly thrived, such as Paris or London. Hector Berlioz, when discussing the instrument in his *Grand Traité d'Instrumentation et d'Orchestration Modernes* of 1844, affirmed that,

Since the piano's appearance in all households with the slightest musical pretensions the guitar has become relatively rare everywhere except Spain and Italy. Some great players have cultivated it as a solo instrument (and still do), drawing both fascinating and original sounds from it. Composers scarcely call for it at all, neither in church music nor in the theatre nor in the concert hall. The reason for this is doubtless its weak sonority, which prevents it combining with other instruments or groups of voices of normal strength.²⁰

Berlioz's account was written just after the so-called *Guitaromanie* of the 1820s and 30s, a period in which "for the first time the instrument played a part in mainstream concert life and was taken up by amateurs of every social class".²¹ This was roughly the period mentioned by Rebay when he talked of "charming pieces from the times of Mozart and Beethoven", a time when the guitar enjoyed its greatest popularity in Vienna, best represented there by the career and works of guitarist-composers Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829), Luigi Legnani (1790-

¹⁸ Stefan Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich : von Abate Costa bis Zykan* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2011), 38.

¹⁹ Ibid., 32.

²⁰ Berlioz and Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise. A Translation and Commentary*, 86.

²¹ Andrew Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period : Its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath" (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2010), 14.

1877) and Johann Kaspar Mertz (1806-1856). Although simplistic in his blaming of the guitar's volume, Berlioz's opinion deserves some credibility, since he speaks as an insider.²²

Already from an early-twentieth century perspective, Fritz Buek established the death of Mertz, in 1856, as the end of the guitaristic era in German-speaking territories.²³ Like Berlioz, he also believed that the guitar's low volume had been responsible for its fate but offered a slightly more extensive explanation. Recalling earlier ensemble uses of plucked instruments such as the baroque guitar, Buek affirmed that the guitar's weak tone could not find a place in the larger and more sonorous nineteenth-century orchestra. Deprived of its orchestral function, it ended up not being offered as an option within the conservatoires that started to appear by the end of the eighteenth century, in which the only non-orchestral instrument taught was the piano. As a consequence, composers did not learn to write for it, the guitar distanced itself from the mainstream environments and its activity became restricted to amateur playing, which according to Buek lacked technical and artistic quality.²⁴

While Buek touched upon a fundamental issue, which is the lack of professional music education for guitarists, his arguments are still not fully convincing. Associating the guitar with orchestral continuo playing is odd, since this had not been a widespread practice in Europe.²⁵ Furthermore, while it is true that the guitar's sonic resources were incompatible with the Classical and Romantic orchestras, this cannot be credited as the main reason for its downfall, simply because continuo practice was already in decline by the early nineteenth century.

²² The guitar was Berlioz's main instrument and he was well-acquainted with its activity and repertoire. His treatise's entry on the guitar is concise when compared to those of most orchestral instruments, but certainly demonstrates a knowledge of its basic resources. He mentions Zani di Ferranti, Huerta and Sor—but curiously not his contemporary and countryman Coste—as virtuosos whose works should be studied for those wanting to learn how to write for the guitar. Berlioz and Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise. A Translation and Commentary*, 86.

²³ Buek, *Die Gitarre und ihre Meister*, 39.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 115-17.

²⁵ The use of the Baroque guitar as a continuo instrument in the orchestra had been more frequent in Italy, France and Spain during the seventeenth century, declining thereafter. It remained being used in more intimate settings, however. Peter Williams and David Ledbetter, "Continuo", *Grove Music Online*, accessed 8 March 2019, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06353>.

In fact, the reasons for the decline of guitar activity in concert halls may have involved a much wider array of circumstances than its sonic qualities. To Britton, the direct cause was related to the shrinkage of the primary showcase for guitarists in the early-nineteenth century: the benefit concert.²⁶ This concert format was a social event targeted at wealthy patrons, presenting several artists and mixing bits of instrumental and vocal music, from solo to ensemble, frequently chopping multi-movement works. They lasted for a few hours and were often organized by individual artists who would then take the proceeds but also pay for all costs, from room hire to musicians' fees. The instrumental programmes privileged lighter genres such as variations, potpourris or operatic fantasias, which dominated the virtuoso guitar repertoire. Figure 1.1 shows the announcement of a benefit concert in Vienna in 1818, in which Mauro Giuliani performed a potpourri on national themes with pianist Ignaz Moscheles, probably the co-authored *Grand Potpourri National for Guitar and Piano* (Hummel's Op. 79, Giuliani's Op. 93).

²⁶ Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period : Its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath", 67.

Figure 1.1 Advertisement of a benefit concert given by Moscheles, Giuliani and Mayseder in Vienna in 1818. (Source: Associazione Storico Musicale Mauro Giuliani).

Mit hoher Bewilligung
w e r d e n
heute Donnerstag den 16. April 1818,
die Herren
MOSCHELES, GIULIANI
u n d
MAYSEDER
die Ehre haben,
e i n e
musikalische Unterhaltung *
im Landständischen Saale in der Herrengasse,
um die Mittagsstunde
zu geben

I n h a l t :

1. Neue Ouverture von Herrn L. van Beethoven.
2. Pot-Pourri verschiedener Nationalthema, für Pianoforte und Guitarre, vorgetragen von J. Moscheles und M. Giuliani.
3. Cavatine, gesungen von Dlle. Branitzky.
4. Neues Rondo-brillant für die Violine, componirt und vorgetragen von Mayseder.
5. Duett, gesungen von Dlle. Branitzky u. Hrn. J. Barth.
6. Neue Variationen für das Pianoforte, mit Begleitung des Orchesters, componirt und vorgetragen von J. Moscheles.

Aus besonderer Gefälligkeit haben Dlle. Branitzky und Herr Barth die Ausführung obiger Gesangstücke, Herr Hänsel die Leitung des Orchesters, und mehrere vorzügliche Künstler die Mitwirkung im Orchester übernommen.

Eintritts-Karten, im Kreise der Abbonirten, sind für 3 fl., ausser diesem Kreise, für 5 fl. W. W. am Eingange des Saales zu haben.

By the middle of the century, the benefit concert format had been gradually replaced by the symphony concert and the instrumental recital, which favoured the piano and the violin. According to Dahlhaus, the former was structured in three parts (overture, concerto and symphony) and the latter privileged “serious music” that demanded to be “interpreted”, such

as sonatas.²⁷ Virtuoso music, which formed the bulk of nineteenth-century guitar concert literature, became relegated to encores.

The changes in the public concert format and aesthetics naturally put the guitar in a marginalized position. This was mainly due to the lack of adequate repertoire, notwithstanding its acoustical qualities, especially when faced with the improvements in piano manufacturing and the popularization of large concert halls. Britton also discusses the association of the guitar with domestic and female contexts since the eighteenth century, as well as its romantic associations with southern countries such as Italy and Spain, in which the guitar was symbolically seen as an instrument of the populace.²⁸ Along with the repertoire limitations, these social constructs certainly prevented its integration in the mainstream circles, from concert halls to conservatoires, a situation that would only begin to be challenged in the twentieth century.

Besides Mertz's death, the year of 1856 is remembered for a famous guitar composition competition organized in Brussels by the Russian aristocrat and guitar enthusiast Nikolai Petrovich Makaroff (1810-1890), in which both Mertz and Coste were prize-winners. In his memoirs, after describing his encounters with celebrated European guitarists, Makaroff reported on the competition results, reinforcing the significance of Mertz. He ended with a bitter statement that illustrates the decline of artistic guitar playing and its current position in relation to the mainstream environment.

My contest for which I had built up so much hope ended in this manner. Alas! The contest did not achieve what I had had in mind; it did not uncover any new or wonderful composer for the guitar who could fittingly occupy the place left vacant by Mertz. I hope that perhaps someone in the future will be more fortunate than I ... For all of eighteen years, I fought against old-fashioned conservatives, who did not want to recognize the guitar as a dignified musical instrument. I fought against the indifference of the guitarists themselves, against insults and the mockery of fellow musicians and against a thousand and one other hindrances on my course to place the guitar and its music on the plane it so well deserves in the musical world.²⁹

²⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 140.

²⁸ Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period : Its musical and social development, with special reference to Bristol and Bath", 79-82, 139-40.

²⁹ Nikolai P. Makaroff, "The Memoirs of Makaroff, translated by Vladimir Bobri and Nura Ulreich", *The Guitar Review* 1, no. 5 (1948): 113.

However, while the guitar was indeed excluded from concert halls and conservatoires, it certainly did not disappear outside of Italy and Spain, as previously affirmed by Berlioz. It kept being cultivated by amateurs in the domestic sphere, who eventually joined efforts to create the first guitar clubs in Germany.

1.5 THE EMERGENCE OF THE GUITAR CLUBS

Clubs and associations devoted to cultural activities and largely formed by amateurs were very popular in the nineteenth century. Huber points out that three kinds of musical activities existed for middle-class urban citizens: concert life, *Hausmusik* (music at home) and *Vereinsmusik* (music at associations).³⁰ While the first was a domain of professional practice, the other two not only included but encouraged amateur participation. According to Lütteken, these associations emerged from ingrained bourgeois values which fostered a connection between life and art, understanding culture as an identity-defining feature for both the individual and the collective in society.³¹ Regarding the active amateur membership in these associations, Heine affirms that,

Amateur playing had in early-nineteenth century a positive connotation. It was an essential part of the bourgeois culture in German-speaking territories. These circumstances naturally led to the gathering of many citizens and the creation of music clubs ... It was essential for the members of a bourgeois club to participate in any way, which in a music club would mean active music-making. Members of these clubs saw themselves as musicians.³²

Collective music-making was thus the music clubs' *raison d'être*. This explains the nineteenth-century popularity of amateur and semi-professional ensembles, from chamber groups to full

³⁰ Huber, *Die Wiederbelebung des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels um 1900 : Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Laienmusikwesens und zur Tradition der klassischen Gitarre*, 51.

³¹ Laurenz Lütteken, "Zur Einführung", in *Zwischen Tempel und Verein : Musik und Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken (Kassel: Bärenreuter, 2013), 8, 9.

³² "Das 'Dilettieren' war im frühen 19. Jahrhundert durchaus positiv konnotiert. Es war im deutschsprachigen Raum für die Bürgerlichen gar essenzieller Bestandteil ihrer Kultur. Dieser Umstand hatte sozusagen ganz natürlich zur Folge, dass sich Bürger(liche) in vielen deutschsprachigen Städten - mit Ausnahme der Residenzstädte - zu einem musizierenden Verein zusammenschlossen ... Es war für das Mitglied eines bürgerlichen Vereins eigentlich unabdingbar, selbst in irgendeiner Art und Weise aktiv mitzuwirken. Das Mitglied eines Musikvereins im Speziellen verstand sich somit in der Regel als ein musizierendes". Claudia Heine, "Im Spannung zwischen Unterhaltung und Sakralisierung - Programmgestaltung in bürgerlichen Musikvereinen des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts", *ibid.*, 94-95.

orchestras and choirs. In the case of the guitar clubs, although guitar (or mandolin) ensembles were common and offered an opportunity for amateurs to fully engage in performance, the collective music-making also translated into activities featuring solo and chamber music, usually performed by the most accomplished members.

The first guitar clubs originated in Germany around the last quarter of the nineteenth century, sharing the same bourgeois ideals of other musical associations and also welcoming other plucked instruments, such as the mandolin and the zither. Britton remarked that, following the decline of guitar activity in the mid-nineteenth century, a large amount of guitar activity took place privately—often in the domestic environment—thus making them unquantifiable.³³ However, as most of the activities of music clubs happened in semi-private and public environments, they often left behind a record that can be used to trace its characteristics, from membership information to concert programmes and publications. Huber's systematic account of guitar club activities in Germany remains a unique and reliable source, and will be the main reference for the discussions that follow.

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The forerunner Leipziger Gitarreklub was founded in as early as 1877, and it was the precursor of several Bavarian guitar clubs such as the Münchener Gitarreklub in Munich and the Freie Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Gitarremusik (Free Association for the Promotion of Good Guitar Music) in Augsburg. In 1899, the Internationale Gitarristen-Vereinigung (International Association of Guitarists, also known as IGV), was created in Munich, bringing together several guitar clubs from Germany and abroad. By 1901, it already counted 544 members, approximately three-quarters from Germany and the remaining from other European countries, as well as Russia and the United States.³⁴ The IGV was succeeded by the Gitarristische Vereinigung (GV) from 1908 to 1931, and it was revived in the post-war years, from 1949 to ca. 1965.

Huber classifies the IGV members in four categories: professional orchestral musicians, who also played the guitar full- or part-time and usually held leadership roles in

³³ Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period : Its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath", 55.

³⁴ Huber, *Die Wiederbelebung des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels um 1900 : Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Laienmusikwesens und zur Tradition der klassischen Gitarre*, 37.

the local branches; private guitar teachers, who helped expand membership by bringing in their students or colleagues; instrument makers and music publishers, who had a commercial interest in the membership and stimulated a market for guitar activity; and amateurs, who formed the majority of membership and usually held administrative roles.³⁵ Members such as Heinrich Albert in Munich and Georg Meier in Hamburg were in the first category. Originally orchestral musicians, they were self-learned guitarists, having no direct connection with the former nineteenth-century guitar tradition. Many members of this category gave up their orchestral posts to fully devote themselves to guitar teaching and performance. In turn, the amateur players belonged to a variety of professional categories, such as accountants, shop owners, engineers, doctors, civil servants, lawyers, etc.³⁶

The IGV promoted activities such as meetings and performances (solo and ensemble) in local branches; organized an annual *Gitarrentage* (guitar festival); published and distributed among its membership *Der Gitarrefreund*, a journal that existed from 1900 to 1931 and later from 1950 to 1965;³⁷ found good sources for instruments and strings as well as negotiated purchase privileges for members; and built up an extensive shared collection which included documents and music by professionals and amateurs, ranging from solo to sextets, lieder to chamber music, manuscripts to published works.³⁸ For a long time this important collection was thought to have been dispersed and partially lost, but it was eventually recovered and acquired in 2011 by the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek in Munich.³⁹

In Austria, similar developments took place. Late-nineteenth century virtuoso Alois Götz (1823-1905) had been a correspondent for the forerunner Leipziger Gitarreklub and a

³⁵ Ibid., 61.

³⁶ Ibid., 34-37.

³⁷ Following the II. Orthographische Konferenz of 1901, the journal was renamed *Der Gitarrefreund*.

³⁸ Huber, *Die Wiederbelebung des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels um 1900 : Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Laienmusikwesens und zur Tradition der klassischen Gitarre*, 53-57.

³⁹ Thomas F. Heck, Marco Riboni, and Andreas Stevens, "Some Newly Recovered Letters of Mauro Giuliani : Welcome News from the Bavarian State Library and the Digital Guitar Archive", *Soundboard* 38, no. 4 (2013). The collection, consisting of more than 5,000 items, is known as the "Gitaristische Sammlung Fritz Walter und Gabriele Wiedemann", after the names of the last president of the GV and his wife.

member of the IGV since its foundation.⁴⁰ After retiring from a musician post at the Bavarian court, Götz settled in Innsbruck, where he taught Ortner, Rebay's future colleague at the Wiener Akademie. Following the Munich model, several societies appeared in Austria, headed by the Wiener Gitarre-Club, founded in 1902.⁴¹ In 1908, the musicologist Richard Batka (1868-1922) founded the association Die Lutinisten, which focused on the cultivation and preservation of early music and instruments, reflecting a growing interest in historical musicology which is directly associated with Guido Adler's work at the Universität Wien.⁴² Another guitar scholar, Josef Zuth (1879-1932) founded the Wiener Gitarrechor (Vienna Guitar Ensemble) in 1916 and, after WW1, a new association named the Gitarristische Arbeitsgemeinschaft (Guitar Consortium), which also had its own publication.⁴³ Smaller cities like Innsbruck also had their own guitar clubs and the guitar-club tradition in Austria lasted well over the second half of the twentieth century. The largest and most enduring one was the Bund der Gitarristen Österreichs (Society of Austrian Guitarists), founded in Vienna in 1934 and remaining active until 1972.⁴⁴

More than merely reflecting bourgeois ideals and promoting activities that revolved around the guitar and its repertoire, the guitar clubs in German-speaking territories had a fundamental role in reviving and supporting the artistic guitar activity after its decline in the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, the IGV activities, backed up by its international membership, helped to establish shared values which, among other benefits, led to an embryonic concert and pedagogic canon. However, because these were self-sufficient environments, they also isolated the guitar activity from the mainstream music-making. Furthermore, the repertoire constraints imposed by their mainly amateur membership may have prevented the instrument from fully developing its potential.

⁴⁰ Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich : von Abate Costa bis Zykan*, 155.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 105. Batka had been a former student of Adler at the Universität Wien. The association Die Lutinisten promoted regular chamber music evenings until 1930, featuring mainly early music in its programmes. Their concerts included a *historisches Orchester*, which was conducted by a former student of Batka, Richard Schmid.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 160.

1.6 REPERTOIRE AND AESTHETIC VALUES OF THE GUITAR CLUBS

In 1905, Alfred Heubach, an architect from Hannover and member of the IGV, wrote an article for *Der Gitarrefreund* titled “Was wollen wir mit der Gitarre?” (What do we want with the guitar?).⁴⁵ Heubach pointed out that there were three possible directions to satisfy the membership’s varied interests: solo music, the guitar as an accompaniment to the voice, and the guitar as an accompaniment to suitable instruments such as the mandolin. According to him, it would be impracticable to embrace all of them. He argued that solo music lay at the very heart of an association that called itself a “guitar club” and had similar views towards the use of the guitar in *Volkslieder* accompaniment. Yet, the use of the guitar as an accompaniment to the mandolin would not be justified within the IGV and should be left to the several existing mandolin associations. In conclusion, Heubach affirmed that “Guitar solo and *easy accompaniment* to the voice should be cultivated with all love in the association, and the membership should make this practice their own! [my italics]”.⁴⁶

With his last statement, Heubach confirmed that the main role of the guitar clubs was to stimulate membership practice.⁴⁷ However, internal conflicts existed. According to Stevens, there was no consensus whether the guitar should have remained in the amateur domain of the *Hausmusik* and the *Volkslied*, or, taking the example of touring virtuosos such as Italian Luigi Mozzani (1869-1943), fully embrace its solo vocation.⁴⁸ This reflected a desire, at least from part of the membership, to break up with former restrictions associated with amateur guitar playing and embark on the momentum that was already building up. It is certain that

⁴⁵ Alfred Heubach, “Was wollen wir mit der Gitarre?”, *Der Gitarrefreund* 6. Jahrgang, no. 2 (1905): 16.

⁴⁶ “Gitarre-Solospiele und einfache Gitarrebegleitung zum Gesang, das soll der Guitarristenverband mit aller Liebe pflegen und es seinen Mitgliedern zu eigen machen!”. Ibid.

⁴⁷ For solo playing, Heubach stressed that the IGV publications offered adequate material for beginners (Scherrer and Mehlhart) that should be mastered before progressing to more advanced repertoire such as Giuliani’s music, and that at least one daily hour should be dedicated to the guitar practice.

⁴⁸ Andreas Stevens, “L’influenza Italiana nello Sviluppo dell’Arte Chitarristica in Germania”, in *Romolo Ferrari e la Chitarra in Italia nella prima Metà del Novecento*, ed. Simona Boni (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 2009), 203.

the two tendencies coexisted until much later, as an analysis of the music cultivated in the guitar clubs reveals.

The best sources to learn about this repertoire are the *Notenbeilagen* (sheet music supplements) that accompanied guitar-club journals. Even more than concert programmes—which often presented more demanding repertoire performed by some of their best players—the supplements included a variety of music at diverse technical levels, mirroring the diversity of amateur playing skills that would make up the membership. Many of these supplements can today be directly accessed online through the digitized collection of Carl Oscar Boije af Gennäs (1849-1923)—himself a founding member of the IGV—available in the website of the Musik- och teaterbiblioteket in Stockholm.⁴⁹ It contains the complete supplements of Augsburg's Freie Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Gitaremusik, published between 1904 and 1908, as well as a partial compilation (1903-17) of the supplements that accompanied the IGV's *Der Gitarrefreund*. Together, they sum more than 400 pieces, which is enough to identify general tendencies and even a few regional differences. I have surveyed each one of these pieces in order to determine their technical level and aesthetic qualities, but only a handful will illustrate this chapter.⁵⁰

The Freie Vereinigung supplements featured mostly solo guitar music, followed by guitar duos, including some for terz guitar and regular guitar.⁵¹ The collection is completed by a few lieder, guitar trios and chamber music. Unlike today's assumption of amateur proficiency, the average technical level in these supplements is rarely appropriate for beginners. The most featured composer is Adam Darr (1811-1866), whose duos employ a

⁴⁹ Available at <http://musikverket.se/musikochteaterbiblioteket/ladda-ner-noter/boijes-samling>. According to the collection's website, Boije af Gennäs was an insurance clerk and amateur guitarist. However, Huber lists him as a mathematician.

⁵⁰ Lists of the surveyed pieces can be found in Appendix 2.

⁵¹ Along with the regular guitar in its diverse formats (eight-shaped, shield-shaped or lute-shaped), several variants co-existed at the time in German-speaking territories, including guitars with extra basses (ordinarily, up to four) and guitars with alternative tunings, such as the terz guitar (a minor third above) and the quintbass guitar (a fifth below). The Spanish School influence also encompassed guitar-making and the Torres-design eventually supplanted the nineteenth-century Viennese Stauffer tradition, as well as other existing trends such as the Gelas-design (endorsed by Albert) and Mozzani's Guadagnini-design. Munich-based Herman Hauser (1882-1952), after producing several Viennese guitars finally embraced the Torres-design, having built Segovia's iconic instrument in 1937.

constant exchange of melodic material between the two guitars, in accordance to the conversational style often found in nineteenth-century domestic chamber music for strings. Some of the most advanced pieces included professional-level concert music such as a couple of Regondi's studies as well as Coste's *Grande Sérénade*, Op. 30, the second prize-winner in Makaroff's competition (Example 1.1). As seen from the excerpt, Coste's piece is technically demanding, featuring fast arpeggios and *ad libitum* figurations which were commonplace in virtuoso nineteenth-century guitar music.

Example 1.1. Excerpt of Coste's *Grande Sérénade*, Op. 30 (Augsburg: Verlag der Freien Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Gitarremusik, 1908).

2

Dédié à Monsieur N. de MAKAROFF.

Grande Sérénade.
(Preisgekrönt.)

Eigentum des Vereins.

Nap. Coste, Op. 30.

Largo.

The supplements from *Der Gitarrefreund* show remarkable differences in repertoire selection and technical scope. Guitar solo was still predominant, but it is followed very close by lieder with guitar (or lute) accompaniment. Most are *Volkslieder* by Albert, although other names also appear frequently, such as Heinrich Scherrer (1865-1937) or the famous jurist and lieder-composer Armin Knab (1881-1951). The latter had in 1908 a whole supplement dedicated to

his Eichendorff-Lieder.⁵² A curious aspect is the presence of *Soldatenlieder* and *Marschlieder*, justified by the bellicose historical circumstances. The guitar lieder production will be investigated later in a section of its own, due to its popularity and role in shaping the guitar's stereotype as an accompaniment instrument.

In comparison to the music of the Freie Vereinigung supplements, that of *Der Gitarrefreund* shows a lower technical level, on average. This can be attested by the massive presence of series of beginner studies published over several issues, such as Sor's *Introduction à l'Étude de la Guitare*, Op. 60, Giuliani's *Études instructives, faciles et agréables*, Op. 100 and Legnani's *36 Valses di difficoltà progressiva*, Op. 63. As shown in Example 1.2, the fact that Legnani's pieces are labelled *Übungsstücke* (practice pieces) clearly reveals a pedagogical intention.

Example 1.2. Excerpt of Legnani's *36 Valses di difficoltà progressiva*, Op. 63 (Munich: Verlag der Gitarrefreund, 1909).

8

2 kleine Übungsstücke.

Luigi Legnani

aus 36 Valses di difficoltà progressiva per la Chitarra sola.

1. XI

VII II IX

I XII

⁵² Based on poetry by the Romantic writer Joseph von Eichendorff (1788-1857). Robert Schumann and Hugo Wolf also wrote lieder based on Eichendorff's poetry.

In spite of the focus on easier and didactic pieces, the supplements from *Der Gitarrefreund* also included a few virtuoso works, probably inaccessible to the majority of the IGV's membership. Some of the most demanding ones were by Mozzani, such as *Coup de Vent*, which includes a descending glissando accompanied by a tremolo in the right hand, a virtuoso technique that has only been revived in recent years (Example 1.3). It is noteworthy that Mozzani donated his compositions for the IGV's library in as early as 1900; however, according to Stevens, at the time his works were not judged fit for publication because they were considered excessively difficult.⁵³

Example 1.3. Excerpt of Mozzani's *Coup de Vent* (Munich: Verlag der Gitarrefreund, 1908).



While the variety in technical level supports the idea that there was no consensus about the guitar's role among members of the guitar clubs, the prevalence of easy *Volkslieder*, didactic repertoire and only occasionally technically demanding solo music may explain the longer-lasting publication of *Der Gitarrefreund*.

*
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When analysing the music cultivated in the guitar clubs from an aesthetic point of view, Huber classifies the composers by relating musical style to generation, roughly dividing them into three categories: "the guitar classics, the late-virtuosos and the contemporary composers".⁵⁴ In the first category, Huber pinpoints Giuliani and Fernando Sor (1778-1839), who according to him were stylistically integrated to their own age, between the Classical and early-Romantic periods. This is a debatable claim. As stressed by Britton, key guitar figures from the early

⁵³ Stevens, "L'influenza Italiana nello Sviluppo dell'Arte Chitarristica in Germania", 202.

⁵⁴ "Der Klassiker der Gitarre, der späten Virtuosen und der zeitgenössischen Komponisten". Huber, *Die Wiederbelebung des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels um 1900 : Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Laienmusikwesens und zur Tradition der klassischen Gitarre*, 212.

nineteenth century were at least one generation behind in compositional style, and it was not until the generation of Mertz, Regondi and Coste that guitarist-composers finally engaged with the Romantic idiom in their compositions.⁵⁵ Huber's categorization is still adequate, however, because it helps understand the major aesthetic differences observed in these environments.

In addition to the aforementioned short didactic pieces, one also finds extended concert pieces by the so-called "guitar classics", especially in the Freie Vereinigung supplements. It is noteworthy that many of these, like Sor's *Fantaisie Élégiacque*, Op. 59, would not be featured in guitar concert programmes until the late twentieth century. As suggested earlier, this may be explained by the fact that they never entered Segovia's repertoire and therefore remained ignored until later generations of guitarists finally managed to liberate themselves from "Segovian" values.

The "late-virtuosos" category includes guitarist-composers whose careers developed ca. 1840-1890. Many were mentioned by Makaroff in his memoirs, but, as claimed by him, none seemed to surpass the standards set by Mertz. Composers in this category wrote music that was either similar to the aesthetics of their forerunners or else in salon or *volkstümlich* (popular) style.⁵⁶ Huber suggests an overall lower compositional level, describing their music as "epigonal or eclectic from a technical point of view, in which artistic demands and musical conception often do not correspond".⁵⁷ Huber's aesthetic judgement carries many elements covered in Dahlhaus's discussion of *Trivialmusik*, especially considering the qualitative separation between low- and highbrow music that shaped concert programmes and musical reception within the Austro-German tradition.⁵⁸ This is music rarely performed today and the lack of references make it difficult to properly assess its significance outside of their original environment.

⁵⁵ Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period : Its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath", 44.

⁵⁶ Huber, *Die Wiederbelebung des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels um 1900 : Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Laienmusikwesens und zur Tradition der klassischen Gitarre*, 212.

⁵⁷ "In technischer Hinsicht handelt es sich deshalb zumeist um epigonale oder eklektizistische Schöpfungen, in denen künstlerischer Anspruch und musikalische Gestaltung oft nicht übereinstimmen". Ibid., 213.

⁵⁸ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 312.

One of the most often-featured composers within this category is Adam Darr. As observed in Example 1.4, his conversational guitar duos show a remarkable stylistic similarity to those of Ferdinand Carulli (1770-1841). Carulli—a “guitar classic” himself—was one of the most important guitarist-composers of the Parisian *Guitaromanie* in the early nineteenth century, and most of his music was aimed at amateurs and salon entertainment, still bearing elements of the eighteenth-century’s *galant* style. Having excelled at writing guitar duos, he set the standards for this kind of ensemble, in which the two instruments are treated in a balanced way and constantly exchange melodies.

Example 1.4. Excerpt of Darr’s Duo Concertant No. 14 (Augsburg: Verlag der Freien Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Gitarremusik, 1904).

6

Duo concertant № 14.

I. Satz.

Eigentum des Stifters. Für zwei Gitarren. A. Darr.
Stifter: Otto Hammerer.

Allegro moderato.

Another composer frequently seen is Johann Decker-Shenk (1825-1899), an Austrian guitarist and singer who eventually emigrated to Russia, where he conducted an operetta company in St. Petersburg.⁵⁹ Decker-Shenk’s music is frequently in miniature salon-style, immediately

⁵⁹ Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich : von Abate Costa bis Zykan*, 78.

identifiable by some of their French titles, such as *Tyrolienne*, *Pièce de Salon*, *Olga* (Polka), *Capricieuse*, or *Kiss-Kiss-Miau* (Gavotte), illustrated in Example 1.5.

Example 1.5. Excerpt of Decker-Shenk's *Kiss-Kiss-Miau* (Gavotte) (Augsburg: Verlag der Freien Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Gitarremusik, 1908).

4

Kiss-Kiss-Miau - Gavotte.

Eigentum des Vereins.

Allegretto non troppo.

J. Decker-Schenk.

Decker-Shenk's example bears many characteristics of Dahlhaus's concept of *Trivialmusik*, such as the exaggerated role of ornaments in shaping the theme (in this case, possibly with an onomatopoeic appeal, trying to imitate a cat's sound), or the simplistic harmony, which is predictable and does not go beyond tonic and dominant for an entire section.

Other composers highlighted by Huber within the "late-virtuosos" category are Josef Franz, Joseph Raab, Johann von Klinger and Jakob Ortner's first guitar teacher, Alois Götz.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Huber necessarily excludes some names whose music did not enter the guitar-club environments. Guitarist-composers such as Viennese Johann Dubez (1828-1891), a

⁶⁰ Huber, *Die Wiederbelebung des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels um 1900 : Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Laienmusikwesens und zur Tradition der klassischen Gitarre*, 213.

former student of Mertz and Regondi, wrote extremely virtuosic music in the style of his masters, most of which remained in manuscript. The fact that he composed for unusual instruments with ten strings and up to 24 frets did not make his music accessible or marketable, however.⁶¹ Overall, the late-virtuosos represented a continuation—rather than an advancement—of the early-nineteenth century guitaristic tradition.

A different situation is observed in the “contemporary-composers” category (active around 1900), whose representatives often came from non-guitaristic backgrounds. Among them, the best known are Luigi Mozzani and Heinrich Albert. Both are examples of former orchestral musicians who later embraced the guitar professionally. Originally an oboist at the Teatro San Carlo in Napoli, Mozzani gave up the oboe to dedicate himself exclusively to the guitar, exerting a major influence in the German guitaristic environment. According to Intelisano, he was “a complete musician, possessing an almost unique profile: guitarist, concert player, composer, luthier, researcher and teacher”.⁶² His music is written in a sophisticated miniature salon-style, not dissimilar to that of Tárrega, whose works he often performed. Most of his published pieces are dedicated to important members of the guitar clubs; in the case of *Romanza* (Example 1.6), the dedicatee was Anton Mehlhart, considered the most accomplished amateur guitarist at the IGV.⁶³

⁶¹ Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich : von Abate Costa bis Zykan*, 77.

⁶² “[Luigi Mozzani] ... fu infatti un musicista completo, un artista quasi unico nel suo profilo: chitarrista, concertista, liutaio, ricercatore e didatta”. Giovanni Intelisano, “Luigi Mozzani : Concertista, compositore e liutaio”, in *Romolo Ferrari e la Chitarra in Italia nella prima Metà del Novecento*, ed. Simona Boni (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 2009), 387.

⁶³ Andreas Stevens, “L’influenza Italiana nello Sviluppo dell’Arte Chitarristica in Germania”, *ibid.*, 204. Mehlhart was a salesman in Munich, and his artistic role in the IGV shows that, although rarer, skilled amateur-playing also existed.

Example 1.6. Excerpt of Mozzani's *Romanza* (Munich: Verlag der Gitarrefreund, 1910).

18

ROMANZA

per Chitarra
à Monsieur ANTON MEHLHART
par
Luigi Mozzani.

Con molto espressione.

Il canto sempre (2)

Although influenced by and an admirer of Mozzani, Heinrich Albert took a more comprehensive approach to the guitar, recognizing its repertoire weaknesses and pursuing a higher artistic ideal. It is worth investigating his career in more detail, as Albert shared similar opinions with Rebay in relation to the path that the guitar should have taken to unlock its potential. This included a critical position in relation to the typical repertoire of the guitar clubs.

1.7 HEINRICH ALBERT (1870-1950)

Munich-based Heinrich Albert was the main name in the German and Austrian guitar scene in the first quarter of the twentieth century. According to Huber, "The artistic guitar playing would not only be revived by Albert, but advanced: his pedagogic, editorial, concert and compositional activities established a bridge between the nineteenth century and the Spanish

tradition of the twentieth century”.⁶⁴ As the first French horn player of the Kaim Orchestra (today’s Munich Philharmonic), he performed under Weingartner, Nikisch, Löwe and Mahler, and also played the piano and the violin. Albert became a self-taught guitarist in his twenties and, like Mozzani, eventually quit his orchestral job to fully dedicate himself to the guitar, having earned in 1909 the title of *Kammervirtuose* from Queen Marie Sophie of Bavaria.

Coming from a symphonic tradition, Albert saw the guitar repertoire with reservations. In an article published in 1921 in the journal *Die Gitarre* from Berlin, he complained that the guitar lacked quality contemporary repertoire and did not possess a rich literature from the Classical and early-Romantic periods.⁶⁵ Moreover, Albert criticized his fellow guitarist-composers who could not write anything but miniatures in salon-style which did not appeal to the educated German audiences, and was sceptic towards transcriptions and arrangements, which became increasingly popular since Tárrega. The mention of “educated audiences” suggests that Albert was frustrated about the lack of original repertoire which could relate to the serious music performed in the concert halls. Like Rebay, he blamed the repertoire for the guitar’s marginalization, instead of the instrument’s low volume.

While acknowledging the Italian and Spanish nineteenth-century heritage, Albert proposed the creation of a new German School, based on what he perceived as typical German values. To him, German musicians were “more careful, but also more thoughtful, attached to musical form and phrasing technique. They draw information from all schools and transform it in a unique way, which can be called the German national style”.⁶⁶ His Germanic background also shaped his opinion about the increasingly influential Spanish School. After listening to Llobet in 1913 in Munich, he wrote that “As a musician and as a German, I cannot agree with his tempi in the Sor minuets and Mozart variations”, preferring instead the playing

⁶⁴ “Das künstlerische Gitarrespiel wurde vor allem durch Heinrich Albert nicht nur wiederbelebt, sondern weiterentwickelt: Sein pädagogisches, editorisches, konzertierendes und kompositorisches Wirken schuf eine Brücke zwischen der Tradition des 19. Jahrhunderts und der spanischen gitarristischen Tradition des 20. Jahrhunderts”. Huber, *Die Wiederbelebung des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels um 1900 : Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Laienmusikwesens und zur Tradition der klassischen Gitarre*, 263.

⁶⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, 230.

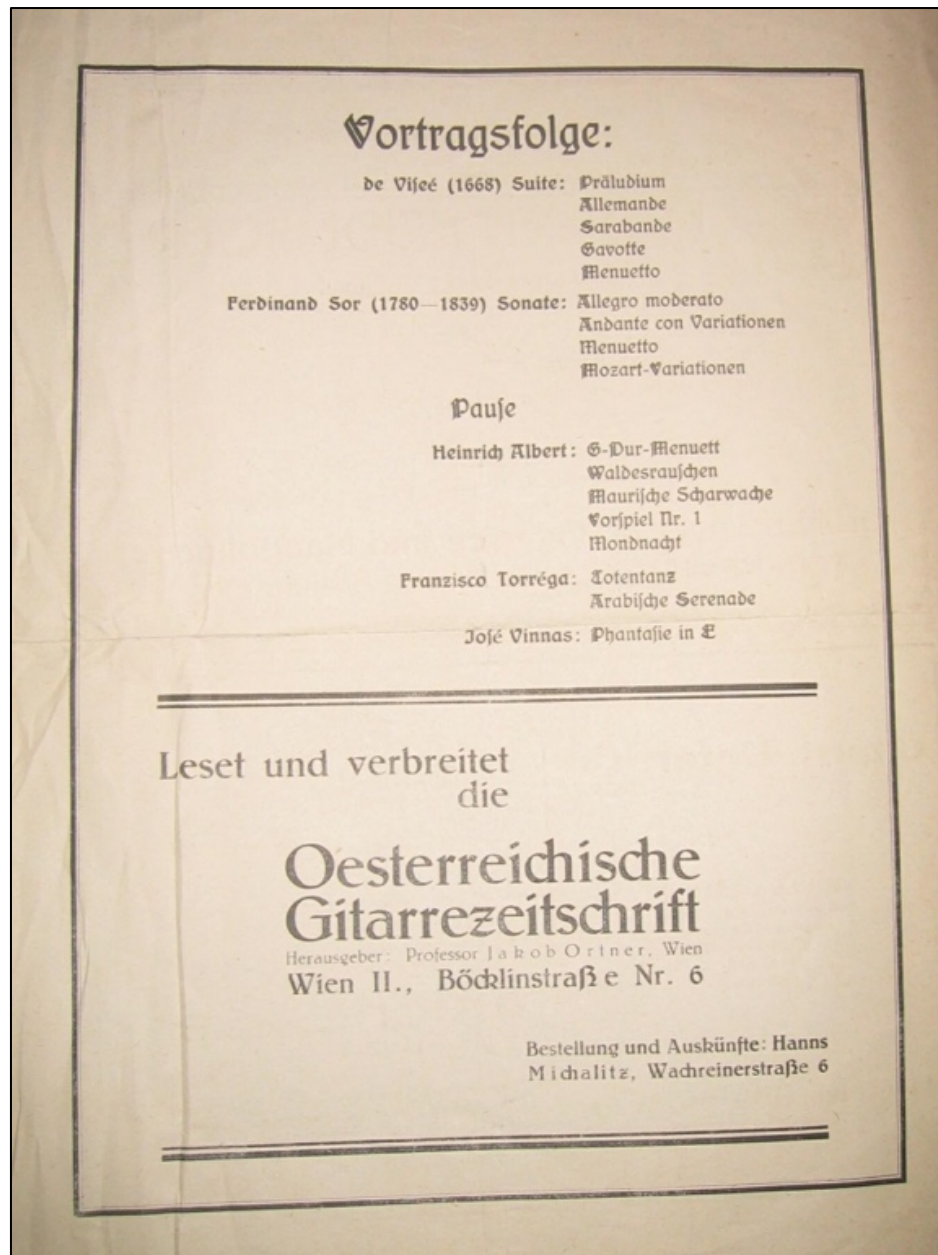
⁶⁶ “Der Deutsche ist gewissenhafter, aber auch grüblerischer veranlagt, hängt an musikalischer Form- und Satz-technik, schöpft jedoch aus allen Schulen und verarbeitet dies zu einem besonderen Stil, den man national-deutsch nennen muß”. Quoted in Stevens, “L’influenza Italiana nello Sviluppo dell’Arte Chitarristica in Germania”, 206.

of Mozzani, who in a recent performance “had not made any mistakes either in form or style”.⁶⁷ Albert’s comment suggests the cultivation of values that arise from musical contemplation such as carefully devised phrasing and stylistic correctness, as opposed to sensuality and sparkling virtuosity. I will return to his interpretation ideals in Chapter 5, when dealing with performance style in Rebay’s guitar music.

Albert took up the mission of remedying the repertoire problem through rescuing, editing and publishing music from the past, developing a comprehensive teaching school according to his artistic principles, and composing in a variety of genres, including solo, chamber music and lieder with guitar accompaniment. His ideals can be appreciated in the way he structured his concert programmes. Figure 1.2 shows the programme of a concert given at the Landschaftlichen Redoutensaal in Linz, organized by Ortner and the *Österreichische Gitarre-Zeitschrift* on 3 March 1928.

⁶⁷ “... wenn ich auch als Musiker und Deutscher nicht immer mit seinen Auffassungen der Tempi in den Sor Menuetten und den Mozart Variationen einverstanden bin. In dieser Hinsicht hat der Italiener Luigi Mozzani der 3mal hier spielte keine Form- und Stilfehler gemacht”. Quoted in *ibid*.

Figure 1.2. Albert's concert programme from 3 March 1928 (Source: *Gitarre-Archiv Österreich*).



Both of Albert's choices for the first half suggest an attempt to align the guitar literature with that of the Austro-German mainstream canon. The programme started with a suite by French Baroque guitarist Robert de Visée (1650-1725). Although Tárrega had already transcribed isolated movements from Bach suites and Coste a full suite by de Visée, the practice of performing multi-movement Baroque suites on the guitar was uncommon at the time. After the suite, Albert presented a set of four pieces by Sor—including the famous Mozart

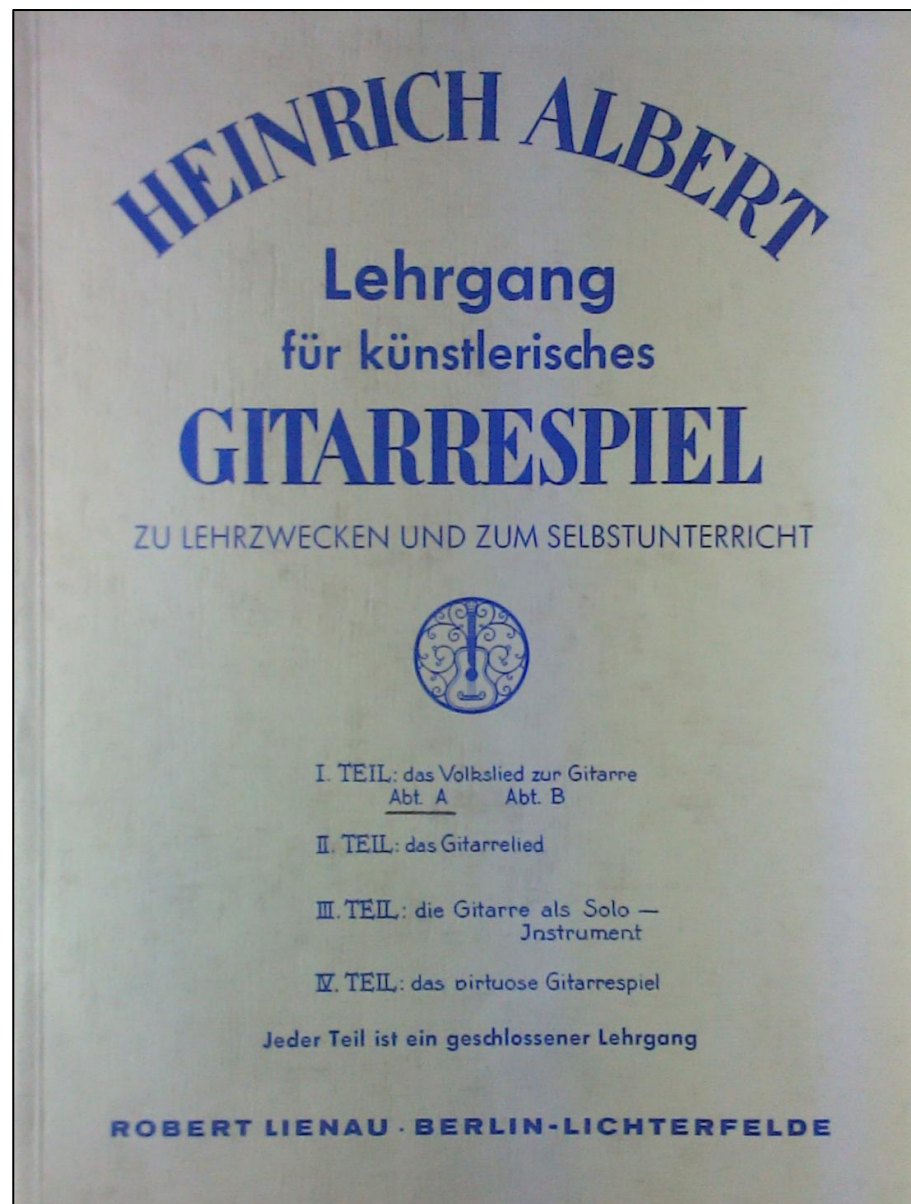
Variations—in order to forge a Classical sonata.⁶⁸ In his own way, Albert presented a weighty first half that resembled what could be heard in a piano recital, with a touch of historical interest and the intrinsic prestige that a genre like the sonata carried since the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the second half, lighter in scope and ambition, was more typical of the guitar clubs' repertoire. It focused on charming miniatures, including a set of his own pieces, in the best nineteenth-century guitarist-composer tradition. In Albert's second half lies the greatest difference in comparison to Segovia's programmes, which by the 1920s started to include new music by non-guitarist composers, a final but fundamental frontier to be crossed. Albert's performing activities were not limited to solo playing, as he appeared frequently accompanying his daughter-singer Betti and is remembered as a founding member of the Münchner Gitarre-Quartett in 1907.⁶⁹ I will return to this ensemble in Chapter 6, when discussing the quintbass guitar.

Despite his influence in German-speaking territories, Albert's career was eclipsed after the Spanish school established its supremacy. His method *Moderner Lehrgang des künstlerischen Gitarrenspiels* (Munich: Verlag der Gitarrefreund, 1914) remained widely popular, however, as successive reprints by publisher Robert Lienau attest (Figure 1.3). Divided in four parts, it was featured in the original curriculum devised by Ortner for use at the Wiener Akademie.

⁶⁸ Although Sor wrote two multi-movement sonatas, Opp. 22 and 25, these were not featured regularly in concerts until much later in the twentieth century. It is difficult to identify the pieces played by Albert, with the exception of the "Mozart-Variationen", which is probably the Introduction and Variations on a Theme by Mozart, Op. 9.

⁶⁹ Josef Zuth, "Albert, Heinrich", in *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre* (Vienna: Verlag der Zeitschrift für die Gitarre, 1926), 12-13.

Figure 1.3. Cover of Albert's *Lerngang für künstlerisches Gitarrespiel* (Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1952).



It is significant that the first volume is entirely dedicated to the guitar as an accompanying instrument to *Volkslieder*, followed by a second volume focused on art-lieder. Different from Segovia, who tried to distance his art from that of folk origins, Albert embraced without prejudice that which is an intrinsic and most natural way of learning the basics of the instrument.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ A note in the cover, however, stresses the fact that each volume can be considered independently, thus making it attractive to self-taught students (*Selbstunterricht*).

Austria's twentieth-century foremost guitarist, Luise Walker (1910-1998), studied with Albert before taking lessons with Llobet. She mentions that he was "an excellent teacher who knew how to convey music style, discipline and profundity".⁷¹ An examination of Albert's catalogue and the rare modern recordings of his music reveal a great number of didactic works, carefully divided by technical level and thus showing a concern for building a solid pedagogic canon.⁷² One sees many miniatures in salon-style among his concert works, but he also explored large-scale forms such as the sonata and the suite. Among his ensemble works, which include music for two, three and four guitars as well as chamber music with other instruments, the most ambitious ones are the two extended guitar quartets. They are written in a conservative Austro-German Romantic idiom, adhering strictly to nineteenth-century sonata principles and establishing cyclical relationships among themes within its movements. Written for the Münchner Gitarre-Quartett's formation (two *terz* guitars, one regular guitar and one quintbass guitar), they could well be a response to his overt frustration about the lack of significant Classical and early-Romantic repertoire.

Albert's works—particularly the pedagogical ones—will be an important source for Chapter 5. Other than Emilio Pujol (1886-1980), he is one of the few early-twentieth century guitar pedagogues who truly rationalized the technique, carefully addressing phrasing, articulation and other expressive, interpretative and notational elements, instead of merely offering exercises for technique building.

⁷¹ "Albert war ein ausgezeichnete Lehrer, der es verstand, musikalisches Stilgefühl, Disziplin und Gründlichkeit zu vermitteln". Luise Walker, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre* (Frankfurt am Main: Musikverlag Zimmermann, 1989), 35.

⁷² Helmut Richter, "Werkverzeichnis Heinrich Albert", accessed 21 April 2017, <http://www.helmut-richter.de/gitarre/albert.pdf>. Andreas Stevens, *Heinrich Albert - Ausgewählte Werke für Gitarre solo*, Aurea Vox AV2009-4, 2006, Audio CD; Volker Höh and Cantomano Quartett, *SoloDuoTrioQuartett - Deutsche Gitarrenmusik von Heinrich Albert*, Bruno Henze & Simon Schneider, Naxos 8.551291, 2012, Audio CD.

1.8 LIEDER ACCOMPANIMENT

In his 1926 article, Rebay referred to the guitar as a “wonderful accompanying instrument”. Although criticizing the traditional guitar lieder, he was convinced of the instrument’s possibilities, “if played as in the excellent school of our dear master Ortner”. This section is an attempt to understand the aesthetic boundary between what Rebay judged “amateurish lute-songs” from a more sophisticated way of using the guitar as an accompaniment to the voice. Understanding the guitar’s potential as an accompanying instrument is also important within chamber music practice, as will be investigated later in Rebay’s chamber sonatas.

As surveyed above, lieder with guitar accompaniment constituted a significant portion of the repertoire cultivated in the guitar clubs. Around the turn of the century, the guitar and other plucked instruments such as the *Zupfgeige* were considered the perfect accompanying instruments in youth movements such as the Wandervogel. Since the nineteenth century, folk culture had been an important element in the process of shaping national identities, and this explains the popularity of *Volkslieder* publications. By 1926, the most famous German publication of the genre, Hans Breuer’s *Zupfgeigenhansl*—a pun with the author’s name and the accompanying instrument, first published in 1909—circulated in more than 300,000 copies.⁷³ Alongside text and melody displayed in staff notation, it included chord symbols which could be easily played by amateurs, requiring no knowledge of staff reading on the guitar. Another common use of the guitar in accompaniment was seen in the Schrammel-Quartett (Figure 1.4), a typical Viennese folk-ensemble originated in the late nineteenth century which used two violins, a clarinet in G (*picksüßes Hölzl*) and a contraguitar (*Schrammel-Gitarre*).⁷⁴ Schrammel enthusiasts included Brahms and Strauss,⁷⁵ and Schoenberg was certainly inspired by it when he included a mandolin and a guitar in the instrumentation of his Serenade, Op. 24 (1923).

⁷³ Renate Kreuzberger, “Jakob Ortner und die Anfänge des Gitarreunterrichts an der Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Wien” (Diplomarbeit, Hochschule für Musik und darstellend Kunst Wien, 1996), 22.

⁷⁴ Much before he became properly acquainted with the guitar, Rebay composed four lieder with Schrammel-Quartett accompaniment, which were published by Robitschek under his Op. 100-103.

⁷⁵ Andrew Lamb, “Schrammel, Johann”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 6 December 2018, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25072>.

Figure 1.4. Schrammel-Quartett: Johann und Josef Schrammel (violins), Georg Dänzer (clarinet, “*picksüßes Hölzl*”) and Anton Strohmayer (contraguitar), surrounded by listeners. (Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ANL/Vienna, Pf 758:C [1 a]).



Keeping up with a long-held tradition, many methods for self-instruction were published around the turn of the century, such as Scherrer’s *Kurzgefaßte, Volkstümliche Lauten- und Gitarre-Schule* (1911). Scherrer was a popular figure in the IGV events. His method is very pragmatic, offering the amateur player a good knowledge of the guitar’s most elementary resources. At the end, it presents 71 harmonized *Volkslieder*, together with chord symbols right below the melody or, for the more knowledgeable player, a fully written-out accompaniment in staff notation. These are beginner songs, not going much beyond elementary three- or four-chord progressions in first position, arranged in simple arpeggios or basic rhythmic figurations. They are well represented by the harmonization of the famous *Volkslied* “*Verstohlen geht der Mond auf*” (Example 1.7).⁷⁶

⁷⁶ This song had also been harmonized by Brahms for vocal quartet and piano, and used by him as a theme for variations in the second movement of his Piano Sonata No. 1 in C, Op. 1.

Example 1.7. “Verstohlen geht der Mond auf”, from Heinrich Scherrer’s *Kurzgefaßte, Volkstümliche Lauten- und Gitarre-Schule* (Leipzig: Friederich Hofmeister, 1911).

Verstohlen geht der Mond auf.

Etwas langsam. Niederrheinisch (Zuccalmaglio).

1. Ver - stoh - len geht der Mond auf, blau, blau Blü - me - lein! Durch

Sil - ber - wölk - chen geht sein Lauf. Blau, blau Blü - me - lein,

Ro - sen im Tal, Mä - del im Saal, o schön - ste Ro - - sa!

2. Er steigt die blaue Luft hindurch,
Bis daß er schaut auf Löwenburg.

3. O schaue, Mond durch's Fensterlein,
Schön Trude lock' mit deinem Schein.

4. Und siehst du mich und siehst du sie,
Zwei treu're Herzen siehst du nie.

W. v. Zuccalmaglio. 1829.

As previously mentioned, the music supplements of *Der Gitarrefreund* featured numerous *Volkslieder*, and the most frequent composer is Albert. A look at some of his *Volkslieder* reveals a level of simplicity comparable to that of Scherrer’s. However, Albert also wrote a few art-lieder with more elaborate accompaniments, such as observed in “Noch manchmal” (Example 1.8).

Example 1.8. Albert's "Noch manchmal" (Munich: Verlag Der Gitarrefreund, 1907).

GAVA fr. Ing. C. O. Bolje af Gennäs
1924
Gi Bolje 965-15

Musikbeilage des Gitarre-Freund. VIII. Jahrgang, 1907. No 4.

„Noch manchmal“
(Ged. von H. Knussert.)

Für Gesang und Gitarre komponiert
von Heinrich Albert.

Die 6te Saite nach D stimmen
Mit freiem Vortrag.

Gesang. *mf*
Noch manchmal werden Tränen stehn wie Morgentau im Auge

Gitarre. *mf*
mir und das wird im-mer da an ge-sehen hab ich des Nachts geträumt von dir. *rall.*

viel Ausdruck
Im Traum nur steigst du zu mir nie-der, im Traum nur dür-fen wir uns *rall.*

a tempo
seh'n. Von dir zu Träumen immer wie-der möcht ich auf immer schlafen *rall.*

stänimerisch breit
geh'n. *Tempo I.* *rall.* *sch'r brvit*

Eigentum des Componisten.



In comparison to Scherrer's example, here the guitar part is clearly more sophisticated and interactive. The accompaniment's texture is varied, changing according to the textual demands (e.g. the triplets when the singer/narrator describes how it is when he dreams about the loved one, starting in b. 11), and the sophisticated harmony includes expressive major

seventh and dominant ninth chords which would normally not find a place in more simplistic *Volkslieder* harmonization. The guitar's role extrapolates mere accompaniment, also performing a solo introduction and a coda. This is clearly an advanced accompaniment, hardly accessible to a beginner and therefore contrasting to the typical guitar lieder of the time.

It is likely that Rebay knew the works of Albert, given the latter's fame in the Austro-German guitar environment and the fact that his music was part of the Wiener Akademie's guitar curriculum. However, taking an example such as "Noch manchmal", it would be odd to include Albert's lieder within Rebay's categorization of "simple, tasteless, inferior and clumsy". Unfortunately, Rebay was not more specific in his criticism. He was probably bothered by the fact that the guitar's potential remained underexplored in the amateur lieder sphere, with its easier melodies, simplistic harmonies and elementary accompaniment patterns, ultimately conditioned by a market made up by mostly low-skilled amateur players. In fact, the guitar's niche environment fed into a vicious cycle that could hardly be broken from inside, in spite of the efforts of guitarists such as Albert. As an outsider coming from the Austro-German mainstream environment, Rebay proved that it was possible to explore the guitar as an accompaniment instrument in a much more creative way, even within the simplicity usually associated with *Volkslieder*. Although a thorough analysis of Rebay's guitar lieder is beyond the goals of this thesis, his song-cycle *Der kleine Rosengarten* (1937) shows a creative and refined writing that is closer to Albert's than Scherrer's examples illustrated above, making extended use of the guitar's harmonic potential and range.⁷⁷ For Rebay, "simple" did not necessarily mean "easy" or "plain".

Lied accompaniment was taught in the first and second years of the Academy's guitar programme, before the students were introduced to chamber music. Although this didactic plan is no longer observed in conservatoire-level guitar curricula, it makes pedagogical sense that the guitar student learns to accompany the voice before tackling more interactive and complex chamber music. Perhaps not coincidentally, this was also the path described by Rebay in his process of learning how to compose for the guitar.

⁷⁷ Although currently not published, the cycle can be heard in Maximilian Kiener and Gonzalo Noqué, *Der kleine Rosengarten*, Ars 4240, 2010, Audio CD.

1.9 THE GUITAR'S ENTRANCE IN THE ACADEMY

As previously mentioned, a guitar curriculum was not offered formally in conservatoires during the nineteenth century. Most guitar tuition was done privately or by self-education, using popular methods and rarely including a comprehensive knowledge such as offered to conservatoire students. In an attempt to justify the lack of worthwhile repertoire that he encountered in his early career, Segovia summarized the situation in the following terms: "The guitar was trapped in a vicious circle: it was not studied in the conservatoires with the result that there were no guitarists; there were no guitarists, so no composers wrote for the guitar; there was no music, so no one took up the guitar".⁷⁸ In fact, professional guitarists such as Scherrer, Meier, Mozzani or Albert had a professional background in other instruments, learning the guitar informally. By the early 1900s, however, the circumstances began to transform.

In Vienna, some of the first incursions of the guitar in the conservatoire environment happened through scholarly research, a direct consequence of the newly-created discipline of Musicology taught by Guido Adler at the Universität Wien, where he worked between 1898 and 1927. Two graduates of the university, Josef Zuth and Adolf Koczirz (1870-1941), published their doctoral dissertations and wrote articles about the guitar, lute and their repertoire for journals such as Zuth's own *Zeitschrift für die Gitarre*.⁷⁹ Within the Wiener Akademie, there had been an awakened interest in plucked instruments since at least 1909, when Adler's former student Richard Batka started lecturing about the guitar and lute, in addition to teaching a guitar class.⁸⁰ Moreover, the guitar was among the instruments for which the Academy offered the *Staatsprüfung* (state examination), which led to a certificate that allowed individuals to teach music in private institutions and public schools. Nevertheless, the guitar was still not offered as a main instrument.

⁷⁸ Segovia and Wade, *Maestro Segovia : Personal Impressions and Anecdotes of the Great Guitarist*, 40. Segovia intentionally ignored the literature composed by guitarist-composers throughout the whole nineteenth century. However, even as a half-truth his opinion illustrates some of the consequences of the guitar not being taught at conservatoires.

⁷⁹ Kreuzberger, "Jakob Ortner und die Anfänge des Gitarrenunterrichts an der Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Wien", 32.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

In 1915, Zuth complained about the general level of guitar teaching in Austria and Germany, blaming the guitar's absence from the general curricula of music schools as the possible cause.⁸¹ This would only be reversed with the official implementation of the guitar programme at the Wiener Akademie in 1923, under the responsibility of Jakob Ortner.⁸² Ortner was an Innsbruck-born guitarist who had settled in Vienna since 1909. He was the guitarist for the Wiener Staatsoper, where he probably met many of the Academy teachers who also played in the orchestra. Having taught at the Wiener Akademie under fixed-term contracts since at least 1920, Ortner gained a permanent status in 1924, quite possibly the first of its kind in Europe. In Madrid, for instance, a guitar professorship at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid was only created in 1935, at the Royal Academy of Music in London in 1959 and at the Paris Conservatoire in 1969.^{83 84}

Ortner's role as an educator cannot be overemphasized. He taught all the important Austrian classical guitarists active in the first half of the twentieth century, such as Luise Walker, Karl Scheit, Erwin Schaller, Otto Schindler, Carl Dobrauz and Robert Tremml, some of whom can be seen in Figure 1.5.⁸⁵ Rebay's niece, Gerta Hammerschmid (1906-1985), also studied with him, having earned a pedagogic degree from the Wiener Akademie.

⁸¹ Josef Zuth, *Das künstlerische Gitarrespiel* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1915), 3.

⁸² According to Erwin Strouhal (Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien), the Ref. No. 145/D/1923 from the Ministry of Education permitted the implementation of a diploma programme for guitar at the end of May 1923, backdated to October 1922, which suggests that in practice it started even earlier. Erwin Strouhal, E-mail message to the author, 23 April 2019.

⁸³ Wade, *A Concise History of the Classical Guitar*, 122; Stephen Goss, "The Guitar and the Musical Canon : Myths of Tradition and Heritage in Concert Repertoire and Didactic Methodology", *Journal of the European Guitar Teachers Association*: 7; Alain Pâris, "Lagoya, Alexandre", *Encyclopædia Universalis* [online], accessed 25 October 2016, <http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/alexandre-lagoya>.

⁸⁴ Segovia affirmed that the first conservatoire to hold a guitar professorship was the Geneva Conservatoire. However, no dates or further information are given, and I have not been able to certify this information. Segovia and Wade, *Maestro Segovia : Personal Impressions and Anecdotes of the Great Guitarist*, 101.

⁸⁵ Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich : von Abate Costa bis Zykan*, 172.

Figure 1.5. Jakob Ortner (in the centre) with students in 1926; from left to right, Luise Walker, Walter Endstorfer, Ilse Hofmann, Hans Schlagradl and Friedl Hinker (Source: *Gitarre-Archiv Österreich*).



The Academy's guitar curriculum was divided in two parts, *Vorbildung* (elementary level) and *Ausbildung* (advanced level), each lasting three years⁸⁶ It shows a wide-ranging approach to professional guitar training: besides studying the traditional solo repertoire and technique, students engaged in song accompaniment—including the use of the Schrammel-Gitarre—played chamber music extensively and were trained for performing in orchestral contexts such as in symphonies and operas. The repertoire was centred in the nineteenth-century legacy, but also included contemporary music by Mozzani and Albert.

Students from Ortner's class participated actively in the vibrant Viennese guitar scene of the 1920s. He frequently organized *Gitarreabende* (guitar evenings) at the Musikverein and the Festsaal of the Haus der Industrie, where he presented his students in solo and chamber music settings, often including premieres of new music by Austrian composers. The high level of Ortner's students can be measured by the fact that in 1924 one of his oldest students, Hans

⁸⁶ A reproduction of the Wiener Akademie's 1923 guitar curriculum can be found in Appendix 3.

Schlagradl (1897-1975), successfully performed the guitar part in the premiere of Schoenberg's *Serenade*, Op. 24,⁸⁷ an almost 40-minute-long piece with demanding ensemble interaction, unlike any of the traditional guitar repertoire at the time.

The entrance of the guitar in the conservatoire environment was a major step towards rescuing it from its former niche. Besides offering aspiring guitarists a professional training and a diploma, it opened a new window for the instrument's display, quickly attracting the attention of other instrumentalists and composers, such as Rebay. This not only led to new music by non-guitarist composers but also to a greater participation of the guitar in chamber-music playing, a previously underexplored feature in the guitar clubs, when compared to solo, guitar ensemble and lieder accompaniment. As will be seen in Chapter 2, Academy guitarists often partnered with top musicians from Vienna's main orchestras, which must have had an impact on their education, playing level and musical expectations. Considering the guitar's previous isolation, a scenario such as this could only have happened in a conservatoire environment. It makes the Viennese developments unique within the twentieth-century guitar renaissance, particularly when considering that the repertoire of Llobet and Segovia focused almost exclusively on solo music.

1.10 CHAMBER MUSIC

Vienna had already been an epicentre of guitar chamber music in the early-nineteenth century, encompassing both amateur and professional playing. In fact, guitar virtuoso Mauro Giuliani (who lived in the city from 1806 to 1819) often partnered with some of the greatest musicians of his time, such as pianists Johann Nepomuk Hummel and Ignaz Moscheles, and violinist Joseph Mayseder. Most of these appearances took place in benefit concerts, as explained above.

Parallel to concert activity, the guitar also became a sought-after domestic instrument. An enormous quantity of music entered the market to meet a growing amateur demand, and much of it was chamber music. The most common instrumental combination was the guitar trio, which paired the guitar with two melodic instruments—often a flute and a violin, or a violin and a viola—an instrumental concept that can be traced to the Baroque

⁸⁷ Libbert, *Die Wiener Gitarristik im 20. Jahrhundert - Erinnerungen an Robert Brojer und seine Zeit*, 98.

trio-sonata.⁸⁸ According to Liew, “The chamber trio reflected the guitar's (partial) initiation into the mainstream of musical development and provided a revealing insight into its musical temperament vis-à-vis established ‘traditional’ instruments”, later asserting that “In the majority of chamber trios, the guitar had a distinct and unique role to play: it provided harmonic support and textural cohesion”.⁸⁹ Most of these trios featured a rather monotonous and simple guitar part, almost never engaging in sophisticated melodic interplay with the other instruments.

Stevens asserts that the guitar’s role in domestic chamber music-making during the Biedermeier period was constantly recalled in the guitar-club environments as a condition to be regained.⁹⁰ This had less to do with the artistic level of the repertoire and more with an evocative acknowledgment of the guitar’s participation in mainstream musical life, even if in an accessory way. In fact, by the time Rebay started to write for the guitar, most guitar chamber music concerts featured this early-nineteenth century repertoire, as the following 1922 concert programme of Ortner’s class illustrates (Figure 1.6).

⁸⁸ The violin, viola and guitar trio would be revived in Vienna in the twentieth century through the Wiener-Kammermusik Trio and the Wiener-Gitarre-Streich-Trio (Wigis-Trio), of which more will be said in Chapter 2.

⁸⁹ Robert C. Liew, “The Guitar Chamber Trio from 1780 to 1830 : Its Style and Structure” (PhD thesis, Texas Tech University, 1983), iii.

⁹⁰ Stevens, “L’influenza Italiana nello Sviluppo dell’Arte Chitarristica in Germania”, 199.

Figure 1.6. Guitar chamber music programme featuring Ortner's students in 1922. (Source: *Gitarre-Archiv Österreich*).

Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Wien
Studienjahr 1921/22.

Samstag, den 13. Mai 1922, 7 Uhr abends

Kammer- und Hausmusik

mit

Gitarre

Einleitende Worte: Univ.-Dozent Dr. **WILH. FISCHER**

✻

Programm:

Gaspard Kummer. (1795—1870)	Quintett op. 75, für 2 Flöten, Viola, Violoncello und Gitarre. Richard Kubinszky, Ljubomir Dimitriyevitsch, K. Goldzier, Bl. Schiffmann, H. Schlagradl.
Ferd. Carulli (1770—1841)	Serenade aus op. 11 für 2 Gitarren. Luise Walker, Walter Endstorfer.
Joseph K. Mertz (1806—1856)	Potpourri aus Verdis „Traviata“, Gitarresolo. Walter Endstorfer.
J. F. Dotzauer. (1783—1860)	Duo op. 21 für Violoncello u. Gitarre. Blanche Schiffmann, Walter Endstorfer.
P A U S E	
Anton Graefer (Geb. 1780)	Ein Gedanke, op. 17.
Napoléon Coste. (1806—1881)	Konzertetüde aus op. 38.
Ferd. Sor (1770—1839)	Menuett aus op. 11.
Walter Glatzl	Neue Lautenlieder: a) Lautenbänder. b) Vagantenlied. (Worte von Dr. J. M. Metzler.) Vorgetragen vom Komponisten.
Josef Küffner (1776—1856)	Serenade op. 65 für Violine, Viola u. Gitarre. Josef Kuntschak, Karl Goldzier, Hans Schlagradl.

Leiter: JAKOB ORTNER

Der Eintritt ist während der Dauer eines Vortragsstückes nicht gestattet.

Preis 60 Kronen.

Stern & Steiner, Wien.

This concert took place at the Wiener Akademie, slightly prior to the official implementation of the guitar programme in that institution. In addition to chamber music, the programme included three solos performed by the rising star Luise Walker and a couple of guitar lieder, in an intimate arrangement which justifies the concert's title "Kammer- und Hausmusik mit Gitarre". This is the kind of repertoire that Rebay acknowledged in his article as "charming [chamber] pieces from the time of Mozart and Beethoven". It was widely available due to its

traditional Viennese roots and had been recently revived in Albert's collection *Die Gitarre in der Haus- und Kammermusik*, published by Zimmermann in 23 volumes. The collection featured selected music by late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century composers such as Anton Diabelli, Ferdinando Carulli, Filippo Gragnani, Mauro Giuliani, Francesco Molino, Joseph Kreutzer, Leonhard von Call, Fernando Sor, Luigi Boccherini, Joseph Schnabel and Wenzel Matiegka.

Albert's hand-picked selection represented some of the best-written guitar chamber music of that period, certainly more interesting than the bulk of domestic works identified by Liew within the guitar trio literature. It can be further contextualized by a commentary from his method, republished in a music supplement of *Der Gitarrefreund* in 1916.

Guitar and other instruments playing together. Only by playing or listening to the chamber music of Anton Diabelli, Giuliani, Küffner, Gragnani, Kummer, de Call or Kreutzer can one judge the intimate charm and effects achieved when the flute or the violin joins the guitar, or yet the three of them together. There are no finer works than the serenades and trios of the above composers. The guitar part does not only accompany with chords but also often plays solo, becoming an important part of the whole and as full as the flute or the violin.⁹¹

In perspective, Albert's ideas seem limited and nostalgic when set against the guitar's imminent breakthrough of the 1920s. After praising these selected composers, he highlighted their concertante-writing, which indeed provided more interactive textures when compared to the average amateur guitar lieder, for example. However, although Albert's impression is partially true, the guitar's melodic participation in these works is still far from balanced.

Albert's reference to "serenades" is significant from an aesthetic point of view. As a rule, the early-nineteenth century guitar chamber music was of a lighter character, related to the divertimento genre and reflecting its original social functions. It belonged more to the

⁹¹ "Gitarre und andere Instrumente in Zusammenspiel. Welche intimen Reize und Wirkungen zu erzielen sind, wenn sich zur Gitarre noch Flöte oder Violine gesellen, oder alle drei sich vereinigen, kann nur der beurteilen, der Gelegenheit hatte die Meisterwerke der Haus- und Kammermusik eines Anton Diabelli, Giuliani, Küffner, Gragnani [*sic*], Kummer, de Call, Kreutzer, entweder selbst zu spielen oder in guter Ausführung zu hören. Es gibt nicht leicht eine feinere Zusammenstellung als in den Serenaden und Trios der eben Genannten. Dabei ist die Gitarrenstimme durchaus nicht bloß Akkordbegleitung sondern kommt häufig auch solistisch zu Wort, ist also wichtiger Bestandteil des Ganzen und vollwertiges Instrument wie eben die Flöte und Violine". Heinrich Albert, "Gitarre und andere Instrumente im Zusammenspiel", *Verlag Gitarrefreund München* 17, no. 4 (1916): 28.

domestic environment than the later chamber-music-recital institution. The fact that much of this music became side-tracked can be seen as a consequence of the canonization of composers and the reification of carefully chosen musical works, affecting even the so-called “Viennese classics”. As put by Dahlhaus, “We seldom think of how much we lost as the Beethoven tradition took root. His characteristic first-period works, which drew on the divertimento tradition, especially that of chamber music with wind instruments, vanished virtually without a trace from the late-nineteenth-century repertoire and sank into oblivion”.⁹²

The tradition of casual divertimento-like guitar chamber music endured precisely because of the former amateur guitar environments. Rebay’s answer to the lack of ambitious contemporary chamber repertoire was to push the limits of the instrument and write works in large-scale structures such as sonatas, besides exploring a balanced texture which truly raised the guitar’s melodic importance. He paired the guitar with familiar instruments such as the violin and the flute, but also explored unusual combinations with the oboe, the clarinet, and even the French horn. In fact, the instrumentation of his 80 guitar chamber music works ranges from duets to a unique septet for woodwind quintet and two guitars. This was a direct consequence of working within a conservatoire environment, since Rebay had access to good musicians and educated guitarists who were avid for new and challenging repertoire.

*
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In his 1926 article, Rebay placed chamber music at the apex of his learning process to compose for the guitar. Through his works, he wanted to stimulate other composers to follow the same path. Indeed, the concert programmes that will be surveyed in Chapter 2 often include new guitar chamber music by Austrian composers, much of which still awaits re-evaluation. This gradual change in repertoire choice reflects the guitaristic zeitgeist and is indebted to the progressive attitudes of Ortner and his students, including Rebay’s niece-guitarist, Hammerschmid.

Whether directly answering or not to Rebay’s call, another significant Viennese composer from the next generation, Alfred Uhl (1909-1992), also became involved with the guitar. In 1928, he wrote an article for Ortner’s *Österreichische Gitarre-Zeitschrift* expressing

⁹² Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 78.

his opinions about the guitar in contemporary chamber music.⁹³ In short, Uhl praised the ongoing rehabilitation and blamed the lack of diligence from past guitarists and their audiences for the long delay in bringing the instrument to its appropriate place. But Uhl was very specific about the place to which guitarists could aspire: “I think that the future of the guitar lies in the chamber music. The guitar solo can hardly interest a non-guitarist for a whole evening, because the guitar cannot fulfil our modern demands technically and dynamically”.⁹⁴ To him, the combination of guitar and other instruments would become a new category of chamber music. After elaborating on the best combinations of instruments—he is particularly fond of mixing the sounds of the clarinet and the guitar—Uhl concluded by stating that his article was intended as “a suggestion for composers, so the guitar can finally receive what it needs so essentially and urgently: a valuable original literature”.⁹⁵

Rebay and Uhl belonged to different aesthetic trends. While the former wrote in a style anchored in the Classical and Romantic Viennese masters, Uhl’s language synthesized “elements from neo-classicism, atonality, serialism and traditional tonal and contrapuntal idioms”.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, they both came from a tradition to which the guitar did not originally belong, noticed the gap in the instrument’s repertoire, took advantage of the guitar momentum of the 1920s and believed that chamber music would be the best way to integrate the guitar with the musical mainstream. This trend was followed by several Austrian composers from both Rebay’s and Uhl’s generations, such as Hans Erich Apostel, Johann Nepomuk David, Franz Burkhart, Jenő Takács and Viktor Korda, not to mention a number of lesser-known composers who will be acknowledged in Chapter 2.

⁹³ Alfred Uhl, “Die Gitarre und die moderne Kammermusik”, *Österreichische Gitarre-Zeitschrift* Jahrgang 3, no. 2 (1928): 25-27.

⁹⁴ “Ich glaube, die Zukunft der Gitarre liegt in der Kammermusik. Die Sologitarre vermag einen Nichtgitarristen wohl schwerlich einen ganzen Abend zu interessieren, weil sie technisch und dynamisch unseren modernen Ansprüchen nicht genügen kann”. Ibid., 25.

⁹⁵ “... eine Anregung für Komponisten sein, damit die Gitarre endlich das bekommt, was sie so notwendig und dringend braucht: eine wertvolle Originalliteratur”. Ibid., 27.

⁹⁶ James M. Hinson, “Uhl, Alfred”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 25 April 2017, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28717>.

1.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, after tracing an overview of the early-twentieth century guitar developments, I investigated the guitaristic environment in German-speaking territories, with an emphasis on Vienna. Based on Rebay's own opinion about the guitar and its repertoire as expressed in an article of 1926, I proceeded to investigate the emergence, activities and repertoire of the guitar clubs, which concentrated the so-called "artistic guitar playing" around the turn of the century. It was possible to identify a predominance of didactic solo and guitar duo pieces (usually by early-nineteenth century guitarist-composers or their epigones), *Volkslieder* with elementary guitar accompaniment, and unpretentious miniatures in salon- and folk-style. Aesthetically, this repertoire was seen as limited by some of the period's most progressive guitarists because it did not conform to the concert-hall standards.

The implementation of the Wiener Akademie's guitar programme through Jakob Ortner in 1923 can be seen as a milestone in the process of integrating the guitar with the mainstream music-making. Besides allowing guitarists to pursue a professional education for the first time in history, it brought the attention of non-guitarist composers like Rebay to the instrument, who in turn carried on a typical Viennese tradition by writing a massive amount of chamber music. This is a unique aspect of the Viennese guitar developments within the twentieth-century guitar renaissance, offering a contrast to the mainly solo repertoire of leading contemporary guitarists such as Llobet and Segovia. Chapter 2 will narrow the contextual investigation to Rebay's biographical level. It will focus on the creation and reception of his guitar music in Vienna, as well as his acquaintances with contemporary Viennese guitarists, of whom the most significant was his niece, Gerta Hammerschmid.

2 FERDINAND REBAY: THE COMPOSER AND HIS GUITARISTS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Published in 2006, Johann Gaitzsch's eight-page article is still one of the only available scholarly studies about Rebay.¹ However, while it provides a good introduction to Rebay's biography and guitar works, the article contains some inaccurate information which have been repeatedly reproduced in CD liner notes and concert programmes, particularly in relation to Rebay's fate after the Anschluss in 1938. In this chapter, I offer an updated account of Rebay's biography, filling gaps and correcting misunderstandings by using information gathered from the work of other researchers or my own primary-source investigations. In addition, I examine how his guitaristic acquaintances developed, as well as the contemporary performance and reception of his guitar music. This is necessary to position Rebay and his music in relation to the twentieth-century guitar renaissance and the local Viennese developments, as described in Chapter 1.

I start by presenting a literature review in which I discuss my main bibliographical and documental sources. Next, I approach Rebay's life and career in a narrative format, dividing it into four main periods. The first (1880-1904) and second (1904-1920) cover from his birth to the early professional years as a choirmaster in Vienna. The third (1920-1938) and fourth (1938-1953) cover from his admission as a teacher at the Wiener Akademie to his death. The last two are of greater interest and naturally more extensive, because they refer to the years in which Rebay composed for the guitar. The narrative will be punctuated by a few extended digressions on relevant topics, such as when introducing Rebay's niece-guitarist, Gerta Hammerschmid, or discussing the evidence of *Hausmusik* performances of Rebay's guitar music.

2.2 BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND DOCUMENTAL SOURCES

Information about the life and music of Ferdinand Rebay is limited. In spite of his activity in Viennese musical life and importance as a pedagogue, he occupies a marginal position within research. At the time of writing, there were no entries on Rebay in either Grove Music Online

¹ Johann Gaitzsch, "Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?", *Soundboard* 31, no. 4 (2006): 11-18.

or MGG Online, although the latter occasionally cites him as a teacher in entries about other musicians. Biographers of composers contemporary of Rebay who were associated with Vienna and its institutions—such as Douglas Jarman for Berg, Malcolm MacDonald and Bojan Bujić for Schoenberg, or Erik Tawaststjerna for Sibelius—while provide an interesting background for the Viennese musical life of the early twentieth century, do not directly mention Rebay.² Bibliography around Erich Korngold, with whom Rebay (and his sister Emilie) had a professional relationship, also do not provide substantial information for this investigation.³ Therefore, biographical information must be gathered from primary sources, such as documents, catalogues, reviews, concert programmes, letters, etc.

An investigation of Gaitzsch's sources reveals three main biographical documents, all part of Ferdinand Rebay's musical estate which is held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna: a clipping from the *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur* from 1904, an article written in 1935 by choirmaster Adolf Kirchl for *Radio Wien* magazine, and a short typewritten biography by Hammerschmid.⁴ I have been able to check the first and second documents in their original sources, but not the third. However, I had access to another short typewritten biography written by Hammerschmid in English and today held at the Stift Heiligenkreuz, and there is no reason to believe that this document's content is significantly different than the other.⁵

In addition, I cross-referenced the aforementioned sources with short entries on Rebay in both the 1929 edition of the *Deutsches Musiker-Lexikon* and the 1961 edition of

² Douglas Jarman, *The Berg Companion* (London: Macmillan Press, 1989); Malcolm MacDonald, *Schoenberg* (London: Dent, 1976); Bojan Bujić, *Arnold Schoenberg* (London: Phaidon, 2010); Erik Tawaststjerna, *Sibelius*, trans. Robert Layton (London: Faber, 1976).

³ Rebay wrote the piano reduction of a number of Korngold operas, and his sister worked for him as a copyist. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek holds ten letters from the Rebays to Korngold, as well as one from Hammerschmid.

⁴ Franz Pazdírek, "Rebay, Ferdinand", in *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Zeiten und Völker*, (Vienna: Pazdírek & Co., 1904-10), 679; Adolf Kirchl, "Ferdinand Rebay", *Radio Wien* 34 (1935): 4,7; Gerta Hammerschmid, "Ferdinand Rebay, 1880-1953", undated, Typewritten document, F40.Rebay.364 Mus, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

⁵ "Ferdinand Rebay", May 1954, Typewritten document, Uncatalogued, Music Archives of the Stift Heiligenkreuz, Vienna.

Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon.⁶ I also consulted the biographical outline written by Carl Dobrauz (1900-1963) for the preface of Rebay's Duos for Two Guitars, particularly significant because it was probably published with Rebay's endorsement.⁷ A more recent source is the article written by Canadian clarinetist Jean-Guy Boisvert, which benefits from previously undisclosed information and sheds light on some unclear passages of Rebay's life during his teaching period at the Wiener Akademie.⁸ Although biographical dictionaries written by guitarists Josef Zuth (*Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre*, 1926) and Philip Bone (*The Guitar and Mandolin*, 1954) are of historical interest and do have entries on Rebay, they mainly repeat other sources—sometimes with errors—and therefore were not considered.⁹

The press quotes that illustrate Rebay's career highlights were taken from several newspaper and magazine articles available through ANNO—AustriaN Newspapers Online.¹⁰ They not only confirm or deny otherwise unreferenced information but help stitch together the documented facts about Rebay. A survey of performances of Rebay's guitar works during his lifetime, as well as his own activities as a pianist and choirmaster, was possible not only

⁶ Erich H. Müller von Asow, "Rebay, Ferdinand", in *Deutsches Musiker-Lexikon* (Dresden: Wilhelm Limpert-Verlag, 1929), 538; Hugo Riemann, Hans H. Eggbrecht and Wilibald Gurlitt, "Rebay, Ferdinand", in *Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon*, 12th ed. (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1961), 470.

⁷ Ferdinand Rebay, "Duo's für zwei Gitarren", ed. Carl Dobrauz, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Wien: Musikverlag V. Hladky, 1949), 4. Rebay and Dobrauz were acquainted and some of Rebay's autographs belong to Dobrauz's musical estate, today held in the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus. Three of the four volumes of these duos were published while Rebay was still alive.

⁸ Jean-Guy Boisvert, "Rediscovering Ferdinand Rebay. Part 1", *The Clarinet* 42, no. 4 (2015): 38-41. According to Boisvert, this information was obtained from the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien through their chief archivist, Lynne Heller.

⁹ Philip J. Bone, "Rebay, Ferdinand", in *The Guitar and Mandolin : Biographies of celebrated players and composers*, 2nd ed. (London: Schott & Co., 1954), 290-91; Zuth, "Rebay, Ferdinand", in *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre*, 228. Bone even mentions that Rebay had been appointed professor of guitar at the Academy during his teaching career in that institution, which is obviously a mistake.

¹⁰ Available at <http://anno.onb.ac.at>.

through ANNO but also by verifying online concert databases, particularly those of the Konzerthaus and the Musikverein.¹¹

General information about Rebay's works was obtained through the online catalogues of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the Stift Heiligenkreuz for the manuscripts, and meta-catalogues (WorldCat, Swissbib, KVK, etc.) for the published works. I have also made use of the extended catalogue of Rebay's works at the Stift Heiligenkreuz prepared by Maria Chervenlieva-Gelew, a typewritten list of guitar works from 1924 to 1932 prepared by Rebay himself in support of his application for a guitar composition competition in Innsbruck in 1933, and partial price-lists (*Preislisten*) attached to correspondence between Hammerschmid and Vahdah Olcott-Bickford.¹²

In addition to what has already been discussed in Chapter 1, information about Rebay's Viennese guitar environment was mostly drawn from Stefan Hackl's and Jürgen Libbert's books about the guitar developments in Austria and Vienna.¹³ Hackl's website, *Gitarre-Archiv Österreich*, has already been quoted in the previous chapter and also provided a few important documents, as did Hackl directly, from his private collection.¹⁴ Occasional information about Rebay's lesser-known Viennese acquaintances, guitaristic or otherwise, was mainly gathered from the *Österreichisches Musiklexikon Online* and the city-sponsored,

¹¹ Available at <http://konzerthaus.at/database-search> and <http://www.musikverein.at/konzertarchiv>. At the time of writing, the Konzerthaus database lists concerts since its inauguration in 1913, and the Musikverein, since 1940.

¹² Maria Chervenlieva-Gelew and Stefan Gelew, "Thematisch-Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Musikalischen Werke von Ferdinand Rebay", accessed 19 September 2018, http://www.stift-heiligenkreuz-sammlungen.at/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/THEMATISCH.docx-neu-23.05..pdf-neu_korr.pdf; Ferdinand Rebay, "Gitarrekompositionen von F. Rebay, chronologisch geordnet", ca. 1932, Typewritten catalogue, Uncatalogued, Private collection Stefan Hackl, Innsbruck; "Werke für Gitarre von Ferdinand Rebay", 1933, Typewritten catalogue, GH.VOB.JUL.24.1933, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge; "Werke für Gitarre von Ferdinand Rebay", 1935, Typewritten catalogue, GH.VOB.MAY.26.1935, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge; "Werke für Gitarre von Ferdinand Rebay", 1938, Typewritten catalogue, GH.VOB.JUL.10.1938, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge.

¹³ Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich : von Abate Costa bis Zykan*; Libbert, *Die Wiener Gitarristik im 20. Jahrhundert - Erinnerungen an Robert Brojer und seine Zeit*.

¹⁴ Available at <http://gitarre-archiv.at>.

Wien Geschichte Wiki website.¹⁵ The concise *Die Geschichte der mdw* from the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien's website provided specific information about the Wiener Akademie's history.¹⁶ Rebay's grandson, Peter Rebay (b. 1939), contributed by e-mail with some important genealogical and biographical information.

Finally, two theses deserve mention, although they were of little use for this research. Galesso in 2010 and Lignitz in 2013 contributed to the scholarship about Rebay with different approaches: the former with musicological research resulting in a catalogue of Rebay's works at the Stift Heiligenkreuz, and the latter with an analysis of a Rebay sonata within the context of the clarinet and guitar duo repertoire.¹⁷ Galesso's work was superseded by Chervenlieva-Gelew's, and his biographical profile of Rebay does not add relevant information to what I have already investigated in other sources. As for Lignitz's dissertation, its short biographical text on Rebay was essentially based on Gaitzsch's article, while her analysis of the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar is a plain description of the piece supported by examples, thus not aiding my investigation.

2.3 FERDINAND REBAY'S BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE

2.3.1 THE FORMATIVE YEARS (1880-1904)

Ferdinand Rebay was born into a family for which music was a routine activity. His father, Ferdinand Wilhelm Rebay (1851-1914), was an active personality in musical Vienna. An amateur singer, his activity at the Wiener Männerchor (Vienna Men's Choir) was often referred to in contemporary newspapers, both as a singer and as a board member. He received a special recognition long after his death in a *Reichspost* article of 1931, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of that choir.¹⁸ A businessman by profession, Rebay senior partnered with Adolf Robitschek in the music publishing company Rebay & Robitschek, an

¹⁵ Available at <http://musiklexikon.ac.at> and <http://geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at>.

¹⁶ Available at <http://www.mdw.ac.at/405>.

¹⁷ Lorenzo Galesso, "Catalogo tematico delle opere per chitarra situate nell'abbazia cistercense di Heiligenkreuz" (Master's dissertation, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2010); Kellie Lignitz, "A Survey of Four Original Works for Clarinet and Guitar and their Effect on Compositional Output for the Repertoire" (DMA Dissertation, University of North Texas, 2013).

¹⁸ Viktor Trautzi, "Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Männerchor", *Reichspost*, 16 December 1931, 11.

association that lasted until 1889.¹⁹ The company specialized in music by Austrian composers such as Anton Bruckner, Ignaz Brüll, Robert Fuchs, Hanns Eisler and Franz Lehár.²⁰ His main activity, however, seemed to be as a music dealer in Vienna, as the advertisement reproduced in Figure 2.1 illustrates. It reads: “Ferdinand Rebay, Stationery Shop in Vienna, IV., Hauptstrasse 28. Specialized in supplies for musicians”.

Figure 2.1. Advertisement of Ferdinand Rebay’s (senior) business (Source: *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 November 1888, 13).

Fein! Originell! Hochkomisch! Billig! Neu!
Für kleine und grosse Kinder.
Lothar Meggendorfer's drehbare Bilder-Scherze.
 „Der Zeitungsleser“ Preis 40 fr. „Die Kaffeeschwester“ Preis 40 fr.
 (je 11 Charakterköpfe). „Internationales Liebespaar“ Preis 60 fr.
 (26 Charakterköpfe, woraus man über 100 verschied. Pärchen zusammenstellen kann).
 Die Mechanik an diesen Scherzbildern ist vorzüglich, so daß schon eine
 gewisse Zerstückungsmuth dazugehört, um dieselbe zu verderben. Gegen Einsendung
 von 1 fl. 50 fr. erfolgt portofreie Zusendung aller drei Stücke von
Ferdinand Rebay, Papierhandlung in Wien, IV., Hauptstrasse 28.
Specialität: Bedarfsartikel für Musiker, als Notenpapier,
Notentinte, Notenfedern, Notenraster, Notenhefte, Noten-
mappen mit und ohne Schloss, Notenrollen. Alle auf Musik bezüg-
lichen Auskünfte werden bereitwilligst gratis und franco gegeben.
 Passendes Geschenk für „Richard Wagner“-Freunde und Bayreuth-
Pilger: Richard Wagner's Wohnhaus „Wahnfried“, getreuest
dargestellt als Papier-Cassette mit Richard-Wagner-Briefpapieren
und Couverts, verschied. fortirt, von fl. 2 bis fl. 6.60. 13442

According to Dobrauz, Rebay’s mother, Theresia Magdalena Friedl (1857-1937), was a school teacher with a special talent for music and drawing; this might explain Rebay’s later interest in the visual arts.²¹ Dobrauz also stated that she studied piano with Anton Bruckner at the Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalt (Teacher Training Institute for Women) but no further information is given. Bruckner taught piano at the Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalt St. Anna in

¹⁹ Robitschek would later join Josef Weinberger and Bernhard Herzmansky to found Universal Edition in 1901.

²⁰ Reinhold Westphal, “Robitschek, Adolf Rainer”, *Österreichisches Musiklexikon Online*, accessed 13 May 2016, http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_R/Robitschek.xml.

²¹ Rebay, “Duo’s für zwei Gitarren”, 1, 4.

Vienna between 1870 and 1874.²² At this time, Rebay's mother would still have been in school age, which could corroborate Dobrauz's information.

Peter Rebay confirmed by e-mail that his grandfather had three sisters: Stefanie Barbara (1881-1974), Margarethe (1885-1886), and Emilie Johanna (1887-1963).²³ Stefanie was the mother of Gerta Hammerschmid, Rebay's niece-guitarist.²⁴ Emilie (Emmy) worked professionally as a piano teacher and music copyist, with Erich Korngold among her clients. I will return to her when analysing the authorship of Rebay's manuscripts in Chapter 4.

Ferdinand Wilhelm Friedrich Rebay was born in Vienna on 11 June 1880. At the time of his birth, Brahms was 47 years old and enjoyed popularity and reverence in Vienna, his adopted town. Mahler was in his twenties and starting a promising career in opera conducting which would include a tenured position at the Wiener Staatsoper, and Schoenberg was still six years old. Rebay's generation grew up in a period which still maintained strong ties to the late-Romantic tradition, as can be heard in the music of Rebay's conservative colleagues such as Franz Schmidt (1874-1939), Joseph Marx (1882-1964) or Egon Kornauth (1891-1959). However, his generation was also driven by a progressive attitude that eventually led to developments associated with Modernism, such as Schoenberg's 12-Tone System. Thus, conservative and progressive forces coexisted and eventually clashed during Rebay's time, as will later become clear through the mixed reception to Rebay's music or the polarization between the two opposing Viennese guitar circles.

According to Dobrauz, the Rebays were acquainted with some of the most important figures in the traditional Viennese musical life, such as Eusebius Mandyczewski (1857-1929), Adolf Kirchl (1858-1936), Josef von Wöss (1863-1943) and Josef Stritzko (1861-1908).²⁵ On the occasion of a radio programme entirely dedicated to Rebay in 1935, Kirchl, a former

²² Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy L. Jackson, "Bruckner, (Joseph) Anton", *Grove Music Online*, accessed 3 June 2016, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40030>.

²³ Peter Rebay, e-mail message to the author, 25 February 2016.

²⁴ Rebay's niece adopted two spellings: Gerta Hammerschmid and Gertha Hammerschmied. While the first is observed in her earlier correspondences (1931-1938), the second seems to be preferred after WW2. I have adopted the first spelling in this thesis.

²⁵ Rebay, "Duo's für zwei Gitarren", 1, 4.

Schubertbund choirmaster, cheerfully remembered his visit to the Rebays after the composer's birth.

I recall with enjoyment how joyfully Papa Rebay announced the birth of his son and heir. I immediately accepted the invitation to visit the new-born world citizen. As I entered the room, he wriggled in the cradle and screamed with all his might. "He will be a competent musician", I cried, amused. Papa Rebay expressed his opinion against this prophecy, even though he loved nothing more than singing and music: "He must become a businessman; that will give him a job for life!" Mme Muse, however, was standing invisible next to the cradle and later watched over the young Ferdinand.²⁶

Kirchl's information is corroborated by Rebay's grandson, who mentions that Rebay's father intended a business career for him, in spite of his artistic inclinations.²⁷ As will be seen later, the close acquaintance between Kirchl and the Rebays would prove to be a lasting and profitable one in Rebay's early career.

*
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Rebay started his musical studies by taking piano lessons with his mother, later learning the violin with Othmar Stehle and singing with Anton Klatowski.²⁸ From 1890 to 1894, he was enrolled as a choirboy at the Stift Heiligenkreuz, a Cistercian monastery built in 1133 in the middle of the Wienerwald (Vienna woods). There, he furthered his musical education under Father Stephan Pfeiffer and the abbey's organist, Hans Fink. The Stift Heiligenkreuz holds

²⁶ "Mit Vergnügen entsinne ich mich noch, wie mir Papa Rebay freudig von der Geburt seines Stammhalters Mitteilung machte. Als bald folgte ich der Einladung zur Besichtigung des neuen Weltbürgers. Dieser zappelte in der Wiege, als ich die Stube betrat, und schrie eben aus Leibeskräften. „Das wird einmal ein tüchtiger Musikant!“ rief ich belustigt. Gegen diese Prophezeiung nahm aber Papa Rebay Stellung, obwohl er selbst nichts Lieberes kannte als Gesang und Musik: „Er muß Geschäftsmann werden, das gibt eine sichere Lebensstellung!“. Frau Muse aber stand unsichtbar neben der Wiege und wachte auch späterhin über den heranwachsenden Ferd!“. Kirchl, "Ferdinand Rebay", 4-5.

²⁷ Rebay, e-mail message to the author, 25 February 2016.

²⁸ Monika Kornberger, "Rebay, Familie", *Österreichisches Musiklexikon Online*, accessed 17 December 2018, http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_R/Rebay_Ferdinand.xml.

today more than half of Ferdinand Rebay's music estate and, in recognition to their former student, they maintain a website and host an annual event dedicated to his music.²⁹

After his elementary studies, Rebay enrolled in the *Kunstgewerbeschule* (School for Arts and Crafts) of the k. k. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie (today's MAK – Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst/Gegenwartskunst), graduating in 1900.³⁰ This was a secondary school which emphasized the visual arts, as opposed to the *Gymnasium* and the *Realschule*, which focused, respectively, on humanities and the natural sciences. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek holds two drawings made by Rebay during this period, one of them a portrait of his mother.

While still a student at the *Kunstgewerbeschule*, Rebay took private music lessons with Josef von Wöss from 1897 to 1899, and Eusebius Mandyczewski from 1899 to 1901. A composer of mostly sacred music, von Wöss is today best remembered for his transcriptions for Universal Edition of choral symphonies and other vocal works with orchestra by Bruckner and Mahler.³¹ Mandyczewski was an influential scholar, composer, conductor and teacher in Vienna. A personal friend of Brahms, he was in charge of the archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Society of the Friends of Music) and was Vienna's correspondent of the London music journal *The Musical Times*. His former student, pianist Arthur Schnabel, described him as "a great, a wonderful man", and someone who frequented most of the "Viennese families to whom good music, in their homes, was an inner necessity".³² Schnabel's description recalls the enduring role of *Hausmusik* in Viennese middle-class families, an activity with which Rebay also engaged throughout his life. Among Rebay's early works during his studies with Mandyczewski and von Wöss, two songs with piano accompaniment and three pieces for piano (two and four-hands) survive at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

²⁹ Maria Chervenlieva-Gelew, "Ferdinand Rebay", accessed 3 June 2016, <http://www.stift-heiligenkreuz-sammlungen.at/musikarchiv/ferdinand-rebay>.

³⁰ This school is known as one of the birthplaces of the Sezessionstil (Secession), having had among its students names like those of Vienna modernists Gustav Klimt, Oscar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele.

³¹ Universal Edition still carries some arrangements by von Wöss, as well as a few original pieces. Available at <http://www.universaledition.com/josef-venantius-von-woss-788/works>.

³² Arthur Schnabel, *My Life and Music* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1988), 15.

At 20 years old, already showing a strong inclination for vocal music, Rebay received a favourable review of his choral work *Hochsommernacht* in the conservative newspaper *Deutsches Volksblatt*. The reviewer ended his commentary predicting that “the young man reveals a great talent, which justifies the best hopes [for the future]”.³³ The work was also praised by the newspaper *Reichspost* and the magazine *Die Lyra*.³⁴ By this time, Rebay already had music published and advertised for sale, such as the choral work *Die Katze lässt das Mäusen nicht*, Op. 6 (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. Advertisement of Rebay’s choral work “Die Katze lässt das Mäusen nicht” (Source: *Die Lyra*, 15 October 1900, 1).

Beim 16. Gaufeste des Waldviertler Sängergaues am 8. September 1900
in Gross-Siegharts mit grossem Beifalle aufgeführt und stürmisch zur
Wiederholung verlangt:

„Die Katze lässt das Mäusen nicht.“
Gedicht von **H. Hoffmann**
für Männerchor componirt von
Ferdinand Rebay, 6. Werk.

Partitur K 1.20, jede Stimme K —.24.

Der Chor ist nicht schwierig, überaus melodiös, und der hübsche, muntere Text sichert demselben überall einen durchschlagenden Erfolg.

Früher erschienene Männerchöre von demselben Componisten:

4. Werk.	Heidenröslein (G. Legerlotz)	Part. St. K 2.64
5. „	's Zeiserl (Hans Fraungruber)	„ „ „ 2.40
7. „	Was ist des Deutschen höchster Schatz?	„ „ „ 1.80
8. „	Weihnacht im Walde (Fr. Schanz)	„ „ „ 2.16

(mit Soloquartett).

Letzterer Chor eignet sich ganz besonders zu **Weihnachtsfeiern**.
Vorstehende, wie alle Arten **Chorwerke** für **Männer-, Frauen- und gemischte Stimmen** sind auch zur **Ansicht und Auswahl** unter billigster **Berechnung** zu beziehen vom

Wiener Musik-Verlagshaus vorm. F. Rörich
I., Johannesgasse 17. — I., Kohlmarkt 11.

³³ “Der junge Mann verrät ein hervorragendes Talent, welches zu den schönsten Hoffnungen berechtigt”. n.a., “Gründungsliedertafel des Schubertbundes”, *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 10 November 1900, 9.

³⁴ “Theater, Kunst und Musik”, *Reichspost*, 10 November 1900, 10; “Wiener Vereins-Chronik”, *Die Lyra*, 15 November 1900, 9.

The description suggests that the work would have an appeal to amateur male choirs, like the one his father sang in: “The chorus is not difficult, extremely melodious, and the pretty, lively text guarantees a resounding success everywhere”.



In 1901, Rebay entered the Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Conservatory of the Society for the Friends of Music). The Conservatory was a private musical institution founded in 1817, which by 1890 counted almost 1,000 students.³⁵ There, Rebay studied music theory with Robert Fuchs (1847-1927) and piano with Josef Hofmann (1865-1927).³⁶ Fuchs taught at the Conservatory from 1875 to 1911 and also counted among his students Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, Jean Sibelius, Alexander von Zemlinsky, Franz Schmidt, Franz Schreker and Erich Korngold. Brahms was a personal friend of his and is reported to have endorsed his compositions.³⁷ As a teacher, Fuchs was concerned with the study of musical form and learning from the great masters of the past. According to Pascall, his compositional technique was “always immaculate and showed his formal and contrapuntal skill, particularly in his balanced, polished sonata-form movements and his fugues”.³⁸

Rebay composed in a variety of genres during his Conservatory years, in contrast to his previous mostly vocal output. This was likely encouraged by Fuchs and led Rebay to write his first works in large-scale structure. The autographs of his String Quartet in F from 1902 and the Symphony in B minor from 1904 are today held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. The Piano Sonata in D minor (1901), the Piano Sonata in A minor (1902), the Serenade for Woodwinds, Brass and Strings (1904) and a few vocal works which are today kept at the Stift Heiligenkreuz are from the same period.³⁹ Other student works may exist, but

³⁵ Lynne Heller, “Die Geschichte der mdw”, accessed 14 December 2018, <http://www.mdw.ac.at/405>.

³⁶ Not to be confused with the famous homonym, Polish pianist Josef Casimir Hofmann (1876-1957).

³⁷ Robert Pascall, “Fuchs, Robert”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed April 28, 2016, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10342>.

³⁸ “Robert Fuchs, 1847-1927”, *The Musical Times* 118, no. 1608 (1977): 115.

³⁹ The two piano sonatas were transcribed for guitar by Rebay in the 1940s: the Piano Sonata in D minor became the *Sonate in einem Satz* for Guitar, and the Piano Sonata in A

since not all of his scores from this period are dated, such survey would demand a level of investigation which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In 1903, Mandyczewski wrote an article for *The Musical Times*, describing the Conservatory's end-of-year concerts and praising three composers whose works had been performed: Richard Stöhr, Petar Stojanović and Rebay. The work titles are not mentioned, but Rebay's is described as "a refined chorus for female voices and orchestra".⁴⁰ The following year, he received a state award from the Ministry of Education, aimed at composition students of Austrian music conservatories. Rebay was awarded the first prize for his piece *Serenade for Orchestra* (possibly the same one mentioned earlier), followed by Stojanović from Budapest (*Violin Concerto*) and August Brunetti-Pisano from Salzburg (*Italienische Symphonie*).⁴¹

Rebay graduated with honours in July 1904. An article from the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* described the graduating ceremony at the Musikverein and mentioned him among the seven students who received the medal from the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, as well as a Brahms-Prize of 200 crowns.⁴² The article also praised Rebay's *Erlkönig*, an overture for orchestra which was performed in the ceremony's concert. According to Gaitzsch, this piece was judged by Fuchs as the highest-quality final work in his 29 years of teaching experience.⁴³

From then on Rebay embarked on a professional career, strongly geared towards choral conducting and vocal composition. Considering his family background, this seemed like a natural path, and he had the support of longstanding acquaintances, such as Kirchl.

minor, the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars. I will return to the latter in Chapter 6, while proposing an adaptation of the piece for modern instruments.

⁴⁰ Eusebius Mandyczewski, "Two Music-Schools", *The Musical Times* 44, no. 726 (1903): 538.

⁴¹ n.a., "Ein Staatspreis", *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 9 June 1904, 8.

⁴² "Schlußfeier im Konservatorium", *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 8 July 1904, 10.

⁴³ Gaitzsch, "Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?", 13. Gaitzsch's claim is unreferenced, however. The only version of the piece available today is an arrangement for piano made by the composer himself, held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

2.3.2 THE EARLY PROFESSIONAL YEARS (1904-1920)

Supported by the same middle-class ideals discussed in Chapter 1 in relation to the guitar clubs, amateur choral societies had been popular in German-speaking territories since the nineteenth century. Vienna had many of them, and choirmaster positions were naturally in demand. Rebay gained his first professional post just a few months after graduating, as the choirmaster of the Wiener Männerchor. This was advertised in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, where he is referred to as Ferdinand Rebay junior, obviously to distinguish him from his father, himself a member of the choir and its board.⁴⁴ By 1906, most references to the Wiener Männerchor list Erich Hiller as choirmaster, which suggests that Rebay did not keep the post for a long time. However, reports from 1905 onwards refer to Rebay as the conductor of the Wiener Chorverein (Vienna Choral Association), with which he became involved until the end of the following decade.

The Wiener Chorverein, one of the largest singing societies of Vienna at the time, appeared frequently at the Gumpendorfer evangelischen Kirche (Evangelical Church in Gumpendorf), where it had its headquarters. The choir's repertoire consisted mostly of sacred music and often included works by Rebay, some of which had been published by Hug & Co. from Zurich and Daniel Rahter from Leipzig.⁴⁵ A look at his works from this period reveals that he also composed *volkstümlich* choral pieces, which were published by the Viennese companies Bosworth & Co. and Robitschek.⁴⁶

In 1907, Rebay married his first wife, Michaela Josefa Waldmann (1880-1963), with whom he had a son, Alfred, in 1908.⁴⁷ By then, he had already gained a measure of local and regional success as a vocal composer. The *Prager Tagblatt* of 10 March 1908 announced a concert of the Deutscher Volksgesangverein at the Rudolfinum in Prague, where he had a new piece premiered (*Totentanz*, for Male Choir and Orchestra) and was referred to as a "young

⁴⁴ n.a., "Theater, Kunst und Literatur", *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 2 October 1904, 10.

⁴⁵ Pazdírek, "Rebay, Ferdinand", 73.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ According to Peter Rebay's family tree, Ferdinand Rebay had three children with Michaela: Alfred, Gertrud and Adelheid. Rebay, e-mail message to the author, 25 February 2016.

award-winning composer from Vienna”.⁴⁸ Later that year, Rebay’s music was enthusiastically reviewed by the *Linzer Tages-Post*, who called him a “young promising talent” and dedicated a full paragraph to describing his works.⁴⁹ And in December 1908, Rebay received one of the most convincing reviews to date in his hometown, on the occasion of the premiere of his Christmas oratorio *Jesu Geburt*, for Soloist, Choir and Orchestra. The performance happened at the Gumpendorfer Kirche, with the participation of the Wiener Chorverein, the church’s children choir and musicians of the Wiener Philharmoniker. The magazine *Die Lyra* wrote a detailed account of the music and the performance, praising Rebay’s orchestral writing technique and the descriptive power of his music.⁵⁰ A survey of newspaper reports from the early 1910s reveals that Rebay kept a busy career, not only conducting but also composing. His choral and vocal music was reportedly performed in Vienna and in main cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire such as Linz, Graz, Salzburg and Maribor.

Rebay senior died aged 62 in March 1914, a little before the outbreak of WW1. Later that year, Rebay’s name started to appear regularly in Schubertbund programmes as a composer, piano accompanist and guest conductor. The Schubertbund was a traditional Viennese male choir, founded in 1863 by Franz Mair and still active today. The circumstances of Rebay’s association with it involve his longstanding acquaintance, Adolf Kirchl. The latter had led the choir since 1891 and was forced to resign in 1916 for health reasons, to which followed Rebay’s election by the board.⁵¹ Figure 2.3 shows a poster of a 1916 concert of the Wiener Männergesang-Verein, the Schubertbund and the Gesangverein österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter (Choral Association of the Railway Employees), in which Rebay is already listed as the Schubertbund’s choirmaster. The poster announced that the proceeds would go to the German Red Cross, which is justified by the ongoing war.

⁴⁸ “... eines jungen preisgekrönten Wiener Komponisten”. n.a., “Konzert des Deutschen Volksgesangverein in Rudolfinum”, *Prager Tagblatt*, 10 March 1908, 10.

⁴⁹ “... ein junges vielversprechendes Talent”. “Frühjahrs - Liedertafel des Gesangvereins ‚Sängerbund’”, *Linzer Volksblatt*, 20 May 1908, 4.

⁵⁰ “Wiener Chorverein”, *Die Lyra*, 15 January 1909, 8.

⁵¹ “Jahresversammlung des ‚Schubertbund’”, *Neue Freie Presse*, 8 October 1916, 17. According to the announcement in the *Neue Freie Presse*, this happened because Kirchl’s immediate substitute, Hermann Zechner, was absent on military service since the beginning of the war.

Figure 2.3. Poster of a 1916 concert in homage to Kaiser Wilhelm II, with the participation of the Schubertbund under Rebay's direction (Source: Wienbibliothek im Rathaus).



A typical programme of the Schubertbund would include—besides choral works by Schubert—mostly music by Austrian or German composers. It would often feature soloists and have accompaniments played by piano (Rebay would naturally take up this role), organ, instrumental ensembles and orchestra. The choir appeared frequently at both the Musikverein and the Konzerthaus and often performed in support of the fighting troops. These special programmes would typically include many patriotic lieder, some of which of

Rebay's own authorship. Rebay kept his post until 1920, when he was succeeded by Hermann von Schmeidel (1920 to 1921) and subsequently Anton Webern (1921 to 1922).

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The Konzerthaus archive shows a steady recurrence of vocal music by Rebay in the late 1910s. Many of them refer to choral works, but not exclusively. In fact, during Rebay's lifetime no less than 87 of his lieder were presented in that venue, involving at least 23 different singers and 12 pianists, which attest to his local popularity as a lieder composer. Among the many singers who performed his works, the most recurrent name is that of Sophie Capek (Sophie Capek-Angermeyer, the wife of politician Karl Angermeyer), with whom Rebay also appeared as a piano accompanist, performing music by Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, Wolf, Strauss, Reger and others. However, the most famous singer associated with Rebay was Hans Duhan (1890-1971), a well-known Austrian baritone who was a member of the Wiener Staatsoper and a lieder specialist, being the first to make complete recordings of both Schubert cycles *Winterreise* and *Die schöne Müllerin*.⁵²

On four occasions, the Konzerthaus presented full programmes of Rebay's lieder. One of these, dated 11 November 1917, was in celebration of Hermann Löns (1866-1914), a German poet dead in WW1. It featured the Wiener Chorverein led by Rebay, soprano Sophie Capek and bass Gustav Fukar. Löns had been a nature writer and was a favourite among the German youth movements. He would later be extolled by the Nazis as a nationalist hero, which would explain his decline in popularity after WW2.⁵³ Rebay's *Löns-Lieder* would become one of his most popular cycles and was repeatedly presented in Vienna. A review of the *Neue Freie Presse* praised Rebay's setting of the poetry, affirming that "In Ferdinand Rebay, Löns has encountered a like-minded musician".⁵⁴ One year later, the same newspaper reviewed a concert by soprano Hella Baum accompanied by Rebay himself, featuring some of the *Löns-Lieder*. The review referred to Rebay as "a sensitive, supportive and encouraging

⁵² John B. Steane, "Duhan, Hans", *Grove Music Online*, accessed 21 October 2016, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41564>.

⁵³ Brian Murdoch, "Heimatroman", in *Encyclopedia of German Literature*, ed. Matthias Konzett (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 427.

⁵⁴ "In Ferdinand Rebay hat Löns einen gleichgesinnten Musiker gefunden". Josef Reitler, "Löns-Feier", *Neue Freie Presse*, 20 November 1917, 23.

accompanist” and “in regard to composition, a musician of education and taste”.⁵⁵ The music based on the poetry of Löns was called “happily inspired” (*glücklich inspirierte*). The success of this song cycle can be measured by the fact that it was Rebay’s only original work published by Universal Edition.⁵⁶



Another side of Rebay’s career during his early professional years was that of an arranger, an activity he had exercised since his student days. Some of his arrangements were likely conceived for amateur and domestic use, bearing indications such as *leicht spielbar* (easily playable) or *bequemer Spielart* (comfortable-playing version), but others were more complex. Between 1900 and 1915, Breitkopf & Härtel and Schott published Rebay’s arrangements of works by Offenbach, Bizet, Sibelius and no less than nine operas by Wagner. Most of them are subtitled *Phantasie* (Fantasia) and the instrumentation alternates between piano, piano four-hands, and violin and piano. These were not arrangements of the full original works, but potpourris of favourite themes in the well-established nineteenth-century tradition. Rebay also prepared operatic reductions which were published by Schott, Doblinger and Universal Edition. Such arrangements were in demand—Webern and Schoenberg also made an income with this activity—and were often prepared by musicians other than the composers themselves.⁵⁷ Rebay’s reductions, some of which were republished and are still in use, include Schreker’s *Der ferne Klang* and Korngold’s *Der Ring des Polykrates*, *Violanta*, *Die tote Stadt*, *Das Wunder der Heliane* and *Die Kathrin*.

Apart from conducting, performing and composing, Rebay also worked as a music teacher. The Musiklehrinstitut (Institute for Music Teachers) Lutwak-Patonay often advertised in the Viennese newspapers, priding itself on the fact that the majority of its students

⁵⁵ “Herr Ferdinand Rebay, ihr sie feinfühlig stützender und fördernder Begleiter, zeigte sich auch in kompositorischer Hinsicht als Musiker von Bildung und Geschmack”. “Konzerte”, *Neue Freie Presse*, 28 January 1918, 3.

⁵⁶ Ferdinand Rebay, “Löns-Lieder für eine Singstimme und Klavier”, (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1918).

⁵⁷ Webern arranged several of Schoenberg’s vocal and orchestral works for piano, such as *Sechs Orchesterlieder*, Op. 8, *Fünf Orchesterstücke*, Op. 16 and orchestral interludes from *Gurre-Lieder*. Schoenberg’s arrangements include a version for piano four-hands of Rossini’s *Il barbiere di Siviglia*.

successfully passed the *Staatsprüfung*. Rebay was listed among the instructors, and was also responsible for the school's choir. In addition, a look at Rebay's correspondence with Heinrich Schenker (1868-1935) between 1904 and 1906 shows him writing on behalf of Universal Edition, which suggests that he may also have held an administrative role in that company.⁵⁸

Rebay's early professional years were busy and eclectic as a choirmaster, piano accompanist, composer, arranger and private teacher. The compositional focus on vocal music may be explained not only by his background but also the professional demands, offering him little chance to pursue other genres. Given this schedule, he might have welcomed the opportunity for a career change in 1920.

2.3.3 THE WIENER AKADEMIE TEACHING YEARS (1920-1938)

On 29 December 1921 the *Wiener Zeitung* (official newspaper for Austrian government announcements) reported the appointment of Ferdinand Rebay as *wirklichen Lehrer* (permanent teacher) at his former school, now renamed Staatsakademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst (State Academy for Music and Performing Arts).⁵⁹ There is some controversy about the year Rebay was effectively hired. Gaitzsch, Dobrauz, Hammerschmid and Müller von Asow mention 1920.⁶⁰ Yet, according to Boisvert, Rebay was hired in 1921, initially as a teacher of piano as a second instrument.⁶¹ The hiring process of teachers and professors at the time suggests that a permanent position followed a period of temporary status as *widerrufliche Lehrer* (revocable teacher).⁶² This was probably the case of Rebay, appointed temporarily in 1920 and gaining permanent status in 1921.

One wonders what led Rebay to switch from his successful choirmaster career to a teaching position at the Academy, and a look at the wider context might be enlightening. In

⁵⁸ Available at <http://www.schenkerdocumentsonline.org/profiles/correspondence/entity-006175.html>.

⁵⁹ n.a., "Beordnung des Bundesministers für Justiz", *Wiener Zeitung*, 29 December 1921, 13.

⁶⁰ Gaitzsch, "Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?", 13; Rebay, "Duo's für zwei Gitarren", 1, 4; Hammerschmid, "Ferdinand Rebay"; Müller von Asow, "Ferdinand Rebay", 538.

⁶¹ Boisvert, "Rediscovering Ferdinand Rebay. Part 1", 39.

⁶² n.a., "Bundeslehrer an den übrigen Unterrichtsanstalten, Allgemeinen Bestimmungen, § 59", *Bundesgesetzblatt*, 4 January 1921, 1290.

spite of Austria's post-WW1 financial hardship and major geopolitical changes, the Academy entered a new phase under the directorships of conductor Ferdinand Löwe (1865-1925) and subsequently the composer Joseph Marx.⁶³ It expanded its courses, especially in continuing and adult education, areas in which Rebay would excel as a teacher. It seemed therefore a good option to secure a tenured professorship, as opposed to the unstable choirmaster posts and freelance jobs of before. Furthermore, the permanent teaching position may have allowed Rebay a more flexible schedule, eventually enabling him to also compose outside of the choral and lieder spheres.

Prior to his professorship, Rebay most likely did not have intense contact with the guitar. His initial reaction to the instrument and its repertoire is reported in the 1926 article quoted in Chapter 1.⁶⁴ Most of the developments that will be described from now on were a direct result of his acquaintance with the Academy's guitar teacher, Jakob Ortner, and followed the implementation of the guitar programme in 1923.

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Around 1932, the Gitarristische Vereinigung Innsbruck (Innsbruck Guitar Association) held a composition competition for chamber music with guitar, to which Rebay applied with four pieces.⁶⁵ Among the documents included in the application there is a typewritten catalogue of his guitar compositions, which gives a summary of his output between 1924 and 1932.⁶⁶ Particularly revealing of his progressive attitude towards the instrument is the presence of nine sonatas or sonata-structured works within this period, five of them composed in 1925. The catalogue shows occasional handwritten time-lengths as well as symbols ("x", "xx" and "xxx") next to the pieces, probably referring to their level of difficulty.

⁶³ Heller, "Die Geschichte der mdw".

⁶⁴ See p. 15.

⁶⁵ n.a., "Preis ausschreiben", ca. 1932, Uncatalogued, Private Collection Stefan Hackl, Innsbruck. The pieces submitted by Rebay were *Variationen über ein eigenes Thema* for Flute, Clarinet and Guitar, *Variationen über das „Tiroler Schützenlied“* for Flute, Clarinet and Guitar, *Deutsche Volksliedersuite* for Flute, Viola and Guitar and *Variationen über das Lied „Mein schönes Innsbruck“* for Flute, Viola, Guitar and Voice. It is significant that there are no sonatas among them, possibly reflecting the amateur interests of the guitar clubs.

⁶⁶ Rebay, "Gitarrekompositionen von F. Rebay, chronologisch geordnet".

It is remarkable that only three months after composing his first guitar works Rebay wrote the four-movement Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, dated 11 February 1925. This is the earliest of the selected sonatas that will be dealt with in Part 2. Despite possessing more problematic passages than his later works, it already demonstrates a great knowledge of the guitar mechanics and makes outstanding use of the instrument's potential in a chamber music context. I consider it to be the first musically sound, characterful, concertante-style sonata for guitar and melodic instrument since Mauro Giuliani's Duo Concertant in E minor for Violin and Guitar, Op. 25, written more than a century before.

In his book of 1926, GV president Fritz Buek confirmed that the premiere of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar took place on 31 March 1925.⁶⁷ The performers were renowned oboist Alexander Wunderer (1877-1955) and Ortner's best student, Hans Schlagradl.⁶⁸ Buek described the recent developments in the classical guitar literature in an optimistic way, also mentioning the presence of the instrument in Mahler's Seventh Symphony, Pfitzner's opera *Die Rose vom Liebesgarten* and Schoenberg's Serenade, Op. 24. The premiere of Rebay's sonata was part of a *Gitarreabend* organized by Ortner at the Festsaal of the Haus der Industrie in Vienna. The *Reichspost* published an extended article about the concert, which is instructive for understanding the change in the mainstream perception of the guitar as a concert instrument.

In general, guitar-art or lute-art or *Zupfgeige* playing are considered entertainment in amateur circles ... it serves for entertainment and not for making a living ... it remains an art for dilettanti ... However, the concert showed that the art of the guitar and its self-supporting importance in the musical world have gone a long and successful way. This was demonstrated in the first four pieces of the programme: the guitar as an accompaniment instrument for the voice, but not only the way people are used to, with chords and transition phrases, but also in accomplished compositions; not only the easy, light and sentimental songs, but also challenging, "bigger" music ... It also proved itself capable in a self-supporting accompaniment, somehow like in a peculiar and completely effective piano, like in the premiere of a Sonata for oboe and guitar by Rebay.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Buek, *Die Gitarre und ihre Meister*, 145.

⁶⁸ Wunderer was one of the most influential Viennese musicians of his time. Besides holding a first oboe position at the Wiener Philharmoniker, he taught at the Wiener Akademie and had Herbert von Karajan among his conducting students.

⁶⁹ "Gitarrekunst oder Lautenkunst oder Zupfgeigenspiel hält man im allgemeinen für eine Musikunterhaltung in Liebhaberkreisen ... es dient zur Unterhaltung und nicht zum

This review can be seen as a synthesis of what has been discussed in Chapter 1, from the association of the guitar to amateur playing and its traditional use in *Volkslieder* accompaniment to the shift in paradigms made possible by the instrument's entrance in the Wiener Akademie and reflected in Rebay's sophisticated compositions.

The premiere of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar marked the beginning of a long-standing collaboration between the composer and some of the finest Viennese guitarists of his time. Table 2.1 shows a survey of Rebay's guitar music performances between 1925 and 1955, gathered through concert programmes, newspaper and magazine reviews, and advertisements.

Table 2.1. Survey of Rebay's guitar music performances between 1925 and 1955.

Work	Main guitarist	Collaborators	Premiere	Year	Venue
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	Hans Schlagradl	Alexander Wunderer (oboe)	Y	1925	Haus der Industrie
<i>Spanische Serenade</i> for Tenor, Men's Choir and Guitar	unknown	Wiener Männergesangverein, Karl Luze	Y	1926	Musikverein
<i>Hirtenlied aus Hallingtal</i> for Two Female Voices, Men's Choir, Two Oboes, Horn and Guitar	unknown	Wiener Männergesangverein, Karl Luze	Y	1926	Musikverein
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Alexander Wunderer (oboe)	-	1930	unknown
Trio in D for Flute, Bassoon and Guitar	Class of Ortner	unknown	-	1931	unknown
Suite in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar	Alfred Rondorf	Leopold Wlach (clarinet)	-	1931	Radio Wien
<i>Kleine moderne Tanzsuite</i> for Violin, Viola and Guitar	Otto Schindler	Karl Maria Titze (violin), Leopold Bracharz (viola)	-	1932	Radio Wien
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	Alfred Rondorf	Hans Kamesch (oboe)	-	1932	Radio Wien
<i>Drei kleine Stücke</i> for Flute and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute)	Y	1933	Konzerthaus
Quartet in G minor for Four Guitars	Gerta Hammerschmid	Otto Schindler, Hans Schlagradl (guitars), August Stelzer (quintbass guitar)	Y	1933	Konzerthaus

Unterhalt ... es ist ihr Dilettantenkunst geblieben ... Der Abend aber zeigte, daß die Gitarrenkunst um selbständige Geltung im Musikbereich sich müht und schon weite und erfolgreiche Wege gegangen ist. In den ersten vier Programmpunkten wurde etwa dargetan: die Gitarre ist Begleitinstrument für Gesang, aber nicht nur, wie man's gewöhnlich erlebt, mit Akkorden und Überleitungen, sondern auch in durchgeführter Komposition, nicht nur zu einfachen, luftigen und rührseligen Liedern, sondern auch zu schwerer, „großer“ Musik ... Auch als selbständige Begleitung, etwa als eigenartiger und vollgültiger Klavierersatz eignet sie sich, wie dies in der Uraufführung einer Sonate für Oboe und Gitarre von Rebay erprobt wurde". N., "Gitarristischer Abend", *Reichspost*, 3 April 1925, 10.

<i>Weihnachtslieder</i> , for Choir and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Hofmusikkapelle, Ferdinand Großmann	-	1934	Radio Wien
<i>Variationen in Form einer Suite über das Andreas Hofer-Lied</i> for Violin, Viola, Cello and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Erich Graf (violin), Ernst Kriß (viola), Walter Kurz (cello)	Y	1935	Radio Wien
<i>Hirtenlied aus Hallingtal</i> for Two Female Voices, Men's Choir, Two Oboes, Horn and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Hofmusikkapelle, Ferdinand Großmann	-	1936	Radio Wien
<i>Alte und Alpenländische Weihnachtslieder</i> for Choir, Woodwinds and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Hofmusikkapelle, Ferdinand Großmann	-	1937	Radio Wien
<i>Praeludium</i> (Bach) in E for Viola d'Amore and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (violin)	-	1938	Radio Wien
<i>Lyrische Suite</i> for Violin, Viola and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (violin), Alfons Grünberg (viola)	-	1938	Radio Wien
Sonata in C for Guitar and Piano	Luise Walker	Ferdinand Rebay (piano)	Y	1942	Musikverein
Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Willi Krause (clarinet)	-	1942	unknown
Lieder with guitar accompaniment	Gerta Hammerschmid	Hans Duhan (voice)	-	1942	Haus der Industrie
Sonata for Flute and Guitar ⁷⁰	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute)	-	1943	unknown
Trio for Flute, Clarinet and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute), Willi Krause (clarinet)	-	1943	unknown
<i>Variationen über Franz Schubert's „Des Baches Wiegenlied“</i> for Viola d'Amore and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (viola d'amore)	Y	1943	unknown
<i>Lyrische Suite</i> , for Viola d'Amore and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (viola d'amore)	-	1943	unknown
<i>Variationen über Mandyczewskis „Weihnachtswiegenlied“</i>	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (viola d'amore), Josef Niedermayr (flute), Ferdinand Rebay (piano)	Y	1943	unknown
Sonata in E minor for Violin and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (violin)	-	1943	unknown
Sonata in E minor for Violin and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (violin)	-	1943	Musikverein
Solo Sonata ⁷¹	Luise Walker	-	Y	1943	unknown
Solo Sonata in E	Gerta Hammerschmid	-	Y	1943	Musikverein
Grand Duo in Am for Guitar and Piano	Gerta Hammerschmid	Ferdinand Rebay (piano)	-	1943	Musikverein
Sonata in E minor for Violin and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (violin)	-	1944	Musikverein

⁷⁰ Unidentified, probably the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar.

⁷¹ Unidentified, probably either the *Sonata in einem Satz* or the Sonata in D minor.

Bolero, for Violin and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Max Weißgärber (violin)	Y	1944	Musikverein
Quartet in A minor for Flute, Guitar, Viola and Cello	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute), Erich Weiss (viola), Beatrice Reichert (cello)	Y	1946	Musikverein
Trio for Violin, Viola and Guitar (Terz Guitar)	Carl Dobrauz	Edith Steinbauer (violin), Herta Schachermeier (viola)	Y	1948	Musikverein
<i>Suite über altfranzösische Volkslieder</i> for Terz Guitar and Two Guitars	Gerta Hammerschmid	Otto Schindler, Richard Devath (guitars)	Y	1948	Musikverein
<i>Spanische Serenade</i> for Flute and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr	Y	1948	Musikverein
<i>Suite über altfranzösische Volkslieder</i> for Terz Guitar and Two Guitars	Gerta Hammerschmid	Otto Schindler, Richard Devath (guitars)	-	1949	Radio Wien
Sarabande in D for Guitar Duo	Luise Walker	Carl Dobrauz (guitar)	-	1949	Walker's house
Serenade for Quart Guitar and Guitar	Luise Walker	Carl Dobrauz (guitar)	Y	1949	Walker's house
<i>Variationen über ein altes Volkslied</i> for Violin and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Hilda Preißler (violin)	-	1949	Dominikaner Kirche
<i>Variationen über „Maria durch ein“</i> for Violin and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Hilda Preißler (violin)	-	1949	Dominikaner Kirche
<i>Lied ohne Worte</i> for Violin and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Hilda Preißler (violin)	-	1949	Dominikaner Kirche
Trio for Flute, Bassoon and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute), Karl Öhlberger (bassoon)	-	1950	Radio Wien
<i>Lustigen Variationen über das alte Volkslied „Die Pinzgauer wollten wallfahren geh’n“</i> for Flute, Guitar and Double Bass	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute), Johann Krump (double bass)	-	1950	Radio Wien
Quintet in D for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet and Two Guitars	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute), Hans Hanak (oboe), Willi Krause (clarinet), Franz Lemp (guitar)	Y	1951	Hammerschmid's house
Trio for Flute, Bassoon and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute), Karl Öhlberger (bassoon)	-	1951	Hammerschmid's house
<i>Lustigen Variationen über das alte Volkslied „Die Pinzgauer wollten wallfahren geh’n“</i> for Flute, Guitar and Double Bass	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute), Johann Krump (double bass)	-	1951	Hammerschmid's house
<i>Variationen über eine Sarabande von Johann Sebastian Bach</i>	Gerta Hammerschmid	Gunhild Frederiksen (harpsichord)	-	1954	Musikverein
<i>Variationen über ein Thema von Mozart</i> for Flute and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute)	Y	1954	Musikverein
Lieder with guitar accompaniment	Gerta Hammerschmid	Hans Rom (baritone)	-	1954	Musikverein

Grand Duo for Guitar and Piano	Gerta Hammerschmid	Gunhild Frederiksen (harpsichord)	-	1954	Musikverein
Serenade in A for Guitar and Piano	Gerta Hammerschmid	Gunhild Frederiksen (harpsichord)	Y	1954	Musikverein
<i>Spanische Serenade</i> for Flute and Guitar	Gerta Hammerschmid	Josef Niedermayr (flute)	-	1955	Musikverein

This survey should by no means be taken as a complete record, but gives an idea of how much Rebay's guitar music was publicly performed during his lifetime, as well as the main performance venues and collaborators. Recurrent names such as the ones of flautist Josef Niedermayr (1900-1962), violinist Max Weißgärber (1884-1951), clarinetist Leopold Wlach (1902-1956) or oboists Alexander Wunderer and Hans Hadamowsky (1906-1996), all principals at main Viennese orchestras, suggest that Rebay and his guitarists had access to some of the finest players available. This is remarkable, considering the marginal position that the guitar occupies today in conservatoire environments and mainstream concert life.

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Rebay's aforementioned Innsbruck catalogue reveals a surge of guitar music in 1925 followed by a decline in the following years, rising again in the 1930s. This might have reflected the initial enthusiasm of Ortner and his students towards his music, followed by the emergence of Hammerschmid as his main performer. Early in 1926, the *Reichspost* reviewed the premiere of a choral work by Rebay which included the guitar as an accompaniment instrument: *Spanische Serenade* for Tenor Solo, Men's Choir and Guitar, based on poetry by Spanish poet Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. The reviewer called Rebay's piece an "attractive and effective work of refined tone quality".⁷² It happened in collaboration with his former Wiener Männerchor, and although the guitarist is not named, it is mentioned that he or she was part of Ortner's class. The *Spanische Serenade* is cited by Josef Zuth in his book of 1926, along with another choral work (in this case an arrangement of a Norwegian folk-song) composed in the same year and premiered in the same concert: *Hirtenlied aus Hallingtal* for Two Female Voices, Mixed Choir, Two Oboes, Horn and Guitar.⁷³ The references by Buek and Zuth still in 1926 suggest that Rebay's first incursions in guitar composition did not go unnoticed in the contemporary guitar circles, signalling an exciting future for the instrument.

⁷² "... ein reiz- und effektvolles Werk von raffinierter Klangfarbe". O.R., "Volkskonzert des Wiener Männergesangsvereins", *Reichspost*, 4 February 1926, 7.

⁷³ Zuth, *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre*, 228.

Advertisements and reviews in newspapers such as the *Wiener Zeitung*, *Reichspost*, *Neues Wiener Journal*, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and the *Radio Wien* magazine reveal that a number of guitarists were involved with Rebay during this initial period. Many of them came from Ortner's class, but not exclusively. One of these exceptions was Alfred Rondorf (1895-1972), a remnant of the nineteenth-century Viennese School who specialized in chamber music over his long career.⁷⁴ Documented performances of Rebay's music by Rondorf include a Suite in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar in 1931 with Wiener Philharmoniker clarinetist Leopold Wlach, for Radio Wien.⁷⁵ In 1932, he performed again for the radio, this time with his Gitarrekammermusikvereinigung (Guitar Chamber Music Association). The programme included Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, in partnership with oboist Hans Kamesch.⁷⁶

Rebay's Trio in D for Flute, Bassoon and Guitar was presented in 1931 at the Musikverein, in a concert featuring Ortner's students.⁷⁷ The names of the performers were rarely mentioned in reviews of student concerts, but the *Wiener Zeitung* gave a special credit to Karl Scheit (1909-1993), who would later become a celebrated professor at the Academy, together with Walker. It is not clear, however, if it was Scheit who played Rebay's piece, and I have not found any further association between the two of them.

One of the outstanding aspects of Viennese guitar activity in the second quarter of the twentieth century was the presence of fixed guitar chamber ensembles, such as the one led by Rondorf mentioned above. Among them, the Wiener-Kammermusiktrio, formed by Karl Marie Titze (violin), Leopold Bracharz (viola) and Otto Schindler (guitar), is reported to have performed Rebay's *Kleine modern Tanzsuite* in 1932 in Belgrad.⁷⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 1, the violin, viola and guitar trio had been a popular combination in the early-nineteenth

⁷⁴ Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich : von Abate Costa bis Zykan*, 177.

⁷⁵ n.a., "Gitarre-Musik", *Radio Wien*, 9 January 1931, 40. Neither the aforementioned guitar catalogues prepared by Rebay nor the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek or the Stift Heiligenkreuz list this work, which may be lost (or was misnamed by Rondorf).

⁷⁶ "Wiener Programm : Sonntag, 24. April", *Radio Wien*, 22 April 1932, 35.

⁷⁷ "Gitarreabend Ortner", *Wiener Zeitung*, 21 March 1931, 7; "Konzernnachrichten", *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 8 February 1931, 18.

⁷⁸ "Sendeprogramm des Auslandes", *Radio Wien*, 1 April 1932, 53. In spite of the advertisement, all catalogues and archives list this piece for viola and guitar duo, not trio.

century Vienna.⁷⁹ Another attempt to revive this ensemble was the Wiener-Gitarre-Streich-Trio (Wigis-Trio) formed by Willy Groß (violin), Richard Goldner (viola) and Carl Dobrauz (guitar). Rebay wrote four pieces for this instrumentation, which was also explored by other contemporary Viennese composers.

An interesting genre that started to appear within Rebay's guitar output in the 1930s is the arrangement for chamber ensemble with guitar, a rare genre in itself.⁸⁰ Among the music arranged by Rebay, one finds Schubert's ballet music from *Rosamunde* for Two Guitars, a selection from Reger's *Aus der Jugendzeit* for One, Two and Three Guitars, a Bach Prelude from the Well-Tempered Clavier for Violin (or Viola d'Amore) and Guitar, a Gavotte by Gluck and a Menuett from Mozart's *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* for String Quartet and Guitar, Debussy's Mazurka for Flute, Guitar, Piano and Double Bass, the Andante from Schubert's last Piano Sonata for Two Violins, Viola, Guitar and Quintbass Guitar, and two entire piano sonatas by Beethoven: Op. 90 for Guitar and Piano, and Op. 79 for Flute, Terz Guitar and Guitar. With a few exceptions, there is no record of these arrangements being publicly performed, suggesting that they were probably tailored for domestic gatherings which involved specific guest musicians. The choice of "favourite pieces" and unusual combination of instruments may support this idea.⁸¹ Furthermore, an analysis of the online catalogues of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the Stift Heiligenkreuz shows that parts were often prepared in addition to the scores of these arrangements. Some of them bear pencil marks, suggesting that they were fingered or indeed prepared for performance. I will return to the domestic context of Rebay's guitaristic output later in this chapter, when reporting some documented *Hausmusik* events of the following decade.

⁷⁹ See pp. 51-52.

⁸⁰ Arrangements for guitar chamber ensembles were fairly common in the first half of the nineteenth century (Giuliani, Matiegka, Carulli and others), declining after that period. Arrangements for solo guitar, however, became ever more popular since Tárrega, as examined in Chapter 1.

⁸¹ As pointed out by Hamilton and Loges, instrumental availability played a role in defining the practicalities of instrumentation within the *Hausmusik* tradition, along with the size and nature of the space and, obviously, the technical limitations of the participants. Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges, "Brahms in the Home : An introduction", in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall : Between Private and Public Performance*, ed. Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 12-13.

On 21 May 1935, an all-Rebay programme was presented in the radio as part of a series named “Kennst du die Heimat?” (Do you know the motherland?). On the occasion, *Radio Wien* magazine published a biographical article written by Kirchl, already quoted above. Kirchl summed up Rebay’s compositions thus far as “two operas, a symphony, a serenade for orchestra, an oratorio, a ballet, three piano sonatas, around 100 men’s, women’s and mixed choirs *a capella* or with instrumental accompaniment, around 400 songs with piano accompaniment and arrangements of modern operas (Korngold and others)”.⁸² Rebay’s guitar output was given credit separately: “The lovers of the guitar owe special thanks to the master, because of the gorgeous works he composed for the instrument: chamber music pieces, solo pieces, songs with guitar accompaniment, besides short studies”.⁸³

The radio programme featured the lieder-suite *Der liebe Augustin* with Hans Duhan and four lieder with Sophie Capek, both accompanied by Rebay. In between the vocal works, Hammerschmid partnered with Erich Graf (violin), Ernst Kriß (viola) and Walter Kurz (cello) for the premiere of *Variationen in Form einer Suite über das Andreas Hofer-Lied* for Violin, Viola, Cello and Guitar.⁸⁴ It is noteworthy that the repertoire was mostly lieder with piano accompaniment, despite Rebay having already composed almost one hundred pieces for guitar, many of them chamber music. By then, Rebay was still mainly regarded as a vocal composer and these lieder were possibly audience favourites. His guitar output, on the other hand, was directed at a specific audience centred around Ortner and his students, and that might explain why Kirchl—who had no particular involvement with the guitar—mentioned Rebay’s guitar music in passing.

⁸² “Er schrieb zwei Opern, eine Symphonie, eine Orchesterserenade, ein Oratorium, ein Ballett, drei Klaviersonaten, gegen 100 Männer-, Frauen- und Gemischte Chöre *a capella* und mit Instrumentalbegleitung, gegen 400 Lieder mit Klavierbegleitung, außerdem besorgte er Klavierauszüge von modernen Opern (Korngold und andere)”. Kirchl, “Ferdinand Rebay”, 4-5.

⁸³ “Besonderen Dank schulden dem Meister die Liebhaber der Gitarre, für welches Instrument er Herrliches schuf: Kammermusikwerke, Solostücke, Lieder mit Gitarrebegleitung, nebstbei auch kleinere Übungsstück”. Ibid.

⁸⁴ n.a., “Dienstag, 21. Mai”, *ibid.*, 17 May 1935, 20.

In the 1930s, the name of Hammerschmid started to appear recurrently in association with Rebay, and this might explain an increase in his guitar output from then on. Hammerschmid's significance as Rebay's champion and collaborator makes it necessary to take a digression, focusing on her career developments and how she made use of her uncle's music.

No audio recordings of Hammerschmid's playing exist and thus it is only possible to infer her playing skills based on indirect information from concert programmes, letters and reviews, as well as by analysing her fingerings of selected pieces by Rebay. It is also not possible to know to what extent the kinship with Rebay may have opened doors for her career, but it is certain that she made a bold start. On 20 March 1933, at 26 years old, Hammerschmid performed a concert titled "Neue Kammermusik mit Gitarre" (new chamber music with guitar) at the Konzerthaus. The programme included world premieres of music by Rebay, Karl Schöffmann (1866-1945) and Paul Pisk (1893-1990), as well as local premieres of works by Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) and Franz Salmhofer (1900-1975). She was joined by Josef Niedermayr (flute), Erich Graf (violin), Ernst Kriß (viola), Walter Kurz (cello), Otto Schindler and Hans Schlagradl (guitars), and August Stelzer (quintbass guitar). The pieces by Rebay were *Drei kleine Stücke* for Flute and Guitar and the Quartet in G minor for Four Guitars. I have not found reviews of this concert, but it clearly pointed to a new direction, particularly when compared to the typical guitar chamber music programmes investigated in Chapter 1, which mainly featured early-nineteenth century divertimento-like works.⁸⁵ Figure 2.4 shows a picture of Hammerschmid from July 1933, only a few months after this concert.

⁸⁵ The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek holds a letter from Hammerschmid to Korngold from 1931. In it, after praising Korngold's work, she asks him to compose a new chamber work to be premiered at the upcoming 1933 Konzerthaus concert. No guitar works by Korngold are known to exist, however. Gerta Hammerschmid, "Letter to Erich Korngold", 4 April 1931, Handwritten letter (German), Autogr. 936/49-1 HAN MAG, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Figure 2.4. Gerta Hammerschmid in 1933 (Source: Vahdah Olcott-Bickford Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Oviatt Library, California State University, Northridge).



In spite of this ambitious programme, Hammerschmid ended up having a much more modest career than her colleague Luise Walker. While she was recognized in Vienna as a fine guitarist and a chamber music enthusiast, most of her professional activities seem to have developed as a guitar teacher, having taught privately and in three Viennese institutions. Figure 2.5 shows a page of an Austro-German “who is who” section in a 1950 issue of the American magazine *The Guitar Review*. Hammerschmid is highlighted as a “Viennese professor”, orbiting around the dominating figure of Walker. The title could refer to the fact that in 1948 she became a teacher at the “Educational Institute of Vienna”, as reported in a letter of 1949.⁸⁶ It is significant that Scheit appears isolated on the bottom right, thus suggesting a polarization between the two main Viennese guitar figures of the time.

⁸⁶ “Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford”, 25 July 1949, Typewritten letter (English), GH.VOB.JUL.25.1949, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge. Hammerschmid is likely referring to the Pädagogischen Institut der Stadt Wien, a higher-education institution.

Figure 2.5. Page of a 1950 issue of *The Guitar Review* portraying Hammerschmid as a Viennese professor (Source: *Gitarre-Archiv Österreich*).



Hammerschmid's appearances often included playing the guitar part in orchestral and operatic contexts.⁸⁷ From her personal correspondence, it is known that on at least five occasions she took part in Verdi's *Falstaff* at the Salzburg Festival with the Wiener Philharmoniker under Toscanini (1935 to 1938) and von Karajan (1957).⁸⁸ She performed on a Spanish-model guitar made by Geneva-based maker Alfred Vidoudez (1879-1943), although

⁸⁷ Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich : von Abate Costa bis Zykan*, 183.

⁸⁸ Gerta Hammerschmid, "Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford", 10 July 1938, Typewritten letter (German), GH.VOB.JUL.10.1938, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge.

she also possessed two Viennese guitars by Hlawsa, whom she considered the best guitar maker in Austria.⁸⁹

American guitarist, pedagogue and founder of the American Guitar Society in 1923, Vahdah Olcott-Bickford (1885-1980), was keen on exchanging information and music with European guitarists. In her collection, available at the International Guitar Research Archives (IGRA) in Northridge, California, it is possible to find correspondence exchanged with many significant Austro-German guitarists and composers. Particularly important for this research is that the collection has eight letters written by Hammerschmid between 1933 and 1953, as well as a letter written by Olcott-Bickford to Hammerschmid that never reached its destination.⁹⁰

In 1933, Hammerschmid referred to a previous correspondence from Olcott-Bickford in which the latter had showed interest in the guitar music of Rebay.⁹¹ The letter is accompanied by a price-list and an offer to purchase copies. The list was updated in future correspondence, as more music became available for purchase, but stopped after WW2, due to reported difficulties in shipping goods internationally. The IGRA database reveals that Olcott-Bickford acquired some of Rebay's large-scale chamber music: the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, the Quartet in D minor for Violin, Viola, Cello and Guitar and the Septet in A minor for Woodwind Quintet and Two Guitars, as well as three short solo pieces and a lied with guitar accompaniment. However, it is not known whether these works were ever performed in the United States. I have acquired a photocopy of Olcott-Bickford's score of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar and noticed that it is totally free from fingerings and/or annotations; on the other hand, the attached oboe part was clearly copied in the U.S., thus indicating that she may have intended to perform the piece at some point. What is certain is that Olcott-Bickford did publish three solo pieces by Rebay in 1939, within a self-arranged

⁸⁹ Gerta Hammerschmid, "Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford", 25 July 1949, Typewritten letter (English), GH.VOB.JUL.25.1949, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge.

⁹⁰ A transcription of the correspondence between Hammerschmid and Olcott-Bickford can be found in Appendix 4. More letters were likely written, but may have been lost during transit.

⁹¹ Gerta Hammerschmid, "Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford", 24 July 1933, Handwritten letter (German), GH.VOB.JUL.24.1933, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge.

collection of short guitar pieces, and she was probably also responsible for publishing two short pieces by him in a 1952 issue of *The Guitar Review*.⁹²

The correspondence with Olcott-Bickford sheds some light on Hammerschmid's attitude towards her uncle's music. In the 1933 letter, Hammerschmid mentions that she reserved to herself the right to premiere Rebay's chamber music and regrets that the unperformed works were not yet available for purchase.⁹³ This apologetic explanation is repeated in other letters and could partially explain why Rebay's guitar music did not circulate more extensively. A typewritten document in English from 1954 gives further insight. In it, Hammerschmid wrote that,

It pleasures [*sic*] me very much that I was able to direct Rebay's interest towards the guitar ... I consider it my duty to make the availability of the musical heritage possible to the wide circle of guitarists. Because of my close cooperation with the composer, I consider myself qualified to make an authentic new edition (with annotations and fingerings) of this musical treasure.⁹⁴

It is revealing that she credited herself with having brought the guitar to Rebay's attention. As reported above, the person responsible for making Rebay's initial acquaintance with the guitar had been Ortner, her teacher at the Wiener Akademie. In addition, the document suggests an unspoken hierarchy for future publications, which apparently would only happen through her mediation. The fact is that, apart from a few miniature solo pieces and guitar duos, a "new edition" of Rebay's guitar music never appeared. If on the one hand Hammerschmid revealed herself very committed to spread the word about her uncle's music, she also seemed to carefully control access to it, which in the long run may have possibly caused more harm than benefit.

⁹² Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, "Album Originale for Guitar, Op. 133", (Hollywood: American Guitar Society, 1939). The pieces are "Dance Song", "Folk Song" and "Love Song", originally part of the *Drei kleine Vortrags-Stücke* (1925). *The Guitar Review* No. 13 (1952) published Rebay's *Kleine Studie* (basso ostinato) and *Liebeslied* (the same "Love Song" published by Olcott-Bickford), both fingered by Gerta Hammerschmid.

⁹³ "Die Uraufführung der Kammermusikwerke behalte ich mir nämlich vor und infolgedessen sind die Werke, die ich noch nicht aufgeführt habe einstweilen nicht erhältlich". Hammerschmid, "Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford", 24 July 1933.

⁹⁴ "Ferdinand Rebay", May 1954, Typewritten document, Uncatalogued, Music Archives of the Stift Heiligenkreuz, Vienna.

It is possible to speculate that Hammerschmid—likely with her uncle’s consent—had in mind that Rebay’s guitar music could serve as a stepping stone for her performance career. In fact, she was Rebay’s main dedicatee and the performer of most documented performances of his guitar music from 1935 onwards; other guitarists—with the notable exception of Walker—would only participate as collaborators. Moreover, since an early age she had the privilege of performing chamber music with Rebay’s older colleagues from the Academy, all well-established Viennese musicians. While having exclusive privileges to perform Rebay’s guitar music may have indeed opened a few doors to her on a regional level, her attitude may have prevented Rebay’s guitar music to circulate more widely and reach audiences outside of Vienna.

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While teaching at the Academy, Rebay also collaborated with colleagues other than Ortner. On 1 November 1926, Radio Wien broadcasted a chamber music programme that included Rebay’s Trio for Oboe, Horn and Piano (1925), alongside two other trios, by Brahms and Reinecke.⁹⁵ The performers were Alexander Wunderer (oboe), Karl Stiegler (horn) and Otto Schulhof (piano). The piece had already been performed earlier that year, on which occasion the *Reichspost* reviewer had not been left with a good impression, calling it “factitious, in spite of the brilliant rendering”.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, later that year Rebay himself performed this trio with Hans Wlach (oboe) and Gottfried von Freiberg (horn), and the same reviewer characterized it as endowed with “elegant verve and strong intention”.⁹⁷ The piece was reportedly performed again in 1930 by Wunderer, Stiegler and Rebay, and on at least one more occasion, during a concert held at the Wiener Akademie in celebration of Rebay’s 70th

⁹⁵ n.a., “Programm Radio-Wien”, *Radio Wien* 1 November 1926, 7.

⁹⁶ “Ferdinand Rebays Trio für Oboe, Horn und Klavier ist anempfunden, aber von brillanter Mache”. O.R., “Komponisten und ihren Interpreten”, *Reichspost*, 18 January 1926, 6.

⁹⁷ “Eleganter Schmiß und auch stark beabsichtigt Wirkung zeichnen das weniger originelle Trio für Oboe, Horn und Klavier von Ferd. Rebay aus”. “Chorkonzerte”, *Reichspost*, 20 July 1926, 8.

birthday.⁹⁸ This was one of the most performed of Rebay's non-guitar chamber pieces during his life, possibly aided by its relatively unusual instrumentation.⁹⁹

Rebay's vocal music, although not performed as much as during his choirmaster years, still retained a place in Viennese vocal concerts, especially those of Sophie Capek, Hans Duhan and choral societies such as the Wiener Chorverein and the Schubertbund. In addition, his choral and guitar music was performed by the Hofmusikkapelle and Hammerschmid on at least three occasions, in 1934, 1936 and 1937. In 1929, a new lieder-suite based on the famous Viennese tune, "Der liebe Augustin", did not receive a good review by the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, which described the music as "amusing, light Viennese music, whose musical value was far lower than the success it garnered with the audience".¹⁰⁰ The reviewer was composer and musicologist Paul Pisk, a former student of Schoenberg. In spite of the bitter comment about her uncle's music, Pisk would have a chamber work premiered by Hammerschmid in 1933, as reported above.

Rebay eventually extended his performance activities beyond accompaniment roles, such as in the chamber performances described above and also in occasional solo appearances. In 1928, the *Wiener Zeitung* published a review of a concert given by the Academy's piano teachers; among them, Rebay and Franz Schmidt. The review was polite and laudatory about the way the teachers kept up with the institution's tradition from which they themselves had emerged. However, the programme was criticized. The concert featured music by Bach, Mozart, Brahms, Schubert and Weber, and the only contemporary representatives were the "soon-to-become classical" Reger and Schmidt.¹⁰¹ The reviewer, Hans Ewald Heller, concluded that "When the teachers of our foremost school publicly expose themselves for criticism, they should provide no small evidence that they are not only up-to-

⁹⁸ "Chorkonzerte", *Reichspost*, 15 December 1930, 5; n.a., Unidentified newspaper clipping, Uncatalogued, Music Archives of the Stift Heiligenkreuz, Vienna.

⁹⁹ The Trio for Oboe, Horn and Piano has been published in 2001 by Hans Pizka, under catalogue number CK38.

¹⁰⁰ "... leichte wienerische Musik, deren Kunstwert weit geringer war als ihr Erfolg beim Publikum". Paul Pisk, "Kunst und Wissen", *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 15 January 1929, 8. This is the same piece that would be performed in Radio Wien's all-Rebay programme in 1935.

¹⁰¹ "... schon fast zum Klassiker gewordenen". Hans Ewald Heller, "Professorenkonzert", *Wiener Zeitung*, 17 June 1928, 6.

date in terms of technique and mechanism, but also able to assimilate the spirit of our times and creatively adjust to it”.¹⁰²

Within the Academy’s pedagogic activities, in 1928 Rebay was elected in charge of piano teaching in the *Musikpädagogischen Seminars* (Seminars on Music Pedagogy), a new four-semester programme offered to music teachers as continuing education.¹⁰³ Also in 1928, the *Wiener Zeitung* announced a series of lectures given by him at the Academy titled “Schubert and his Peculiarities in the Domain of Songs, Choral Works and Piano Music, with an Emphasis on the Four-Hand Works”.¹⁰⁴ Considering the experience he had accumulated as a choirmaster and accompanying singers, this must have been a subject he mastered to a considerable extent. A love for Schubert can also be sensed in his music, often stylistically reminiscent of that composer, an aspect acknowledged in some of the reviews illustrated in this chapter. Although this investigation only briefly approaches Rebay’s long pedagogic career, he reportedly taught various Viennese musicians. His name is often mentioned in the *Radio Wien* magazine musician’s profile section not only as a teacher of piano, but also of theory, counterpoint, composition and choral conducting.¹⁰⁵

In 1937, after 16 years teaching piano as a second instrument and directing the piano studies within the Seminars on Music Pedagogy, Rebay started to teach piano as a main instrument.¹⁰⁶ In 1938, the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* published a review of a concert of Rebay’s piano class in which his teaching was favourably described as “traditional”.¹⁰⁷ One of his

¹⁰² “... wenn sich die Lehrerschaft unserer ersten Schule schon der Öffentlichkeit und der Kritik ‚stellt‘, dann sollte sie doch noch den kleinen Beweis liefern, daß sie nicht nur technisch-mechanisch auf der Höhe der Zeit ist, sondern auch, daß sie den Geist unseres Zeitalters in sich aufgenommen hat und ihn mit schöpferisch nachzugestalten weiß”. Ibid.

¹⁰³ Heller, “Die Geschichte der mdw”; Rebay, “Duo’s für zwei Gitarren”, 1.

¹⁰⁴ “Schubert und seine Eigenart auf den Gebieten des Liedes, des Chors und der Klaviermusik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der vierhändigen Klavierliteratur”. n.a., “Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst”, *Wiener Zeitung*, 17 October 1928, 7.

¹⁰⁵ Rebay’s former students featured in the *Radio Wien* magazine include choirmaster Karl Friedrich Fischer, as well as composers Hans Frank and Maximilian Adamek. “Karl Friedrich Fischer - Dr. Paul Manelski”, *Radio Wien*, 17 July 1936; “Hans Frank - Walter Stiasny”, *Radio Wien*, 5 March 1937; “Maximilian Adamek - Leopold C. Welleba”, *Radio Wien*, 21 May 1937.

¹⁰⁶ Boisvert, “Rediscovering Ferdinand Rebay. Part 1”, 39.

¹⁰⁷ n.a., “Musikalischer Nachwuchs”, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 4 February 1938, 32.

former students, the pianist Erna Heiller (1922-2007) referred to him as a “surprisingly fantastic human being”, adding that because of his Jewish wife he had been dismissed during the Nazi occupation.¹⁰⁸ This hypothesis is summarily refuted by Rebay’s grandson, Peter Rebay.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, a series of unclear circumstances make it difficult to precisely describe Rebay’s fate at the Academy from that point onwards.

2.3.4 THE ANSCHLUSS AND RETIREMENT YEARS (1938-1953)

In March 1938 Austria was occupied by Germany and the consequences were deeply felt in the Viennese artistic and educational institutions. According to Heller, almost fifty percent of the Academy teachers were dismissed for racial, political or personal reasons, as the new interim director assumed the management.¹¹⁰ In his article, Gaitzsch affirms that Rebay lost his position after the occupation and was deprived of his pension.¹¹¹ His findings might have been supported by documents from the Orpheus Trust, an association that existed from 1996 to 2006 and investigated Austrian musical life during the Anschluss. The website of one of their projects, *Orpheus Klangwege*, still shows Rebay as one of the musicians who had their life endangered or jeopardized by the Nazi government.¹¹² On the other hand, a possible dismissal of Rebay is not mentioned in any of the post-WW2 sources analysed in this chapter.

According to Boisvert, who was able to check original documents from the Wiener Akademie, Rebay had divergent opinions towards the new director, which later even led to an interrogation by the police.¹¹³ In addition, Boisvert reports that during the whole of 1939 Rebay requested a series of sick leaves and, upon returning, he lost the position as teacher of piano as a main instrument gained two years earlier. However, Rebay continued to teach piano as a second instrument until 1944, when his health conditions deteriorated and he

¹⁰⁸ Sebastian M. Glück, “One Heart, One Soul : Anton and Erna Heiller”, *The American Organist* 38 (2004): 52. Heiller presumably talks of Rebay’s second wife, Maria Magdalena Wach (1893-1992), with whom he had been married since 1922.

¹⁰⁹ Peter Rebay, e-mail message to the author, 8 February 2016.

¹¹⁰ Heller, “Die Geschichte der mdw”.

¹¹¹ Gaitzsch, “Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?”, 13.

¹¹² Orpheus Trust, “Orpheus.Klangwege”, accessed 14 December 2018, <http://klangwege.orpheustrust.at>.

¹¹³ Boisvert, “Rediscovering Ferdinand Rebay. Part 1”, 39.

requested an extended leave. Thus, the reiterated narrative of his dismissal from the Academy is probably a misunderstanding.

In spite of the difficulties that the war and post-war years imposed, Rebay's music continued to be performed in Vienna. A search in the Konzerthaus database reveals that Rebay's lieder were sung by tenor Heinz Großmann in 1938 and soprano Paula von Hentke in 1943, and in that same year pianists Alfred Gronemann and the future director of the Academy, Hans Sittner, performed his *Historische Walzersuite* for Piano Four-Hands. It is also significant that in February 1943 Rebay accompanied Hans Duhan in a whole evening dedicated to his lieder at the Musikverein. In 1952, just one year before his death, his *Fantasie* for Harp and Horn was performed at the Konzerthaus by harpist Erna de Simond and horn player Ernst Mühlbacher.

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Rebay kept composing for guitar during the Anschluss and Hammerschmid seems to have been more active than ever in championing his music. Although the price-lists attached to the Hammerschmid/Olcott-Bickford correspondence only list works up to 1937, the online catalogues of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the Stift Heiligenkreuz reveal 64 guitar works written between 1938 and 1952. In spite of four solo sonatas, the major part of it comprises chamber music and includes five of the seven chamber sonatas which will be investigated in Part 2.

Throughout the 1940s, his music also appeared in Luise Walker's concert programmes. This is truly significant, considering her local and international fame as a soloist. Besides pursuing a career that included tours in Europe, United States, Russia and Japan, since 1940 she had been appointed professor at the Academy (now renamed Reichshochschule), substituting Ortner, who had been suspended based on allegations of disciplinary problems.¹¹⁴

Walker performed in the Musikverein in April 1942, and the programme included the premiere of Rebay's Sonata in C for Guitar and Piano in partnership with the composer.¹¹⁵ In

¹¹⁴ Libbert, *Die Wiener Gitarristik im 20. Jahrhundert - Erinnerungen an Robert Brojer und seine Zeit*, 108.

¹¹⁵ n.a., "Konzerte in Wien", *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 24 April 1942, 8.

addition to Rebay's piece, the programme included excerpts of Uhl's Sonata Classica (1937) and the premiere of the Sonata in E minor by Arthur Johannes Scholz (1883-1945), which she would later publish with Hladky.¹¹⁶ In March 1943, she shared a concert with Hans Duhan, who sang the *Löns-Lieder* accompanied by Rebay. Walker then played the premiere of a "very idiomatic and pretty-sounding sonata" by Rebay, as described by the *Wiener Tagblatt*.¹¹⁷ No information is given about which of the seven solo sonatas was performed. However, based on circumstances and dates of composition I suggest that it was either the *Sonate in einem Satz* (no date given) or the Sonata in D minor (1942). About Walker's playing, the reviewer mentioned that "One is always captured by the artistic and virtuoso effects that this plucked instrument is capable of in such hands".¹¹⁸

It is remarkable that, in spite of Hammerschmid's reported privileges, Rebay managed to have Walker premiering these two extended works. As in the case of composers championed by Segovia, Rebay's guitar music would have benefited immensely by having in Walker a frequent performer. Her interaction with Rebay was apparently restricted to a local level, however. She did not include any of Rebay's music in her recordings and, surprisingly, does not mention him in her 1989 autobiography.¹¹⁹

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Hammerschmid remained as Rebay's main guitarist, performing in a variety of chamber settings. It seems that, while the career of Walker was largely directed towards solo playing, Hammerschmid established herself in Vienna as a fine chamber musician. In May 1942, Rebay's music received a commendable review after her concert with baritone Hans Duhan at the Festsaal of the Haus der Industrie, in which they presented a selection of his lieder for voice and guitar. Although Rebay had already composed (or adapted) lieder with guitar accompaniment since 1924, this was the first review of such repertoire that I was able to find.

¹¹⁶ Arthur J. Scholz, "Sonate in e-Moll", (Vienna: Musikverlag V. Hladky, 1947).

¹¹⁷ "... Uraufführung einer sehr instrumentgerechten, hübsch klingender Sonate". n.a., "Konzerte in Wien", *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 1 March 1943, 2.

¹¹⁸ "Man ist immer wieder gefangen von den künstlerischen und virtuoson Effekten, deren das Zupfinstrument unter solchen Händen fähig ist". Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Walker, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre*.

Hans Duhan's concert at the Festsaal of the Haus der Industrie was dedicated to the melancholic, balladesque lieder creations of Ferdinand Rebay. In them, with the guitar accompaniment of Gerta Hammerschmid on texts by Goethe, Eichendorff, Storm, etc., Rebay demonstrates a rare aptitude for guitar writing, extracting from the instrument always new, melodious effects and beautiful, smooth chords. The masterful handling of the instrument by the experienced chamber musician, together with the flexible, endowed with the finest sentiments, voice of baritone Hans Duhan was marvellous ... Some of the songs were dedicated to the memory of poet Hermann Löns: with the composer's accompaniment on the piano, this cycle deserved strong applause for its melodious and Schubert-like straightforwardness of sentiments.¹²⁰

A month later, the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* again reviewed a concert by Hammerschmid, this time featuring mostly contemporary guitar chamber music. The review started by mentioning that "A guitar chamber music concert is rarely heard in a concert hall, and yet its appeal is so unique and subtle, that new composers are also attracted to it".¹²¹ Hammerschmid performed with the regular members of the Wiener Philharmoniker: Josef Niedermayr (flute), Willi Krause (clarinet), Max Weißgärber (violin), Alfons Grünberg (viola) and Walter Kurz (cello). The programme included music by Schubert, Uhl and Karl Pilß (1902-1979), as well as a sonata for clarinet and guitar by Rebay. This could only have been the Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar, since the Sonata in A minor would only be written in October 1942. The reviewer, composer Fritz Skorzeny, referred to Rebay's sonata as "attractive in all movements, providing the instruments a beautiful task, often with folk-simplicity".¹²²

¹²⁰ "Das Konzert Hans Duhans im Festsaal des Industriehauses stand im Zeichen der vorwiegend schwermütigen, balladesken Liedschöpfungen Ferdinand Rebays. In den von der Ortner-Schülerin Gerta Hammerschmid mit Gitarre begleiten Gesängen nach Texten von Goethe, Eichendorff, Storm, usw., erwies sich die seltene Eignung Rebays für die Gitarrekomposition mit der er dem Instrument immer wieder neue, klangvolle Effekte und schöne, weiche Akkorde zu entlocken versteht. Wundervoll war der Zusammenklang des meisterhaft gehandhabten Instruments der geübten Kammermusikerin mit dem anschiessamen, von edelstem Gefühl getragenen Bariton Duhans ... Ein Teil der Lieder ist dem Gedächtnis ihres Textdichters Hermann Löns gewidmet: vom Komponisten am Flügel begleitet, errang dieser Zyklus durch seine Melodik und Schubertsche Gefühlsunmittelbarkeit besonders starken Beifall". Rose Poor Lima, "Konzerte in Wien", *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 1 May 1942, 3.

¹²¹ "Selten trifft man Gitarre-Kammermusik im Konzertsaal an, und doch ist ihr Reiz so eigenartig und subtil, daß auch neue Tonsetzer von ihr wieder angezogen worden sind". Fritz Skorzeny, "Konzerte in Wien", *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 8 June 1942, 3.

¹²² "Die Sonate ... ist in allen Teilen ansprechend, oft von volkstümlicher Schlichtheit, stellt den Instrumenten hübsche Aufgaben". Ibid.

The review suggests that by 1942 the guitar was still seen as an unusual concert instrument by at least part of the Viennese mainstream, despite the local and international developments. Furthermore, it acknowledged Rebay's lighter, folk character, even in serious music such as his sonatas. If not derogatory, Skorzeny's words highlight characteristics of Rebay's music that might have not been fully appreciated by a segment of Viennese guitarists, which by the 1940s were already polarized between the virtuoso and more conservative Luise Walker and the forward-looking Karl Scheit, both teachers at the Wiener Akademie.

Early in 1943, Hammerschmid appeared in a concert with violinist Max Weißgärber, flautist Josef Niedermayr and Rebay himself on the piano. The programme included Rebay's *Lyrische Suite* for Viola d'Amore and Guitar, one of the flute and guitar sonatas, and the Grand Duo in A minor for Piano and Guitar.¹²³ At the end, all performers joined on stage to premiere Rebay's *Variationen über Mandyczewski's „Weihnachtswiegenlied“*. The concert was reviewed by Otto Repp from the *Völkischer Beobachter*, who suggestively nicknamed Rebay's music as the *“Kabinettstücke der Kammermusik und Hausmusik”*, meaning that these were finely-crafted, precious relics of the intimate chamber and domestic repertoire of the past.¹²⁴ However, coming from a Nazi-oriented newspaper during the Anschluss, it may also be seen as a praise to Rebay's anachronistic style, representing values that certainly did not challenge the political and cultural establishment.¹²⁵

In May 1943, Hammerschmid performed a concert of contemporary guitar chamber music, ten years after her first of this kind. The programme included Rebay's Trio in A for Flute, Clarinet and Guitar, alongside with music by Scholz, Pilß and Franz Hasenöhr (1885-1970).¹²⁶ The collaborators were Josef Niedermayr (flute), Dr Hans Hadamovsky (oboe) and Willi Krause (clarinet). Later that year, she shared the Musikverein stage with flutist Josef Niedermayr and Rebay on the piano, performing music by Weber, Rebay, Scholz and Ibert. Rebay's pieces were the Grand Duo in A minor for Guitar and Piano and the premiere of his solo Sonata in E. It is

¹²³ The flute sonata was possibly the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar, which had been composed in 1942 and dedicated to Niedermayr.

¹²⁴ Otto Repp, “Konzerte”, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 9 January 1943, 3.

¹²⁵ Although it is not my intention to establish political associations within this thesis, the *Völkischer Beobachter* was self-entitled the “fighting paper of the greater German National Socialist Movement” (*Kampfblatt der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung Großdeutschlands*).

¹²⁶ Roland Tenschert, “Konzerte in Wien”, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 31 May 1943, 2.

significant that he had two premieres of solo sonatas in 1943, first by Walker and then by Hammerschmid.

In March 1944, Hammerschmid partnered again with Weißgärber, now for a full violin and guitar programme at the Musikverein. It included music by Hasenöhr, Legnani, Rebay, Sarasate and Scholz.¹²⁷ Karl Daumer, from the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, referred to the “already-known Sonata in E minor” (suggesting that he had already heard it before), calling it “a valuable piece of the genre”.¹²⁸ The concert was also reviewed by Otto Repp, who highlighted Rebay, Scholz and Hasenöhr among the Viennese composers writing chamber music for guitar. He also wrote a valuable testimonial of Hammerschmid’s efforts towards expanding the chamber repertoire:

The subtle charm that the harpsichord exhibits as an accompanying- and chamber-music instrument, is surpassed (although not in volume) by the wealth of possibilities of the delicate guitar. Inspired by the serious, quality-driven pursuit of guitarist Gerta Hammerschmid, a number of Viennese composers have joined this enterprise with great success: in the first row, Ferdinand Rebay and Arthur Joh. Scholz and, more recently, Franz Hasenöhr.¹²⁹

It is worth mentioning that in 1949, Olcott-Bickford also praised Hammerschmid’s chamber music attitude and achievements in a letter addressed to the latter, which ended up not reaching its destination.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ n.a., “Konzerte und Vorträge”, *ibid.*, 11 March 1944, 6.

¹²⁸ “Ferdinand Rebay ... hat sich außer seiner bereits bekannten e-moll Sonate, einem wertvollen Stück der Gattung”. Karl Daumer, “Konzerte in Wien”, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 27 March 1944, 3.

¹²⁹ “Der feine Reiz, den das Cembalo als Begleitinstrument und als kammermusikalischer Gefährte entfaltet, wird zwar nicht im Reichtum der Möglichkeiten, wohl aber klanglich oft überboten durch die zarte Gitarre. Diese auch der modernen Kammermusik einzubauen, haben, angeregt von dem ernstesten, wertbewußten Streben der Gitarristin Gerta Hammerschmid, mehrere Wiener Komponisten mit schönem Erfolg unternommen: in erster Reihe Ferdinand Rebay, Arthur Joh. Scholz und neuerdings auch Franz Hasenöhr”. Otto Repp, “Konzerte”, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 25 March 1944, 4.

¹³⁰ Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, “Letter to Gerta Hammerschmid”, 1 December 1949, Typewritten letter (English), GH.VOB.DEC.01.1949, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge.

After WW2 ended in 1945, Rebay regained his previous teaching status at the Academy. However, he retired in 1946, after 25 years of professorship.¹³¹ Contrary to what was first reported by Gaitzsch and perpetuated in CD liner notes and concert programmes, he did not reach the end of his life “forgotten and indigent”.¹³² In fact, Peter Rebay affirms that “his pension allowed him to have a fairly good life”.¹³³ Obviously, this scenario has to be considered within the context of the uneasy post-war years, when Austria was jointly occupied by the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom and France, and like elsewhere its people faced material and financial difficulties.

Rebay’s retirement years were not musically idle. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek holds more than 50 works written between 1946 and 1953. Approximately half are for guitar, and the remaining include three masses and other sacred music, besides a few piano pieces.¹³⁴ Notwithstanding the fact that at present ANNO only lists newspapers up to 1947, I was able to trace a few performances of Rebay’s guitar music in the late 1940s and early 1950s.¹³⁵ In 1950, the journal *Die Volksmusik* published a review of two recent events involving Hammerschmid and the music of Rebay. The first one was a lecture by Julius Hofbauer at the Theresien-Saal (Mödling) on the theme “Serious and Merry in the Lives of Austrian Composers”.¹³⁶ Hammerschmid illustrated the lecture performing a few solo arrangements by Rebay of music by Haydn, Schubert, Johann and Josef Strauss, as well as an arrangement by Segovia of a Mozart Menuett. The same issue shows a review of a concert at the Dominikaner Kirche in which Hammerschmid partnered with violinist Hilda Preißler for two sets of variations by Rebay and a *Lied ohne Worte*. The reviewer praised the perfect

¹³¹ Boisvert, “Rediscovering Ferdinand Rebay. Part 1”, 39.

¹³² Gaitzsch, “Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?”, 13.

¹³³ Rebay, e-mail message to the author, 8 February 2016.

¹³⁴ Although this investigation focuses on his guitar music, Rebay never abandoned composing for other media. A thorough reappraisal of his non-guitar music has still not been conducted, in spite of Chervenlieva-Gelew’s efforts.

¹³⁵ Thanks to Stefan Hackl for providing access to these sources.

¹³⁶ “Ernstes und Heiteres aus dem Leben österreichischer Komponisten”. Elfriede Miggl, “Gitarremusik”, *Die Volksmusik* 1, no. 2 (1950): 8.

balance between the two instruments in Rebay's writing and described the sets of variations as "masterworks that associate highly artistic formal beauty with affectionate folksong character".¹³⁷

In June 1950, Radio Wien broadcasted a programme in celebration of Rebay's 70th birthday, featuring the Trio for Flute, Bassoon and Guitar and the recently-composed *Lustigen Variationen über das Volkslied „Die Pinzgauer wollten wallfahren geh'n"* for the unusual combination of flute, guitar and double bass.¹³⁸ Hammerschmid was assisted by Josef Niedermayr (flute) and his Wiener Philharmoniker colleagues Camillo Öhlberger (bassoon) and Johann Krump (double bass). I have not been able to confirm if this was all of the repertoire performed, but the guitar clearly played a significant role now, in contrast to the past all-Rebay radio programme from 1935 which highlighted his vocal music. In fact, by the end of his life Rebay seems to have been mostly remembered in Vienna as a guitar composer, in great part thanks to Hammerschmid's continuous efforts.



There is an apparent contradiction between Rebay's immense guitar output and the proportionally small number of public performances during his almost three decades of acquaintance with the instrument. It is debatable whether a composer would write so much music just for the sake of keeping it for posterity. After all, besides Hammerschmid and a few other guitarists, Rebay counted with some of the best players of top Viennese orchestras, many of them his colleagues at the Academy. A look at some of Rebay's music manuscripts may hint at a possible explanation.

Although I have not been able to check every score and part available at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the Stift Heiligenkreuz, it is possible to verify—even from the online catalogue descriptions—that a number of Rebay's manuscripts have the guitar part fingered and/or annotated. Since Rebay was not a guitarist himself, this can only mean that performers interacted with the music, likely aiming at performances. In Chapters 4 and 6, I will discuss the circumstances of fingerings and score annotations within Rebay's

¹³⁷ "Beide Variationen sind Meisterwerke und vereinigen hohe künstlerische Formenschönheit mit innigem volksliedhaftem Charakter". Ibid.

¹³⁸ n.a., "Interessantes aus dem österreichischen Radioprogramm", *Die Volksmusik* 7, no. 8 (1950): 26.

selected sonatas, many of which were publicly performed during Rebay's lifetime. However, it is likely that Rebay's music has also been performed in more intimate environments, not always traceable.

In his preface to Rebay's guitar duos, Dobrauz writes: "I am convinced that these little musical treasures will not only bring pleasure to the guitar community, but also a valuable contribution to the cultivation of the shared music making in the domestic circles".¹³⁹ Domestic music-making, or *Hausmusik*—a Viennese tradition since at least the Biedermeier period—was still strong by the mid-twentieth century. These middle-class gatherings were less-formal environments than the concert hall, appropriate for small and selected audiences. They required fewer expenses, logistic and publicity work, and could be organized by the performers or composers themselves in their own houses.

On 11 and 12 November 1949, Walker performed two *Hauskonzerte*, partnering with Dobrauz for the performance of Rebay's Sarabande in D and the premiere of his Serenade for Quart Guitar and Guitar (Figure 2.6). The rest of the programme is fairly conventional, although it includes a premiere of a guitar-duo work by Hasenöhr. As can be inferred from the programme footnotes, both of Rebay's pieces had been prepared for publication by Hladky, the second one in an adaptation for two regular guitars.¹⁴⁰ The Serenade was never published, however.

¹³⁹ Rebay, "Duo's für zwei Gitarren", 1, 5.

¹⁴⁰ There is no Sarabande in D by Rebay in Hladky's edition of Rebay's "Duo's für zwei Gitarren". However, Walker could be referring to the fourth study of Vol. 4 (a series of studies for guitar duo dedicated to her). The piece is titled "*Die Verzierungen, bei den Vorklassikern*" (The Ornaments, in the pre-Classical Music), is in D and bears the sarabande's triple metre, in the "old-style" often seen in other works by Rebay. Ferdinand Rebay, "Duo's für zwei Gitarren", ed. Carl Dobrauz, 4 vols., vol. 4 (Vienna: Musikverlag V. Hladky, 1958), 12-13.

Figure 2.6. Invitation and programme of Walker's *Hauskonzert* in 1949 (Source: *Gitarre-Archiv Österreich*).

E I N L A D U N G
zum
2. Hauskonzert
Luise Walker
(Gitarre)
in ihrem Heim Wien III. Ziehrerplatz 9/13a
Mitwirkend: **CARL DOBRAUZ** (Gitarre)

Die Veranstaltung findet Donnerstag den 10., bzw. Freitag den 11. und Samstag den 12. November 1949 um 8 Uhr abends statt.

Die Anmeldung für eines dieser Konzerte wird schriftlich mittels beiliegender Postkarte oder telefonisch unter U 1 0 - 4 - 6 1 von 7 bis 9 Uhr abends erbeten. Gitarre-Freunde Ihres Bekanntenkreises sind unter Angabe von Name und Adresse willkommen.

Regiebeitrag S 10.—

Straßenbahnlinien T, F oder J, bis Haltestelle „Rochuskirche“ (Landstr. Hauptstraße)

P R O G R A M M :

F. Rebay	Sarabande D-Dur *	
F. Hasenöhrle	Variationen über ein Thema von Ch. W. Gluck (Orpheus: „Reigen seliger Geister“)	} Für zwei Prim-Gitarren
	Uraufführung	
D. Scarlatti	Sonata a-moll	
F. Sor	3 kleine Tänze	
M. Castelnuovo-Tedesco	Vivo ed energico	
P A U S E		
F. Rebay	Serenade für Quart- und Prim Gitarre ** (Lyrisches Präludium — Variationen über ein Thema von R. Schumann — Scherzo — Rondo.)	} Uraufführung
R. Sainz de la Maza	Andaluza	
F. Tarrega	Sueno (Traum)	
J. Albeniz	Sevilla (aus der Suite Espagnola)	

* Aus „Duo für 2 Gitarren“
** In der Fassung für 2 Prim-Gitarren in Vorbereitung (Verlag V. Hladky)

In 1951, the journal *Die Volksmusik* published a review of a *Hauskonzert* given by Hammerschmid in honour to her uncle.¹⁴¹ It included the premiere of the Quintet in D for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet and Two Guitars, together with Josef Niedermayr (flute), Hans Hanak

¹⁴¹ Hilda Preißler, “Konzertberichte”, *Die Volksmusik* 3, no. 4 (1951): 13.

(oboe), Willi Krause (clarinet), and Franz Lemp (guitar).¹⁴² Other guitar pieces performed were Rebay's Trio for Flute, Bassoon and Guitar, two unidentified guitar solo miniatures and again the *Lustigen Variationen über das alte Volkslied „Die Pinzgauer wollten wallfahren geh'n"* for Flute, Guitar and Double Bass. Rebay, at the time 71 years old, then joined singer Josephine Fritsch for a set of lieder.

Viennese tradition, allied to the few documented performances of Rebay's guitar music in private environments and Rebay's own middle-class background, suggests that *Hausmusik* might have been a common social practice within his circle of acquaintances. It is therefore likely that his guitar music was played much more than the former survey indicates, although lack of documentation makes quantification impossible.

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As investigated earlier, Rebay's original choral works and operatic fantasies were published regularly in the early twentieth century. However, later publications were sparse, comprising mostly his piano reductions, besides a collaboration with Franz Haböck for the book *Die Gesangkunst der Kastraten* (The Art of the *Castrati*) in 1923 and a self-published Mass in Eb for Two Female Voices, Choir and Organ, in 1949.¹⁴³ By the end of the 1940s, however, Rebay saw the first Viennese publications of his guitar music by Hawlik, Hladky and Dörr (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Publications of Rebay's guitar music by Hawlik, Hladky and Dörr.

Title	Publisher	Editor	Year
<i>13 kleine leichte Stücke</i>	Musikverlag Hawlik	Gerta Hammerschmid	1947
<i>Duo's für zwei Gitarren</i> , Vol. 1	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Carl Dobrauz	1949
<i>Duo's für zwei Gitarren</i> , Vol. 2	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Carl Dobrauz	1949
<i>Duo's für zwei Gitarren</i> , Vol. 3	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Carl Dobrauz	1951
<i>Albumblatt: Kleiner Marsch</i>	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Gerta Hammerschmid	1954
<i>Wiegenlied: Melodie (Kleine Studie)</i>	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Gerta Hammerschmid	1954
<i>Volks- und Kinderlieder</i>	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Gerta Hammerschmid	1954
<i>Zwei Menuette</i>	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Gerta Hammerschmid	1954
<i>Leicht spielbare Kleinigkeiten</i>	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Gerta Hammerschmid	1954
<i>Altes russisches Lied: Volkslied</i>	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Boris Perott	1954
<i>Russischer Tanz</i>	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Gerta Hammerschmid	1955
<i>Tanzlied</i>	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Gerta Hammerschmid	1955
<i>Duo's für zwei Gitarren</i> , Vol. 4	Musikverlag V. Hladky	Carl Dobrauz	1958

¹⁴² Lemp is associated with the only guitar work by Austrian 12-tone composer, Josef Matthias Hauer (1883-1959), *Zwölftonspiel für Gitarre* (1947). Roger Gustafson, "Josef Matthias Hauer : A List of Works", *Tempo*, no. 161/162 (1987): 13-23.

¹⁴³ Franz Haböck and Ferdinand Rebay, *Die Gesangkunst der Kastraten* (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1923).

<i>Sechs leichte Variationen für drei Gitarren</i>	Musikverlag Dörr	Gerta Hammerschmid	1962
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Most of these publications are didactic miniatures and were edited by Dobrauz and Hammerschmid.¹⁴⁴ One wonders why Rebay's large-scale chamber or solo music was not published, since Dobrauz had also been responsible for publishing chamber music by Hasenöhrle and Uhl, and Scholz's Sonata in E minor was edited by Walker and also published by Hladky. In fact, a look at Dobrauz's estate at the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus reveals more manuscripts of Rebay's guitar music than the publications listed above, suggesting that a plan for more publications may have existed. Nevertheless, the next publications of Rebay's guitar music would only happen in the early 2000s.¹⁴⁵

The aforementioned polarization between Walker and Scheit may also shed some light on these circumstances. Walker represented a continuation of Ortner's tradition at the Academy, with a more conservative approach to repertoire, not dissimilar to Segovia's. Like Hammerschmid and Dobrauz, Walker published mainly with Hladky. She performed Rebay's guitar music a few times in the 1940s, and therefore it is safe to assume that both Rebay and Hammerschmid were closer to her circle. Scheit, on the other hand, had little in common with Walker, besides having also been a student of Ortner and teaching at the Academy. While he did not reach her performance brilliance, he excelled in promoting contemporary repertoire as the guitar editor for Universal Edition and Doblinger, both larger Viennese publishing companies with international distribution. A look at Scheit's editions reveals a preference for composers whose musical language was in accordance with their own times, such as Franz Burkhart (1902-1978), Johann Nepomuk David (1895-1977), Hans Erich Apostel (1901-1972) and Frank Martin (1890-1974). Rebay's anachronistic idiom apparently did not appeal to Scheit, even though they certainly knew each other since the latter's student times.¹⁴⁶ One

¹⁴⁴ The name of Boris Perott as the editor of Rebay's *Russischer Tanz* is puzzling. Perott was a London-based Russian medical doctor and guitar enthusiast, often remembered as Julian Bream's first guitar teacher. No further associations between him and Rebay were found, however.

¹⁴⁵ More on the modern editions of Ferdinand Rebay's guitar music will be discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁶ However, Scheit published Karl Pilß's Sonatina for Oboe and Guitar for Doblinger's *Gitarre-Kammermusik* series. Pilß's had been a former student of Rebay, and his late-Romantic idiom suggests that the distance between Scheit and Rebay may not have been merely stylistic.

may only wonder what could have happened if Rebay's guitar music had been published through Universal Edition or Doblinger, thus reaching an international audience.

As reported above, there were only a few documented occasions in which Rebay's guitar music was played outside of Austria, or even outside Vienna. The fact that most of it remained in manuscript certainly influenced this outcome, while his main champion, Hammerschmid, pursued mostly a local career as a teacher and chamber-music performer. This is a very different situation from composers whose works were commissioned, performed and published by Segovia, for example, which reached an international audience eager to follow the Spanish master's steps. In fact, the only documented attempts to make Rebay's guitar music circulate abroad were the correspondence between Hammerschmid and Olcott-Bickford. A letter from 1949 suggests that the latter would have liked to acquire much more music by Rebay, but in those post-WW2 years there were difficulties imposed by both the postal service and the exchange rates between the American Dollar and the Austrian Schilling.¹⁴⁷ Some of Hammerschmid's later letters (1950 and 1953) also suggest that correspondence might have been lost in transit and some of Rebay's music purchased by Olcott-Bickford ended up not reaching its destination. The fact that there are 22 manuscript copies of Rebay's guitar music in the Fritz Czernuschka Collection at Brno's Moravské zemské muzeum (including one solo sonata which only exists there) also raises a possibility that Rebay's works could have been performed in what is today the Czech Republic, but no further information is known at present. And it is noteworthy that Spanish guitarist, musicologist and leading twentieth-century guitar pedagogue, Emilio Pujol (1886-1980), mentioned Rebay's guitar duos published by Hladky as a suggestion for ensemble practice in his *Escuela razonada de la guitarra* (1954).¹⁴⁸ It is unlikely that Pujol was aware of the greater part of Rebay's guitar music, however.

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Ferdinand Rebay died on 6 November 1953 from prostate cancer.¹⁴⁹ In April 1954, Hammerschmid and pianist Gunhild Frederiksen were joined by baritone Hans Rom and

¹⁴⁷ Hammerschmid, "Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford", 25 July 1949.

¹⁴⁸ Emilio Pujol, *Escuela Razonada de la Guitarra*, 4 vols., vol. 3 (Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana, 1954), 107.

¹⁴⁹ Boisvert, "Rediscovering Ferdinand Rebay. Part 1", 38.

flautist Josef Niedermayr for an all-Rebay concert in his memory, held at the Musikverein (Figure 2.7).¹⁵⁰ Among the pieces performed there were two premieres, *Variationen über ein Thema von Mozart* for Flute and Guitar and *Serenade in A* for Guitar and Piano.

Figure 2.7. Poster of a 1954 concert at the Musikverein in memory of Ferdinand Rebay (Source: Wienbibliothek im Rathaus).



Rebay's musical estate was inherited by Hammerschmid, who in the 1970s split it between the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the Stift Heiligenkreuz. As Rebay's long-standing collaborators died, so did the interest in his music. A post-war attitude that discouraged appreciation of whatever could be associated with Nazi tastes may also have affected the fate of his music, since his works continued to be performed regularly during the Anschluss.¹⁵¹ The

¹⁵⁰ In one of her letters to Olcott-Bickford from 1953, Hammerschmid asked for a suggestion of American music for piano and guitar, since she had received an invitation to perform a concert at the U.S. Information Center in Vienna with a former student of hers, who had later studied piano at Oberlin College. The pianist who performed in Rebay's memorial concert was likely the same person, Gunhild Frederiksen. Gerta Hammerschmid, "Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford", 7 September 1953, Typewritten letter (English), GH.VOB.SEP.07.1953, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge.

¹⁵¹ Other Austro-German composers from Rebay's generation also suffered from the same stigmatization, such as Schmidt or Pfitzner. For a general context, see Michael H. Kater, *The*

name of Rebay would only resurface in the early 2000s, mainly through his chamber music for guitar.

2.4 CONCLUSION

By working with scattered biographical sources and relating them to the general and guitaristic contexts of Rebay's Vienna, this chapter presented a biographical profile of the composer, with an emphasis on the creation, performance and contemporary reception of his guitar works. From his youth, Rebay's career was forged by traditional Viennese middle-class values, which he also incorporated into his compositional style. Following what seemed to point towards a promising future as a composer during his prize-winner student years under Robert Fuchs, Rebay engaged in a busy choirmaster career, becoming local and regionally known as a vocal composer. In 1920, he started a piano professorship at the Wiener Akademie, later being introduced to the guitar by his Academy's colleague, Jakob Ortner. This acquaintance resulted in a steady output for the instrument that did not run short until the end of his life.

Rebay privileged chamber music while writing for the guitar, and he found in Ortner's students and his Academy colleagues—all of them principals in Vienna's main orchestras—a group of distinctive collaborators. Although his music was performed by a few significant local guitarists, including Luise Walker, it was his niece-guitarist, Gerta Hammerschmid, who took up the mission of championing Rebay from the 1930s on. However, in spite of proving herself a competent chamber musician and capable of designing provocative programmes, Hammerschmid's performance career remained restricted to a local level. In addition, her controlling attitude towards sharing her uncle's manuscripts may have prevented Rebay's guitar music to circulate more widely. Finally, Rebay's anachronistic style—summarized by a critic as the *"Kabinettstücke der Kammermusik und Hausmusik"*—may have not been attractive enough to a segment of guitarists more interested in Modern music, such as featured in Karl Scheit's editions for Universal Edition and Doblinger.

As a result of these circumstances, public performances of Rebay's guitar music were mostly restricted to those given by Hammerschmid and her Viennese partners, although

evidence suggests that it may also have been performed in intimate environments within the *Hausmusik* tradition. Because most of his guitar music remained in manuscript and therefore inaccessible outside of Rebay and Hammerschmid's small circle, it soon fell into obscurity after his death and that of his regular collaborators. An ongoing revival of Rebay's guitar works started in the early 2000s, and within this process a modern assessment of his music is necessary. The next chapter will investigate the significance of a major part of Rebay's guitar output: his more than 30 sonatas or sonata-structured works. Considering the panorama that has been discussed in Chapter 1, they represent Rebay's most sophisticated contribution to the guitar repertoire.

3 INNOVATING THROUGH THE SONATA TRADITION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As seen in Chapter 1, the amateur environment of the guitar clubs conditioned their repertoire choices, eventually leading to internal disagreements. The most influential guitarist in German-speaking countries, Heinrich Albert, criticized his fellow guitarist-composers who only wrote miniatures in folk- or salon-style. According to him, this was music that did not appeal to the educated German audiences, lacking proportion and seriousness. On an international level, guitarists were also re-examining their nineteenth-century legacy, and Segovia concluded that the solution to the repertoire problem was to commission music from non-guitarist composers; a radical line of thought, considering that up to then the majority of guitar music had been written by guitarists. In the 1920s, Viennese guitarists experienced an unusually progressive environment, not only because of the frequent concert appearances of Llobet and Segovia but also due to the newly created guitar programme at the Wiener Akademie. Once free from the former boundaries of the guitar clubs, the guitar attracted the attention of non-guitarist composers such as Rebay, who privileged an almost absent genre in the “Segovia-repertoire”: chamber music. Moreover, Rebay selected the sonata for his most ambitious guitar works. In doing so, he drew on his Austro-German heritage, associating the instrument with the prestige that the sonata had occupied in instrumental music for over a century.

In this chapter, I propose to understand what Rebay’s motivations for writing guitar sonatas were and why this can be seen as a progressive attitude, in spite of the conservative connotations that the genre already carried since the mid-1800s. It begins with a concise investigation of the sonata developments in the nineteenth century and its traditional post-Beethoven associations with greatness and craftsmanship, also acknowledging the small but significant corpus of early-nineteenth century guitar sonatas. There follows a survey of Rebay’s sonatas or sonata-structured works for guitar, highlighting their significance within his oeuvre, and a structural overview of how Rebay manages the sonata genre and form, based on the sonatas that will be investigated in Part 2 of the thesis. The chapter’s core is a discussion of Rebay’s style and the significance of his guitar sonatas under the parameters “conservative” and “progressive”, thus elaborating on questions that had already been raised

by Rebay's first scholar, Johann Gaitzsch.¹ I propose a comprehensive way of looking at his guitar music, beyond mere stylistic contextualization and stressing the importance and uniqueness of his contribution for the repertoire.

3.2 THE SONATA CODIFICATION AND CONSTRUCTED VALUES

While the term "sonata" in the late eighteenth century suggested a loose design or, in the words of Rosen, "a way of writing, a feeling for proportion, direction, and texture rather than a pattern",² by the mid-nineteenth century it had acquired a much stricter meaning. This was a direct consequence of composition manuals which, in need of rationalizing common practice, helped crystalize the concept of what kind of structure a musical work would have to follow in order to be rightfully called a sonata. Rosen points out three of such manuals as the most influential ones: Reicha's *Traité de haute composition musicale* (1826), Marx's *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* (1845) and Czerny's *School of Practical Composition* (1848).³ All three relied on the observation of sonatas by the Classical masters, particularly Beethoven's piano sonatas, for prescribing a textbook model.

Marx coined the term "sonata form". It designated the usual structure of a multi-movement-sonata's first movement, hence alternative terminologies such as "sonata-allegro" or "first-movement form". His description emphasized thematic over tonal contrast, polarizing the *Hauptsatz* (main theme, masculine) against the *Seitensatz* (subsidiary theme, feminine) in an organic and complementary way. Unlike the binary concepts of Reicha and Czerny, he understood the sonata as a ternary form, engendering a discussion that lasted well into the twentieth century. The conciliatory view proposed by Hepokoski and Darcy sees the sonata form as a binary frame built on an exposition and a development/recapitulation, integrated by three musical-action spaces: exposition, development and recapitulation; in short, a "binary structure often arrayed in a ternary plan".⁴ Rhetorically speaking, it was a

¹ Gaitzsch, "Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?", 11-18.

² Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: Norton, 1988), 3.

³ Ibid.

⁴ James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory : Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 16.

closed structure which emulated all the elements of a dramatic plot, and composers exploited it as such. As put by Rosen, “The sonata has an identifiable climax, a point of maximum tension to which the first part of the work leads and which is symmetrically resolved”.⁵

A distinction must be made between the sonata form and the sonata as a genre. While the former is associated with a musical structure, the latter usually refers to an entire multi-movement work, in which one or more movements are written in sonata form.⁶ Traditionally, the term “sonata” was used for solo or duo works, a procedure also followed by Rebay. However, a sonata-structured design was also seen in other instrumental configurations, from chamber ensembles such as trios, quartets, quintets, etc., to symphonic works such as overtures, symphonies and concertos. A sonata principle could also pervade a work that otherwise would not be associated with it, such as identified by Rink in Chopin’s four ballades.⁷ From now on, however, this survey of the sonata developments will mostly refer to the solo- and duo-sonata, since these are the prevalent configurations in the nineteenth-century guitar repertoire and directly relate to Rebay’s chamber sonatas that will be investigated in Part 2.

Beethoven’s pupil and influential teacher, Carl Czerny, established the usual four movements of the sonata as: Allegro, Adagio or Andante, Scherzo or Minuet, and Finale or Rondo.⁸ This design differs from the late-eighteenth century sonata, which usually has two or three movements. Czerny’s proposed order was not strictly observed, however; at least since Beethoven, the scherzo or minuet could appear as the second movement and in such cases the slow movement would be placed third. Finales were often written in a hybrid sonata-rondo form, and theme and variations could replace the second movement (usually in reduced proportions and at a slower tempo) or more rarely the fourth movement (acquiring large-scale proportions and based on a lively or energetic theme). All of these variants are seen in Rebay’s sonatas, as will be outlined later.

⁵ Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, 10.

⁶ In addition, the Classical and Romantic literature has many examples of single-movement sonatas, which are usually in sonata-form.

⁷ Sandra Mangsen et al., “Sonata”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 14 February 2017, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26191>.

⁸ Carl Czerny, *School of Practical Composition*, Op. 600, trans. John Bishop (London: Robert Cocks & Co., 1848), 33.

By the time the “textbook sonata” took shape in the 1840s, the genre already carried conservative connotations due to its restrictive formal and tonal designs, not to mention the direct association with the Viennese Classical composers. However, this did not prevent Romantic composers from adopting it, because throughout the nineteenth century the sonata became established as the “supreme form of instrumental music”, in Rosen’s words.⁹ This was a direct consequence of the cult of Beethoven, the composer who would be forever linked to the sonata, and whose whole cycle of piano sonatas started to be performed regularly in as early as the decade of 1840.¹⁰ The cult of Beethoven owes a lot to Marx’s reliance on the Beethovenian model. When investigating Marx’s gendering of the sonata-form, Burnham describes his idolizing of Beethoven as follows:

Elsewhere and often, Marx associates Beethoven with the culminating “ideal” age of music history, the age in which music communes with the spirit rather than simply playing to the emotions or senses ... [To Marx,] Beethoven’s music expresses a poetic *Idee*, which typically invokes the highest values of humankind ... Marx derivation of forms can be read as a *Gradus ad Parnassum*: the diligent student will be rewarded by an extended audience with both sonata form and Beethoven, in the form of analyses of excerpts from many of Beethoven’s piano sonatas.¹¹

The idea of Beethoven as the archetype of the Romantic composer was a recurring one during the nineteenth century, and, according to Goehr, it involved much more than an aesthetic approach to his music.¹² Beethoven embodied a whole new era in which music became an autonomous fine art, meant for deep contemplation and seeking out for transcendence, no longer bounded to its former eighteenth-century functions. The canonization of Beethoven (and, to a similar degree, of Haydn and Mozart) was made possible by the new social dimensions that the nineteenth century brought to musical life, such as the rise of a financially

⁹ Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, 3.

¹⁰ The first pianist to perform the 32 Beethoven piano sonatas as a cycle was Charles Hallé, initially in Paris and later in London. Michael Kennedy, “Hallé, Sir Charles”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 12 March 2019, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12241>.

¹¹ Scott Burnham, “A. B. Marx and the Gendering of Sonata Form”, in *Music Theory in the Age of Romanticism*, ed. Ian Bent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 167.

¹² Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works : An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 208.

empowered middle-class which sought for musical *Bildung* (“enculturement”), the popularization of concert halls with their subscription series as an alternative to the elitist aristocratic salons, and the music criticism which started to appear in newspapers and magazines, playing a major role in determining collective judgement. As explained by Weber, “By the end of the nineteenth century, old music had moved from the musician’s study to the concert hall: it had become established in repertoires throughout concert life, dominating many programs, and was legitimised in critical and ideological terms in which the society as a whole participated”.¹³

Another consequence of this sociocultural process was to widen the gap between what came to be associated in German-speaking territories with *ernste Musik* (serious music) and *Unterhaltungsmusik* (entertainment music). This distinction was already referred to in Chapter 1, when discussing the repertoire performed in the guitar clubs and the identification of *Trivialmusik* examples.¹⁴ Its genesis lay in the stylistic and cultural duality that shaped music reception throughout the nineteenth century, archetypically represented by Beethoven and Rossini—or Austro-German instrumental music and Italian opera. According to Dahlhaus, “Categories such as ‘overriding formal concept’, theme, and thematic-motivic manipulation on the one hand, and ‘stage emotion’, melody, and melodic continuation, represent initial attempts to grasp, in grossly simplified form, the differences between these twin ‘cultures of music’ in aesthetic and compositional terms”.¹⁵ While the boundaries between these two styles were often blurred, the dichotomy is useful to understand the attitude of composers and audiences towards highly regarded genres such as the sonata.

Dahlhaus’s classification of the “twin styles” is reflected in Webster’s elaboration on the nineteenth-century sonata developments.¹⁶ To him, two strains existed: the “Romantic” one, which focused on vocal music, programmatic music and the characteristic piece for piano; and another one which he labels “classicizing”, focusing on the genres of absolute music, including the sonata. Webster’s classification reaffirms the conservative connotation

¹³ Weber, “The History of Musical Canon”, 336.

¹⁴ See pp. 32-34.

¹⁵ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 12.

¹⁶ James Webster, “Sonata Form”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 22 August 2017, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26197>.

which became associated with the sonata. Its tradition survived in the works of formalist composers who lived through the aesthetic disputes that dominated Austro-German music in the nineteenth century, such as the Leipzig versus New German schools and the Brahms versus Bruckner controversy. Their relationship with the genre was never an easy one, though, since the carriers of tradition inevitably faced comparisons with their great forerunners. According to Rosen, “After Beethoven, the sonata was the vehicle of the sublime. It played the same role in music as the epic in poetry, and the large historical fresco in painting. The proof of craftsmanship was the fugue, but the proof of greatness was the sonata”.¹⁷

Not surprisingly, the same composers that carried the sonata tradition throughout the nineteenth century, such as Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms, excelled in another traditional field with which the sonata was intimately associated: chamber music. Chamber music practice involved complex social interactions between composers, publishing markets and audiences which are not this chapter’s object of discussion. However, it is important to stress that, unlike the more or less standardized public concerts, the private environments in which chamber music thrived stimulated a variety of musical tastes. While discussing how these tastes affected the choice and treatment of musical genres in string chamber music, Sumner Lott affirms that “More subtle manipulations of musical style within the genres ... demonstrates attention to the needs of consumers; performer-and casual listener-friendly quartets and quintets feature repetition and predictable harmonic patterns, for instance, whereas composer- or critic-oriented quartets flirt with the boundaries of musical convention”.¹⁸

As further explored by Sumner Lott, the apparent rigidity of the sonata form did not prevent it from being adapted to a variety of contents. On the one side, there was the motivic- and development-driven style frequently found in Haydn and Beethoven, which later encountered its most natural successor in Brahms, a master of the “developing variation” technique.¹⁹ On the other side, composers such as Spohr, Onslow and Kuhlau helped establish

¹⁷ Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, 366.

¹⁸ Marie Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 37.

¹⁹ For more on the concept of “developing variation”, see Arnold Schoenberg, “Brahms the Progressive”, in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein (London: Faber, 1975), 398-441.

a style that was “designed with the pleasure of the performer as their primary goal, focusing on the experience of actively playing music, as opposed to the cerebral contemplation of it”.²⁰ This writing style, which was also congenial to Schubert, often emphasized equal participation of all ensemble members in a conversational way, by means of repetition of long and lyrical melodies by each instrument while the others accompanied in a homophonic, uncomplicated way. The results of this approach in sonata writing were examples with lengthy expositions and recapitulations, whilst having shorter developments. Although Rebay lived in a different period and his music was certainly not influenced by the publishing market as most of it remained unpublished, a stylistic analogy seems appropriate. As will be explored below, in Rebay a melodic and conversational writing dominates, thus recalling former nineteenth-century patterns of amateur music-making.

Both in the concert hall and in the private spheres, a tradition was forged with the emergence of the “textbook sonata”, surviving among formalist composers well into the twentieth century, and strengthened by its long-lasting associations with Beethoven and the concept of *ernste Musik*. Many Vienna-based composers contemporary with Rebay composed solo and chamber sonatas, such as Marx and Kornauth, not to mention Berg, whose Op. 1 (1910) is a piano sonata in one movement written in a tonally unstable idiom. Even post-tonal composers such as Schoenberg came to terms with the form, and in this case, because of the lack (or at least the lessening) of tonal relationships, the form was then evoked by thematic organization, as pointed out by Straus.²¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that a formalist composer like Rebay, educated in the Austro-German Romantic tradition and representing enduring nineteenth-century middle-class values, wrote so many sonatas or sonata-structured works.

3.3 THE GUITAR SONATA BEFORE REBAY

When the guitar reached its full transition from the five-course Baroque to the Classical (or Romantic, as it is known today) six-string instrument by the turn of the nineteenth century, composing sonatas was already an established practice. The new instrument required a new notation, a technical approach adapted to the period’s stylistic demands and an attractive and

²⁰ Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, 82.

²¹ Joseph N. Straus, *Remaking the Past : Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 98.

convincing repertoire. As expected, one finds many sonatas in the late-Classical and early-Romantic repertoire for guitar, suggesting an attempt by guitarist-composers to assimilate the language and aesthetics of their time. However, when talking about the nineteenth-century solo guitar sonatas, Britton argues that “The guitar sonatas that were produced show little of the inward reflection, drama and turbulence associated with the piano sonatas of Beethoven. Instead, they display the lyrical and melodic qualities of the eighteenth-century domestic keyboard sonata”. While placing the guitar sonata within pre-Beethovenian aesthetics is a valid generalization, a deeper investigation of the repertoire actually reveals a variety of coexisting styles.

The earliest sonatas for guitar were published in the late eighteenth century and their structure varied according to regional traditions. Yates points out two main centres of guitar sonata output: Paris and Vienna.²² Although earlier examples from native Parisian composers existed and included sonatas for guitar and optional accompaniment of flute or violin (assimilating the tradition of the sonata for accompanied keyboard), the main names were those of later émigrés: Italian Ferdinando Carulli and Spanish Fernando Sor. With Carulli, who arrived in Paris in 1808, the tradition of the three-movement Italian keyboard and concerto-style sonata was established, supplanting the former two-movement design.²³ Carulli’s main achievement was his “ability to combine brilliant texture and passagework with memorable thematic content”, says Yates, also noticing the extensive use of Alberti-bass accompaniment patterns.²⁴ As stressed by Britton, the clichéd arpeggio patterns were a stylistic trademark of Italian guitarists and often seen as stylistically deficient when compared to elaborate part-writing.²⁵ Carulli wrote a large number of sonatas and sonatinas, exploring not only the guitar solo but guitar ensembles and chamber music. His music is anachronistically written in a *galant* style, having strong didactic appeal and aimed at a bursting amateur market.

²² Stanley Yates, “Sor’s Guitar Sonatas : Form and Style”, in *Estudios sobre Fernando Sor*, ed. Luis Gásser (Madrid: Ediciones del ICCMU, 2003), 456. Yates also mentions a few sonatas composed in Spain which nevertheless still followed the binary one-movement Iberian type of sonata.

²³ *Ibid.*, 457.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 458.

²⁵ Britton, “The Guitar in the Romantic Period : Its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath”, 40.

On the other aesthetic end was Sor's more sophisticated writing, which relied on a "genuinely independent lower voice, true dialog between the voices, and a consistent three-voice texture".²⁶ Sor's part-writing for the guitar may be acknowledged as a consequence of his thorough musical education at the Monasterio de Montserrat, near Barcelona. He was one of the few nineteenth-century guitarist-composers to write in genres that excluded the guitar, such as operas, ballets and symphonies. Sor wrote five solo guitar sonatas, comprising one- and multi-movement examples, as well as a fantasia with variations which follows a sonata principle.²⁷ In conformity with prevailing aesthetics of different periods of Sor's career, Yates sees diverse influences in his sonata writing, ranging from the Italian overtures of Cimarosa to the string quartets of Haydn and Pleyel, as well as the operatic writing of Mozart.²⁸

In Vienna, a variety of guitar sonata styles also existed, reflecting the presence of native and foreign guitarists such as Austrians Anton Diabelli (1768-1858) and Simon Molitor (1766-1848), Italian Mauro Giuliani and Bohemian Wenzel Matiegka (1773-1830). In Giuliani, arguably the most successful Vienna-based guitarist of the time and a member of Beethoven's circle, one sees a guitarist-composer whose language was flexible enough to adapt to a variety of audiences. In spite of the Italian operatic style present in much of his music, his only multi-movement sonata, the *Sonata Brillant*, Op. 15 shows a "refined, sophisticated pianistic style which is melodic rather than concerto-like, and which avoids the brillante passagework that defined the sonata style of fellow guitarist such as Carulli and Moretti".²⁹ The piece, written two years after settling in Vienna, was surely an attempt to establish a connection with the great Viennese sonata tradition, separated from the fashionable variations and potpourris that Giuliani himself often exploited. If in Giuliani's sonata one sees a type of homophonic, ornamented and melodic writing that resembles that of his acquaintance and collaborator Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), with Molitor and Diabelli a post-Haydnesque style is

²⁶ Yates, "Sor's Guitar Sonatas : Form and Style", 458.

²⁷ According to Yates, Sor's five sonatas are the Grand Solo, Op. 14; Sonate, Op. 15b; Grand Sonate, Op. 22; Deuxième Grand Sonate, Op. 25; and Fantaisie et Variations brillantes, Op. 30. Ibid., 447.

²⁸ Ibid., 451-56.

²⁹ Ibid., 459. In addition to the Sonata Op. 15, Giuliani employs the sonata-form in at least nine other works, including solo and chamber music, as well as the three concertos for guitar and orchestra.

evident, more motivic-oriented and with developed part-writing. In Matiegka, whose works include twelve surprisingly varied sonatas for solo guitar, Yates sees “both the fully developmental high-classic sonata style of Haydn and the more romantically-inclined movement forms and character of Schubert”.³⁰



Within the chamber music realm, while Carulli and his Parisian contemporaries (except Sor) wrote a fair number of sonatas or sonata-structured works, it was in Vienna that the genre blossomed. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the most common chamber ensemble was the trio formed by two melodic instruments and guitar, in which the latter provided harmonic support and filled the texture, rarely assuming an equal melodic role to its partners.³¹ Generally aimed at the amateur market, this kind of writing made use of the guitar’s inherent accompaniment resources and was technically undemanding. Dalmacio writes that there were fundamentally two kinds of chamber music with guitar in which the sonata design could be found: the formally relaxed serenades, nocturnes or divertimentos, and the stricter examples, which would usually be titled duo, trio, quartet, etc., although mixing-up with the titles was common.³² Albert’s collection *Die Gitarre in der Haus- und Kammermusik* included several examples of this divertimento-like music which frequently presents sonatina-structured first movements, with short or even non-existent development sections. Virtuoso guitarist-composers also wrote music for their own technical display, especially in the case of duos with melodic instrument (most often the flute or the violin). The titles would usually incorporate adjectives such as “concertante”, “grand” or “große”, suggesting a professional-skill level.³³

Perhaps the most brilliant example of the guitar duo-sonata genre in the early-nineteenth century Vienna is the Duo Concertant in E minor for Violin and Guitar, Op. 25 (1812) by Mauro Giuliani. This is a sonata in four movements featuring a first movement in sonata form, followed by a theme and variations, a menuetto and trio, and a rondo. It lasts over 30 minutes in performance and is technically demanding for both instruments. However,

³⁰ Ibid., 460.

³¹ See pp. 51-52.

³² Marcos P. Dalmacio, “A sonata para guitarra na Viena de Beethoven e Schubert” (Master of Music Dissertation, State University of Santa Catarina, 2013), 57.

³³ Ibid., 59.

apart from three variations in the second movement and a few extended passages in the last movement in which the guitar displays virtuosic passage-work, there is little melodic interest in the guitar part. The instrument mostly supports the violin harmonically in idiomatic arpeggio patterns, occasionally doubling the main voice in thirds or sixths or melodically punctuating cadential sections. Therefore, it may be argued that only with Rebay is a truly balanced concertante-style achieved in guitar chamber music, with the guitar consistently assuming a melodic role as important as the partnering instrument's, including full thematic presentations in the sonata-form movements.³⁴



The end of the nineteenth-century guitar sonata coincides with the end of the *Guitaromanie* in the 1830s. It can also be associated with the strengthening of the Beethoven-myth and the emergence of the mainstream performance canon, all of which projected the weight of tradition on the shoulders of younger sonata composers. At this stage, not only guitarist-composers tended to focus even more on the ever-popular lighter genres of variations, characteristic pieces or operatic fantasies, but chamber music with guitar also declined notably.³⁵ Newman's account, based on the *Hofmeister Monatsberichte*, reveals only 41 published sonatas for solo guitar between 1800 and 1897, as opposed to 2,634 piano sonatas in the same period.³⁶

Britton pinpoints two main reasons for the small guitar sonata output in the early-nineteenth century:

- 1) the genre demanded great mastery in the accomplishment of extended forms, and this precluded the majority of the guitarists; 2) the European guitar public showed a lack of interest in sonatas because they were too serious and abstract, and this made publishers reluctant to issue them. Consequently, the

³⁴ An eccentric exception is the *Grand Sonata in A for Guitar and Violin* (ca. 1804) by Italian violin virtuoso Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840). This is an odd example in which the composer opposes a dazzling guitar part to an almost negligible violin accompaniment.

³⁵ The instrument remained part of the middle-class household, however, reserved mostly for song accompaniment.

³⁶ William S. Newman, *The Sonata since Beethoven* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 94.

market dictated the demise of the guitar sonata before it had a chance to develop.³⁷

The wider context may also consider the fact that the guitar was excluded from conservatoire education, which isolated the instrument and led most self-taught guitarists to adopt a pragmatic approach to composition, incompatible with the sophistication that sonata writing required. This can be measured by the exceptions to the rule such as Sor, Diabelli or Matiegka, all of whom had had a formal musical training.

In the early 1900s, a lower interest for sophisticated music within guitar audiences may be measured by the fact that the only nineteenth-century guitar sonata published in the supplements of the guitar clubs was the first movement of Molitor's Grand Sonata, Op. 7. This may have been the consequence of a preference for entertaining repertoire that would be readily accessible to the majority of amateur players. However, there are a few examples of newly composed sonatas or sonatinas by guitarist-composers Adam Darr, Adolph Werner and Heinrich Albert, as well as a three-movement sonata by Georg Luckner (1882-1918). Luckner was a composer from Munich, and his sonata won the second prize of a composition competition sponsored by the GV in 1910-11.³⁸ According to Stevens, the piece did not win first prize because its length exceeded what had been stipulated in the competition rules.³⁹ Written under the motto "Sor", Luckner's sonata is a rather conventional work, making full use of the sonata form in its first movement. This could well be the first sonata written by a non-guitarist composer in the twentieth century.

It is appropriate to recall that the sonata values also appealed to Segovia. Mexican composer Manuel Ponce wrote four solo sonatas and one sonatina for him, two of them emulating the style of nineteenth-century composers: *Sonata Clásica* (Homage to Sor, 1928)

³⁷ Britton, "The Guitar in the Romantic Period : Its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath", 187. The second reason is credited by Britton to Yates.

³⁸ The three prize-winner pieces in the solo category were: "Präludium" by Otto Steinwender (an organist from Thorn), "Sonate" by Georg Luckner (a teacher in Munich) and "Herbst" by Simon Schneider.

³⁹ Andreas Stevens, "Das Preis-Ausschreiben der Gitarristischen Vereinigung München 1910/11", (paper presented at the Symposium der European Guitar Teachers Association - Deutschland, Munich, 2014).

and *Sonata Romántica* (Hommage to Schubert, 1929). In addition to Ponce, other composers who wrote solo sonatas or sonatinas for Segovia include Spaniards Moreno-Torroba and Joaquín Turina, Italian Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Polish Alexandre Tansman and Austrian Alfred Uhl.⁴⁰ Among these, only Ponce and Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote guitar chamber music in the sonata tradition: the former with the *Sonata for Guitar and Harpsichord* (1926), and the latter with both the *Guitar Quintet* (1950) and the *Sonatina for Flute and Guitar* (1965). Overall, these sonatas display a more or less conservative language in tune with Segovia's taste, attempting to make up for the lack of an authentic Romantic guitar sonata tradition.⁴¹

In summary, the guitar sonata had a short life span in the early-nineteenth century and an almost negligible revival attempt in the early years of the twentieth century, at least until the 1920s. In his biography of Mauro Giuliani, Heck writes that

It is noteworthy that neither Giuliani nor any of the other early-19th-century composers of guitar music, including Sor and his Paris-based contemporaries, found the sonata form especially compatible with their own musical inclinations. Clearly they were able to adapt it to the guitar on the few occasions that they wished, but they seem not to have elected to use it often.⁴²

Heck's opinion is debatable. It is likely that the small sonata output of Sor and Giuliani was more a matter of market circumstances than personal inclinations. Nevertheless, the small but significant corpus of guitar sonatas from the period shows a peculiar attitude from a selected group of guitarist-composers. Moved by traditional values, they proved that the new instrument was capable of engaging with the most prestigious genre of instrumental music at the time. A little over a century later, the same ideals would be taken up by Rebay, however

⁴⁰ It is significant that Castelnuovo-Tedesco's piece was initially titled "Sonatina"—which is compatible with its length and scope—and later changed to "Sonata" by Segovia's suggestion, in order to heighten its importance. See Angelo Gilardino, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco : un fiorentino a Beverly Hills* (Milano: Edizioni Curci, 2018), 59.

⁴¹ Stephen Goss has recently suggested that Segovia wanted "to make a past for the guitar rather than a future". Stephen Goss, "The Guitar and the Politics of Nostalgia : The Mutability of History through an Arcadian Retrotopia" (paper presented at the Dublin Guitar Symposium, Dublin, 2019).

⁴² Thomas F. Heck, *Mauro Giuliani : A Life for the Guitar* [e-book] (Palos Verdes Peninsula: Guitar Foundation of America, 2013), loc. 5609.

now reacting against decades of isolation of the guitar from the mainstream music-making, and perpetuating a tradition which was, more than ever, associated with the past.

Rebay established a bridge between the early examples surveyed above and a virtually non-existent Austro-German Romantic sonata tradition for guitar. His guitar sonatas offer a refreshing alternative to the “Segovian” ones, particularly in the field of chamber music, which was clearly not a domain of the Spanish guitarist.

3.4 REBAY’S GUITAR SONATA OUTPUT

Rebay’s corpus of guitar music remains unsurpassed for a non-guitarist composer and includes more than 30 sonatas or sonata-structured works. This makes him the most prolific guitar sonata composer of all times. Living in the twentieth century but deeply anchored in a nineteenth-century tradition, and representing a lineage that can be traced to the Viennese classics, to Rebay it seemed a natural path to associate the guitar with the prestige of the sonata, while attempting to accommodate the instrument into the mainstream musical environment which it recently started to frequent. His sonatas include works named as such—usually for solo guitar or in duo with a melodic instrument or piano—as well as many multi-movement chamber works which follow the genre and form’s structure in spite of not bearing its name, as seen in Table 3.1. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Rebay arranged two entire piano sonatas by Beethoven, possibly for domestic use: the Op. 90 for Guitar and Piano and the Op. 79 for Flute, Terz Guitar and Guitar.

Table 3.1. List of sonatas or sonata-structured works for guitar by Ferdinand Rebay.

Title	Instrumentation	Year ⁴³
Sonata in E minor	Oboe and guitar	1925
Quartet in D minor	Violin, viola, cello and guitar	1925
Sonatina in B	Clarinet and guitar	1925
Quartet in G minor	Terz guitar, 2 guitars and quintbass guitar	1925
Sonata in A minor	Guitar solo	1925
Septet in A minor	Flute, oboe, clarinet, French horn, bassoon and 2 guitars	1927
Trio in D	Flute, bassoon and guitar	1927
Trio in G	Terz guitar and 2 guitars	1927
Septet in A minor	Flute, oboe, clarinet, French horn, bassoon and 2 guitars	1927
Trio-Sonata in A minor	Oboe, cello and guitar	1934
Sonata in D minor	Viola and guitar	1934
Grand Duo in A minor	Guitar and quintbass guitar	1940
Trio	Terz guitar, guitar and quintbass guitar	1940

⁴³ The dates are drawn from either manuscripts or catalogues, and may refer to date of composition or first performance. In some cases, they were inferred by crossing data from different sources.

Sonata in D minor	Clarinet and guitar	1941
Quintet in D	Flute, oboe, clarinet and 2 guitars	1941
Trio in A	Flute, clarinet and guitar	1941
Sonata in D minor	Guitar solo	1941
Sonata in E (No.2)	Guitar solo	1941
Sonata in E	Flute and guitar	1942
Sonata in C	Oboe and guitar	1942
Sonata in C minor	Violin and guitar	1942
Sonata in E minor	Violin and guitar	1942
Sonata in D	Flute and guitar	1942
Sonata in A minor	Clarinet and guitar	1942
Quartet in A minor	Flute, guitar, viola and cello	1942
Grand Duo in A minor	Guitar and piano	1942
Sonata in D	Guitar solo	1943
Sonata in A minor	Guitar solo	1944
Trio in D minor	Violin, viola and guitar (terz guitar)	1947
<i>Sonate in einem Satz</i>	Guitar solo	n.d.
Sonata in E (No.1)	Guitar solo	n.d.
Sonata in C	Guitar and piano	n.d.
Sextet in A minor	Flute, oboe, clarinet, French horn, bassoon and guitar	n.d.

While most of these sonatas or sonata-structured works are original, some of them are arrangements of Rebay's own earlier works. As already mentioned, both the *Sonate in einem Satz* for Guitar (no date given) and the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars (1940) are arrangements of the Piano Sonata in D minor (1901) and the Piano Sonata in A minor (1902), respectively. The Trio-Sonata in A minor for Oboe, Cello and Guitar (1934) is, according to its title page, written after the Guitar Sonata in A minor (1925). And the Sextet in A minor seems to be an adaptation of the Septet in A minor for an occasion in which a single guitarist was desired (or available).⁴⁴ The reworking of previous material, particularly the early piano sonatas, suggests that even at a later age Rebay still valued his youthful works and that he may have considered that they would hold a more significant and perennial place as part of the guitar literature than in their original configuration.

Although I do not embrace Rebay's entire oeuvre in this thesis, a look at the catalogue of Rebay's works held in the Stift Heiligenkreuz gives further insights about the significance of the sonata in his guitar music. As previously discussed, in his early career Rebay was essentially known as a vocal composer.⁴⁵ Of his non-guitar instrumental music, most of the sonatas or

⁴⁴ Although I have not been able to check the manuscript of both pieces, by examining RISM's description and incipits it is possible to conclude that the Sextet in A minor and the Septet in A minor (1927) are in fact the same piece, only that the Sextet has just one guitar part.

⁴⁵ His catalogue reveals over one hundred choral works and almost four hundred lieder.

sonata-structured works were written when he was a student at the Wiener Akademie, such as the two piano sonatas and the two string quartets.⁴⁶ After that, his non-guitar instrumental music essentially comprised suites, variations and arrangements, such as his Variations on Schubert's "Heidenröslein" for Violin and Piano (1945), the *Lyrical Suite* for French Horn and String Quartet (1949), or the *Historische Walzersuite* for Piano (n.d.).⁴⁷ It would be premature to make any broad inferences based on the currently available knowledge, but it seems that after his conservatoire years Rebay lost interest in composing sonatas or sonata-structured works for the piano or non-guitar chamber ensembles, reserving the genre for his guitar output that started to appear in the 1920s.

On the one hand, the lack of sonatas or sonata-structured works for almost twenty years after his graduation may have reflected a change in priorities associated with his choirmaster positions, when he focused on writing vocal music. On the other hand, the massive guitar-sonata output is clearly an enduring result of his account of the guitar repertoire as revealed in his 1926 article, sensing that the instrument needed more substantial music than presently available. Moreover, Rebay might have realized that the guitar needed his sonatas more than the piano or the string quartet, which already enjoyed a rich nineteenth and early-twentieth century sonata tradition.

3.5 A STRUCTURAL OVERVIEW OF REBAY'S SONATAS

This section reveals how Rebay worked with the sonata on a structural level, hinting at possible stylistic influences which may help to better situate his music. Rather than undertaking a detailed analytical approach, I offer a structural overview of a representative sample of his chamber sonatas: the six sonatas for woodwind instruments and guitar. They are unified by instrumentation, date of composition (with one exception, all were composed between 1941 and 1942) and present a balanced distribution of roles among the two instruments. My main goal is to bring awareness to how Rebay organizes the musical material within the tightness of the "textbook sonata", highlighting some characteristics which may be

⁴⁶ A possible exception is the Sonata in C minor for Cello and Piano (n.d.), dedicated to Frida Krause (1903-1992), a former cello student and teacher at the Wiener Akademie.

⁴⁷ A likely version for piano four-hands of the *Historische Walzersuite* was performed in the Konzerthaus by Alfred Gronemann and Hans Sittner in 1943, as reported in Chapter 2. See p. 94.

understood as a stylistic signature of the composer. While acknowledging the variety of musical forms employed by Rebay in his sonatas, I pay special attention to the sonata-form first movements, because of their singularity within the guitar literature. Structural awareness is important on a performance level because identifying patterns and relating parts to the whole aid performers in their conceptualization of the work prior to performance; as put by Epstein, the way musicians conceptualize music seem to be a “synthesis of structure and intuition”.⁴⁸

Mirroring the Classical and Romantic sonata models, Rebay wrote both three- and four-movement sonatas.⁴⁹ The most common arrangement is the four-movement one, in which he loosely follows Czerny’s prescription. The three-movement sonatas follow a similar disposition, normally omitting the scherzo. Table 3.2 shows how Rebay explores a variety of musical forms within the sample of six sonatas for woodwinds and guitar.

Table 3.2. Distribution of musical forms in Rebay’s sonatas for woodwinds and guitar.⁵⁰

SONATA \ MOVEMENT	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Oboe E minor	Sonata-form	Minuet/Trio	Large-ternary	Five-Part Rondo
Oboe C	Sonata-form	Large-ternary	Scherzo/Trio	Sonata-rondo
Flute D	Sonata-form	Large-ternary	Scherzo/Trio	Theme and Variations
Flute E	Sonata-form	Theme and Variations	Scherzo/Trio	Sonata-rondo
Clarinet D minor	Sonata-form	Theme and Variations	Sonata-rondo	-
Clarinet A minor	Sonata-form	Theme and Variations	Scherzo/Trio	Sonata-form (modified)

As would be expected, Rebay’s first movements are invariably in sonata form. For the slow movements, however, he chooses either the large ternary form or shorter theme and variations (normally up to four of them).⁵¹ Besides his own original themes, Rebay often

⁴⁸ David Epstein, “A Curious Moment in Schumann’s Fourth Symphony : Structure as the Fusion of Affect and Intuition”, in *The Practice of Performance : Studies in Musical Interpretation*, ed. John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 127-28, footnote 3.

⁴⁹ In spite of its title, the *Sonate in einem Satz* for Guitar is in reality a four-movement work, with interconnected movements to be executed without interruption.

⁵⁰ I adopt Caplin’s terminology for this structural overview. See William E. Caplin, *Classical Form : A theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁵¹ Brahms was another composer who made extensive use of theme and variations in the slow movements of his sonatas, such as in the Piano Sonata No. 1 in C, Op. 1 and the Piano Sonata No. 2 in F# minor, Op. 2, both written in 1853.

borrowes themes from other composers for his variations. Such is the case of Schumann's "Volksliedchen" (from *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68), which is used in the second movement of the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar.⁵² In the earliest sonata of the group, the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, Rebay reverses the order of the slow movement and the minuet/trio; a common procedure since at least Beethoven, which nevertheless deviated from the "textbook" prescription. Rebay's lively and virtuosic scherzos are often interposed by a slower Waltz-like trio, acknowledging his love for Viennese folk-music.

The extended last movements of Rebay's sonatas are among the most interesting and varied ones, since in those Rebay seems less attached to strict formal principles. The usual form of choice is the rondo with its variants, particularly the more complex sonata-rondo (A-B-A-C-A-B-A). However, within the sample of sonatas analysed, Rebay also included a long theme and variations in the last movement of the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar. The movement has eight variations richly contrasted in texture, and the last one is a rhythmic Marsch/Trio, indicated by Rebay as the "so-called Geschwind-Marsch".⁵³ Another deviation is seen in the last movement of the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar, whose form is A-B-C-A-B-C. While it is tonally related to the sonata form with a clear recapitulation in the home key, section C (presented in the relative minor of the dominant) is thematically independent and cannot be characterized as a traditional development; in fact, it can be understood as a theme and variations in reduced proportions. Moreover, it returns modified in the end, this time in major mode and at a slower tempo. It must also be acknowledged that, in the rondos and some of the sonata-form recapitulations, Rebay rarely presents recurring themes identically, often making use of textural and key changes, or yet giving the guitar faster accompaniment figurations. This procedure contrasts with what is seen in typical nineteenth-century guitar rondos, where recurring material is often presented exactly in the same way. This short overview shows that, although remaining essentially attached to the "textbook"

⁵² Another example of Rebay borrowing themes from other composers is seen in the fourth movement of his Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar. In it, Rebay uses a freely-modified version of the last movement's theme of Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 2 in A, Op. 2, which is acknowledged in the score as "Rondo (über einem Beethoven'schen Tema [sic] frei nachgebildeten Hauptsatz)".

⁵³ The term *Geschwindmarsch* refers to a quick march, with a tempo ranging from crotchet = 100 to crotchet = 40. Erich Schwandt and Andrew Lamb, "March", *Grove Music Online*, accessed 10 January 2019, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40080>.

model, Rebay is confident enough to creatively deviate from standard patterns. His sonata-form first movements, however, tend to be stricter on a structural level.

Most of the sonatas by guitar-composers quoted earlier came from before the sonata codification and therefore did not follow a fixed model for their first movements, but just contemporary tendencies. On the other hand, Rebay is one of the few composers in the guitar literature who made regular use of the sonata form. For this reason, his sonata-form movements deserve a detailed investigation.

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In the realm of descriptive analysis, a “textbook model” of sonata form is a fallacy. Dahlhaus noted that this model “was not intended primarily as an analytical tool, but as an aid in teaching the rudiments of composition”.⁵⁴ According to him, the model presents several problems when analysing Beethoven sonatas, ranging from the inadequate hierarchical classification of the exposition elements (particularly between themes and transition materials) to an assumed dichotomy between themes or keys. Nevertheless, because Rebay comes from a post-sonata codification generation, the model works well for his sonatas, and understanding the structural organization of his musical discourse is a straightforward job.

Rebay’s sonatas follow the traditional dramatic structure of the Romantic sonata form, in which three major sections—exposition, development and recapitulation—function as “opposition, intensification and resolution”, both in thematic and tonal plans.⁵⁵ Table 3.3 represents a summary of the main structural elements in the first movements of the sample sonatas. It summarizes how material is accommodated in the form’s main sections, their length, main tonal areas and an overview of the development events, in which the composer’s creativity and craftsmanship are often put to the test.

⁵⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven : Approaches to his Music*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 96-97.

⁵⁵ Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, 18.

Table 3.3. Overview of the first movements in Rebay's sonatas for woodwinds and guitar.

SONATA SECTIONS	Oboe in Em	Oboe in C	Flute in D	Flute in E	Clarinet in Dm	Clarinet in Am
Tempo	Lebhaft bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell	Allegro moderato	Allegro, molto moderato	Allegretto (moderato)	Allegro moderato	Sehr ruhig und sehr leise beginnend / Allegro, ma non troppo
Time Signature	4/4 (C)	3/4	4/4	4/4 (C)	4/4 (C)	4/4 / 2/2 (F)
Total bars	145	136	145	105	136	168
EXPOSITION	58 bars	52 bars	54 bars	39 bars	47 bars	65 bars
Introduction	-	-	-	-	-	14 bars (Am)
First theme	18 bars (Em)	11 bars (C)	16 bars (D)	9 bars (E)	19 bars (Dm)	19 bars (Am)
Transition	10 bars (Em -> D7)	14 bars (C -> D7aug)	10 bars (F#m -> E6)	7 bars (C#m -> G7)	10 bars (Dm -> Caug)	2 bars (Am -> C7)
Second theme	16 bars (G)	19 bars (G)	17 bars (A)	10 bars (C)	8 bars (F)	16 bars (F)
[Episode]	10 bars (Bm -> D7)	-	-	-	-	-
Closing section	4 bars (G)	8 bars (G)	11 bars (A)	13 bars (C -> B7 or E7)	10 bars (Fm)	14 bars (F)
DEVELOPMENT	28 bars	30 bars	34 bars	26 bars	34 bars	41 bars
Treatment of material and major tonal areas/events	Combination from codetta and 1 st theme in modulating sequence 20 bars (Cm - Fm - Bbm - Am) -- Fragments of 1 st theme 4 bars (Am) -- Retransition by the guitar solo leading to a deceptive cadence into the recapitulation 4 bars (C -> C7)	Fragments of the 1 st theme in imitative texture in two different keys 16 bars (Cm - Ab) -- Retransition by the guitar solo 14 bars (F -> G7)	Fragments of the 1 st theme (inverted) in two different keys 12 bars (Am - Cm) -- Elaboration of 2 nd theme in modulating sequence 15 bars (Gm - G - Em) -- Retransition by the guitar solo 7 bars (A -> A7)	Elaboration of the codetta in two different keys 7 bars (Am - F) -- Transition with fragments of the 2 nd theme 4 bars (D#7b5 -> G#7) -- Modification of 2 nd theme in distant key through enharmony (C#/D#) 12 bars (Db) -- Retransition by the guitar solo 3 bars (Em -> B7)	Elaboration of the codetta 6 bars (Fm) -- Transition with material from exposition's transition 10 bars (Am -> Gaug) -- Elaboration of the 2 nd theme in modulating sequence 10 bars (C - Dm - Em) -- Cadenza-like retransition by the guitar solo 8 bars (Em -> A7)	Introduction transposed and leading to new key 9 bars (Em -> F#7) -- Elaboration of the 1 st theme in two different keys 15 bars (B - Ab) -- Retransition using motivic/thematic elements from Introduction and 1 st theme, ending with guitar solo and short cadenza by clarinet 17 bars (Ab -> E7)
RECAPITULATION	59 bars	54 bars	57 bars	40 bars	55 bars	62 bars
First theme	18 bars (Em)	11 bars (C)	16 bars (D)	9 bars (E)	19 bars (Dm)	19 bars (Am)
Transition	10 bars (Em -> G7)	14 bars (C -> G7)	10 bars (Bm -> A6)	7 bars (C#m -> C7b5)	10 bars (Dm -> Aaug)	2 bars (Am -> E7)
Second theme	14 bars (C)	20 bars (C)	17 bars (D)	10 bars (E)	10 bars (D)	16 bars (A)
[Episode]	12 bars (C#m -> B7)	-	-	-	-	-
Closing section	5 bars (Em)	9 bars (C)	14 bars (D)	14 bars (E)	8 bars (D -> D7b9)	14 bars (A -> A7b9)
Coda	-	-	-	-	8 bars (Gm - Dm)	11 bars (Dm - Am)

Observations	No repeat -- Exceptionally, in this sonata there is a third tonal area right before the codettas, both in the exposition and recapitulation. These two passages have an episodic character rather than presenting a new theme, and start in surprisingly unexpected keys, respectively Bm (iii of III) and C#m (vi of i).	-	Repeat optional (<i>Wiederholung ad libitum</i>)	-	Repeat mandatory (<i>Wiederholung obligat!</i>) -- The coda starts with a plagal cadence through a dramatic dominant minor ninth chord.	No repeat -- The coda has two separate sections: a slow one in 4/4 beginning in Dm and recalling the Introduction, and an <i>alla breve</i> section which vigorously ends the piece in the original key. Like in the other clarinet sonata, the coda starts with a plagal cadence through a dominant minor ninth chord.
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One of the first unifying characteristics observed in these sonatas is the relatively short length of their first movements. They last on average 139 bars, which could be considered short even when compared to Beethoven's early chamber sonatas from a century and a half earlier.⁵⁶ The shortest one, the Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar, has an only 105-bar long first movement. On the other hand, the first movement of the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar has 168 bars, justified not only by its slightly extended inner sections but also the presence of an introduction and a coda.

These economical first movements derive not only from Rebay's understanding of the ideal instrumentation possibilities but also reflect a conversational style, as formerly emphasized in the context of nineteenth-century domestic chamber music. Rebay relies heavily on thematic presentations, with few motivic-driven passages. Often, at least one of the two themes in the expositions and recapitulations is presented once by each instrument (which accounts for first or second theme sections that last around 16 bars), and the developments mirror the texture of the outer sections. Transitions and codas are usually merely connective or punctuating, unlike the more adventurous examples of Rebay's

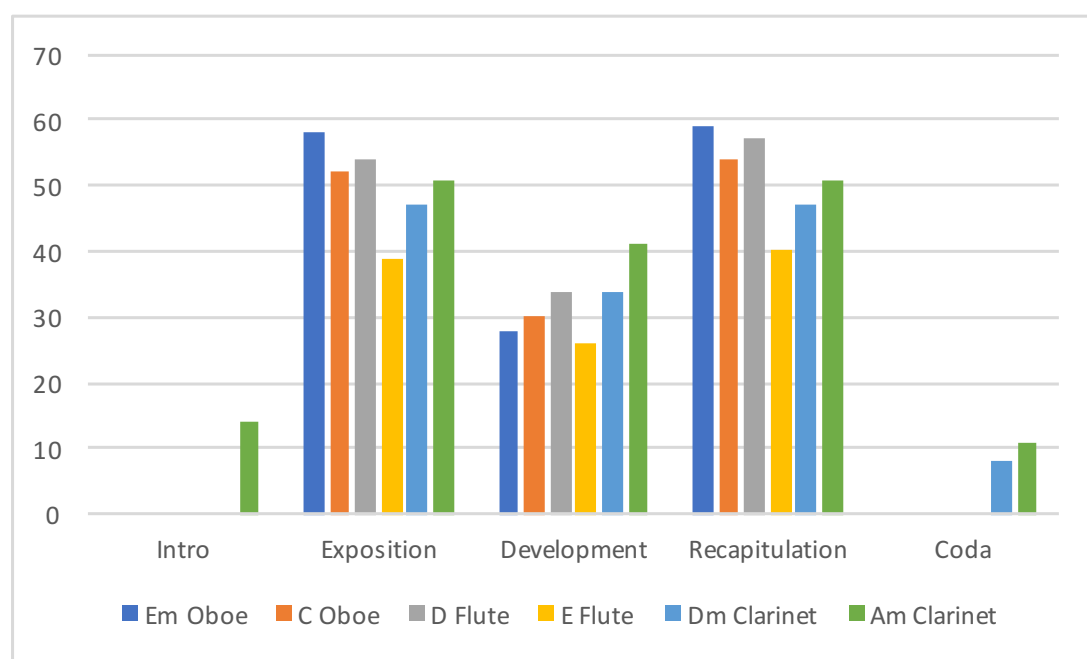
⁵⁶ The average first movement's length of the three violin and piano sonatas from Beethoven's Op. 12 (1797-98) is 215 bars long.

predecessors such as Schubert, who often inserted extended third tonal areas in his sonata-form movements.⁵⁷

Rebay's choices may also be related to a stylistic maturation. As a matter of fact, his early Piano Sonata in A minor (1902)—later arranged as the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars—has a 231-bar long first movement, while the opening movement of his String Quartet in F, from the same year, reaches 303 bars. In fact, these early works show more of a Brahmsian influence and are structurally more adventurous than his later sonatas.

More revealing, however, is to compare the lengths of the inner sections of the sonatas for woodwinds and guitar (Figure 3.1). Introductions and codas, when present, are shown separated from main sections.

Figure 3.1. Overview of the sonata-form sections in the first movements of Rebay's six sonatas for woodwinds and guitar.



The chart shows a remarkable symmetry between expositions and recapitulations in each sonata. In practice, this means that Rebay uses exactly the same material in these sections, with the expected tonal arrangements. This kind of symmetrical treatment of the outer

⁵⁷ An exception within this sample is the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, which presents an episode in contrasting keys both in the exposition and recapitulation; arguably, a third tonal area.

sections, while perfectly fitting the “textbook model”, may prove too predictable to the listener and could be pointed out as a compositional weakness. In the recapitulation of the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar, Rebay minimizes the problem by rewriting the first-theme’s guitar accompaniment in a more elaborate way, similarly to what he does in the recurring sections of rondos. The symmetry, however, remains intact.

Another characteristic clearly observed in the chart is that the developments are considerably shorter than the outer sections. Although one occasionally hears some degree of motivic development, Rebay’s main development tool involves thematic repetitions, both partial and whole, thus continuing the conversational texture of the exposition. On the other hand, the most remarkable characteristic of Rebay’s developments is the tonal variety, often exploring thematic presentations in unusual keys for the instrument, such as D \flat , B, B \flat m or A \flat . This reinforces his opinion of the guitar’s harmonic potential, expressed in his 1926 article quoted in Chapter 1: “But there is no chord or modulation impossible for the guitar, not to say the effects of which only the guitar is capable”.⁵⁸ An additional aspect of the developments in these sonatas is that Rebay usually writes the retransition for the guitar solo, giving the instrument full responsibility for preparing the recapitulation.

Again, both the symmetrical outer sections and the shorter developments which privilege thematic reiteration over complex motivic-work are characteristics of nineteenth-century middle-class amateur sonatas. This aspect is described by Sumner Lott when analysing Spohr’s String Quintet in A minor, Op. 91: “This development, with its brevity and straightforwardness, fulfils the requirements of a standard sonata form first movement without becoming too self-consciously serious; it spins out some of the most enjoyable moments of the exposition and returns to those materials in the recapitulation as quickly as possible”.⁵⁹ The idea of music written with the performer’s enjoyment in mind supports some speculations raised in Chapter 2, particularly the fact that Rebay’s guitar music may have been performed domestically much more often than the documented public performances reveal.

⁵⁸ Rebay, “Prof. Ferdinand Rebay - Gitarrekomposition”, 2.

⁵⁹ Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, 91.

It represented, as a reviewer once called it, the “*Kabinettstücke der Kammermusik und Hausmusik*”.⁶⁰

Rebay seems to have achieved a successful model for his sonata-form movements and, rather than trying to push its boundaries in a time when sonata-writing was already an old-fashioned compositional choice, he was content to replicate it. As a matter of fact, although it would be beyond the goals of this chapter to survey the structure of all of Rebay’s more than 30 sonatas or sonata-structured works, the treatment described above can be observed in the sonata-form movements of his other chamber works that have already been recorded. Such is the case of his two quartets or the Septet in A minor for Woodwind Quintet and Two Guitars, for example.⁶¹ However, the two guitar works which are arrangements of previous piano sonatas—the *Sonate in einem Satz* for Guitar and the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars—show a different style. Although still melodically-oriented, in those pieces Rebay’s structural treatment is more daring, presenting extended and more motivic-driven developments. A brief structural overview of the Grand Duo in comparison with the sonatas for woodwinds and guitar will be shown in Chapter 6.

3.6 ASSESSING REBAY’S SONATAS

In the 2006 article that introduced Rebay to the guitar community, Gaitzsch posed a question that has still not been answered: should Rebay’s music be measured by comparing his style to that of past and contemporary luminaries such as Brahms or Schoenberg, or should he be valued by his unique contribution to the guitar repertoire?⁶² The provocative title of the article—“Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?”—justifies a clarification of the term “epigone”. According to Newman, the epigone sonata composer trademarks are “a high technical competence, untroubled neatness and propriety in the handling of styles and forms, sure practicalness and effectiveness, and a certain initial gloss

⁶⁰ See p. 97.

⁶¹ Gonzalo Noqué et al., *Rebay : Quartets for Guitar, Flute & Strings*, Brilliant Classics BC9250, 2012, Audio CD; Omar Fassa et al., *Ferdinand Rebay : Music for Winds and Guitar*, Sheva Collection SH117, 2015, Audio CD.

⁶² Gaitzsch, “Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?”, 11-18.

and excitement that quickly reduce to hollow academicism”.⁶³ This is a comprehensive but derogatory definition, based on a limited mid-twentieth century historical perspective which nevertheless still reflects the enduring Romantic values of musical autonomy and originality, disregarding non-aesthetical parameters which may be equally significant.

In spite of its conservative connotation, the sonata genre continued to interest composers throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Newman’s surveyed examples by 625 Romantic composers—a number far larger than his surveys of previous eras—resulting in an “educated guess” of about 10,000 sonatas published, not counting the many thousands that remained in manuscript.⁶⁴ It seems odd that only a relatively small sample of those achieved a permanent space in the concert halls. A clue can be inferred from Newman’s own opinion about Robert Fuchs, Rebay’s former teacher and himself a prolific composer of sonatas. While acknowledging the high level of craftsmanship in Fuchs’s sonatas, Newman pointed out that his proximity to Brahms turned out to be a disadvantage, because Fuchs’s music “does not offer enough that is either new or different to assure it an independent life of its own”.⁶⁵ By placing Fuchs in the shadow of Brahms because he is not different enough, Newman again perpetuated enduring nineteenth-century values while dismissing authentic creative impulses as epigonal.

The obsession with innovation is still ingrained in today’s audiences. A recent social media comment on my recording of Rebay’s Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar mentioned, with a hint of sarcasm, that the composer was “only 100 years behind his time”.⁶⁶ As a matter of fact, if we are to judge Rebay’s music by the criteria of stylistic innovation, little debate is necessary and his music can be easily dismissed as epigonal. A few facts support this point of view, both in his tonal and formal handling of musical material. While not alone in this practice, Rebay’s conservative tonal language in the 1920s and beyond is completely at odds with Modernism, epitomized in German-speaking countries by the so-called Second

⁶³ Newman, *The sonata since Beethoven*, 132.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 15, 83.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 417.

⁶⁶ Luiz Mantovani, “Facebook Post”, accessed 1 September 2017, <http://www.facebook.com/groups/classical.guitar.movement/permalink/1503861213028675>.

Viennese School. Even when considering the late-Romantic stretched tonal language of Mahler and Strauss, for example, Rebay's harmonic handling is not as bold as one would expect from someone who had had so much contact with the music of Wagner, not to mention contemporaries such as Schreker and Korngold.⁶⁷ While often writing in what could be chronologically termed a "neoclassical" style, instead of offering a modern interpretation of the classics as did Stravinsky or Hindemith, Rebay's idiom is in fact closer to that of his nineteenth-century Viennese forerunners, justifying the label "anachronistic". Formally speaking, there is nothing in Rebay's sonata-design that had not been extensively explored before by former composers such as Beethoven or Schubert; as seen above, his sonatas or sonata-structured works fit comfortably the "textbook model" proposed by Reicha, Marx and Czerny, oftentimes bordering on academicism. Finally, while sharing some formal traits with a "Romantic classicist" such as Brahms, on a deeper level Rebay's writing lacks the ingenious motivic work so characteristic of Brahms's style and recognized as a maturation of Beethoven's, as highlighted by Schoenberg in his 1947 essay, "Brahms the Progressive".⁶⁸

By associating Rebay with Brahms, Gaitzsch may have generated unfulfilled expectations within the guitar community. In support of a supposed stylistic resemblance between the two composers, he compared Brahms's chamber works for clarinet with those by Fuchs and Rebay, illustrating his hypothesis with the clarinet's first phrase in Brahms's Clarinet Trio in A minor, Op. 114 and in Rebay's Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar. However, his argument is not developed enough, superficially relying on a similar melodic shape as well as generalizations such as "the prevalence of minor keys, switches between the A- and B \flat -clarinet, the often polyphonic writing, and the frequent employment of the variation form".⁶⁹ While a strong Brahms influence was undeniably felt amongst composers of Rebay's generation, outside of the lieder and choral realms Rebay's lighter style only tangentially touches Brahms's. Instead, it could be argued that his instrumental music bears more resemblance to that of his former teacher and Brahms's protégé, Robert Fuchs.

⁶⁷ It must be acknowledged, however, that many of Rebay's miniatures show a harmonic treatment that can be more directly associated with late-Romanticism. At some level, his choice for a more conservative harmonic idiom seems to be related to the sonata's structural tightness.

⁶⁸ Schoenberg, "Brahms the Progressive", 398-441.

⁶⁹ Gaitzsch, "Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?", 17.

Fuchs has been noted for his formal craftsmanship, ingenious use of modulation, a Schubertian heritage that incorporated rhythms such as the *ländler* and waltz, and a Brahmsian treatment of musical material and textures, especially in his later chamber music.⁷⁰ During his lifetime, he acquired fame as a composer of lighter serenades (hence the contemporaneous nickname “Serenaden-Fuchs”), although this is just but one side of his musical personality.⁷¹ While often associated with Brahms due to the latter’s patronage and friendship, a supposed similarity between his and Brahms’s style may not be taken for granted, as a *Gramophone* magazine review of a recording of his cello sonatas asserts. Says the reviewer, “Closer acquaintance with the music suggests considerable difference from Brahms ... [Fuchs was] essentially a melodic composer, but one with not only the fine pedagogue’s mastery of such things as fugal techniques, but a highly personal and attractive love of surprising and elegant modulations”.⁷² The description could well fit Rebay’s style, which relies more on thematic contrast than motivic work for his sonata-form movements, often treasuring extended lyrical melodies and making innovative use of the harmonic resources of the guitar.

In face of all that has been discussed, a better way of assessing Rebay’s true importance as a composer is not to place him against his contemporaries and illustrious forerunners, but to the actual guitaristic establishment against which he reacted by composing sophisticated guitar music. In doing so, the image of Rebay as an epigone quickly gives way to that of a progressive composer, helping rescue the guitar from its mediocrity through music of a type and scope previously almost non-existent. This alternative—and fairer—way of looking at Rebay’s guitar sonatas involves acknowledging his anachronism not as a weakness but simply as a stylistic characteristic, particularly given the potential gap his music helps to fill when considering the instrument’s limited nineteenth-century sonata repertoire. On that tone, Gaitzsch had already pointed out that “When exploring this music [the large-scale works for melodic instrument and guitar], one is struck by the generous

⁷⁰ Pascall, “Robert Fuchs, 1847-1927”, 115.

⁷¹ It is appropriate to recall that in 1904 Rebay won a state award from the Ministry of Education while still a student of Fuchs, for his Serenade for Orchestra. See p. 69.

⁷² John Warrack, “Fuchs Works for Cello and Piano”, *Gramophone*, April 1993, accessed 17 June 2017, <http://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/fuchs-works-for-cello-and-piano>.

conception, the ample respiration, the variety and mastery of form”, also stressing the idiomatic writing for all instruments involved.⁷³

A look at the current reception of his music can be equally helpful. As Rebay’s rediscovery took place, a handful of CDs in the market inspired a few independent reviews, many of which corroborated Gaitzsch’s early impressions. A review published in the site *HRAudio.net* is particularly interesting because it avoids letting the historical context bias the musical judgement. After admitting the difficulties of reviewing an unknown composer’s CD, the reviewer says:

It becomes immediately apparent that Ferdinand Rebay is not an innovator like, for instance, his contemporary and compatriot, Arnold Schoenberg. While developing his own erudite style, he clearly continues to draw on traditional values. Written in 1941-42, his music is thoroughly tonal, rooted in late romantic, melodious expressions. Well structured, sophisticated and refined.⁷⁴

Judging from what has been investigated in Chapter 1, “well-structured, sophisticated and refined” are adjectives seldom appropriate for describing guitar music composed between the 1850s and the 1920s, especially that cultivated in the guitar clubs.

A similar point of view can be seen in a recent review of my own ensemble’s performance of Rebay’s Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars: “Though the work itself does not venture stylistically far from traditional Viennese romanticism (or even classicism), it contains much beautiful and dramatic material, artfully woven together into three substantial movements totalling about twenty-five minutes”.⁷⁵ While recognizing the composer’s old-fashioned idiom, the reviewer emphasizes Rebay’s thematic work and formal craftsmanship, also highlighting the work’s proportion, which indeed has no parallel in the original guitar duo literature.

⁷³ Gaitzsch, “Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?”, 14.

⁷⁴ Adrian Quanjer, “Rebay : Sonata for Violin and Guitar in E minor; Sonata for Violin and Guitar in C minor; Sonata for Viola and Guitar in D minor”, *HRAudio.net*, accessed 30 August 2017, <http://www.hraudio.net/showmusic.php?title=10773#reviews>.

⁷⁵ Rorianne Schrade, “Pro Musicis Presents the NOVA Guitar Duo in Review”, *New York Concert Review*, accessed 14 January 2019, <http://nyconcertreview.com/reviews/pro-musicis-presents-the-nova-guitar-duo-in-review>.

The uniqueness of Rebay's guitar music and its deserved place in the repertoire is an issue frequently raised by reviewers with more familiarity with the instrument. The independent blog *Wenatchee the Hatchet* presents extended analyses of several of Rebay's large-scale works recorded in the past few years. While praising Rebay's efforts in coming up with a substantial chamber music corpus, the author affirms that "The more we get to see of it, [it] looks as though it may play a role in the chamber repertoire for the guitar not unlike that of Hindemith's giant cycle of chamber sonatas for the piano".⁷⁶ Despite the different idioms, the comparison with Hindemith is feasible, particularly when considering the varied instrumental combinations that both composers explored. In Hindemith's chamber sonatas, the concept of *Gebrauchsmusik* (utility music) is pervasive and suggests that the music has been intended as a means to initiate amateurs into the modern idiom.⁷⁷ Loosely speaking and without the political or derogatory connotations later associated with the term, a utilitarian essence may also be ascribed to Rebay's guitar music, which aimed at introducing guitarists to an idiom and practice that had long been foreign to their instrument. Perhaps for this exact reason, playing Rebay's guitar music requires an expanded assortment of technical and expressive tools when compared to the demands of most original nineteenth-century music.

3.7 CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, after tracing an overview of the Romantic sonata developments and surveying the small but significant corpus of nineteenth-century guitar sonatas, I presented Rebay's sonatas and sonata-structured works, highlighted their main structural characteristics and emphasized their importance in the guitar repertoire. I suggested that, when considered beyond mere stylistic characteristics, Rebay can be seen as a progressive and innovative composer for the guitar, making unique use of the sonata genre and form. Different than what has been suggested by Gaitzsch, I concluded that Rebay's sonatas do not have the same structural breadth and motivic-work as Brahms's, bearing more resemblance with the

⁷⁶ Jeremiah Lawson, "Rebay's Chamber Cycle for Guitar and Hindemith's Chamber Cycle", *Wenatchee the Hatchet*, 10 March 2012, accessed 31 August 2017, <http://wenatcheethehatchet.blogspot.co.uk/2012/03/rebays-chamber-cycle-for-guitar-and.html>.

⁷⁷ Foundation Hindemith, "Gebrauchsmusik (Music for Use)", accessed 18 September 2017, <http://www.hindemith.info/en/life-work/biography/1918-1927/work/gebrauchsmusik-music-for-use>.

melodically-oriented sonatas of Fuchs, and structurally related to the conversational style often seen in the Austro-German domestic chamber sonatas of the nineteenth-century.

Rebay's sonatas offer a unique opportunity for guitarists: the chance of thoroughly exercising a genre and form—the post-Beethovenian sonata—previously non-existent for the instrument. Furthermore, unlike the typical use of the guitar in nineteenth-century chamber music, in Rebay's chamber sonatas the instrument is given the same melodic stature as its chamber partners. Even more significant, however, is the fact that by writing for the guitar in a genre that remained associated with greatness and prestige, Rebay attempted to reinvent the instrument in the eyes of the mainstream Viennese audiences. Together with Chapters 1 and 2, this chapter provided the necessary elements to situate Rebay's guitar music within the repertoire, concluding Part 1 of this thesis. Part 2 will approach the practical issues encountered when performing Rebay's selected sonatas, from selecting the sources to realizing his complex notation and intervening in the composer's text.

Part 2 - Performing Rebay

4 SELECTING THE MUSIC SOURCES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

A published score is often the first contact performers will have with a composer's text and, like any set of instructions, it demands an interpretation of conventionalized symbols. However, this process rarely represents a straightforward connection to the composer's ideas, especially if the text has been edited. As stressed by Grier, "Editing consists of the interaction between the authority of the composer and the authority of the editor", later asserting that "Editorial intervention is unavoidable, if not outright obligatory, no matter how undesirable".¹ Since we cannot always have access to primary sources, evaluating the textual sources is a fundamental step when selecting a trustworthy edition for performance. Although I recognize the convenience and benefits of using the available published scores of Rebay's guitar music, I often questioned their authority in my earlier performances. Most problems arose from obvious typographical and editorial errors, which were later confirmed by comparing them with Rebay's (almost always) clear manuscripts. While the search for error-free sources motivated me to play from his manuscripts, as a scholar I recognized them as historical documents which provided a wealth of additional information, ranging from notational idiosyncrasies to evidence of collaborative activity.

This chapter's goal is to identify and justify my choices of textual sources for Rebay's selected sonatas.² Although it includes a survey of published editions and recordings, its core is the critical analysis of the manuscripts, particularly those held in the Stift Heiligenkreuz and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. I will trace their origins, identify their main characteristics and relate their existence to previously surveyed performances of Rebay's guitar music during his lifetime. Much of the investigation concentrates on the authorship of the manuscripts. While the manuscript scores can safely be categorized as Rebay's autographs, I conclude that the available guitar parts were not made by his hands, but copied by his sister, Emilie Rebay. As will be investigated further in Chapter 6, she likely worked from revised autographs which contain many traces of Rebay's interactions with his guitarists, such

¹ James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music : History, Method and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2, 4.

² The seven selected sonatas were named in the Introduction of this thesis. See pp. 4-5.

as edited notes, fingerings and other annotations. Understanding the manuscripts' provenance is therefore essential for establishing a version that considers not only the composer's original text but its evolution through performance.

4.2 REBAY'S GUITAR MUSIC REPOSITORIES

As discussed in Chapter 2, most of Rebay's guitar music was not published during his lifetime. Apart from the few albums of short pieces published by Viennese companies Hawlik, Hladky and Dörr, three short pieces published by the American Guitar Society in a collection organized by Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, and two short pieces published in a 1952 issue of the American magazine *The Guitar Review*, all of his guitar music remained in manuscript and is today held in the libraries and archives identified in Table 4.1. The number of manuscripts reflects the results displayed in online catalogues at the time of writing, with the exception of the Stift Heiligenkreuz, whose number was taken from Ferdinand Rebay's catalogue prepared by Maria Chervenlieva-Gelew (partially mirrored on RISM).³

Table 4.1. Libraries and archives holding Rebay's guitar music manuscripts.

Name	City	RISM Sigla	MSS
Stift Heiligenkreuz ⁴	Heiligenkreuz im Wienerwald	A-HE	376
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	Vienna	A-Wn	168
Wienbibliothek im Rathaus	Vienna	A-Wst	30
Moravské zemské muzeum (Moravian Museum) ⁵	Brno	CZ-Bm	22
CSUN Oviatt Library ⁶	Northridge	US-NRol	5

³ Chervenlieva-Gelew and Gelew, "Thematisch-Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Musikalischen Werke von Ferdinand Rebay". A now outdated catalogue of Rebay's works held in the Stift Heiligenkreuz exists in dissertation format. See Galesso, "Catalogo tematico delle opere per chitarra situate nell'abbazia cistercense di Heiligenkreuz".

⁴ From the total of 376 pieces with guitar in the A-HE catalogue, 84 are chamber or guitar-ensemble music, 136 are solo music and 156 are lieder with guitar accompaniment.

⁵ Although Galesso specifies 28 works in his dissertation, I received a list of entries directly from CZ-Bm and it lists only 22 guitar works by Rebay. Irena Veselá, e-mail message to the author, 14 February 2016.

⁶ Rebay's works at US-NRol are part of the Vahdah Olcott-Bickford Collection. However, their online entries do not specify if the works are in manuscript or published format. While I arrived at the number of manuscripts by inference, assurance would only be possible by checking the collection in person.

According to the information once available on the A-Wn website, all of Rebay's manuscripts were originally part of his estate and donated by Hammerschmid between 1973 and 1976.⁷ Although comparable information is unavailable from A-HE, Gaitzsch affirms that their manuscripts were also donated by Hammerschmid, as the second half of his estate.⁸ That is plausible, because when the same chamber work is found at both A-Wn and A-HE, usually the former will hold the score and an envelope, while the latter will hold the parts, suggesting that Hammerschmid deliberately separated parts from scores.⁹ Perhaps splitting the estate among the two libraries was an attempt to guarantee that Rebay's music would not be lost in the event of loss or damage in one of the collections. Together, these two repositories hold the manuscripts for nearly all of Rebay's known guitar works.

The manuscripts at A-Wst are part of Carl Dobrauz's musical estate, with one exception: the second guitar part of Rebay's *Serenade for Quart Guitar and Guitar*, which according to their online catalogue belongs to Franz Schwarz's musical estate. At the time of writing, this piece could not be found in the catalogues of any other of the aforementioned libraries, although it has been reportedly performed in a *Hauskonzert* by Walker and Dobrauz in 1949.¹⁰ According to *Wien Geschichte Wiki*, Schwarz was an Austrian Kapellmeister and conductor, contemporary with Rebay, and might have been in the audience on the occasion of the *Serenade's* performance.¹¹ While Dobrauz was a renowned Viennese guitarist and responsible for editing and publishing some of Rebay's pieces for Hladky—which explains his ownership of Rebay's manuscripts—the fact that Schwarz owned a single part of an otherwise

⁷ Due to privacy matters, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek no longer includes donor information in their catalogue. However, the information was confirmed via e-mail by Dr Andrea Harrandt. Andrea Harrandt, e-mail message to the author, 20 March 2019.

⁸ Gaitzsch, "Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?", 13.

⁹ This is true not only for his guitar chamber music, but for some of his other chamber music as well, such as the String Quartet No. 2 in F and the Sonata in C minor for Cello and Piano. In her catalogue of Rebay's works at A-HE, Chervenlieva-Gelew claims that most of the manuscript sources of the sonatas for woodwinds and guitar contain a score and a part. Having consulted several works from that collection, I find they usually consist of two parts: a guitar part (which shows the other instrument in reduced scale) and a woodwind instrument part.

¹⁰ See pp. 101-102.

¹¹ "Franz Schwarz", *Wien Geschichte Wiki*, accessed 14 September 2018, http://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Franz_Schwarz.

unknown guitar piece by Rebay suggests that further manuscripts by Rebay may still exist in private collections.¹²

The manuscripts at US-NRol are copies purchased by Olcott-Bickford from Hammerschmid, today kept in the Vahdah Olcott-Bickford Collection, part of the International Guitar Research Archive (IGRA). Judging from a photocopy of their manuscript score of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, they do not differ from the manuscripts housed at A-Wn and A-HE, having been copied by Emilie Rebay on the occasion of the music purchase by Olcott-Bickford. Finally, according to Galesso, the manuscripts at Cz-Bm are copies of the autographs held in A-Wn.¹³ An exception is the Sonata in E for Guitar, whose manuscript was copied by Fritz Czernuschka. It exists only in this collection, thus adding a solo guitar sonata to the group of six that are held in A-HE.¹⁴

In the preface of the guitar duos published by Hladky in 1949, Dobrauz mentioned that Rebay had composed “more than 600 works with and for the guitar, but only a small number has been performed publicly”.¹⁵ Considering what has been reported above and that most of the chamber music held in both A-HE and A-Wn is duplicated, Dobrauz’s number may be exaggerated.

4.3 MANUSCRIPTS

4.3.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

As explained by Grier, “When sources associated with the composer, such as the autograph, or a printed edition published under the supervision of the composer, survive, it is possible to speak of a composer’s text”.¹⁶ Such is the case of the manuscript sources of the selected sonatas by Rebay. The fact that these pieces were first published around fifty years after the composer’s death invests the manuscripts with even more authority, since they are the only

¹² It is possible that Luise Walker kept some manuscripts of Rebay’s music (at least the ones she had performed), but I did not have access to her musical estate.

¹³ Galesso, “Catalogo tematico delle opere per chitarra situate nell’abbazia cistercense di Heiligenkreuz”, 5.

¹⁴ Thanks to Gonzalo Noqué for clarifying this point.

¹⁵ Rebay, “Duo’s für zwei Gitarren”, 1, 5.

¹⁶ Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music : History, Method and Practice*, 109.

link to the performance tradition that developed during Rebay's lifetime through Hammerschmid and a few of her colleagues. Therefore, although the modern editions may be important for disseminating Rebay's guitar music in the present and future, the manuscripts hold a unique historical interest.

Grier affirms that "All sources present two interrelated aspects: as historical documents and as the repositories of readings", later adding that "Different sources, or distinct layers of the same source, record stages of the work's evolution as it passes through revision and refinement".¹⁷ In Rebay's case, one can identify layers of information in some of the manuscript scores that suggest a collaborative refinement of the guitar writing. On the other hand, the available manuscript guitar parts are clearly a post-revision product, incorporating many modifications suggested by the annotations seen in the scores. Due to the close collaboration between Rebay and Hammerschmid in the revision of his guitar writing, the existing manuscript guitar parts can be understood as the *Fassung letzter Hand*, i.e., the last version sanctioned by the composer. Nevertheless, the manuscript scores often provide invaluable information about performer interventions in Rebay's text, as will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter 6.

4.3.2 INFERRING REBAY'S MANUSCRIPT AUTHORSHIP

Investigating manuscript authorship is important because it permits reconstructing historical evidence that can support an understanding of the creative and performance history of the piece. I have discovered that the only sources of the selected sonatas which are unmistakably by Rebay are the manuscript scores. The manuscript guitar parts were in fact copied by his sister, Emilie Rebay, while the other instruments' parts may have been copied by a third hand. My process of inferring manuscript authorship is described below.

Table 4.2 shows a list of the manuscript sources of the selected sonatas, ordered by date of composition.

¹⁷ Ibid., 38-39.

Table 4.2. Manuscript sources of Rebay's selected sonatas.

Sonata	Date	Sources ¹⁸	Shelfmark ID
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	11/2/1925	A-Wn (score) A-HE (gtr and ob parts) US-NRol (score and ob part)	F40.Rebay.38 FRWV IV 6/H-1 VOB3769
Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars	18/5/1940	A-HE (score, possibly a draft)	FRWV IV 6/A-6
Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar	1/11/1941	A-Wn (score) A-HE (score photocopy)	F40.Rebay.23 FRWV IV 6/K-4
Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar	2/1/1942	A-Wn (score) A-HE (gtr and fl parts)	F40.Rebay.37 FRWV IV 6/F-3
Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar	17/1/1942	A-Wn (score) A-HE (gtr and ob parts) CZ-Bm (score) ¹⁹	F40.Rebay.12 FRWV IV 6/H-2 A 24 987
Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar	31/7/1942	A-Wn (score) A-HE (gtr part) CZ-Bm (score)	F40.Rebay.28 FRWV IV 6/F-4 A 24 991
Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar	21/10/1942	A-HE (score and draft)	FRWV IV 6/K-5

Although both scores and guitar parts of the selected sonatas are listed as autographs in the A-Wn and A-HE catalogues, the two sources reveal a different musical handwriting. Examples 4.1 and 4.2 show the same excerpt of the Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar taken from the score at A-Wn and the guitar part at A-HE. Significant differences can be observed, for example, in the drawing of the treble clef (1), the sharp accidentals (2), dynamic markings (3) and particularly the trill sign (4).

Example 4.1. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M2, bb. 38-41).



¹⁸ For instrument abbreviations, I have chosen the standard procedure used by Boosey and Hawkes, as listed in http://www.boosey.com/downloads/BH_StandardAbbreviations_New.pdf.

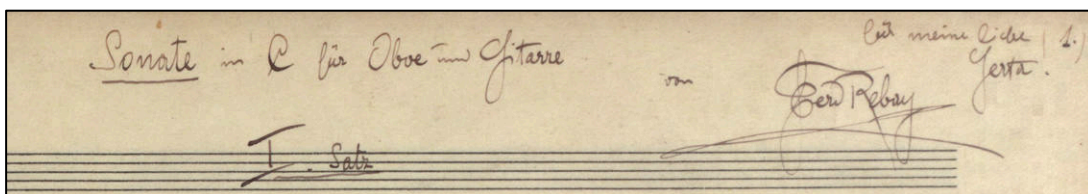
¹⁹ I could not check the manuscripts at Cz-Bm in person. I thus accept Galesso's claim that the two sonatas listed in the table are copies of the manuscript scores held in A-Wn.

Example 4.2. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M2, bb. 38-41).

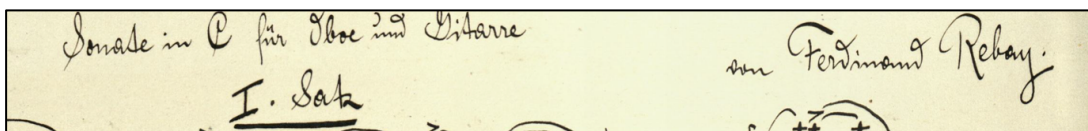


Additional discrepancies are evident from the handwriting in the first pages of both versions (Examples 4.3 and 4.4). There are marked differences between the capital letters "S", "O" and "G", as well as the crossing height of the letter "t", also observed in the trill marking in the former two examples.

Example 4.3. Handwriting sample from the autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar.

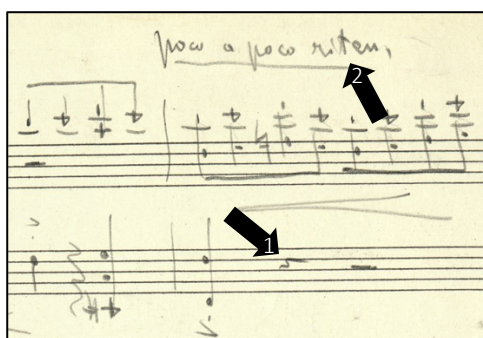


Example 4.4. Handwriting sample from the manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar.



Finally, comparing Rebay's draft handwriting—such as in the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar or the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars—with other manuscript sources reveals similarities between them and the scores, as well as differences in relation to the guitar parts. In Examples 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7, this is clear in the recurring marking of the crotchet rest (1), as well as the letter "t" crossing (2).

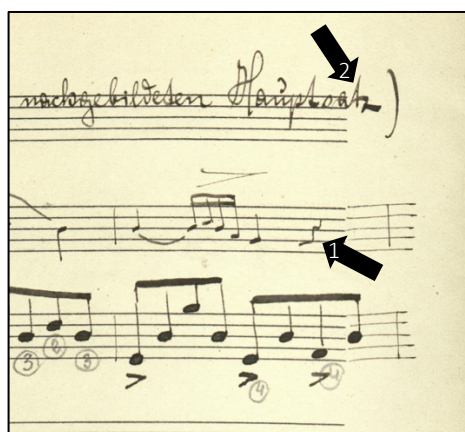
Example 4.5. Detail of the draft score of the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars.



Example 4.6. Detail of the autograph score of the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar.



Example 4.7. Detail of the manuscript guitar part of the Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar.

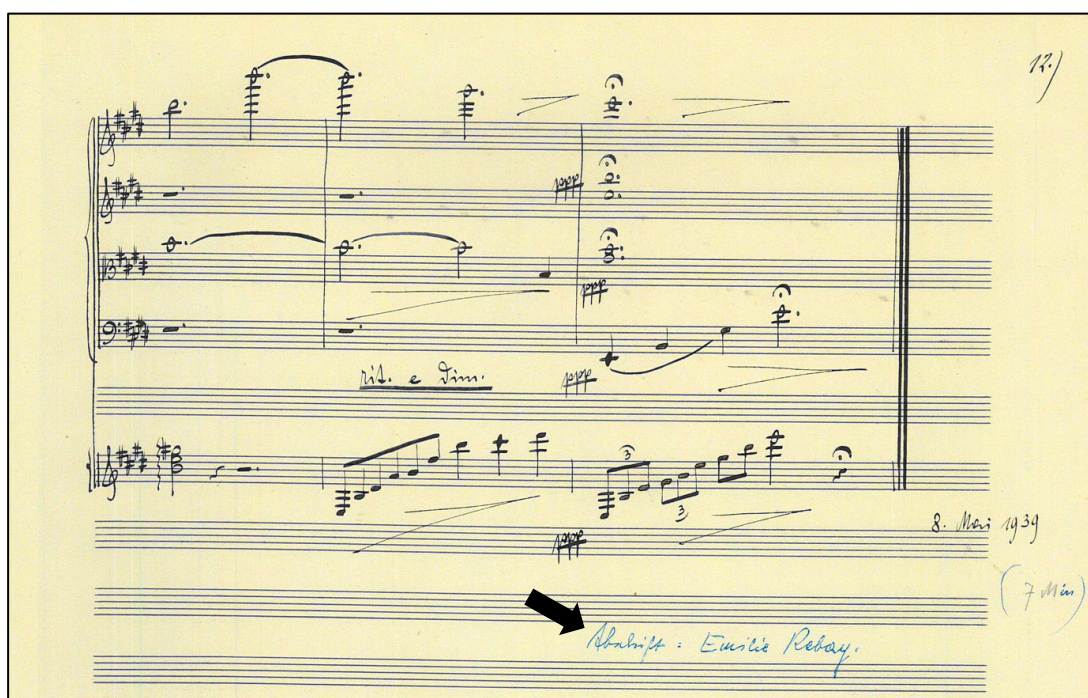


Therefore, if we assume that the draft was made by the composer, we may conclude that the manuscript scores held in A-Wn were prepared by Rebay and thus can be rightfully called autographs, while the guitar parts at A-HE and US-NRol were copied by somebody else.

In a letter to Olcott-Bickford from 1933, Hammerschmid offered Rebay's guitar music for purchase, adding that "Unfortunately the works are not printed; however, copies are

available through me".²⁰ It is unclear whether she would make the copies herself, but a clue is given through the manuscript of another guitar piece by Rebay held in A-HE, in which the copy authorship is credited to Rebay's sister, Emilie Rebay. Example 4.8 shows its last page with the copying credits.²¹

Example 4.8. Apograph score of Rebay's *Kleine Fantasie über Brahms' Lied „O, wüßt ich doch den Weg zurück“* for Guitar and String Quartet.



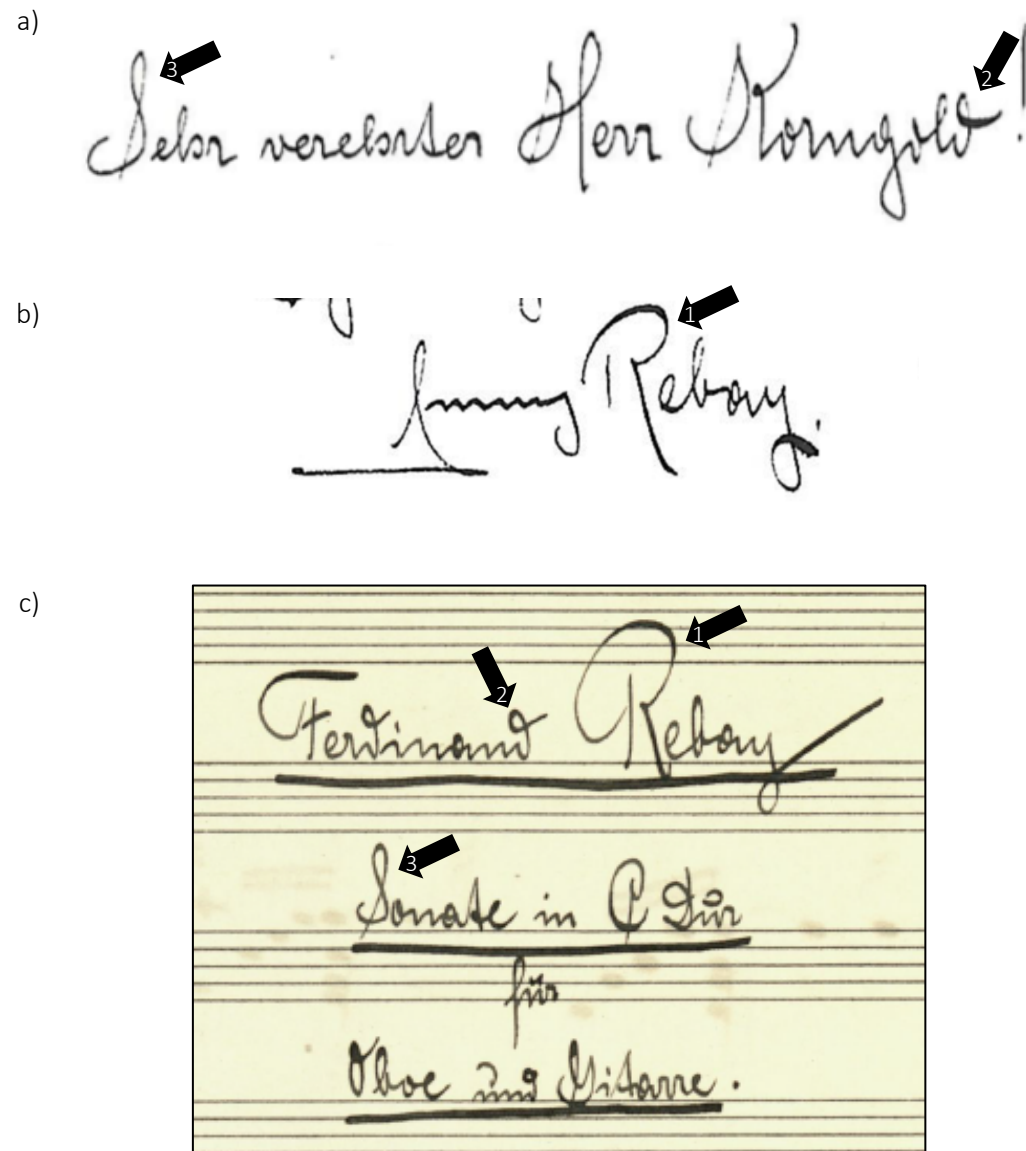
The handwriting is very similar to that of the manuscript guitar parts, and a brief examination of Rebay's sister professional activity may offer further clarification. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Emilie Rebay was a piano teacher and a professional copyist. Among her clients was the composer Erich Korngold (1897-1957), and handwritten letters exist confirming their professional relationship. Figure 4.1 shows excerpts of one such letter from 1924 (a and b),

²⁰ "Die Werke sind leider alle ungedruckt; aber sie sind durch mich abschriftlich erhältlich". Gerta Hammerschmid, "Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford", 27 May 1933, Handwritten letter (German), GH.VOB.MAY.27.1933, California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge.

²¹ Judging from the handwriting and the different ink colour, the copying credits (as well as the piece's duration) were added by Hammerschmid at a later date.

next to an excerpt of the manuscript guitar part's cover of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (c).²²

Figure 4.1. Handwriting in Emilie Rebay's 1924 letter to Korngold and in the manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar.



Although the handwriting is not identical (perhaps because twenty years separate the two documents), it is reasonable to assume that they were made by the same person. This is clear in the shape of the capital letter "R" (1) and is most obvious when comparing the idiosyncratic "d" in "Ferdinand" with that in "Korngold" (2). Also significant is the shape of Emilie Rebay's

²² Emilie Rebay, "Letter to Erich Korngold", 16 January 1924, Handwritten letter (German), Autogr. 940/24-2 HAN MAG, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

capital “S” (“Sehr” in the letter) compared to the “S” in “Sonate”. Therefore, even without looking at notational details, evidence suggests that the manuscript guitar parts of the selected sonatas were made by Emilie Rebay, after the autograph scores.

Finally, some of the woodwind instrument manuscript parts of the selected sonatas seem to have been copied by a third person. This is the case of the Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar and the Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar (Example 4.9).

Example 4.9. Manuscript flute part of the Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar (M2, bb. 1-20).



This handwriting clearly differs from that of Rebay’s and his sister’s. However, since my investigations in the next chapters deal only with the layers of information derived from the autograph score and manuscript guitar parts, tracing the authorship of the woodwind instrument manuscript parts is not essential within this thesis.

In summary, Table 4.3 shows the manuscript authorship of the selected sonatas, as inferred from the available sources. Henceforth, the manuscript scores will be referred to as “autograph scores”, and the copies made by Emilie Rebay as “manuscript guitar parts”.

Table 4.3. Manuscript authorship of Rebay's selected sonatas.

Sonata	Manuscript	F. Rebay	E. Rebay	unknown	n/a
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	score gtr part ob part	X	X X		
Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars	score gtr 1 part gtr 2 part	X			X X
Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar	score gtr part cl part	X			X X
Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar	score gtr part fl part	X	X	X	
Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar	score gtr part ob part	X	X	X	
Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar	score gtr part fl part	X	X		X
Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar	score gtr part cl part	X			X X

4.3.3 FINGERINGS

An important layer of information observed in some of the autograph scores and manuscript guitar parts of the selected sonatas is the presence of fingerings. They were likely added by Rebay's guitarists, since he did not play the instrument and therefore could not provide this level of specific information. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, fingerings are one of the few pieces of evidence for contemporary performance information in Rebay's guitar music and, by understanding how his music was fingered, it is possible to reimagine many stylistic conventions from Rebay's time. Table 4.4 lists the autographs and manuscript guitar parts which are partially or entirely fingered. The presence of fingerings—particularly in the manuscript guitar parts—is a strong indicator that the sonata was performed during Rebay's lifetime.

Table 4.4. Fingering availability in the manuscripts of Rebay's selected sonatas.

Sonata	Autograph score	Manuscript gtr part
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	YES (minimal)	YES
Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars	NO	n/a
Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar	YES (first movement only)	n/a
Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar	NO	YES
Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar	NO	NO
Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar	NO	YES
Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar	NO	NO

With the exception of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, it is safe to assume that the fingerings seen in the selected sonatas were made by Hammerschmid, because she was Rebay's main performer and dedicatee. Furthermore, the autograph score of the Sonata in E minor for Violin and Guitar has inscribed in the cover page "*Mit Fingersätzen von Gertha Hammerschmid*" (with fingerings by Gertha Hammerschmid) and the handwriting matches that of the fingering and annotations found in the autograph scores and manuscript guitar parts.

4.3.4 A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE EXISTENCE OF PARTS AND PERFORMANCES

Upon analysing the existing manuscript sources of the selected sonatas, one final question arises: why do some of the pieces have a full set of parts, while others have a partial set or none? The question may be related to the collaborative work between Rebay and Hammerschmid which will be explored in Chapter 6, as well as the performance history of each sonata.

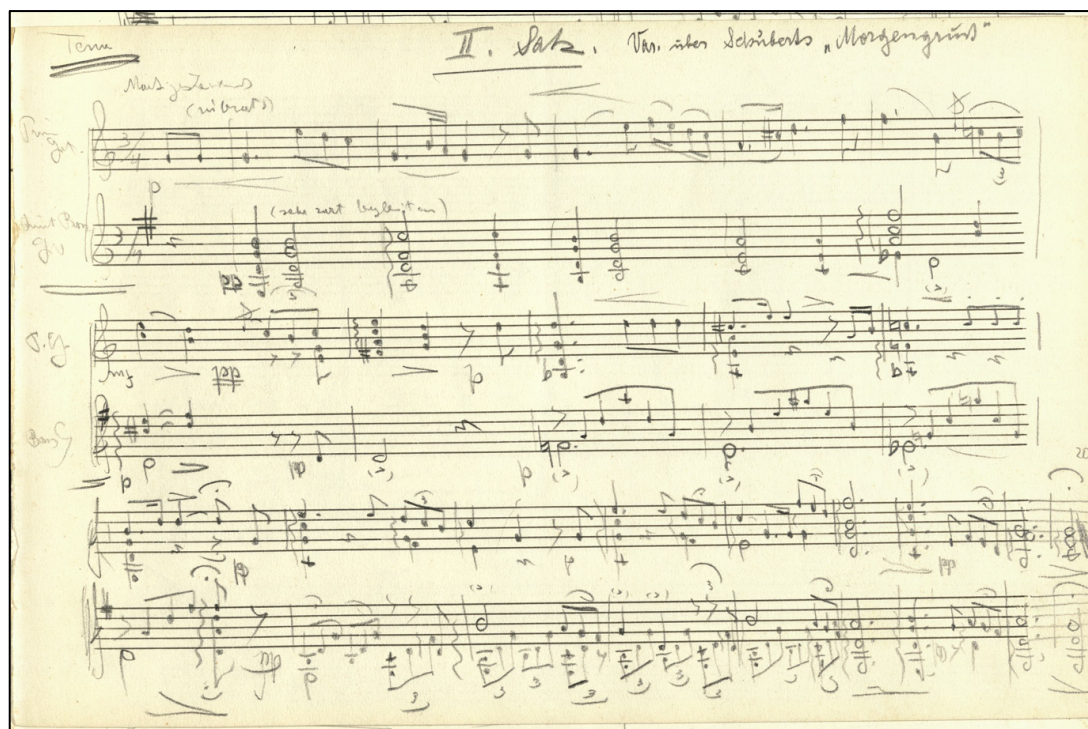
Manuscript parts exist for most of the sonatas which were reportedly performed during Rebay's lifetime, including the one that was performed the most frequently and widely, the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar. However, the Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar is clearly an exception. Although no parts are found at A-HE, the piece was performed at the Konzerthaus by Hammerschmid and clarinettist Willi Krause in 1942. The autograph displays fingerings and annotations in the first movement as well as paste-overs on a few bars, suggesting that it was amended by Rebay at some point. Because this sonata was performed publicly, it is likely that parts existed, but they might not have been kept by either Rebay or Hammerschmid, and therefore were missing from his musical estate when it was split between A-Wn and A-HE. Another exception, the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar, was possibly the sonata performed by Hammerschmid and Josef Niedermayr in 1943.²³ While the manuscript guitar part of this sonata is kept today at A-HE, the flute part is missing, suggesting that it may have been kept with Niedermayr, the piece's dedicatee.

Different circumstances surround the two other selected sonatas which survive only in autograph score. When compared to Rebay's neat musical handwriting, the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars looks like a draft. This had already been pointed out by Galesso, who

²³ See p. 79.

sees further evidence in the fact that, exceptionally, the piece is written in pencil.²⁴ While the notation matches Rebay's, the identification of the movements and a few other details seem to have been added later by Emilie Rebay (Figure 4.10).

Example 4.10. Autograph score of Rebay's Grand Duo in Am for Two Guitars (M2, bb. 1-19).



The absence of parts, fingerings or annotations suggests that the piece was neither performed nor revised during Rebay's lifetime. A measure of complexity is added upon acknowledging that the outer movements are Rebay's own arrangement of a 1902 piano sonata, the original version of which was revised and neatly rewritten by Rebay in 1944.²⁵ The central movement, on the other hand, was composed in 1940, originally for guitar duo.²⁶ It could be that Rebay's

²⁴ Galesso, "Catalogo tematico delle opere per chitarra situate nell'abbazia cistercense di Heiligenkreuz", 156.

²⁵ The manuscript score of this piano sonata is held in A-HE, under shelfmark ID FRWV VII 1/2 / VIII.

²⁶ Only the central movement of the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars is dated and therefore it is impossible to know when the draft for the outer movements was made. For practical purposes, however, I refer to the whole piece as having been composed in 1940.

original idea was to arrange the whole piano sonata, but, faced with issues while sketching the second movement, he decided to use a different piece instead.

Finally, the history of the Sonata in A \flat for Clarinet and Guitar remains obscure. The autograph score is neat as usual, but there are no fingerings or annotations. The piece has several technically demanding passages and even a few unplayable chords, which would surely have been corrected if Hammerschmid had revised the piece. No performance records were found, suggesting that parts were never necessary. A-HE also holds a draft of this piece attached to the autograph, the contents of which do not essentially differ from the main version, except for the fact that the clarinet part is written in concert pitch. The accompanying draft's handwriting is similar to that of the Grand Duo in A \flat for Two Guitars, which helped in the process of manuscript authorship identification.

4.4 CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

The first modern editions of Rebay's guitar music were made by Philomele Editions, a small company based in Geneva which specialized in publishing lesser-known guitar music from the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Their activities started in 1999 and their last publications date from 2006, but these editions are currently hard to locate. Philomele's founder, Johann Gaitzsch, had a major role in the rediscovery of Rebay, having also published an article about him in 2006.²⁷ In 2012, Madrid-based Eudora Editions started to publish Rebay's guitar music, edited by the company's founder, guitarist Gonzalo Noqué. The company also operates a recording label, Eudora Records, and released a CD with Rebay's bowed-string and guitar sonatas in 2015. In 2017, the Danish company Bergmann Edition started "The Ferdinand Rebay Project" in partnership with the Stift Heiligenkreuz, with a plan to publish almost 300 compositions by 2019.²⁸ Their publications are sold as a self-print pdf or print-on-demand copy. Other publishing companies that have also published a few guitar works by Rebay include the Canadian Les Productions d'Oz.

²⁷ Gaitzsch, "Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?"; "Ferdinand Rebay (1880-1953) : epigono dimenticato di Brahms o compositore di prima grandezza?", *Il Fronimo*, no. 139 (2007). This article has been extensively quoted in Part 1.

²⁸ Bergmann Edition, "About The Ferdinand Rebay Project", accessed 19 September 2018, <http://bergmann-edition.com/pages/about-the-ferdinand-rebay-project>.

At present, all of the selected sonatas have been published by one or more of the aforementioned companies, as laid out in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Modern publications of Rebay's selected sonatas.

Sonata	Publisher	Year
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	Philomele/PE2022	2001
	Bergmann/FRWV IV 6/H-1	2018
Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar	Philomele/PE2036	2001
	Bergmann/FRWV IV 6/K-4	2017
Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar	Philomele/PE2034	2001
	Eudora/EE1509	2015
	Bergmann/FRWV IV 6/F-4	2018
Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar	Philomele/PE2051	2006
	Bergmann/FRWV IV 6/K-5	2017
Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar	Eudora/EE1204	2012
	Bergmann/FRWV IV 6/F-3	2018
Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar	Eudora/EE1225	2012
	Bergmann/FRWV IV 6/H-2	2018
Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars	Bergmann/FRWV IV 6/A-6	2017

The table shows the titles as written by Rebay in his autographs. However, both Philomele and Eudora ascribed numbers to the sonatas when there is more than one for a specific instrumentation; for example, the Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar was given the title Sonata No. 2 for Oboe and Guitar. This potentially generates confusion because the numbering system was not adopted by Rebay himself. Bergmann, on the other hand, keeps the titles as they appear in the A-HE manuscripts.

The fact that there are up to three different published versions of some of these pieces could be a bonus for the performer, as they present different interpretations of Rebay's text. However, they should be approached with reservation, because, as mentioned earlier, none have the same authority as the manuscripts. When preparing the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar for performance, I discovered many non-editorial discrepancies between Philomele's and the manuscript versions.²⁹ The same might be true for the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar, because the only commercial recording of the work—recorded when only the Philomele edition was available—contains many wrong notes in comparison to the autograph.³⁰ The editorial work of Eudora Editions is noticeably better, and this can be

²⁹ Ferdinand Rebay, "Sonate für Flöte und Gitarre Nr. 2 in D-Dur", ed. Johann Gaitzsch (Geneva: Philomele Editions, 2001).

³⁰ Massimo Laura and Luigi Magistrelli, *Ferdinand Rebay : Complete Works for Clarinet and Guitar*, Brilliant Classics BC94171, 2011, Audio CD.

measured from the referenced critical report. However, it is still not entirely error-free, as I noticed when working with their edition of the Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar and the Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar.³¹ Finally, judging from their edition of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, Bergmann Edition also fails to deliver a faultless version of Rebay's text.³² Furthermore, their website states that their editions are solely based on the A-HE manuscripts and, as previously discussed, those are incomplete sources from an editorial perspective.

Hammerschmid would have doubtless been an excellent editor of Rebay's guitar works. However, she only published a few of his short pieces and none of the selected sonatas or other extended works. The modern performer still lacks reliable editions of Rebay's guitar music, which would need to be accurate in relation to the manuscripts, thoroughly consider both the autographs and the manuscript guitar parts for establishing the final text, and critically address any need for editorial interventions.

4.5 CURRENT DISCOGRAPHY

The rediscovery of Rebay's guitar music in the early 2000s stimulated a number of performances and recordings. Like editions, performances can reveal different interpretations of the musical text and are an important reference. Table 4.6 lists the currently available commercial recordings of the selected sonatas, i.e. excluding the many versions available in online platforms such as YouTube and SoundCloud.

Table 4.6. Available commercial recordings of Rebay's selected sonatas.

Sonata	Interpreters	Year	Label and catalogue
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	Maria Pilar Sanchez, ob Gonzalo Noqué, gtr	2009	Naxos/970073
Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar	Maria Pilar Sanchez, ob Gonzalo Noqué, gtr	2009	Naxos/970073
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	Fatima Daglar, ob William Feasley, gtr	2010	independent release
Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars	Lorenzo Micheli, gtr Matteo Mela, gtr	2010	Stradivarius/33859
Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar	Luigi Magistrelli, cl Massimo Laura, gtr	2011	Brilliant Classics/94171

³¹ Ferdinand Rebay, "Sonata No.1 in E Major for Flute and Guitar", ed. Gonzalo Noqué (Madrid: Ediciones Eudora, 2012); "Sonata No.2 in C Major for Oboe and Guitar", ed. Gonzalo Noqué (Madrid: Ediciones Eudora, 2012).

³² "Sonate in e-Moll für Oboe und Gitarre", ed. Milena Valcheva (Kalundborg: Bergmann Edition, 2018).

Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar	Luigi Magistrelli, cl Massimo Laura, gtr	2011	Brilliant Classics/94171
Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar	Maria José Belotto, fl Gonzalo Noqué, gtr	2012	Brilliant Classics/9291
Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar	Maria José Belotto, fl Gonzalo Noqué, gtr	2012	Brilliant Classics/9291
Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar	Michaela Hrabankova, ob Gabriel Bianco, gtr	2017	Ad Vitam Records/170115

Given the importance of Rebay's guitar music and the availability of editions since the early 2000s, it is surprising that so few recordings of these sonatas have been made to date. This may be a consequence of the lack of a continuous performance tradition of Rebay's guitar music and his anachronistic idiom, which may not generate enough interest to a segment of modern guitarists content with the instrument's traditional canon. In addition, the recording market tends to privilege solo music, disadvantaging Rebay's substantial chamber output. However, my personal experience at guitar festivals and conferences suggests that the main reason is that his music is still largely unknown, and therefore would benefit from more scholarly work, trustworthy editions and championing guitarists.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an overview of the sources for Rebay's selected sonatas, paying special attention to the manuscripts. Contrary to what is stated in the A-HE catalogue prepared by Chervenlieva-Gelew, I concluded that while the autograph scores were undoubtedly produced by Rebay, the existing manuscript guitar parts were in fact copied by his sister, Emilie Rebay. Although I recognize the importance of the available modern editions for the ongoing and future performance traditions of Rebay's guitar music, I acknowledge the superior value of the manuscripts as historical documents. They preserve important information for the ensuing investigations in this thesis, such as Hammerschmid's fingerings and other annotations. Despite the fact that the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars looks like a draft, all other manuscripts of Rebay's selected sonatas were prepared very carefully, thus presenting no difficulties for reading. Gaitzsch called Rebay's handwriting "calligraphic, being at once esthetically perfect and efficient, leaving no room for equivocal and arbitrary interpretations", and the same can be said of his sister's.³³ The next chapters will often refer

³³ Gaitzsch, "Ferdinand Rebay, Forgotten Brahms Epigone or Major Guitar Composer?", 11.

to the manuscript texts, in the process of understanding notation and offering solutions to realization issues.

5 FROM NOTATION TO REALIZATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

After investigating the sources for the selected sonatas and explaining why I favoured the autographs and manuscript guitar parts over existing editions, this chapter documents my process of interpreting Rebay's notation. The first part will look at the distance separating us from Rebay's original environment, amplified by the absence of a continuous performance tradition of his music. In order to minimize this distance, I propose to reconnect with his musical world; first by understanding his detailed, idiosyncratic notation, and then by acknowledging the stylistic premises that may have informed his own guitarists, such as Hammerschmid and Walker. I also argue that, as a non-guitarist composer, Rebay's idiom was transplanted from an Austro-German tradition to which the guitar did not originally belong. Therefore, unlike music composed from within the guitar's idiom and conventions, I look to his music through a non-guitaristic perspective before incorporating the instrument's idiosyncrasies. This process leads to what I call an expanded stylistic and technical mindset to perform Rebay, which can be applied to practice through experimentation and critical evaluation. Ultimately, it points to an artistic route that combines informed historical approaches with artistic autonomy and freedom.

The second part is a direct application of this interpretative framework into the selected sonatas. I identified six significant elements in my practice, related to both notated and unnotated procedures: accentuation, phrasing and articulation, dislocation and arpeggiation, vibrato, portamento and rubato. For each, I offer an overview of the general practice followed by a guitaristic contextualization, drawing on nineteenth- and early-twentieth century sources relevant to the Viennese guitarists of Rebay's time.¹ Occasionally, I also offer my own commentaries, drawn from my experience as a professional guitarist and pedagogue. I then analyse select examples in the light of this, identifying recurring patterns and procedures that may also be applicable to a wider selection of his works. At this stage, I also consider Hammerschmid's fingerings (when available), not only as a source for critical

¹ The assumptions of sources that were used by Rebay's guitarists were drawn and expanded upon the analysis of the guitar curriculum devised by Ortner for use at the Wiener Akademie. See p. 50 and Appendix 3.

comparison but also because they are the only available link to a “historically-informed” practice of Rebay’s guitar music.

5.2 RECONNECTING WITH REBAY’S WORLD

As investigated in Part 1, there is no continuous performance tradition of Rebay’s guitar music. Most of his works remained unpublished and did not circulate outside of Vienna, and no contemporary recordings of his works have survived. This differs greatly from the “Segovian” composers, for example, whose works often carry an uninterrupted performance tradition, thus offering plenty of historical performing evidence which can be embraced or dismissed by the modern performer.

The absence of a performance tradition presents advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, it allows a certain freedom because performers have no shadow of influence from the past, apart from their own background. This stimulates dealing with interpretative or technical issues in ways possibly unimaginable in Rebay’s time. However, it also exposes the huge distance between us and Rebay (and his guitarists). As will be seen below, problems may arise from an idiosyncratic notation which does not relate to current or inherited conventions. Or else, the modern performer may lack the stylistic references which help to fill the space beyond what notation can suggest, which is what Luise Walker called the *Freiräume*.²

Instead of simply interpreting the text through a present-day lens, I pursued a historically-informed investigation, while asking myself what strategies should be adopted to perform Rebay’s music today. Taking the text as the starting point, my strategy involved conciliating applied theoretical and musicological information with insights from my own practical experience and artistic values. This involved approaching Rebay’s music from three different fronts: understanding notation, exploring stylistic references and devising appropriate technical solutions. It is important to stress that, although presented independently, these fronts operate concurrently, and no hierarchical order is implied by the order of presentation. As put by Philip, “assembling the ingredients is only the start. What is required is a maturing process, so that what emerges at the end is not just a regurgitation of

² Walker, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre*, 110.

the separate ingredients that went in, but a transformation into our own thoughts, capable of enriching new music-making".³

5.2.1 REBAY'S NOTATION

One of the most remarkable aspects of Rebay's guitar music is his extremely detailed notation of expression marks, in comparison with the typical guitar music cultivated in the guitar clubs. Compare, for example, the difference in accentuation notation between excerpts of the Duo Concertant No. 14 by Adam Darr and Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars, as illustrated in Examples 5.1 and 5.2.⁴

³ Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2004), 251-2.

⁴ The music of Adam Darr, which was extremely popular in the guitar-club environments, has already received aesthetic considerations in Chapter 1 (See p. 33).

Example 5.1. Excerpt of Darr's Duo Concertant No. 14 (Augsburg: Freie Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Gitarremusik, 1904).

7

The musical score is written for guitar duo in D major (two sharps) and 4/4 time. It consists of five systems of two staves each. The first system begins with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. A black arrow points to a note in the left hand. The second system includes dynamics such as *ff*, *sul H*, *pp*, and *loco*. The third system features *p*, *dolce*, and *marcato* markings. The fourth system has *cresc.*, *mf*, and *harm.* markings, with a black arrow pointing to a note in the right hand. The fifth system concludes with a *rall. e dim.* marking.

5

Example 5.2. Autograph score of Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars (M3, bb. 50-74).

Rebay's notation of accentuation is considerably denser than Darr's. In the latter's case, the meagre notation includes a rather obvious ***sf*** on the syncopated octave interval of Guitar 2

shown by the arrow.⁵ However, most of Darr's subsequent melodic accent marks are not used for expressive reasons, being mere indications that the melody should be stressed in relation to the accompaniment. The performers, therefore, are largely responsible for devising and realizing the piece's expressive potential. Conversely, Rebay's excerpt presents at least three different gradations of accents, which aim at emphasizing specific notes or chords within their melodic and harmonic contexts. In addition, he makes expressive use of the traditional *sfz*, a less common *smfz*, and diverse combinations of accent and articulation marks.

Rebay's guitar music also features an unusual dynamic range for the guitar (from *ppp* to *fff*), a variety of articulation marks, and even notated arpeggiation and vibrato. The level of detail includes prescriptive notes such as the one shown above, "*von hier ab nicht mehr arpeggieren!*" (from here on no longer arpeggiate!), as well as lengthy and prescriptive tempi indications, a feature also seen in other previous students of Robert Fuchs, such as Mahler. Unlike Darr, Rebay clearly desired to influence the performer's expressive strategy, and this also reflects the different degrees of sophistication of their music.⁶

Although rare in guitar music until at least the second half of the twentieth century, Rebay's meticulous notation was not unique to him, but reflected a refinement process that had evolved during the nineteenth century. Largely influenced by contemporary theoretical writings, many Romantic composers sought to capture in notation the expressive nuances of their music. According to Brown, "It became almost an article of faith that, in a new era of individualism, each piece had its own unique demands that could only be indicated by specific instructions from the composer", further stating that "The onus for the performer had decisively shifted from one of determining in which of a number of different ways to interpret the notation ... to one in which it was primarily necessary to know the precise meaning and intention behind the composer's symbols and instructions".⁷ Haynes argues that "A language

⁵ As will be seen later, offbeat notes in syncopations are typically stressed, having even been addressed as a particular category of accentuation by Hugo Riemann.

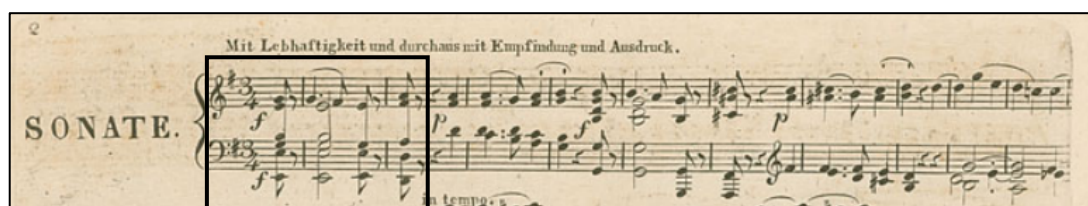
⁶ A clear exception when considering the typical repertoire of the guitar clubs was the music of Mertz, whose detailed notation must have certainly been influenced by the contemporary Austro-German piano music that he experienced through the activities of his wife-pianist, Josephine Plantin.

⁷ Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 630-31.

that was once descriptive was converted into a set of technical instructions telling the player what to do or how to do it”, crediting the phenomenon to the widening gulf that developed between performers and composers after 1800.⁸ Goehr relates this aspect to the Romantic ideal of *Werktreue* that pervaded the activity of composers and performers alike. To her, “The relation [between work and performance, or composer and performer] was mediated by the presence of complete and adequate notation”, thus reconciling the “abstract (the works) with the concrete (the performances)”.⁹ The practice may also have reflected a growing market of students and amateurs who needed a detailed set of interpretative instructions given by either the composers or their representatives. This may explain the turn-of-the-century popularity of performance editions edited by famous performers and pedagogues, which incorporate numerous interpretative choices into notation.¹⁰

However, attributing Rebay’s detailed notation to a general, enduring Romantic practice only tells part of the story. His approach may have reflected the fact that he was writing for an instrument which he did not play and therefore it would be safer to over-instruct and increase the performer’s interpretative load, even if risking being too obvious (which is arguably often the case). Alternatively, it could also reflect his own critical perception of the guitar and be an attempt to support guitarists on an incursion into unfamiliar territory. This possibility is supported by the guitar treatment in his arrangement for guitar and piano of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata No. 27, Op. 90 (Examples 5.3 and 5.4).

Example 5.3. First bars of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata No. 27 in E minor, Op. 90 (Vienna: S.A. Steiner, ca. 1815).

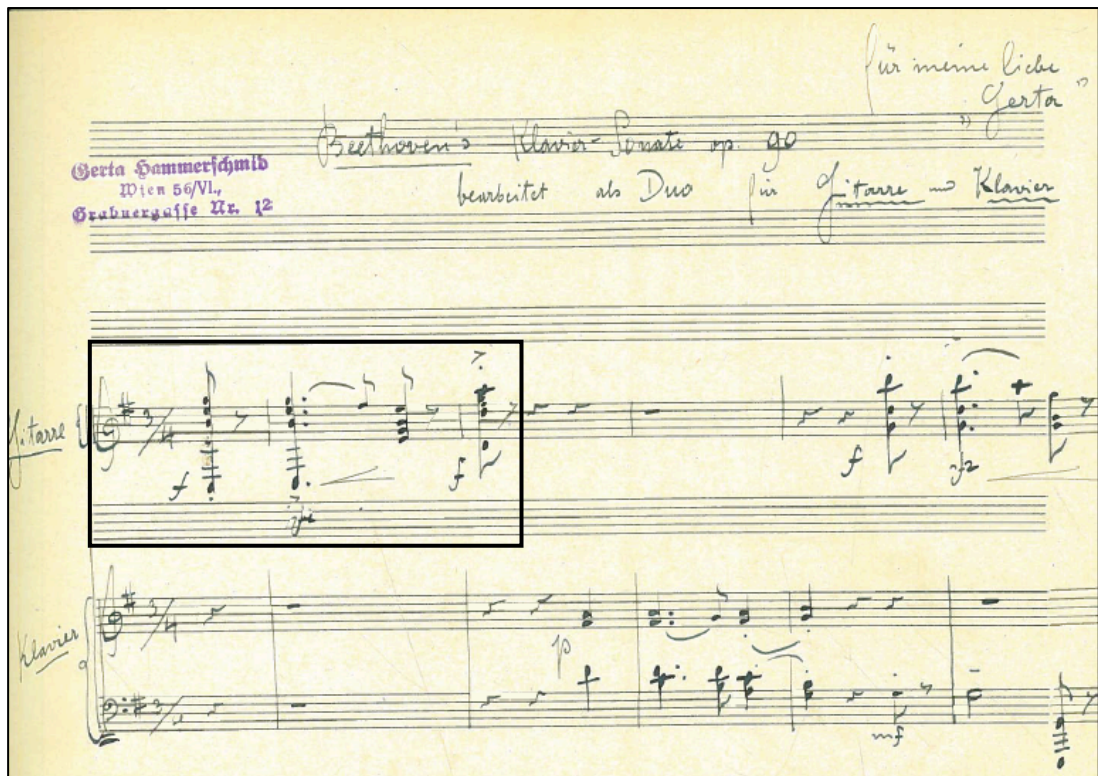


⁸ Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music : A Period Performer’s History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 109.

⁹ Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works : An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, 231.

¹⁰ The idea can be extrapolated to over-fingered guitar editions, particularly common in the music edited by Segovia.

Example 5.4. First bars of Rebay's arrangement of Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 27 in E minor, Op. 90 for Guitar and Piano, showing added expression marks in the guitar part.



Right from the beginning Rebay writes a few dynamic, accentuation and articulation marks in the guitar part which do not appear in Beethoven's original. Rebay may have felt that the guitarist needed more detailed instructions due to the lack of a performance tradition on that kind of repertoire. At the same time, the additional marks may reflect his own interpretation, exaggerating the contrast between the alternating motif statements by the guitar and the piano, within a rhetorical structure that is already suggested by Beethoven's original *f* and *p* dynamic plans.

In spite of the possible reasons for Rebay's meticulous notation, the fact is that absolute allegiance to the text is today less important than in the composer's own time. Taruskin claims that "A performer cannot please or move the ancient dead and owes them no such effort ... Our obligations are to the living".¹¹ Even though he is criticizing the attitude of twentieth-century period-performers in their search for an authentic way of playing pre-1800s music, the essence of his argument is also valid here. When critically comparing early

¹¹ Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act : Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 24.

recordings with corresponding scores, Philip suggests that a level of freedom from the text could surely be taken for granted by performers of Rebay's generation. According to him, "Even in the work of a composer who notates things very precisely, the relationship between notation and performance is not straightforward. The character of a tempo is more important than the actual metronomic tempo. Rhythmic characterization is more important than strict accuracy".¹² Therefore, the text is not to be taken literally—even if such precise approach were possible—but relativized according to stylistic, technical and also personal parameters.

Philip's point of view is reflected in the opinion of Luise Walker, Austria's foremost guitarist and herself a performer of Rebay's music. To her, there was always room for personal expression.¹³ She considered that it is the essential duty of the performer to occupy him- or herself with the spiritual contents of a work, reflect on tempo and other essential aspects, and work out the technical demands. Nevertheless, she believed that ultimately the performer's most important tools were intuition and a reliable sense of style, of which more will be said in the next section. According to her, "Misunderstood 'Werktreue' often leads to a boring performance, which, unfortunately, is welcomed under the pompous title 'academic'; the coldness that it blows wraps people in a cherished intellectual little coat".¹⁴

But an assumed flexibility of notation interpretation does not relieve the modern performer from the task of approaching it through an informed reading, under the risk of overlooking important information. Haynes critiques the unreachable idea of "being 'faithful' to a composer's intentions", but at the same time suggests that "It is in our own interest to be conscious of the composer's wishes ... this will give the music the best chance of being understandable".¹⁵ While being aware of a dead composer's wishes is an elusive idea, notation may certainly suggest them. Its misinterpretation can potentially influence the course of a piece's performance tradition, particularly when done by significant performers. An example of a questionable reading of Rebay's music that brought consequences to its text's

¹² Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, 180.

¹³ Walker, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre*, 110.

¹⁴ "Mißverständene 'Werktreue' führt dagegen oft zu einem langweiligen Spiel, das man leider auch gern mit dem klingenden Namen 'akademisch' bezeichnet; die Kühle, die einen dabei anweht, hüllt man in ein belobtes intellektuelles Mäntelchen". Ibid., 110-11.

¹⁵ Haynes, *The End of Early Music : A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*, 87.

final shaping can be seen in the revision of his Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, prior to the piece's premiere in 1925 (Example 5.5). The excerpt shows a conflict between Rebay's original articulation notation and the traditional slurring conventions of the guitar, here illustrated by a series of crossed-out articulation slurs throughout the whole passage.

Example 5.5. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M3, bb. 1-8).



The crossings out were likely done in order to avoid confusion with the guitar's technical slurs. Whether they were made by Rebay upon suggestion or directly by the guitarist who revised the piece is impossible to know. Rebay's collaborator would have been either Jakob Ortner or his advanced student who premiered the piece, Hans Schlagradl, both of whom would have likely been aware of the difference between a technical slur and an articulation slur used to group two notes. However, even if the intention was to avoid unnecessary confusion, the crossed-out slurs resulted in a misinterpretation of Rebay's clearly notated articulation, which in this particular case may have affected future performances of the piece and certainly influenced its modern publications.

In fact, the manuscript guitar parts of this sonata do not show the articulation slurs.¹⁶ As seen in Chapter 4, the parts were copied by Emilie Rebay, who probably did not question

¹⁶ I will return to this example later in the chapter, showing how the passage was fingered by Hammerschmid in the manuscript guitar part.

the suggestions made by Ortnor or Schlagradl (and supposedly accepted by Rebay). The two available modern editions of the piece by Philomele and Bergmann were based on the copies made by Rebay's sister and also do not show the articulation slurs. Therefore, a modern performer who had not seen the autograph score would be unaware of Rebay's original articulation intention, which demands specific left-hand fingerings and right-hand approaches in order to be properly realized. In this case, while it may have helped the guitarist's technical realization, the guitar revision actually jeopardized the original meaning of Rebay's text.

Today's performer of Rebay's guitar music is faced with a detailed notation which should be thoroughly understood before decisions are taken, affording greater or less flexibility depending on stylistic and technical circumstances. The temporal distance that separates the modern guitarist from Rebay and the absence of a continuous performance tradition offer additional challenges for this task. Based on personal experience, I can affirm that, while forthright aspects of notation such as dynamics or tempo indications present no major challenges to the modern performer, Rebay's notation of accents, articulation or Romantic conventions such as chord arpeggiation require a deeper contextualization before an informed realization can take place.

5.2.2 *STYLISTIC MINDSET*

In order to minimize the effects of the disconnection with Rebay's world, I propose to reimagine the stylistic premises that informed Rebay's guitarists when performing his music. However, I am aware that this is hardly possible because of the lack of a continuous performance tradition and supporting documentation. And even if there were an unbroken performance tradition of Rebay's guitar music that could be scrutinized through a chain of performers and teachers—a former student of Hammerschmid who had been coached by her in Rebay's music, for example—there would be no guarantee that this would reflect the way Rebay himself experienced his music being performed. This is because traditions evolve as much as people's perceptions, and even the same performer or composer is unlikely to retain static opinions over time, rather reacting to a dynamic environment and approaching performance differently under different periods and circumstances.

Faced with the difficulties that seeking authority in historical evidence presents, Philip postulates that,

... there is no authority left. We cannot rely on historical evidence, we cannot trust tradition or the teachers who claim to be preserving it. Recordings show that everything changes, and that there is no going back ... The menu of

possibilities, from current period and conventional practice, from new and old scholarship, and from a hundred years of recordings, is vast.¹⁷

Why then carry an investigation on the performance style of almost one hundred years ago such as proposed here? The answer is that this is not a quest for a definitive or “authentic” way of playing Rebay. On the contrary, I try to find meaning in the ambiguity, in the possibilities that such historical investigation may present, and the conflicts it may bring in relation to my own modern artistic beliefs. Through this stylistic investigation, rather than adopting a dogmatic position, I intend to establish a dialogue with the past, hoping to widen my own palette of interpretative choices. In other words, to develop an expanded stylistic mindset to perform Rebay’s guitar music, acknowledging and eventually incorporating stylistic traits of the past which may be unfamiliar today.

A discussion of style needs to start with an elaboration of the concepts associated with the word. Haynes establishes two aspects of style which should be considered when referring to performance practices: the performing protocol and the style’s ideology.

[The performing protocol] is the performing techniques and conventions, the manner or protocol in which a piece is executed that uniquely distinguishes it as a style. The other aspect of style is a general attitude or stance that applies to all the arts, music included; these are ideas that are taken for granted: the philosophy, artistic assumptions, and motives of a style, its *ideology*, in other words.¹⁸

Haynes would probably agree that trying to revive a past ideology in the hope that it will bring inspiration and knowledge is a time-travel misconception. On the other hand, the performing protocol that he talks of can be learned and replicated, even if anachronistically. When approached with an open mind, experimenting with past performing techniques and conventions may lead to practical insights that no theoretical source alone would be able to provide. A resignification may take place, and this is what Haynes calls the “serendipity effect”.¹⁹ Therefore, a possible strategy for arriving at an informed style for performing

¹⁷ Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, 250.

¹⁸ Haynes, *The End of Early Music : A Period Performer’s History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*, 13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

Rebay's music involves acquiring historical knowledge from varied sources such as literature and recordings, experimenting with it in practice and critically evaluating the results.

When analysing the variety of twentieth-century performance approaches to the music of the past, Haynes suggests three broad stylistic categories: Romantic, Modern and Period.²⁰ As explained by him, these are abstractions, based on tendencies combined together and "looking at them in their extreme, polarized forms".²¹ Nevertheless, the classification is still useful to help position ourselves in relation to what historical evidence—particularly early-twentieth century recordings—tells us about past performance practices.

Considering this chapter's scope, an investigation of a Period style in which to play Rebay is not appropriate. I am not proposing to adapt my technique to the standards that were taught by Ortner at the Wiener Akademie, nor to use Hammerschmid's Vidoudez guitars equipped with gut strings.²² My quest is for stylistic approaches that can relate to Rebay's idiom and be experimented under modern practice conditions. Therefore, for the sake of helping characterize the stylistic traits that are being investigated, I will only make use of Haynes's categorizations of the Romantic and Modern styles.

To him, the main performing techniques and conventions of the Romantic performance style are:

- portamento (on string instruments an audible change of position, or slide);
- extreme legato;
- lack of precision (not deliberate);
- tempos that are usually slower than anyone would use today;
- lack of distinction between important and unimportant beats, due to an unrelenting heaviness and a surfeit of emphasis;
- melody-based phrasing;
- exaggerate solemnity;
- concern for expression;
- controlled use of vibrato;
- agogic accents (emphatic lingering);

²⁰ Ibid., 32. Haynes later advocates a "Rethorical style" for performing Baroque music, which according to him emerged as a reaction to the Period style.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Although Hammerschmid likely used gut strings, in a letter to Olcott-Bickford from 1949 she praised the recently invented nylon strings, expressing her contentment with their intonation and durability. Hammerschmid, "Letter to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford", 25 July 1949.

- rubato.²³

Although unmentioned by Haynes, the use of dislocation and unnotated arpeggiation is also reported by authors such as Peres da Costa and Leech-Wilkinson as a recurrent procedure of Romantic pianists more or less contemporary with Rebay, such as Vienna-based Theodor Leschetizky (1830-1915) and many of his pupils.²⁴

On the other end of the spectrum, Haynes argues that the Modern style inherited many traits from the Romantic style such as a seamless legato, long-line phrasing and lack of beat hierarchy, but “is mostly defined by the Romantic traits it suppresses ... It does not usually inflect or shape notes, emphasize the second half of notes in syncopations, dot note-pairs in proportions other than exactly 3:1, use portamento or agogic accents or placement, add gracing at all generously, or use rubato (tempos are metronomic and unyielding)”.²⁵ His summary of the Modern style emphasizes a more literal approach to the score when compared to the Romantic style. It echoes Taruskin’s judgement of the “current taste in the performance of classical music”, which according to him had its roots in the early twentieth century: “It is text-centred, hence literalistic; it is impersonal, hence unfriendly to spontaneity; it is lightweight, hence leery of the profound or the sublime ... Literalism is as old as Toscanini ... Impersonalism is as old as Stravinsky ... Lightness is as old as Satie”.^{26 27}

²³ Haynes, *The End of Early Music : A Period Performer’s History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*, 51-52. I do not necessarily agree with all of Haynes’s points. Lack of precision, for example, may be a deliberate performance choice, as will be exemplified later. The lack of distinction between important and unimportant beats, on the other hand, is a secondary aspect for Rebay’s music, as it is more applicable to the interpretation of early music.

²⁴ Neal Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 129-39. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music : Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM, 2009), chapter 6, paragraph 20, www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap6.html.

²⁵ Haynes, *The End of Early Music : A Period Performer’s History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*, 57.

²⁶ Taruskin, *Text and Act : Essays on Music and Performance*, 167. The original text by Taruskin was published in the *New York Times* in 1990, which clarifies the “current taste” to which he is referring.

²⁷ Roland Jackson criticizes these harsh judgements about the so-called “Modern style”, arguing that it came in response to the “distortions and exaggerations found in ‘romantic’ performances of the earlier part of the century (from ca. 1900 to the 1930s)” but still left

According to Haynes, the Romantic style became gradually outdated during the first half of the twentieth century, while the Modern style became the norm after WW2. Again, these polarizations cannot represent the whole range of performing styles practised during Rebay's lifetime, but suggest that he must have witnessed a variety of stylistic approaches, some of them highly conflicting among themselves. In face of this diversity, a quest for historically-informed references must look at the closest possible evidence that can be directly associated with contemporary performances of Rebay's guitar music.

The obvious choice would be to focus on Rebay's performers. However, as reported in Chapter 2, although both Hammerschmid and Rondorf performed his music for Radio Wien, no recordings of these broadcasts survived.²⁸ Likewise, Walker did not include pieces by Rebay in her discography, even though she reportedly premiered at least one solo sonata by him and played a couple of guitar-duo pieces in a *Hauskonzert*.²⁹ Rebay himself did not leave any recordings, either as a choirmaster or as an accompanying pianist, nor wrote about performance issues. Finally, contemporary reviews of Rebay's guitar music performances are not so specific as to describe stylistic approaches to performance, only his compositional style.

Nevertheless, the manuscripts of Rebay's selected sonatas offer at least two kinds of useful information. The first is his notation of expression marks, which clearly reveals a stylistic mindset. As will be detailed later, his notation includes a discretionary use of vibrato and abundant notated arpeggiation, both suggesting an approach to notation that draws on Romantic practices. The other is the fingering in some of his autograph scores or manuscript guitar parts. Analysing it makes it possible to reimagine some of the procedures that Hammerschmid would have employed when performing her uncle's music, such as the use of

room for expression and artistic individuality. Roland Jackson, "'The End of Early Music : A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century' by Bruce Haynes", *Performance Practice Review* 13, no. 1 (2008) [online], available at <http://scholarship.claremont.edu/ppr/vol13/iss1/10>.

²⁸ Through correspondence with the Österreichische Rundfunk (ORF), I learned that there are two pieces by Rebay in their recording archives, which nevertheless do not relate directly to the repertoire being investigated in this thesis: a *Sonata for Horn and Harp* (likely the *Fantasie*) recorded by Friedrich Gabler and Josef Molnar (recording date unknown, but both performers were born in the 1930s) and a short solo guitar piece, *Wiegenlied*, recorded in 1980 by Robert Wolff. I was not able to get a hold of these recordings, however.

²⁹ See pp. 94-95 and 101-102.

portamento to connect notes expressively, or a search for colour suggested by horizontal fingering, both of them also typical Romantic traits. However, style is not only about notated elements; in fact, it is often in the unnotated procedures—what Walker referred to as *Freiräume*—that the performer’s individuality may surface. Therefore, in the absence of enough primary-source evidence, it is necessary to extrapolate from the scores, considering instead the performance style of Rebay’s contemporary guitarists on a more general level.

When Rebay started to write for the guitar in 1924, the two most influential guitarists in German-speaking countries were Heinrich Albert and Miguel Llobet. As stated in Chapter 1, their styles were apparently not compatible and Albert criticized Llobet’s virtuosic and carefree approach to the music of Sor, judging that it lacked a rigorous “Germanic attitude” to phrasing and style.³⁰ Although his writings are a reliable source of information for the discussions of expressive elements below, little direct evidence of Albert’s performance style exists, particularly because he left no recordings. On the other hand, Llobet was one of the first guitarists to make solo recordings, still in the 1920s, which are now available in a modern compilation.³¹ A thorough study on Llobet’s recordings is being undertaken by Cla Mathieu for his PhD research; he confirms that Llobet “was a child of his time”, widely employing portamento, arpeggiation and rubato, therefore suggesting a typical Romantic approach.³² I will refer to Llobet’s recordings below when investigating ensemble playing and the use of unnotated arpeggiation.

Viennese Luise Walker studied with both Albert and Llobet and thus her style may be representative of both the German School and the Spanish School that descended directly from Tárrega. She left a fairly extensive discography which started to appear in the 1930s, and also included a section on interpretation in her autobiography, named “Considerations on Interpretation” (*Betrachtungen zur Interpretation*).³³ Although brief, this is an interesting account from a player who was at the centre of Viennese guitar activity during Rebay’s lifetime and herself performed his guitar music in the 1940s. In it, she offered some insight into stylistic

³⁰ See pp. 37-38.

³¹ Miguel Llobet, *Miguel Llobet : The Guitar Recordings 1925 - 1929*, Chanterelle Historical Recordings CHR001, 1993, Audio CD.

³² Cla Mathieu, e-mail message to the author, 4 February 2019.

³³ Walker, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre*, 110-13.

issues based on her performance experience, while also acknowledging that opinions often diverged strongly among players.

Walker was in favour of an agogic treatment that develops “organically”. That means that she was against abrupt changes of tempi, and even when marked by the composer, they “must be prepared almost imperceptibly and tastefully”.³⁴ She criticized “renowned guitarists who take pleasure in suddenly stopping a note in order to fully enjoy it”, rejecting the procedure as an “uncultivated mannerist affectation”, especially in the performance of early music.³⁵ Here, she was clearly talking about an exaggerated use of agogic accents and could well be referring to Segovia, as will be investigated later. However, Walker recommended agogic accents in the interpretation of Spanish music, where an occasional tenuto can be “charming and stylistically justifiable”.³⁶ Whether her restrictions on the use of the agogic accent would apply to Rebay’s music is a matter of speculation, but her opinion shows that limits of tolerance did exist within the aforementioned “*Freiräume*”, and that she laid great importance in shaping her interpretation according to period and other stylistic considerations.

Walker also acknowledged the importance of working with colours, recalling the apocryphal saying by Berlioz that the “guitar is a small orchestra”.³⁷ This is indeed an important expressive element in guitar playing and was widely employed by her contemporaries, including Segovia. She also stressed the importance of phrasing, which, she

³⁴ “Für den Zuhörer muß das dann fast unmerklich und geschmackvoll vorbereitet werden”. Ibid., 112. The concept of taste is highly subjective and depends on a variety of environmental circumstances which can never be entirely reproduced. Nevertheless, the notion of “good taste” is often employed by performers when they need to justify their stylistic approaches, which only reinforces the notion that interpretation can never be seen as an objective task.

³⁵ “Es gibt namhafte Gitarristen, die daran Freude finden, einen Ton ganz plötzlich anzuhalten, um ihn genüßlich auszukosten. Solches manieristisches Getue nenne ich unkultiviert und lehne es - vor allem bei der alten Musik - strikt ab”. Ibid.

³⁶ “Dagegen kann zum Beispiel bei der Interpretation spanischer Musik ein gelegentliches Tenuto, ein Anhalten eines oder mehrerer Töne, reizvoll und stilistisch durchaus vertretbar sein”. Ibid.

³⁷ There is no evidence that Berlioz ever made such statement, and a variation of the saying has also been ascribed by Segovia to Beethoven. Andrés Segovia, “Romance of the Guitar”, *The Etude Magazine* 48, no. 5 (1930): 318.

argued, contributes to shaping the structure of a work (an idea she possibly learned from Albert, as will be seen later). Furthermore, she recommended applying different degrees of sharpness in the reading of markings such as accents or dotted note values, and, above all, thoroughly exploring the dynamics of the instrument. When defining general stylistic approaches in relation to historical periods, Walker associated the performance of Baroque music with an imaginative use of ornamentation of individual notes or chords, Classical music with a balanced approach that highlights structure,³⁸ Romantic music with the possibility of projecting more emotional nuances into performance and contemporary music with the employment of a widened colour and rhythmic palettes. Ultimately, said she, it is only by successfully combining these multiple factors that the artist “will be able to ‘paint’ with the guitar”.³⁹

Although informative, Walker’s opinions hardly help to recreate a performance style for Rebay’s guitar music. Her recordings are more instructive in this respect. The albums which are representative of the period she had performed music by Rebay are the 1932, 1934, 1952 and 1953 ones, in which she recorded both solo and chamber music, in addition to a concerto with orchestra.⁴⁰ Overall, her solo playing shows a Llobet-esque approach to the guitar’s expressive resources, using extensive portamento and vibrato which are supported by carefully-devised fingerings that privilege horizontal movement and explore the higher regions of the fingerboard. Her rubato and use of agogic accents are more discreet, however, and her phrasing is well proportionate and structurally-oriented, i.e. conceived in order to highlight the piece’s structural design. Walker’s recordings will be compared to Llobet’s in the

³⁸ Earlier in the book, she pointed out that Llobet interpreted the music of Sor as if he were a late-Haydn, suggesting a “light romanticism” (*legereren Romantik*). Walker, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre*, 59.

³⁹ “Nur so wird er auf der Gitarre ‚malen‘ können”. Ibid., 113.

⁴⁰ Andrés Segovia and Luise Walker, *Andres Segovia and his Contemporaries, Vol. 3 : Segovia and Luise Walker*, Doremi DHR7709, 2004, Audio CD; Luise Walker, *Guitar Recital*, Philips N00640R, 1952, Vinyl, LP, 10”; *Santorsola : Concertino for Guitar and Orchestra*, Philips 1953, Vinyl, LP, 10”. For a commented list of Walker’s recordings, see Andrea Aguzzi, “Luise Walker : A Segovia’s Contemporary”, *NeuGuitars*, no. 28 December 2017, accessed 4 February 2019, <http://neuguitars.com/2017/12/28/luise-walker-a-segovias-contemporary-a-great-classical-guitars-player-on-neuguitars-blog>.

discussion of ensemble playing below, and one of her tracks will be analysed in detail when investigating the use of portamento.

When considering the international guitar scene in the first half of the twentieth century, one is invariably confronted with the towering figure of Andrés Segovia. After his international career took off in the 1920s, his name quickly became associated with classical guitar playing worldwide. Therefore, Segovia's stylistic approach cannot be overlooked when trying to understand Rebay's Viennese guitaristic environment. Although much has been written about his playing, Garno and Wade's close examination of his style is still the most complete investigation in this respect.⁴¹ Upon analysing Segovia's vast published and recorded work, the authors list eight essential elements formative of Segovia's style, many of which were already referred to in this chapter. The first is a horizontal approach to fingering, which is "a tendency toward movement up and down individual strings to use higher positions as opposed to vertical movement across all strings within a given position".⁴² According to the authors, Segovia's fingerings take in consideration each string colour and vibrato potentials and this is seen as a "unique aspect of guitar orchestration and expression".⁴³ The second element is the vibrato, which the authors see as lending a singing quality to his music. Their criticism, however, is that Segovia seems to have adopted a single approach to vibrato, which he applied to all kinds of repertoire regardless of period or style. The next element is the rubato, which in Segovia is mostly the kind named by the authors as "free-rubato", as opposed to the "non-free rubato" in which time stolen from the beat is always given back. Segovia is again criticized for a non-discriminating approach. The use of glissando appears as the fourth element of Segovia's style, and is seen by Garno and Wade as a natural appropriation of a bowed-string Romantic procedure. As will be seen later, the use of glissando—which I will call portamento—is one of the most distinctive guitaristic tools associated with Romantic practices.

The fifth element listed by Garno and Wade is Segovia's approach to slurring. Slurs on the guitar are a technical device which invariably produces articulation, and Segovia is often

⁴¹ Graham Wade and Gerard Garno, *A New Look at Segovia : His Life, his Music*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Pacific: Mel Bay, 1997), 12-21.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 13.

accused of over-slurring without concern for its consequences. Next in their list comes Segovia's sound, deemed as "a full round sound with plenty of variety".⁴⁴ In addition to a bold tone, Segovia's wide use of colours (from *ponticello* to *dolce* and all the intermediary shadings) is seen as a successful alternative to the guitar's restricted dynamic potential, also supported by his variety of right-hand touches. The seventh element is the use of broken or rolled chords, also called arpeggiation. As will be seen later, the procedure of arpeggiating chords seems to have been taken for granted since the early nineteenth century, finding parallel in piano practice.⁴⁵ Finally, the last element associated with the Segovia style is his "highly subjective individualistic interpretations",⁴⁶ which in fact encompasses all of the other elements previously discussed.

On analysing and justifying Segovia's idiosyncratic interpretations, Garno and Wade point out that his "Priorities were on the performer expressing his individuality, on the expression of the music and the performer's love for it. He maintained a view that the performer was to be an equal partner with the composer".⁴⁷ According to them, his style was remnant of an earlier era whose extreme individuality had no place in modern times, lasting only as long as his career lasted. Judging from her writings, Walker seemed more discriminating in her interpretative choices, which might have reflected her Austro-German background and an intellectual approach to interpretation. However, her autobiography was published in 1989, more than sixty years after starting her professional career. Her points of view, therefore, could have changed. As seen earlier, her early discography from the 1930s reveals many stylistic traces in common with the so-called "Segovia style"—as well as that of her former teacher, Llobet—at least in what concerns solo playing.

Finally, considering the scope of this research, a differentiation between solo and ensemble music is needed, particularly in what concerns synchronous playing and textural cohesion. One of the assumed modern conventions of ensemble playing is that interpretative decisions are always fully coordinated among the players. As put by Philip, "Generally

⁴⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁵ While arpeggiation was certainly a performance practice on the lute or baroque guitar, I here refer to the six-string guitar in use since the turn of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁶ Wade and Garno, *A New Look at Segovia : His Life, his Music.*, 1, 19.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 20.

speaking, the best ensembles of today rehearse so that everyone agrees, not just about tempo but also about details. There is still room for a certain level of individuality, but if a theme passes from one instrument to another, it will not be played in a radically different way by each player”.⁴⁸ However, he lists a series of examples taken from early-twentieth century chamber recordings in which each performer acts in an individualized way, often with unmatched phrasing and a level of synchronization that is far from what is expected today from professional ensemble-playing. Asynchrony issues are also pointed out by Llorens in relation to Casals and Horszowski’s 1935 recording of the second movement of Brahms’s Sonata in F for Cello and Piano, Op. 99.⁴⁹ Upon recognizing its recurrence and what appears to be a deliberated approach, however, she postulates that this asynchrony was not a result of carefree playing but a “structurally paramount element” in the interpretation.⁵⁰

Guitar chamber-music performance in the early twentieth century is still an under-researched topic. The absence of supporting scholarship mirrors the small number of early recordings, as most of the commercial guitar recording activity of the period favoured solo playing. Two exceptions are the existing recordings by Llobet and Walker, which show very distinct approaches to ensemble playing. Around 1925, Llobet recorded three of his duo arrangements with his former student, Maria Luisa Anido (1907-1996).⁵¹ The pieces are Mendelssohn’s *Song without Words*, Op. 62 No.1, Albéniz’s “Evocación” from *Suite Iberia* and Aguirre’s *Huella*. The first two are slow and lyrical pieces and it is possible to hear a level of asynchrony which is not dissimilar to that noticed by Llorens in Casals and Horszowski’s recording of Brahms. Indeed, one often hears the melody dislocated from the bass, at times slightly before and at other times slightly after it. In other occasions, chords are intentionally spread between the two guitars in a carefully planned way. Conversely, many passages present perfectly synchronized playing even under extreme rubato, suggesting that on some level, asynchronous playing might have been intentionally devised for expressive purposes.

⁴⁸ Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, 105.

⁴⁹ Ana Llorens, “Recorded Asynchronies, Structural Dialogues : Brahms’s Adagio Affettuoso, Op. 99ii, in the Hands of Casals and Horszowski”, *Music Performance Research* 8 (2017): 1-31.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 27.

⁵¹ Llobet, *Miguel Llobet : The Guitar Recordings 1925 - 1929*.

Unlike Llobet, Luise Walker's 1932 recordings pair the guitar in more typical chamber music settings with orchestral instruments, rather than a guitar ensemble.⁵² The pieces recorded are Weber's Minuet for Flute, Viola and Guitar (from the incidental music for *Donna Diana*) and the two last movements of Boccherini's Guitar Quintet in E minor, G. 451. In both of these chamber pieces there is a unity of musical conception and synchronized playing that matches modern expectations of ensemble playing. This cohesive approach is also observed in Walker's fingering patterns, clearly devised to match the phrasing and articulation of the partnering instruments. This may have been a result of the chosen Classical repertoire, which Walker associated with a more balanced approach, as seen above. But it may also have been related to the instrumentation demands, since orchestral players are naturally accustomed to pursue gestural cohesion, often imposed by the conductor or section leader.⁵³ The only slight asynchrony is heard on the guitar solo that opens the Allegretto from Boccherini's Quintet, in which Walker dislocates the bass from the melody, reflecting a common procedure also observed in her solo recordings.

In face of all that has been discussed so far, conceiving a single style for performing Rebay as it was done in his own time is clearly not possible. However, one might conceive a range of techniques and conventions that considers not only his own era but also his anachronistic idiom, notational idiosyncrasies and the playing of his performers (or their closest contemporary models). Some of the Romantic techniques and conventions defined by Haynes are present in most guitar playing of the first half of the twentieth century. Llobet, Walker and Segovia used far more portamento to connect important notes in a phrase than we are conditioned to use today. Vibrato is an integral part of their sound, as is the horizontal exploration of the guitar fingerboard, particularly in melodic passages. Their use of rubato and an overall rhythmic flexibility is far closer to Haynes's Romantic abstraction than the Modern "metronomic and unyielding" attitude, although it is possible to see in Walker a more restrained approach, and definitely never at the expense of structural clarity. Likewise, a

⁵² Segovia and Walker, *Andres Segovia and his Contemporaries, Vol. 3 : Segovia and Luise Walker*.

⁵³ A 1940 recording of Rossini's Woodwind Quartet which include two of Rebay's instrumental performers and members of the Wiener Philharmoniker, flautist Josef Niedermayr and clarinetist Leopold Wlach, also shows a clear concern for ensemble cohesion. Bläservereinigung der Wiener Philharmoniker, *Quartett in F-Dur*, Electrola DA 4483, 1940, Audio disc, 78 rpm.

degree of agogic accentuation is often encouraged, and the exploration of colour—treating the guitar like a “miniature orchestra”—seems to have been taken for granted in those times. Finally, in ensemble playing with orchestral instruments, Viennese guitarists such as Walker may have privileged synchronicity and a cohesive attitude among the participants, therefore demanding from the guitarist a careful fingering in order to achieve uniformity of phrasing and articulation. These musical values and procedures were incorporated into my expanded stylistic mindset for performing Rebay’s guitar music, directly and indirectly supporting the interpretative decisions that will be illustrated later in the chapter.

5.2.3 TECHNICAL MINDSET

After investigating the possible stylistic premises of Rebay’s guitarists that can be incorporated by the modern performer, I now discuss a technical mindset for performing Rebay’s guitar music. This is necessary because of its aesthetic and idiomatic characteristics. Aesthetically, his compositional values stemmed from the mainstream tonal practice of the nineteenth century, particularly piano and chamber music, distant from the guitar repertoire written by guitarist-composers, and therefore not shaped and limited by its conventions. Idiomatically, unlike composers who were able to conceive their music with the instrument on hand, Rebay did not play the guitar. He likely composed his guitar music sitting at the piano, with a theoretical guitar in mind which was an imperfect representation of the instrument. Although he definitely understood the guitar’s mechanism to a sophisticated degree, his music occasionally presents passages in which orthodox technical procedures fail to deliver results which do justice to what notation and musical context suggest. Therefore, it is necessary to step out of the guitar’s idiosyncratic perspective and investigate alternative solutions, sometimes at the cost of technical convenience.

From the moment that non-guitarist composers started to write sophisticated music for the guitar around the 1920s, a gap between the musical concept and its instrumental realization was potentially created. Although a composer does not need to play an instrument in order to write well for it, the guitar’s complex mechanism demands a practical knowledge that orchestration classes and treatises alone cannot provide. It is therefore no wonder that most of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century repertoire for guitar written by non-guitarist composers only explored the instrument at an elementary technical level. That includes operas and orchestral music such as the fourth movement of Mahler’s Seventh Symphony (1904-06), whose guitar part is easily sight-readable (Example 5.6). Notice that the

chords employed are all feasible in first positions, presenting a level of technical complexity that is even lower than the average *Volkslieder* practised in the guitar-club environments.⁵⁴

Example 5.6. Excerpt of the guitar part of Mahler's Seventh Symphony (Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1910).

**4. Satz,
Nachtmusik.**

Andante amoroso.

a tempo

Rebay's guitar music sits on a different technical level from Mahler's example, even when he ascribes to the guitar a mere accompaniment role. By crossing these boundaries, however, Rebay also demanded from the performer a more sophisticated grasp of the musical meaning in order to properly translate it into guitaristic gestures. This idea will be further elaborated in Chapter 6, when discussing idiomatic writing and aspects of collaboration between composers and performers. For the moment, what is important to recognize is that a specific technical mindset is required from the guitarist when faced with situations in which musical contents and the guitar's idiomatic and sonic qualities do not necessarily converge.

⁵⁴ Mahler's movement, titled *Nachtmusik* (Serenade), is inspired by the Viennese *Volkslieder* tradition, which explains the choice for a guitar and a mandolin in the orchestra. The same association may have occurred to Schoenberg in his *Serenade*, Op. 24.

In her book on carnal musicology, Le Guin guides the reader through her own learning process of a sonata by Boccherini, postulating that musical interpretation happens in stages: “Initially abstract, then visual, increasingly kinesthetic, evolving in detail and precision through the course of learning to play a piece”.⁵⁵ While going through this process, she eventually achieves a state of reciprocity with Boccherini—who was a cello virtuoso himself—via the kinaesthetic experience of performing his music. Many composers who wrote for the guitar offer a similar experience to the performer, and the name of Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) comes immediately to mind. Having first-hand experience with the guitar and composing in a Modernist idiom which set him free from strict tonal writing, he was able to conceive his guitar music from within the instrument, turning the guitar idiosyncrasies into structuring and expressive elements.⁵⁶ With Rebay, however, this kind of physical relationship between notation and realization does not happen in such an obvious way, and certainly was not planned by him. The kinaesthetic stage of interpretation is entirely a performer’s experience and not a means of reciprocity with the composer, because he did not conceive his music with guitaristic gestures in mind. If necessary, therefore, the performer has to recreate an appropriate carnal correspondence, which is achievable through fingering, or sometimes even intervening in the text.

In fact, Rebay’s guitar music occasionally presents incompatibilities between the musical concept and its physical realization. An illustrative example from his Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar will be scrutinized in Chapter 6, in which the light pastoral character of the theme as played by the oboe clashes with the extreme difficulty of realization of the guitar part. This discrepancy requires a specific technical mindset to guide performers in their interpretative choices. It involves acknowledging the guitar’s characteristics as well as its limitations, however not letting them directly dictate interpretation.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body : An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (London: University of California Press, 2006), 25.

⁵⁶ For a discussion on Villa-Lobos’s idiomatic techniques within post-tonal analytical strategies, see Thomas Robert Becker, “Analytical Perspectives on Three Groundbreaking Composers for Guitar : Villa-Lobos, Martin, and Britten” (PhD thesis, University of Kansas, 2011), 28-139.

Hector Quine (1926-2015), former guitar professor at Trinity College of Music and the Royal Academy of Music in London, emphasized musical awareness above everything else. He argued that,

The guitar does not have the same kind of technically compelling need for phrasing as other instruments, with the result that guitarists are hardly aware of its existence ... many guitarists, to whom the cultivation of cantabile (thinking “horizontally”) does not come naturally, tend to allow the instrument’s left-hand technique to dictate arbitrary mid-phrase breaks, blurring of phrase-endings, and unmusical hesitations and “hiccups”.⁵⁷

To Quine, the guitar’s inherent mechanism does not naturally lead to a physical feeling for phrasing. This is a different situation when compared to woodwind instruments or the voice, in which the act of phrasing is intimately related to the physicality of how much air is available in the lungs, or bowed-string instruments, in which the length of the bow is used in an analogous way. Furthermore, the guitar is not capable of sustaining sound, legato playing is an elusive concept, and the sharp attack followed by immediate decay make unwanted accentuation a real issue, especially in chamber music passages that often force the guitarist to play at louder dynamics than usual. These circumstances lead to consequences that cannot possibly be entirely predicted by a non-guitarist composer, and whose negotiation is the responsibility of the performer.

The best way to avoid the pitfalls described by Quine in music such as Rebay’s is to initially approach it through a non-guitaristic lens. The musical ideas can then be translated to the instrument’s idiom and given the necessary “guitaristic coating” through a fingering that may embody idiomatic traits such as vibrato, colour variety and portamento. This attitude can be recognized in much of Hammerschmid’s fingerings, which reveal a great concern for phrasing and structure but still preserve many Romantic traits. Such a technical mindset, together with the understanding of Rebay’s notation and the acknowledgement of contemporary performing styles, may help us reconnect with his musical world and bring the best out of his guitar music.

⁵⁷ Hector Quine, *Guitar Technique : Intermediate to Advanced* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 71.

5.3 REALIZING REBAY'S NOTATION

As seen above, the process of reconnecting with Rebay and his music requires awareness and contextualization of both notated and unnotated elements. When dealing with the selected sonatas in practice, I have encountered a number of passages in which notation needed either to be clarified for a correct reading or else afforded a level of flexibility in realization, allowing the incorporation of unnotated procedures. By grouping the performance issues according to their nature as well as their potential eligibility for scholarly investigation, I came up with six essential elements for dealing with Rebay's music: accentuation, phrasing and articulation, dislocation and arpeggiation, vibrato, portamento and rubato. Each of these elements will be approached from general and guitaristic angles below, and finally contextualized within Rebay's selected sonatas. Given the massive amount of musical information that these seven sonatas present, I limit my discussion to a number of representative excerpts. While they do not cover every existing issue, they provide enough variety to allow the formulation of general principles.

To understand Rebay's notation, I sought guidance from the literature on theory and performance practice of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which would have reflected or influenced Rebay's own practices and conventions. In that respect, Riemann's *Musiklexikon*, which came out in several editions since 1882, offered the most comprehensive account relevant to Austro-German practices and will be often quoted below. I have also looked at instrumental methods and treatises, as well as specialized literature on historically-informed practices, which was taken as a source of information rather than instruction. However, identification and pondering over recurring patterns were the main tools to understand Rebay's notation. They demanded a thorough acquaintance with the music, only possible by interacting with it as a performer, so then a process of reasoning upon practice could take place.

In what concerns stylistic treatment and technical approaches, general-practice references—particularly those related to the Austro-German Romantic tradition—and the small guitar literature on the subject were consulted.⁵⁸ These were complemented by a review

⁵⁸ By "general practice" I understand all practice besides the guitaristic one. In most cases, the pianistic practice revealed more affinities with the guitar, due to the similarities in tone and polyphonic writing. However, bowed-string practice also provided valuable insight, particularly when dealing with vibrato and portamento.

of pedagogical guitar sources from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and further illustrated with examples from the repertoire and recordings of guitarists contemporary with Rebay, such as Llobet, Walker and Segovia.⁵⁹ Although I cannot generalize about the guitar playing of a whole generation by listening to a few recordings by these three guitarists, they unquestionably offer an aural insight into Rebay's contemporary stylistic mindset. As stated by Philip, recordings such as these come from "the earliest period from which the primary source material has survived ... and the detail [of general practice] includes habits which are scarcely mentioned, if at all, in written documents".⁶⁰ In addition, because fingering reveals much of the performer's interpretation, when dealing with specific excerpts of Rebay's selected sonatas I have often compared the existing fingerings by Hammerschmid with my own.

In this chapter, I have chosen not to consider present-day performances of Rebay's guitar music, such as the recordings listed in Chapter 4.⁶¹ This is justified by the boundaries of my stylistic references which have been delimited earlier, circumscribed by performers who have directly interacted with Rebay or have at least influenced his guitaristic environment.

5.3.1 ACCENTUATION

5.3.1.1 General practice

Accentuation occupies an important role in expressive playing, having been compared to analogous rhetorical devices used in oratory with the aim of projecting meaning and

⁵⁹ Guitar methods and treatises regularly consulted include those written by Carulli (1810), Giuliani (1812), Sor (1830), Carcassi (1836), Aguado (1843), Legnani (1847), Mertz (1848), Sor/Coste (1851), Shand (1896), Albert (1924) and Pujol (1954). The nineteenth-century ones were part of the guitar-club legacy and their authors were featured in the Wiener Akademie's guitar curriculum. Albert and Pujol, on the other hand, represent the two early-twentieth century influences that shaped the Viennese guitar environment during Rebay's time: the German School and the Spanish School of Tárrega. For details on the early-nineteenth century methods referred to above, see Erik Stenstadvold, *Guitar Methods, 1760-1860 : An Annotated Bibliography* (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2010).

⁶⁰ Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.

⁶¹ I make one reference to a modern recording, however, to illustrate what I believe is a misinterpretation of Hammerschmid's fingering regarding the employment of portamento.

persuading the listener.⁶² In his discussion of accentuation in Classical and Romantic music, Brown establishes a distinction between two main categories of accents: the metrical and the expressive.⁶³ According to him, the metrical accents, also known as grammatical, regular or positive accents, are generally connected to the metre and phrase structure. They are intrinsic to most music from that period and therefore needed not be marked by the composer, since they would be easily identifiable by any trained performer. Metrical accents are often seen in uncomplicated, unobtrusive accompaniment patterns such as the Alberti bass and its derivatives. Brahms's violinist, Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) referred to this category as "rhythmic accent", meaning the emphasis "placed as a result of the hierarchy of beats and their relative weight".⁶⁴

Expressive accents, on the other hand, are essential to effectively shape phrases, highlighting their expressive content. Rebay's near contemporary and reference theorist, Hugo Riemann (1849-1919), listed many situations in which expressive accents could be employed.⁶⁵ Among them, he mentions the "commencement accent" (*Anfangsakzent*), which delineates a phrase or motive by bringing its first note into prominence; the "rhythmical accent" (*rhythmischer Akzent*), usually employed in syncopations which involved a harmonic resolution in the next strong beat; the "harmonic accent" (*harmonischer Akzent*), by which important dissonances are made prominent; and the "melodic accent" (*melodischer Akzent*), used when the highest point of a melody does not occur at the same time than its dynamic development.

To us, Riemann's meticulous classification may appear as an unnatural attempt to regulate a matter that is easily assimilated in practice, often intuitively. Nevertheless, Rebay's carefully-marked accentuation presents striking correspondences with Riemann's

⁶² See David Milsom and Neal Peres da Costa, "Expressiveness in Historical Perspective : 19th Century Ideals and Practices", in *Expressiveness in Music Performance*, ed. Dorottya Fabian, Renee Timmers, and Emery Schubert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 80-97.

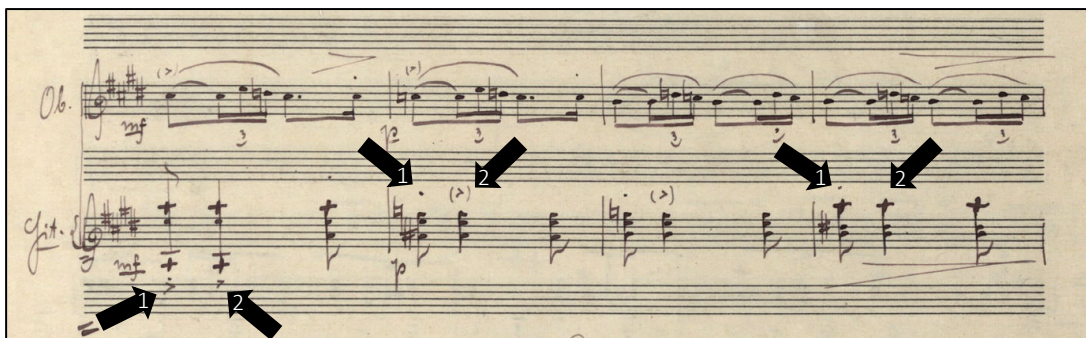
⁶³ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 8.

⁶⁴ David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late-Nineteenth Century Violin Performance : An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 32. Joachim's definition is not to be confused with Riemann's "rhythmical accent", however.

⁶⁵ Hugo Riemann and Alfred Einstein, "Akzent", in *Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon*, 11th ed. (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1929), 21-22.

categorization. An example can be seen in the marking of what Riemann classified as “rhythmical accent” in the excerpt below, also revealing a relationship between the type of accent mark and the dynamic context (Example 5.7).

Example 5.7. Autograph score of Rebay’s Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M2, bb. 17-20).



Notice the degree of precision in Rebay’s notation, while associating the different accent marks with corresponding dynamic levels: as they decrease, the former hairpin with staccato on the downbeat at *mf* becomes a normal unaccented staccato at *p* (1), and the former hairpin on the syncopated offbeat (2) is later enclosed by parenthesis (what I will later call a cautionary hairpin), finally disappearing along with the decrescendo sign.

Finally, it is also important to clarify the two ways of accentuating that are applicable to most instruments which can deliver dynamic nuance. One of them is the percussive (or dynamic) accent, which is normally conditioned by the intensity of the note attack in relation to its neighbouring notes, and subject to multiple gradations and variations according not only to musical demands but to each instrument’s particular characteristics. The other is what Riemann called the “agogic accent” (*agogischer Akzent*), consisting on a slight prolongation of the note value.⁶⁶ As mentioned earlier, this kind of accent is typically associated with a Romantic performance style, and is less employed today than in Rebay’s time. In practice, both kinds of accent can be combined to maximize expression.

5.3.1.2 Accentuation on the guitar

The English edition of Riemann’s *Musiklexikon*, from 1896, defines the accent as “the prominence given to certain notes or chords by *emphasis* [my italics]”, a procedure directly

⁶⁶ Riemann marks this kind of accent by the *petit chapeau* sign (▲), which, as will be seen later, had a different meaning for Rebay. Ibid., 14.

conditioned by the instrument's mechanism.⁶⁷ On the guitar, like the piano, a note's dynamic apex is always reached on the attack and the sound starts to decay immediately thereafter. The right hand, responsible for producing the tone, is no longer in touch with the vibrating string as soon as it plucks it and, apart from applying vibrato or stopping the note from ringing, little can be done to a note once it is plucked. One of the consequences is that, in comparison with instruments which are able to produce continuous sound, the guitar has more limited means to emphasize notes or chords. The *sfz* on a single note, for example, which in some instruments may involve graded dynamic nuances right before or after the note reaches its dynamic apex, on the guitar is generally perceived by the listener as an ordinary percussive accent.

Accentuation is ordinarily not dealt with in detail in nineteenth-century guitar methods. Mertz merely translated terms from the Italian and briefly explained their meaning, never instructing on how to achieve the desired effects. His description of the regular hairpin is limited to: "When this sign is placed over a note, this note should be strongly emphasized".⁶⁸ In Carcassi, no specific explanation of accentuation is made, although the *sfz* is given the somewhat vague instruction "*forcé*" (forced).⁶⁹ More than a century later, Pujol did not deal directly with accentuation in his chapter on guitar notation, although regular accent marks are often included in the treatise's supplementary studies, with explanations such as "Emphasize the notes marked with the ' > ' sign".⁷⁰ The lack of detailed explanation suggests that accentuation was considered too obvious to deserve specific and detailed instruction.

The most instinctive reaction to the guitarist when faced with an accent mark over a note or chord is to increase the intensity of attack, which is essentially what has been defined earlier as a percussive accent. However, the guitar's dynamic possibilities are limited,

⁶⁷ "Accent", in *Dictionary of Music*, trans. John S. Shedlock (London: Augener and Co., 1893-97), 5-6.

⁶⁸ "Wenn dieses Zeichen über einer einzelnen Note steht, so wird selbe stark hervorgehoben". Johann K. Mertz, *Schule für die Gitarre* (Vienna: Tobias Haslinger's Witwe und Sohn, 1848), 8-9.

⁶⁹ Matteo Carcassi, *Méthode complète pour la Guitare*, Op. 59 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1836), 8.

⁷⁰ Emilio Pujol, *Escuela razonada de la guitarra, basada en los principios de la técnica de Tárrega*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana, 1954), 59-71. "Acentúese las notas marcadas con el signo ' > '". Ibid., 3: 99.

particularly in ensemble situations. As Quine remarks, “Compared to other instruments, the dynamic range of the guitar is limited to those levels of volume below *mf* on the piano”.⁷¹ Therefore, given the complexity of accentuation marks in Rebay’s music, it is necessary to explore alternative ways of emphasising notes and chords, such as the agogic accent. Renowned guitarist David Russel prescribes it when he says, “There is a way to accent without increasing volume and this is by retarding the note a little (as harpsichord players do)”.⁷²

In fact, the use of agogic accents is one of the most remarkable characteristics of Segovia’s phrasing—even more than in Llobet or Walker—and can be extensively heard in Variation IX of his 1930 recording of Manuel Ponce’s *Variations sur “Folia de España” et Fugue* (Example 5.8).

Example 5.8. Segovia’s agogic accentuation in Variation IX of Ponce’s *Variations sur “Folia de España” et Fugue* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1932).

The image shows a musical score for Variation IX of Manuel Ponce's *Variations sur "Folia de España" et Fugue*. The tempo is marked "Andantino affettuoso". The score is written for guitar and includes various musical notations such as fingerings (e.g., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), dynamics (p, ff), and performance instructions (animando, cresc., poco rit.). Hairpins are placed above several notes to indicate agogic accents. The score is divided into sections labeled C. VI, C. VII, and C. III.



Audio 1

Although it is difficult to precisely discriminate the agogic accents within Segovia’s highly flexible rhythmic approach, the instances in which they are most distinctively heard are marked above with a hairpin. It is clear that Segovia’s criteria for agogic accentuation involves

⁷¹ Quine, *Guitar Technique : Intermediate to Advanced*, 77.

⁷² Antonio de Contreras and David Russel, *The Technique of David Russell : 165 Pieces of Advice from a Master Guitarist* [e-book] (Scotts Valley: CreateSpace, 2015), loc. 235.

both melodic and harmonic factors. While he often emphasizes the culminating melodic points within the phrases, he also brings attention to dissonances or passing notes that are harmonically meaningful. However, there is also a technical element involved, since he often chooses to linger on the note before a shift of position is necessary. In the instance marked by the arrow, for example, the music demands a shift from seventh to third position and lingering on the note prevents it from being cut too soon. There, the [d''] is more than twice the duration of the average quaver value observed in more straightforward passages. As Segovia demonstrates, technical aspects can also shape interpretation and in this case even offer room for the exploitation of tone colour and an intense vibrato. Segovia turns what would be a limitation of the guitar into an expressive effect, in ways that could not be possibly conceived by a non-guitarist composer and which are a domain of the performer. I will return to Segovia's agogic accentuation later, when discussing rubato.

In addition to percussive and agogic accentuation, note and chord emphasis on the guitar may be also achieved by tone contrast. For example, a deliberate *ponticello* or metallic touch can help project a note above a uniform accompaniment texture or emphasize it within a phrase. This is related to the stylistic employment of tone colour, as discussed above. Finally, a fast chord arpeggiation can also be used for emphasis, which will be illustrated later in the discussion of dislocation and arpeggiation.

As seen, upon understanding that accentuation may be achieved by different kinds of emphasis rather than just intensity of attack, it is possible to explore single or combined procedures which help to address Rebay's demanding accentuation notation in a creative and effective way.

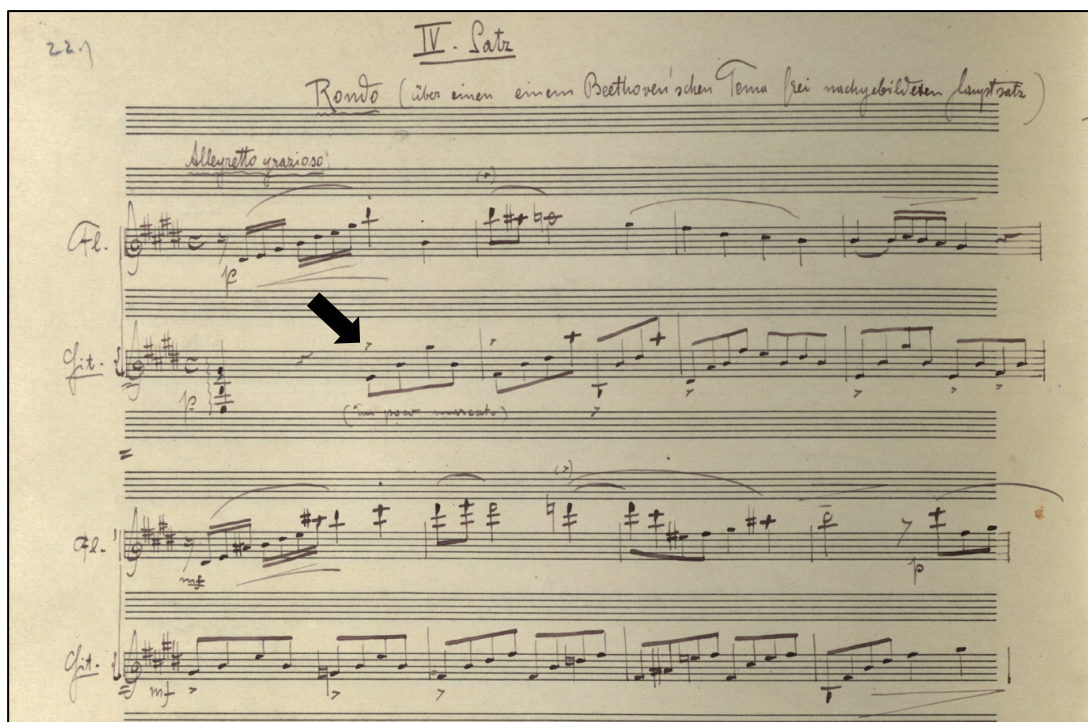
5.3.1.3 Accentuation in Rebay

In regard to accentuation, little can be gathered from Hammerschmid's fingerings, since the fact that a guitarist marks this or that right-hand finger to pluck a certain note tells very little about how accentuation was dealt with. Furthermore, alternatives to the percussive accent such as the agogic accent or the accent by tone contrast are not annotated by Hammerschmid, even though she probably made use of them. Therefore, most of the following discussion is based exclusively on my practical reasoning, while experimenting with the expanded stylistic and technical mindsets discussed earlier.

In Rebay's fairly conventional Romantic idiom, understanding the rhetorical meaning of his accent marks is usually straightforward. Some of his notated accents are quite obvious,

occasionally falling into the category of metrical accentuation. This is often seen when the guitar is accompanying a melodic instrument in simple repeated-note patterns or Alberti-like arpeggios, such as illustrated in Example 5.9.

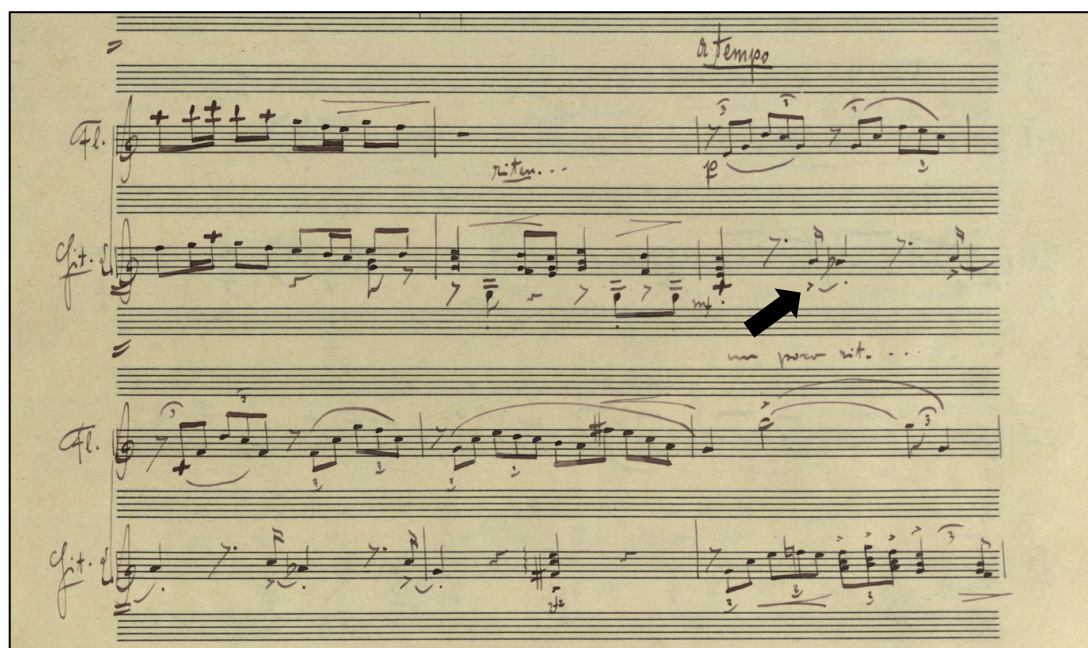
Example 5.9. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar (M4, bb. 1-8).



Here, the guitar is essentially providing harmonic support to the melodic instrument. In addition to the indication *un poco marcato*, Rebay marks accents in each one of the bass notes, normally coinciding with downbeats. While a discreet emphasis on them seems like an obvious decision to the interpreter, Rebay's markings may be justified as a wish to make the metrical accents as clear as possible as they provide a support to the flute's melody. Since bass notes are normally played by the thumb, the right hand's heavier and versatile finger, here they can be easily emphasized by using percussive accents. Some agogic accentuation may also be employed, but constant lingering on bass notes would rapidly become tiresome and could jeopardize the flute's phrasing.

In contrast to the former example, which showed an arguably redundant use of accentuation, occasionally Rebay's accent marks are necessary because otherwise the performer would likely fall into more instinctive metrical accentuation patterns. One of such idiosyncratic uses of accentuation can be seen in Example 5.10.

Example 5.10. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar (M1, bb. 25-30).



In this passage, the flute's melodic arpeggios support the guitar's descending chromatic melody, whose staccato crotchets are always preceded by an accented semiquaver right before the beats. The natural tendency would be to accent the notes on the beats, which would give the passage a completely different rhythmic profile. Rebay's desired effect is clearly marked, however, and there would be little argument not to follow it. Given the rhythmic context, agogic accents are hardly an option here. However, it is possible to emphasize the accented notes using percussive accentuation as well as employing tone contrast, which in this case could be achieved by playing the accented note with a more metallic tone.

Rebay's unusual variety of accent signs and combinations may be challenging to interpret at first. They suggest expressive subtleties that were rare in preceding guitar music and remained uncommon until at least the mid-twentieth century. Table 5.1 is a summary of Rebay's use of accent marks found in the selected sonatas, ordered by dynamic intensity. The table includes accents which incorporate articulation marks, as well. These are discussed in this section rather than next because the staccato is used as a means for emphasis, therefore supporting accentuation.

Table 5.1. Summary of accent signs used in Rebay's selected sonatas.⁷³

Sign	Nomenclature	Comment
(>)	Cautionary hairpin	Slight emphasis, usually associated with softer dynamics.
>	Hairpin	The regular accent, used for emphasis in a variety of occasions.
>.	Hairpin with staccato	Hybrid symbol indicating accent and articulation.
<i>smfz</i>	<i>mezzo-sforzato</i>	A gradation of the <i>sforzato</i> , usually associated with softer dynamics.
<i>sfz</i>	<i>sforzato</i>	The regular <i>sforzato</i> , frequently associated with other types of accent.
▲	<i>Petit chapeau</i>	Normally an accent associated with louder dynamics, but occasionally also seen in softer contexts.
▲.	<i>Petit chapeau</i> with staccato	Hybrid symbol indicating accent and articulation, usually associated with louder dynamics.

The hairpin, or regular accent, is the most common accent in Rebay's music, and its identification and realization are straightforward. However, an interesting variant is the cautionary hairpin, a sign usually associated with softer dynamics and whose employment is illustrated in Example 5.11.

⁷³ In consonance with most of my secondary sources, I have adopted Clive Brown's accent terminology. A few combinations of signs that appear only sporadically in Rebay's music were not included in the table, such as the ***sfz*** combined with the regular hairpin.

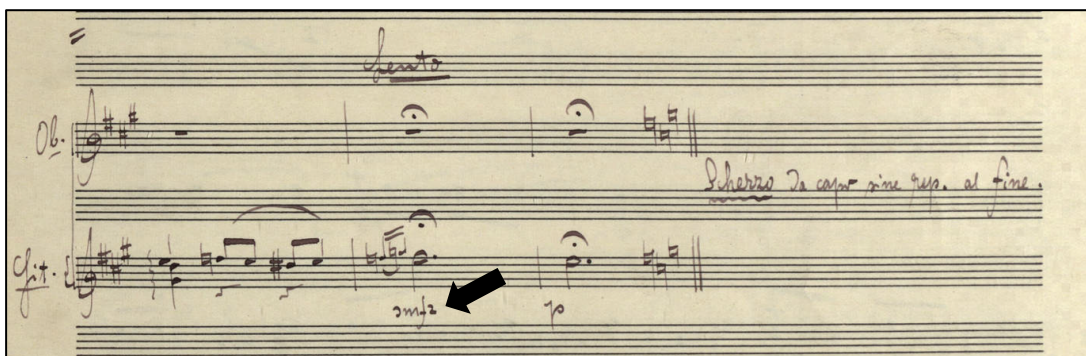
Example 5.11. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M2, bb. 97-106).

Here, the dynamics are set to *pianissimo* at the beginning of the variation (marked *durchwegs pp*). Rebay's accent marking in the bass notes of the guitar part suggests a very discreet emphasis, in order to not disturb the quiet interplay between the clarinet and the top voice of the guitar. A small degree of agogic accentuation is welcome and serves to separate the bass from the melody; it may even facilitate position shifting, like illustrated above in Segovia's playing. In addition, the cautionary hairpin is occasionally used by Rebay in guitar solo passages to indicate that melodic lines should sound louder in relation to the accompaniment.

Considered a less conventional mark, the *smfz* is an attempt to graduate the regular *sfz* and, again, it illustrates the painstaking level of detail in Rebay's notation.⁷⁴ In the selected sonatas, the *smfz* is usually associated with softer dynamics, such as suggested in the excerpt of Example 5.12.

⁷⁴ Rebay's contemporary, Alban Berg, also used different gradations of *sforzato*, from *mezzo-sforzato* to *sforzandissimo*. Dominik Rahmer, "Smfz – On Some Unconventional Dynamic Markings in our Urtext Editions," *G. Henle Verlag Blog*, accessed 7 May 2018, <http://www.henle.de/blog/en/2015/09/28/unconventional-dynamic-markings>.

Example 5.12. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M3, bb. 142-144).



In turn, Rebay's use of the **sfz** is much more frequent. While in guitar playing it is difficult to differentiate the **sfz** from the hairpin in absolute dynamic terms, in Rebay's music the **sfz** is frequently associated with other expression marks, suggesting that he ascribed to it an aggregated role. Example 5.13 shows a curious use of the **sfz** and **smfz** in conjunction with dynamic marks.

Example 5.13. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M1, bb. 11-17).

Rebay writes a **sfz** arpeggiated chord (1) which is immediately followed by a **p** and a crescendo sign. It culminates on another arpeggiated chord (2), this time marked **smfz**, again followed by a **p** and then a decrescendo sign leading to **pp**. As explained before, once the note or chord

are plucked it is not possible to modify its decay and therefore, strictly speaking, Rebay's notation is impossible to realize on the guitar.

The *petit chapeau* in association with accentuation is rarely seen in guitar music before Rebay. This is likely because the sign had been traditionally used to indicate thumb-use in right-hand fingering, before the Spanish nomenclature for the right-hand fingers (*p*, *i*, *m* and *a*) became universally assimilated. On the other hand, Brown describes a varied use of the *petit chapeau* for accentuation, from a softer accent in the early nineteenth century to a more forceful one later, such as seen in the music of Schumann and Wagner.⁷⁵ In the case of Rebay, the sign is clearly associated with louder passages, from *f* to *fff* (Example 5.14).

Example 5.14. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M3, bb. 45-50).



Nevertheless, Rebay occasionally uses the *petit chapeau* within softer dynamics, as illustrated in Example 5.15.

⁷⁵ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 117-26.

Example 5.15. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M3, bb. 21-29).



Here, there would be no reason to play the notes marked with a *petit chapeau* within *mf* louder than a hairpin would suggest. The fact that the whole period is framed by a long *crescendo* that culminates in a *ff* may explain Rebay's decision to keep the same sign consistently throughout the whole passage, sacrificing notation fastidiousness for clarity. This is a typical situation in which accentuation has to be interpreted in context.

Rebay's use of hybrid marks combining accentuation with articulation adds a measure of complexity to his notation. Brown observes that by the mid-nineteenth century composers like Schumann started to use such signs, carrying on a systematization of expressive marks which was supported by contemporary theoretical discussions.⁷⁶ Example 5.16 shows a solo guitar passage in which the upbeat figures bear a hairpin combined with staccato and *sfz*, probably aiming at a cumulative emphasis effect.

⁷⁶ Brown, "Articulation Marks", *Grove Music Online*, accessed 3 May 2018, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40671>.

Example 5.16. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M3, bb. 57-61).

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Flute and Guitar. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are for Flute (Fl.) and Guitar (G.). The bottom two staves are for Flute (Fl.) and Guitar (G.). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A black arrow points to a specific note in the guitar part on the third staff.

Starting at the indicated upbeat, the guitar responds to the flute's presentation of the same melody, which appeared immediately before. The flute's melodic notation shows a similar marking to the guitar's, in this case a shortened quaver marked with a hybrid accent combined with a *smfz*. It can be ordinarily realized by nuances of tonguing and speed control of the air column. Because of its reduced dynamic range, however, the same effect is not easily achievable on the guitar. A combination of percussive and agogic accents, as well as emphasis by tone contrast seems like an effective approach, nonetheless.

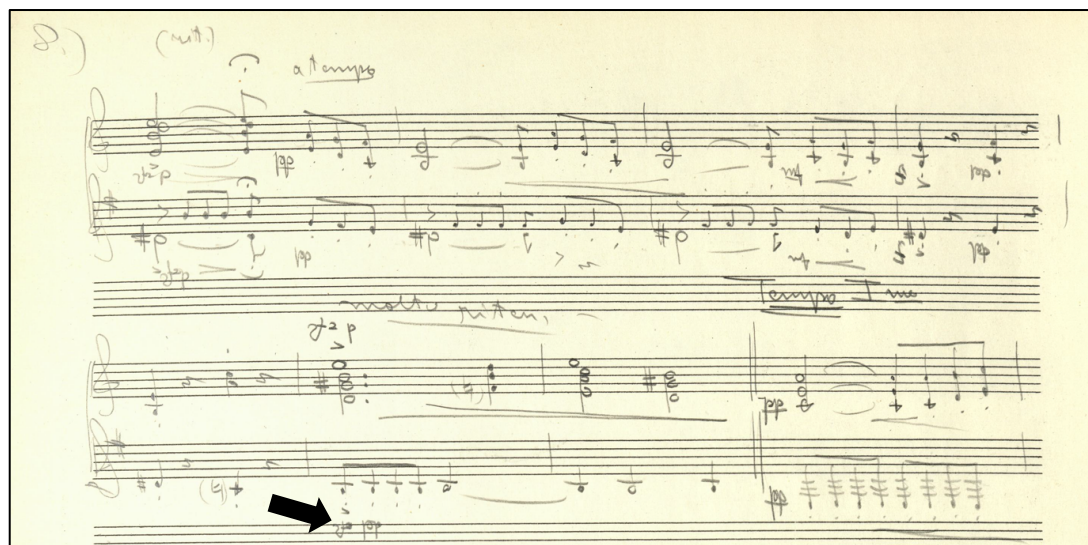
Another hybrid sign used often by Rebay combines the *petit chapeau* and the staccato (Example 5.17).

Example 5.17. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M2, bb. 30-35).

Again, the sign is used here within a *f* dynamic level (1), reinforced by an instruction to play strongly marked (*scharfer marcato!*). Agogic accents may not be appropriate since the music is propelling forward, but the guitarist can use any technical resources to effectively emphasize the marked notes, including tone contrast. On the following bar (2), a successful approach for realizing the *sfz* combined with the hybrid accent sign is suggested by Rebay's own notated chord arpeggiation.

Finally, an illustration of a possible employment of the agogic accent is shown in the excerpt of Example 5.18.

Example 5.18. Autograph score of Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars (M1, bb. 131-138).



Here, Rebay chose to have the two guitars playing at a **pp** level, while also employing a *molto ritenuto*. In b. 136, even though Rebay marks an accent with **sfz** for Guitar 2, the musical context seems too delicate to employ a percussive accent. Alternatively, an agogic accent may be used on the first note of the four-quaver group, to which a discreet vibrato can also be added.

The former examples cover practically all accent signs used by Rebay in the selected sonatas, and the realization suggestions illustrate the application of different accentuation procedures on the guitar. As demonstrated, by observing the relative dynamic and rhythmic context and not restricting accentuation to the percussive type, it is possible to successfully approach Rebay's complex accentuation notation.

5.3.2 PHRASING AND ARTICULATION

5.3.2.1 General practice

As suggested above, accentuation and articulation have overlapping roles in the delivery of musical expression. Brown sees the word "articulation" as an umbrella term whose practices operate at two levels within the scopes of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music: the structural and the expressive. "At the structural level", he writes, "was the articulation of musical phrases and sections, while as an expressive resource, appropriate articulation of

individual notes and figures was necessary to vivify a musical idea”.⁷⁷ However, speaking from Rebay’s time, Riemann warned against what he saw as a frequent confusion between phrasing and articulation. In the earlier editions of his *Musiklexikon* he referred to articulation as “something purely technical, mechanical, whilst phrasing is in the first instance something ideal, perceptual”.⁷⁸ To him, articulation was related to the simple act of combining sounds by means of legato and staccato (akin to the utterance of syllables and punctuation in speech), while phrasing stood at a higher hierarchical level, involving a complex system of organizing musical thoughts, from short motives to whole periods.⁷⁹ Riemann explained that composers suggested phrasing by the use of dynamic and agogic nuances, and that music approaches and recedes from culminating points through what he called “positive” and “negative” developments. His differentiation between articulation and phrasing was acknowledged by Moser around the mid-twentieth century, who stressed the correlation between musical phrasing and declamatory speech while borrowing terms from metrical poetry analysis.⁸⁰ A near contemporary with Riemann and the author of one of the largest music dictionaries ever published, Hermann Mendel, was not nearly as comprehensive as the former, but recognized that “A logical phrasing is one of the essential conditions for a good performance”.⁸¹

These opinions give an idea of the importance of phrasing as a structural element within the early-twentieth century Austro-German theoretical environment. Albert was clearly influenced by Riemann’s ideas, and, as reported in Chapter 1, believed that German

⁷⁷ *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 138.

⁷⁸ “Artikulation ist in erster Linie etwas rein technisches, mechanisches, Phrasierung in erster Linie etwas ideelles, perzeptionelles”. Hugo Riemann, “Artikulation”, in *Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon*, 5th ed. (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1900), 49. Curiously, this somewhat judgmental comparison between phrasing and articulation was suppressed in the editions that came after Riemann’s death.

⁷⁹ “Phrasierung”, *ibid.*, 862-63.

⁸⁰ Hans Joachim Moser, “Artikulation”, in *Musiklexikon*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1943), 35; “Phrasierungslehre”, *ibid.*, 691-93.

⁸¹ “Die sinngemässe Phrasierung ist eine der ersten Bedingungen eines guten Vortrages”. Hermann Mendel and August Reissmann, “Phrasierung”, in *Eine Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften*, 12 vols., vol. 8 (Berlin: Robert Oppenheim Verlag, 1870-79/83), 84.

performers were especially concerned with musical form and phrasing.⁸² Nevertheless, Rebay's notation of phrasing in guitar parts is very sparing, possibly because he trusted this sort of expressive decision to his performers. What is truly striking about Rebay's guitar notation is his detailed marking of articulation.

At a fundamental level, articulation refers to the connection or detachment of two or more notes. In vocal music, often taken as an expressive model for instrumental music, it is intrinsically related to the combination of vowels and consonants in the text. In the notation of instrumental music, the nuances of articulation are expressed by the use of legato and staccato, either marked by the composer or employed by the performer based on conventions and personal understanding. Brown affirms that "Keyboard instruments, bowed instruments, various kinds of wind instruments and the human voice all have their own mechanisms and imperatives, which affect the execution and application of articulation".⁸³ An all-inclusive association between articulation notation and its realization is therefore impossible.

When searching for general-practice references that could relate to the guitar practice, I avoided relying on bowed-string and woodwind instruments or the voice, because their mechanisms and articulation possibilities seemed too distant from those of the guitar. On the other hand, the piano—and particularly its immediate ancestor, the softer, less sustaining and non-uniform sounding fortepiano—shares with the guitar a distinctive sound profile which directly affects their dynamic and articulation possibilities. Apart from their different mechanisms for producing sound, both cannot sustain notes continuously and the sound decay starts as soon as the string is hit by the hammer or plucked by the finger. Thus, while considering external models within the nineteenth-century idiom anachronistically employed by Rebay, I found it appropriate to draw information from fortepiano methods and treatises.⁸⁴

Much can be said of articulation in relation to nineteenth-century keyboard playing, including the establishment of a standard legato touch by the end of the Classical period

⁸² See pp. 37-38.

⁸³ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 140.

⁸⁴ Consulted fortepiano literature include Türk (1789), Clementi (1801), Cramer (1812), Hummel (1827), Kalkbrenner (1832), Herz (1838), Czerny (1839), Beyer (1850) and Kullak (1859).

which, in practice, does not find sonic equivalence in guitar playing.⁸⁵ However, what is useful for the scope of this discussion is to understand the fortepiano player's approach to articulation notation and the basic mechanism involved in its realization. In spite of reasonably detailed discussions by authors such as Türk, Clementi, Czerny, Hummel and Kalkbrenner, an appropriate summary of articulation practice can be found in the *Méthode complète de piano*, Op. 100 (1838) by Henri Herz (1803-1888). Herz reduces the many theoretical shades of touch to five elementary ones, from which all others derive (Example 5.19).⁸⁶

Example 5.19. Excerpt of Herz's *Méthode complète de piano*, Op. 100 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, ca. 1838).



According to Herz, touch No. 1 consists in playing the notes in a “simple” way, without intentionally connecting or detaching them; No. 2 is a light staccato made by the fingers alone, associated with softer dynamics; No. 3 is a crisper staccato associated with heavier dynamics, produced by raising the hand after each note or chord; No. 4 indicates legato playing, “in which the various notes that comprise a phrase should present a continuity of sounds melting into each other”;⁸⁷ and No. 5 is especially useful in singing phrases, made by slightly accenting each note and producing an almost imperceptible interval between them (notice the use of terms “*espressivo*” and “*rallentando*”, suggesting a *cantabile* melody).

As summarized by Herz, besides the so-called “simple” and the legato touches, there are three basic ways of playing staccato: a normal staccato, represented by the dot; a very short and accented staccato (also known as *staccatissimo*), represented by the vertical stroke or wedge; and a just slightly detached one, represented by the dot under a slur, which can be

⁸⁵ See Sandra P. Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 151.

⁸⁶ Henri Herz, *Méthode complète de Piano*, Op. 100 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, ca. 1838), 22.

⁸⁷ “... dans lequel les diverses notes qui composent une phrase ne doivent offrir qu’une même continuité de sons fondus les uns dans les autres”. Ibid.

seen as equivalent to the *portato* in singing or bowed-string playing. This variety of articulation covers all the nuances that are seen in Rebay's guitar music, and by understanding their basic realization on the fortepiano it is perfectly possible to emulate them on the guitar.

5.3.2.2 Phrasing and articulation on the guitar

Before approaching phrasing and articulation in the guitar literature, it is important to understand some of the idiosyncratic logic that involves connecting and detaching notes on the instrument. A good starting point is Sor's comparison of his own right-hand technique to that of Aguado, as mentioned in his method of 1832. There, Sor makes it clear that he conceived the slur mainly as a technical aid in scale passages.

As to the right hand, I have never aimed to play scales detached, nor with great speed, because I believed that I could never make the guitar perform violin passages satisfactorily, while, by taking advantage of the ease with which it connects the sounds, I could imitate a vocal passage somewhat better ... Should the reader wish to learn to detach notes in a passage with speed, I can do no better than refer him to the method of Mr Aguado".⁸⁸

Although related on a sonic level, Sor's suggestion of staccato and legato procedures must not be mistaken for the articulation aspects that have been discussed so far. In fact, the slur (*legato* in Italian, *ligado* in Spanish, *Bindung* in German) has always been associated with a technical procedure on the guitar, in which the first note of the slurred group is plucked by the right hand and the following notes are played by the left hand alone. In ascending slurs, the notes that follow the first one are hammered on, taking advantage of the continuing string vibration. In descending slurs, the notes are pulled off by the left-hand fingers without any aid of the right hand, similar to the violin technique of left-hand *pizzicato*.

Sor's use of slurs to play scale passages—as opposed to playing them detached—was indeed a common technique during his time and observed in much of the nineteenth-century

⁸⁸ "Quant à la main droite, je n'ai jamais visé à faire des gammes détachées, ni avec une grande vitesse, parce que j'ai cru que la guitare ne pourrait jamais me rendre d'une manière satisfaisante les traits de violon, tandis qu'en profitant de la facilité qu'elle présente pour lier les sons, je pourrais imiter un peu mieux les traits de chant ... Si le lecteur désire apprendre à détacher avec vitesse les notes d'un trait d'exécution, je ne puis mieux faire que de le renvoyer à la Méthode de M. Aguado, qui, excellant dans ce genre d'exécution, est dans les cas d'établir les règles les plus réfléchies et les mieux calculées là-dessus". Fernando Sor, *Méthode pour la Guitare*, (Paris: The author, 1830), 31-22.

repertoire by guitarist-composers. The popularity of the slurred scale technique can be measured by occasional attempts to explicitly avoid it, like observed in Example 5.20.

Example 5.20. Excerpt of Carcassi's Study No. 1 from *25 Études Méloiques Progressives*, Op. 60 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, ca. 1853).



In the opening study from his series, Carcassi writes “staccato” right at the beginning of the piece. Although no direct explanation is given, it is likely that he did not mean that all notes should be shortened but simply not slurred, as was then the common practice for scale passages.⁸⁹ Giuliani ascribed a similar “non-slurred” meaning to the word “staccato” in his trilingual *Studio per la Chitarra*, Op. 1, translated into French as *détaché* and in German as *Sonderung*.⁹⁰

Back to Sor's commentary, he essentially described the slurring technique as a means to achieve ease in rapid scale playing. Despite having lived in the same period and city as Herz, he did not directly mention legato and staccato as expressive tools. The treatment of the slur as a technical aid is nowadays known as “technical slur”. One of its advantages is indeed to avoid right-hand crossed finger patterns and increase speed by relieving the hand from constant playing. However, it has the side effect of creating accentuation and articulation, sometimes involuntary and undesired. A summary of the issue is given by Yates.

Left-hand slurs ... may be categorized in three ways: technical, textural, and phraseological. Technical slurs are used simply to aid the right hand in the

⁸⁹ In his method, Carcassi also approaches the traditional slurred way of playing scales. Carcassi, *Méthode complète pour la Guitare*, Op. 59, 40.

⁹⁰ Mauro Giuliani, “Studio per la Chitarra, Op. 1”, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Vienna: Artaria et Comp., 1812), 31.

execution of fast passage-work; textural slurs relieve the monotony of constantly-articulated equal-note passages, particularly when it may not be possible to provide enough variety of touch with the right-hand alone; and phraseological slurs are defined according to their musical effect. It is worth noting that, regardless of the motivation for their use, all slurs have a musical, or phraseological, consequence—generally that of connecting or grouping notes together, stressing the first note of the group.⁹¹

The articulation role of slurs has not been given enough consideration in the majority of past and existing guitar methods, and this is still reflected in a more or less carefree employment of the technique by guitarists. As mentioned earlier, Garno and Wade referred to Segovia's arbitrary over-slurring, a feature also observed in his heavily fingered editions.⁹² Within Rebay's universe, the excerpt of his Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar illustrated at the beginning of this chapter shows a clear contradiction between musical concept and guitaristic practice. In the passage, Rebay wrote phraseological slurs in the guitar part—to use Yate's terminology—in consonance with the two-note articulation pattern seen in the oboe's line. Nevertheless, the slurs were crossed out by the guitarist who revised the piece, likely to avoid ambiguity in the realization, since not all of the phraseological slurs marked by Rebay translate conveniently into technical slurs.⁹³

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As can be heard in the excerpts by Llobet, Segovia and Walker that illustrate this chapter, early guitar recordings show very idiosyncratic approaches to phrasing and articulation. Therefore, as with accentuation, the lack of written references does not mean that phrasing and articulation was disregarded, only that they were not documented. Aguado is one of the rare nineteenth-century guitar pedagogues who approached phrasing in some depth. In the fourth part of his *Nuevo Método para Guitarra* (1843), dedicated to expression, he discussed the treatment of phrases and periods, recommending that they should always end *piano* in order

⁹¹ Stanley Yates, "Bach's Unaccompanied String Music : A New (Historical) Approach to Stylistic and Idiomatic Transcription for the Guitar", accessed 16 May 2018, <http://www.stanleyyates.com/articles/bacharr/part4.html>.

⁹² Wade and Garno, *A New Look at Segovia : His Life, his Music*, 1, 16.

⁹³ The dilemma of representing both kinds of slurs in notation would only be solved a few decades later, as can be seen in music edited by Julian Bream. In it, solid-line slurs indicate textural or phraseological slurs, while dotted-line slurs indicate technical ones. I have adopted this notation in the edited examples of this thesis.

to differentiate one idea from another, which clearly emphasizes the importance of phrasing in delineating structure.⁹⁴ Aguado corroborated contemporary practices, such as that dynamics should be applied in direct relation to the melodic movement within a phrase: when this ascends, so does the dynamics, and vice-versa. According to him, composers notated phrasing by making use of a sign called “*regulador*” (regulator), which is nothing more than *crescendo* and *decrescendo* signs placed accordingly within phrases. Little is said about articulation, although elsewhere in the method a practical suggestion of stopping notes by damping with the finger that has played them (a potential staccato procedure) is advised when the sign “▲” is placed over a note, and the guitar effect named *campanella* is described as an effect in which notes blend with each other, therefore suggesting a type of legato.⁹⁵ Aguado’s final advice is that “Ultimately, the guitarist should look for models for expression in the great teachers, whichever instrument they use to express their sentiments; [the guitarist] will listen attentively to them and will try to imitate them until he is able to acquire a personal taste and style”.⁹⁶

In spite of the relative richness of Mertz’s expressive notation—he is one of the few of his time who uses the *portato* sign systematically—he did not discuss phrasing and articulation in his *Schule für die Gitarre* (1848). This is possibly because the method was clearly aimed at beginners. On the other hand, his contemporary Coste gave a curious example in his expanded edition of Sor’s method from 1851, in which phraseological slurs seem to be employed (Example 5.21).

Example 5.21. Excerpt of Sor’s *Méthode complète pour la Guitare, redigée et augmentée par N. Coste* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1851).



⁹⁴ Dionisio Aguado, *Nuevo Método para Guitarra* (Madrid: L. Lodre, 1843), 70.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 33, 54.

⁹⁶ “Últimamente el guitarrista debe buscar modelos de expresión en los profesores de merito, sea cual fuse el instrumento en que expresen sus sentimientos; los oirá con mucha atención, y procurara imitarlos hasta que consiga formarse un gusto y un estilo particular”. Ibid., 71.

Coste explains that the slurs above the notes indicate the uniformity of performance, and the ones below the way to articulate.⁹⁷ No further explanations are given, but it is clear that the articulation to which he refers is actually the procedure of alternating between technical slurs and single-struck notes; again a technical approach aiming at speed, which nevertheless affects articulation. On the other hand, the “uniformity of performance” could be indeed an attempt to delineate phrasing, since phrasing slurs are quite common in his woodwind music, although mostly absent in his guitar works.⁹⁸ A clear evidence of Coste’s concern for phrasing is suggested in the GV’s edition of his *25 Etuden*, Op. 38 (Example 5.22). A note on the bottom of the page indicates that the brackets in the bass line indicate phrasing (“*die klammern deuten die phrasierung an*”), which is in fact harmonically justified by the successive secondary dominants leading to resolution.^{99 100}

Example 5.22. Excerpt of Coste’s Study No. 1 from *25 Etuden*, Op. 38 (Munich: Verlag Gitarrefreund, 1920).



In the early twentieth century, Albert wrote about phrasing in the text that accompanies the third volume of his series of selected studies, published in 1924 and intended for advanced players.¹⁰¹ Likely influenced by Riemann, he advocated a logical development in which every

⁹⁷ Fernando Sor and Napoleon Coste, *Méthode complète pour la Guitare par Ferdinand Sor, redigée et augmentée par N. Coste* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1851), 37.

⁹⁸ The second instrument for which Coste wrote the most is the oboe, as a look at Det Kongelige Bibliotek’s Rischel & Birket-Smith Collection reveals.

⁹⁹ Napoleon Coste, “25 Etuden, Op. 38” (Munich: Verlag Gitarrefreund, 1920), 2.

¹⁰⁰ The use of the brackets to indicate phrasing was also mentioned by Zuth in 1915, which suggests that the brackets in Coste’s study could have been a later editorial addition. Zuth, *Das künstlerische Gitarrespiel*, 51.

¹⁰¹ Heinrich Albert, “Gitarre-Solospiel-Studien”, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Leipzig, Berlin: Zimmermann, ca. 1924), 4-5.

phrase must rise towards its culminating point (positive development) and then recede (negative development). According to him, this may be achieved by graduated levels of dynamic, harmonic, agogic or technical developments, all of which contribute to delineate the structure. He assigned great importance to the awareness of form, which he called “the garment in which the ideas are clothed”.¹⁰² In another volume of the series, Albert explained the meaning and realization of several expressive signs, terms and techniques, including a few related to articulation.¹⁰³ He is the only author in my review of guitar sources who wrote about nuances of staccato, listing three of them: the regular staccato, the *mezzo-staccato* (between the staccato and the legato), and what he calls *étouffez*, which is the shortest variation of staccato (Example 5.23).¹⁰⁴

staccato= scharfes Trennen der Töne von einander, wird entweder von der linken Hand besorgt, indem die Greiffinger sofort nach dem Anschlag im Druck nachlassen, oder von der rechten Hand, indem die Anschlagfinger sich gleich nach dem Anschlag wieder an die Saiten setzen, beide Fälle verhindern das Weiterklingen der Töne.

Ausführung: 

mezzo staccato= oder *non legato* liegt in der Mitte von *staccato* und *legato*, bedeutet das dichte Aneinanderreihen der Töne, ohne große Lücken.

Ausführung:

étouffez= gestopft oder gedämpft, kürzeste Ausführung von staccato.

¹⁰² "Die Form ist das Gewand in welche sich die Idee kleidet". Ibid., 5.

composed by him, although in those only the regular staccato and the *éttouffez*—which he marked by the wedge sign (▼)—are employed.

In 1954, Pujol wrote a fairly detailed account of phrasing, which he argued should be informed by formal analysis and awareness of the piece's character, also recommending that the student should seek external knowledge in the study of musical theory.¹⁰⁶ This was followed by a discussion of melodic, rhythmic, dynamic and harmonic approaches to phrasing, according to the genre to which the piece belongs: recitative or monody, accompanied melody, successive chords, and counterpoint or polyphony. Pujol does not discuss legato and staccato realization at length, however, nor does he include articulation signs in the glossary of modern guitar notation at the end of Volume 1 of his *Escuela razonada de la guitarra* (1954).¹⁰⁷

Finally, it is noteworthy that Dobrauz wrote in a footnote of Volume 4 of Rebay's Duos for Two Guitars, "The legato-ties used with some of the studies are not always technical indications for the execution: they often explain the phrasing and will help you to follow the line of melody".¹⁰⁸ Unlike the guitarist who crossed out the slurs in the manuscript of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar more than 30 years before, Dobrauz kept Rebay's original phrasing and articulation indications. This might reflect a change in attitude after a whole generation of guitarists had enjoyed a conservatoire-level education in Vienna since the implementation of the Wiener Akademie's guitar programme in 1923.



Phrasing and articulation on the guitar is a complex subject whose in-depth study is beyond the purposes of this chapter. However, a brief discussion of the theoretical concepts explored above and practical aspects of legato playing is necessary to support my choices when performing Rebay's guitar music. I privilege the discussion on legato because its execution is

involve open strings and/or string crossing, combinations between left-hand finger release and/or stopping the vibrating string with any available finger (from either hand) can be used.

¹⁰⁶ Emilio Pujol, *Escuela razonada de la guitarra, basada en los principios de la técnica de Tárrega*, 4 vols., vol. 4 (Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana, 1954), 166.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 1: 94-98.

¹⁰⁸ Rebay, "Duo's für zwei Gitarren", 4.

truly problematic on the instrument, while staccato happens more organically.¹⁰⁹ In fact, it could be argued that, by force of the instrument's mechanism, the standard touch of the guitar is a slightly detached staccato.

By definition, legato happens between “successive notes in performance, connected without any intervening silence of articulation”.¹¹⁰ A true legato is therefore characterized by changes in pitch without any interruption of sound, which is done by keeping a uniform current of air in singing or wind-instrument playing, or by leaving the bow on the string or gliding it smoothly to another string on bowed-string instruments. It implies that every note is perfectly connected, without a noticeable gap or the peak of a new attack. On the piano, a way to achieve an analogous effect is to hold one key down until the next one is pressed, letting notes slightly overlap each other, and a similar effect is achieved with the aid of the sustain pedal. However, it cannot be considered a true legato because a new attack (however subtle) is always perceived when the hammers hit a new string.

The guitar shares much in common with the piano in regard to legato playing, but its technical characteristics make it even more elusive. In guitar playing, there are two possible left-hand fingering scenarios for a melodic interval, though often combined in practice: one in which successive notes are played on the same string and one in which they are played on different strings. In the first scenario, every time a new note is played by the right-hand a new stroke is necessary, therefore forcing the finger that plays the next note to stop the string from ringing, generating detachment. An absolutely perfect coordination between both hands, allied to a careful non-articulating, nuanced right-hand touch can get close to a legato effect, but even then, a minimal gap will still exist.¹¹¹ Video 1 shows a melodic E minor scale



Video 1

¹⁰⁹ Page mentions that the guitar's unresponsiveness to legato playing was one of the reasons the instrument was taken in poor regard in the early nineteenth century. Christopher Page, “New Light on the London Years of Fernando Sor, 1815-1822”, *Early Music* 41, no. 4 (2013): 557.

¹¹⁰ Geoffrey Chew, “Legato”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 28 August 2018, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16290>.

¹¹¹ This is the explanation of legato playing given by Hubert Käppel in his technique treatise, one of the few modern authors that approach articulation on the guitar, although very briefly. Hubert Käppel, *Die Technik der Modernen Konzert Gitarre* (Brühl: AMA Verlag GmbH, 2011), 126.

from [e] to [e'] and back, played with a normal touch which privileges regularity between both the notes played on the same string and the notes played on different strings.

Still within the first scenario, a legato effect is achieved on a certain level by performing technical slurs, particularly in ascending ones, since the slurred notes that follow the first one take advantage of the continuing string vibration. In descending technical slurs, however, because the notes are always pulled off by the left hand, a new attack is usually heard and potentially disturbs the uniformity expected from legato playing (a side effect less noticeable in softer dynamics).¹¹² Additionally, as formerly suggested by Yates's explanation of slurs, there is a tendency to accent the first note in both ascending and descending technical slurs, forcibly generating articulation. Finally, the tone quality of slurred notes is often different from that produced by plucking the notes with the right-hand, which may also compromise the uniformity expected in legato playing. Video 2 shows the same scale as before with the same fingering, however slurring the notes that are played on the same string. Notice that an accent is created every time the right hand has to pluck a note on a new string or the left hand hammers on an open string. A fast execution under lower dynamics potentially minimizes this by-product.



Video 2

The second fingering scenario for a melodic interval is analogous to the piano procedure of holding a key down until the next one is pressed, and can be achieved on the guitar by employing cross-string fingering. It was illustrated by Carcassi in his method, which demonstrates his keen awareness of the issues involved in legato playing, although not discussing it in a systematic way.¹¹³ It is also related to the effect of *campanella* described by Aguado and mentioned above. This kind of fingering can be very effective in single-melody lines but is often impractical in polyphonic textures due to left-hand fingering limitations. Because it is highly dependent on the use of open strings, it is not available in every key or harmonic context, nor in very high positions of the fingerboard. Video 3 shows the same scale as before, now played with cross-string fingering. One possible inconvenience is the ringing



Video 3

¹¹² Variations and nuances of technical slurs do exist, however. For a discussion of slurring techniques, including a type of descending slur which only releases the left-hand finger from the fingerboard without pulling off the string, see Alisson Alípio, "Teoria da digitação : um protocolo de instâncias, princípios e perspectivas para a construção de um cenário digital ao violão" (Doctor of Music thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2014), 77.

¹¹³ Carcassi, *Méthode complète pour la Guitare*, Op. 59, 39.

over of open strings; however, this is manageable and in certain circumstances may even be desirable.

As can be gathered from the variety of approaches illustrated above, the ideal procedure for legato playing on the guitar is one in which a perfect coordination between both hands, nuanced right-hand touch, cross-string fingering and technical slurs are combined as necessary, sounding almost indistinguishable. It demands a very refined technique and control of dynamics, being more prone to work in instruments which privilege tone sustain rather than an explosive attack.

Finally, shifting of position on the guitar—as with most instruments—often generates articulation which may or may not be related to musical demands. Because it involves an interruption in the continuity of sound when the left-hand fingers are momentarily released from the string, shifting is usually not ideal in the middle of a phrase. Exceptions may occur in situations in which note detachment is already necessary; shifting after a staccato note, for example, may be the perfect fingering choice, since the gap will correspond to the silence demanded by the staccato. As will be discussed later, portamento is a stylistic choice for preserving legato while shifting.

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In practice, phrasing and articulation involve multiple combinations of legato and staccato nuances within and between phrases, and their realization on the guitar can only be achieved by a complex system of both left- and right-hand fingering and mechanism. Video 4 shows my approach to Herz's articulation examples illustrated earlier, now transposed to a more guitaristic key (Example 5.24).

Example 5.24. Herz's articulation examples, transposed to the key of D major.



Video 4

A combination of approaches leads to the characterization of each phrasing and articulation profile suggested by the notation. In excerpt No. 1, I employed a discreet fingering and a standard touch, which can be heard as slightly detached—the regular guitar touch. Excerpts No. 2 and 3 show different employments of staccato. While in the former the soft dynamics allow for a light touch in which the fingers of both hands participate in the articulation, the latter’s louder dynamics and *staccatissimo* marks suggest a more energetic touch in which most of the staccato effect is done by the right hand, including the use of both wrist and arm. Notice that left-hand shifts of position are facilitated by the articulation. Excerpt No. 4 shows an approach to legato which uses cross-string fingering, a nuanced right-hand touch and carefully placed technical slurs, besides a tight coordination between both hands. Phrasing separation is done by lifting the left-hand fingers and/or damping the sound with the right hand. Finally, excerpt No. 5 shows a fingering that takes in consideration not only the *portato* but also the *espressivo* character, to which I responded with a fingering that employs portamento and a more intense vibrato.

The examples above are abstractions of the articulation possibilities on the guitar, demonstrating procedures which are particularly effective when employed in melodic passages. As explained earlier, polyphonic passages may restrict articulation possibilities because of fingering issues. Therefore, realizing each passage depends on conceiving a musical idea and reasoning upon the best way to recreate that idea on the instrument, considering not only notational demands but technical and stylistic aspects. This is why in some of Rebay’s excerpts below I felt necessary to include my own fingering choices, which are accompanied by audio examples.

5.3.2.3 Phrasing and articulation in Rebay

As mentioned above, Rebay notates phrasing only sparingly in his guitar parts. Nevertheless, there are plenty of cases within the selected sonatas in which the guitar line directly mirrors the melodic instrument’s, often doubling it in thirds, sixths or tenths (Example 5.25). In such cases, the guitarist must be aware of the melodic instrument’s phrasing, particularly if ensemble cohesion is desired.

Example 5.26. Suggested fingering for the above passage.



Example 5.27. Hammerschmid's fingering for the above passage.



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slightly uncomfortable shift from fourth to second position, either causing a small agogic delay or a forced shortening of the note. In addition, an interesting expressive element is verifiable through her fingering: a recurring portamento. While stylistically justified, the use of portamento generates an articulation pattern which is not necessarily mirrored in the oboe part. It is impossible to know whether the oboist who performed with Hammerschmid changed articulation to mimic the guitar realization, or if each part sounded slightly different. While my personal choice is to have the guitar line in the foreground for this passage, I find Hammerschmid's fingering ingenious and effective.

Example 5.28 shows an extended excerpt in which clarinet and guitar interact within a similar articulation scenario. This time, however, the notation shows hybrid signs which combine accentuation and articulation.

Example 5.28. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M1, bb. 13-24).

Handwritten musical score for Clarinet (Cl.) and Guitar (G.). The score is in A minor and 2/4 time. It features a 'molto rit.' section followed by an 'Allegro, ma non troppo' section. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (bars 13-14) shows the Clarinet (Cl.) and Guitar (G.) parts. The second system (bars 15-16) continues the interplay. The third system (bars 17-18) shows further development. Arrows and numbers 1, 2, and 3 highlight specific musical features: arrow 1 points to a measure in the first system, arrow 2 points to a measure in the second system, and arrow 3 points to a measure in the third system.

Starting after the cut-time metre sign, both instruments engage in a balanced interplay to make up the energetic first theme, alternating the presentation of the same melodic material. However, the articulation marked by Rebay for both instruments is not identical, raising a question of whether they should sound similar or not. In the first two bars (1), Rebay asks for

a *tenuto* in the clarinet's minims and a regular accent in the crotchets. When the guitar takes up the melody, the *tenuto* is substituted by a *sfz* with a hairpin in the minims, while the same articulation as the clarinet's is seen in the crotchets. A basic definition of *tenuto* is helpful. To Riemann, a *tenuto* mark meant that the note "should be held on to their full value ... without decrease of sound".¹¹⁴ While this is a commonplace procedure for the clarinet, it is arguably impossible to achieve on the guitar, since the sound starts to decay as soon as it is plucked.¹¹⁵ Therefore, Rebay likely found that the guitar would deliver a comparable effect by accentuating the notes instead. In fact, no *tenuto* marks are seen in the guitar parts of the selected sonatas, suggesting that Rebay took the definition of *tenuto*—and its non-applicability to the guitar—very literally.

The next figure of the clarinet (2) shows the hairpin with staccato, while the equivalent passage in the guitar part shows the *petit chapeau* alone. While Rebay clearly wanted the melody notes on the guitar to be only accented and not shortened, in practice the result is similar to the clarinet's realization. This is partially due to the louder dynamics, which on the treble strings normally result in an intense peak of attack followed by a rapid decay.¹¹⁶ Later, when the music reaches *ff* (3), clarinet and guitar play a similar melodic figuration concurrently. While the clarinet's notation shows only the *petit chapeau*, the guitar bass line is marked *petit chapeau* with staccato. In this case, because of the open strings involved, it might be that Rebay wrote the staccato in order to prevent the notes from ringing over each other. However, it might also be that he wished each instrument to have a slightly different articulation.

Judging strictly from notation, it seems that there is indeed room for different articulation approaches in the presentation of the same material by the two instruments. However, the fact that Rebay does not mark *tenuto* for the guitar suggests that he considered

¹¹⁴ Riemann, "Tenuto", *Dictionary of Music*, 784.

¹¹⁵ An illusion of *tenuto* is possible in notes that can be sustained for longer such as those played on the bass strings, particularly when vibrato is also employed.

¹¹⁶ While this is highly variable among different instruments and techniques, empirical observation shows that a rapid decay after the attack is normally more pronounced in louder dynamics and treble strings, both of which produce more overtones than softer dynamics and bass strings. For a discussion on the rate of overtone decays, see Jim Woodhouse, "Plucked Guitar Transients : Comparison of Measurements and Synthesis", *Acustica - Acta Acustica* 90 (2004), 945-65.

how the instruments responded to notation instead of adopting a uniform sign usage, representing in notation what his ears learned to expect from realization. Unlike the former example, here a clear answer to whether the differently notated articulation should deliver similar results or not does not exist. My personal choice was once more a cohesive approach between both instruments, even if a literal interpretation of notation would suggest otherwise.

The following excerpt shows a passage in which Rebay's notation of phrasing in the guitar part is clearly helpful (Example 5.29).

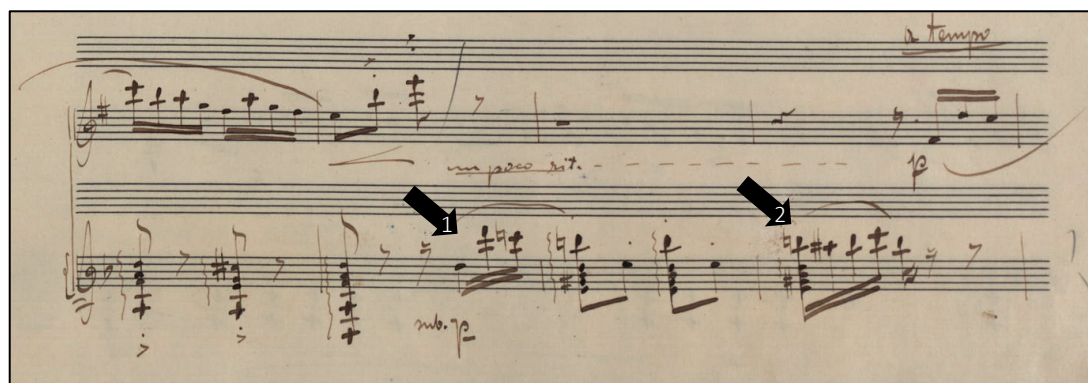
Example 5.29. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M1, bb. 113-118).

Were the passage (1) notated without phrasing slurs, my natural impulse would be to perform the triplet notes as pickups to the ensuing chords, but Rebay's slurs leave no doubt that they belong to the former chord's group and therefore may be played softer, possibly with a slightly receding character. In addition, the clarinet's accompaniment supports this idea through its own articulation slurs. By analogy, the procedure may be applied to the guitar solo passage that appears immediately before (2), since it presents the same melodic material but this time with no phrasing slurs. Rebay's suggestion of dislocating the top voice on beats 1 and 3 affects phrasing by slightly delaying the melodic note. In fact, this procedure has been reported by

both Brown and Peres da Costa as associated with *portato* in nineteenth-century piano playing.¹¹⁷

Another passage of the same sonata brings an articulation issue that involves complex technical considerations (Example 5.30).

Example 5.30. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M3, bb. 25-28).



Here, a modified excerpt of the theme is heard in the guitar part, built on the dominant key and preparing the next thematic entrance of the clarinet. Were it a single-voiced melody, it would be perfectly possible to respect Rebay's legato indication. However, as it is (1), the most obvious fingering would demand a change of position and left-hand presentation in order to prepare the E⁷ chord of the next downbeat, resulting in a clear detachment of the melody. A similar situation happens in the next slurred group (2), when the left hand is initially locked in a transversal position because of the same E⁷ chord, compromising legato in the melody. Figure 5.1 shows the different hand presentations (longitudinal and transversal) required to play the pickup notes and the ensuing E⁷ chord.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 248; Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, 112.

¹¹⁸ I adopt Abel Carlevaro's terminology for left-hand placement: longitudinal, when fingers are placed parallel to the strings; and transversal, when fingers are placed at an angle in relation to the strings.

The top photograph shows a close-up of a person's left hand positioned on the fretboard of an acoustic guitar. The hand is wearing a light purple long-sleeved shirt. The index finger is pressed down across all six strings at the first fret, performing a barre. The guitar has a dark fretboard with white fret markers and a light-colored body. The background is a dark, solid color. The bottom photograph shows a close-up of the same person's right hand, also wearing the light purple shirt, positioned over the guitar's strings. The hand is holding a plectrum (pick) and is in the middle of a strumming motion. The guitar's body and fretboard are visible, and the background is the same dark color as in the top photo.

Example 5.31. Suggested fingering for the above passage.

un poco rit.

sub. *p*

The first system of the musical score for 'The Little Boat' is in 3/4 time, marked 'un poco rit.' and 'sub. p'. It features a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, and then a series of eighth notes: A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The bass line consists of a series of eighth notes: C3, D3, E3, F3, G3, A3, Bb3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3, C3. The system ends with a quarter rest.



Audio 4

the transversal hand-presentation for the E⁷ chord prior to arpeggiating it. In the next slurred group, I decided to break the four-note slur into two technical slurs (symbolized by the dotted-line slurs), which, if played in a non-articulated way, provided a good balance between tone quality and articulation demands. This movement was not fingered by Hammerschmid, and therefore it is not possible to compare my solution with hers.

A passage of the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar presents a similar issue, but in this case it involves a much easier resolution (Example 5.32). It happens at both codas of the exposition and recapitulation, although each time in a different key, requiring slight adaptations.

Example 5.32. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M1, bb. 51-57).

Here, the guitar plays a flourished descending melodic line which is later imitated by the flute. Each bar has two kinds of slurred groups: the first (1) presents two quavers in an ascending third interval and the next (2) four semiquavers in descending chromatic motion. Although a technical slur would not be advisable in the first, the articulation is easily achievable by a nuanced right-hand touch that slightly emphasizes the first quaver. The second group is more problematic, however. Plucking all notes was not satisfactory because it robbed the passage of its lightness. On the other hand, the chromatic figure allows for the four semiquavers to be covered within the normal range of the left-hand fingers, which, allied to the longitudinal presentation of the left hand is the optimum condition for an efficient four-note technical slur. The **pp** dynamics favour a smoother slurring and the slight emphasis that happens

naturally on the first note of the group matches the flute’s later rendering of the same idea. In the next group of semiquavers (3), it is possible to employ a technical slur on the first two notes and hammer-on the third one, akin to what Carcassi called “slur by vibration”.¹¹⁹

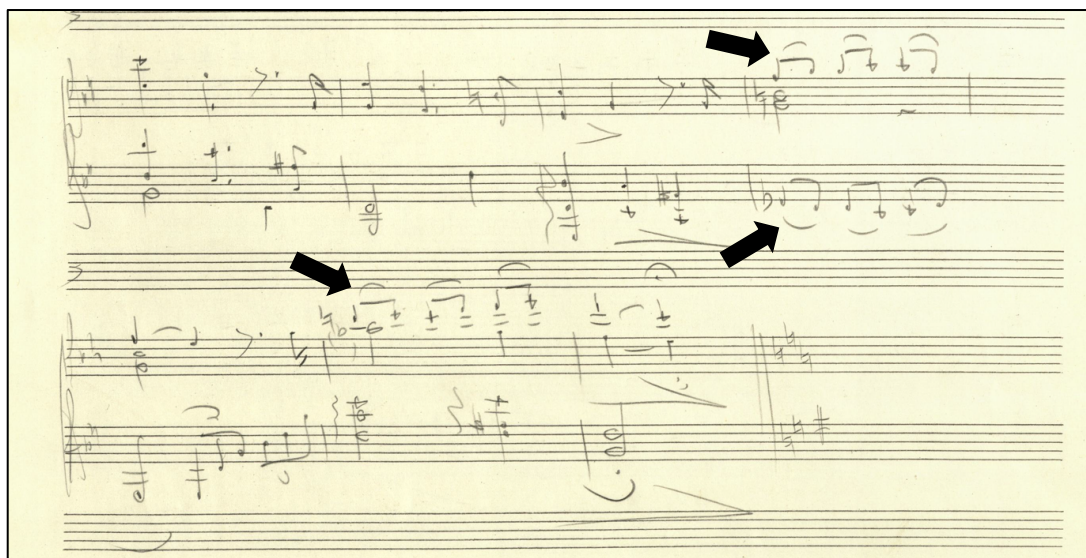
My fingering is represented in Example 5.33. In this passage, Hammerschmid’s choices were essentially identical to mine.

Example 5.33. Suggested fingering for the above passage.

A recurring melodic figuration in Rebay’s guitar music is the two-note tied group. This has already been illustrated above when referring to the crossed-out slurs in the autograph score of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar. Example 5.34 shows another instance in which the same figuration is observed.

¹¹⁹ The “slur by vibration” happens in descending slurs when a note played on an open string is tied to a note stopped on a different string by directly hammering-on instead of plucking it. Carcassi, *Méthode complète pour la Guitare*, Op. 59, 38-39.

Example 5.34. Autograph score of Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars (M2, bb. 74-80).

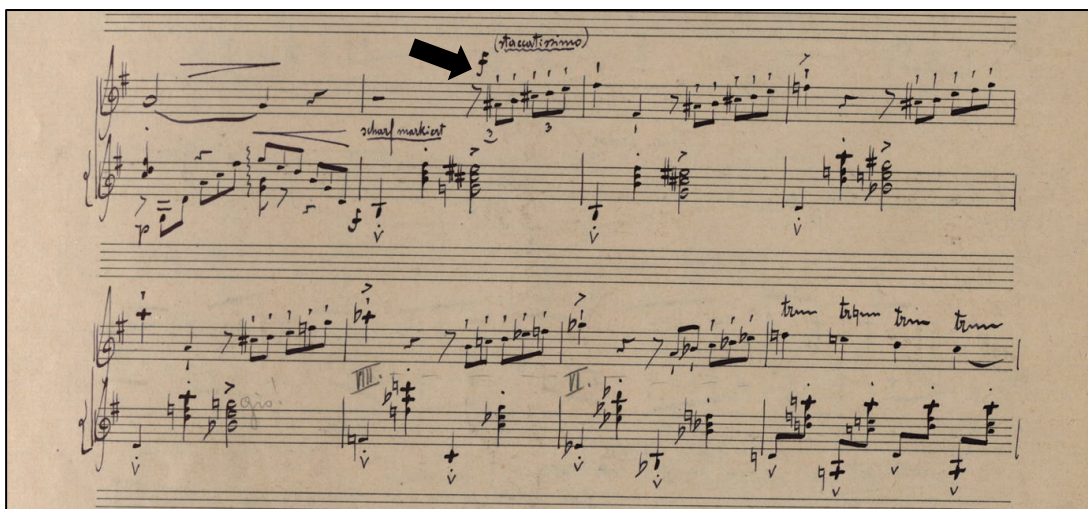


My understanding of these slurs is that the first quaver should be slightly stressed and the second one slightly shortened in each group. This procedure was a frequent recommendation in piano playing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and is mentioned by Brown when quoting correspondence between Brahms and Joachim from 1879.¹²⁰ While Brahms did not agree that the last note of a slurred group should necessarily be shortened, he did agree with it when the slur was placed over only two notes. In the excerpt above, shortening the second note within each slur generates rhythmic interest, propelling the music forward and heightening the expressive character of the harmonic appoggiaturas. The effect can be achieved by either technical slurs or a nuanced right-hand touch. The latter is particularly appropriate for the higher positions on the fingerboard, where ascending technical slurs are more difficult to play due to the higher string-tension.

In comparison with the subtle ways of playing staccato previously surveyed, the notation of staccato in Rebay's selected sonatas is much less varied. In fact, within the selected sonatas he mostly uses the regular staccato to indicate shortening of notes, leaving other nuances to the performers. The only exception is the first movement of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, in which the oboe's line has a scale figuration marked with the *staccatissimo* sign (▼) in both the exposition and recapitulation (Example 5.35).

¹²⁰ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 233.

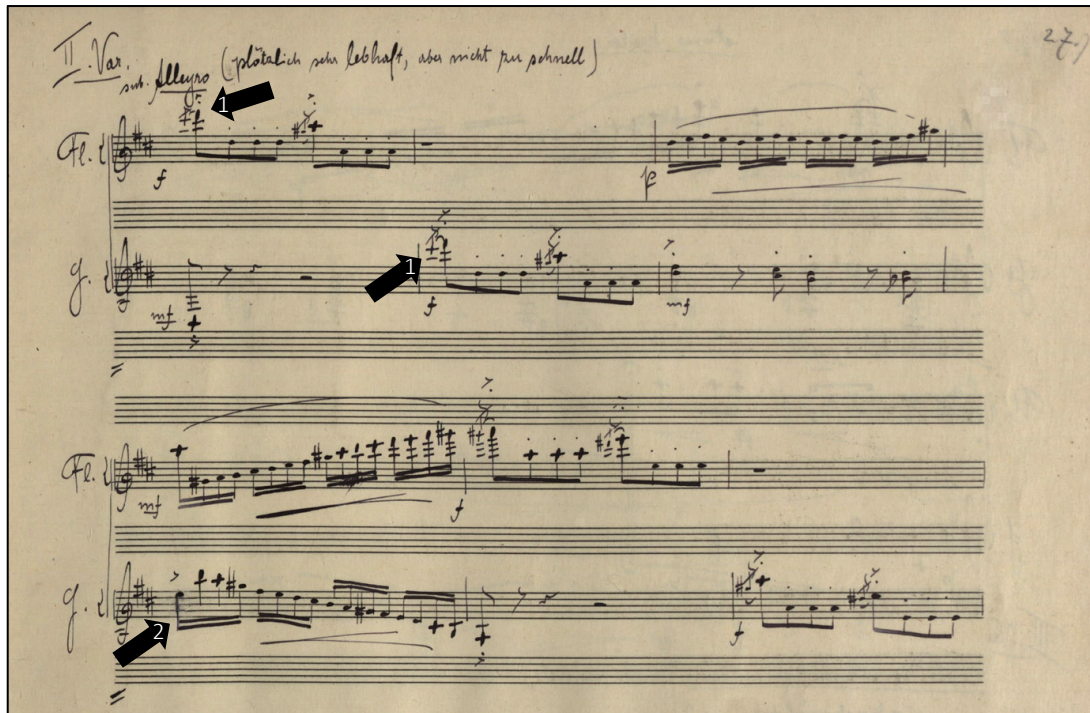
Example 5.35. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 48-55).



Here, the *staccatissimo* of the oboe's line is mirrored in the guitar line's prescriptive note *scharf markiert* (strongly marked), as well as the use of several accentuation and articulation marks, such as the *petit chapeau* with staccato, the regular staccato and the hairpin. In fact, hybrid signs such as the *petit chapeau* with staccato may be understood as having a comparable effect on the guitar as the oboe's *staccatissimo*.

Rebay's creativity in exploring articulation can be best observed in his sets of variations. In those, he often writes single-melody lines for the guitar, thus facilitating fingering and increasing articulation possibilities. The fourth movement of the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar—the longest of his theme-and-variation movements within the selected sonatas—is particularly rich in the interplay between the two instruments, which frequently share the exact same material in imitation. This is illustrated in Examples 5.36, 5.37 and 5.38 below.

Example 5.36. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D major for Flute and Guitar (M4, bb. 33-38).



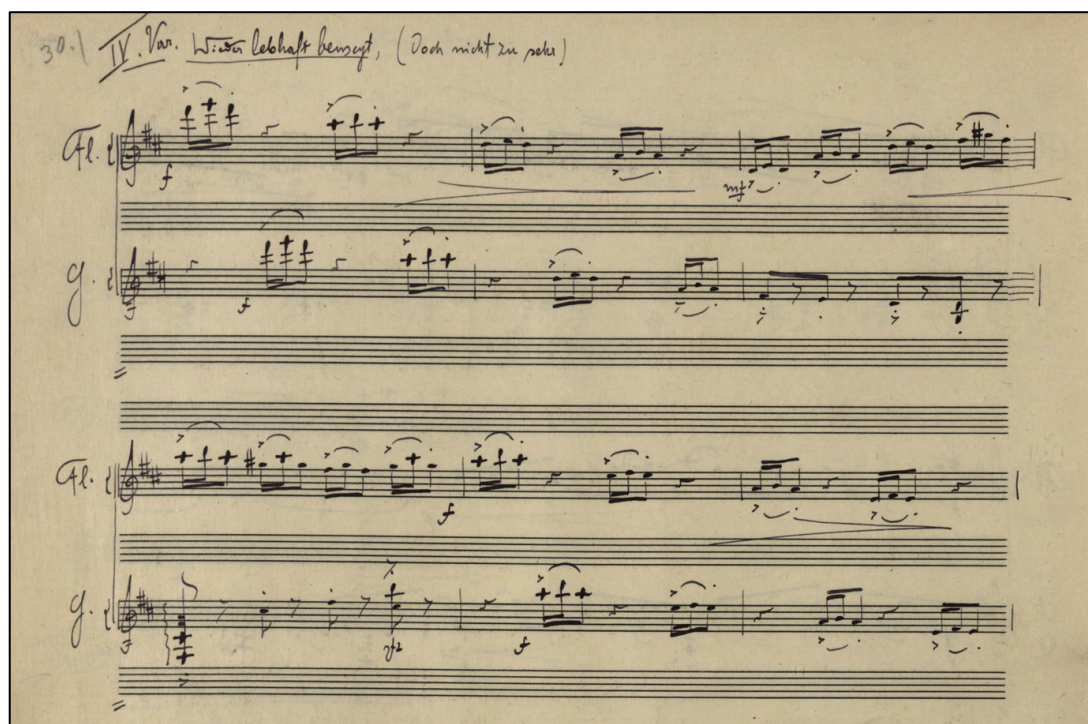
Here, Rebay marks exactly the same articulation for both instruments (1) and therefore I tried to recreate the effect played by the flute on the guitar. Later, Rebay does not indicate phrasing or articulation for the guitar during the oblique scale motion that leads to the second phrase (2). However, I chose to mimic the flute and employ legato, which makes it a welcome contrast to the preceding staccato notes. Due to the fast tempo and uniformity of the scale, the best way to approach legato here was to rely on a perfect coordination between left and right hands instead of using technical slurs, which would favour speed but at the same time generate articulation at every string change.

Example 5.37. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M4, bb. 49-55).

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Flute (Fl.) and Guitar (G.). The score is written on five staves. The first two staves are for the first system, and the next three are for the second system. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The time signature is 4/4. The first system is marked 'III. Var.' and 'Moderato'. The tempo is indicated as 'molto moderato'. The first staff of the first system is for the Flute, and the second is for the Guitar. The second system also has a Flute staff and a Guitar staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings like 'pp' and 'mf'. There are also handwritten annotations in German: 'Nicht sehr prägnant fortsetzen (molto moderato)' and '(so leise als möglich beginnen)'. Two black arrows point to specific notes: one on the first staff of the first system and another on the second staff of the second system.

In this variation, flute and guitar alternate what can be understood as a dotted-rhythm pattern, except that the quavers are shortened by rests and staccatos. This pattern is recurrent in Rebay's guitar music. The slurred notes are best performed with technical slurs or, in the case of string crossing, by a nuanced right-hand touch that emulates the same articulation.

Example 5.38. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M4, bb. 65-70).



A similar imitative treatment is seen here, but this time within a tighter interplay. Again, both instruments present the same articulation. The short figurations are best realized with technical slurs encompassing the three notes, observing the accentuation in the first and the staccato in the third. Notice that, in cases such as this, the natural accentuation derived from technical slurs is welcome, matching the phraseological slurs suggested by Rebay's notation.

Like with accentuation, Rebay's marking of articulation is extensive and therefore it is not possible to exhaust all of its appearances. The survey above offers an overview of the main situations in which phrasing and articulation may pose issues to realization, and can therefore be used as a reference for similar passages. Ultimately, the most important tool when dealing with phrasing and articulation in guitar playing is fingering, because of its potential of naturally shaping musical ideas in an idiomatic way.

5.3.3 DISLOCATION AND ARPEGGIATION

5.3.3.1 General practice

Although turn-of-the-century theorists such as Riemann did not discuss dislocation (separating melody from accompaniment) and arpeggiation (separating notes within chords), these were essential expressive tools within the Romantic performing practice, appearing in many pedagogical sources as well as in early piano and guitar recordings. These procedures

are not exclusive of polyphonic instruments, having also been reported in nineteenth-century singing and instrumental treatises such as Manuel Garcia's *New Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London, 1857) and Charles de Bériot's *Méthode de Violon* (Paris, 1858). However, as with phrasing and articulation, my main general-practice reference for dislocation and arpeggiation will be piano playing, due to the similarities in musical texture and polyphonic treatment.

Brown lists arpeggiation of chords as a type of less obtrusive embellishment (in the same category of vibrato and portamento), as opposed to direct modifications of the melodic line by the performer, such as ornaments.¹²¹ He also remarks that "There is powerful evidence to suggest that in piano playing during the early part of the nineteenth century the arpeggiation of chords where they accompanied a melody, especially in slow movements, was almost ubiquitous".¹²² When analysing early piano recordings, Philip notices that the practice may have been associated with different schools of playing, being more exaggerated in pianists schooled in the German tradition of Liszt or Clara Schumann than the Russian School of Rubinstein.¹²³

Both Brown and Peres da Costa agree that the practices of dislocation and arpeggiation in piano playing clash with late-twentieth century expectations of synchronicity between both hands and faithfulness to notation.¹²⁴ However, when Rebay was acquiring his performance and compositional education around the turn of the century, synchronous playing was likely an exception. A major question, therefore, is why composers of this period needed to mark dislocation and arpeggiation in their music if it was a widespread performing practice. Milsom and Peres da Costa speculate that "Chords marked with arpeggio signs were intended to be performed with a more noticeable, perhaps slower, arpeggiation than other chords. Another plausible explanation is that composers marked arpeggio signs only where

¹²¹ Ibid., 416.

¹²² Ibid., 610.

¹²³ Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, 202.

¹²⁴ Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, ix, xxxiii.

they absolutely required their use, leaving other moments to the taste and whim of the performer".¹²⁵

Dislocation and arpeggiation were often used to highlight melody notes in a subtler and more delicate way than by using percussive accents. "In practical terms", say Milsom and Peres da Costa, "a range of rhetorical effects can be created by modulating the amount of delay or anticipation of melody notes as well as the volume of both the melody and accompaniment".¹²⁶ Considering the reference of the beat, they may occur in two distinct situations: either the bass is anticipated and the melody note (or the highest note of the chord) is placed on the beat, or the bass is aligned with the beat, resulting in a delay of the melody. Nevertheless, when analysing early piano recordings, Peres da Costa notices that it is not always easy to identify the beat placement, particularly when the playing involves a degree of rubato.¹²⁷ This rhythmic ambiguity was certainly considered expressive and stylistically appropriate. Other parameters included the speed of note-spreading, internal dynamic nuances, and the releasing of certain notes of the chord sooner than others.¹²⁸

Among important pianists active around the turn of the century, Peres da Costa highlights Theodor Leschetizky (1830-1915), who had a prominent career in St. Petersburg and Vienna, was a member of Brahms's circle and taught major pianists such as Paderewski, Schnabel and Moiseiwitsch. In a book dedicated to her teacher's method, Malwine Brée (1861-1937) examined some of the situations in which arpeggiation was employed by Leschetizky for the sake of expression. According to her, it could be used to achieve a "tender or delicate effect" when only the right hand arpeggiates while the left hand strikes a flat chord; to give the chord an energetic feel without harshness, when the left hand arpeggiates swiftly and the right hand plays the remaining notes of the chord flat; and for bringing out polyphony.¹²⁹ Brée suggested dislocation when she advised that melody notes can be played

¹²⁵ Milsom and Peres da Costa, "Expressiveness in Historical Perspective : 19th Century Ideals and Practices", 85.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 88.

¹²⁷ Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, 102.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 106-11.

¹²⁹ Malwine Brée and Theodor Leschetizky, *The Groundwork of the Leschetizky Method*, trans. Dr. Th. Baker (New York: Schirmer, 1902), 72.

slightly after the bass, “which gives it more relief and a softer effect”, however warning that this practice of should be done “only at the beginning of a phrase, and usually only on important notes and strong beats”.¹³⁰

After examining Leschetizky’s piano roll recordings, Peres da Costa listed a series of effects that result from dislocation and arpeggiation, corroborating and amplifying Brée’s perception:

- the effect of longing;
- the differentiation among chords of varying characters, thus effecting dramatic contrast;
- a sense of softening and ending;
- the mysterious nature of an interrupted cadence or the increase of tension in the transition to a pregnant pause;
- the energetic effect achieved by the combination of an arpeggiated chord in the left hand with a chord firmly struck in the right hand;
- a sense of tension and release at feminine cadence points;
- a varied expression for a sequence of thematic fragments, in which the slowest arpeggiation is saved for the most important moment;
- a gentle expression for the beginning of a phrase;
- the delineation of different voices in a polyphonic texture.¹³¹

Although Peres da Costa is mainly talking of unnotated practice, the notation of dislocation and arpeggiation in Rebay’s guitar music may usually be associated with one or more of these expressive effects. Being a pianist and piano teacher himself, Rebay was certainly aware of the performing conventions of his time, and knowledge of the potential expressive use of the technique may help in the interpretation of his music.

5.3.3.2 Dislocation and arpeggiation on the guitar

As with other Romantic conventions like portamento and an extended use of rubato, most of today’s guitarists are temporally disconnected from the practices of dislocation and arpeggiation, and therefore a historical survey may be useful for understanding its stylistic purposes. First, however, an important distinction must be made between the words “arpeggio” and “arpeggiation”. Within the connotations adopted in this chapter, arpeggiation refers to an expressive practice in which chord notes are separated from each other, often

¹³⁰ Ibid., 73.

¹³¹ Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, 134-36.

with overlapping sonorities and slight displacement of the melody or top note of the chord in relation to the bass. On the other hand, an arpeggio may have a distinct meaning for guitarists, completely unrelated to the expressive tool of arpeggiation. Besides the melodic presentation of notes that belong to a same chord, playing an arpeggio on the guitar can simply mean employing a right-hand pattern—an Alberti bass, for example—in conjunction with a chord fingered by the left-hand. Guitar methods and treatises often present copious amounts of arpeggio exercises to develop the right hand but explain little about the practice of arpeggiation as an expressive tool.

Within the nineteenth century, Carcassi’s method offers an explanation of historical interest. According to him, “Chords are *always* a little broken or arpeggiated; this means that the notes should be played one after the other, but quick enough to produce the same effect as if they were struck together [my italics]”.¹³² The description is accompanied by an illustration of the procedure (Example 5.39).

Example 5.39. Excerpt of Carcassi’s *Méthode complète pour la Guitare*, Op. 59 (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1836).



In addition, Carcassi described the different arpeggiation speeds to be employed according to the piece’s tempo and character: “In slow movements, the chords are arpeggiated slower than usual, which is often indicated by the sign $\}$, placed before the chord. In quick and marked


¹³² “Les accords se font toujours un peu brisés ou arpégés; c’est-à-dire en pinçant les notes les unes après les autres, mais avec assez de Vitesse pour qu’elles produisent le même effet que si elles étaient pincées en même temps”. Carcassi, *Méthode complète pour la Guitare*, Op. 59, 13.

movements which demand much sound from the guitar, the same sign is used to indicate that the thumb must slide rapidly and with force across all the strings".¹³³

Carcassi's mention that *every* chord should be arpeggiated may cause some surprise today, since like with piano playing the established convention is that chords without notated arpeggiation should be played flat. However, constant arpeggiation was probably an enduring practice, since almost 30 years before, Carulli (another Italian settled in Paris), prescribed essentially the same procedure.¹³⁴

While arpeggiating is a necessity in five- or six-note chords (given the available right-hand fingers to play them), through the former illustration Carcassi leaves no doubt that even chords with three or four notes would also have been arpeggiated. His suggestion of arpeggiating slower in slow movements corroborates what has been said earlier within the general practice, and the suggestion to use the thumb in a quick downward motion in fast and sonorous movements supports the idea that an arpeggio can also be used as a tool for emphasis.¹³⁵ However, Carcassi recommended that arpeggiation should be done so fast that the notes sound almost as if they were played together, an instruction also given by some contemporary pianists such as Hummel and Thalberg.¹³⁶ Although somewhat ambiguous, this information gives a quantifiable idea of the standard arpeggiation speed in Carcassi's time.

In 1896, the English guitarist Ernest Shand (1869-1924) gave a detailed explanation of arpeggiation practices. According to him, the wavy sign "is used when the notes of a chord are to be more extended or spread out, than ordinarily", suggesting that the practice of

¹³³ "Dans les mouvements lents, les accords s'arpègent plus lentement que de coutume, souvent on les indique par ce signe , que l'on place à côté de l'accord. Dans les mouvements vifs et prononcés, et qui exigent beaucoup de son de la Guitare, ce même signe place à côté d'un accord, indique qu'il faut l'exécuter en laissant glisser rapidement, et avec force, le pouce sur toutes les cordes". Ibid., 14.

¹³⁴ Ferdinando Carulli, *Méthode Complètte [sic] pour Guitarre ou Lyre*, Op. 27 (Paris: Carli et Cie., 1810), 8.

¹³⁵ A similar procedure in violin playing was reported by Bériot a little later in that century. Quoted in Peres da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, 109-10.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 169.

constantly arpeggiating chords was still an ongoing one.¹³⁷ His explanation corroborates Milsom and Peres da Costa's suspicion mentioned above. Albert makes no specific comment about the practice, and Pujol merely explains that the wavy sign next to a chord meant arpeggiation.¹³⁸ Again, this does not mean that the practice faded away, just that it was not documented in written sources.

A look at the repertoire shows that arpeggiation was usually not notated in the early nineteenth century. The only mark regularly seen is the diagonal line through the chord referring to an earlier practice of “breaking” it (also present in keyboard music of the period), but it is usually restricted to cadential chords and not directly associated with expressive purposes. Around mid-century, however, arpeggiation starts to appear more often in the works of Romantic composers such as Mertz—particularly in slower and expressive pieces—as illustrated in Example 5.40. Notice that the arpeggio sign is used to mark a dislocation of the melody which, given the busy demisemiquaver accompaniment, necessarily implies a small delay after every dislocation. Therefore, it is expected that a degree of agogic accentuation would result from the realization of Mertz's notated dislocation, akin to the *portato* in nineteenth-century piano playing formerly described.¹³⁹

Example 5.40. Excerpt of Mertz's “Le Gondolier” from *3 Morceaux*, Op. 6 (Vienna: Charles Haslinger, 1857).



¹³⁷ Ernest Shand, *Improved Method for the Guitar*, Op. 100 (London: Barnes & Mullins, 1896), 36.

¹³⁸ Pujol, *Escuela razonada de la guitarra, basada en los principios de la técnica de Tárrega*, 1, 71.

¹³⁹ See pp. 221-22.

Arpeggiation is not usually marked by Tárrega, whose music and teaching would become the basis of the Spanish School. By his time, arpeggiation was likely as integrated in guitar practice as portamento in violin playing and needed not to be marked extensively. It is specified by Scherrer, however, in the many lieder with guitar accompaniment that illustrate his *Lauten und Gitarre Schule* (1911), which were nevertheless aimed at an amateur market which might have needed that specific type of indication.¹⁴⁰ The general absence of dislocation and arpeggiation marks in the traditional guitar repertoire makes Rebay's extensive notation of the procedure even more singular.

Given the relative lack of written documentation on the subject, an efficient way to make sense of the practice in the first half of the twentieth century is to look at early guitar recordings. As reported earlier, Llobet was one of the most influential guitarists in the Viennese guitar scene, having often performed in that city and taught its most brilliant young guitarist, Luise Walker. His 1925 recording of Sor's Andantino is revealing because he employs arpeggiation in a very discriminating way. Example 5.41 shows the first section of the piece. The instances in which Llobet's arpeggiation is clearly intentional are marked with wavy signs.

Example 5.41. Llobet's unnotated arpeggiation in Sor's Andantino, from *Six divertissements*, Op. 2, No. 3 (Bonn: N. Simrock, n.d.).

Andantino.
6^{me} Corde en Ré. (6^{te} Saite in D.)



Audio 6

¹⁴⁰ Heinrich Scherrer, *Lauten und Gitarre Schule*, Hofmeisters Schulen (Leipzig: Verlag Friedrich Hofmeister, 1911). Scherrer uses a diagonal line through the chords for indicating arpeggiation.

Llobet's performance is very idiosyncratic and can be associated with a Romantic performance style. One hears generous employment of portamento, rhythmic flexibility, agogic accents, non-strict observation of dotted rhythms and rubato. Although he uses arpeggiation throughout, there are specific places in which he clearly refrained from doing it. One of these (1) presents a sequence of four three-note chords which would make it technically appropriate for arpeggiating. However, the chords are played flat and staccato, suggesting that Llobet saved arpeggiation for more legato passages in this piece. An expressive use of arpeggiation can be seen in the widest-spread chord (2), which is associated with a portamento and a slight agogic accent. As prescribed by Carcassi, Llobet's standard procedure is to arpeggiate quickly. However, he carefully selected which chords to spread out more, usually within cadential points. Another interesting characteristic is his spreading of two notes (3). In the second beat of bar 1 he even adds a bass, so that the top note can be dislocated like its neighbours. The procedure emphasises the top voice, putting it in relief.

Describing all possible nuances that involve dislocation and arpeggiation on the guitar is impossible, considering their infinite shadings and the fact that, as expressive tools, they often rely on spontaneity. However, at the risk of oversimplifying a complex practice, it is possible to summarize their use within two main scenarios. The first one is in slow or lightly-moved movements or passages, in which they help enhance expression, building on the rhythmic ambiguity that derives from the displacement of the top voice. Breaking a chord gives relief to a melodic line, while adding a touch of gentleness. Possible variations include the speed of arpeggiation (from a faster and unobtrusive to a slower one which may be reserved for the most dramatic moments), the placement of the bass on or before the beat, and even the direction of the arpeggios (from bottom-up or the opposite). Dislocation of melody happens analogously and is observed when the guitar separates a melodic note from the bass in solo playing (akin to a nineteenth-century *portato* piano technique), or else when the instrument that plays the melody deliberately anticipates or delays its placement in relation to the accompaniment, in chamber music.

The second scenario happens in fast movements or passages, in which arpeggiation may assume a more rhythmic character, supporting articulation and accentuation. Since the guitar cannot change the dynamic profile of a chord's decay once it has been struck, the use of fast and energetic arpeggiation can be an option to differentiate a simple percussive accent from a *sfz*, and many intermediate shadings are possible. The next section will illustrate these two scenarios using excerpts from Rebay's selected sonatas. Most of them will approach

dislocation and arpeggiation as notated by the composer, but the rationale is equally applicable to unnotated procedures.

5.3.3.3 Dislocation and arpeggiation in Rebay

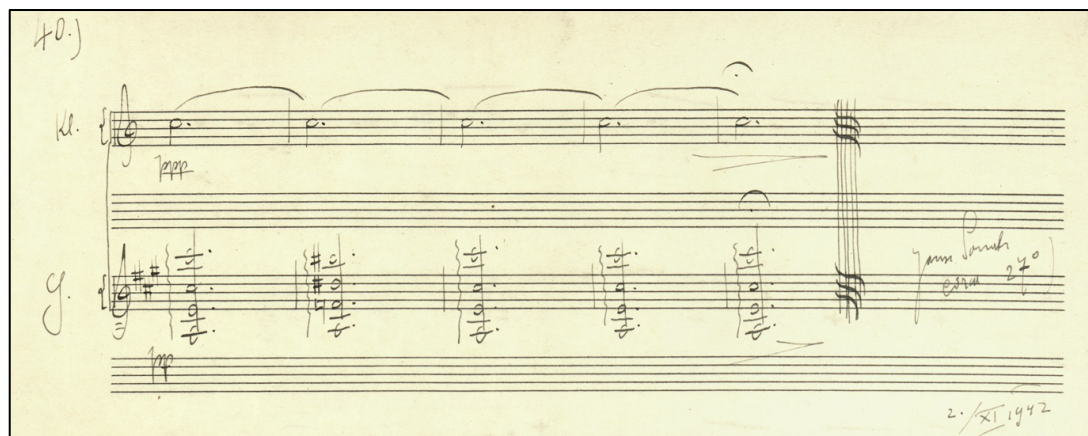
Rebay's notation of dislocation and arpeggiation is the aspect of his notation mostly directly associated with a Romantic performing practice. Much of it happens in downbeat chords, particularly in slower and lyrical movements or passages which fall under the first scenario discussed above (Example 5.42).

Example 5.42. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar (M4, bb. 25-28).

Arpeggiation here (1), if done rather slowly, may generate an agogic emphasis by lingering on the chord for a little more than a quaver value, which is appropriate because it helps delineate phrasing. In addition, a level of rhythmic flexibility also helps with the technical demands, particularly in the downbeat chord of the following bar (2). There, the ensuing melodic interval of minor tenth demands a shift from first to seventh position, which is greatly helped by a slight agogic delay. In spite of the former discussion about not letting instrument idiosyncrasies guide realization, this is an example in which a connection between technical demands and expression clearly exists. However, Rebay probably did not consider the guitar's difficulties when marking this arpeggio sign, doing it so instead because it is expressive to linger on the beat before such a wide interval shift, and this would even apply to other instruments and the voice.

Another effect of arpeggiation in slower passages is to provide a sense of softening and ending, suitable to phrases, sections or movements. Rebay tends to end his sonatas for woodwinds and guitar in an introverted way, frequently asking for soft dynamics and long-held notes in the melodic instrument. When the guitar gives harmonic support in these cases, the chords are invariably marked with arpeggio signs, such as illustrated in Example 5.43.

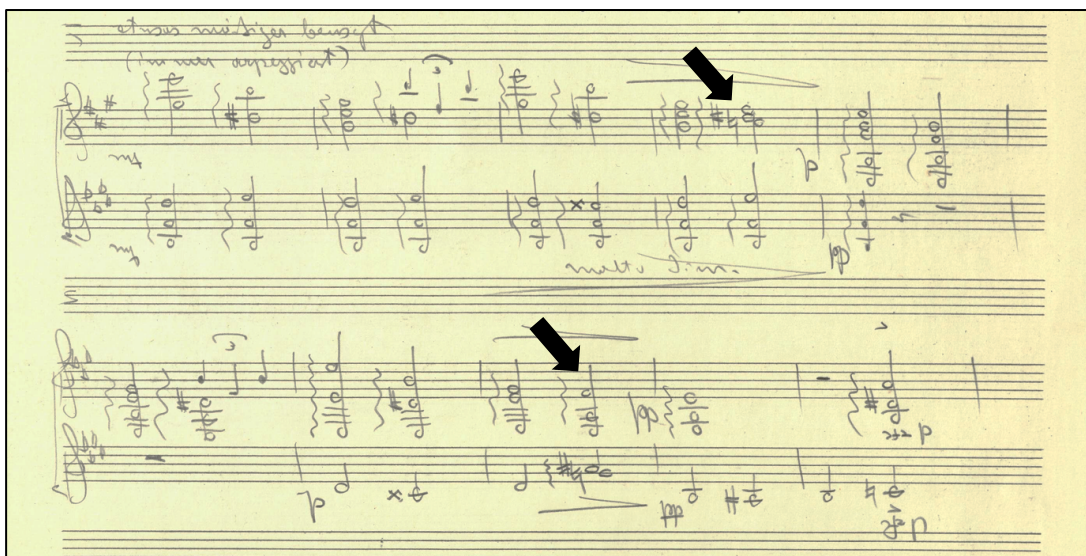
Example 5.43. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M4, bb. 173-177).



Here, the clarinet holds an [a'] for five bars in *ppp*, while the guitar plays bar-long arpeggiated chords on the downbeats. Expressive variation can be achieved by modulating the arpeggiation speed, in which case the last chord may naturally be more spread, as long as the clarinettist is able to sustain the long note in such soft dynamics and still make a decrescendo in the last bar.

The second theme of the third movement of Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars illustrates the use of arpeggiation as an expressive tool in slower and lyrical passages. In this case, the arpeggiation is divided between the two guitars and happens on every single chord, a procedure reinforced by the indication *immer arpeggiert* (always arpeggiated), as seen in Example 5.44.

Example 5.44. Autograph score of Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars (M3, bb. 35-44).



The notation of arpeggiation is slightly different here than in the piano version of the piece, in which Rebay chose not to mark arpeggio in every chord (Example 5.45). As already discussed, that does not necessarily mean that arpeggiation should be avoided when unnotated, only that the marked chords could be arpeggiated slower, thus generating a slight agogic emphasis.

Example 5.45. Autograph score of Rebay's Piano Sonata in A minor (M3, bb. 35-39).



Although Rebay asks that arpeggiation is employed throughout in the guitar duo version, it need not be done always the same way. As may be recalled from Peres da Costa's observations of Leschetizky's playing, dramatic contrast can be achieved by differentiation according to the character of each chord, and the slowest arpeggiation may be saved for the most important one. Here, it is clearly the B^{7b9} dominant-chord which precedes the phrase's end, as indicated by the arrows. A slower arpeggiation associated with a slight dynamic emphasis helps to gently highlight the chord's dissonant quality, which is suggestive of the

effect of “energetic feel without harshness”, previously quoted from Brée’s book. Emphasis on this chord is also suggested in the piano version through an accent associated with a *smfzp*.

A complex notation and realization of both chord arpeggiation and dislocation of melody can be seen in two excerpts from the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar (Examples 5.46 and 5.48).

Example 5.46. Autograph score of Rebay’s Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M2, bb. 1-9).

This excerpt shows the beginning of the theme on which Rebay composed three variations and a coda. It is based on Schumann’s “Volksliedchen” from the *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68. When compared to the already richly arpeggiated Schumann’s original (Example 5.47), Rebay’s adaptation shows an even more extensive employment of the procedure.

Example 5.47. Excerpt of Schumann's "Volksliedchen" from the *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68 (Hamburg: Schuberth & Comp., 1867).



Other additional marking not present in Schumann's original are the staccatos seen in some of the chords, which help punctuate the accompaniment. Again, they create an effect that is akin to Brée's suggestion of an energetic feel without harshness. In this passage, the best way to achieve this is to anticipate the chords in relation to the corresponding notes of the clarinet's melody, thus not disturbing the overall rhythmic profile. It is curious that Rebay did not mark the *messa di voce* seen over the minims in Schumann's original. While this is an elusive procedure for the piano, it would be perfectly feasible on the clarinet.

Example 5.48. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M2, bb. 29-32).

Later in the same movement, Rebay marks successive dislocations of the melody in a more energetic context, as pointed by the arrow. This can be understood as rhythmically mimicking the downbeat grace-note of the former bar, a melodic and rhythmic device present in the clarinet part since the theme's exposition. A slight lingering on the first note of each figuration may result from the procedure, which is stylistically appropriate and causes no rhythmical concerns for the ensemble because the clarinetist is holding a long trill and can easily wait for the guitar's presentation.

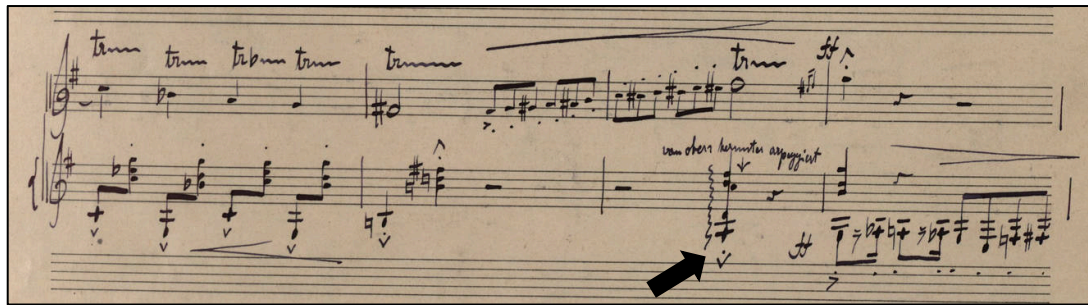
Other uses of arpeggiation frequently seen in Rebay's selected sonatas involve the second scenario described above, associated with faster movements or passages. In these cases, there is little room for agogic delay, and arpeggiation is often used in conjunction with articulation and accentuation, as illustrated in Example 5.49.

Example 5.49. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 4-8).

In addition to chord arpeggiation, Rebay employs a hybrid symbol in the first two bars to indicate both accentuation and articulation (1). The same idea, although without the corresponding accent mark, is observed when the guitar takes up the solo (2). Here and in similar passages of the excerpt, it is clear that Rebay associates arpeggiation with emphasis. It is noteworthy that at the end of the oboe's phrase Rebay does not notate arpeggiation in the corresponding guitar chord (3). In fact, a non-arpeggiated chord after a series of arpeggiated ones can deliver an expressive effect by contrast.

The Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar presents an interesting variation of the arpeggiation procedure. Within a more orthodox approach, it is expected that arpeggios will run from bottom-up. However, here Rebay makes an exception and instructs the guitarist to play the arpeggio from top-down (*von oben herunter arpeggiert*), as seen in Example 5.50.

Example 5.50. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 52-55).



Rebay's arpeggiation mark was surely intended to deliver emphasis, because of the loud dynamics and the accompanying accentuation and articulation. In this case, the top note of the guitar chord, [f#'], coincides with the [f#'] of the oboe. Rather than placing the last note of the arpeggio on the beat, my approach was to place the guitar's top note together with the oboe's, and rapidly spread the remaining notes downwards. While the procedure is not marked by Rebay in the recapitulation's equivalent passage, nothing would prevent the guitarist from employing this top-down arpeggiation, as long as it is technically feasible.

It is not easy to point out passages in which unnotated arpeggiation can be employed with a clear expressive goal within Rebay's guitar music, considering that he notates the procedure so often and fastidiously. Nevertheless, such a situation is illustrated in Example 5.51 and shows another instance in which arpeggiation can support accentuation and articulation within a fast and energetic context.

Example 5.51. Autograph score of Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor the Guitars (M3, bb. 1-9).

The opening chords of are to be played **ff** and are accompanied by a hybrid symbol indicating a short, very accented stroke (1). While six-note chords would have to be arpeggiated anyway, here the procedure is not only necessary but desirable, since it helps to achieve the required articulation. My choice for this chord and the one which opens the next phrase (2) was to mimic the piano effect of energetically arpeggiating the left-hand chord and placing the right-hand chord flat at the end. In the guitar realization, this means that Guitar 2 plays a very fast arpeggio aiming at the chord's top note, while Guitar 1 places a flat and accented chord at the end of Guitar 2's arpeggio. For the effect to succeed, it is important that the arpeggio of Guitar 1 is slightly anticipated, and its top note falls exactly on the beat. The effect is remindful of a *sforzando* performed on bowed-string instruments.

In conclusion, Example 5.52 illustrates a situation in which Rebay explicitly asks the performer not to arpeggiate (*nicht arpeggieren*).

Example 5.52. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M2, bb. 25-32).

Here, Rebay indicates *sempre ben marcato*, reinforcing the notation of articulation and accentuation. He constructs the musical argument on a motive of staccato semiquavers that are exchanged between oboe and guitar, with dynamics that start on **sub. f** and reach **ff**, quickly receding to **p** at the end. Arpeggiating the chords would potentially jeopardize the rhythmic character of the section. Nevertheless, in his eagerness to inform the guitarist meticulously, Rebay decided not to leave this important decision to chance.

As with the former discussions, it would be impractical to cover every single instance of dislocation and arpeggiation in Rebay's selected sonatas, but the examples above are a significant sample of their most common uses. They contextualize the practice within the stylistic conventions that may have informed Rebay and his guitarists, while also offering some suggestions for the employment of unnotated procedures.

5.3.4 VIBRATO

5.3.4.1 General practice

Vibrato is a procedure directly associated with expressive performance in singing, as well as in bowed-string, woodwind and brass instruments. Although precise ways of notating vibrato were developed in the nineteenth century, outside of the theoretical and pedagogical books its execution was generally left to the discretion of the performer. While instrumental vibrato bears an intimate correlation to vocal vibrato, in this section I will mostly refer to vibrato in violin playing, due to the obvious resemblance between guitar and bowed-string instruments left-hand techniques. A technical analysis of vibrato on the violin, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, it is important to understand its expressive and aesthetic roles.

According to Milsom, "The justification for using vibrato in the nineteenth century is immediately very different from today. Whereas the modern, continuous vibrato ... is an intrinsic tonal constituent, writers of the nineteenth century treat it as an ornament".¹⁴¹ Brown affirms that the continuous vibrato evolved from the Franco-Belgian School of violin playing in the mid-nineteenth century, not becoming widely accepted until the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁴² Besides the Franco-Belgian School, associated with Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931) and Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962), another violin school existed in German-speaking territories. It had its main representative in Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) and was perpetuated by his pupil Leopold Auer (1845-1930), eventually declining in the first decades of the twentieth century. One of its main characteristics was a more restrained use of vibrato, which can be seen as a continuation of the early-nineteenth century tradition. Within orchestral contexts, while the general tendency came to reflect the solo practice, a few Austro-German

¹⁴¹ Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late-Nineteenth Century Violin Performance : An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850-1900*, 113.

¹⁴² Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 521.

composers contemporary with Rebay still considered vibrato as only appropriate for a particular effect, such as Franz Schreker.¹⁴³

An argument could be made that, once continuous vibrato was incorporated into standard bowed-string playing, it could no longer be associated with deliberate expression, since it became an intrinsic tonal ingredient. However, just like with arpeggiation, the practice of vibrato affords subtleties that can be linked to specific expressive intentions. After analysing early violin recordings, Leech-Wilkinson points out that, as continuous vibrato became the norm, the way it was produced reflected the changes in “emotional temperature within a phrase”, further noticing that “At high-points dynamics are louder and vibrato is deeper, at low points, especially phrase-ends, dynamics and vibrato both tail off”.¹⁴⁴ To a certain extent, these nuances are also applicable to guitar playing.

The connection between Rebay, members of the Brahms circle and composers such as Schreker, allied to the fact that he prescribed vibrato only selectively in his music, could lead to an assumption that vibrato was treated by him as an ornament. While this may be true for his guitar writing, it is not possible to generalize, since the correlation between guitar and bowed-string approaches to vibrato is not a straightforward one. In Rebay’s sonatas for bowed-string instruments and guitar, for example, there are plenty of directions for vibrato in the guitar part—even more than in the woodwind and guitar sonatas—but none for the violin or viola. This probably did not mean that Rebay disliked continuous vibrato in bowed-string instruments, since the practice was already standard when he wrote these sonatas in the 1940s. Therefore, Rebay’s directions for vibrato must be understood under a guitaristic context, only marginally associated with bowed-string practices.

5.3.4.1 Vibrato on the guitar

Ultimately, vibrato in guitar playing can never achieve the same expressive impact as in bowed-string instruments, due to the instrument’s narrower dynamic range and, especially,

¹⁴³ Greta Moens-Haenen, “Vibrato”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 15 February 2019, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29287>. The author specifically refers to Schreker’s opera *Der ferne Klang* (1912), whose piano reduction was prepared by Rebay for Universal Edition.

¹⁴⁴ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music : Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM, 2009), chapter 5, paragraph 10, www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap5.html.

to the fact that it cannot sustain sound. Furthermore, continuous vibrato is not really possible in polyphonic music for the guitar. It is most effective when it is possible to focus finger pressure on one or two fingerboard points close to each other, and from this axis employ the required left-hand oscillating movement. This can happen in single-line melodies or even in intervals which do not require much stretching, but rarely in chordal or contrapuntal textures which tend to lock the left hand in different presentations, thus limiting its movement. Therefore, it is more effective to consider vibrato on the guitar as a special effect, to be used deliberately and selectively.

Evidence suggests that a gradual change in attitude toward vibrato started to spread by the end of the nineteenth century, having its roots in the Spanish School of Tárrega. Tárrega privileged horizontal fingering, exploiting medium and high positions of the fingerboard and making more melodic use of the lower strings, which not only deliver more sustain but also a bolder tone, therefore providing better conditions for vibrato.¹⁴⁵ In Example 5.53, this is particularly obvious in the fingering of the descending scale pointed by the arrow. In fact, the scale could have been almost entirely fingered in lower positions, however at the expense of not providing ideal circumstances for vibrato.

¹⁴⁵ The main reason for this involves string tension, because in middle and high positions of the fingerboard the strings are more flexible than closer to the nut. Similarly, thicker strings have more mass than thinner strings and therefore respond better to vibrato. Applying vibrato on the first positions of the guitar is much less effective, often demanding a stylistically questionable transversal pulling of the strings. For more on the subject, see Alípio, “Teoria da digitação : um protocolo de instâncias, princípios e perspectivas para a construção de um cenário digitacional ao violão”, 42-43.

Example 5.53. Excerpt of Tárrega's *Preludio No. 5* (Valencia: Antich y Tena, n.d.).

Al ilustre Dr. Walter Leckie

PRELUDIO

Nº 5.

PARA GUITARRA. por FRANCISCO TÁRREGA.

Propiedad. Depositado.

And^{te} sostenuto.

It is possible to say, therefore, that Tárrega's approach to fingering in this passage was conditioned by his stylistic mindset, which potentially included a generous employment of vibrato. This fingering approach reflected a new aesthetic pursue which could have been influenced by bowed-string playing. It was replicated by Tárrega's pupils such as Llobet and Pujol, later directly influencing guitarists such as Segovia, Walker and Rebay's niece, Hammerschmid.

Unlike the other expressive elements covered so far, vibrato is approached in the guitar literature under an expressive rather than a technical perspective. If anything, this reveals how guitarists were generally more aware of its expressive potential than subtleties of accentuation and articulation. Aguado wrote a fairly detailed account of vibrato in his method of 1843, which he calls "*trémulo*".¹⁴⁶ To him, however, its main role was to prolong the sound, and therefore it should start as soon as the note is plucked, in order to take

¹⁴⁶ Aguado, *Nuevo Método para Guitarra*, 49-50. According to Brown, several denominations for vibrato co-existed in the nineteenth century, including "*tremolo*". Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 517-21.

advantage of the wider vibration of the string. He included an illustrative musical example in which the vibrato is indicated by a cut horizontal wavy sign over specific notes. Vibrato is assigned mostly to long notes, which would immediately benefit from the prolongation of sound (Example 5.54).

Example 5.54. Excerpt of Aguado's *Nuevo Método para Guitarra* (Madrid: L. Lodre, 1843).



As can be observed in Aguado's fingering, he considered that vibrato was more effective when applied to bass or lower treble strings, as well as in medium and higher positions of the fingerboard. This is surprisingly in tune with Tárrega's fingering concepts mentioned above, placing him as a forerunner of the late-nineteenth century Spanish School. In contrast to Aguado's use of lower strings, his Paris-based countryman Fernando Sor advocated the use of the first and second strings for *cantabile* passages. According to him, they provided longer sustain, benefiting from the sympathetic resonance of the lower strings.¹⁴⁷ Because the higher strings of the guitar are not as conducive to vibrato as the lower ones, one may speculate that Sor did not explore much vibrato in his playing. I have not found mentions of vibrato in other early- and mid-nineteenth century literature, but by the end of the century Shand called it

¹⁴⁷ Sor, *Méthode pour la Guitare*, 52-53.

“the secret of Cantabile, or sustained notes on the guitar”.¹⁴⁸ This can only be understood in relation to Aguado’s idea of using the vibrato to prolong the sound, since note-sustaining on the guitar is an elusive concept.

While Albert does not discuss vibrato, to Pujol it is an important unnotated expressive element, added at the discretion of the performer.¹⁴⁹ The importance of vibrato in twentieth-century guitar playing can be measured by a full chapter devoted to it in Walker’s autobiography. To her, “Playing guitar without vibrato is like a meadow without flowers”.¹⁵⁰ While acknowledging that the vibrato mechanism on the guitar is different from that of the violin—an instrument she also played—she thought they served the same purpose: prolongation of sound, refinement, liveliness and carrying power.¹⁵¹ Walker advised that the type of vibrato to be employed (whether faster or slower, lighter or stronger) depended on stylistic associations: “With early music it should be used with discretion or even avoided, while modern music requires a lot of colour and therefore affords a particularly sophisticated and distinct use of it”.¹⁵² She cautioned against both excessively slow or fast vibrato, further suggesting that the way it is used in cello playing is a good reference for guitarists. There is therefore reason to believe that Walker made extensive use of vibrato in her performances of Rebay’s “modern music”, as probably did Hammerschmid.

A quantification of vibrato such as measured by Leech-Wilkinson in early violin recordings does not render equivalent analytical results with the guitar, due to the short duration of its plucked notes and the overall subtler effect of vibrato on the instrument.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Shand, *Improved Method for the Guitar*, Op. 100, 35.

¹⁴⁹ Pujol, *Escuela razonada de la guitarra, basada en los principios de la técnica de Tárrega*, 1, 69-70.

¹⁵⁰ “Denn: Gitarrespiel ohne Vibrato ist für mich wie eine Wiese ohne Blumen”. Walker, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre*, 78.

¹⁵¹ “Die schwebende Verlängerung des Tones, seine Veredelung, seine Lebendigkeit, seine Tragfähigkeit”. Ibid., 77.

¹⁵² “Bei alter Musik wird man es nur minimal einsetzen oder ganz vermeiden. Die moderne Musik dagegen verlangt viel Farbe und deshalb eine besonders kultivierte und differenzierte Anwendung dieser Technik”. Ibid., 78.

¹⁵³ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music : Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM, 2009), chapter 5, paragraph 20, www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap5.html.

However, early guitar recordings such as the samples already reviewed in this chapter show a distinctive use of it, varying its intensity and speed according to the passage's "emotional temperature". While Wade and Garno criticize Segovia's universal approach to vibrato, they also notice that he frequently associates it with agogic accents within a *cantabile* playing style.¹⁵⁴ In fact, the association of vibrato with other expressive procedures is also suggested in Rebay's notation.

5.3.4.1 Vibrato in Rebay

Rebay's notation of vibrato in the selected sonatas is usually reserved for solo passages, such as the one illustrated in Example 5.55. A possible reason for this is that its subtler effect is less perceptible when the guitar shares the texture with louder instruments.

Example 5.55. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M1, bb. 13-19).

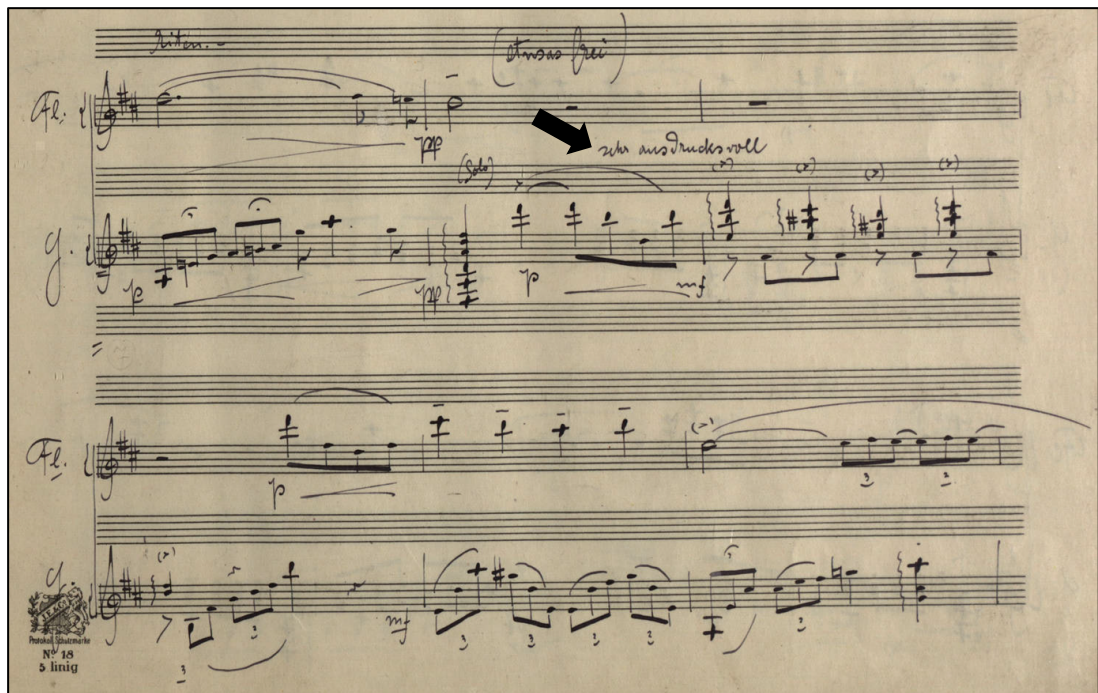
The image shows a handwritten musical score for a Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar, measures 13-19. The score is written on four staves. The first staff is for the Flute (Fl.) and the second for the Guitar (g.). The third staff is for the Flute (Fl.) and the fourth for the Guitar (g.). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano) and 'mf' (mezzo-forte). A handwritten annotation 'Solo molto vibrato' with an arrow points to a specific passage in the guitar part.

Here, Rebay's indication of *molto vibrato* is associated with chord arpeggiation, reinforcing the need for expressive playing. In order to deliver the greatest vibrato, the passage would have to be fingered in higher positions, which would be counterproductive because of technical difficulties. Moreover, applying continuous vibrato to the entire descending chord

¹⁵⁴ Wade and Garno, *A New Look at Segovia : His Life, his Music*, 1, 328.

sequence proves ineffective in practice, since the complex fingering and left-hand presentations do not afford enough hand freedom to employ an efficient vibrato at a constant rate. The best solution is to limit the vibrato to the pickup notes, which can be fingered on the second and fourth strings and given some level of agogic emphasis, with the purpose of delineating the beginning of the phrase. In the equivalent passage of the recapitulation (Example 5.56), Rebay does not specifically indicate vibrato but instead asks it to be played very expressively (*sehr ausdrucksvoll*) and somewhat free (*etwas frei*). There, due to the necessary fingering in higher positions—the theme is then transposed a fourth above—playing with vibrato is even more effective, and the little left-hand movement that is possible to apply to the chords generates a small but audible effect.

Example 5.56. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M1, bb. 13-19).



Rebay's first-movement retransitions, in which the guitar is usually given a solo passage, are often very appropriate for employing a generous amount of vibrato, as indicated by him in the excerpt of Example 5.57.

Example 5.57. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 103-108).



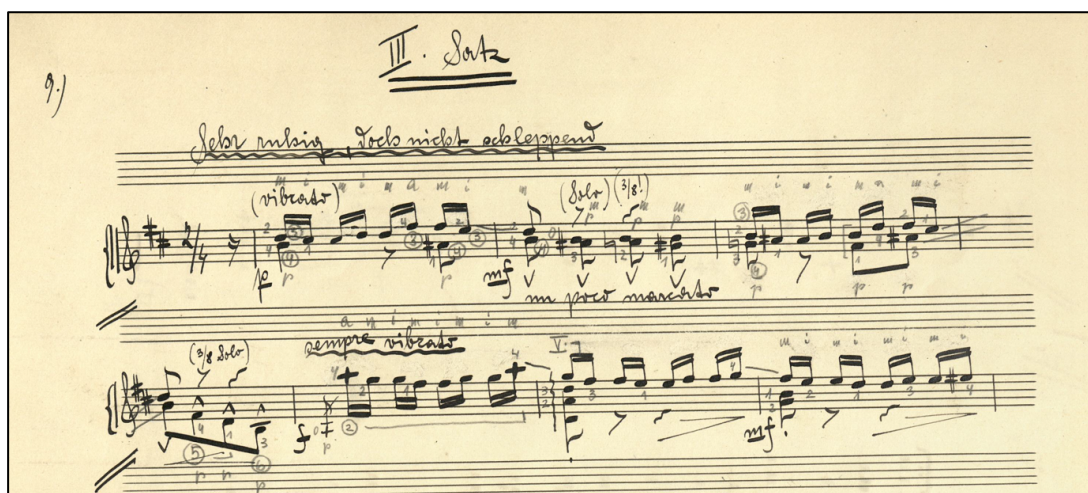
In this case, the virtually bare melody frees the left hand for an optimum employment of vibrato, also allowing fingering in higher positions of the second and third strings.

Example 5.58 shows a passage in which Rebay asks twice for vibrato, but this time within an ensemble texture. The indications match the oboe's expressive context, whose line is marked *molto espressivo*.

Example 5.58. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M3, bb. 1-8).

A strictly cohesive ensemble approach would demand a matching vibrato rate for both instruments—such as usually employed in modern string-quartet playing—due to the identical melodic profile of both voices.¹⁵⁵ However, due to the louder volume of the oboe, the nuances of vibrato playing on the guitar might be virtually inaudible, particularly when both instruments reach louder dynamics. The weaker vibrato effect in this passage may be compensated by a fingering that favours a bolder tone and other expressive elements, such as portamento. This was acknowledged by Hammerschmid, who avoided open strings and deliberately placed the melodic voice of the guitar on the third and second strings (Example 5.59).

Example 5.59. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M3, bb.1-7).



Although singular, Rebay's notation of vibrato is quite scattered, and consequently the number of examples gathered from the selected sonatas is also limited. However, as with arpeggiation, they also suggest a general approach toward unnotated procedures. Considering what has been discussed above, vibrato is more successful in solo passages with a simpler melodic profile, which can be fingered in a way that does not overload the left hand. It can also be associated with other expressive elements such as rubato, portamento and agogic accentuation, all of them conducive to a Romantic performing approach.

¹⁵⁵ It is important to keep in mind that while vibrato is a widespread technique within players of the French instrument, its use is less common for players of the Viennese oboe. "Oboe - Two Worlds of Sound", *Vienna Symphonic Library*, accessed 7 February 2019, http://www.vsl.co.at/en/Oboe/Two_Worlds_of_Sound.

5.3.5 PORTAMENTO

5.3.5.1 General practice

Portamento has been associated with expressive singing and bowed-string playing since at least the early nineteenth century. According to Brown, “By the middle decades of the nineteenth century it [portamento] had become an orthodox and quite freely employed expressive resource, and until well into the twentieth century it remained, in its various forms, an integral aspect of vocal and instrumental technique”.¹⁵⁶ However, as with vibrato, I will restrain my non-guitaristic references to bowed-string instruments, due to their obvious correspondence with guitar playing. By analysing early violin recordings, Milsom diagnoses that portamento use progressively decayed in the 1930s, coinciding with the popularization of the continuous vibrato.¹⁵⁷ Philip notices that it tended to be more frequent and prominent in cello than violin playing, given its need for more changes of position and the greater distances covered by the left hand.¹⁵⁸ The similar range and standard string lengths of the cello ([C] to [c’’’], 69cm) and the guitar ([E] to [b’’], 65cm) might therefore partially explain the suitability of portamento for the latter.

Portamento means “carrying” in Italian, and in bowed-string instruments it is associated with sliding between positions, implying a legato articulation. Joachim and Moser only introduce the student to portamento in the second volume of their *Violinschule* (1905), which suggests that it was not a topic for absolute beginners. Their explanation is that hitherto the student would have tried to achieve changes of position “as smooth and discreet as possible”, while portamento implied a change of position “which is perceptible to the ear and enables expressive singing on the violin”.¹⁵⁹ The association of instrumental portamento with singing is recurring, and shows how the voice was upheld as a model for expressive playing.

¹⁵⁶ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 565.

¹⁵⁷ Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late-Nineteenth Century Violin Performance : An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850-1900*, 75.

¹⁵⁸ Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, 143.

¹⁵⁹ “... so glatt und unauffällig als möglich ... so wenden wir uns nun jener Art des Positionswechsels zu, die, vom Ohr deutlich wahrzunehmen, dem ausdrucksvollen Singen auf der Geige dienen soll”. Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violinschule*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1905).

Philip looks at the teaching of Carl Flesch (1873-1944) as a starting point to understand portamento. Having written the augmented edition of his *Die Kunst des Violinspiels* in 1929, he naturally occupied a different historical position from that of Joachim and Moser. However, he still suggestively called portamento “the emotional connection of two notes”, underlining its expressive role.¹⁶⁰ Flesch described three kinds of portamento: an uninterrupted slide with one finger, a slide in which the finger that stops the first note slides to an intermediary note and another finger stops the last note, and a slide in which a finger plays the first note, a second finger stops an intermediary note and finally slides it to the last note. He called the second and third types, respectively, “A-portamento” and “E-portamento”, in reference to *Anfangsnote* (starting note) and *Endfinger* (last finger).¹⁶¹ According to Flesch, the E-portamento was a sign of bad taste, although he admitted that it was widely used by all of the great violin players of his day. As will be seen, the same types of portamento are described in the guitar literature, although I have not found any associations of the third type with bad taste.

Philip affirms that “Writers frequently praise the portamento as a device which brings the violin closer to the ideal of the human voice, but equally frequently warn against excessive use of it”.¹⁶² He also warns that a precise definition of “excessive use” is never clear. While answering to this question in regard to bowed-string playing is beyond the purposes of this chapter, the abundant use of portamento heard in early guitar recordings certainly attests its popularity among guitarists. As for notation, Philip notices that both Schoenberg and Berg indicated portamento in their music, suggesting “a nostalgic reminiscence of earlier Viennese string-writing”.¹⁶³ While Rebay did not specifically notate portamento, its employment seems aesthetically justified within an Austro-German Romantic performance approach.

¹⁶⁰ “... der gefühlsmäßigen Verbindung zweier Töne”. Carl Flesch, *Die Kunst des Violinspiels*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1929), 17.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 18. The two kinds of portamento are known in the English language as “B-portamento” and “L-portamento”.

¹⁶² Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, 146.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 153.

5.3.5.2 Portamento on the guitar

Portamento is well documented in the historical guitar literature. However, like other topics covered in this chapter, different terminologies were used interchangeably since the early nineteenth century. Giuliani called the portamento “*strisciato*” in his *Studio per la Chitarra*, Op. 1 (1812), explaining that it was an ornament meant to emulate the *portamento di voce* in singing.¹⁶⁴ In the study that follows the explanation, he indicated the starting note of the portamento as an *acciaccatura*, suggesting a quick slide to the main note, which is then not re-plucked by the right hand (Example 5.60). His illustration of the portamento clearly associates it with ornamentation and generates an emphasis on the main note, as opposed to merely connecting two notes expressively.

Example 5.60. Excerpt of Giuliani’s *Studio per la Chitarra*, Op.1 (Vienna: Artaria et Comp., 1812).



Carcassi was more specific in his method, calling the effect “*son glisse ou porté*”. According to him, “The slide or glide is performed by a single finger of the left-hand which slides through the fretboard, passing by all the frets in between the first and second note, after having plucked the first of them with the right-hand. It produces an agreeable effect on the guitar because it imitates the portamento of the voice”.¹⁶⁵ He indicated it by a line enclosed by a slur connecting the two notes involved (Example 5.61).

¹⁶⁴ Giuliani, “Studio per la Chitarra”, Op. 1, 3.

¹⁶⁵ “Le son glissé ou porté, s’exécute par un seul doigt de la main gauche qui glisse le long du manche en passant sur toutes les touches de la première à la deuxième note, après avoir attaqué avec la main droite, la première des deux notes. Le glissé produit un bon effet sur la guitare, parce que il imite le son porté de la voix”. Carcassi, *Méthode complète pour la Guitare*, Op. 59, 41.

Example 5. 61. Excerpt of Carcassi's *Méthode complète pour la Guitare*, Op. 59 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1836).

BEISPIEL .
EXEMPLE .

Gleiten des 2^{ten} Fingers von F bis A aufwärts .
id:
Glissez le 2^e doigt du Fa au La .

Gleiten des 3^{ten} Fingers von D bis B abwärts .
id:
Glissez le 3^e doigt du Re au Si .

In Carcassi's example, the portamento does not have the ornamental character of Giuliani's; rather, it connects the notes (or intervals) as a slur substitute. However, in his music he often notates an *acciaccatura* sliding to the main note, suggesting that the two procedures were equally in practice. Legnani's brief explanation of portamentos in his method of 1847 suggested that they were a one-finger slur category to be applied for intervals that exceeded the normal range of the left hand, and could be either employed towards the bridge (*strisciare contro al Ponticello*) or the nut (*strisciare contro al Capotasto*).¹⁶⁶

Later in the nineteenth century, Shand differentiated the *glissé* from the slide, arguing that in the former only the first note was plucked, while in the latter the second note was also plucked.¹⁶⁷ The lack of standard terminology persisted in the twentieth century. To Albert, while the portamento was characterized by a clear perception of the internal intervals, in the glissando no clear intervals are heard due to the rapid gliding. He categorized four different types of portamento, based on whether the same or different left-hand fingers were used for the starting and ending note, if it involved a change of string or if started from an open string.¹⁶⁸ If Albert's differentiation is based on the gliding speed and the sonic results, other guitarists relied more on technical aspects. In volume four of Rebay's *Duos for Two Guitars*, a key to symbols prepared by Dobrauz mentions both the glissando and the portamento. While the glissando was indicated by a line from note to note and done by the same left-hand finger,

¹⁶⁶ Luigi Legnani, *Metodo per imparare a conoscere la musica e suonare la Chitarra*, Op. 250 (London: Ricordi, 1847), 20.

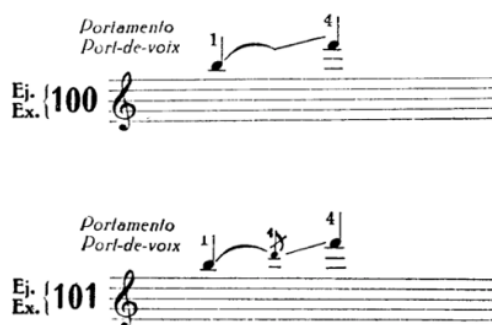
¹⁶⁷ Shand, *Improved Method for the Guitar*, Op. 100, 41.

¹⁶⁸ Albert, "Gitarre-Solospiel-Studien", 2, 5-6.

the portamento was indicated the same way but “with simultaneous changing of the finger, sometimes in connection with legato [slurring] technique”.¹⁶⁹

Pujol had a similar understanding to Dobrauz but used a different terminology, making a distinction between what he called an “*arrastre*” and the portamento.¹⁷⁰ He indicated the former by a line between the two notes and explained that it was essentially a “one-finger slur”. Yet to him the portamento was a hybrid technique that mixed the *arrastre* and the slur, implying change of fingers and potentially encompassing notes that were not on the same string. Pujol devised specific signs for portamento nuances, which were rarely adopted in practice (Example 5.62). They recall Flesch’s previously reported descriptions of the B- and E-portamento.

Example 5.62. Excerpt of Pujol’s *Escuela razonada de la guitarra, basada en los principios de la técnica de Tárrega*, Vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana, 1954).



In addition, Pujol makes an important clarification in relation to re-plucking the last note of the *arrastre* or not: while normally only the starting note is plucked, the latter should also be plucked when the composer writes a short *appoggiatura* right before the second note (see Tárrega’s example below).¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Ferdinand Rebay, “Duo’s für zwei Gitarren”, ed. Carl Dobrauz, 4 vols., vol. 3 (Vienna: Musikverlag V. Hladky, 1951), 22.

¹⁷⁰ Pujol, *Escuela razonada de la guitarra, basada en los principios de la técnica de Tárrega*, 1, 69-70.

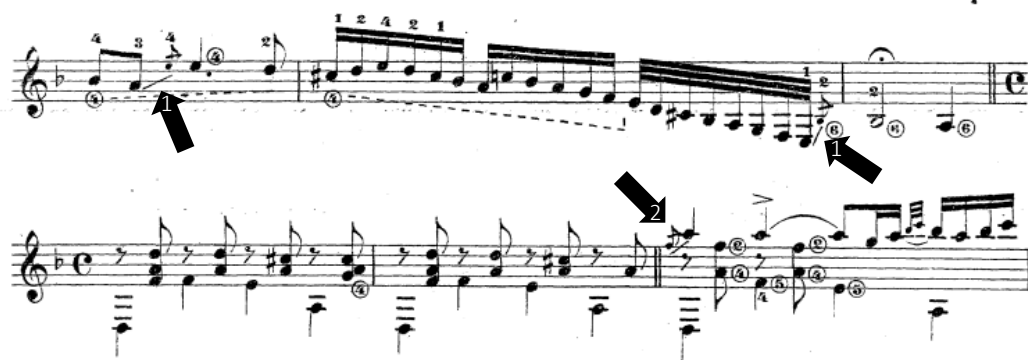
¹⁷¹ Pujol also suggests that, for clarity of notation, instead of an *appoggiatura* the re-plucking may be indicated simply by right-hand fingering.

While analysing the “Segovia style”, Garno and Wade also see a difference between portamento and glissando, although acknowledging that the terms are often interchangeable.¹⁷² To them, the main difference is that in the portamento the pitch moves up or down the chromatic scale without noticeably distinguishable intervals, while in the glissando the intervals are made apparent; exactly the opposite of Albert’s definition. According to them, because of the guitar’s chromatic fretboard, what the instrument really does when sliding between two notes is a glissando (akin to the piano or the harp). The way Segovia connects notes expressively is called by them a “subtle glissando ... necessary on the guitar for the maintenance of legato playing, as well as for expression of the line”.¹⁷³

In spite of the divergences in terminology, I have adopted the term “portamento” to designate the general procedure of sliding from one note or chord to another, often associated with expressive playing. Possible nuances of execution within Rebay’s guitar music will be described, rather than identified under a terminology which is not standardized.

An analysis of the repertoire shows that, at least since Tárrega, portamento was systematically notated in guitar music (Example 5.63).¹⁷⁴

Example 5.63. Excerpt of Tárrega’s *Capricho Árabe* (Valencia: Antich y Tena, n.d.).



The passage shows the two different types of portamento discussed above. The first two instances (1) indicate a portamento used for connecting two notes expressively, in which the

¹⁷² Wade and Garno, *A New Look at Segovia : His Life, his Music*, 1, 14.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 16.

¹⁷⁴ Briso de Montiano mentions that a systematic notation of portamento was already in use by the mid-nineteenth century, such as in the works of José Maria de Ciebra. Luis Briso de Montiano, e-mail message to the author, 21 April 2019.

ending note is re-plucked on arrival, also involving a change of finger (akin to Flesch's A-portamento). The other type indicated by Tárrega shows a portamento which connects the starting note—an *acciaccatura*—to the main note, without the need for re-plucking it (2). This is similar to the effect illustrated above in Giuliani's example and bears an ornamental rather than a connective character, also implying a faster gliding in which the chromatic scale pitches are barely recognizable.

Although Walker surprisingly does not discuss portamento in her autobiography, her recordings show a refined and deliberate use of it. This is particularly noticeable in her 1932 recording of Tárrega's arrangement of Schumann's "Träumerei", from *Kinderszenen*, seen in Example 5.64.

Example 5.64. Walker's portamentos in Schumann's "Träumerei", arranged by Tárrega (Barcelona: *La Guitarra* No. 6, 1926).

6

"LA GUITARRA"

REVERIE

De SCHUMANN

6ª Cuerda en RE.

Adagio, ma non troppo

Transcripta para Guitarra por F. TARREGA

C. 7^a

C. 7^a

C. 2^a

C. 9^a

C. 9^a C. 9^a C. 8^a C. 7^a C. 9^a C. 2^a



Audio 7

As in Tárrega's *Capricho Árabe* shown in Figure 5.63, there are several notated portamentos in this arrangement. However, Walker extrapolates Tárrega's indications and employs portamento throughout the whole piece. She explores different gliding speeds, reserving the slowest and most expressive ones to the culminating points of both phrases (1). In those, the length of the portamento reaches, respectively, 0,73s and 0,70s, in comparison to the regular crotchet which lasts 0,54s on average.¹⁷⁵ Her most singular use of portamento, however, happens immediately after (2), where she employs both ascending and descending portamentos between virtually every melodic note, also arpeggiating chords and dislocating the melody from the bass. The way Walker combines the effect of descending portamentos with the natural decay of the guitar's sound can be compared to a rhetorical "sigh". These procedures, allied to a round sound, vibrato and a flexible rhythmic approach, give the passage a languid and sentimental feeling. Equally noteworthy is the portamento in the descending bass line that connects the first to the second phrase (3), which has a cello-like quality. This is a very guitaristic rendition of an original piano piece. Walker's interpretation stands out because she exploits the guitar's expressive resources in a truly original way.

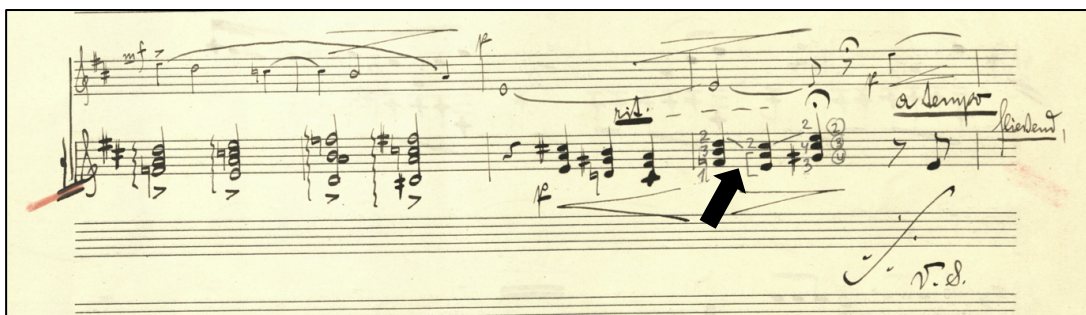
In closing, it should be reminded that, as with technical slurs, portamento creates a distinctive articulation during shifting. While there are few restrictions for its use in solo passages, it should be considered with caution in situations in which the guitar is mimicking or doubling the melodic instrument, because the portamento effect may clash with the legato articulation of the partnering instrument. This is particularly important when a cohesive phrasing strategy is desired in ensemble playing.

5.3.5.3 Portamento in Rebay

Unlike in music composed by guitarist-composers or heavily edited and fingered by guitarists such as Tárrega or Segovia, portamentos are not notated by Rebay. The obvious explanation is that he was not a guitarist himself and therefore did not venture into suggesting fingerings and specific guitaristic techniques. Nevertheless, there are a few implicit or explicit uses of portamento suggested by Hammerschmid's fingering in Rebay's selected sonatas. An example can be seen in the excerpt of Example 5.65.

¹⁷⁵ The measurements were made with the aid of the software Sonic Visualizer, from the attack of the starting note to the arrival at the ending note.

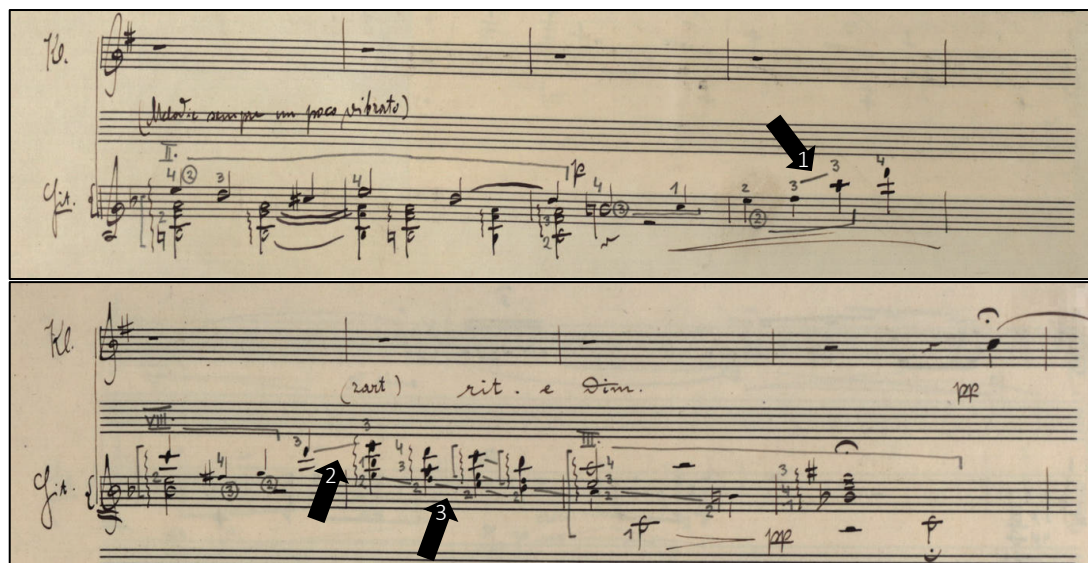
Example 5.65. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M1, bb. 23-26).



The passage shows a brief commentary by the guitar while the flute holds a long note prior to starting a new phrase. Although built on three-note chords, Hammerschmid's fingering gives the top voice a prominent melodic dimension. The last three chords could have been fingered in first and second positions, avoiding shifts and using the open first string for the [e']. However, she deliberately employed expressive shifting and fingered the last chord in fourth position, with the help of a guide-finger on the second string. Playing the chord in a higher position also favours the sustain suggested by the fermata sign and gives room for a more effective vibrato, if desired. Although the lines in Hammerschmid's fingering may have only indicated the use of a guide-finger, if done with the right nuance, connecting notes through portamento can deliver great expression to the passage. Within the rest of the piece, similar passages are fingered in an analogous way, ascribing to the potential portamentos a structural identity that helps recognize phrasing patterns.

A long solo interlude in the Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar shows again how Hammerschmid made expressive use of the portamento (Example 5.66).

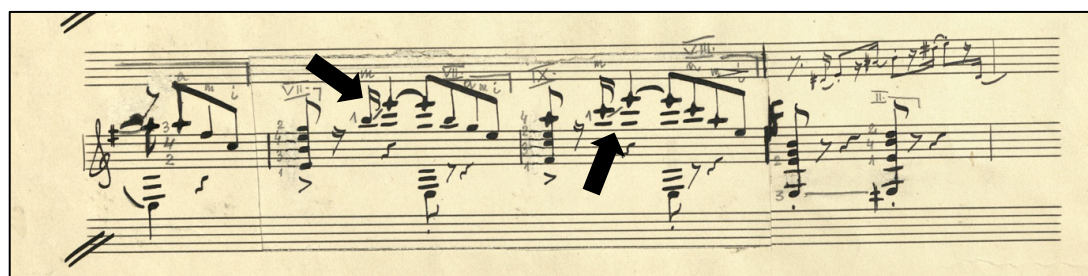
Example 5.66. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M1, bb. 22-29).



Here, Rebay highlighted the melody's expressive character by the indication "*Melodie sempre un poco vibrato*". If a vibrato is difficult to realize effectively when the left-hand is holding a barré like in the first three bars, the portamento suggested by the fingering in the upcoming ascending melodic interval (1) can transform an awkward shift of position into an expressive one. A few bars later, Hammerschmid reaches an [e''] from [d''] with the same finger (2), which also suggests portamento. There follows a situation in which a portamento could have been devised to connect a sequence of three-note chords in an expressive way (3). Portamento here seems to have been employed discreetly, not only for connecting notes but also chords. This way, besides enhancing expression, it minimizes the possibility of melodic gaps due to shifts of position.

If in the former examples the use of portamento by Hammerschmid is targeted at enhancing expression, her choice of fingering in Example 5.67 is less persuasive.

Example 5.67. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 13-16).



In the two instances indicated, both left- and right-hand fingering reveal that she explicitly devised a technical solution to the melodic intervals by using a portamento with finger 1, in which only the first note is plucked. However, playing the passage with portamento instead of plucking the two notes compromises the rhythmic identity of the theme. In fact, it makes the [b'] and [c''] sound like an *acciaccatura* to the [e''], similar to the ornamental portamento described above. A more appropriate fingering would not employ portamento, but pluck each note either on the same or on adjacent strings.¹⁷⁶ Hammerschmid's choice for this passage is inexplicable without further evidence; she or even Rebay might have found the effect appropriate in this particular case, although the same approach is not seen elsewhere.

Another problematic use of portamento can be recognized in the only commercially recorded version of the Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar, as illustrated in Example 5.68.¹⁷⁷

Example 5.68. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M3, bb. 33-38).

¹⁷⁶ My own fingering solution for this passage can be seen and heard in Chapter 6. See p. 302.

¹⁷⁷ Laura and Magistrelli, *Ferdinand Rebay : Complete Works for Clarinet and Guitar*.

In the passage indicated by the arrow, the guitarist connects the sequence of three acciaccaturas to their respective main notes by means of a quick portamento. He might have been misled by the lines indicating finger 2 as a guide-finger, but Hammerschmid's fingering leaves no doubt that a portamento was not desired here. A more convincing realization would be to pluck the acciaccaturas and their main notes on separate strings—which is what Hammerschmid's fingering actually suggests—sounding closer to the effect a piano would deliver.

In spite of not having been directly prescribed by the composer, Rebay's guitar music presents many situations in which portamento can be used as an expressive tool. However, I do not see much room in Rebay's selected sonatas for the type of ornamental portamento illustrated by Giuliani and frequently appearing in Tárrega's music.¹⁷⁸ In general, portamento in Rebay's guitar music serves as a slur substitute while connecting two notes during a shift of position, naturally or artificially devised for the sake of expression.

5.3.6 RUBATO

5.3.6.1 General practice

Tempo rubato has not been discussed in detail by nineteenth and early-twentieth century theorists, although it was an integral part of the Romantic performance style. Riemann referred to it as an aid to the positive and negative developments in phrasing, therefore ascribing to it a structural role. To him, rubato “means the free treatment of the tempo in particularly expressive and passionate passages, which makes the usually unnoticeable *stringendo-calando* of the phrasing contour noticeable”.¹⁷⁹ Under a modern perspective, Peres da Costa identifies it as part of the unnotated category of “rhythmic alteration”, which also includes “modification of equal-note values to different notes of equal value; modification on unequal-value notes to equal-value notes; tripletizing of figures that were

¹⁷⁸ Rebay's *Walzer*-like Trios may be an exception to this rule, as they bear a more explicit folk character and afford more conspicuous types of portamento.

¹⁷⁹ “Tempo rubato heißt die freie Behandlung des Tempos in besonders ausdrucksvollen und leidenschaftlichen Stellen, welche das für gewöhnlich unmerkliche *stringendo-calando* der Phrasenabschattierung merklich hervortreten lässt”. Riemann, “Rubato”, in *Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon*, 1557-58.

originally equal-value or dotted; creation of dotted figures from equal-value notes, overdotting of certain notes; and commencement of trills before their notated position”.¹⁸⁰

Hudson defines rubato simply as an “expressive alteration of rhythm or tempo”.¹⁸¹ He points out two different approaches, which he calls the “earlier” and the “later” types. The later type of rubato is the most familiar one nowadays, involving an agogic and rhythmical flexibility applied concurrently to all the layers of the text. It became the main choice for rubato during the nineteenth century and could be suggested in notation by terms such as *ad libitum* or *a piacere*, temporarily freeing the performer from the constraints of the rhythm and the beat. The earlier type, on the other hand, involves a rhythmical alteration of the melody while the accompaniment remains steady. Peres da Costa coined the term “metrical rubato” for it, and this is the terminology I will adopt in this section.¹⁸²

Metrical rubato can be traced as far as Renaissance and Baroque practices; for instance, when a melody was placed against a basso continuo. It allowed considerable rhythmical freedom from the performer, as long as harmonic coherence between melody and accompaniment was maintained. Judging from contemporary reports, however, it went out of fashion in the early nineteenth century. Herz wrote about metrical rubato, while also regretting that it was no longer widely used. When referring to it in the playing of Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812), he claimed that “This case, like all those in which the expression is complex, requires not only hands perfectly independent of each other, but, if I may say so, a different soul in each of them”.¹⁸³

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that metrical rubato disappeared along with the nineteenth century. Brown refers to Chopin’s incorporation of it into notation, in

¹⁸⁰ Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, 220.

¹⁸¹ Richard Hudson, “Rubato”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 10 August 2018, <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24039>.

¹⁸² Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, 189.

¹⁸³ “Ce cas, comme tous ceux où l’expression est complexe, exige non seulement des mains parfaitement indépendantes l’une de l’autre, mais, si je puis le dire, une âme différente dans chacune d’elles ... J’ignore pourquoi cette manière de phraser, tant prônée naguère, est tombée maintenant dans l’oubli”. Herz, *Méthode complète de Piano*, Op. 100, 33.

order to impart “the free and improvisatory impression that his performances conveyed”.¹⁸⁴ And Peres da Costa has gathered enough evidence to demonstrate that metrical rubato was still in use around the turn of the century, being easily distinguishable in some early piano recordings.¹⁸⁵ Among pianists who prolonged its use there were Austro-German ones such as Brahms, Reinecke and Leschetizky. Therefore, even if metrical rubato is not referred to in guitar sources, it may still be relevant for Rebay’s guitar music.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Paderewski encouraged a discriminating use of rubato by writing that “Tempo rubato is not pathological, it is physiological, as it is a normal function of interpretive art”.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand, Peres da Costa notices that “Rhythmic alteration is now seldom employed in mainstream classical performance in which synchrony between melody and accompaniment, among other things, is taken for granted. Any significant deviation from notation is usually considered to be a mistake, a technical deficiency, or a sign of poor taste”.¹⁸⁷ Rhythmic freedom is often seen in jazz, folk and other genres of popular music in which literacy plays a lesser role. Indeed, the employment of rubato presupposes a less literal approach to the musical text, which may uncover renewed possibilities for expression.

5.3.6.2 Rubato on the guitar

Rubato is only indirectly mentioned in guitar sources, and usually not accompanied by detailed explanation. There is no direct mention of it in the nineteenth-century methods quoted earlier, and Albert only briefly suggests it when explaining the role of agogic in relation to phrase developments.¹⁸⁸ For this reason, it is more effective to understand rubato directly through the repertoire and its practice. As mentioned above, composers often notated the passages in which a degree of freedom could be applied to the text, such as in the following excerpt of a guitar concerto by Giuliani (Example 5.69).

¹⁸⁴ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 405.

¹⁸⁵ Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, 190.

¹⁸⁶ Henry T. Finck and Ignacy Jan Paderewski, *Success in Music and How it is Won* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 458.

¹⁸⁷ Peres da Costa, *Off the Record : Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, 190.

¹⁸⁸ Albert, “Gitarre-Solospiel-Studien”, 3, 5.

Example 5.69. Excerpt of Giuliani's Guitar Concerto No. 1, Op. 30 (Vienna: Steiner & Comp., 1808).



Following the fermata, Giuliani marked *a piacere* for the long and virtuosic cadenza. Note sizes are smaller (which by convention would indicate freedom from strict observation of notation), and rhythmic values are marked as mere suggestions, to be applied without rigid constraints of beat or time signature. Situations like this were quite common in brilliant music such as Giuliani's but could also be found in *cadenza*-like passages of slower and expressive pieces.

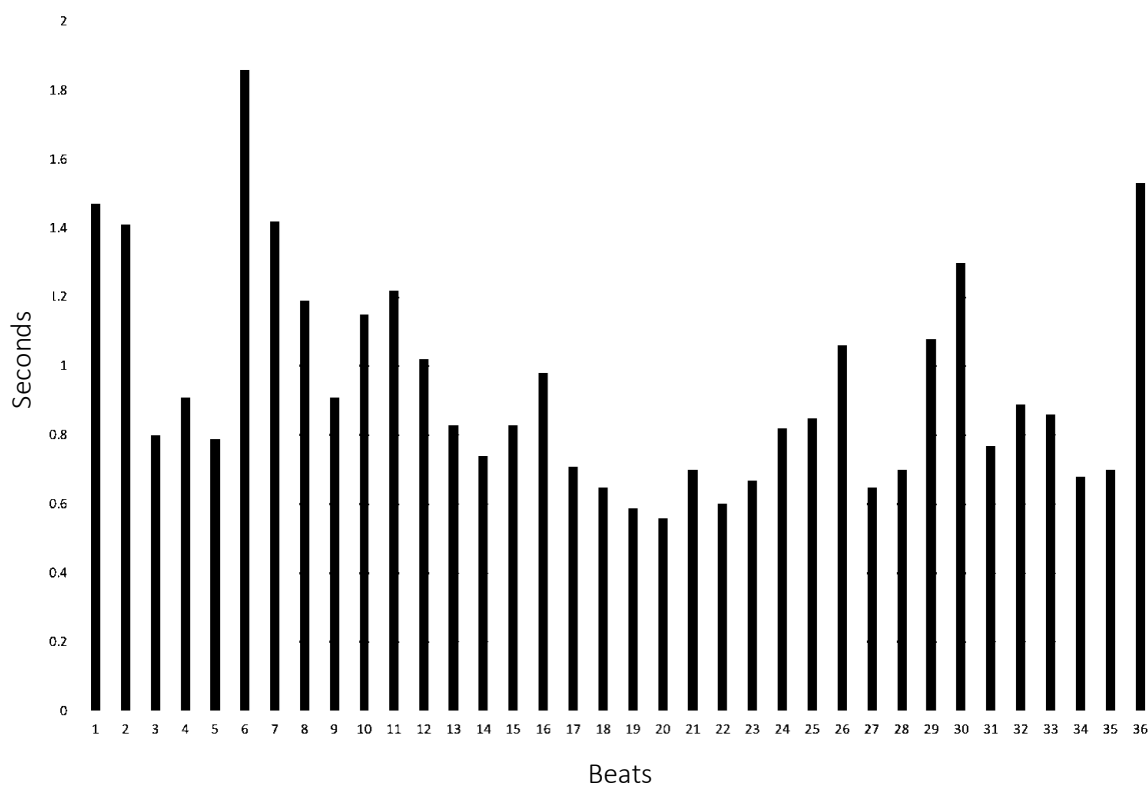
Nevertheless, rubato is often unnotated and therefore entirely devised by the performer. Segovia's 1930 recording of Ponce's *Variations sur "Folia de España" et Fugue* is again an illustrative example. Example 5.70 shows the first period of Variation IX with numbered beats, while Figure 5.2 summarizes the length of each beat in his interpretation.

Example 5.70. Segovia's rubato in Variation IX of Ponce's *Variations sur "Folia de España" et Fugue* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1932).



Audio 8

Figure 5.2. Absolute length of each beat in Segovia's interpretation of the excerpt above.¹⁸⁹



¹⁸⁹ The measurements were made with the aid of the software Sonic Visualizer.

In the hands of Segovia, a seemingly simple rhythmic notation made mostly of steady quavers became a wafting melody in which virtually every beat has a different length. The chart reveals some expected beat variations, such as in the *animando* that starts on b. 7 or the *poco rit.* on b. 18. However, the difference between the longest beat (beat 6, 1,86s) and the shortest (beat 20, 0,56s) is quite remarkable. This is essentially explained by an intrinsic characteristic of Segovia's style which has already been discussed earlier: the agogic accent. Some notes are chosen to be lingered on—for reasons that are musical, technical or both—and this is also an opportunity he finds to exploit tone colour, as well as an intense vibrato. In addition, the table shows that after lingering on a note, Segovia often employs a compensation in the subsequent beats; this “taking and giving” is also associated with rubato playing. While the amount of rubato that Segovia employs would probably be considered exaggerated by modern standards, Leech-Wilkinson sees meaning and coherence in these performing traits, which bring life to a performance. To him, “Sounds that are absolutely regularly spaced are not natural: if we hear them in life we attribute them to machines”.¹⁹⁰

If the procedures associated with Hudson's later type of rubato are often incorporated by modern guitarists, the employment of metrical rubato meets a technical obstacle, at least in solo playing. Unlike the piano, in which as a rule melody and accompaniment can be logically accommodated between two hands, on the guitar the task of producing the sound is normally assigned solely to the right hand. Playing a self-accompanied melody on the guitar is a complex mechanical task in itself and a total independence between melody and accompaniment as metrical rubato would require is simply not achievable. However, the scenario is different in ensemble music, especially when the guitar plays a steady accompaniment while the other instruments are engaged in *cantabile* melodies.

5.3.6.3 Rubato in Rebay

In Rebay, an invitation to a freer rhythmical approach may be acknowledged by his own expressive indications such as *cantabile*, *espressivo*, *einfach innig* (simply heartfelt), *sehr*

¹⁹⁰ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music : Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM, 2009), chapter 8.2, paragraph 38, www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap8.html.

ausdrucksvoll (very expressive), etc. He uses them quite often in slower, pathetic or tender movements or passages, such as illustrated in Example 5.71.

Example 5.71. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar (M3, bb. 121-130).

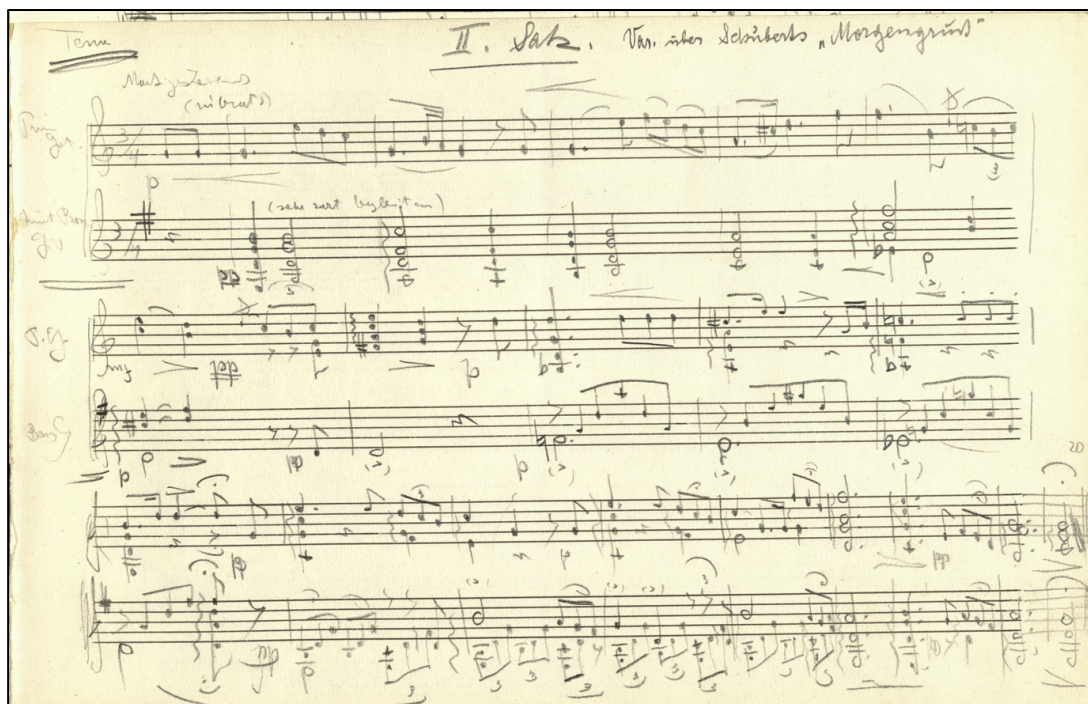


Rebay's instruction is "*sempre molto cantabile e sempre poco rubato*". This can be especially understood in relation to the scales or arpeggios in quavers, which may be slightly rushed towards the downbeat, and immediately compensated in the next bar. As Rebay indicates, this is a slow Viennese waltz. Therefore, a local player from Rebay's time would also likely alter the notated rhythm by slightly shortening the first beat and "rapidly carrying it over to the second beat", as prescribed by Brée in her chapter "Rules for Performance".¹⁹¹

Another instance in which rubato can play a major part in expressive playing is seen in Example 5.72.

¹⁹¹ Brée and Leschetizky, *The Groundwork of the Leschetizky Method*, 70.

Example 5.72. Autograph score of Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars (M3, bb. 1-18).



In this excerpt, Guitar 1 is playing the melody borrowed from a Schubert lied and used by Rebay as a basis for variations. Because this is a strophic lied, the vocal line would not only be shaped by the written rhythm but also by the text, demanding slight adaptations each time the melody is repeated. Although in Rebay's setting the guitar only plays the melody once, there is room for a great deal of rhythmic flexibility, not only in the melody but also between the two guitars. In fact, trying to perfectly match melody and accompaniment in this case may result in an overly precious realization, robbing the theme of its free and heartfelt character.

As mentioned above, it is possible for the guitarist to apply metrical rubato in ensemble contexts. In fact, there are passages in Rebay's guitar music in which it is even suggested by notation, such as illustrated in Example 5.73.

Example 5.73. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M3, bb. 69-88).

This is one of the most expressive melodies within Rebay's selected sonatas, one that clearly reveals the lyrical quality of his music and his background as a vocal composer. The steady accompaniment is sufficiently different from the melody to allow complete rhythmic independence. The way Rebay writes the melody already suggests an incorporation of metrical rubato into notation, with the oboe's melodic movement seldom coinciding with the guitar accompaniment downbeats, as if each instrument had a different time signature (3/4 for the guitar and 3/2 for the oboe).

When I performed this piece in my first doctoral year, I had still not conceived metrical rubato in the way I do presently, having adopted a stricter approach to notation. This was also corroborated by my chamber partner's views, possibly conditioned by a modern orchestral practice in which this level of rhythmical freedom is rarely tolerated. However, today I argue that a strict rhythmical realization of the oboe's line goes against the very nature of this

melody. The oboist may take the guitar accompaniment as a reference and slightly alter note values in a spontaneous way. When the harmony changes, melodic notes that would become dissonant in the new harmony can be treated as harmonic appoggiaturas and slightly prolonged, such as in the passage indicated by the arrow. It results in an even more expressive and varied realization, especially when considering that the same melody is repeated twice in this movement.

A similar approach, although perhaps not as free as the former due to the faster harmonic rhythm, can be applied to the passage illustrated in Example 5.74.

Example 5.74. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar (M2, bb. 43-49).

The image shows a handwritten autograph score for Rebay's Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar, measures 43-49. The score is written on six staves, alternating between Flute (Fl.) and Guitar (G.). The Flute part features a melodic line with some slurs and a 'Tempo Tosto' marking. The Guitar part features a fast, rhythmic arpeggio pattern. The notation is in D major and 2/4 time.

Here, Rebay writes a variation of the original flute theme heard in the beginning, while the guitar accompaniment plays a much faster arpeggio pattern than earlier. Attempting to play the flute melody in total synchrony with the guitar accompaniment would sound overly cautious. Rather, the flautist may feel free to slightly dislocate the melody within each bar,

giving the impression that it is “floating” over the accompaniment. In turn, the guitarist may approach the difficult arpeggios with a lighter touch, thus creating a less contoured, instead of a very articulated accompaniment.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter was a response to the distance that separates us from Rebay’s musical world, aiming at reconnecting with it with the purpose of informing interpretation. After raising general issues involving the interpretation of his meticulous notation, I proposed an expanded stylistic and technical mindset for performing his music. This was achieved by reviewing theoretical and historical literature, as well as analysing a few significant recordings by Rebay’s contemporary guitarists such as Llobet, Walker and Segovia. Six expressive elements were investigated in detail: accentuation, phrasing and articulation, dislocation and arpeggiation, vibrato, portamento and rubato. They involve notated and unnotated procedures, demanding not only a historically-informed approach but balancing it against my own priorities as a performer of the twenty-first century. On a personal level, the investigation urged me to engage in a dialogue with the past and attempt to incorporate a few Romantic traits into my practice, such as a generous use of arpeggiation, portamento and rubato. This could only happen through experimentation and critical assessment of the results.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Rebay’s sonatas are a unique opportunity for the guitarist to engage with this prestigious form through an authentic Austro-German Romantic idiom. Through this chapter, however, I discovered that their importance is even greater. The investigation led to a stylistic awareness that potentially brings the guitarist closer to the mainstream practice, because each one of the six elements discussed above provided access to a musical knowledge whose essence is shared among all musicians. This makes the experience of performing Rebay even richer and all-encompassing. As a matter of fact, integrating the guitar with the mainstream practice was exactly what Rebay wanted with his music, as clearly expressed in his article quoted in Chapter 1.

The following chapter will still deal with the realization of Rebay’s guitar music, but assigning the performer an even greater role: that of creatively collaborating to make the music more idiomatic by intervening more fundamentally in the text. As will be seen, this has often been a necessity in music written by non-guitarist composers since the early twentieth century.

6 INTERVENING IN REBAY'S TEXT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I discussed how Rebay's meticulous notation may be interpreted through historical, stylistic and performer-oriented parameters, and what are the challenges involved in this process. This chapter proposes a further interaction with notation, one in which the performer intervenes in the text in response to a writing which is not satisfactory from an idiomatic point of view. I start by contextualizing the problem faced by non-guitarist composers when writing for the guitar, which often leads to the composer-performer collaborations so often seen since the early twentieth century. Next, I investigate the composer-performer collaborative process, followed by a brief overview of the main guitaristic collaborations of the past and present. I then analyse the collaboration between Rebay and his guitarists, especially with his niece, Gerta Hammerschmid. I argue that a great deal of their collaborative activity can be inferred from the annotations in the autograph scores, which later shaped the final text reflected in the existing manuscript guitar parts. However, because performer interventions may be questioned, I engage in what I call a "posthumous collaboration" with Rebay, which is encouraged, among other factors, by the absence of a continuous performance tradition of his guitar music.

The second part of the chapter approaches the selected sonatas under the collaborative perspectives formerly discussed. The investigation is presented as three case studies which scrutinize some of the most significant score-based issues found in my practice, proposing a framework that can also be adapted elsewhere in Rebay's guitar music. The first two case studies deal with problematic excerpts in the two oboe and guitar sonatas by Rebay. While I agree with the solutions proposed by Rebay's collaborator in the first case, I propose an alternative in the second, challenging not only Hammerschmid's solution but also that adopted by two guitarists who have recently recorded the piece. The third case study, on the other hand, deals with an entire piece, the *Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars*. It addresses the performance limitations imposed by its original instrumentation, which led to my complete rescoring of the piece, including changing its original key and redistributing melodic material.

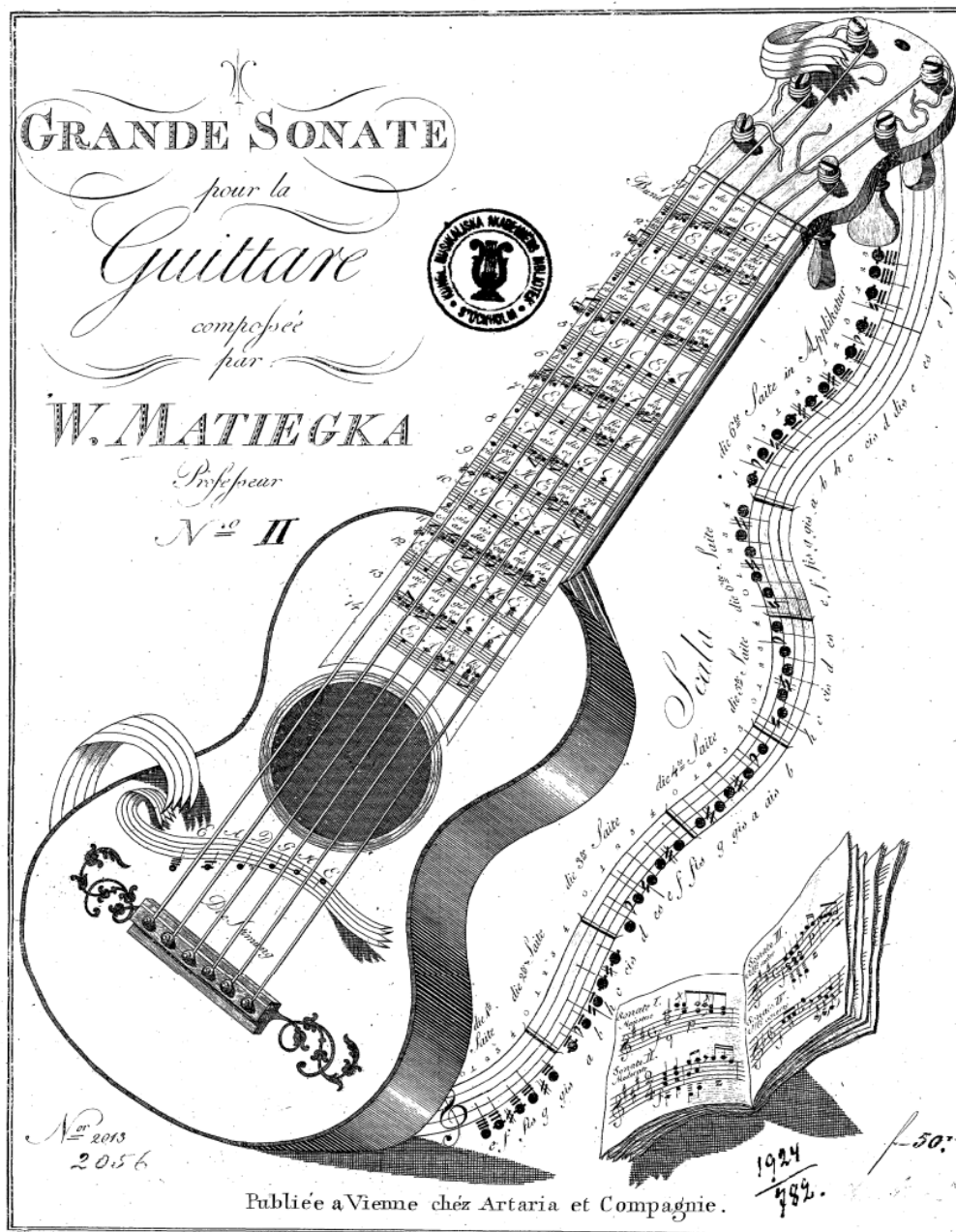
6.2 THE CHALLENGES OF WRITING FOR THE GUITAR

The guitar is an assumedly difficult instrument to write for if the composer does not fully understand its mechanism. A general unfamiliarity with it can be attested by the superficial or non-existent discussion it has received in instrumentation and orchestration treatises since the nineteenth century.¹ Unlike keyboard geography, which visually and haptically allows a direct association between notes, intervals and notation, the guitar's fingerboard geography can seem counterintuitive at first. One of the causes for this is the number of strings associated with an irregular intervallic tuning, which may often include *scordatura*. Moreover, apart from the notes in the first position of the sixth string, the same note can be played on different strings and positions of the fingerboard, making visualization even harder to a non-guitarist.

A fingerboard table, such as often presented in guitar methods, is a good entry tool for non-guitarist composers, showing the whole fingerboard's range. Figure 6.1 shows an early-nineteenth century example of such a table, taken from the cover page of the Grande Sonate No. 2 by Matiegka.

¹ Consulted treatises include Walter Piston, *Orchestration* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955); Andrew Stiller, *Handbook of Instrumentation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Samuel Adler, *The Study of Orchestration*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1989); Alfred Blatter, *Instrumentation and Orchestration*, 2nd ed. (New York: Schirmer, 1997); Berlioz and Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise. A Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Ertuğrul Sevsay, *The Cambridge Guide to Orchestration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Among these, Stiller's treatise is a welcome exception: the guitar entry is almost twice as long as the harp's.

Figure 6.1. Cover page of Matiegka's Grande Sonate No. 2 showing a fingerboard table (Vienna: Artaria et Comp., n.d.).



Nonetheless, the distribution of the guitar's range along multiple combinations of strings and frets can be intimidating, and a table like the one shown above does not alone make sense of the complex mechanism involved in the realization of polyphonic music.

A myth around the difficulty of composing for the guitar was created even in the early nineteenth century. It was repeated by Berlioz, who claimed in his orchestration treatise of

1844 that “It is almost impossible to write well for the guitar unless one is a player oneself”.² If there is some truth to Berlioz’s statement, that may be verified through the repertoire, which throughout the nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth century remained essentially the domain of guitarist-composers. Apart from the instrument’s idiosyncrasies, its long absence from conservatoire curricula helped to reinforce its stigma as inaccessible for those who were not initiated. The panorama changed considerably after the twentieth-century guitar renaissance, but the myth repeated by Berlioz continues to be perpetuated. In reality, while it is not truly impossible for non-guitarist composers to write well for the guitar, it is often necessary that they seek for expert advice along the way.

A few reported statements from non-guitarist composers directly corroborate this idea. Rebay’s near contemporary, Alfred Uhl (1909-1992), when asked if it is difficult to compose for the guitar as usually claimed responded categorically that “it is not really possible without guidance”, mentioning past help from Dobrauz.³ Another twentieth-century composer, Alberto Ginastera (1916-1983), wrote in the preface of his Sonata for Guitar, Op. 47 (1976) that “Although I had been encouraged by a number of musicians to compose music for the guitar from the time that I was a student, the complexity of the task delayed my creative impulse, in spite of the guitar being the national instrument of my country”.⁴ In the process of composing his sonata Ginastera also counted on a guitarist’s help, in this case Antonio Carlos Barbosa-Lima, to whom the piece is dedicated.

Since Julian Bream’s pioneering article in 1957, guitarists have attempted to elaborate instruction manuals to help non-guitarist composers write idiomatically for the instrument.⁵ This attitude is also reflected in a number of recent theses and dissertations on the subject, some of which will be examined below.

² Berlioz and Macdonald, *Berlioz’s Orchestration Treatise. A Translation and Commentary*, 80.

³ “... ohne Einweisung geht es wirklich nicht”. Jürgen Libbert, “Der ‚einsame‘ Künstler. Zum Tode des Komponisten Alfred Uhl”, *Zupfmusik-Magazin* 1, no. 90 (1992): 14. Dobrauz had also been responsible for editing some of Rebay’s guitar music for Hladky, as reported in Chapter 2.

⁴ Alberto Ginastera, “Sonata for Guitar, Op. 47”, (New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 1978).

⁵ Julian Bream, “How to Write for the Guitar”, *The Score & I.M.A. Magazine*, no. 19 (1957): 19-26.

6.3 IDIOMATIC WRITING

As pointed out by Titre, the concept of “idiomatic writing” is not defined in music dictionaries such as the *Grove Music Online* or *MGG*, even though the terminology is abundantly used in those sources.⁶ On the other hand, the *Oxford Dictionary* definition of “idiomatic” is “1. Using, containing, or denoting expressions that are natural to a native speaker; 2. Appropriate to the style of art or music associated with a particular period, individual, or group”.⁷ While the definition does not specifically address instrumental peculiarities, it does suggest how the term may be appropriated if we associate the natural language flow of a native speaker to the intrinsic expression of an instrument, such as a singing legato on a violin or a strummed pattern on a guitar. However, idiomatic writing involves more than exploring “native idioms”, particularly in complex textures such as those observed in Rebay’s guitar music.

It is not my intention to fill this terminology gap. However, although often aurally and visually associated with ease of playing, idiomatic writing does not necessarily translate into easy realization, an idea recently discussed by both Godfrey and Titre.⁸ The latter illustrates the issue in the following way: “Many guitar techniques require serious and professional study before they can be played accurately and with any ease, such as the tremolo technique, but this does not make such techniques any less idiomatic for the guitar”.⁹ A more flexible concept of idiomatic writing might therefore lie in a connection between the composer’s musical ideas and their potential realization on the instrument, which naturally depends a great deal on the composer’s understanding of the instrument’s resources and the performer’s technical ability and grasp of the musical material to be realized. Therefore, it does not only concern the composer’s creative process, but also how the resulting notation is approached and realized by the performer.

⁶ Marlon Titre, “Thinking through the Guitar : The Sound-Cell Texture Chain” (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2013), 28.

⁷ *Oxford Dictionary*, s.v., “Idiomatic”, accessed 26 September 2018, <http://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/idiomatic>.

⁸ Jonathan Godfrey, “A Survey of Idiomatic Classical Guitar Composition Techniques Written towards Composers who do not Play the Instrument” (Doctor of Music thesis, Indiana University, 2013), vi; Titre, “Thinking through the Guitar : The Sound-Cell Texture Chain”, 29.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Outside of the guitaristic sphere, a meaningful example is given by Kawabata while analysing the performance history of Schoenberg's Violin Concerto, Op. 36 (1936).¹⁰ She explains how Heifetz refused to perform the piece, claiming that it would demand a "six-fingered violinist". However, evidence shows that Heifetz's rejection of the concerto would have been more due to aesthetic and personal than technical reasons, since many other players in the piece's performance history found ways to overcome the score-based issues that probably irritated him. The process demanded a creative and flexible interaction with the text. As Kawabata points out, solutions often "stemmed from an impulse to 'think outside the box' in extending received techniques",¹¹ which is another way of describing an expanded technical mindset, such as the one discussed in Chapter 5.

Technically, on average Rebay's notation in the selected sonatas is not easy to realize and occasionally requires unorthodox solutions that could be seen as non-idiomatic. However, based on my experience in dealing with both edited and unedited music written by non-guitarist composers, I can affirm that Rebay understood the guitar's mechanism surprisingly well. Depending on the flexibility of the concept, one could say that he indeed wrote idiomatically for it, even though his "idiom" is very different from that employed by composers whose works draw on direct practical experience with the instrument. Nevertheless, Rebay's guitar writing is not flawless and, as will be illustrated later in the case studies, some passages do require performer intervention at some degree.

Finally, Rebay's environment and original performance contexts cannot be ignored in the process of identifying the idiomatic qualities of his music and the degree of acceptable performer interventions. Unlike Schoenberg in the example above, Rebay did not write music with a world-famous virtuoso performer in mind and in a genre that glorified the hero-performer such as the Romantic concerto. Instead, he wrote accessible chamber music which, as seen in Chapter 2, would often be performed in intimate environments. Aesthetically, his music emerged from the traditional values of chamber music playing addressed by Goethe as

¹⁰ Maiko Kawabata, "Playing the 'Unplayable' : Schoenberg , Heifetz and the Violin Concerto, Op. 36", *Journal of Musicological Research* 34, no. 1 (2015): 31-50.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

a “rational conversation”, implying balanced writing and equal distribution of roles.¹² His writing for woodwind or bowed-string instruments is never extremely virtuosic; therefore, there is no reason why his guitar writing should exceed the reasonable limits of playability. It is within these technical and aesthetic boundaries that the performer must assess the needs for intervening in the score. The case studies of this chapter will illustrate how a balance between respect for the composer’s ideas and adequate playability can be achieved.

6.4 COMPOSER-PERFORMER COLLABORATION

As suggested above, the score-based issues that will be discussed in this chapter are not necessarily related to difficulty of execution—although they might involve it as well—but to an attempt to keep the instrumental discourse in accordance with the composer’s ideas. The performer, responsible for decoding notation, may eventually face situations in which the text needs to be adapted in order to render a better realization. When this happens in partnership and during the composer’s creative process, one may talk of collaboration.

Among the variety of collaborative activities that composers and performers may undertake, the one defined by John-Steiner as “complementary” seems to best represent the context which will be discussed in this chapter. According to her, in a complementary collaboration “Differences in training, skill, and temperament support a joint outcome through division of labor”.¹³ In our case, this division places the composer on the one side, responsible for the creative input and for setting musical ideas into notation; and the performer on the other side, responsible for assisting the composer in the task of writing for an instrument which he or she does not fully master. Although hierarchy is usually maintained and there is no sharing of authorship, the collaborative performer is often acknowledged either as the dedicatee or as a significant figure in the course of the work’s performance tradition.

One of the premises for complementary collaboration involves achieving idiomatic results. In making the piece more “guitaristic”, the performer acts as a technical advisor, helping the composer when the notated text does not meet practical standards for realization.

¹² Christina Bashford, “The String Quartet and Society”, in *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, ed. Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4.

¹³ Vera John-Steiner, *Creative Collaboration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 70.

According to Gyger, this happens during the “workshopping stage” of collaboration, which involves a balanced feedback from both sides: while the composer proposes ideas, the performer experiments and provides suggestions.¹⁴ In such cases, it is inevitable that the emerging product will incorporate a great deal of the guitarist’s personal concepts of playability and musical understanding, especially if the collaboration happened from an early stage.

The circumstances are different when the performer deals with music by composers who are distanced—for temporal, geographical or any other possible reasons—and no direct interaction is possible. Strictly speaking, there is no collaboration in this case and the role of the performer is similar to the role of the editor who revises a piece by a deceased composer prior to its publication. Although with different goals in mind, both involve notation interpretation and any choices must be thoroughly informed. When facing editorial issues that resist definitive answers, Grier suggests that the editor should “assume authority over the text”, backed up by an “understanding of the musical idioms that make up a piece, knowledge of the historical conditions under which it was composed or the social and economic factors that influenced its performance, coupled with an aesthetic sensitivity towards the composer’s or repertory’s style”.¹⁵ It may be argued that the same awareness is required from a performer who engages with any kind of repertoire, except that in this case the intended product is not an edition but a performance. It presupposes authority over the musical text, gained through knowledge and familiarity with the composer’s idiom. When necessary, the performer is responsible for overcoming score-based issues in an informed way, ideally making up for the impossibility of a true interaction with the composer.

6.5 AN OVERVIEW OF GUITARISTIC COLLABORATIONS

As discussed in Chapter 1, the systematic appearance of guitar music by non-guitarist composers is a relatively recent phenomenon, having only started in the early twentieth century. It reflected the guitar’s gradual emancipation from its former niches and relied on the efforts of guitarists such as Segovia, who diligently commissioned new music for the

¹⁴ Elliott Gyger, “No Stone Unturned : Mapping Composer-Performer Collaboration”, in *Collaborative Creative Thought and Practice in Music*, ed. Margaret S. Barrett (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 35.

¹⁵ Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music : History, Method and Practice*, 5.

instrument in order to expand the repertoire. Segovia did much more than merely commissioning new works, however, often directly influencing the creative process. As summarized by Buckley, “He established a template for collaborative composition for guitar comprising a relatively interventionist role for the performer”.¹⁶

Segovia had all the requisites to attract non-guitarist composers to write for the guitar, such as personal charisma, an unprecedentedly successful career in guitar performance and access to the mainstream musical circles. His figure was so towering that he could afford to neglect works dedicated to him that he saw as unfit, and to privilege others which better suited his own musical tastes and career aspirations. This can be verified through the (new) “Andrés Segovia Archive”, published by Bèrben since the 1990s and featuring original music by distinguished composers who wrote for Segovia but whose music did not enter his repertoire, remaining ignored for more than half a century.¹⁷

Among the composers privileged by him, Manuel Ponce (1882-1948) holds a special position. His relationship with Segovia can be greatly enlightened by the letters he received regularly from the Spanish guitarist.¹⁸ In those, the level of Segovia’s influence on the creative work of Ponce is made clear, ranging from suggestions for rewriting short passages in a more idiomatic way to extended structural requests. Sometimes, a true concern for not interfering with Ponce’s original idea is evident, such as described by Segovia upon receiving the fourth movement of the *Sonata romántica* (1928):

What you would least imagine—for the first time with your music!!—comes out impossible: the arpeggios... And you have coincided with the same difficulty that makes the prelude in E major by Bach (violin solo) unbridgeable for guitar ... How are you going to fix this? I am truly desperate, because I like it as it is. Rescue it however you can, please! Do not modify the rhythm, nor the melodic disposition of the chords: change the form of the arpeggio.¹⁹

¹⁶ Buckley, “Creative Performer Agency in the Collaborative Compositional Process”, 21.

¹⁷ A list of works can be seen at http://www.berben.it/doc/new/Andres_Segovia_Archive.pdf.

¹⁸ Andrés Segovia and Manuel Maria Ponce, *The Segovia-Ponce Letters*, ed. Miguel Alcázar, trans. Peter Segal (Columbus: Editions Orphée, 1989).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

However, in other situations Segovia's editorial procedures are more interventionist. In my own analysis of Segovia's edition of *Thème Varié et Finale* (1926), I have encountered almost three hundred discrepancies between the published version and the composer's autograph.²⁰ Although many of them are of relatively minor scope, such as displacements or omission of dynamic markings, the most extreme ones involve changing the order of variations and even eliminating three of them, thus completely recasting the piece's structure. While procedures like this may raise issues of authority, there is no evidence that Ponce was displeased by Segovia's editorial interventions. A performance tradition based on Segovia's version developed, leaving source and authority issues unquestioned until the Urtext editions by Alcázar and Hoppstock emerged, more than seventy years later.²¹ The same editorial practices are observed in music composed by other "Segovian" composers, such as Joaquín Turina (1882-1949) and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895-1968), and their collaborative circumstances are becoming clearer as access is made available to primary documents such as annotated manuscripts and correspondence.

Following the steps of Segovia, a collaborative tradition between guitarists and composers developed in the twentieth century and, in fact, much of the best repertoire for guitar originated from it. The most obvious name after Segovia is that of Julian Bream, whose commissioning and collaborative efforts brought to the guitar's repertoire substantial works by some of the most important composers active in the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Although reliable documentation on the collaborative processes is often rare, Buckley has gathered enough evidence to affirm that Bream's approach to Benjamin Britten's *Nocturnal after John Dowland*, Op. 70 (1963) and particularly to William Walton's *Five Bagatelles* (1974) was very interventionist, leaving a personal mark on these works which was accepted and incorporated into their performance tradition.²² Besides Segovia and Bream, other significant guitarists named by Buckley who helped develop a

²⁰ Luiz Mantovani, "Thème Varié et Finale, de Manuel Ponce : uma análise comparativa entre a versão original e a versão editada por Andrés Segovia" (Research report, Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina, 2006).

²¹ Manuel María Ponce, *Obra completa para guitarra de Manuel M. Ponce, de acuerdo a los manuscritos originales*, ed. Miguel Alcázar (Mexico D.F.: Conaculta, 2000); *Ponce : Guitar Works (Urtext)*, ed. Tilman Hoppstock (Mainz: Schott Musik, 2006).

²² Buckley, "Creative Performer Agency in the Collaborative Compositional Process", 22-24.

corpus of new guitar works include “Eliot Fisk, David Russel, David Tanenbaum, Sérgio and Odair Assad and, most prolifically, David Starobin”.²³

The Brazilian composer Ronaldo Miranda (b. 1948) offers a very informative report of the collaborative circumstances that involved his only piece for solo guitar, *Appassionata* (1984). According to him, it was commissioned by guitarist Turíbio Santos, to be premiered in a solo recital at Southbank Centre’s Purcell Room.²⁴ However, although both composer and performer had collaborated during the creative process, Santos ended up not premiering the piece, claiming that it was “unplayable”. Frustrated, Miranda put the piece away in the hopes that in the future another guitarist would correct what would be necessary to make it playable. This only came in 1996 through Fabio Zanon, who told him that the piece would be playable with “three or four small modifications” (*três ou quatro pequenas modificações*), involving changes of octave in the second theme and a few inversions or chord simplifications throughout the piece. Miranda finishes his report by recognizing that “Technically, it is still a difficult piece for the guitarists, but it became playable and has been performed worldwide since”.²⁵

I myself have commissioned and premiered a number of works—mostly chamber and ensemble music—and this experience helped me understand the practicalities of the collaborative process.²⁶ Among the composers I have worked with, some were professional guitarists, some had a basic proficiency on the instrument, and some did not play the guitar at all. I naturally felt that my input was most essential in the case of non-guitarist composers, from the initial process of advising on reliable guitar music for reference to actual interventions, helping awkward or even unplayable passages become feasible and convincing. Much of the collaborative process happened in the workshopping stage and demanded a

²³ Ibid., 29.

²⁴ Ronaldo Miranda, e-mail message to the author, 13 October 2018.

²⁵ “Tecnicamente, continua sendo uma obra difícil para os violonistas, mas tornou-se possível e vem sendo mundialmente tocada”. Ibid. The piece was finally published in 2001 by Editions Orphée, with Zanon’s proposed modifications.

²⁶ Among at least a dozen of pieces with which I was involved in the commission and/or world premiere, there are *Acrobats*, for flute and guitar (2002) by David Leisner (b.1953), *Guitar Concerto* (2010) by Lior Navok (b.1971) and *Brazilian Landscapes No.12*, for flute and guitar (2012) by Liduíno Pitombeira (b.1962).

thorough understanding of the composer's idiom and the piece's structure in order to confidently make suggestions, particularly when it involved complex textures with other instruments and/or orchestra.

Leathwood affirms that "The history of the guitar's twentieth-century repertoire is a history of collaboration".²⁷ Particularly revealing of the importance of the performer in this process is the fact that guitarists often refer to works in association with the performer to whom they were dedicated, such as the "Segovia-repertoire" or the "Bream-repertoire". Just as with other non-guitarist composers in the early twentieth century, Rebay also sought assistance during his creative process. The next section will reveal this collaborative process, also looking at my own role in the creation of a renewed performance tradition of Rebay's guitar music.

6.6 COLLABORATING WITH REBAY

Unlike the case of Segovia and Ponce, Rebay's collaborative activity is not backed up by documents such as letters, since he likely worked with his guitarists in person. However, some of his manuscript sources reveal traces of collaboration, leading to modifications in the composer's original text with the clear goal of improving the guitar writing. In Chapter 4, I have discussed the origins of the available manuscript sources of Rebay's selected sonatas. In summary, the manuscript scores held in A-Wn were confirmed to be Rebay's autographs and the manuscript guitar parts held in A-HE are copies made by Emilie Rebay. Some of the manuscripts contain annotations and fingerings. With the exception of the autograph score of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, these were likely made by Hammerschmid.²⁸

Carefully pencil-marked fingerings in the manuscript guitar parts such as shown in Example 6.1 suggest that Hammerschmid performed the piece, and this can often be verified in the survey of performances shown in Chapter 2.²⁹

²⁷ Jonathan Leathwood, "The Medium and the Mediator : Two Studies in Composer-Performer Collaboration" (PhD thesis, University of Surrey, 2009), 3.

²⁸ See pp. 152-53.

²⁹ See pp. 78-81.

Example 6.1. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M2, bb. 1-14).



On the other hand, annotations in the autograph scores suggest that she revised Rebay's guitar writing, pointing out technical impossibilities and occasionally proposing solutions. The nature of annotations is eclectic: crossed-out, added or substituted notes, octave displacement suggestions, interrogation marks and occasionally some prescriptive text. A particularity of this process is that Rebay's autograph scores were written in ink and the annotations in pencil, never erasing or writing over the passage. Therefore, even on a highly annotated score it is still possible to distinguish the layers between Rebay's original idea and the suggestions derived from collaboration. Proof of Rebay's acceptance of Hammerschmid's solutions can be inferred from the fact that the suggestions she made on the autograph scores are often reflected in the manuscript guitar parts, such as illustrated in Examples 6.2 and 6.3.

Example 6.2. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar (M4, bb. 89-94).

The image shows a handwritten musical score for three parts: Flute (Fl.), Guitar (Git.), and Guitar Solo (Gitarre solo). The score is on aged, slightly stained paper. The Flute part is in the top staff, the Guitar part in the middle, and the Guitar Solo part in the bottom. There are two black arrows pointing to specific measures in the Guitar and Guitar Solo parts. The handwriting is in dark ink, and there are some corrections and annotations throughout the score.

Example 6.3. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar (M4, bb. 87-95).

This image shows a manuscript of the guitar part for Rebay's Sonata in E, measures 87-95. It consists of three staves: Flute (Fl.), Guitar (Git.), and Guitar Solo (Gitarre solo). The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper. The Flute part is in the top staff, the Guitar part in the middle, and the Guitar Solo part in the bottom. There are two black arrows pointing to specific measures in the Guitar and Guitar Solo parts. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'molto cresc.'.

In the passage, there are two instances in which suggestions were probably discussed during the collaborative process, resulting in a modified text in the manuscript guitar part. The first is exclusively related to notation conventions but nevertheless may influence the way the passage is realized (1). While Rebay added a tremolo sign to the minims and semibreve in bb. 89-90, Hammerschmid preferred to ascribe it a precise rhythm. This is suggested in pencil in the autograph score right below the guitar staff and later fully transcribed in the manuscript

guitar part. A performer who had only used the manuscript guitar part could take it for granted that Rebay wanted the rhythm exactly as notated, with the guitar's semiquaver sextuplets precisely matching the subdivisions of the flute's quaver triplets. However, the autograph's notation is rhythmically open and certainly not that precise. While a pianist would possibly take a similar approach to what Hammerschmid suggested, a bowed-string player would traditionally play a much faster tremolo figuration. The passage certainly affords different realization possibilities on the guitar, as well. The second instance shows a chord which, while feasible isolated, is unplayable within the fast cadenza context (2). Following revision, Hammerschmid wrote an interrogation mark below the chord in the autograph score and offered two possible solutions. Upon workshopping, the decision was probably to keep the second alternative, which is the one reflected in the manuscript guitar part. However, it is possible to discern that the chord was inserted later in pencil by Hammerschmid, which suggests that Emilie Rebay was not sure of what had been decided during the collaboration and copied only the top note of the chord in ink.

In spite of Hammerschmid's authority as Rebay's main performer, it is possible to question her solutions to score-based issues, particularly when considering the lack of a continuous performance tradition of Rebay's guitar music. Unlike the music of Ponce discussed above, with Rebay we are free from references modelled in the past and subsequently perpetuated in performances and recordings by paradigmatic performers, which makes the act of intervening and reshaping the text much less intimidating. Supported by the knowledge acquired through this research and the experience of having performed several works by Rebay, I propose to engage in a "posthumous collaboration" with him, one in which I have an equal voice as Hammerschmid's in overcoming score-based issues. While it is obviously not possible to obtain Rebay's endorsement, my intention is the same one that motivated him and Hammerschmid to collaborate: improve the guitar writing and facilitate a satisfying realization for the composer, performer and audiences alike.

As the case studies will demonstrate, sometimes this process came with minor editing of the original text, but it occasionally involved additional procedures such as adopting *scordatura* or even employing a different instrument.³⁰ Naturally, my solutions are not

³⁰ While in most of the selected sonatas I used a regular six-string guitar, in the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar and the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars I chose to use

definitive, as my understanding of Rebay's music is shaped by my current artistic beliefs and technical idiosyncrasies. Therefore, like the issues discussed in Chapter 5, the results of my "posthumous collaboration" with Rebay should remain open for further appreciation and discussion, including by myself.

6.8 CASE STUDIES

6.8.1 OVERVIEW

This section will discuss a sample of tested performer interventions in Rebay's selected sonatas. As mentioned above, identifying original interventions by Rebay's guitarists is a straightforward process, since annotations are clearly recognizable in the autograph scores. However, only three of the selected sonatas present unequivocal collaborative evidence: the two sonatas for oboe and guitar and the Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar. Two others, the Sonata in D for Flute and Guitar and the Sonata in D minor for Clarinet and Guitar, present occasional ink-corrected notes and paste-overs, suggesting that modifications were made after Rebay heard the piece rehearsed or performed. However, it is not possible to verify potential collaborative steps without tampering physically with the material and for this reason they were not considered. Finally, as explained in Chapter 4, both the Sonata in A minor for Clarinet and Guitar and the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars do not show evidence of collaboration.³¹

Table 6.1 shows the number of bars containing annotations in the autograph scores of these three sonatas.

Table 6.1. Number of autograph score annotations in Rebay's selected sonatas.

Sonata	Year	Number of bars
Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar	1925	79
Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar	1942	14
Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar	1942	23

I did not differentiate single from multiple interventions per bar and also ignored the fact that the same intervention may be written again when passages are repeated literally, such as in sonata-form recapitulations or in rondos. Even so, the numbers reveal a growing familiarity of

the so-called "Brahms-guitar", an extended range eight-string instrument of which more will be said later.

³¹ See pp. 153-55.

Rebay with the guitar's resources. The Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar is the one with the most annotations, suggesting the highest number of score-based issues which required performer intervention. The piece was composed in February 1925, just a few months after Rebay's first compositional attempts for guitar, and, understandably, shows a composer who is aware of the basic fingerboard geography but cannot fully anticipate the instrument's technical limitations.

The Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar, composed 17 years later, reveals another stage of his familiarity with the instrument. This is reflected in fewer annotations, in spite of the high technical difficulty of the last movement. An excerpt of this sonata has been used earlier to demonstrate the kind of collaborative evidence that can be gathered from Rebay's manuscripts (see Figures 6.2 and 6.3 above). However, the Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar, also from 1942, has relatively more annotations. A possible explanation—apart from the key of C, which is more uncomfortable than E on the guitar—is that in this sonata Rebay tried to push the limits of the instrument. In fact, just like the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar, its development shows more motivic work with intense melodic interaction between the two instruments, unlike the more thematically-oriented developments of the flute and clarinet sonatas. Additionally, due to the higher volume of the oboe, Rebay may have preferred to have the guitar playing solo in many of its presentations of melodic material, therefore increasing the complexity of the self-accompanied texture. As will become clear in Case Study No. 2, apparently there was some resistance from Hammerschmid to overcome a few technical difficulties through creative fingering and practice perseverance, particularly in the last movement.

The first two case studies explore passages in which collaborative activity is evident through the manuscripts, therefore offering material for direct evaluation and critique. I did not approach every score-based solution by Rebay's collaborator, because this would result in unnecessary repetition. Instead, two of the most interesting issues were scrutinized. My methodology, which mirrored my artistic approach while performing those pieces, involved first identifying and understanding the nature of the issues, followed by a critical analysis of the collaborator's solutions. In the event of not accepting their solutions or even questioning the needs for intervention, my own arguments and alternatives were then presented. The third case study is based on the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars. Since the piece was never revised during Rebay's lifetime, no critique of collaborative intervention is possible. Nevertheless, my "posthumous collaboration" was fully required in order to adapt the piece

to modern instruments and redistributing melodic material. Since this piece received less attention in Chapter 3, this case study will also be illustrated by historical, analytical and organological information, particularly regarding Rebay's use of the quintbass guitar.

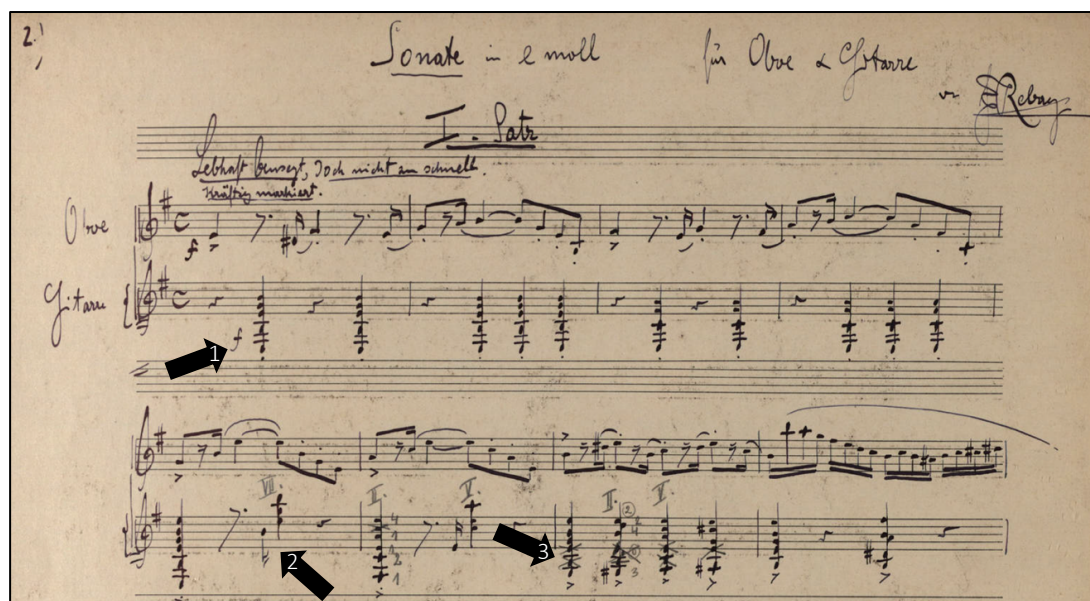
Excerpts were taken from either the autograph scores or the manuscript guitar parts and, as in the former chapter, when necessary, clean versions were made with a music software editor. These are particularly useful when the solutions involved much editing in the original text and also for illustrating my own fingerings. A fingerboard diagram will be used in Case Study No. 1 to enable a visualization of left-hand issues such as long-distance shifts of position or abnormal stretches. The idea is to "freeze" a bar or part of it, showing all fingers in their respective placements. As in Chapter 5, short audio and video examples are supplied whenever icons are placed next to the text or figures. I avoided demonstrating issues which are unplayable, precisely because they do not allow a convincing realization on the guitar. Instead, I chose to focus on their solutions.

6.8.2 CASE STUDY NO. 1 (SONATA IN E MINOR FOR OBOE AND GUITAR, 1ST MOVEMENT)

Both of Rebay's oboe and guitar sonatas share an important characteristic in their sonata-form first movements: its first theme is initially presented by the oboe while accompanied by the guitar and then immediately repeated, this time by the guitar solo. As mentioned earlier, Rebay was possibly wary of the fact that an oboe accompaniment could easily outweigh the guitar and decided to give the latter a fully self-accompanied texture, which also potentially brings more realization issues.

This case study is based on the first movement's first theme of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar. Its martial character is reinforced by the indication *kräftig markiert* (strongly marked), dotted-rhythm patterns and plenty of accents and staccatos. To understand the interpretative and technical scopes of playing the theme on the guitar solo, it is important to analyse how Rebay frames its first appearance when it is played by the oboe and accompanied by the guitar (Example 6.4).

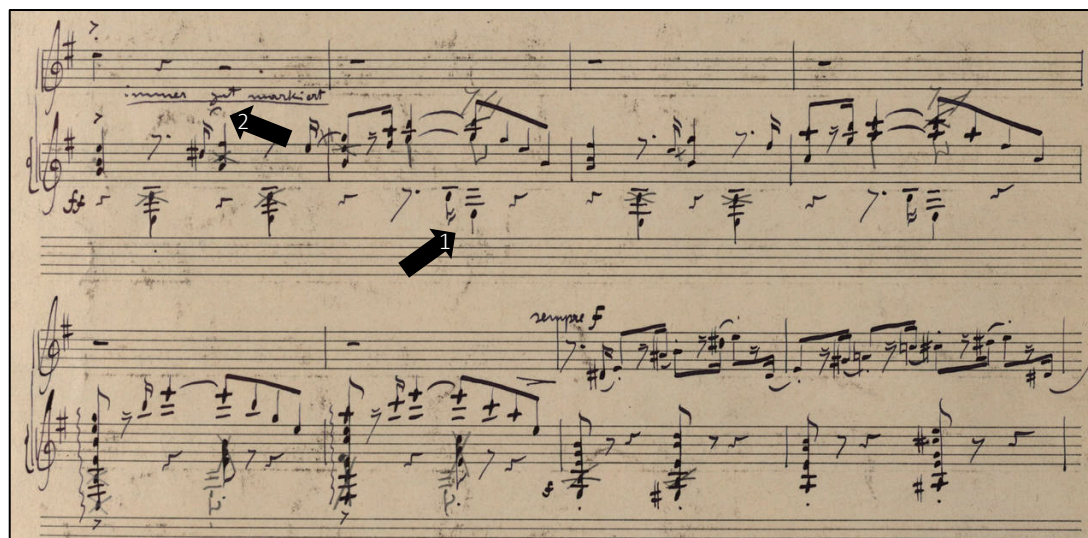
Example 6.4. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 1-8).



The dotted rhythm and articulated character of the melody is set out by the oboe from the beginning, while the guitar staccato chords help to reinforce the rhythmic drive. Initially, the guitar is merely supporting the oboe's line harmonically (1), but this changes from b. 5, when it also plays dotted rhythms in short commentaries during the longer notes of the oboe (2). The harmonic rhythm gets progressively faster, as the theme approaches its full cadence (3). All of these rhythmic characteristics are later present in the guitar's presentation, although modified. Notice that Rebay's collaborator—who in this case was either Ortner or Schlagradl—had already identified a few chords which are either unplayable as written or demand impractical fingering, and suggestions were annotated.

The guitar takes up the melody in b. 9, albeit only temporarily, since the oboe resumes the melodic line after six bars (Example 6.5). However, the rhythmic and melodic essence of the theme remains the same, and this continuity is suggested by Rebay through his indication *immer gut markiert* (always well marked).

Example 6.5. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 9-16).



When compared to the previous single line of the oboe, the guitar melody has a new embedded harmonic support, usually built with sixths and thirds under the melodic notes. Its self-accompaniment, however, is a simplified version of the previous accompaniment that nevertheless preserves its main rhythmic characteristics and even adds some new elements, such as the dotted-rhythm patterns in the bass line seen in bb. 10 and 12 (1). Although accents and staccatos are present throughout, Rebay does not place as many articulation slurs as observed in the oboe's theme presentation. The few existent ones were even crossed out by Rebay's collaborator, possibly to avoid being understood as technical slurs (2).³² The melodic and rhythmic character of the theme is clearly delineated, however, and there is nothing in the music that would justify a different phrasing and articulation approach than what the oboe had employed earlier. The oboe's notation and realization may therefore offer interpretative guidance for the guitarist.

There are plenty of annotations in the autograph score when the guitar presents the theme solo. Most of them are crossed-out notes and chords, but there are also a few added notes in the bass line. They illustrate attempts to solve score-based issues that were diagnosed by Rebay's collaborator and its outcomes are mirrored in the manuscript guitar

³² The issue of crossed-out slurs in the autograph score of this sonata has already been addressed in Chapter 5 (See pp. 168-70).

part, prepared later by Emilie Rebay and fingered by Hammerschmid (Example 6.6).³³ The same modifications are seen in the other existing manuscript of this sonata, which is held in A-NRol.

Example 6.6. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 9-15).



Due to the complexity and variety of the issues, clean copies of Rebay's original text (before annotations were made) and the modified version were created, along with superimposed identifications of the four issues to be addressed, categorized by different colours (Example 6.7). The attached audio example also includes the presentation of the theme by the oboe, thus making it possible to compare both of its instances.

³³ It is possible to identify that notes in the manuscript guitar part were erased after it was prepared and a paste-over was placed over bb. 13 and 14, suggesting an ongoing editing process when the manuscript guitar part was prepared by Emilie Rebay.

Example 6.7. Excerpt of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 9-19) in Urtext and revised version with fingering.

Ob. 9

Gtr. 8

immer gut markiert

Ob. 13

Gtr. 8

sempre f

Ob. 9

Gtr. 8

immer gut markiert

Ob. 13

Gtr. 8

sempre f

() = issue #1 () = issue #2 () = issue #3 () = issue #4



Audio 9

The first score-based issue is enclosed by the red brackets. Although it also involves left-hand presentation, the main problem derives from the right-hand's difficulty in performing a three-note chord immediately after the semiquaver, mainly because it requires repeating the same finger in a fast sequence. The reason for this is easily understood: fingers that were engaged in plucking a note should ideally return to their resting position before being engaged again (an analogous issue would be observed if a pianist were to play a fast scale figuration with only one finger). While playing sequential notes with the same finger is appropriate in occasional circumstances, here it creates a technical hindrance which may result in loss of rhythmic drive. To help understand the issue, two right-hand-only versions of the first bars

were prepared (Example 6.8). The first shows the right-hand fingerings necessary in Rebay's original writing and the second after the proposed modifications.

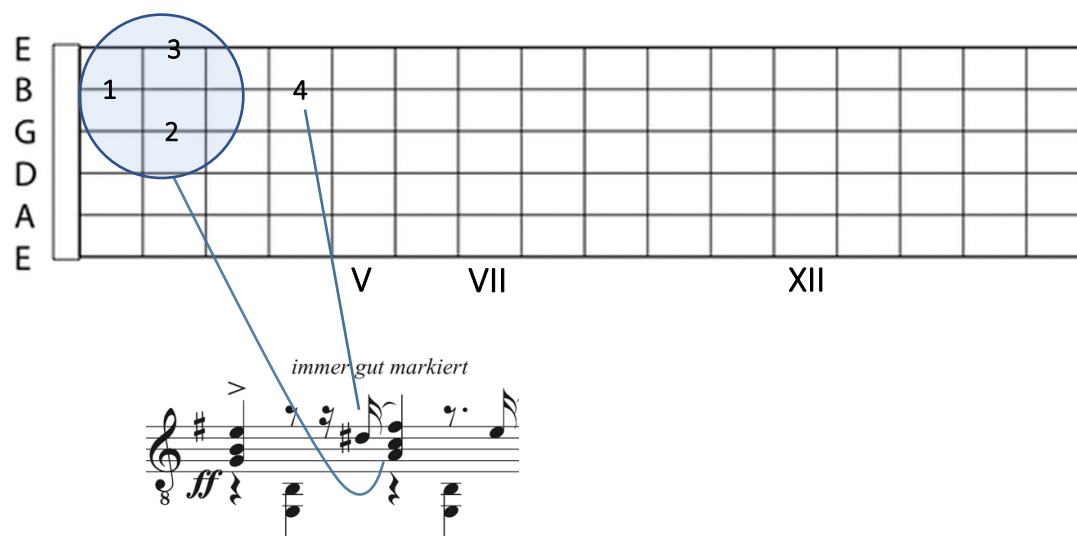
Example 6.8. Right-hand-only representation of an excerpt of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 9-10).



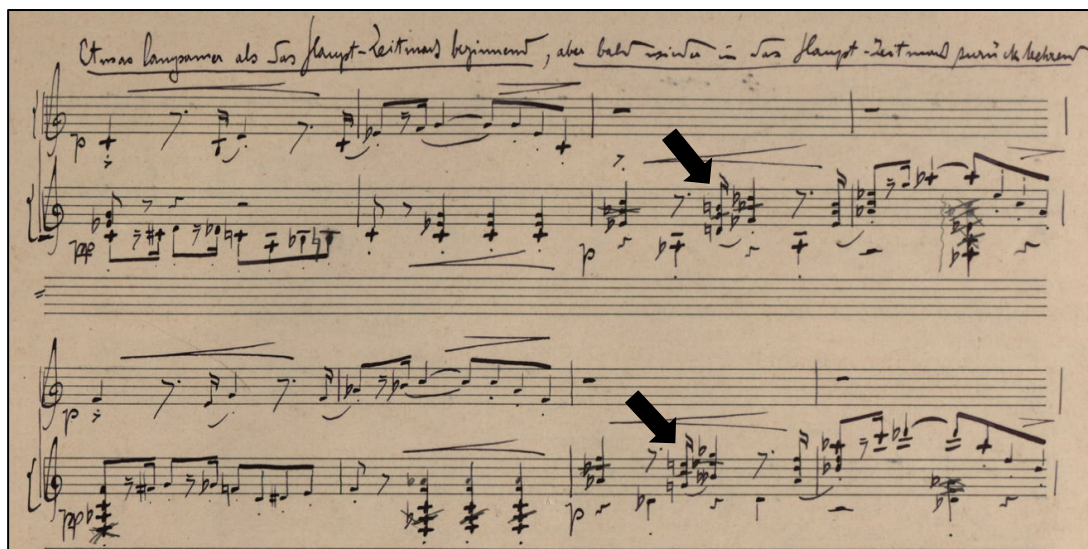
In the first version, the fast dotted-rhythm patterns demand that *m* is immediately repeated on the same string. In the modified version, however, the chords are played with only two notes and therefore no finger repetition is necessary. Notice that the *a* finger is still repeated in b. 10. A similar rationale could be applied, keeping only the top note in the semiquaver. However, in practice this was not considered strictly necessary either by Rebay's collaborator or me. The same could be said of the repetition of *p* later in b. 10, and perhaps this is the reason for why these two bass notes are slurred in the manuscript guitar part (see Example 6.6 above). I do not recommend slurring there, however, because it affects the passage's articulation profile.

Right-hand issues are not the only reason for simplifying chords in this passage, since the D^7 chord in the third beat of b. 9 presents an additional problem: in its best left-hand configuration, it would be played in first position with a transversal hand-presentation using fingers 1, 2 and 3. The fact that the semiquaver [$d\sharp$] that immediately precedes it is fingered in the fourth fret of the second string with finger 4 demands an uneasy shift (or an abnormal stretch), as can be visualized in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2. Fretboard visualization of the left-hand fingering necessary in b. 9 in Rebay's original writing.



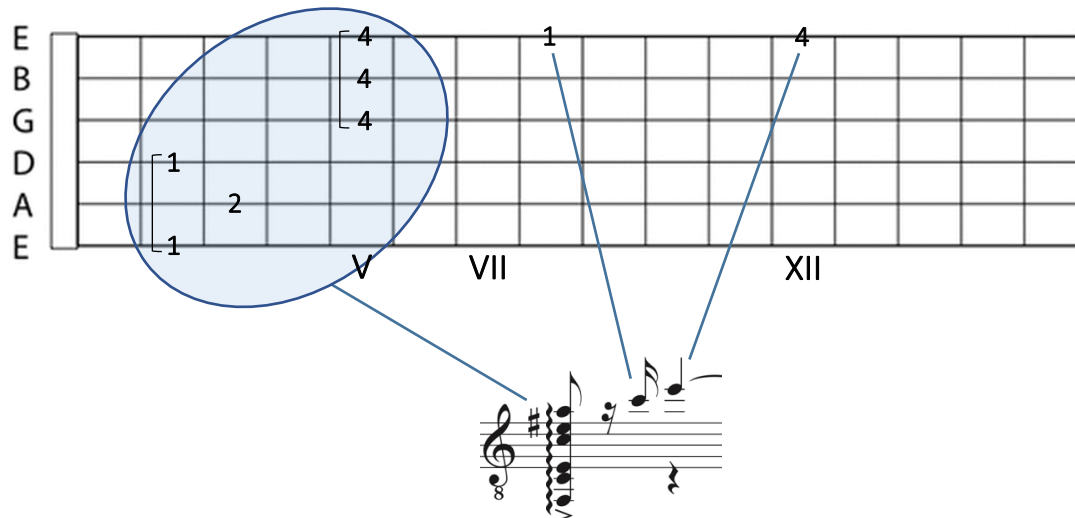
Example 6.9. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar (M1, bb. 59-66).



The second score-based issue is enclosed by the blue brackets in Example 6.7. There, the top voice demands playing in seventh position and above, reaching up to the [e''] on the twelfth fret with finger 4. However, the original six-note chords played in downbeats of bb. 13 and 14 can only be performed in second position. In spite of being theoretically playable, they require impracticable long-distance shifts, besides demanding uncomfortable fingering. Figure 6.3 illustrates the distance involved in the shift of positions of b. 14, as well as the complicated fingering for the downbeat chord, requiring an impractical barré of three strings with finger 4.³⁴ In addition, this downbeat chord is approached via a shift of position from the former bar, which makes it even more difficult to prepare.

³⁴ Barrés with finger 4 were reasonably common in the fingerings seen in the guitar-club music supplements. They were possibly aided by the lower action and lighter string tension of contemporary instruments, but are highly impractical in modern instruments.

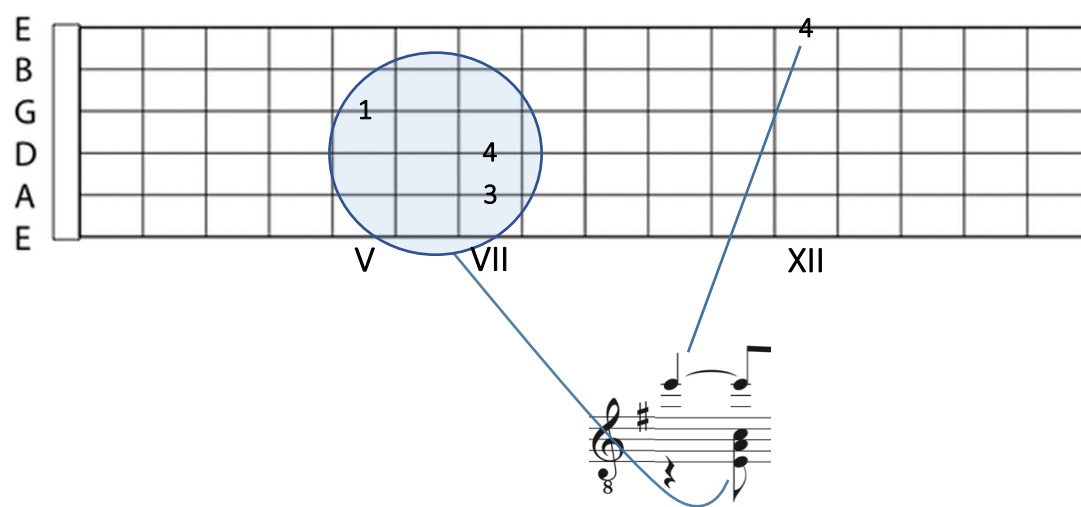
Figure 6.3. Fretboard visualization of the left-hand fingering necessary in excerpt of b. 14 in Rebay's original writing (1).



Although Rebay's chord disposition is justified, since the use of six notes gives it a proper weight within *ff*, for the sake of keeping the theme's characteristics priority should be given to the rhythmic flow and a technically confident realization. Rebay collaborator's solution was to simplify both downbeat chords in bb. 13 and 14, which also led to an octave displacement of the bass line. With this solution, while shifting position between the chords and the continuation of the melodic line is still necessary, the distance covered is much shorter and the chords fall under more familiar left-hand patterns, contributing to keep the theme's melodic and rhythmic integrity.

The third score-based issue is similar to the former and is enclosed by green brackets in Example 6.7. In addition to position shifting, it involves melody sustaining. Although the top voice asks for the [e''] to be held for one and a half beats, in order to play the ensuing chords a shift of position would be necessary, forcing the finger that is holding that note to release it. While this is not strictly mandatory in b. 13, the chord of b. 14 offers no alternatives, as illustrated in Figure 6.4. Notice that finger 4, which ideally should remain stopping the [e''] for its entire value, needs to be used in the ensuing chord and placed five frets lower on the fingerboard.

Figure 6.4. Fretboard visualization of the left-hand fingering necessary in excerpt of b. 14 in Rebay's original writing (2).



Rebay's collaborator considered that it would not be necessary to play full chords in the middle of the bars, since chords had already been played in the downbeats. Therefore, by substituting the chords in bb. 13 and 14 for an open [E], awkward shifting was no longer necessary. Playing an open string here makes even more sense when considering that it allows the [e''] in the melody to ring for its full value, also giving the left hand some room for vibrato.

Finally, the fourth score-based issue is enclosed by orange brackets in Example 6.7. Once the former issues are understood, this is the easiest one to identify and solve. As mentioned earlier, in the guitar's presentation of the theme the original accompaniment is simplified—instead of full chords, Rebay writes just the bass with its corresponding fifth. However, this harmonic interval is only playable in second position. As the melody progresses in ascending motion, requiring the left hand to be displaced to ever higher positions, the original bass line forces back-and-forth shifts of position. The solution was to eliminate the interval, again substituting it for an open [E]. Like in the former issue, the exploration of open strings in the bass is fundamental because it frees the left hand for other tasks, such as holding notes or chords for their entire value or applying vibrato. A key other than E minor would have demanded different solutions, however.

The solution of issues two, three and four involved avoiding an excess of shifting, which, in spite of being theoretically possible, seems haptically abusive and disturbs the melodic flow. This is a typical issue observed in music composed by non-guitarists: while it is easy to visualize isolated notes or chords, conceiving a sequential realization and its technical implications is considerably harder. Position shifting is an integral part of a guitarists' technical

training; however, its use should be hierarchically subordinated to the musical context. If constant shifting can be an expressive tool in virtuoso music which feeds on technical display, the selected sonatas by Rebay certainly do not have this kind of appeal and care should be taken so that the technical difficulties do not become more significant than the music itself. In addition, as mentioned above, Rebay's writing for the woodwind instruments is never overly virtuosic, and a more balanced technical approach between both instruments is appropriate.

In conclusion, my opinion is that the changes suggested by Rebay's collaborator through the annotations in the autograph score and mirrored in the manuscript guitar part are extremely pertinent. They reveal common sense, good taste and technical knowledge of the instrument, and were overall incorporated by me when performing this sonata. The same modifications can be heard in the two commercial recordings of the piece. This is expected, since the performers probably used Philomele's edition (the only available edition at the times of recording), which is not based on the autograph score but on the manuscript guitar part held in US-NRol.³⁵

6.8.3 CASE STUDY NO. 2 (SONATA IN C FOR OBOE AND GUITAR, 4TH MOVEMENT)

This case study examines what is possibly the most complex and controversial performer intervention context within the selected sonatas. This is so because it is not related to single notes or chords which can be modified without compromising the whole musical idea, but to an entire textural characteristic present in the recurring section of the rondo of the Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar. Unlike the former case study which dealt with a solo guitar passage, this one involves both instruments within a shared texture, and therefore ensemble parameters must be directly considered when dealing with guitar-specific problems.

One of the most immediately noticeable aspects of the autograph score of this sonata is the crossed-out notes in the opening bars of the fourth movement, probably done by Hammerschmid, the piece's dedicatee. In order to understand her interventions, a brief

³⁵ Gonzalo Noqué and Maria P. Sanchez, *Ferdinand Rebay : Oboe and Guitar Music (Complete)*, Naxos 9.70073, 2009, Audio CD; William Feasley and Fatima Daglar, *D'Amore Duo*, Independent release, 2010, Audio CD.

textural analysis is necessary. As observed in Example 6.10, this is not the typical pattern of melody and accompaniment seen in Rebay's selected sonatas.

Example 6.10. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 1-4).



The texture can be described as a three-voice melodic development based on parallel alternations of neighbouring notes by both the guitar and the oboe, with the roles of the two instruments being complementary and equally important. Although aurally perceived as a melodic passage, the three voices in fact create a compact harmonic texture, having the oboe responsible for the top voice and the guitar for the lower ones (remembering that the guitar part sounds one octave below notated). A pedal of [c'] complements the harmony in the downbeats, and Rebay asks the first chords of each measure to be arpeggiated, which gives them a slight emphasis. The melodic motif is developed for 28 bars throughout the whole Section A, although this three-voice texture is only seen in the first three bars. One cannot say that the guitar has a proper bass line, since it is working in its middle-high register in closed triadic configurations. Finally, unlike the martial character observed in the former case study's theme, here the theme has a pastoral tone, supported by long phrases, softer dynamics and a legato quality which is clearly notated in the oboe's part.

When the theme returns in Section A', it does so in the key of E. This is a major third higher than the original key, requiring fingering in higher positions of the fingerboard and being technically more difficult than before. The same harmonic design is observed, however, as well as the crossed-out notes in the guitar line (Example 6.11).

Example 6.11. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 49-56).

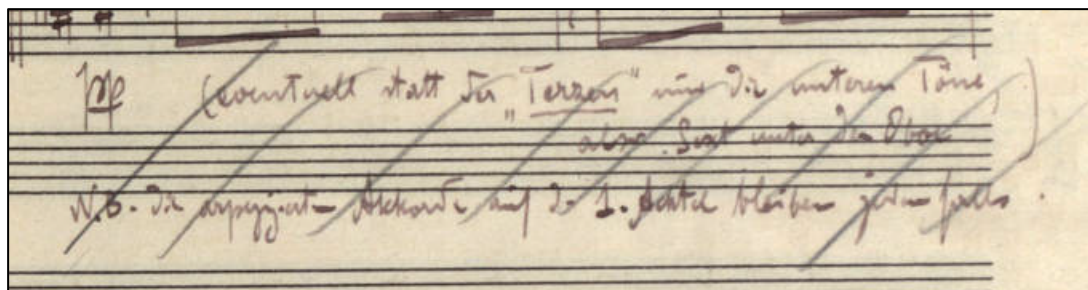


The issue involved in these two excerpts reveals itself clearly at first reading and fingering attempts. Once more, I propose a cohesive ensemble approach, which means that when the guitar and oboe present the same type of material in parallel, they should employ a similar articulation pattern. This considered, it is extremely difficult to convey the necessary legato quality in the guitar part. The problem starts with the arpeggiated downbeat chords. With a couple of exceptions, they demand an initial fixed position which should then be immediately freed to play the back-and-forth thirds; this naturally creates an articulation, separating the chord from the remaining of the bar. In addition, the pattern of back-and-forth thirds is highly complex for the left hand because it employs all of the four fingers without the possibility of using guide fingers efficiently, generating successive short-distance shifts and constant fingering changes. This tends to cause involuntary and heterogeneous articulation, thus breaking the desired legato quality, which in this theme is both an expressive and structural element. Furthermore, while ascending or descending scales in thirds in just one direction (up or down the fingerboard) may be done rather fast on the guitar, in this case the back-and-forth motion imposes a slower tempo, potentially compromising the *Allegretto grazioso* indication.

The solution proposed by Hammerschmid involved suppressing the top notes of the thirds and having the guitar play a single-line melody after the arpeggiated chord, thus releasing the left hand from constant shifting. It may be also understood through the

prescriptive note written by Rebay under bb. 51-52 and later crossed out, as seen in Example 6.12.

Example 6.12. Prescriptive note in the autograph score of the Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 51-52).



The note reads: “Possibly instead of ‘thirds’ only the lower voice, therefore sixths under the oboe. Note: the arpeggiated chords on the first beats [should be] kept each time”.³⁶ A little later, Rebay writes above b. 54 that the thirds should be mandatory from then on.

Example 6.13 shows the modified excerpt from Section A’, as reflected in the manuscript guitar part.

Example 6.13. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay’s Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 51-54).



As a consequence of the top voice suppression, the whole passage became a simple melodic line and could be fingered in a comfortable way. It makes it easy to keep a convincing legato and with some fingering expertise it is also not necessary to immediately shift from the downbeat chords to the ensuing quavers, thus closely matching the phrasing slurs written by Rebay in the oboe part.

³⁶ “Eventuell statt der ‚Terzen‘ nur die unteren Töne. Die arpeggierten Akkorde auf der 1. Achtel bleiben jedenfalls”.

While Hammerschmid offered an idiomatic solution to the issue, overcoming a technical difficulty and affording a more natural employment of legato, the original three-voice texture devised by Rebay was simply abolished. One no longer hears a chordal structure, just parallel sixths. Although it is only possible to speculate about what Rebay discussed with Hammerschmid, it may be that he was not entirely satisfied with the solution. In his prescriptive note, he wrote “*Possibly* instead of thirds...”, suggesting that simplifying the texture should only be considered as an alternative, and only in Section A’. In addition, the prescriptive note was later crossed out (either by Rebay or Hammerschmid), which could mean either that the modification was approved—and therefore the prescriptive note was not necessary anymore—or that Rebay changed his mind and no longer wanted to offer that alternative. A further analysis of the respective first three bars in Sections A’’ and A’’’ of the rondo reveals even more uncertainty about the collaborative outcomes.

When Section A’’ is presented, it appears in a shortened version which only lasts 18 bars. Nevertheless, the first three bars have the same configuration as previously seen, in the same key of C of Section A (Example 6.14). The main difference is that here the guitar has a pedal of [g] in the lower voice, instead of the former [c’].

Example 6.14. Autograph score of Rebay’s Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 109-112).



The rationale used in the previous sections would lead to suppressing the top notes of the thirds in this passage as well. However, here Hammerschmid showed no desire to alter Rebay’s original writing. The obvious reason is that the open [g] in the bass line changes the whole guitaristic context from a technical point of view. Because it is an open string, it allows the guitarist to use all of the left-hand fingers to deal with the thirds, and an effective fingering afforded by a more relaxed left hand can easily avoid the back-and-forth shifting, or at least minimize its influence in the articulation. Faced with this dilemma, Hammerschmid might have preferred to preserve Rebay’s original writing, even if it contradicted what she had proposed earlier in similar passages. It seems a reasonable decision and could have been backed up by

Rebay, who possibly preferred to preserve the original texture, although accepting a simplification when it would be technically impracticable. However plausible, the annotations in Section A''' challenge this idea.

In the last appearance of the main theme, the internal voicing in the guitar part is slightly changed. The guitar plays parallel sixths instead of thirds, and the downbeat basses are dropped one octave (Example 6.15). Possibly, Rebay's idea was to have the theme more harmonically grounded in its last appearance, with notes spread more widely apart and a bass line that is actually part of the bass register of the guitar.

Example 6.15. Autograph score of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 148-156).

The annotations show that an attempt to standardize the texture was made by deleting notes and having the guitar play a single line at an interval of sixth from the oboe's, instead of keeping the original chordal texture.³⁷ Like in the previous instances, after three bars the guitar's original writing was kept intact, however. The fact is that, just like the previous excerpt—but for different reasons— this one is entirely playable as it is. Partially because sixths employ more open fingering patterns than thirds and also because this passage can be fingered in the first positions of the fingerboard, almost no shifting would be necessary, and

³⁷ Notice that, unlike the single crossing-out of before, here the notes are x-crossed. This could mean that the crossings were done at a later stage or even not by the same person.

Rebay's original writing would sound extremely full on the instrument. Therefore, if the interventions in Sections A and A' are fully justifiable from a technical point of view, the absence of interventions in Section A'' and their absolute non-necessity in Section A''' make it impossible to find an all-encompassing reason for performer intervention. It seems that Hammerschmid's reasons were purely technical and localized, with no concern for keeping a textural logic throughout the movement. While this is acceptable, it can also be questioned, particularly if we understand that Rebay would have preferred to keep the original texture when it was possible to do so.

Ultimately, the manuscript guitar part suggests that Hammerschmid was never entirely convinced about the realization of some passages. Unlike the excerpt of the Sonata in E minor for Oboe and Guitar analysed above, whose manuscript guitar part clearly proposes a definitive version, the guitar part of this sonata has annotations in the first and last movement which imply that some score-based issues were still awaiting a final decision. Regarding the issue that is being discussed in this case study, it is possible to verify in bb. 1-3 of the manuscript guitar part that the original top notes are lightly marked in pencil, possibly because she (or Emilie Rebay, the copyist) was still unsure of Rebay's approval of the proposed modifications (Example 5.16).

Example 6.16. Manuscript guitar part of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 1-5).



Furthermore, the fact that the manuscript guitar part is not fingered and there are no records of this piece being performed during Rebay's lifetime may corroborate the hypothesis that it was considered too problematic in certain passages. If this is indeed the case, an informed "posthumous collaboration" is fully justified.

Taking into consideration the great difficulty of the first bars in Sections A and A', my instinct while learning the piece was to adopt Hammerschmid's modifications and suppress the top notes of the thirds. On second thoughts, however, I decided to challenge myself and

find a way to perform as Rebay originally conceived them because of the major texture changes that eliminating the top voice brings forth. In the process of overcoming technical difficulties, I devised an approach which enabled me to play the back-and-forth thirds in Section A without having to constantly shift positions, thus fully preserving Rebay's original idea. My fingering for the passage is shown in Example 6.17.

Example 6.17. Excerpt of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 1-4), in revised version with fingering.

Allegretto grazioso

Oboe

Guitar

Audio 10

My approach involved keeping the same fingerboard position in each bar and substituting the constant shifting by extending and contracting the left-hand fingers in relation to the thumb, which can only be realized with a very relaxed and flexible wrist. In other words, I shift position without changing the hand position, which minimizes the influence of shifting in generating involuntary articulation. As can be seen in the fingering, guide-fingers were forced in, in order to facilitate legato. Although not exactly an unorthodox practice, the procedure was counterintuitive and clumsy at first, greatly benefiting from prolonged practice.

If in Section A of the rondo an ingenious fingering and practice perseverance enabled me to fully realize Rebay's original idea, the equivalent passage in Section A' required minor interventions in specific spots, mainly due to the higher positions in the fingerboard. These are enclosed in brackets in Example 6.18.

Example 6.18. Excerpt of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 51-54) in Urtext and revised version with fingering.

Ob. 51 *a tempo* (Haupt Zeitmaß) (eher etwas ruhiger)
sehr zart und duftig

Gtr. *p*

Ob. 51 *a tempo* (Haupt Zeitmaß) (eher etwas ruhiger)
sehr zart und duftig

Gtr. *p*



Audio 11

With the modifications, it was possible to keep most of the passage's texture intact. On three occasions, a note was suppressed in order to facilitate shifts. However, with an appropriate phrasing and balance distribution among the internal voices, these suppressions are barely audible.

Although not originally identified by Hammerschmid, the *quasi "Solo"* passage that follows the first phrase in Section A deserves a brief mention because it reproduces the former texture, now scored for guitar solo. The instances that demanded intervention are enclosed by brackets in Example 6.19.

Example 6.19. Excerpt of Rebay's Sonata in C for Oboe and Guitar (M4, bb. 5-8) in Urtext and revised version with fingering.

The passage accommodates the same rationale illustrated in the former example. Playing the full chords as written implies in a fingering that compromises legato. My approach was to preserve Rebay's original chordal texture, while suppressing a few notes in order to facilitate fingering. Again, these are barely audible in performance.

One clear disadvantage of preserving the thicker texture originally imagined by Rebay is that it becomes impossible to play Section A and its recurring versions too fast. As heard in the former audio examples, my tempo ranges from 72 to 80 for the dotted crotchet, which is acceptable for an *Allegretto grazioso* and retains the theme's pastoral character. Gonzalo Noqué adopts most of Hammerschmid's suggestions and also significantly simplifies the texture in other difficult passages of the movement.³⁸ This allows him to play the piece much faster: ca. 92 for the dotted crotchet. Gabriel Bianco follows the same approach and plays the piece even faster.³⁹ Although I recognize the fluency that texture simplification allows, I consider that a faster rendition compromises the main theme's character. Furthermore, as

³⁸ Noqué and Sanchez, *Ferdinand Rebay : Oboe and Guitar Music (Complete)*.

³⁹ Gabriel Bianco and Michaela Hrabankova, *Divertissements*, Ad Vitam Records 170115, 2017, Audio CD.

their recordings show, the faster tempo adopted in Section A is impossible to keep in Section B, in spite of no indication for slowing down exists from Rebay.⁴⁰

Unlike the former case study, this one illustrated a situation in which my choice was not to acknowledge the interventions of Rebay's collaborator, because of the scope of their textural implications. Instead, I prioritized the original writing, overcoming the technical difficulties through creative fingering and persevering in practice.

6.8.3 CASE STUDY NO. 3 (GRAND DUO IN A MINOR FOR TWO GUITARS)⁴¹

Unlike the former two case studies, this one approaches the realization of a whole piece instead of focusing on problematic excerpts. This is justified by the fact that the Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars presents a clear performance limitation for modern guitarists, imposed by Rebay's original instrumentation. Before raising the issues involved in its performance and detailing the methodology to overcome them, it is important to situate the piece in the repertoire, explain what makes it unique and why it deserves a modern revival.

The original repertoire for guitar duo prior to the mid-twentieth century is considerably limited. Although a wealth of pieces by nineteenth- and early-twentieth century guitarist-composers exist, its greater part remains in the student or amateur sphere, awakening little concert interest. Just as with Segovia in the domain of solo guitar, the urge for non-guitarist composers to write for guitar duo (as well as other types of guitar ensembles) only came after top-tier ensembles started to shine in the mainstream concert scene. Considering the scope of their international career, the Duo Presti-Lagoya (active 1950-1967) can be considered a pioneer. Among the non-guitarist composers who wrote for them are Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, André Jolivet and Pierre Petit. They paved the way for other landmark ensembles such as the Duo Abreu and the Duo Assad—both formed by siblings—as

⁴⁰ In Section B, Rebay indicates *a tempo* and *leicht bewegt, zierlich* (lightly moved, delicate); therefore, not necessarily slower than the former *Allegretto grazioso*.

⁴¹ This case study is adapted from a lecture-recital presented at the 1st International Conference on Artistic Research in Performance at the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester in June 2018 and at the 3rd Festival Conference of Music Performance and Artistic Research "Doctors in Performance" at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre in Vilnius in September 2018.

well as many guitar duos from newer generations such as the SoloDuo, which is significant in the context of this research for their performances of Rebay's music.

Nevertheless, a glimpse at these duos' repertoire reveals that it relies much more on arrangements than original music. And within the original music, most of it is made of works written by guitarist-composers, either modern or from the past. The reason for this has certainly to do with the expertise that writing for this kind of ensemble requires, but also to the fact that at least since Llobet and Anido, guitarists seem to steadily seek access to significant works of the universal literature which would not be manageable for solo guitar but can be expertly accommodated for two instruments.⁴² This includes genres rooted in the Austro-German tradition, particularly the Classical and Romantic sonata. Recent examples are two editions released by the Canadian publisher Les Productions d'Oz with the SoloDuo arrangements of Mozart's Piano Sonata No. 11 in A, K. 331 and Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 14 in C# minor, Op. 27 No. 2.⁴³

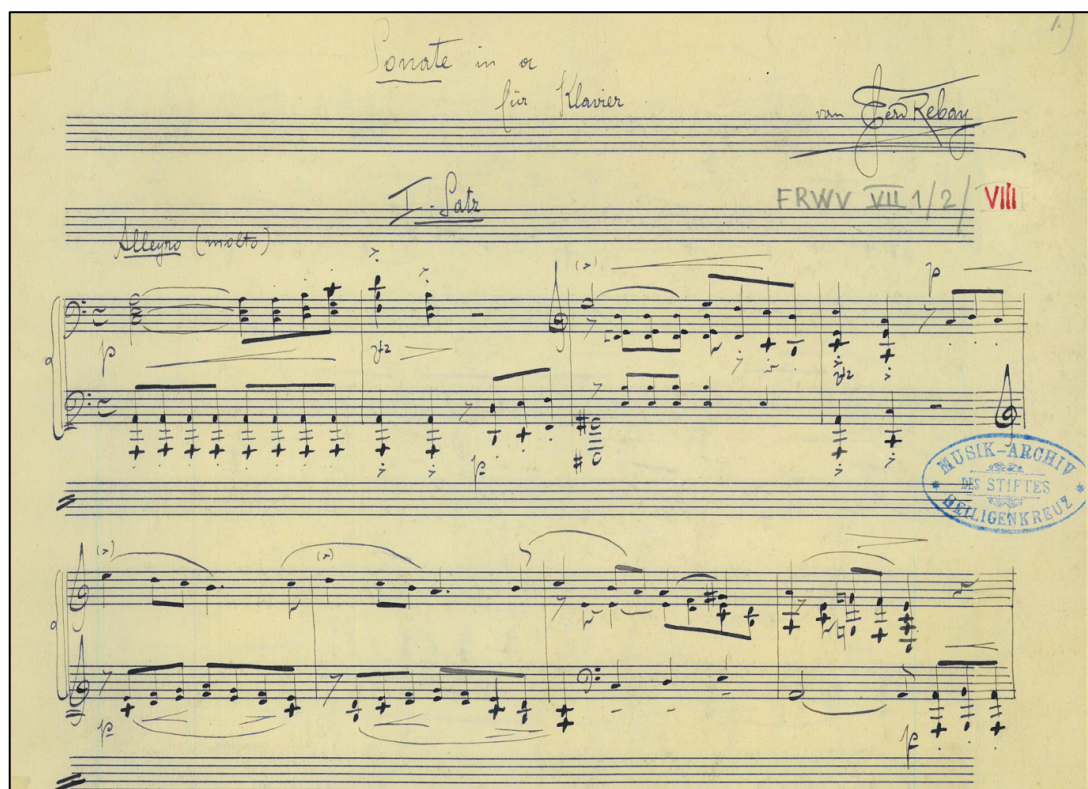
Within this context, Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars stands out as a rare exemplar of an extended Romantic sonata, deeply rooted in the Austro-German tradition and originally composed for guitar duo. As with the other sonatas approached in this thesis, the stylistic placement is justified, in spite of it having been written in as late as 1940. This is further reinforced by the fact that the outer movements are Rebay's own arrangements of a youthful piano sonata from 1902, when he was still a student of Fuchs at the Wiener Akademie and deeply immersed in its conservative Brahmsian environment.⁴⁴ Examples 6.20 and 6.21 show the first bars of the piano sonata in a 1944 revision by Rebay himself, and the same bars of his 1940 arrangement for guitar duo.

⁴² Earlier examples of such practice include guitar duo arrangements of Haydn's music by Carulli and François de Fossa (1775-1849).

⁴³ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Sonata in A, KV. 331", ed. Giampaolo Bandini, Lorenzo Micheli, and Matteo Mela, SoloDuo Collection (Lévis: Les Productions d'Oz, 2016); Ludwig van Beethoven, "Sonata quasi una fantasia, Op. 27, No. 2", ed. Lorenzo Micheli and Matteo Mela, SoloDuo Collection (Lévis: Les Productions d'Oz, 2015).

⁴⁴ As reported earlier, another youthful sonata, the Piano Sonata in D minor (1901), was also arranged by him as the *Sonate in einem Satz* for solo guitar.

Example 6.20. Autograph score of Rebay's Piano Sonata in Am (M1, bb. 1-8).

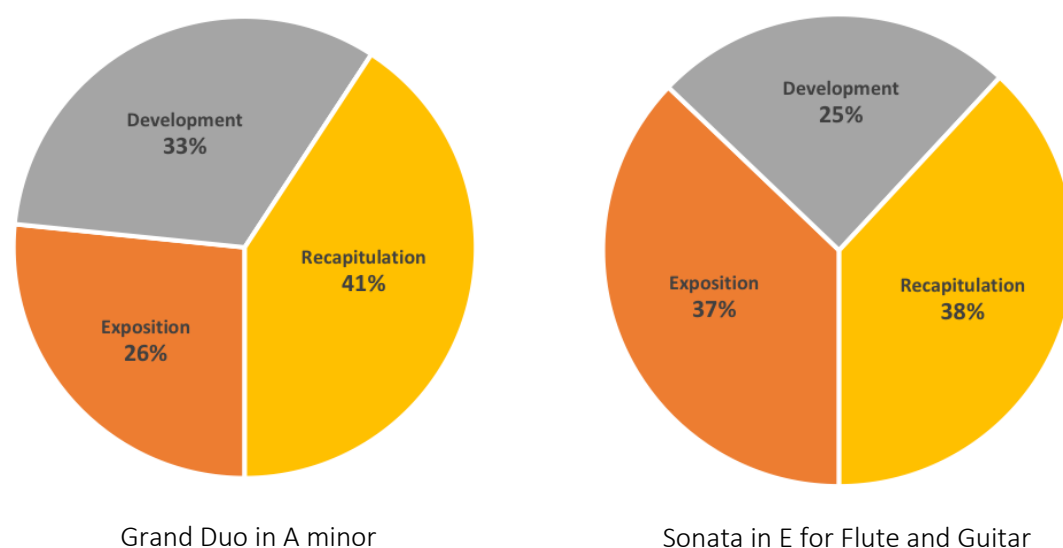


Example 6.21. Autograph score of Rebay's Grand Duo in Am for Two Guitars (M1, bb. 1-8).

The Grand Duo is structured in three movements. While the outer movements derive from his earlier piano sonata, the middle one is originally conceived for two guitars, being a set of variations on Schubert's lied "Morgengruß" (*Die schöne Müllerin*, D. 795). Considering the scarcity of original Romantic sonata-form guitar works as discussed in Chapter 3, the piece

offers a substantial addition to the repertoire, as both the first and the third movements are extended sonata-form examples. In addition, they show a tonal language and structural design which are considerably more adventurous than most of Rebay's later sonatas from the 1940s. This is immediately recognizable by their length: the first movement of the Grand Duo, for example, is 231 bars long, in comparison to the average 140 bars of the first movements of the sonatas for woodwinds and guitar. The internal distribution and treatment of material is also distinct, as observed in Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5. First-movement structures in Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars and the Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar.



When compared with the Sonata in E for Flute and Guitar, the Grand Duo shows less symmetry between exposition and recapitulation, which, as seen in Chapter 3, is one of the stylistic signatures of Rebay's later sonatas.⁴⁵ This may be explained by variations in transition materials and the presence of an extended episode in the recapitulation, based on first-theme material. It also presents an unusually long development which even exceeds the exposition's length, a feature rarely seen in Rebay's later works. This turns out to be a fertile ground for motivic development as well as the exploration of the guitar's potential to handle modulations, an aspect which had been already highlighted by him in his 1926 article.

Considering the Grand Duo's uniqueness, it is surprising to realize how little the piece has been performed since the rediscovery of Rebay's guitar music in the early 2000s. At the

⁴⁵ See pp. 130-32.

time of writing, I know of only three guitar duos publicly performing it: the SoloDuo, the Z.o.o. Guitar Duo and my own ensemble, the NOVA Guitar Duo. Apart from the fact that it was first published in 2017, the reason for its lack of popularity surely lies in its original instrumentation: the piece is scored for a regular guitar and a quintbass guitar (*Quintbass Gitarre*), a near obsolete instrument which was nevertheless popular in German-speaking countries during Rebay's time. The instrument is seen in the instrumentation of the Münchner Gitarre-Quartett, of which Heinrich Albert was a member (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6. The Münchner Gitarre-Quartett in 1912: Heinrich Albert, Fritz Buek, Hermann Rensch and Karl Kern (Source: *Gitarre-Archiv Österreich*).



A quintbass guitar is seen with Hermann Rensch, the third player from the left. In an article about the Münchner Gitarre-Quartett written in 1912, Lusch Riegler shed light on the origins of this instrument. His description of the quartet's search for the ideal ensemble instrumentation is worth quoting in its entirety, given its historical significance.

Initially they played with the four usual instruments, the regular guitars, tuned the same way. However, the sound was too uniform and could not satisfy a musical ear. Next, they assigned for the first and second voices the so-called *terz guitar*, which is tuned a minor third higher and has a shorter fingerboard than the regular guitar. The result was very favourable, however a solution for the bass voice had still not been found. The first attempt was to use the so-called *Schrammelgitarre* with seven added open [free-ringing] basses, but the clash of bass sounds did not fit their kind of ensemble playing. Finally, Dr Rensch

instructed Munich-based instrument maker F. Halbmeier to build a new instrument, the *Quinto-Basso-Gitarre*, which has a slightly larger shape, tuned a fifth lower than the regular guitar and above all has the greatest and new advantage of having the bass notes stopped in the fingerboard; therefore, every note's length can be controlled. With this instrument, the most difficult issue in the quartet's instrumentation was solved and in the best way.⁴⁶

Therefore, unlike the *terz* guitar which existed since the early nineteenth century—Giuliani and Mertz wrote extensively for it—as well as the several extended-range guitars that were used by Carulli, Mertz, Coste or Regondi, the quintbass guitar was a new instrument created around 1910 and designed in response to the Münchner Gitarre-Quartett needs. Its use was not restricted to this ensemble, however, since Albert mentioned that the quintbass guitar was frequently employed in trios, quartets and guitar ensembles.⁴⁷

According to Albert, the quintbass guitar was slightly larger than the regular guitar, with a string length of 70cm, as opposed to the average 65cm of the latter.⁴⁸ Its tuning followed the same intervallic relationship as the regular guitar, but a fifth lower (Figure 6.7). Occasionally it could have a seventh string, unstopped and running parallel to the fingerboard.

⁴⁶ “Zuerst wurde mit vier gewöhnlichen Instrumenten, Primgitarren, in gleicher Stimmung gespielt. Die erzielten Tonwirkungen waren jedoch zu einförmig und konnten ein musikalisches Ohr nicht befriedigen. Der nächste Versuch brachte für die erste und zweite Stimme die Verwendung von sogenannten Terzgitarren, die um eine kleine Terz höher gestimmt sind und ein enger geteiltes Griffbrett als die Primgitarren haben. Das klangliche Ergebnis war sehr günstig, dagegen mußte noch eine Lösung für die Baßstimme gefunden werden. Die hier zunächst gebrauchte Gitarre, eine sogenannte Schrammelgitarre mit sieben freischwebenden Baßsaiten, eignete sich wegen des starken Ineinanderklings der Baßtöne nicht für diese Art des Zusammenspiels. Da ließ Dr. Rensch bei dem Münchner Instrumentenmacher F. Halbmeier nach eigenen Angaben ein neues Instrument, die Quint-Basso-Gitarre, bauen, die in der Form etwas größer, um eine Quinte tiefer gestimmt als die Primgitarre ist und vor allem den großen und ganz neuen Vorzug hat, daß alle Baßnoten gegriffen und dadurch in jeder vorgezeichneten Tonlänge erzeugt werden können. Mit diesem Instrument war die schwierige Frage der instrumentalen Besetzung des Quartetts endgültig und in der besten Weise erledigt”. Lusch Riegler, “Das Münchner Gitarre-Quartett”, *Die Musik : Halbmonatsschrift mit Bildern und Noten* 4, no. 20 (1912/1913): 100.

⁴⁷ Albert, “Gitarre-Solospiel-Studien”, 3, 7. Albert calls the instrument “*Quintbasso Gitarre*”.

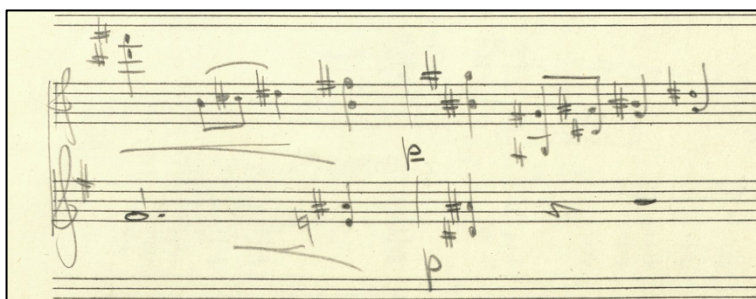
⁴⁸ Ibid.

Figure 6.7. Tunings and ranges of the regular guitar and the quintbass guitar.



Furthermore, the quintbass guitar was a transposing instrument, sounding a fifth below than written, as can be deduced from the different key signatures used by Rebay in the *Grand Duo* (Example 6.22). The idea was that any player who mastered the regular guitar could potentially read music for the quintbass guitar without worrying about transposition and fingering changes (which is also true for the *terz guitar*).

Example 6.22. Detail of the autograph score of Rebay's *Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars*, showing different key signatures in the two staves.



Rebay's writing in the *Grand Duo* makes idiomatic use of the quintbass guitar's bass register. However, the fact that this instrument is today only used by a few players interested in reviving its practice makes the piece inaccessible to most guitar duos, which as a rule use two regular guitars. Therefore, even after its first publication by Bergmann in 2017, it remains out of reach of most modern audiences.⁴⁹ Transposing the piece a fifth above would enable the bass part to be played on a regular instrument but would also make the treble part excessively high, besides losing the depth provided by the lower range. At the time of writing, the only commercial recording of the piece is with the SoloDuo.⁵⁰ While they use Rebay's original instrumentation—and for this reason the recording is of great historical interest—performing

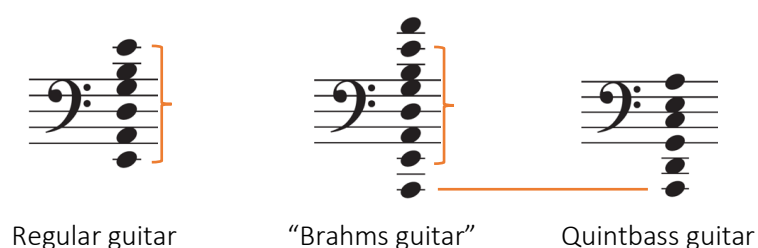
⁴⁹ Ferdinand Rebay, "Großes Duo für Prim Gitarre und Quintbass Gitarre", ed. Milena Valcheva (Kalundborg: Bergmann Edition, 2017).

⁵⁰ SoloDuo, *Ferdinand Rebay : Guitar Sonatas*, Stradivarius STR33859, 2010, Audio CD.

the piece in concert necessarily implies in traveling with three guitars, since they do not adopt the quintbass guitar in other pieces of their repertoire.

The NOVA Guitar Duo uses an extended range, eight-string guitar, in addition to the regular six-string instrument. This guitar was invented in the 1990s by the Scottish guitarist Paul Galbraith in collaboration with English maker David Rubio, and it stretches the guitar range at both the treble and bass ends.⁵¹ The instrument is known in the guitaristic circles as the “Brahms guitar”, after Galbraith’s arrangement of Brahms’s Variations on an Original Theme in D, Op. 21 No. 1. It has gradually gained popularity, and is employed today by a few soloists and ensembles such as the Brazilian Guitar Quartet and the Dublin Guitar Quartet. Figure 6.8 shows the tuning of the “Brahms guitar” next to that of the regular guitar and the quintbass guitar.

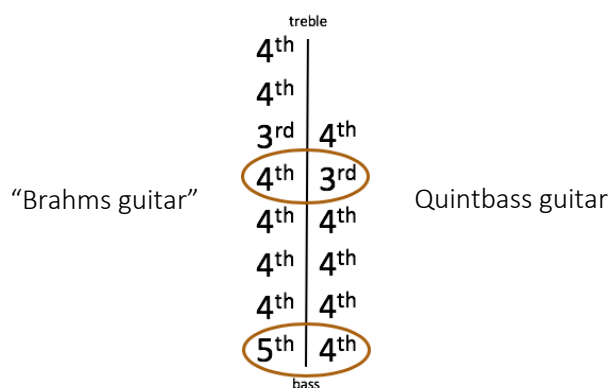
Figure 6.8. Tunings of the regular guitar, “Brahms guitar” and quintbass guitar.



As indicated by the braces, the inner strings of the “Brahms guitar” are tuned exactly like those of the regular guitar, with an extra high string tuned to [a'] and an extra lower string usually tuned to [A'] (the same tuning of the quintbass guitar’s lowest string). Therefore, by using the “Brahms guitar” the issue of range in the Grand Duo would be solved. However, as Figure 6.9 shows, the different string intervallic relationship between the two instruments remains an issue.

⁵¹ Paul Galbraith, “Biography”, accessed 9 October 2018, <http://paul-galbraith.com/bio>.

Figure 6.9. Comparison of the intervallic relationship between the “Brahms guitar” and the quintbass guitar.



While it is still possible to attempt a realization, the different intervallic relationship leads to awkward fingering in chordal patterns and even a few unplayable chords. A possible solution would be to retune all but the lowest string, therefore achieving the exact tuning of the quintbass guitar. This way, it would even be possible to read from Rebay’s autograph score without any modifications. However, this would be impractical for concert situations because it would demand extensive retuning between the other pieces of the programme. Additionally, by tuning the strings a whole step down they would become too loose, potentially affecting volume and tone colour, besides being prone to excess buzzing in louder passages.

A more natural solution came by attempting to reach the same intervallic relationship of the quintbass guitar with the least retuning possible; therefore, not in absolute but in relative terms. This was achieved by a simple *scordatura*: raising the lowest string a whole step to [B'] and lowering the third string a half step to [f#], as illustrated in Figures 6.10 and 6.11.

Figure 6.10. Tunings of the “Brahms guitar” (after *scordatura*) and the quintbass guitar.

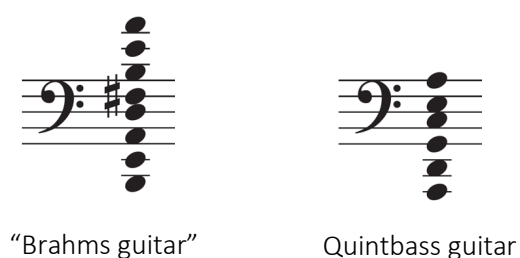
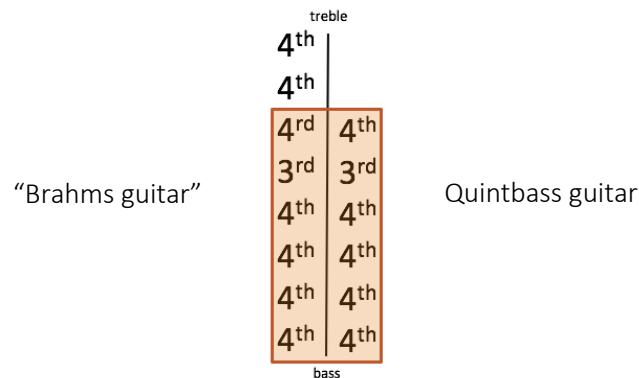


Figure 6.11. Comparison of the intervallic relationship between the “Brahms guitar” (after *scordatura*) and the quintbass guitar.



The next step was to adapt the music to the new tuning, which was done by transposing the whole piece up a major second. This way, it was possible to emulate the exact fingering patterns of the quintbass guitar in the original keys, and the piece did not lose its intrinsic idiomatic quality. These are fairly usual *scordatura* patterns, since the lowest string of the “Brahms guitar” is often retuned according to key demands and tuning the third string to [f#] is a common procedure for any guitarist who ever approached Renaissance repertoire for lute or vihuela. The fact that the regular guitar part was also transposed a whole step higher could potentially lead to playability issues. However, the new keys of Bm, D and B fit the fingerboard quite well and the need for compromises is very small, as long as the sixth string is tuned to D, also a well-known *scordatura*.⁵²

Once the problems of range and playability were solved, the piece could then be performed in its new keys. However, as it was originally written for instruments tuned a fifth apart (akin to a violin and a viola), the ranges were always very defined and the quintbass guitar remained at what would be the normal range of the pianist’s left hand in Rebay’s original piano sonata. Given the fact that the “Brahms guitar” still counts with two extra high strings when compared to the quintbass guitar, there would be little reason for not having it performing in the higher registers as well. Therefore, I decided to have a more conversational approach for the piece.

⁵² Although the key of B is traditionally not considered very idiomatic for solo playing, it is perfectly acceptable within ensemble music, because in it the guitar is not playing full-textured lines constantly.

In fact, a branch of the original nineteenth-century guitar-duo repertoire has no obvious hierarchy between parts, with both instruments continuously exchanging melodic material at the same octave. This is seen in the guitar duos by Carulli and Darr, which, as mentioned in Chapter 1, were highly popular in the amateur environments of the guitar clubs. A conversational texture is also seen in nineteenth-century domestic chamber repertoire, as explored in Chapter 3.⁵³ All of this considered, I felt it legitimate to apply the same idea to Rebay's piece. The procedure worked particularly well in passages that feature repetitions of melodic material, such as in the second theme of the first movement (Examples 6.23 and 6.24).

Example 6.23. Autograph score of Rebay's *Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars* (M1, bb. 25-40).

The image displays a handwritten musical score for two guitars. It is divided into two main systems. The first system, covering measures 25 to 30, includes a first ending bracketed in red and labeled 'I.'. The second system, covering measures 31 to 40, includes a second ending bracketed in red and labeled 'II.'. The notation is written in A minor, featuring various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f'. The score is written on two staves per system, with the right hand on the top staff and the left hand on the bottom staff.

⁵³ See pp. 114-15.

Example 6.24. Revised version of Rebay's Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars, after redistribution of melodic material (M1, bb. 25-40).

The musical score is presented in four systems, each for two guitars (Gtr. 1 and Gtr. 2) in A minor (two sharps). The key signature is A minor (two sharps). The score includes measures 25-28, 29-32, 33-36, and 37-40. The first system (measures 25-28) features a melodic line in Gtr. 1 and a supporting line in Gtr. 2, with a first ending bracketed in measures 27-28. The second system (measures 29-32) shows a more active melodic line in Gtr. 1 and a rhythmic accompaniment in Gtr. 2. The third system (measures 33-36) includes a second ending bracketed in measures 35-36. The fourth system (measures 37-40) continues the melodic and accompanimental patterns. Dynamics include *mf*, *f*, *p*, and *pp*.

In this passage, Rebay repeats the melody almost note by note, both times played by the first guitar. Given the pitch range of the accompaniment, there was no difficulty in swapping parts, a procedure that was repeated accordingly in the development and recapitulation, as well as

in similar passages in the other movements. This way, the piece gained more melodic balance among the two instruments, becoming even more interesting to performers and audiences, who may enjoy a frequent exchange of roles instead of a rigid hierarchically-distributed texture which focuses on the first guitar. Additionally, a few modifications were made by splitting the material between the two guitars when Rebay's original writing overloaded just one of the instruments.

Considering that Rebay's autograph of the Grand Duo is a draft and the piece was likely never revised or performed during his lifetime, my "posthumous collaboration" to bring the piece to life is well justified.⁵⁴ In short, it involved devising a *scordatura* pattern which allowed me to emulate the quintbass guitar tuning, transposing the whole piece a step higher, and rebalancing melodic material in order to better explore the NOVA Guitar Duo's potential.⁵⁵ While the solution worked perfectly well in my own artistic context, the fact that it proposes substituting an obsolete instrument for one which is equally not widely available may be criticized, since the piece's performance potential continued to be restricted because of its instrumentation. However, the issue is minimized once it is understood that the solution can also work on a seven-string guitar (as long as its seventh string is tuned to [B'] and the third string is tuned to [f#]). This is a fairly common variant of the regular guitar and many modern ensembles already employ it while seeking to expand the bass register. In the event of preparing a future edition of the piece, I would certainly not aim for the rarer "Brahms guitar" but adapt it to a regular guitar and a seven-string guitar, thus potentially reaching a larger audience.

6.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter elaborated on the needs and outcomes of collaboration between composers and guitarists, with a focus on the collaborative activity during the creative process of Rebay's selected sonatas, as gathered from the analysis of the annotations in the autograph scores and the "definitive text" of the manuscript guitar parts. However, instead of simply accepting the solutions to score-based issues that were proposed by Rebay's collaborators, I engaged in my own revision of Rebay's original ideas, thus establishing what I have called a "posthumous

⁵⁴ See pp. 153-55.

⁵⁵ A live performance of the Grand Duo's third movement can be heard at http://youtu.be/9-2JHkW_UvI.

collaboration” with the composer and his guitarists. The investigation led to diverse results, sometimes acknowledging the solutions achieved in the original collaborative process and sometimes disagreeing with them and proposing alternatives. Both possibilities were backed up by my own artistic activity, illustrated in the chapter through audio examples. A further collaborative step was taken by completely recasting Rebay’s Grand Duo in A minor for Two Guitars to fit my own ensemble’s instrumentation, thus allowing a piece whose performance is severely restricted because of its original instrumentation to come to life in concerts and recordings.

After the experience gained by extensively performing and investigating Rebay’s guitar music, my approach to dealing with score-based issues starts by asking the following question: “Considering Rebay’s style and the musical context, what do I gain by intervening in the text and what do I lose?”. Answering this honestly requires a time-consuming observation of the issue from various angles, with instrument on hand and accurate feedback ears. Advantages and disadvantages are then weighed against each other, taking in consideration stylistic and technical parameters. The case studies presented in this chapter, although restricted to only three works by Rebay, illustrate different approaches that can be applied elsewhere. They require not only an advanced technical proficiency, but also the expanded stylistic and technical mindsets for performing Rebay’s guitar music proposed in Chapter 5.

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed at answering two main research questions: “What is the place of Rebay’s chamber sonatas in the repertoire?” and “What preparations are necessary in order to play Rebay’s guitar music?”. In Part 1, I demonstrated that, by the turn of the twentieth century, the “artistic guitar playing” in German-speaking territories was mostly restricted to amateur guitar-club environments, which also shaped the repertoire choices. My investigation revealed a prevalence of didactic music, *Volkslieder* with easy guitar accompaniment, and miniatures in salon- and folk-style written by guitarist-composers. Together with transcriptions and arrangements of short works from the universal literature, this repertoire also made the bulk of guitar concert programmes, and progressive guitarists like Albert saw it as inappropriate to educated concert-hall audiences. Rebay’s music came as a reaction to this establishment. He was one of the first non-guitarist composers to write regularly for the guitar, starting in 1924, and he took advantage of the Wiener Akademie’s collective environment by writing a massive amount of chamber music. This contrasted with the solo repertoire privileged by leading guitarists of the time such as Llobet and Segovia, and fostered a typically Viennese branch of the “twentieth-century guitar renaissance”.

Rebay chose the sonata for most of his sophisticated guitar works, a genre which had since the mid-nineteenth century been synonym to craftsmanship, prestige and seriousness—exactly what was lacking in the repertoire of the guitar clubs. His more than 30 sonatas or sonata-structured works are unequalled in number among non-guitarist composers. Despite having initially been compared to Brahms, Rebay’s melodically-oriented style may have more in common with that of his former teacher, Robert Fuchs. I also found many structural similarities between Rebay’s sonatas and the type of nineteenth-century domestic chamber music which privileged melodic- over motivic-writing, resulting in conversational sonata-form movements with longer outer sections and shorter developments. Rebay’s anachronistic idiom was not unanimously praised both in his time and today, having been described by a contemporary critic as the “*Kabinetttstücke der Kammermusik und Hausmusik*”. Nevertheless, it unquestionably fills a gap in the repertoire, establishing a bridge between the curtailed early-nineteenth century guitar sonata and the post-Beethovenian sonata. It gives the guitarist an opportunity to interact with a genre and form virtually unavailable otherwise, fully anchored in the Austro-German Romantic mainstream tradition. Besides, his chamber music writing is also innovative, freeing the guitar from its former typical accompaniment roles and employing it melodically in a true concertante-style, including full thematic presentations.

Part 2 dealt with practical issues, often under a first-person's perspective. It required an acknowledgement of the distance that separates us from the practice of Rebay's guitarists—such as Hammerschmid and Walker—and how this compromises the understanding and realization of his notation. Faced with the lack of a continuous performance tradition and scarce direct stylistic references, I looked for answers in theoretical sources, methods and treatises (both guitar and otherwise), past and contemporary repertoire, and early guitar recordings. In addition, working with manuscripts provided the only direct link to “historically-informed” sources: Rebay's own meticulous notation and Hammerschmid's fingerings. My process of reconnecting to Rebay's world involved conceiving an extended stylistic and technical mindset, experimenting with Romantic performing traits and critiquing the results. The elements approached were accentuation, phrasing and articulation, dislocation and arpeggiation, vibrato, portamento and rubato; these were first contextualized and then carried out in my practice of Rebay's selected sonatas. Later, when faced with the technical difficulties of realizing some of Rebay's notation, I was prompted to engage in a “posthumous collaboration” in which I learned from Hammerschmid's interventions but also proposed my own modernized solutions to score-based issues. The process culminated with a complete rescoring of Rebay's *Grand Duo in A Minor for Two Guitars*, a piece that, once restricted by its original instrumentation, could be brought to life in concerts and recordings through my interventions in Rebay's text.

A few aspects of this thesis deserve highlighting, in face of the current lack of related scholarship. Chapter 1 is possibly the first instance in which the activities of the Austro-German guitar clubs are approached at depth in the English language. Although my investigation about them was restricted to the important facts for situating Rebay's music, it introduced a fascinating but rather unacknowledged period of guitar history. Until now, the only widely available biographical source about Rebay had been Gaitzsch's 2006 article. With my investigation in Chapter 2, I was able to provide a much wider picture of Rebay's career and his involvement with the Viennese guitar circles, thus preparing the ground for further scholarship on the subject. Finally, Chapter 5 led me to scrutinize the nineteenth- and early-twentieth century performing legacy in ways that had not been done at this level before. Its wealth of information extrapolates Rebay's selected sonatas and resulted in a complete remodelling of my own playing style, particularly for pre-Modern music. This is proof of the possible dialogue between research and practice, a process in which one feeds from the other, also attesting the implications of artistic research that is based on the researcher's own experience.

Many questions remain open, however, and may encourage future research. Much of the original guitar-club repertoire investigated in Chapter 1 is still obscure, having developed more or less independently from the Spanish influences that dominated the international guitar scene since Tárrega. The former IGV's library is held today at the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek in Munich under the Fritz Walter und Gabriele Wiedemann Collection, deserving further exploration. In the process of investigating contemporary performances and the reception of Rebay's guitar music, I ran across several Austrian non-guitarist composers who are virtually unknown today. For instance, Rebay's contemporaries such as Arthur Johannes Scholz and Franz Hasenöhrle wrote a wealth of guitar solo and chamber music that was performed regularly in Vienna, much of it also in an enduring Romantic idiom. A careful search in concert databases such as the Wiener Konzerthaus and Musikverein would certainly unearth composers and works which still await a modern re-evaluation and possibly artistic revival. Other sides of Rebay's guitar music also remain to be rediscovered, and I bring special attention to his over 150 guitar lieder. Early in his career, Rebay achieved a degree of fame as a vocal composer, and his guitar accompaniment writing is truly sophisticated when compared to the instrument's traditional usage. Finally, in order to circulate properly, Rebay's guitar music needs good editions. Despite current efforts, what is still needed are accurate editions which thoroughly consider the layers of information in both Rebay's autograph scores and manuscript guitar parts, including a critical reference to Hammerschmid's interventions and existing fingerings, since her work cannot be dissociated from Rebay's creative process. While I did not propose new editions as an outcome of this thesis, the knowledge and experience accumulated during this research would make this a goal for the future.

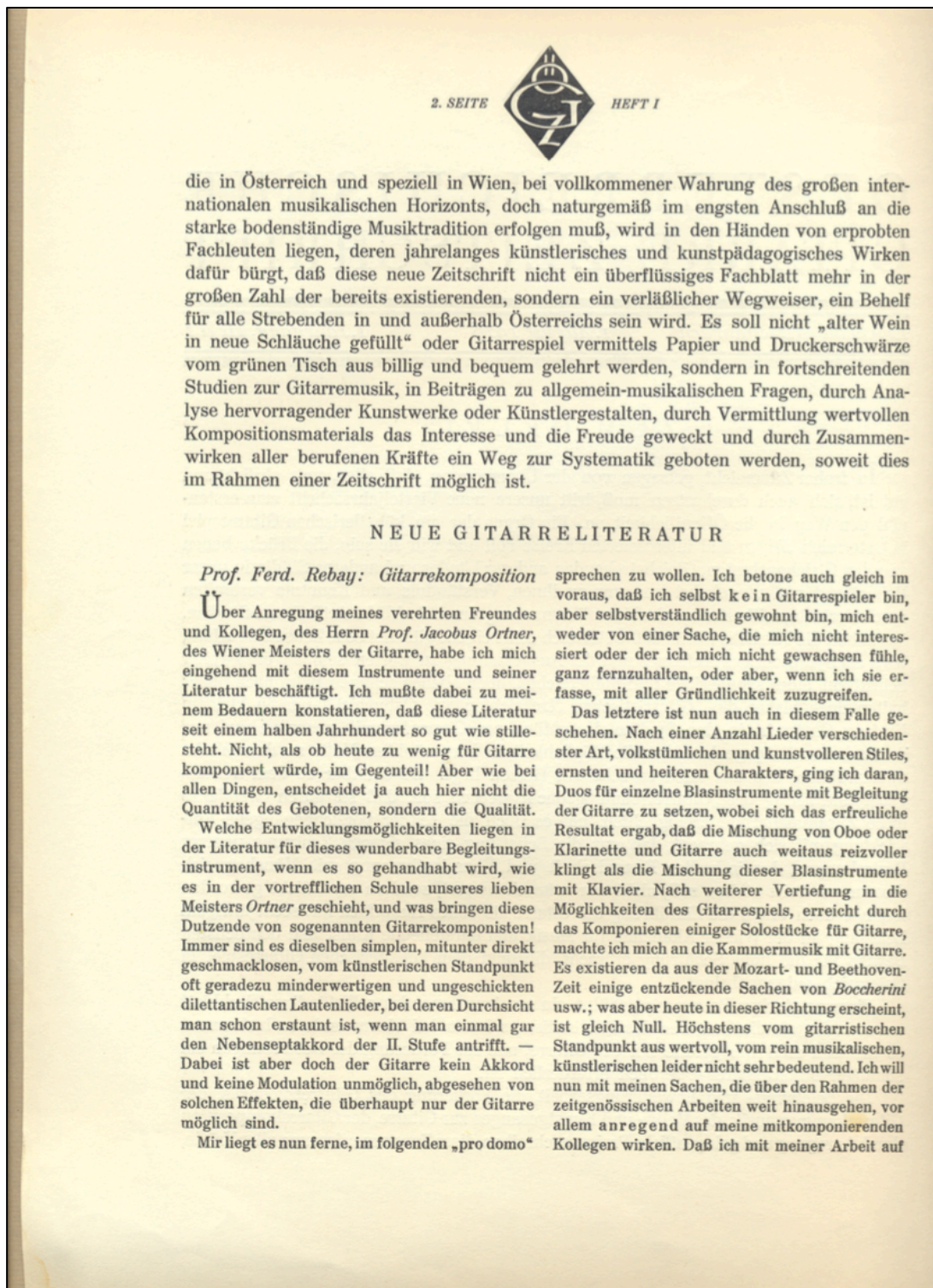
Rebay's guitar sonata output was a historical phenomenon which depended on a specific constellation of circumstances to exist. Had he been born a generation earlier, he would likely still write in an Austro-German Romantic style, and perhaps even belong to Brahms's circle, like his teachers Mandyczewski and Fuchs. However, he would not have been acquainted with the guitar at a relatively early age because it would take a few decades until the instrument would finally set free from the guitar-club environments and integrate with the mainstream. On the other hand, had he been born a generation later, his education and values could have been completely different, as the world was changing fast in the first decades of the twentieth century. This generational conflict is described by his countryman Stefan Zweig (1881-1942), when comparing the "world of security" in which he had grown up to the "wild, anarchic, improbable time" of the post-WW1 years, "when, with the dwindling

value of money, all other values in Austria and Germany began to slide!”¹ There would probably have been even less space for Rebay’s old-fashioned music, and he might well have turned out into an entirely different composer. However, it is exactly his anachronistic idiom and enduring nineteenth-century values that bestow his chamber sonatas a unique place in the guitar repertoire. And no other place than Rebay’s Vienna would have offered better conditions to nurture this outcome.

¹ Stefan Zweig, *The world of yesterday*, trans. Anthea Bell (London: Pushkin, 2011), 23, 324.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 - REBAY'S 1926 ARTICLE FOR THE ÖGZ¹



¹ Rebay, „Prof. Ferdinand Rebay - Gitarrekomposition“, 2-3.



dem rechten Wege bin, beweist mir nicht nur der Umstand, daß sich Meister *Ortner* freudig und ganz dafür einsetzt, sondern vor allem, daß auch alle seine Schüler und Schülerinnen mit Begeisterung daran studieren, trotzdem die Sachen nicht leicht, ja manchmal recht unbequem und schwierig sind.

Aber der ehrliche Erfolg ist ihr Lohn und Gewinn und ihre, meine und hoffentlich aller wahren Gitarrefreunde Freude.

Heinrich Albert: Etüdenwerk

Dieser Aufsatz ist dem Vorwort des neuen Studienwerkes von *Heinr. Albert* entnommen. Nachdruck nur mit Genehmigung des Verlegers.

Demnächst erscheint im Verlag *Jul. Heinr. Zimmermann, Leipzig*, von einem zusammenhängenden Etüdenwerk von *Heinrich Albert* das 1. und 2. Heft. Der Gesamttitel lautet: *Gitarre-Etüdenwerk*, mit Berücksichtigung aller Ton- und Taktarten, nach neuzeitlichen Gesichtspunkten alle technischen, harmonischen und rhythmischen Möglichkeiten erschöpfend, von *Heinrich Albert*. Heft 1: Elementarstufe (Anfangsgründe), zwölf Etüden (mit einer begleitenden Gitarre für den Lehrer). Heft 2: Obere Elementarstufe, zwölf Etüden in den leichten Tonarten der 1. Lage. Heft 3: Mittelstufe, zwölf Etüden in den leichten Tonarten bis zur 5. Lage. Heft 4: Obere Mittelstufe, zwölf Etüden in allen Kreuztonarten. Heft 5: Oberstufe, zwölf Etüden in allen B-Tonarten. Heft 6: Reifestufe, sechs Konzert-Etüden.

An Etüden ist die Gitarreliteratur nicht allzu reich und beschränkt sich in der Hauptsache auf die bekannten Namen: *Sor, Giuliani, Carcassi, Legnani* und *Coste*; von neuen Komponisten ist nur einiges von *Mozzani* und *Tárrega* gedruckt. Ein Etüdenwerk, in lückenlosem Zusammenhang den Anfänger führend und entwickelnd bis zur Reife, mit Berücksichtigung aller Ton- und Taktarten, existiert bis heute nicht, und nachdem dieses Werk nach neuzeitlichen Gesichtspunkten und Grundsätzen nicht nur alle technischen Möglichkeiten erschöpft sondern auch den modernen harmonischen und rhythmischen Errungenschaften Rechnung trägt, wird es eine große Lücke in der Etüdenliteratur der Gitarre ausfüllen.

Vom pädagogischen Standpunkt betrachtet, gehören Etüden zu den allerwichtigsten Bildungs-

mitteln jedes Instrumentalisten. Der Name Etüde darf nur nicht im rein technischen Sinne aufgefaßt werden. Jede Etüde muß, trotz Ausbildung eines besonderen technischen oder harmonischen Stoffes, immer auch das Gefühl für Rhythmus, Auffassung und Charakter der Melodieführung und deren Gruppierung erwecken und als Ganzes betrachtet ein Musikstück sein, dem nur der mehr oder minder phantasievolle Titel fehlt.

Das Etüdenwerk wurde geschaffen, nicht um bewährtes Altes zu stürzen und Neues aus dem Nichts zu schaffen, sondern es wird an Bestehendes angeknüpft, weitergeführt und ausgebaut. Es werden aus den alltäglichen gitarristischen Harmonien heraus weitere Verwendung der Chromatik, neu empfundene Beziehungen von verschiedenen Tönen und Harmonien zueinander, Ausweichen in fremde Tonarten erreicht, immer in dem Bestreben, den Gitarristen von den elementaren Anfängen bis zur Konzertsreife zu führen.

Demnächst erscheinen

25 alte Lieder mit Begleitung der Gitarre

Gesungen und herausgegeben von
EMIL WINKLER
 Begleitsätze zum Teil von
Arthur Kühmayer

—

Das künstlerisch ausgestattete Heftchen (Buchschmuck von *Sepp Thalmann, Linz*) enthält eine Auswahl der schönsten Perlen alter Lieder, die schon verschiedene Male von *Winkler* mit großem Erfolg in Konzerten gebracht wurden.

Die Durcharbeitung muß Hand in Hand mit einer erstklassigen Schule gehen, und zwar so, daß Heft 1 und 2 des Etüdenwerkes in den I. Teil der Schule verteilt werden. (Nur die Etüden des Elementarheftes sind mit einer zweiten Gitarrestimme für den Lehrer vorgesehen, damit sich der Anfänger an ein vorbestimmtes Zeitmaß binden muß.) Dementsprechend haben die folgenden Etüdenhefte sich jeweils dort in die Schule einzureihen, wo der Grad des technischen Könnens sich mit dem Stoff der Etüden deckt. Die Etüden bezwecken nicht nur schnelle Förderung der Technik, sondern müssen das Verständnis für neuzeitliche harmonische und rhythmische Führung sowie den Sinn für die musikalische Auffassung, Melodieführung und Phrasierung erwecken.

APPENDIX 2 - SURVEYED PIECES FROM MUSIC SUPPLEMENTS¹

1) Freien Vereinigung zur Förderung guter Gitaremusik (1904-1908)

Year	Vol./No.	Composer	Title	Instrumentation
1908	4.6	Albert, H.	Scherzo grazioso	Two Mandolins, Mandola and Guitar
1908	5.5	Albrechtsberger, G. / Mertz, J.K.	Orgelfuge	Guitar solo
1904	1.2	Beringer, G.	Herzensklänge	Guitar solo
1905	1.7	Beringer, G.	Ein Stücklein	Viola and Guitar
1905	1.8	Beringer, G.	Wellenspiel am Starnbergersee, Träumerei	Guitar solo
1905	1.8	Boije af Gennäs, C.O.	In memoriam Otto Hammerer	Guitar solo
1907	3.7	Carulli, F.	Duo No. 1 Op. 48	Two Guitars
1907	3.8	Carulli, F.	Duo No. 2 Op. 48	Two Guitars
1907	4.3	Carulli, F.	Duo No. 3 Op. 48	Two Guitars
1906	3.6	Chopin, F. / Stockmann, J.	Mazurka, Op. 33, No. 3	Two Guitars
1905	1.7	Coste, N.	Menuett	Guitar solo
1906	3.3	Coste, N.	Andante Menuet	Guitar solo
1906	3.3	Coste, N.	Barcarolle	Guitar solo
1907	3.8	Coste, N.	Barcarolle	Guitar solo
1907	3.8	Coste, N.	Rondoletto	Guitar solo
1907	4.2	Coste, N.	Mélancolie	Guitar solo
1908	4.7	Coste, N.	Grande Sérénade, Op. 30	Guitar solo
1908	5.2	Coste, N.	Le Livre d'or du Guitariste, Op. 52 (No. 1-2)	Guitar solo
1908	5.4	Coste, N.	Le Livre d'or du Guitariste, Op. 52 (No. 3-5)	Guitar solo
1908	5.5	Coste, N.	Le Livre d'or du Guitariste, Op. 52 (No. 6-10)	Guitar solo
1908	5.7	Coste, N.	Recreation du Guitariste, Op. 51 (No. 4)	Guitar solo
1908	5.7	Coste, N.	Recreation du Guitariste, Op. 51 (No. 6)	Guitar solo
1904	1.1	Cottin, A.	Aubade et Chant d'amour	Violin (Mandolin) and Guitar
1905	1.8	Cottin, A.	Sonatine	Guitar solo
1905	2.1	Cottin, A.	Sur le lac	Guitar solo
1905	2.4	Cottin, A.	Ballade du fou	Three Guitars

¹ From the Carl Oscar Boije af Gennäs Collection, Musik- och teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, ordered by composer's name. Available at <http://musikverket.se/musikochteaterbiblioteket/ladda-ner-noter/boijes-samling>.

1904	1.1	Darr, A.	Duo No.1	Two Guitars
1904	1.2	Darr, A.	Fantasia über das Volkslied "Der Abschied von den Bergen"	Guitar solo
1904	1.2	Darr, A.	Duo No. 2	Two Guitars
1904	1.3	Darr, A.	Wiegenlied	Guitar solo
1904	1.3	Darr, A.	Fantasia über das Lied "Ach! Ich bin des Lebens müde!"	Violin (Cello) and Guitar
1904	1.4	Darr, A.	Andante No. 4	Guitar solo
1904	1.5	Darr, A.	Duo No. 14 (I)	Two Guitars
1904	1.6	Darr, A.	Duo No. 14 (II)	Two Guitars
1905	1.8	Darr, A.	Andante No.1	Guitar solo
1905	2.1	Darr, A.	Duo No. 3	Two Guitars
1905	2.5	Darr, A.	Serenade	Guitar solo
1905	2.5	Darr, A.	Andante religioso	Two Guitars and Harmonium
1905	2.6	Darr, A.	Duo No. 6	Two Guitars
1906	2.8	Darr, A.	Andante No. 3	Guitar solo
1906	2.8	Darr, A.	Duo No. 4	Two Guitars
1906	3.1	Darr, A.	Duo No. 12	Two Guitars
1906	3.2	Darr, A.	Rondoletto	Guitar solo
1906	3.2	Darr, A.	Duo No. 11	Two Guitars
1906	3.3	Darr, A.	Duo No. 8	Two Guitars
1906	3.4	Darr, A.	Serenade	Two Guitars
1906	3.5	Darr, A.	Duo No. 7	Two Guitars
1907	4.5	Darr, A.	Galopp	Guitar solo
1908	4.5	Darr, A.	Volkslied aus dem Thüringer Walde	Voice and Guitar
1908	4.6	Darr, A.	Untreue	Voice and Guitar
1908	4.8	Darr, A.	Duo No. 5	Two Guitars
1908	4.8	Darr, A.	Introduction, Walzer und Coda	Guitar solo
1908	5.1	Darr, A.	Duo No. 9	Two Guitars
1908	5.2	Darr, A.	Ländler	Guitar solo or Two Guitars
1908	5.3	Darr, A.	Sonate (I)	Guitar solo
1908	5.4	Darr, A.	Andante religioso	Guitar solo
1908	5.5	Darr, A.	Rondino	Guitar solo
1908	5.8	Darr, A.	Mein letztes Andante	Guitar solo
1905	2.5	Decker-Schenk, J.	Ukrainische Weise	Guitar solo
1906	3.1	Decker-Schenk, J.	Fantaisie romantique	Guitar solo
1906	3.6	Decker-Schenk, J.	Valse et Marche	Guitar solo
1907	3.7	Decker-Schenk, J.	Tyrolienne	Guitar solo
1907	4.4	Decker-Schenk, J.	Alexis (Polka lento)	Guitar solo
1908	5.1	Decker-Schenk, J.	Kiss-Kiss-Miau (Gavotte)	Guitar solo
1908	5.7	Decker-Schenk, J.	Pièce de Salon	Guitar solo
1906	3.2	Diabelli, A.	Amusements pour les Dames (Andante cantabile, Rondo)	Guitar solo

1904	1.2	Franz, J.	Etude No. 2	Guitar solo
1904	1.3	Franz, J.	Etude No. 6	Guitar solo
1904	1.4	Franz, J.	Marche sérieuse	Guitar solo
1904	1.5	Franz, J.	Im Walde	Guitar solo
1904	1.6	Franz, J.	Auf den Fluren (Fantasie)	Guitar solo
1906	2.8	Franz, J.	Etude No. 5	Guitar solo
1906	3.4	Franz, J.	Etude No. 7	Guitar solo
1908	5.8	Franz, J.	Marsch	Guitar solo
1904	1.2	Giuliani, M.	Etude No. 9 (Op. 48)	Guitar solo
1904	1.6	Giuliani, M.	Etude No. 10 (Op. 48)	Guitar solo
1906	2.8	Giuliani, M.	Etude No. 11 (Op. 48)	Guitar solo
1907	3.7	Giuliani, M.	Etude (Op. 51)	Guitar solo
1907	4.1	Giuliani, M.	Variations (Op. 24)	Violin and Guitar
1907	4.2	Giuliani, M.	Variations (Schlußsatz, Op.24)	Violin and Guitar
1905	2.2	Götz, A.	Idyllische Spaziergänge	Guitar solo
1907	4.2	Götz, A.	Gisela-Polka	Guitar solo or Two Guitars
1908	5.8	Götz, A.	Jochprunellen aus den Tiroler Bergen	Guitar solo
1908	4.8	Henze, C.	Regrette	Guitar solo
1904	1.3	von Klinger, J.	Russische Weisen No. 1	Two Guitars
1905	1.7	von Klinger, J.	Mazurka	Guitar solo
1908	5.6	Krick, G.C.	Der Wechselschlag	Guitar solo
1904	1.1	Legnani, L.	Etude	Guitar solo
1908	5.8	Léon, J.	Ménuet	Guitar solo
1908	5.4	Meier, G.	Nur nix übahud'In (Rheinländer)	Guitar solo
1908	5.4	Meier, G.	Lammerstraat-Leed (Altes hanseatisches Lied)	Voice and Guitar
1907	4.5	Mendelssohn, F. / Jaksch, E.	Venetianisches Gondellied, Op. 19	Two Guitars
1904	1.4	Mertz, J.K.	Je pense à toi	Terz Guitar and Guitar
1905	1.7	Mertz, J.K.	Deutsche Weise	Terz Guitar and Guitar
1905	2.2	Mertz, J.K.	Ständchen	Terz Guitar and Guitar
1905	2.6	Mertz, J.K.	Etude	Guitar solo
1906	3.6	Mertz, J.K.	Präludium in D dur	Guitar solo
1907	4.1	Mertz, J.K.	Etude	Guitar solo
1908	5.4	Mertz, J.K.	4 Etudes	Guitar solo
1908	5.7	Mertz, J.K.	Andantino	Guitar solo
1908	5.4	Michael Bellman, C.	Fredmans Epistel No. 71	Guitar solo
1906	3.5	Mietzke, C.	Adagio	Guitar solo
1907	4.2	Mietzke, C.	Serenade (I, II, III)	Guitar solo
1907	3.7	Molino, F.	Rondo	Guitar solo
1907	4.3	Molino, F.	Gavotte	Guitar solo
1908	4.5	Molino, F.	Rondo (Op. 6)	Guitar solo
1905	2.3	Raab, J.	Fantaisie (I)	Guitar solo

1905	2.4	Raab, J.	Fantaisie (II)	Guitar solo
1908	5.8	Rameau, J.P. / Albert. H.	Sarabande	Guitar solo
1904	1.5	Regondi, G.	Etude No. 3	Guitar solo
1905	2.1	Regondi, G.	Etude No. 4	Guitar solo
1906	3.4	Sarenko, V. / Decker-Schenk, J.	Kleinrussische Tanzweise	Guitar solo
1908	5.2	Schubert, F. / Coste, N.	Barcarolle	Voice and Guitar
1908	4.6	Schultz, L.	The gitarist's [sic] bijou	Guitar solo
1905	2.2	Sor, F.	Andantino	Guitar solo
1905	2.3	Sor, F.	Souvenir d'amitié	Guitar solo
1906	3.5	Sor, F.	Andante Op. 32, No. 5	Guitar solo
1907	4.3	Sor, F.	6 Pieces faciles, Op. 45 (No. 1-2)	Guitar solo
1907	4.4	Sor, F.	6 Pieces faciles, Op. 45 (No. 3-6)	Guitar solo
1908	5.6	Sor, F.	Fantaisie élégiaque, Op. 59	Guitar solo
1908	5.8	Storch, A.	Nächtlicher Gruß	Guitar solo
1908	5.3	Strauss, J.	Frauenherz (Mazurka)	Three Guitars
1905	2.1	Unknown	Andante con moto	Guitar solo
1906	3.1	Unknown	Scherzando	Guitar solo
1908	5.1	Unknown	Andantino grazioso	Guitar solo
1908	5.7	von Weber, C.M. / Krüger, E.	Lied aus Preciosa	Guitar solo
1906	3.5	Wagner, J.H.	Rondo No. 3	Guitar solo
1905	2.6	Werner, A.	Sonate (I.)	Guitar solo
1905	2.7	Werner, A.	Sonate (II, III, IV)	Guitar solo
1908	5.1	Wisotzky, M.	Prélude No. 2 and 8	Guitar solo
1906	3.3	Zimmermann, F.	Fantasie	Guitar solo
1908	5.1	Zimmermann, F.	Ländler	Guitar solo

2) IGV (Verlag Der Gitarrefreund, 1903-1908)

Year	Vol./No.	Composer	Title	Instrumentation
1907	4	Albert, H.	Noch manchmal	Voice and Guitar
1907	4	Albert, H.	Die Nonne	Voice and Guitar
1908	5	Bach, J.S. / Albert, H.	Präludium für die Laute	Lute
1903	3	Beringer, G.	Die Mühle im Tale	Voice and Guitar
1903	3	Beringer, G.	Einkehr	Voice and Guitar
1906	37	Boije af Gennäs, C.O.	Du alter, du freier, hochfelsiger Nord!	Guitar solo
1906	37	Boije af Gennäs, C.O.	Schwedische Volksweise (a)	Guitar solo
1906	37	Boije af Gennäs, C.O.	Volkswaise aus Westmanland	Guitar solo
1906	37	Boije af Gennäs, C.O.	Volkswaise aus Upland	Guitar solo
1906	37	Boije af Gennäs, C.O.	Finländische Volksweise	Guitar solo
1906	37	Boije af Gennäs, C.O.	Schwedische Volksweise (b)	Guitar solo

1904	5	Carcassi, M.	Galopp	Guitar solo
1907	2	Carcassi, M.	Variationen über ein Tema von Weigl	Guitar solo
1906	38	Cottin, A.	Ballade circassienne	Guitar solo
1903	4	Darr, A.	Rondoletto No. 2	Guitar solo
1905	4	Decker-Schenk, J.	Einsam ging ich meiner Strassen	Guitar solo
1907	2	Diabelli, A.	Andante	Guitar solo
1906	2	Franz, F.	Polonaise	Guitar solo
1906	2	Franz, F.	Mazurka	Guitar solo
1908	3	Funk, W.	Fort zog mein Liebster	Voice and Guitar
1908	3	Funk, W.	Es wollt ein Mädchen früh aufsteh'n	Voice and Guitar
1908	3	Funk, W.	Es war ein König in Thule	Voice and Guitar
1908	3	Funk, W.	Fiamenga	Two Guitars
1903	1	Giuliani, M.	Andantino	Guitar solo
1903	1	Giuliani, M.	Allegro	Guitar solo
1906	35	Giuliani, M.	Esercizio per la chitarra, Op. 48 (No. 1-3)	Guitar solo
1907	3	Giuliani, M.	Rondo	Guitar solo
1907	5	Giuliani, M.	Rondoletto, Op. 4	Guitar solo
1908	4	Giuliani, M.	Grand Ouverture, Op. 61	Guitar solo
1905	2	Hummel, J.N.	Thema und Variation (Grande Sérénade, Op. 63)	Guitar solo
1907	3	Kliewer, F.	Erinnerung an Kairo	Guitar solo
1907	3	Kliewer, F.	Zwei arabische Volkslieder	Voice and Tarrabukka
1907	3	Kliewer, F.	Zwei maltesische Volkslieder	Guitar solo
1907	2	Knab, A.	Abendlied	Voice and Guitar
1908	1	Knab, A.	Aria zu einer Nachtmusik vor der Brautkammer	Voice and Guitar
1908	1	Knab, A.	So ich traurig bin	Voice and Guitar
1908	1	Knab, A.	Abschiedszeichen	Voice and Guitar
1908	1	Knab, A.	Im Atelier	Voice and Guitar
1908	1	Knab, A.	Ave Maria	Voice and Guitar
1908	1	Knab, A.	Altes Minnelied	Voice and Guitar
1908	1	Knab, A.	Wo ich geh, wo ich steh	Voice and Guitar
1908	1	Knab, A.	Begegnet mir mein Dirndl	Voice and Guitar
1906	1	Körner, T.	Der Alpenjäger	Voice and Guitar
1906	1	Körner, T.	Theilung der Erde	Voice and Guitar
1906	1	Körner, T.	Die Hoffnung	Voice and Guitar
1904	5	Küffner, J.	Air varié	Guitar solo
1907	4	Lutz, E.	Schelmenlied	Voice and Guitar
1907	4	Lutz, E.	Dankbar und bescheiden	Voice and Guitar
1907	4	Lutz, E.	Zu spät	Voice and Guitar
1906	39	Meier, G.	Daisy (Marsch)	Guitar solo
1903	2	Mertz, J.K.	Gang zur Vesper	Terz Guitar and Guitar
1907	3	Meyer, A.	Übä d'Alma	Voice and Guitar

1907	3	Meyer, A.	Frühling	Voice and Guitar
1908	5	Meyer, A.	Frühling	Voice and Guitar
1908	5	Meyer, A.	Werbung	Voice and Guitar
1908	2	Molitor, S.	Sonata, Op. 7 (I)	Guitar solo
1906	34	Mozart, W.A. / Albert, H.	Mandolinen-Ständchen (Don Juan)	Voice, Mandolin and Guitar
1908	3	Mozzani, L.	Coup de vent	Guitar solo
1908	3	Mozzani, L.	Dolore!	Guitar solo
1905	3	Petoletti, P.	Divertissement	Terz Guitar and Guitar
1908	6	Römer, M.	Hab' Sonne	Voice and Guitar
1908	6	Rung, F.	Elegie	Guitar solo
1908	6	Rung, F.	Ricordanza d'Italia	Guitar solo
1904	3	Scherrer, H.	Die Spinnerin	Voice and Guitar
1904	3	Scherrer, H.	Le Diablotin	Voice and Guitar
1905	1	Scherrer, H.	Nachruf an Otto Hammerer	Guitar solo
1905	1	Scherrer, H.	Andantino	Guitar solo
1905	2	Scherrer, H.	Vom Wasser und vom Wein	Voice and Guitar
1905	4	Scherrer, H.	Im tiefen Meeresgrund	Voice and Guitar
1906	36	Scherrer, H.	Wiegenlied	Voice and Guitar
1907	4	Schmid-Kayser, H.	Ländler des Verliebten	Voice and Guitar
1907	4	Schmid-Kayser, H.	Lied in der Nacht	Voice and Guitar
1907	4	Schmid-Kayser, H.	Der kleine Lampe	Voice and Guitar
1905	6	Silcher, F.	Nun leb' wohl, du kleine Gasse	Guitar solo
1907	3	Sor, F.	Andante	Guitar solo
1906	36	Tappert, W.	Was woll'n wir auf den Abend tun	Voice and Lute
1907	2	Willroider, J.	Mein Bua-Ländler	Guitar solo
1907	2	Willroider, J.	Der verlassene Bua-Ländler	Guitar solo

3) GV (Verlag Der Gitarrefreund, 1909-1917)

Year	Vol./No.	Composer	Title	Instrumentation
1910	11.1	A. Darr	Dessert (Duo No. 13)	Two Guitars
1912	13.3	Aguado, D.	Allegro	Guitar solo
1912	13.2	Albert, H.	Die Batenka	Voice and Guitar
1912	13.2	Albert, H.	Der lockre Bursch	Voice and Guitar
1912	13.4	Albert, H.	Das Wuzerl	Voice and Guitar
1912	13.4	Albert, H.	Spinnlied	Voice and Guitar
1912	13.6	Albert, H.	Zwei Etuden	Guitar solo
1913	14.3	Albert, H.	Mei Schätzle ist fein	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.5	Albert, H.	Der leichfertige Liebhaber	Voice and Guitar
1914	15.2	Albert, H.	Schäferliedlein	Voice and Guitar
1914	15.2	Albert, H.	Der Kukuk	Voice and Guitar

1914	15.5-6	Albert, H.	In der Heimat	Voice and Guitar
1914	15.5-6	Albert, H.	Das Lied von Hindenburg	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.1	Albert, H.	Etude	Guitar solo
1915	16.3	Albert, H.	Wers Lieben	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.5	Albert, H.	Soldatenabschied	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.5	Albert, H.	Der Abschied	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.1	Albert, H.	Sonatine No. 1	Guitar solo
1916	17.2-3	Albert, H.	Menuett	Guitar solo
1916	17.2-3	Albert, H.	Wenn alle Brunnlein fließen	Voice and Lute
1916	17.2-3	Albert, H.	Gavotte	Guitar solo
1916	17.2-3	Albert, H.	Wenn er doch käme	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.4	Albert, H.	Thema mit Variationen	Flute/Violin and Guitar
1916	17.4	Albert, H.	Walzer	Guitar solo
1916	17.4	Albert, H.	Die Treueheit	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.5	Albert, H.	Der liebe Hahnemann	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.6	Albert, H.	Giter Friede	Voice and Guitar
1917	18.2	Albert, H.	Sonatine No. 2	Guitar solo
1911	12.3	Bach, J.S.	Arioso (Johannes-Passion)	Voice, Two Violas d'amore, Bass and Two Lutes
1909	10.4	Beringer, G.	Vorspiel	Guitar solo
1909	10.4	Beringer, G.	Ein alter Liebesgedanke	Guitar solo
1911	12.5	Bissantz, G.	Ade	Voice and Guitar
1909	10.2	Boije af Gennäs, O.C.	Choral	Guitar solo
1911	12.1	Carosio, E.	Cicaleggio	Guitar solo
1912	13.3	Carulli, F.	Capriccio	Guitar solo
1916	17.5	Carulli, F.	Duos, Op. 333 (No. 1-3)	Two Guitars
1916	17.6	Carulli, F.	Duos, Op. 333 (No. 4-6)	Two Guitars
1917	18.1	Carulli, F.	Duos, Op. 333 (No. 7-9)	Two Guitars
1917	18.2	Carulli, F.	Duos, Op. 333 (No. 10-12)	Two Guitars
1912	13.4	Carulli, G.	Thème italien varié	Guitar solo
1910	11.6	Coste, N.	Valse, Op. 51 No.8	Guitar solo
1911	12.2	Coste, N.	Andante et Menuet, Op. 39	Guitar solo
1911	12.2	Coste, N.	Valse favorite, Op. 46	Guitar solo
1912	13.1	Coste, N.	Valse et Chasse	Guitar solo
1915	16.3	Dahlke, E.	Reiters Abschied	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.1	Dahlke, E.	Die Greuel des Krieges	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.1	Dahlke, E.	Das Häusel am Rhein	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.1	Dahlke, E.	Zwei elsaß-lothringische Volksweisen	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.5	Dahlke, E.	Grünet die Hoffnung	Voice and Guitar
1917	18.1	Danek, M.	Trinklied	Voice and Guitar
1909	10.1	Darr, A.	Etude	Guitar solo

1909	10.1	Darr, A.	Introduction und Polonaise	Two Guitars
1909	10.6	Darr, A.	Duo No. 10	Two Guitars
1911	12.1	Darr, A.	Irenengalopp	Two Guitars
1915	16.2	de Call, L.	Marcia (Op. 24)	Two Guitars
1915	16.3	de Call, L.	Andante (Op. 24)	Two Guitars
1915	16.4	de Call, L.	Adagio (Op. 24)	Two Guitars
1915	16.6	de Call, L.	Menuetto (Op. 24)	Two Guitars
1916	17.2-3	de Call, L.	Romanze (Op. 24)	Two Guitars
1916	17.4	de Call, L.	Rondo (Op. 24)	Two Guitars
1910	11.3	de Lhoyer, A.	Duo Nocturne No. 1, Op.37	Two Guitars
1910	11.6	de Lhoyer, A.	Duo Nocturne No. 2, Op.37	Two Guitars
1911	12.4	de Lhoyer, A.	Duo Nocturne No. 3, Op.37	Two Guitars
1912	13.5	de Lhoyer, A.	Duo Nocturne No. 4, Op. 37	Two Guitars
1914	15.2	de Lhoyer, A.	Duo Nocturne No. 5, Op. 37	Two Guitars
1915	16.5	de Lhoyer, A.	Duo Nocturne No. 6, Op.37	Two Guitars
1909	10.3	Decker-Schenk, J.	Le Capricieuse	Guitar solo
1910	11.6	Decker-Schenk, J.	Olga-Polka	Guitar solo
1917	18.1	Eitle, O.	Vom Reigen zum Tanz	Two Guitars
1915	16.2	Erkel, F.	Hymnus	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.4	Feist, E.	Ringelreihen	Three Violins and Guitar
1909	10.6	Giuliani, M.	Études instructives, faciles et agréables, Op. 100 (No. 1-2)	Guitar solo
1910	11.2	Giuliani, M.	Études instructives, faciles et agréables, Op. 100 (No. 5-6)	Guitar solo
1910	11.6	Giuliani, M.	Études instructives, faciles et agréables, Op. 100 (No. 7)	Guitar solo
1912	13.1	Giuliani, M.	Capriccio, Op. 100	Guitar solo
1912	13.2	Giuliani, M.	Capriccio, Op. 100	Guitar solo
1912	13.5	Giuliani, M.	Capriccio, Op. 100	Guitar solo
1913	14.1	Giuliani, M.	Études instructives, faciles et agréables, Op. 100 (No. 13)	Guitar solo
1913	14.5	Giuliani, M.	Études instructives, faciles et agréables, Op. 100 (No. 14)	Guitar solo
1913	14.6	Giuliani, M.	Études instructives, faciles et agréables, Op. 100 (No. 15)	Guitar solo
1912	15.1	Giuliani, M.	Rondo und Cadenzen, Op. 100	Guitar solo
1914	15.2	Giuliani, M.	Cadenzen und Präludien, Op. 100	Guitar solo
1914	15.3	Giuliani, M.	Cadenzen und Präludien, Op. 100	Guitar solo
1914	15.4	Giuliani, M.	Etudes instructives faciles et agreables, Op. 100 (Schluß)	Guitar solo
1914	15.5-6	Giuliani, M.	Fughetta, Op. 113	Guitar solo
1914	15.5-6	Giuliani, M.	Der treue Tod	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.1	Giuliani, M.	Études instructives, faciles et agréables, Op. 100 (No. 3-4)	Guitar solo
1911	12.6	Giuliani, M.	Études instructives, faciles et agréables, Op. 100 (No. 8-9)	Guitar solo
1911	12.6	Giuliani, M.	Thema mit Variationen	Guitar solo

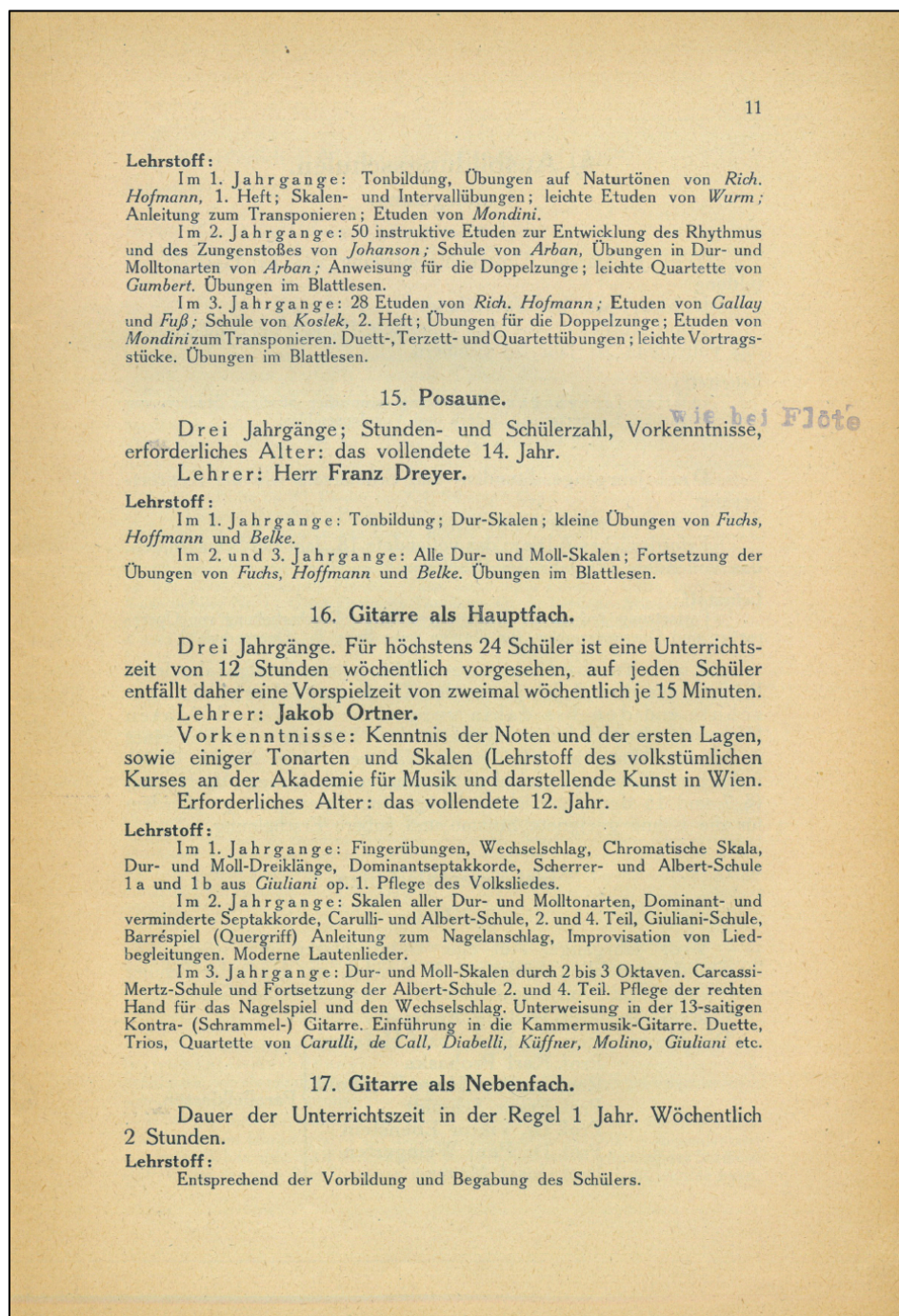
1909	10.5	Grandauer, K.	Aufbruch	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.1	Grandauer, K.	Schwesterlein	Tenor, Soprano and Two Guitars
1909	10.4	Haydn, J. / Coste, N.	Andante und Menuett (Op. 52, No. 14 and No. 30)	Guitar solo
1909	10.4	Haydn, J. / Scherrer, H.	Österreichische Nationalhymne	Two Guitars
1914	15.4	Henze, K.	Lied-Elfchen	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.6	Joly, D.	L'image de l'amour	Voice and Guitar
1913	15.1	Joly, D.	Etude and Tyrolienne	Guitar solo
1915	16.2	Kárpáti, E.	Ungarisches Lied	Guitar solo
1910	11.5	Knab, A.	Eichendorff-Lieder: Heimweh	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.5	Knab, A.	Eichendorff-Lieder: Die Kleine	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.5	Knab, A.	Eichendorff-Lieder: Die Nacht	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.5	Knab, A.	Eichendorff-Lieder: Der Soldat	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.5	Knab, A.	Eichendorff-Lieder: Liebe in der Fremde	Voice and Guitar
1914	15.1	Knab, A.	Wiegenlied	Voice and Guitar
1914	15.1	Knab, A.	Sonnenlied	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.1	Krieger, A.	Der Rheinische Wein tanzt gar zu fein	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.1	Krieger, A.	Der Augen Schein, sein Hertz und Pein	Voice and Lute
1909	10.3	Lauenstein, O.	Andante Capriccioso	Two Guitars
1911	12.6	Ledhuy, A.	Air populaire Languedocien	Voice and Guitar
1912	13.3	Ledhuy, A.	Chansonnette	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.1	Legnani, L.	36 Valses di difficoltà progressiva (selection)	Guitar solo
1913	14.1	Legnani, L.	36 Valses di difficoltà progressiva (selection)	Guitar solo
1913	14.4	Legnani, L.	Scherzo mit Variationen	Guitar solo
1913	14.5	Legnani, L.	36 Valses of progressive difficulty (selection)	Guitar solo
1913	14.6	Legnani, L.	36 Valses di difficoltà progressiva (selection)	Guitar solo
1915	16.1	Legnani, L.	Kleine Übungsstücke in Ländlerart	Guitar solo
1915	16.3	Lindner, P.	Zwei kleine lyrische Stücke	Guitar solo
1914	15.4	Loreti, A.	Etude	Guitar solo
1910	11.2	Luckner, G.	Menuet	Two Guitars
1910	11.2	Luckner, G.	Minnelied Margaretens von Österreich	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.2	Luckner, G.	Sonate in A-Dur	Guitar solo
1913	14.5	Luckner, G.	Serenade	Two Guitars
1912	13.3	Luczak, H.	Min Nackeldei	Voice and Guitar
1912	13.6	Luczak, H.	Zwei plattdeutsche Lieder	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.3	Luczak, H.	Ja, ja!	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.3	Luczak, H.	Min	Voice and Guitar
1911	12.4	Marschner, H.	Bagatelles, Op. 4 (No. 1-2)	Guitar solo
1912	13.1	Marschner, H.	Allegretto, Op. 4	Guitar solo

1912	13.4	Marschner, H.	Allegretto, Op. 4	Guitar solo
1913	14.5	Marschner, M.	Bagatelles, Op. 4 (No. 10)	Guitar solo
1909	10.2	Mehlhart, A.	Die Echt'n-Ländler	Guitar solo
1909	10.2	Meier, G.	Nussdorfer Gitarristen (Marsch)	Guitar solo
1909	10.5	Mertz, J.K.	Barcarole	Terz Guitar and Guitar
1911	12.5	Mertz, J.K.	Impromptu	Terz Guitar and Guitar
1916	17.4	Methfessel, F.	Die Nachtigall	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.1	Meyer-Steineg, T.	Geschichte vom Faunchen	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.1	Meyer-Steineg, T.	Häckerling	Voice and Guitar
1909	10.6	Meyer, A.	Träumst von einem Kränzlein in den Locken	Voice and Guitar
1909	10.6	Molino, F.	Minuetto	Guitar solo
1910	11.2	Mozzani, L.	Valse lente	Guitar solo
1910	11.3	Mozzani, L.	Romanza	Guitar solo
1910	11.4	Mozzani, L.	Mazurka	Guitar solo
1912	13.4	Paganini, N.	Scala obliqua e contraria	Guitar solo
1913	14.1	Pignocchi, E.	Barcarola	Guitar solo
1912	13.1	Reger, C.	Eviva la Chitarra	Guitar solo
1912	13.3	Reger, C.	Immer gemutlich (Ländler)	Guitar solo
1912	13.5	Reger, C.	Am grünen Rhein (Marsch)	Guitar solo
1911	12.3	Ringler, F.	O Klosterleben und Einsamkeit	Voice and Guitar
1909	10.2	Römer, M.	Das ist das allerschwerste, das bitterste Weh	Voice and Guitar
1909	10.4	Römer, M.	Stilles Glück	Voice and Guitar
1912	13.1	Rueff, R.	Die junge Wittwe	Voice and Bass-Lute
1912	13.6	Rueff, R.	Der schwarze Reiter und die ungetreue Braut	Voice and Guitar
1913	14.4	Rueff, R.	Der Pantoffel	Voice and Bass-Lute
1914	15.3	Rueff, R.	Ich hört' ein Sichel rauschen	Mezzo-soprano, Bariton and Two Bass-Lutes
1914	15.5-6	Scherrer, H.	Schlachtgesang	Voice and Guitar
1914	15.5-6	Schmid-Kayser, H.	Luftgefecht	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.2-3	Schmidt, C.O.	Es, es, es und es	Voice and Lute
1916	17.2-3	Schmidt, C.O.	Es freit ein wilder Wassermann	Voice and Lute
1913	14.3	Schneider, S.	Melancholie	Guitar solo
1913	14.6	Schneider, S.	Mit Lieb' und Lust	Guitar solo
1914	15.3	Schneider, S.	Abendständchen	Guitar solo
1916	17.2-3	Schneider, S.	In der Almhütt'n, Op. 34 (Ländler)	Guitar solo
1913	14.3	Schulz, M.	Andante	Guitar solo
1915	16.5	Seibt, H.	Fürchterliches Kriegslied	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.3	Silcher, F.	Lebewohl, Op. 22	Voice and Guitar
1911	12.1	Silcher, F.	Reiters Morgengesang	Voice and Guitar
1911	12.3	Sor, F.	La Candeur	Guitar solo
1915	16.2	Sor, F.	Etudes, Op. 60 (No. 1-6)	Guitar solo

1915	16.4	Sor, F.	Etudes, Op. 60 (No. 7-12)	Guitar solo
1915	16.6	Sor, F.	Etudes, Op. 60 (No. 13-16)	Guitar solo
1916	17.1	Sor, F.	Etudes, Op. 60 (No. 17-19)	Guitar solo
1916	17.5	Sor, F.	Etudes, Op. 60 (No. 20-21)	Guitar solo
1916	17.6	Sor, F.	Etudes, Op. 60 (No. 22-23)	Guitar solo
1917	18.1	Sor, F.	Etudes, Op. 60 (No. 24)	Guitar solo
1917	18.2	Sor, F.	Etudes, Op. 60 (No. 25)	Guitar solo
1912	13.4	Steinwender, O.	Präludium	Guitar solo
1914	15.3	Steinwender, O.	Elisabeth	Voice and Guitar
1909	10.4	Torodo, A.	Deux Menuets	Guitar solo
1911	12.4	Unknown	Müllers Abschied	Voice and Guitar
1911	12.4	Unknown	Auf dieser Welt	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.4	Vicefeldwebel Rau	Im grünen Wald da drüben	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.4	von Hunyady, M.	Im Herbst	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.4	von Hunyady, M.	Unterm Fenschter	Voice and Guitar
1910	11.4	von Hunyady, M.	Sächsisches Minnelied	Voice and Guitar
1917	18.1	Wagner, A.	Blümlein, liebe Blümlein	Voice and Guitar
1914	15.4	Ziegler, I.	Im Volkston	Voice and Guitar
1914	15.4	Ziegler, I.	Mädchenlied	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.4	Ziegler, I.	Junges Sterben	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.4	Ziegler, I.	Die alten Lieder	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.6	Ziegler, I.	Reiche Beschäftigung	Voice and Guitar
1915	16.6	Ziegler, I.	Sie war ein Blümlein	Voice and Guitar
1916	17.6	Ziegler, I.	Der Kriegs Freiwillige	Voice and Guitar
1912	13.2	Zimmermann, H.	Adagio	Two Guitars
1916	17.2-3	Zimmermann, H.	Duo No. 2	Two Guitars

APPENDIX 3 - WIENER AKADEMIE'S 1923 GUITAR CURRICULUM¹

1) VORBILDUNG (Elementary degree / Duration: 3 years / Required age: 12 years completed)



¹ n.a., "Statut der Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Wien, II. Teil: Lehrplan", 1923, Archive of the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien.

16. Baßtuba und Kontrabaßposaune.

Ein Jahrgang für Schüler der Posauneklasse als unentgeltliches Nebenfach.

Drei Jahrgänge für Schüler, die keine Vorbildung als Bläser besitzen.

Lehrer: Herr Prof. **Friedrich Tritt**.

Erforderliches Alter: das vollendete 17. Jahr.

17. Pauke und die anderen Schlaginstrumente.

Ein Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 2 Stunden für eine Maximalzahl von 6 Schülern.

Lehrer: Herr Prof. **Hans Schnellar**.

Erforderliches Alter: das vollendete 15. Jahr.

18. Gitarre.

Drei Jahrgänge: Für höchstens 15 Schüler ist eine Unterrichtszeit von 15 Stunden wöchentlich vorgesehen; auf jeden Schüler entfällt daher eine Vorspielzeit von zweimal wöchentlich 30 Minuten.

Lehrer: **Jakob Ortner**.

Erforderliches Alter: das vollendete 15. Jahr.

Aufnahmebedingungen: mit gutem Erfolge abgelegte Prüfungen aus dem 3. Jahrgange der Gitarre-Vorbildungsschule und den bis dahin vorgeschriebenen obligaten Nebenfächern bezw. bei Externen der bei einer Aufnahmeprüfung zu erbringende Nachweis einer diesem Grade sachlichen Könnens gleichkommenden musikalischen Vorbildung. (§§ 7 und 15 der Unterrichtsordnung).

Lehrstoff:

Im 1. Jahrgange: Studium der gesamten Gitarre-Kammermusik von *Boccherini, de Call, Diabelli, Dotzauer, Fürstenau, Günsbacher, Gognani, Giuliani, Kummer, Küffner, Legnani, Molina, Paganini, (Schubert) Seegner*. Fortsetzung der technischen Studien (Ornamentik) aus der Aguado-Schule, ferner Albertschule, III. Teil; *Carcassi* op. 37; *Giuliani* op. 48, 83, 100; *Legnani* op. 36, Nr. 1, 14, 34; *Sor* Sonate op. 15, 29, 26; *Mozzani* Six Capriccio Etuden; *Coste, Mertz* op. 65; *Tarrega*. Vorstudien zu künstl. Flageolett-Tönen.

Im 2. Jahrgange: Fortsetzung der Aguado-, Nava- und Sor-Schule, Präludio-Estudio von *Cano*; *Legnano* op. 19; *Petoletti* op. 32; *Ortner* Märsche, rasgado Studien; *Shand* op. 57 (Chant d'amour), *Vinas* Fantasia, *Sagreras* Una Lagrina, *Sor* op. 11, 25, 41; *Coste* op. 38; *Tarrega* - *D. Torte* Originalkompositionen sowie Transkriptionen von klassischen Werken, *Llobet* Catalonische Lieder (Studien für künstl. Flageolett). Mitwirkung in Opern- und Symphonie-Aufführungen.

Im 3. Jahrgange: Studium der Meisterwerke und der schwierigsten Konzertstücke der gesamten Gitarreliteratur.

APPENDIX 4 - HAMMERSCHMID AND OLCOTT-BICKFORD'S CORRESPONDENCE¹

1) GH.VOB.MAY.27.1933

Wien, am 27. Mai 1933.

Sehr geehrtes Fräulein!

Herr Fritz Czernuschka (Brünn) teilte mir mit, dass er Sie für die Gitarrekompositionen von Prof. Ferdinand Rebay interessierte und dass Sie ein Verzeichnis dieser Werke wünschen. Anbei sende ich Ihnen nun das Gewünschte. Die Werke sind wirklich wunderschön und kann ich Ihnen aus eigener Erfahrung sagen, dass ich auch damit immer den größten Erfolg erzielte in meinen Konzerten. Die Werke sind leider alle ungedruckt; aber sie sind durch mich abschriftlich erhältlich.

Es wurde mich und besonders Prof. Rebay sehr freuen, wenn Sie vielleicht auch einmal etwas davon spielen wurden!

Mit den besten Grüßen und zu näheren Auskünften stets gerne bereit

Gerta Hammerschmid.

staatl. geprüfte Gitarrepädagogin

Wien VI., Grabnergasse 12/7

Österreichs.

¹ The text is transcribed literally, with minor editing of obvious orthographic errors and misspelled names. A few words were incomprehensible, however, and for clarification the reader is requested to check the original letters at the Vahdah Olcott-Bickford Collection, International Guitar Research Archives (IGRA), California State University Oviatt Library, Northridge.

Wien, am 24. Juli 1933.

Sehr geehrte Frau Bickford!

Ich danke Ihnen bestens für Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 15. Juni. Ihr großes Interesse an den Kompositionen Rebay's, sowie an mir selbst freut mich sehr und ich hoffe, Ihnen nun mit dieser Sendung Ihre Wünsche und Fragen erfüllen zu können.

Vor Allem sende ich Ihnen ein Preisverzeichnis derjenigen Kompositionen Rebay's mit, die abschriftlich zu haben sind. Die Uraufführung der Kammermusikwerke behalte ich mir nämlich vor und infolgedessen sind die Werke, die ich noch nicht aufgeführt habe auch einstweilen nicht erhältlich. Nachdem dies aber nur ein ganz geringer Teil ist, so bleibt noch genug übrig, das zu Ihrer Verfügung steht. Sie können sich an Hand der Liste nur wohl am Besten auswählen, für was Sie sich entscheiden.

Ich danke Ihnen auch herzlich für die vielen Programme und Ankündigungen von Gitarrewerken. Es interessierte mich sehr und bewundere ich Sie wegen der erfolgreichen Arbeit, die Sie für die Gitarre leisten. Ich möchte Ihnen gerne entgegenkommen mit Ihrem Vorschlag Abschriften der Werke Rebay's gegen Noten aus Ihrem Verlage auszutauschen; doch auch hier in Österreich herrscht die gleiche Not und Krise, die Sie mir von Amerika schilderten, und dadurch ist es auch mir nicht möglich soviel Noten anzuschaffen, als mich interessieren würden. Aus Ihren Ankündigungen interessiert mich am meisten das Master Album for Guitar Solo (Price \$2.00) mit dem Inhalt der Werke von Aguado, Blum, Bobrowicz, Coste, Giuliani, Matiegka, Nuske und Sor. Vielleicht ließe sich damit ein Tausch ermöglichen. Auch für Ihre eigenen Original-Kompositionen würde ich mich interessieren, doch fand ich sie leider nur in Albums mit anderen Transkriptionen. Wäre es nicht möglich eine oder die andere Kompositionen von Ihnen allein zu bekommen? Die würde ich gerne besitzen. Nun, bitte, wählen Sie nach der beigelegten Liste aus und teilen Sie mir dann mit, wofür Sie sich entschlossen haben.

Ihre Tätigkeit in dem Amerikanischen Gitarre-Klub ist ja ganz großartig und interessiert mich sehr. Ihrem Wunsche gemäß sende ich Ihnen anbei auch die Fotografien von Rebay und mir, ebenso auch die Biographieskizzen. Im einer extra Sendung sende ich Ihnen die Glanzdrücke der beiden Fotografien, und bitte Sie aber gleichseitig mir, sobald Sie die Klischee davon machen ließen, diese beiden Glanzdrücke zurückzusenden. Die beiden anderen Fotografien, die ich hier im Briefe beilege, gehören selbstverständlich Ihnen und brauchen Sie mir nicht zurücksenden, sondern können Sie Ihrer Sammlung einverleiben. Mit den beiden Glanzdrucken sende ich Ihnen auch die Programme meiner Konzerte, die auch für Ihre Sammlung bestimmt sind. Ich habe auch meinen Onkel, Prof. Rebay, von Ihren Plänen erzählt, und er freut sich auch sehr über Ihr Interesse und wird sich auch sehr freuen, wenn Sie seine Werke aufführen werden. Übrigens sind Sie wirklich die Erste, die seine Werke in Amerika aufführt.

Es wird uns beide auch sehr freuen, wenn Sie unsere Bilder und Biographien in Ihrem Buche und in Ihrer Zeitschrift bringen werden. Für beide Sachen würde ich mich natürlich dann sehr interessieren und würde ich Sie dann bitten, mir sie zu verschaffen.

Die „Österreichische Gitarrezeitschrift (Herausgeben Prof. Ortner) ist schon seit Jahren nicht mehr erschienen. Die letzte Nummer war die in englischer Sprache im August 1930, die Sie ja wahrscheinlich kennen werden. Es wird Sie vielleicht interessieren, dass wahrscheinlich schon in der nächsten Nummer der Zeitschrift „Die Gitarre“ in Berlin (Herausgeber Schwarz-Reiflingen) ein Beitrag von mir über Moderne Kammermusik mit Gitarre erscheinen wird, wo auch ein längerer Abschnitt Rebay gewidmet ist und in derselben Nummer wird auch die Notenbeilage einige Gitarre-Solostücke von ihm enthalten.

Außerdem muss ich Sie aber fragen, ob Sie meine Briefe gut lesen oder übersetzen können? Ich kann leider nicht englisch, muss Ihnen infolgedessen nur deutsch schreiben. Ihren Brief ließ ich mir übersetzen.

Nun sehe ich Ihrer freundlichen Antwort entgegen und hoffe, Ihre Wünsche erfüllt zu haben. Es wird mich stets freuen von Ihrer Tätigkeit zu hören.

Mit den besten Grüßen und nochmals für Ihre freundlichen Zeilen herzlich dankend

Ihre

Gerta Hammerschmid.

Wien VI., Grabnergasse 12/7

Österreich-Austria.

Wien, am 28. Februar 1934.

Sehr geehrte, gnädige Frau!

Vor Allem muss ich mich entschuldigen, Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 28. August 1933 solange nicht beantwortet zu haben; bitte nehmen Sie heute meinen besten Dank dafür; ebenso auch für den darin enthaltenen Scheck auf 5 Dollar und die mir übersandten Noten. („Master-Album“ und „Concerto Romantico“). Zuerst konnte ich Ihnen nicht sofort schreiben, weil ich durch verschiedene Arbeiten nicht Zeit dazu hatte, dann wartete ich bis ich den Scheck von der Bank eingelöst bekam, was erst am 4. Jänner 1934 erfolgte, nachdem die Bank erst in Los Angeles wegen Deckung anfragte und dadurch die Auszahlung so verzögert wurde. Überdies möchte ich Sie bei dieser Gelegenheit darauf aufmerksam machen, dass es für beide Teile, also sowohl für Sie als auch für mich, besser gewesen wäre, wenn Sie den Scheck nicht auf Dollar sondern auf österr. Schillinge ausgestellt hätten. Die Auszahlung wäre erstens sofort geschehen, überdies hätte ich den vollen Wert erhalten. Wie Sie aus beiliegenden Bankausweisen ersehen können, bekam ich infolge des kolossalen Dollarsturzes für diese 5 Dollar nicht 30 S.-sondern nur 25 S.50. (d.i. 27 S. ab Spesen 1 S 50.) Selbstverständlich sende ich Ihnen trotz des Verlustes die gewünschten Noten, nur möchte ich Sie für ein anderesmal ersuchen, in so einem Fall den Scheck auf österr. Schillinge auszustellen, wodurch keiner von uns Beiden Schaden erleiden kann.

Das Meister-Album gefällt mir sehr gut. Das Concerto Romantico muss ich Ihnen leider zurücksenden. Ich habe es durchgespielt und gefällt mir die Komposition sehr gut; nur habe ich nie besondere Vorliebe für die Besetzung Klavier und Gitarre gehabt (mir gefällt der Zusammenklang der beiden Instrumente nicht) und habe aus diesem Grunde keine praktische Verwendung dafür. Außerdem bin ich momentan nicht in der Lage, Ihnen für dieses Werk den Gegenwert in anderen Noten zu senden, nachdem der Betrag für hiesige Verhältnisse sehr hoch ist und ich die Abschrift der Noten in demselben Betrage, den ich Ihnen bekannt gab, selbst bezahlen muss. Ich hoffe dass Sie mir deshalb nicht böse sind, und wenn sich die Verhältnisse gebessert haben, wird sich gewiss wieder eine andere Gelegenheit bieten.

Es freut mich sehr, dass Sie so grosses Interesse für die Werke meines Onkels haben, und glaube sicher, dass Sie Ihnen auch gut gefallen werden. Übrigens hat er in letzter Zeit wieder einige grössere und kleinere Gitarre-Kammermusik-Werke geschrieben: u.zw.:

Variationen über ein eigenes Thema in A Dur für Flöte, Klarinette und Gitarre

Variationen im Stile der grössten österr. Meister über das Lied: „Mein schönes Innsbruck am grünen Inn“ für Gitarre, Flöte, Klarinette und eine Singstimme.

Deutsche Volkslieder-Suite für Flöte, Bratsche und Gitarre,

Internationale Volkslieder-Suite für Violine, Klarinette und Gitarre

Trio-Sonate in a moll für Oboe, Violoncello und Gitarre,

Variationen in Form einer Suite über das „Andreas Hofer-Lied“ für Violine, Bratsche, Violoncello und Gitarre.

Nun will ich Ihre Fragen bezüglich der anderen Werke, die ich in meinen Konzerten zur Aufführung brachte, beantworten.

Das Trio von Hindemith ist meines Wissens nicht gedruckt, ich bekam es in Abschrift von einem mir befreundeten Gitarristen in London.

Das Arioso aus der Johannes-Passion von Bach ist selbstverständlich in der gesamten Partitur der Johannespassion enthalten und gedruckt in verschiedenen Verlagen (z.B. Wiener Philharmonischer Verlag).

Präludium und Fuge von Schöfman ist nicht gedruckt; ich glaube aber sicher, dass Sie es abschriftlich bei dem Komponisten Karl Schöffmann, Wien, XII. Spittelbreitengasse 44, Stiege 14, haben können.

Die „Tanz-Suite“ von Salmhofer ist ebenfalls nicht gedruckt, ob sie erhältlich ist, können Sie auch nur bei dem Komponisten Kapellmeister Franz Salmhofer, Wien IV. Argentinierstrasse 53 erfahren.

Die „Zehn Variationen über einen Walzer von Beethoven“ von Pisk sind auch nicht gedruckt. Auskunft beim Komponisten: Dr. Paul Amadeus Pisk, Wien IV. Schleifmühlgasse 19.

Meine Gitarre von Alfred Vidoudez ist ein ganz ausgezeichnetes spanisches Modell und ich bin sehr zufrieden damit. Der Preis war 800 schweiz. Franken. Adresse von Alfred Vidoudez, Luthier du Conservatoire in Genf, 22 rue General Dofour. Schweiz.

Hauser Gitarren sind sehr bekannt als gute Instrumente, doch werden die spanischen Gitarren als Konzert-Instrumente meistens vorgezogen.

Die Zeitschrift „Der Gitarrefreund“ ist schon seit längerer Zeit nicht mehr erschienen, ebenso ist auch bis heute noch nicht diese Nummer der Zeitschrift „Die Gitarre“ von Schwarz-Reiflingen erschienen, in der der Artikel und die Kompositionen von Rebay enthalten sein sollen.

Selbstverständlich kenne ich Luise Walker und Alfred Rondorf.

Es hat mich sehr gefreut, dass Sie meine Tante Mrs. Down besuchten und danke für die Ausführungen und Grüsse; es hat mir und meiner Familie sehr leid getan zu hören, dass es ihr so schlecht geht. Wenn Sie diesen Brief nicht selbst übersetzen können und wieder zu ihr hingehen, so bitte ich Sie, von mir und meiner ganzen Familie ihr die herzlichsten Grüsse zu überbringen.

Ich bin in letzter Zeit sehr beschäftigt. Ausser in der Schule wo ich augenblicklich 64 Schülerinnen zu unterrichten habe, hatte ich einige Mitwirkungen. Überdies spiele ich seit dieser Saison in der Wiener Staatsoper Gitarre und Banjo. (Bei Verdi's „Othello“ Gitarre und bei Lehar's „Giuditta“ Banjo).

Gleichzeitig sende ich Ihnen die gewünschten Noten: Septett, 3 Gitarre-Solo-stücke und ein Lied und das Concerto-Romantico.

Indem ich Sie nochmals ersuche, mein langes Stillschweigen zu entschuldigen, hoffe ich, dass Sie viel Freude an den Kompositionen meines Onkels finden und bitte Sie mir den Empfang dieser Sendungen zu bestätigen. Es wird mich sehr interessieren wieder über Ihre Tätigkeit und über Ihr Werk zu hören und wünsche Ihnen grossen Erfolg und bin mit den besten Grüssen

Ihre

Gerta Hammerschmid.

Wien, 26. Mai 1935.

Sehr geehrte gnädige Frau!

Verzeihen Sie, dass ich Ihnen erst heute Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 8. April bestätige und Ihnen herzlich dafür danke. Ebenso danke ich Ihnen auch für das übersandte Geld im Beitrage von 6 \$ 13 = ö.Sch.31.88. Ich war in der letzten Zeit beruflich derart in Anspruch genommen, dass es mir leider nicht möglich war, Ihnen früher zu schreiben.

Heute sende ich Ihnen auch die gewünschten beiden Kompositionen von Rebay, das Lied „Verwunschen“ und das Quartett in d moll. Im gleichen Paket sende ich Ihnen auch die gewünschten Programme meiner bisherigen Konzerte, soweit ich noch solche übrig habe. Von einem besitze ich kein Programm mehr, statt dessen legte ich die Einladungskarten bei. Ausserdem sende ich Ihnen die Zeitschrift „Der Zeitspiegel“, in welcher mein Bild und eine Kritik über mein letztes Konzert enthalten ist. Ebenso lege ich auch einige Blätter aus der Zeitschrift „Radio-Wien“ bei, in welcher die Bilder meines Onkels und von mir, und ein Aufsatz über meinen Onkel und das Programm seiner Kompositionsstunde enthalten ist.

Vor einigen Tagen sandte ich Ihnen die Ankündigung dieser Kompositionsstunde meines Onkels in Radio-Wien, bei welcher ich auch mitwirkte und den Gitarrenpart spielte in dem Quartett.

Ich danke Ihnen herzlich auch in Namen meines Onkels für ihre lieben Gratulationen anlässlich meines Konzertes. Ich hatte wieder sehr grossen Erfolg damit. Die Werke sind durchwegs sehr schön, sind aber alle ungedruckt. Die Werke Rebay's könnten Sie ja wieder wie gewöhnlich abschriftlich durch mich haben, und an der beigelegten Liste können Sie die Preise derselben ansehen. Wegen der anderen Werke, von welchen besonders schön die Walzer-Suite von Karl Pilss ist, können Sie sich wieder direkt an die Komponisten wenden. Beifolgend hier ihre Adressen:

Kapellmeister Karl Pilss, Wien, VII. Seidengasse 26,

Dr. Franz Hasenöhr, Wien, IX. Schubertgasse 22,

Rudolf Bily, Wien, III. Kleistgasse 3.

Ich danke Ihnen herzlich für die mitgesandten Programme Ihrer letzten Konzerte. Es hat mich besonders interessiert, dass Sie die Pisk-Variationen aufgeführt haben. Übrigens enthalten Ihre Konzerte überaus interessante Programme und es ist sehr hoch zu schätzen, dass Sie so rege Propaganda für die österreichische Gitarremusik in Amerika machen. Ich wünsche Ihnen auch weiterhin grosse Erfolge in Ihrer Tätigkeit auf diesem Gebiete. Es freut mich im Besonderen, dass Sie so viel Interesse und Freude an den Kompositionen Rebay's haben. Hoffentlich wird es Ihnen auch bald möglich sein, einen „Rebay-Abend“, wie Sie einen solchen von Bohr machten, zu veranstalten. Wenn Sie dazu auch meine Tante, Mrs. Down, einladen würden, würden Sie dieser bestimmt eine ganz besondere Freude bereiten.

Sie wünschten die Preise der Werke Rebay's Nr. 55 bis 62 zu wissen; Ich habe Ihnen diese deshalb nicht angegeben, weil ich diese Werke selbst noch nicht zur Uraufführung gebracht habe, und ich sie infolgedessen vorderhand noch nicht aus der Hand gebe. Die Werke, welche ich in meinem Konzert am 15. Mai 1934 und am 9. April 1935 [spielte], sowie in Radio-Wien spielte, waren durchwegs neue Werke und können Sie deren Preise auch aus der Liste ersehen. Unter allen anderen Kompositionen, welche ich in meinen Konzerten aufführte, hatten seine Kompositionen immer den grössten Erfolg. Wenn Sie seine Werke aufführen werden, so haben Sie selbstverständlich damit auch die Erstaufführung in Amerika, denn ich stehe ausser mit Ihnen mit keinem anderen amerikanischen Gitarristen in Verbindung. Ich wünsche Ihnen nur, das Sie in Amerika ebensolche grosse Erfolge mit Rebays Kompositionen haben, wie ich hier in Wien.

Sie schreiben in Ihrem Briefe, dass Sie über mich und mein Konzert eine Notiz in dem amerikanischen Magazin „The Serenader“ in vergangenen Jahre eingesendet haben. Bitte, wäre es nicht möglich von dieser Nummer dieser Zeitschrift 3 Exemplare mir zu übersenden? Den Preis dieser 3 Hefte bitte mir bekanntzugeben, dass ich Ihnen - wenn es Ihnen so angenehm ist - den Betrag bei weiteren Abschriften in Abrechnung bringen kann. Im Übrigen habe ich mich sehr gefreut, dass Sie eine Notiz in dem amerikanischen Magazin geschrieben haben über mich und ich bin Ihnen sehr dankbar dafür.

Ich würde mich sehr freuen, bald wieder einen so interessanten Brief von Ihnen zu erhalten, und indem ich Ihnen auch die besten Grüsse und Wünsche meines Onkels überbringe, wünsche ich selbst Ihnen immer viel Erfolg und bleibe mit den herzlichsten Grüssen

Ihre

Gerta Hammerschmid.

N.B. Nachdem das Porto für die beiden Werke nach Amerika ö.Sch. 1.82 beträgt, möchte ich Sie bitten, entweder diesen Betrag bei nächster Gelegenheit zu senden, oder eventuell für die oben bestellten 3 Exemplare des „The Serenader“ in Verrechnung zu nehmen.

Die Preisliste der neuen Rebay Werke siehe auf nächster Seite.

[PRICE-LIST]

Nr. 72 bis 78 spielte ich am 24. Dezember 1934 in Radio-Wien bei einer Sendung „Weihnachtsmusik“ aufgeführt von der Wiener Hofmusikkapelle und den Wiener Sängerknaben.

Wien, 10. Juli 1938

Sehr geehrte gnädige Frau!

Mit grosser Freude erhielt ich schon vor längerer Zeit Ihren freundlichen Brief und das schöne Mozart-Album. Verzeihen Sie bitte, dass ich Ihnen erst heute für all dies herzlichst danke und ganz besonders für Ihre freundliche Widmung des „Andante grazioso“. Ich habe mich sehr gefreut. Ich wollte Ihnen schon lange schreiben, doch werden Sie ja wissen, welche grosse politische Umwälzungen Österreich betroffen haben und da gab es natürlich auch im Beruf grosse Umwälzungen und mögen Sie das als Entschuldigung nehmen für mein langes Stillsschweigen.

Die Schallplattensendung von Señor Martinez Oyanguren habe ich nicht gehört; ich selbst habe auch von mir noch keine Schallplatten-Aufnahme machen lassen. Weder die Gitarrezeitschrift von Prof. Ortner, noch „Der Gitarrefreund“ und „Die Gitarre“ sind seither wieder erschienen; ich kenne augenblicklich auf diesem Gebiet keine deutsche Fach-Zeitschrift. Ich selbst habe alle Jahre immer ein eigenes Konzert gegeben, mit Ausnahme des letzten Jahres, wo es infolge der politischen Verhältnisse leider abgesagt werden musste. Ich schicke Ihnen gleichzeitig als Drucksache meine letzten Konzertprogramme und einige Kritiken über diese Konzerte, welche in den Wiener Tageszeitungen erschienen sind. Ich würde mich sehr freuen, wenn Sie davon etwas in Ihrem Gitarre-Magazin veröffentlichen wollen. Über Dr. Paul A. Pisk weiß ich nichts Näheres, nur glaube ich, dass dieses Werk „10 Variationen über einen Walzer von Beethoven“ das einzige Werk, das er für Gitarre geschrieben hat, ist. Segovia spielte voriges Jahr und auch heuer wieder in Wien und setzte alle Gitarristen und Gitarreliebhaber in volle Begeisterung. Ich habe selbstverständlich immer seine Konzerte gehört.

Mein Onkel, Prof. Ferd. Rebay, hat wieder einige schöne Werke für Gitarre komponiert; eine Liste der Werke, die Sie eventuell abschriftlich kaufen könnten, lege ich Ihnen bei. Mit einem Tausch zwischen Rebay-Kompositionen und Werken Ihrer Ausgabe wird es leider nicht gut gehen, nachdem ich die meisten dieser Werke kenne und besitze oder anderseits die Werke infolge der mir nicht entsprechenden Instrumentalbesetzung nicht in Frage kommen. Ausserdem sind die amerikanischen Preise für unsere Valuta unerschwinglich teuer. In Ihrem Programm „Englischer Komponisten“ vom Jänner 1936 interessieren mich einige alte Werke u.zw.: Duett für 2 Lauten von John Dowland (1597) und Songs with Lute accompaniment:

Fair if You Expect Admiring (From Book of Airs with Lute) Thomas Campion (1601)

Sweet Nymph, Come to Thy Lover (Canzonetta with Lute) Thomas Morley (1593)

Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes (Old English)

Bitte, teilen Sie mir mit, ob und wo diese Werke in Druck erschienen sind; wenn es in Ihrem Verlag ist, so wäre vielleicht damit ein Notenaustausch möglich.

Indem ich Sie nochmals bitte mein langes Stillschweigen zu entschuldigen, werde ich mich freuen bald wieder von Ihnen zu hören, und bleibe mit den besten Grüßen

Ihre

Gerta Hammerschmid.

Ich sandte Ihnen jedes Jahr eine Einladung zu meinem Konzert; aber auf Ihre alte Adresse. Haben Sie diese nicht erhalten? Ich habe immer viele Schuler in der Staatslehrerinnenbildungsanstalt, im Wiener Volksbildungsverein und privat. Seit 4 Jahren spiele ich auch immer mit den Wiener Philharmonikern bei den Salzburger Festspielen das Gitarre-Solo in „Falstaff“ von Verdi, den bis jetzt Arturo Toscanini dirigierte.

[PRICE-LIST]

Die Preise sind in deutschen Reichsmark und dazu kommen die jeweiligen Portospesen!

Vienna, 25. July 1949.

Dear Mrs. Bickford!

Some time ago I received your kind letter dated 19. of March of this year. I was very pleased to get at last news from you again, and I say many thanks. But I regret very much never to have received your announced programmes and music. The enclosed Dollar I only got after a long and circumstantial way through the Austrian Nationalbank at the exchange of Austr. Shill. 9.20 of this sum reduced 70 grosch. postage remain S 8.50. However, I will speak over this question at a later term.

I got a long letter from you in the winter 1946, in which you had sent to me before to a wrong address in New York. In answer to that in summer 1947 I wrote a long detailed letter to you, which as I see from your last letter you never got. From these circumstances I suppose you will understand that our postal service is long not yet normal like in the time of peace. Although it is of course already much better since the latter few years, it is still very unsure in the way of sending printed matters. This is the reason why it is still impossible to accomplish your different wishes concerning the compositions of my uncle. The risk would be too great. However the prices are long not anymore those of the year 1938, the times have not passed trackless for us. One can say that the average of the prices are today the tenth part from before. An exact statement of price would neither be necessary nor suitable, as it would be almost impossible to send any thing. Besides a payment or rather sending of Dollars is not possible: means a payment of Austrian wares, in this case music, you could only manage in the way of "Love gifts" or presents. These Austrian S 8.50, which I received for your Dollar reach just for one song postage included, as also the postage has become very expensive. So I will enclose in this letter for above mentioned sum one of your desired songs hoping that this letter will reach you. I beg you to acknowledge at once the receipt of this letter.

Since the year 1938 my uncle has done many compositions for the guitar; I will send you very willingly a list of his newest compositions. I only beg you to kindly let me know beforehand which composition is the last on your list, so I can continue the new works to that one. Those pieces which I played in my concert were all manuscripts from Diabelli from an old print. The Rondo from Hindemith is his only original composition for the guitar. I keep a certain right of producing and cannot therefore let you have a copy. Your wishes concerning the compositions of my uncle I will willingly fulfil, as above mentioned at a later time, as soon as the post and money exchange go on in order.

As you never received my letter from the year of 1947, I will relate again with a few words the terrible years of the nazigovernment. It is quite impossible for anybody, who has not gone through those times of privation and events, especially of those yearful [*sic*] terrors of the aerial war and the battles which raged wer [*sic*] our town and country. I personally, as well as my uncle got through it all comparatively well although later on after the war I suffered in consequence of the past terrible days of famine, and therefore turned ill with a very bad

nervous complaint in the year 1946 and could only begin real work a year later. I was the whole time active in my profession, gave many concerts with guitar part in the orchestra of the Vienna State Operahouse and am professor for my instrument at the States School for Institution for becoming teachers in Vienna. Since last year I have also been called as University teacher for the guitar at the Educational institute of the town of Vienna. I also play now and then at the Radio. There is always a great deal of work. I am very pleased to hear that you are busy at the guitar circle in Hollywood, your communications interest me very much and I am only very sorry, that I never received your above mentioned last music and the programmes. A hard task is the question in the way of the cords, as the best ones from Pirastro come from Germany and are not get to be got here. A year ago I got from a former pupil—a young American, who has returned since to her native country an original run of strings from Augustine Nylon from New York as a gift. They are quite wonderful and I am enchanted with them, they are the best I know. I am playing in them since 6 months and they have never changed their tune since the beginning. Unfortunately they are not to be had here.

Now I have told you a lot about here and all concerning the movements in Austrian guitar circles and hope that this letter will reach you.

I enlise [*sic*] an account of this song in my letter and beg you to write me a detailed letter soon again and if you wish occasionally to send some music, please send it registered, as that is the surest way.

With best of wishes and greetings ever yours

Gertha Hammerschmied.

Wien VI., Grabnergasse 12

Austria

I have ordered that a list of the latest compositions for guitar should get sent to you by the firm of Hawlik in Vienna. My aunt Mrs. Down and her daughter Stella Reichell, are still alive and meantime in Puente, 826 Sycamore Avenue, California; my aunt is very ill. If you would have the time to visit her once, I would be very happy.

Otto Schindler was badly wounded during the war, but plays still on the guitar, but not any more as a composer.

Richard Dewath, who played in my concert, is a pupil of mine. A young man, who gives a lot of good hopes for the future.

Karl Scheit was formerly a colleague of mine at the academy for music.

Luise Walker is married and is professor at the State academy for music. There are two guitar circles in Vienna, but neither of them do much in public life.

Professor Ortner has just celebrated his 70th birthday, he and his wife are according to the circumstances fairly well; only they lost their only son.

I play in a guitar from Alfred Vidoudez in Geneva and am perfectly satisfied with it, it is in every way equal to the original Spanish instruments from Simplicio and Hernandez. Excepting to this instrument I possess still two from Hlawza in Vienna which are certainly the very best of all the German firms. I personally think he is the very best maker of guitars in Austria.

song: ö.S. 4.80

paper "" -.70

Postage "" 3.-

An Mrs. Vahdah Olcott Bickford

2031 Holly Hill Terrace

Hollywood 28 - California

U.S.A.

Dec. 1, 1949

Dear Miss Hammerschmid:

A few days after I last wrote you (in August, I believe) my husband and I drove out to visit your Aunt, Mrs. Down and had a nice visit with her. She is much better than she was but still looks a bit frail. Her daughter was away working as she is a nurse, the Sunday that we were there so we did not get to meet her. It was quite a long trip out there but we were so glad to see her again and enjoyed our visit with her very much. She is a very fine person.

I hope that you received the music (several pieces) which I sent you on Aug. 22nd, and also the \$1.00 in money for more of the Rebay Mss. Please let me have a letter from you about everything.

I was delighted to receive a couple of days ago the Rebay duet collection which has recently been published and thank you very much. I also want to thank you very much for your programs which were enclosed and which I am so glad to have for my scrap book.

As soon as I hear from you again I will send you some more of my music. I am also sending you the two latest AGS programs.

I would like to have the Rebay Sonate in D-Moll for Klarinette and Guitar. Can you tell me the price of this (and also the complete list of his works) in your next letter, which I hope will come soon, please.

I have not known of Karl Hermann Pilss till I saw his name on your program as composer of Walzer-Suite for Flute, Klarinette, Violin, Viola and Guitar. I would also like very much to have this if you can tell me if it is available in printed music, or, if only in Mss. please give me the price of it.

I am also interested to have the following compositions by Ferdinand Rebay: Sonate in D-dur for Flute and Guitar and Grand Duo for Guitar and Klavier in a-moll. My husband plays the piano beautifully and we like to play duets together. It is so little known in our country. We are the only ones doing it for the past many years. I am also much interested in Rebay's "Lyrische Suite" for viole d'amour and guitar. I am to play the lute in solos and also accompanying the violin (a very fine violinist) at the forthcoming chamber concerts of ancient music at the Los Angeles Museum concert series on Dec. 16th.

I would also like very much to have Rebay's Variationen on "Weihnachtswiegenlied" by E. Mandyczewski for Flute, Viola, Guitar and Klavier. Please tell me the price of each of these numbers in your next letter.

I also would like to have the following: A. Ariosti (1660) "Lezione" for Viola d'amore and Guitar, L. von Beethoven: Mennuett for Viola d'amore and Guitar (arranged by Max Weißgärber) and

Unbekannter Meister (1690) Dudlesack-Menuetto-Rigaudon-Rondo for viola d'amore and Guitar.

Also, please send me the price of Rebay's Sonate for Violin and Guitar, dedicated to Max Weißgärber.

Also, please send me the prices of the following works by Rebay for chamber music:

Suite in Alten Stil in E Dur for 2 guitars

Kleine Serenade for Horn and Guitar

6 Variations on the old Folk Song "Schnitter Tod" for 2 guitars

6 Variations on des Kinderlied "Alle Voglein sind schon da" for 2 guitars

Quartet in D-moll for violin, viola, 'cello and guitar.

I would also like to have the Franz Hasenöhrle Rondo for flute and guitar, and the Rebay Trio in A-dur for Flute, Klarinette and Guitar also, Karl H. Pilss Sonatine in A dur for Oboe and Guitar and the Arthur J. Scholz – Suite for Flute, Klarinette and Guitar, the Sonate in E-Dur Nr. 1 for guitar solo, and Rebay's Grand Duo in A Moll for Guitar and Klavier, the Arthur Joh. Scholz – Divertimento for Flute and Guitar and the Ibert Entr'Acte for Flute and Guitar.

I think that I have most of Luigi Legnani's Guitar solos of which I am very proud as they all seem to have been out of print for many years, but I did not know of his Duo concertante, Op. 23 for violin and guitar which you played on one of your concerts in 1944. I would like very much to have this so please tell me where or how I may get it?

I would also like to have the Rebay Sonate in E moll for violin and guitar and Arthur Joh. Scholz – Moorish Serenade in 3 movements, for violin and guitar. – also F. Hasenöhrle – Introduction and Menuett for violin and guitar, and would also like to see the guitar accompaniment to the Sarasate Romanza Andaluza, Op. 22, No. 1 by Otto Schindler. My husband and I played this as a duet at one of our Spanish programs this year, but the guitar accompaniment was arranged by my friend Clarence Easley and is in Mss. It is very good, however, and we enjoyed doing it.

As you will see, by the program I am sending you, we did a program as a tribute to Chopin in this, the 100th year anniversary of his death, in which we played an entire Chopin program. I would like to have the Prelude, Op. 28, No. 7, for violin and guitar as arranged by Rebay. I play it as a guitar solo, the Tarrega transcription, and have always loved it very much and think it suits the guitar beautifully.

I would also like to have the Bolero by Rebay for Violin and Guitar, which he dedicated to you. Please give me the price. We are planning to give our 5th Spanish program in Feb. and it would be nice if we could have this music in time to use it on the program.

The Slavische Rhapsody for violin, viola and guitar by Franz Salmhofer, sounds very interesting. Please tell me how much it would be for this number?

Also, the Quartett in a-moll for Flute, Guitar, Viola and 'Cello by Rebay would be something I would love to have. Do not fail to quote me prices on all of these that I have mentioned.

I have some of the Anton Diabelli duets for guitar and piano but have never had his Op. 105, Grande Serenade concertante for Flute, Viola and Guitar and am anxious to have it. Please quote me price if it is either published or in Mss.

Please also quote me the price of the Rebay Suite on an old French Volkslied for 1 Terz and 2 Prim-Guitars.

I understand that Paul Hindemith is now living in New York but so far I have been unable to obtain his address. I would like so very much to obtain his Rondo for 3 Guitars. Do you know if it is published or what price it would be if in Mss.?

I would especially like to have the Rebay Spanish Serenade (on Spanish Folk Songs) for Flute and Guitar, if possible so that we might do it on our AGS Spanish program in Feb. We have a fine flutist whom we could get to play it with me. So please send me the price of this by return mail, and also any of the other Spanish numbers that I have listed in this letter.

The wonderful work you are doing and have done throughout the past many years for the guitar in the chamber-music field is outstanding and I congratulate you a thousand times for this very fine work to acquaint the public with our beloved instrument, the guitar, in this capacity. It is one of its loveliest mediums, I think, and I wish so very much that I might have had the joy of hearing each of these fine concerts that you have given. The next best thing to that is to have the programs for my scrap book and so I thank you so very much for sending them.

I also thank you for the lists of music available from the two publishers you sent the circulars from and I had already written them some months ago trying to get all of this music but never received a reply to my letters but today am sending air mail letters to both, trying again to get this fine music.

I am sending you a Christmas greeting card from The American Guitar Society and wish you all the happiness possible for the holidays and a very happy, successful year for 1950. I am also sending you a little guitar solo, which I hope you may like, under separate cover.

Please do write me soon and send me the prices on all the music and [incomplete phrase].

This coming Sunday I am to play lute solos and accompany a singer on old French songs with lute, at a very select chamber music concert in the Sunset Strip in Hollywood. On Dec. play the lute at the Museum Chamber Music series, and on Jan. 19th, play guitar solos and accompany a singer in an entire program, partly songs with the lute (ancient) – songs with the guitar, and duets for flute and guitar, at the Pepperdine College Concert series.

Please write soon, telling me all the news of the guitar in Vienna and other parts, and let me know if you received the letter with the money enclosed for Rebay music, mss. etc. and be sure to send me the list of prices on all the many numbers I have listed in this letter and I hope to be able to eventually get them all.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Vahdah Olcott-Bickford

P.S. Please also extend my best holiday greetings to your uncle, Ferdinand Rebay and congratulate him for me on this guitar duet book and the fertility of his pen in writing so much fine music for the guitar and for other instruments with the guitar. And thank you again for the Rebay guitar duet album.

3rd April, 1950

Dear Mrs. Vahdah,

First of all I hope you are all right. I wonder if you received my long letter written to you in October 1949, as well as some pieces of music I sent you at the same time. About Christmas I also sent you a card with greetings. But up to now I did not get any sign from you. As my letter was written in German, I do not know whether you succeeded in finding a person who was able to translate it. If not, send it back, please, in order I shall have it done here.

In the Viennese periodical "Folk Music" I wrote a short report on you and your activity in Hollywood. Enclosed you will find a translation of it.

My cousine Stella Reichell (daughter of Mrs. Down), wrote that you will meet with her. Many thanks for bringing about the meeting.

I am looking forward to a letter from you telling me all about it.

With all good wishes,

I remain,

Yours

Gertha Hammerschmied

PS: Enclosed 3 continuations of the list of compositions of my uncle.

[PRICE-LIST]

[TRANSLATION OF THE AFOREMENTIONED ARTICLE]

9) GH.VOB.SEP.07.1953

Dear Mrs. Vahdah,

Why don't I hear from you anymore? The last time I heard from you was in 1949; since then I wrote to you several times the last time in March 53, when I included some new music by Rebay. Did you not receive it, for have had no answer from you about it?

Today I would like to ask you a favour: I was asked to play for the U.S. Information Center including in the program some works for guitar and piano by an American composer. My accompanist is a former student of mine, a young American who studied at Oberlin. As I noticed from your programs that you were often accompanied by your husband on the piano, I would like to ask if you could send me some music suitable for this purpose. Maybe I would supply you with works by Austrian composers in return. Would you be so kind and notify me immediately whether you can help me at all in this matter?

I would really be very glad to hear from you again.

Very sincerely yours,

Gertha Hammerschmied

Spt. 7, 1953

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