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A HISTORY OF THE NEAPOLITAN MANDOLINE FROM ITS ORIGINS UNTIL
THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, WITH A THEMATIC INDEX OF
PUBLISHED AND MANUSCRIPT MUSIC FOR THE INSTRUMENT.

BY

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to *The City*
University, Department of Music.

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VOLUME I

A HISTORY OF THE NEAPOLITAN MANDOLINE.

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ABSTRACT

VOLUME I - HISTORY

The 4-course *mandoline* was developed in Naples in the 1740's, principally by the Vinaccia family. It is differentiated from the earlier 4, 5, or 6-course *mandolino* by its deeper body, moveable bridge, violin tuning, higher string tension with partial use of metal stringing, and the universal application of quill technique.

This thesis traces the great popularity which the *mandoline* enjoyed throughout Europe, especially in France, between 1760 and 1785. Italian virtuosos, such as Leoné, Cifolelli, and Nonnini, performed at the *Concert Spirituel* in Paris, and won enthusiastic reviews from musical journals. Many mandolinists published tuition books there, as well as approximately 85 volumes of music for their instrument. The *mandoline* was also popular in Lyon, where Fouchetti and Verdone were leading players, teachers, and composers.

This thesis also examines the history of the instrument in Britain, Germany, Russia, North America, and the Habsburg Empire, where there was a resurgence of interest in all types of mandolin in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially in Prague and Vienna. Much new music was produced, including repertoire items by Mozart, Beethoven, and Hummel.

The evolution of *mandoline* construction, stringing, playing technique, and style is discussed, with reference to surviving treatises of the period. Instruments closely related to the *mandoline* are also described.

VOLUME II - THEMATIC INDEX

This catalogues all known eighteenth and early nineteenth century published and manuscript music for *mandoline*, listed alphabetically by composer. It was compiled after a systematic search of lists of published music in eighteenth century music journals, and after extensive research in major music libraries worldwide, using a name list of several hundred known composers for *mandoline* and *mandolino*. Each entry consists of composer's name, dates, full title, location of any surviving copy or copies, date of publication (where applicable), number of pages, and thematic incipit of each movement. In some cases, only partial information has been obtainable. For completeness, music for other types of mandolin composed prior to 1820 is included, though without thematic incipit.

VOLUME III - EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MUSIC FOR MANDOLINE

The final volume consists of a selection of some of the finest pieces from the *mandoline* repertoire, each with a short introductory note. They range from solo variations to concertos and chamber works. Full scores have been prepared where appropriate.

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, very little research into the history and repertoire of the mandolin had been conducted. The few studies that had been written, principally Philip J. Bone's *The Guitar and Mandolin* (1914) and Konrad Wölki's *Geschichte der Mandoline* (1939), were valuable, but dealt only briefly with the early mandolin, and tended to be anecdotal rather than factual, lacking in detail and references, and frequently inaccurate. In recent years, a number of articles, particularly those of James Tyler in *Early Music* (1981a and 1981b), have placed mandolin study on a more scholarly footing. However, this thesis is, to my knowledge, the first work to deal extensively with the eighteenth century Neapolitan mandoline, to chart its history and development, and to present an exhaustive catalogue of repertoire for the instrument.

The brief articles about the mandolin in music dictionaries all too often fail to differentiate between the various instruments which share this name, particularly the two principal types, commonly known today as the Milanese and Neapolitan mandolins. The former type, in its classic eighteenth century form, resembles a small lute, with a pear-shaped outline and rounded back, a flat soundboard with rosette, a fixed bridge glued to the soundboard, a wide neck, and between four and six courses of double (or occasionally single) gut strings. The latter type has a much

deeper round-backed body, a canted soundboard, an open sound hole, a thin moveable bridge, and four pairs of mostly metal strings tuned like a violin. These two instruments have quite distinct histories, repertoires and playing techniques.

In order to distinguish between the various types in this thesis, I shall follow the nomenclature used by James Tyler and Paul Sparks in *The Early Mandolin* (1989), where the earlier, lute-like instrument is given the Italian name *mandolino* (since this was most commonly used by its contemporary players, makers, and composers), and the later, violin-tuned instrument is called by the French term *mandoline* (since, despite its Southern Italian roots, its own repertoire was developed mainly in France). Other less important types, such as Genoese and Cremonese mandolins, will be referred to in full, the term "mandolin" being reserved for occasions when all types of the instrument are being discussed.

Material for this thesis has been gathered from various sources. The most important has been an extensive study of Parisian journals published between 1749 and 1795, noting all reviews of, and references to, mandolinists, and obtaining dates of publication for their compositions. Additionally, a wide range of books dealing with music in Paris during this period was consulted. This mode of research was repeated to a lesser extent for a dozen other European cities (and one American), and was supplemented by

extensive consultation of books concerned with music, art, and travel to France and Italy during the second half of the eighteenth century. Using the biographical list of mandolinists thus acquired, about two hundred and fifty music libraries throughout the world were investigated for surviving music, wherever possible in person, but in most cases via letter, published catalogues, personal contacts with mandolinists in other countries, and the index of published music issued by RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, 1971). The main source material for stringing and technique was found in the seven Paris, and one Leipzig, treatises for the instrument, supplemented by the reading of a range of contemporary tutors for other instruments, especially guitar and violin.

The mandolin is frequently denigrated by musicians, who view it as a lowly, vulgar instrument without a serious solo repertoire, redeemed only by an occasional fleeting appearance in a Mozart opera or a Mahler symphony. This thesis demonstrates that the various types of mandolin played an active part in seventeenth and eighteenth century musical life, and that the *mandoline*, during the second half of the eighteenth century, was widely regarded as an aristocratic instrument, being composed for by most of the leading composers of that period. It also refutes a number of unfounded but persistent myths about the instrument, showing that tremolo was a standard technique during this

period, and that all-metal stringing was a nineteenth century development.

Libraries are referred to throughout this thesis by their RISM sigla (a list of those used is given in the introduction to volume II).

As far as possible, I have preserved the eccentricities of eighteenth century orthography when reproducing titles. For ease of reading I have however adjusted some of the more wayward spelling and accenting in volume I (volume II reproduces them exactly as in the original).

CHAPTER 1

THE EARLY MANDOLINO

The lute-like forerunner of the *mandolino* was probably introduced into Southern Europe in the tenth century, and, by the thirteenth century, was known throughout Europe by a variety of names, including *quitaire*, *gyterne*, *gittern*, and *chitarra* (Wright, 1977). At this time, the whole instrument (round body, neck, and peg-box) was carved from a single piece of wood, and fitted with between three single and four double gut, or possibly metal, strings. No medieval music for *gittern* appears to have survived.

By the late sixteenth century, the instrument was known in France as the *mandore* (amongst many other names), and two volumes of music for it had been published: Pierre Brunet's *Tablature de Mandorre* (Paris, 1578), and Adrien Le Roy's *L'instruction pour la mandorre* (Paris, 1585), both now lost. The various tunings for four and five course *mandore* given by Praetorius (1619) alternate intervals of perfect fourths and fifths, e.g. c'-g'-c"-g" and c-f-c'-f'-c". This tuning distinguishes the French *mandore* from all other plucked instruments of the period. A good deal of music for the instrument was composed during the seventeenth century, mostly in tablature, after which interest declined.

In Italy, a similar instrument was known as the *mandola* by the late sixteenth century. The first known use of the term *mandolino* occurs in an instrument maker's bill dated 1634

amongst the papers of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome (Tyler & Sparks 1989, 14). The standard tuning in Italy for a four-course *mandolino* was e'-a'-d"-g". During the seventeenth century, a fifth course tuned to b was added, and by the early eighteenth century, an additional course tuned to g gave the conventional tuning g-b-e'-a'-d"-g" for the six-course gut-strung *mandolino*, a tuning which has survived to the present day.

The seventeenth century produced numerous manuscript and published works for *mandolino*, including pieces in Giovanni Pietro Ricci's *Scuola d'intavolatura* (Rome, 1677); and a manuscript of c. 1675-85 in I:Fc (ms. 3802). Amongst the most distinguished makers of *mandolini* was Antonio Stradivari, two of whose instruments (1680 and c. 1706) and seven of whose drawings of body patterns survive (Sacconi, 1979). During the second half of the century, obbligato parts for *mandolino* began to appear in vocal arias, such as in the oratorio *Ismaele* by Carlo Cesarini (San Marcello, Rome, 1695); and an untitled cantata, dated 1699, by Alessandro Scarlatti. An Aria with mandolin obbligato became a frequent set piece in Italian operas and oratorios from this time onwards.

The eighteenth century was a golden age for the *mandolino* or *mandola* (both terms were used throughout this period), producing an enormous number of publications and manuscripts for the instrument, with tablature gradually giving way to standard notation. From manuscripts such as the *Libro per la*

Mandola dell' Illust^{mo} Sig^{ro} Matteo Caccini a di p^o Agosto
1703 (E:Pn, Rés. Vm b ms. 9) it is clear that the *mandolino*
was frequently played with the fingers of the right hand,
rather than the plectrum which became standard later in the
century. Leading players and composers in the early part of
the century include Francesco Conti and Filippo Sauli.
Probably the most celebrated compositions in the *mandolino*
repertoire are the three concertos by Antonio Vivaldi,
composed between 1720 and 1740. Other outstanding items
include a concerto by Johann Adolf Hasse (D-ddr: Bds ms.
Landsberg 313/8) c. 1740, a set of twelve *sonate a due*
Mandolini e Basso by F. Giuseppe Paolucci (I:Ac 178/1) 1758-
61, and a sonata by Giovanni Battista Sammartini
(I:Ffornaciari) c. 1750. A collection in I:G1(1) includes
quartets by Alessandro Rolla, duets by J. K. Stamitz and
Ignaz Pleyel, and a concerto by Antonio Maria Giuliani
(Volume II includes an exhaustive list of *mandolino*
repertoire).

Although the *mandolino* was somewhat eclipsed by the
mandoline during the second half of the eighteenth century,
it experienced a resurgence of popularity c. 1800. A large
collection of manuscript music for *mandolino* in A:Wgm
contains many pieces by Johann Hoffmann, including a
concerto with wind and strings, and two quartets for
mandolino, violin, viola, and cello. Other composers
represented include Melchior Chiesa, Giuseppe Blesber and
Johann Conrad Schlik.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance given by James Tyler in the compilation of this chapter, particularly in allowing me access to his research notes into the history and repertoire of the *mandolino*, prior to their publication in Tyler & Sparks (1989)

CHAPTER 2

NAPLES AND THE ORIGINS OF A NEW INSTRUMENT

The entry of Charles Bourbon into Naples in 1734, at the head of his Spanish army, signalled the beginning of a golden age of Neapolitan culture. Although Naples was the third largest city in Europe (after London and Paris), and the Neapolitan kingdom comprised the whole of the south of Italy (including Sicily), the region had languished under foreign rule for centuries until Charles established it as an autonomous kingdom, and encouraged the emergence there of a distinctive Neapolitan style in art and music. The next few years saw the building of the San Carlo opera house, the porcelain factory at Capodimonte, and the enlargement of the *Palazzo Reale*, while increased artistic patronage led to a flowering of Neapolitan painting (Litchfield, 1981).

In music, a distinctive Neapolitan style of composition was developing, lighter and more melodic than that then in favour elsewhere in Europe. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-36) is today the best remembered of a school of composers who developed a form of opera in a Neapolitan dialect. The four Neapolitan conservatoires became famous throughout Europe and a period of study at one of them was an important step in the career of any aspiring operatic musician. Throughout the eighteenth century, Naples exported a steady stream of composers and singers to other European

capitals, and the Neapolitan style became a principal influence on international musical taste.

Naples has had a long association with a variety of popular plectrum-played stringed instruments, dating back to at least the fifteenth century, when Arabian wire-strung long lutes of the *bouzouki* type were introduced there, were modified with characteristics of Italian lute construction, and became known as *colascioni*. Metal-strung guitars were popular in Naples from the seventeenth century onwards, often strummed with a plectrum as an accompaniment to song and dance (Baines, 1966, 49). A third instrument was discussed by Filippo Bonanni in his *Gabinetto armonico* of 1722, where he describes the *pandura*:

Pandura si dice dalli Napoletani l'istromento seguente, la forma di cui è poco differente dalla Mandola, ma è di mole molto più grande; è armato di otto corde di metallo, e si suona con la penna, e rende grata armonia.

The accompanying illustrations in Bonanni's book are however thoroughly unreliable and unilluminating - his artist's drawing of the *pandura* has 10 tuning pegs.

An important breakthrough in instrument construction occurred in Naples c. 1740 with the introduction of the broken, or canted, table. Canting was accomplished either by bending the soundboard over a hot poker, or by cutting a notch along its underside, just behind the bridge, before fixing it to the body of the instrument. The final shape distributed the string tension more equally throughout the whole instrument than was the case with the traditional flat

table and glued bridge of the *mandolino*. This new design became a common and distinctive Neapolitan trait, particularly on the *chitarra battente* and the newly developed *mandoline*. It should be noted that, although earlier instruments with canted table exist, such as the *chitarra battente* by Jacobus Stadler, Munich 1624 (London: Hill Collection), these examples have clearly been modified since their original construction.

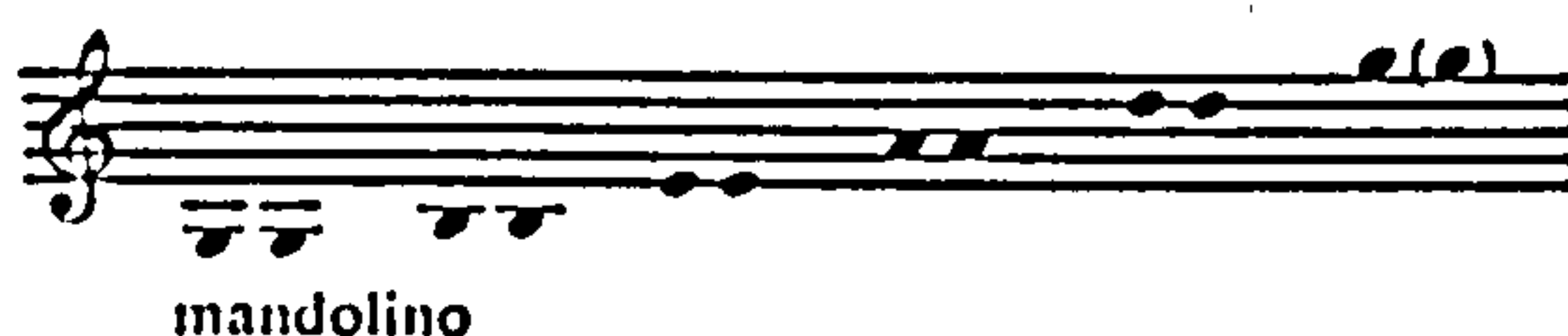
During the eighteenth century, the emphasis on musical performance throughout Europe was expanding from the intimate surroundings of private houses to the larger spaces of the ever-increasing number of public concert halls and opera houses. Luthiers responded to this challenge by increasing the string tension, and often the size, of instruments so that they could be heard in these larger surroundings. Some instruments, such as those of the viol family, were unable to make the change and, apart from in the hands of a few virtuosos, never moved from domestic to general public performance. In the case of the mandolin, Neapolitan luthiers deepened the back (or bowl) of the instrument and made use of the canted table in order that a greater string tension could be borne than was the case with the *mandolino*.

Instruments of this period commonly have tables made from pine, with the bowl constructed from between eleven and thirty-five sycamore, rosewood, or maple ribs. On the best Neapolitan *mandolines* each rib was fluted (that is, scooped

out after it had been glued in place, so that the back presented a series of crests and troughs). The pair of ribs nearest to the soundboard is much deeper than the others and gives to the *mandoline* its distinctive deep curve, much more pronounced than that encountered on any other type of plucked instrument. The hardwood fingerboard found on the best instruments was decorated with ivory, and lay flush with the soundboard at the tenth fret, unlike modern instruments where the fingerboard runs over the table and stops at or over the soundhole. Metal or ivory frets were fixed into slots on the fingerboard. The flat pegboard with sagittal pegs (inserted from the rear) followed the Neapolitan tradition of guitar and *chitarra battente* construction, rather than the scrolled head and side pegs of the *mandolino*. The soundhole was open, and between it and the bridge was a protective plate, made of either tortoiseshell or of a piece of inlaid hardwood. By fixing the strings to hitchpins at the base of the instrument, the problem of table rupture, which is encountered on the lute-type of fixed glued bridge at high tensions, was avoided. The average overall length of the *mandoline* was about 56 cm, with a string playing length of about 33.5cm. (Coates, 1985, 136-9 discusses *mandoline* geometry, and the transformation of instrument proportions, from the first Vinaccia *mandolines* to the corpulent instruments of the early nineteenth century).

However the most significant difference between *mandolino* and *mandoline* lies not in construction, but in tuning. The traditional fourth-based tuning of the *mandolino*, a tuning which favours a chordal style of playing, has been replaced by a tuning in fifths, which gives to the *mandoline* many of the characteristics of the violin. Whereas to a conventionally trained musician the *mandolino* was a separate study, the *mandoline* was easily understood by any composer or performer familiar with the violin, which had, by the eighteenth century, become the undisputed king of the bowed instrument family. As Signor Leoné of Naples pointed out on page 1 of his *méthode* of 1768:

La Mandoline s'accorde exactement comme le Violon en quinte, il y a quelques autres Instruments d'une forme à peu près semblable qu'on nome Mandoles en Italie, et que l'Etranger confond souvent avec celui dont il sagit ici, qui est le plus parfait et qui doit avec justice participer aux prerogatives du Violon reconnu pour l'Instrument le plus universel et le plus étendu.



the same time. The most important of these, during the second half of the eighteenth century, were Donatus Filano and the Fabricatore brothers. The earliest known surviving specimen of the *mandoline* type is a tenor instrument, or *mandola*, dated 1744, made by Gaetano Vinaccia and now in the Conservatoire Royal de Musique in Brussels, no. 3182 (Baines, 1966, gives an illustration and description). *Mandola* is used here in its modern sense, as an instrument with four pairs of strings tuned either like a viola, or one octave below the *mandoline*. It has no connection with the older type of *mandola* described in chapter 1. The earliest surviving *mandoline* proper dates from 1753 (Coates, 1985, 136-9).

Although in Naples the *mandoline* was regarded primarily as a "street" instrument, "art" music was written for it by many of the city's composers. For instance during the 1760's Gasparo Gabellone, Domenico Gaudioso, Emmanuele Barbella, Carlo Cecere and Giuseppe Giuliano, leading composers all resident in Naples, wrote *mandoline* concertos and numerous other works for the instrument. A school of *mandoline* players and composers grew up in Naples, but a search through the records of the four Neapolitan conservatoires reveals that it was never formally taught there. Giuseppe Giuliano was considered to be a leading exponent of the instrument, as Pietro Denis remarks on page 3 of his *Paris méthode* of 1768:

J'ai vu à Naples M^r Julien, celui, qui, selon moi, joue le mieux de la Mandoline....

Travellers to Naples mention that the instrument was popular at every level of society. Charles Burney, for example, in his *Musical Tour* of 1771, noted in his diary for 23 October 1770:

The Second Week at Naples.

This evening in the street some genuine Neapolitan singing, accompanied by a caloscioncino, a mandoline, and a violin; I sent for the whole band upstairs, but, like other street music, it was best at a distance; in the room it was coarse, out of tune, and out of harmony; whereas, in the street, it seemed the contrary of all this; however, let it be heard where it will, the modulation and accompaniment are very extraordinary (Burney, 1771, vol. 1, 254).

Burney noted many examples of *mandoline* playing while in Italy, including this serenade in Brescia, on 26 July 1770:

At the sign of the *Gambero* or Lobster, where I lodged, and in the next room to mine, there was a company of opera singers, who seemed all very jolly; they were just come from Russia, where they had been fourteen or fifteen years. The principal singer amongst them, I found, upon enquiry, to be the Castrato Luigi Bonetto . . . He is a native of Brescia; was welcomed home by a band of music, at the inn, the night of his arrival, and by another before his and my departure, consisting of two violins, a mandoline, french horn, trumpet and violoncello; and, though in the dark, they played long concertos, with solo parts for the mandoline. I was surprised at the memory of these performers; in short it was excellent street music, and such as we are not accustomed to; but ours is not a climate for serenades (*ibid.*, vol. 1, 90-1).

Given the relative quietness of the *mandoline* compared to the trumpet and French horn, it seems probable here that the solo passages played by the *mandoline* were accompanied only

by violins and cello, with the wind instruments playing just the *tutti* passages (a similar arrangement can be seen in Piccinni's *Ouverture* and Sacchini's *Concerto*, both in F:Fc). The instrument was widely written for by Neapolitan composers, occasionally in operas in Neapolitan dialect, but chiefly in small-scale instrumental music. However, since many Neapolitan composers were making their livings abroad at this time, their published and manuscript works preserved elsewhere in Europe can show us more than those found in Italy itself. Of all the European centres of mandoline activity in this period, by far the most important and thriving was Paris, where the instrument was to enjoy great popularity during the second half of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 3

THE MANDOLINE IN FRANCE

3.1 PARIS

During the eighteenth century, France underwent a period of massive economic decline, with the French people becoming increasingly unwilling to foot the bill for royal extravagance and the disastrous series of wars in which the country was engaged. By the end of the Seven Years War (1756-63), fought against Britain and Prussia, France was virtually bankrupt.

But against this backdrop of national insolvency, the elegant life of the titled and wealthy continued unabated, refusing to recognize the mounting economic crisis in France. Art, and in particular music, was eagerly patronized by the privileged strata of society. Opera thrived, as did instrumental concerts, the most celebrated being the regular concerts of the *Concert Spirituel* in Paris, which were held on days of religious significance when opera was considered unsuitable (Pierre, 1975, gives a full history of these concerts). This patronage encouraged singers, composers, and instrumentalists from throughout Europe to try their fortune in Paris, and in Lyon which was the second city of France. In particular, there was an influx of Italian musicians, whose lyrical musical style had become immensely popular in France, where it was termed *style galant*.

Paradoxically, in the midst of such artificiality and cultivation, the idealized image of pastoral life was exalted by artists and thinkers alike. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, praised the natural simplicity of *l'homme sauvage*, and at Versailles the aristocracy would dress as shepherds and shepherdesses, and serenade each other with music played on pastoral instruments, such as the *vielle* (hurdy-gurdy) and the *musette* (bagpipes).

In 1752 an Italian opera company created a sensation in Paris with performances of Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona*. The light melodic style of this Neapolitan *opera buffa*, with its irreverent social comment and colloquial libretto, contrasted sharply with the current French opera style, dominated by the ageing Jean-Philippe Rameau, who favoured themes drawn from classical antiquity, and a contrapuntal, harmonically complex musical language. The subsequent *guerre des bouffons* was principally a polemic between progressives and conservatives, with most of the young intellectuals of the day supporting the Italian cause. Jean-Jacques Rousseau was the most articulate of the protagonists, arguing in favour of the Italian style, stating in his *Lettre sur la musique française* that a musical performance:

ne porte à la fois qu'une mélodie à l'oreille et
qu'une idée à l'esprit. (Rousseau, 1753, 275)

Rousseau had already composed an opera of his own, *le Devin du Village*, to show how this new melodic style could be applied to the French language.

The French were regaining their interest in Italian culture in general at this time, as Claude Bellanger notes:

L'Italie littéraire, admirée au temps de la Renaissance et à l'époque classique, perd son prestige au *settecento*. Mme du Bocage se plaint du ralentissement du commerce littéraire avec le pays de Dante. A partir de 1756, le *Journal étranger* établit des correspondants à Rome, à Venise, à Florence ... Les articles sur l'Italie deviennent plus nourris ... La controverse sur la valeur de la langue italienne, qui fait rage dans la péninsule, se reflète dans cette revue ... (Bellanger, 1969, vol. 1, 307).

During the 1750's and 1760's, France enjoyed an unprecedented influx of Neapolitan musicians, chiefly opera composers and singers who worked at both the *Comédie Italienne* and the *Opéra* in Paris, or at the Royal Palace at Versailles. In their wake came many instrumentalists, including a number of mandolinists who earned their living as teachers, performers, and composers of music for their instrument.

The first professional mandolinist in Paris during this period was the Roman Carlo Sodi (or Sody), who performed there on 18 October 1749:

Le Sr. Sodi, frère de l'excellent Pantomime de l'Académie Royale de Musique, y joua de sa Mandoline avec le succès qu'il meritoit (*Mercure de France*, December 1749, pt. 1, 201).

and subsequently at a *concert spirituel*, on 6 April 1750 (*Mercure de France*, May 1750, 188). Sodi worked principally as a violinist at the *Comédie Italienne* and made no other recorded appearances as a mandolinist, although he was the first recorded teacher of the instrument in Paris (Jèze,

1759, lists only Sodi as a *maître de mandoline*). During the 1750's the *mandoline* was less popular there than the *colascione*, which was being championed in Paris by Giacomo Merchi and his brother, both Neapolitans. The brothers appeared at the *Concert Spirituel* in 1753 and gained a favourable review in *Mercure de France* (June 1753, pt. 2, 163). The Duc de Luynes also remarked approvingly on their performance in his *Mémoires* (1860) in an entry dated 13 June 1753 (see ch. 7. 2). The brothers stayed in Paris and are listed in Jèze (1759) as *maîtres de colascione*. It was not until the 1760's that the *mandoline* began to establish itself as the dominant Neapolitan instrument there.

The year 1760 marked the beginning of the instrument's great popularity in Paris, due to the appearance of two leading players at the *Concert Spirituel*. At Easter, Giovanni Cifolelli performed there:

Le signor Cifotelli [sic], Musicien de l'Electeur Palatin, a joué une Sonate de Mandoline, de sa composition. La Mandoline est une espèce de petite guitarre: et le signor Cifotelli en joue avec toute l'habilité possible. (*Mercure de France*, June 1760, 237).

Le Roux (1986) states that the Elector Palatin was the sovereign of the small duchy of *Deux-Ponts*, near Luxembourg. Cifolelli's daughter became a celebrated *cantatrice* at the *Comédie Italienne*, noted for her 'pleasing figure and slender, elegant waist' by the anonymous author of *Tablettes de Renommée* (1785). Cifolelli subsequently settled in Paris, where he worked as a composer, mandolinist, and singer. A

fascinating description of his talents appeared on page 78 of the *Journal de Musique* in July 1770:

Nous possédons depuis quelque temps en cette Ville un Virtuose dont les talens méritent à tous égards d'être universellement connus. M. Cifolelli, Italien, a dans sa manière de chanter toutes les graces qu'on admire dans les Artistes de son pays, sans avoir aucun de leurs défauts; il tire un parti infini d'un très-petit volume de voix, & son goût exquis la fait paraître à son gré légère ou intéressante. Il ajoute à ce mérite celui de s'accompagner très-agréablement de la mandoline, & de composer de la Musique charmante.

The appearance of this panegyric, written by the editor of the *Journal*, Nicolas Framery, may not be entirely unconnected to the fact that these two men had just collaborated on the composition of an *opéra-comique* 'l'Italienne', which was performed that year at the *Comédie Italienne*.

The second, and more important, appearance in 1760 was that of Signor Leoné (or Leoni) of Naples, who performed one of his own sonatas at the *Concert Spirituel* at Pentecost, and appeared again on Corpus Christi where:

Le Signor Leoni a joué de la Mandoline avec beaucoup d'habilité. (*Mercur de France*, June 1760, 237 and July 1760, pt. 1).

Leoné appeared at a further four concerts in 1766 (those on 8 September, 8, 24, and 25 December 1766), this time eliciting two favourable reviews:

8 December . . . M. Léoné a exécuté un solo de mandoline d'un fort bon genre, & à la fois d'un goût heureux. Cet artiste a étonné par son habilité, & a eu un véritable succès, d'autant plus flatteur pour lui, que l'instrument dont il a fait choix n'est pas officieux, relativement à

l'étendue du local où il a déployé ses talents
(*Mercure de France*, January 1767, pt. 1: 188-9).

On entendit avec autant de surprise que de plaisir dans ce concert M. Leoné, Professeur de Mandoline, exécuter différents morceaux sur cet instrument. On ne peut porter la netteté et la précision plus loin (*L'Avant - Courreur des Spectacles*, quoted in Le Roux, 1986, 11).

Leoné does not appear to have been resident in Paris, but was *maître de mandoline* in the household of the Duc de Chartres during the 1760's. A great deal of his *mandoline* music was published in Paris, commencing with the first known Parisian *mandoline* publication, *30 Variations* (1761), and including his *Méthode raisonnée pour passer du violon à la mandoline* (1768), the most detailed and important of all eighteenth century tutors for the instrument.

Leoné called himself simply *M. Leoné* [or *Signor Leonil de Naples*, and his christian name is uncertain. The 1983 Minkoff reprint of Leoné's *méthode* gives it as Pietro, but offers no explanation for this. In the Fondo Nosedà of the library of the *Conservatorio* in Milan are several *mandoline* manuscripts entitled *Duetto a due Mandolini del Sigr: Gabriele Leoné 1789*. Le Roux (1986) also suggests that the Parisian mandolinist and Gabriele Leone, a London music publisher during the 1760's, were one and the same. This is certainly possible, as Leoné is known to have been in London in 1766 (Grove, 1954, 5: 548). However, it is significant that no Parisian source of the 1760's or 1770's ever gave a christian name and, given that the manuscripts in Milan are merely much later copies of Leoné duets originally published

in Paris in 1762, I do not consider the case for Gabriele to be proven.

Paris was the centre of all music publishing during the later eighteenth century, and composers from all over Europe had their works published there. As the market for published *mandoline* music was always relatively small compared to those for standard orchestral instruments, the works of mandolinists, such as Leoné's *Six Duo* of 1762, were usually described on the title-page as being suitable for either *mandoline* or violin, and often also for *par-dessus de viole* or flute.

The rise in popularity of the *mandoline* at this time led to its frequent inclusion as an *accoutrement* in portraits of the period. A fine example is Pierre Lacour le Père's portrait of André-François-Benoît-Elisabeth Leberthon, vicomte de Virelade, which gives a clear view of the seated playing position. (fig. 3.1). However the attractiveness of the *mandoline* became of particular importance to fashion-conscious women. François-Hubert Drouais' portrait of Madame de Pompadour, completed in 1764 and now in the National Gallery, London, is one of the first appearances of the *mandoline* in French art. Over the next few years it was frequently included in female portraits, such as Johann Heinrich Tischbein's *Jeune fille jouant de la mandoline* of 1772 (fig. 3.2, sold at Sotheby's, New York, 19 December 1973), where the *mandoline* functions partly as an instrument and partly as an ornament. This association

fig. 3.1 (below) - Pierre Lacour le Père: Portrait of André-François-Benoit-Elisabeth Leberthon, vicomte de Virelade (late eighteenth century, Musée des arts decoratifs, Bordeaux)

fig. 3.2 (right)
J.H. Tischbein - Jeune fille jouant de la mandoline (1772, sold at Sotheby's, New York, 19 December 1973)



between the *mandoline* and women is highlighted by the title of the first tutor to be published for the instrument: Giovanni Battista Gervasio's *Méthode très facile pour apprendre à jouer de la mandoline à quatre cordes instrument fait pour les dames* (Paris, 1767).

Gervasio, a touring *mandoline* virtuoso and composer, was particularly active in the 1760's, but his only appearance at a *concert spirituel* was not until 24 December 1784, when he played one of his own *mandoline* compositions (a concerto) to an unsympathetic audience:

Il eût été à souhaiter que M. Gervasio se fût rendu assez de justice pour sentir que la mandoline ne convient point du tout dans un lieu où il ne faut ouïr que de grandes masses; ces réflexions lui essent épargné quelques désagréments (*Le Journal de Paris*, quoted from Le Roux, 1986, 13).

At this time the term *concerto* did not necessarily signify a work with full orchestra. Often it was used simply in the sense of a combined performance, that is accompanied by at least one other player. Most eighteenth century compositions designated as *mandoline* concertos are, in any case, intended to be performed with only two violins and basso continuo as an accompaniment to the soloist. Although Gervasio published several works in Paris, London, and Vienna, the bulk of his very large output remains in manuscript collections, particularly at E:Pc and S:Uu.

Table 1 has been compiled from various Parisian journals and almanachs, and from information given on title-pages of published music from the period, and gives the years in

which various *maitres de mandoline* in Paris are known to have been giving lessons on the instrument. As information is not available for every year, the table details only those years in which these musicians advertised their services.

fig. 3.3 (TABLE 1) MAITRES DE MANDOLINE IN PARIS

<i>maitre</i>	<i>dates</i>	<i>comments</i>
Barrois	- 1789	
Denis, Pietro	- 1765-77	In England 1775.
Fouchetti, Giovanni	- 1770-89	Previously in Lyon.
Also known as Jean Fouquet.		
Frizieri	- 1775-76	Blind since childhood.
Martin	- 1777-79	
Mazzuchelli	- 1777-89	
Merchi, Giacomo	- 1766-89	Resident in Paris previously as a performer and teacher of the <i>colascione</i> and guitar.
Riggieri, Antoine	- 1781-83	Approximate dates. May have been teaching during 1760's. See notes on publication dates in Pt. II.
Sody, Carlo	- 1759-89	Resident in Paris as a mandolinist since 1749. He was noted as blind after 1775.
(le) Vasseur	- 1778-83	
Veginy, Giacomo	- 1768	
Verdone	- 1788-89	Previously in Lyon.
Vernier	- 1778-83	

Two of these *maîtres*, not yet discussed, are of particular importance: Pietro Denis and Giovanni Fouchetti. Biographical dictionaries (for example Choron & Fayolle (1810) and Fétis (1873)) list Denis as a Frenchman, born in Provence, and credit him with the authorship of a *Méthode de chant* (c. 1750), in addition to numerous works for *mandoline*. However in the *Annonces, affiches et avis divers* (11 March 1765) the death is noted of a 'Sr Denis, musicien'. I believe this to be the author of the *Méthode de chant*. The first work for *mandoline* by Pietro Denis, a set of six duets, was not published until 1764, fourteen years after the *Méthode de chant* appeared. Indeed it is quite possible that Denis was not French but Italian. His christian name is of course Italian, and in the *Annonces, affiches et avis divers* (11 June 1767, 483) he is named as 'Sr Denisi'. While it is common to find Italians frenchifying their names in Paris at this time, the reverse is rare, so Denisi may have become Denis, 'just as Leoni became Leoné and Fouchetti may have become Fouquet. Denis features prominently in Parisian records, not only as a *maître* but also as a prolific composer and arranger for the *mandoline*. His most important work was his three-volume *Méthode* (Paris, 1768, 1769, and 1773) in which he teaches violinists how to transfer their technique to the *mandoline*, and how to provide accompaniments on this instrument to the latest songs from the *Comédie Italienne*.

In volume I, Denis explains his reasons for publishing the tutor. The public, he says, have asked him to produce a work which will enable violinists to master the *mandoline*, without the aid or the expense of a *maître*. This is not a complex matter, according to Denis:

Il n'est aucunement nécessaire de détailler ici toutes les anciennes habitudes bonnes et mauvaises, et de débiter un long verbiage de règles, que quelques gens s'imaginent faussement être de quelque utilité ... J'ai vu à Naples Mr Julien, celui, qui selon moi joue le mieux de la Mandoline, m'assurer que personne n'avoit encore fixé ni décidé le coup de plume (Denis, 1768, 3).

In spite of this, Denis mentions later that the eye of a good *maître* is worth more than any amount of written instruction. And, lest the reader be in any doubt as to which teacher he has in mind, he continues:

Au surplus, je m'oblige en six leçons de poser la main et de faire exécuter tout ce que j'ai avancé, moyennant trente six livres qui me seront païes en commençant (Denis, 1768, 10).

This first volume of the *méthode* appeared in April 1768 (*Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, 25 April 1768, 368), and whether or not Denis had any of his colleagues in mind when he wrote dismissively of 'a long verbiage of rules', it is clear that Leoné was stung into reply when his own tutor appeared in May of the same year (*Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, 26 May 1768, 464).

In the preface to this work, Leoné states that many people have requested a set of rules from him for playing the *mandoline*, and that his *méthode* was written in response to this request:

... je me suis déterminé à le faire, soit a cause du défaut de Maîtres capables de bien montrer un Instrument dans les Pays où il est peu connu, soit encore parce que j'ai cru devoir remédier à un traité deffectueux qu'on a déjà donné à ce sujet (Leoné, 1768, 1).

Although this remark may have been aimed at Gervasio, it is more likely to have been intended for Denis, especially as, towards the end of the text, Leoné has squeezed in the following remarks, in small print at the bottom of a page, suggesting that he could not contain his annoyance that Denis had published first.

C'est un erreur que de croire la Mandoline aisée. Ceux qui se proposent de la montrer en douze leçons tiennent sans doute leurs principes et par consequent leur Musique de quelque fameux Coureur Napolitain. Mais il est bien plus aisé de reconnoître en eux le vrai Portrait d'un charlatan, et l'esprit d'interêt, que d'apprendre même a mettre cet instrument d'accord en si peu de tems (Leoné, 1768, 19).

Giovanni Fouchetti came to Paris in late 1769 from Lyon. His *méthode* was published in Paris by Sieber during the summer or autumn of 1771 (this date has been deduced from Sieber's catalogues, reproduced by Johansson, 1955), and was the only one of the Paris tutors to be written both for *mandoline* and *mandolino*. Although this was the only work for mandolin which Sieber ever published, it was still included in his catalogue in 1800, and indeed was listed in the *Handbuch der Musikalischen Litteratur* of Carl Friedrich Whistling and Friedrich Hofmeister (Leipzig, 1817-27), which listed published music available in Vienna and Leipzig. This longevity was probably due to the renewed popularity that

the *mandolino* enjoyed in Vienna in the years around 1800, a popularity which temporarily eclipsed that of the Neapolitan *mandoline*.

In the tutor, Fouchetti makes it clear that he prefers the *mandolino*:

Mais cet Instrument n'est pas si difficile à jouer que la Mandoline à quatre cordes, parce qu'il ne faut pas démancher si souvent. Aussi on le préfère aujourd'hui à l'autre, et on le trouve plus harmonieux; mais cela dépend du goût (Fouchetti, 1771, 5).

Despite this assertion, however, the *mandoline* remained the dominant instrument in Paris at this time, and even the six *serinates* and six *sonates* found at the end of Fouchetti's *méthode* are written with the four-course instrument in mind. Besides Gervasio, Denis, Leoné and Fouchetti, one other musician published a *méthode de mandoline* in Paris. This was Michel Corrette, whose *Nouvelle Méthode* was published in Paris, Lyon, and Dunkirk in September 1772 (*Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, 14 September 1772, 779). Corrette, as well as pursuing a career as organist and composer, produced more than a dozen tutor books for a variety of instruments including violin, cello, guitar, musette, and flute. There is no evidence of any special association between Corrette and the *mandoline* and many parts of his tutor bear a marked resemblance to the earlier Parisian *méthodes*. However, as Corrette was by far the most highly educated musician to produce a tutor for the *mandoline*, this is a particularly valuable work.

During the period 1761-83, approximately eighty-five volumes of music for *mandoline* were published in Paris, consisting mostly of duets for two *mandolines*, sonatas for *mandoline* and bass, and songs with *mandoline* accompaniment (vol. II gives a complete listing). Although the great majority of these works are by composers closely connected with the *mandoline*, it is noteworthy that, in the years around 1770, several violinists/composers (or their publishers) designated their music as being suitable for either violin or *mandoline*. A typical case is that of the *Six Sonates Op. 3* by Valentin Roeser. When these sonatas first appeared in 1769 (*Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, 3 April 1769), they were intended for two violins and bass but the title-page stated that they 'could be performed on the *mandoline*'. However, later editions of the same work made no mention of the *mandoline* at all. As the sonatas were originally dedicated to the Duc de Chartres (who employed Leoné as his *maître de mandoline*), the mention of the *mandoline* may simply have been a diplomatic gesture towards his patron.

The most common instrumental combination was the *mandoline* duet. As Coates remarks (1977, 77), *mandolines* were often made in matching pairs in the eighteenth century, and their portable nature made them ideal for al fresco playing, the second instrument giving a harmonic fullness not readily obtainable from a single *mandoline*. The duets were usually in the form of two-movement sonatas, or a collection of minuets, allemandes, or other dance forms. The sonatas for

mandoline and bass are most commonly full three-movement sonatas, and are generally of a much greater technical difficulty than the duets. Many of the compositions are perfect examples of the *style galant*, just as the *mandoline* itself perfectly encapsulated the eighteenth century love of simplicity and elegance.

Despite the great popularity of the *mandoline* in Paris at this time, there were few occasions, other than those mentioned above, when the instrument was heard at the *Concert Spirituel*. Although the *mandoline* had been developed with public performance in mind, it was still relatively quiet when compared to the standard orchestral instruments. This lack of volume was remarked upon by a reviewer after a performance by Mlle. de Villeneuve, the only woman mandolinist ever to play at the *Concert Spirituel*:

Le premier Novembre, jour de la Toussant, le Concert Spirituel a commencé par un Motet à grand chœurs de Gille. Mademoiselle de Villeneuve, cette jeune personne dont nous avons déjà annoncé les talens; en rendant comte de la Fête de Chilly, a exécuté un Concerto de mandoline de la composition de M. Frizeri, avec tout l'art, toute la grande exécution de plus habile maître. Elle a fait plus de plaisir qu'on n'en pouvait attendre d'un instrument trop sec, trop peu sonore, pour être entendu dans un grand vaisseau. Mademoiselle de Villeneuve ne se borne pas à ce talent, quoiqu'elle y excelle. Elle est encore supérieure sur le clavecin, & c'est en donner une grande idée ... (*Journal de Musique*, November 1770, 43 - 44).

Le jeudi, premier Novembre 1770, il y a eu concert spirituel ... On a fort applaudi à l'exécution de Mlle. de Villeneuve qui a joué avec légèreté & précision sur la mandoline un concerto de M. Stritzieri [sic]. Cette virtuose se proposait de jouer un concerto sur le clavessin, mais les arrangements ne lui ont pas

permis ... (*Mercure de France*, December 1770, 151).

Mademoiselle de Villeneuve's appearance at the *Chateau de Chilly* was also warmly received:

Madame Favart, parfaitement habillée à la manière des Strasbourgeoises, arrivait avec son mari, M. Clerval, tenant un enfant par la main, & précédés d'une jeune fille jouant de la mandoline. C'était Mademoiselle de Villeneuve, jeune personne remplie de talents & de grace. Elle est fille de M. de Villeneuve, Directeur de la Comédie de Strasbourg ... & le talent supérieur de Mademoiselle de Villeneuve, sur la mandoline, ne sont pas plus faciles à rendre (*Journal de Musique*, September 1770, 52 - 53).

Only two other mandolinists appeared at the *Concert Spirituel*. M. Aldaye (Alday), who later became a successful violinist, was hailed as a child prodigy when, in March 1771:

... joue de la mandoline avec une facilité, une rapidité d'exécution, des plus extraordinaires. (*Journal de Musique*, March 1771, 218).

M. Aldaye fils, âgé d'environ dix ans, a joué sur la mandoline avec autant de rapidité que de précision (*Mercure de France*, April 1771, 181 - 82).

M. Nonnini performed on two occasions, 8 and 24 December 1783, when he played a *mandoline* concerto of his own composition, and received a warm reception:

Cet instrument, qu'on regardait comme peu fait pour un grand concert, a paru sous ses doigts d'un moelleux et d'un fini dont on ne l'aurait jamais cru susceptible; il a été applaudi avec enthousiasme (*Journal de Paris*, quoted from Le Roux, 1986, 13).

Nonnini stayed in Paris for some time and gave several self-promoted concerts in addition to his appearances at the

Concert Spirituel. However, the *Halle des Cents Suisses*, where the *Concert Spirituel* was held, was too large a venue for performances on plucked instruments to succeed on more than an occasional basis. Small-scale private concerts were not reviewed by Parisian journals of this period, and therefore it may be inferred that the bulk of performances by mandolinists has gone unrecorded.

3.2 LYON

The *mandoline* achieved popularity in Lyon a little earlier than it did in Paris, presumably because of its closer proximity to Naples, and to the presence there of many Italians. The *Almanach de Lyon* (a directory listing various professional services) for 1761 records that Giovanni Fouchetti was teaching *mandoline* there from 1757, making him the first recorded mandolinist in Lyon (Vallas, 1932, 341, is incorrect in listing Vicinelli as having taught there since 1756; the date given in the *Affiches de Lyon* is 1763). The weekly *Affiches de Lyon* announced two further teachers:

Il y a depuis peu en cette ville deux Venetiens
qui enseignent à jouer d'un instrument nommé
mandoline; ils ont déjà beaucoup d'écoliers et
d'écolières, et ceux qui souhaiteront en

augmenter le nombre s'adresseront chez les Suisses, rue Raisin, près de la place des Jacobins, où ils sont logés, Ils doivent peu séjourner dans notre ville (*Affiches de Lyon*, 16 May 1759).

It is clear from advertisements of the period that both types of mandolin coexisted in Lyon, e.g. "Two mandolines, made in Italy. One has six strings, the other four" (*Affiches de Lyon*, 30 September 1761). However, the considerable quantity of music written by Lyonnais mandolinists during the 1760's and 1770's which has survived is clearly for mandoline (see for example the published works of Fouchetti, and the manuscript compositions of Verdone in E:PC).

Table 2 has been compiled from the pages of the *Affiches de Lyon*, and gives dates when the various *maîtres de mandoline* are known to have been teaching in Lyon. As was the case with the Parisian *maîtres*, information is not available for every year, and the dates given here are those on which the musicians are known to have advertised their services.

fig. 3.4 (TABLE 2) MAÎTRES DE MANDOLINE IN LYON.

<i>maître</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>comments</i>
Biferi the younger	- 1767-70	A Neapolitan.
Cremasqui/Cremaschy	- 1764-68	This Italian musician specialised in <i>mandolino</i> , which he also sold, and taught the art of vocal accompaniment on that instrument. "Le Sr. Cremaschy, Italien, continue à enseigner dans cette Ville à jouer

de la Mandoline à douze cordes"
(*Affiches de Lyon*, 21
November 1764).

Deux Venetiens

- 1759

Dubrec fils

- 1771 A pupil of Leoné, Dubrec charged 9 livres a month for lessons at his house, or 15 livres in town. "Elève du Sieur Leoni, Maître de Mandoline de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Duc de Chartres, a fixé son séjour dans cette Ville, & se propose de donner des leçons de cet Instrument, à neuf livres par mois, chez lui; et à quinze livres, en Ville. Ses principes sont les mêmes que ceux du Sieur Leoni, & il se flatte de mériter les suffrages du Public, par les progrès rapides qu'il fera faire à ceux qui voudront s'adresser à lui" (*Affiches de Lyon*, 3 January 1771).

Fouchetti, Giovanni

- 1757-69 He then moved to Paris.

Gatti, Pierre

- 1760-65

Grou

- 1761-65 Also a luthier, making *mandolines* (*Affiches de Lyon*, 2 March 1763).

Joannot

- 1764-70 Died 1770, aged 32. Also taught violin, cello, singing, *par-dessus de viole* (Vallas, 1932, 341).

Juspin

- 1764 Also violin.

Tauseany
(also Tauseana
and Tozeani)

- 1765-66 Also taught lute, guitar, *par-dessus de viole*. Several pieces for lute by Tauseana survive in a manuscript in Köln-Universitäts und Stadtbibliothek Ms. 1. N. 68. An air by "sieur Tozeani" was performed in 1772 (*Affiches de Lyon*, 2 September 1772).

Verdone

- 1768 He later moved to Paris. "Le Sieur Verdone, Musicien, Italien, se proposant de faire quelque séjour en cette Ville, offre ses services aux personnes qui veulent apprendre à jouer de la Mandoline; il ne demande que trois mois pour faire de bons Ecoliers, ainsi qu'il a fait à

Londres et à Paris, avec sa méthode particulière d'abrégé tous les principes ... Pour juger de sa capacité & de son talent, on peut l'entendre chez lui" (*Affiches de Lyon*, 14 April 1768).

Vicinelli, the - 1763-65 Romans.
brothers

Fouchetti, a former student of Leoné, is known to have sold his music in manuscript form at this time, and also to have sold Italian *mandolines*. A notice in the *Affiches de Lyon* mentions:

Le Sr. Fouquet, élève des premiers Maîtres de Paris pour le Par-dessus-de-viole, offre d'enseigner à jouer de la Mandoline, dont il a appris lui-même du Signor Leoni (*Affiches de Lyon*, 13 August 1760).

As was the case in Paris, Italian instruments were more highly prized than those made in France. Italian instruments were frequently offered for sale, for example one by Joseph Walner Taurini of Naples (*Affiches de Lyon*, 23 May 1759), and another two Neapolitan *mandolines* for 3 and 2 *louis d'or* (*Affiches de Lyon*, 20 September 1769). By comparison a "violon convenant à un amateur riche et connoisseur" was offered for sale in the same publication for 1,200 *livres* (24 *livres* = 1 *louis d'or*). Amongst the Lyonnais luthiers making *mandolines* were Mériotte, Pierre Kettenhoven, Picchi, and Serriere (*Affiches de Lyon*, 4 April 1764, 26 March 1772, 3 February 1763, 5 October 1768). The chief music retailers were the brothers le Goux, who were selling music by Leone

in 1761 (*Affiches de Lyon*, 16 December 1761), and Castaud who, a year after its publication in Paris, announced that so many copies of Leoné's *méthode* had been sold that he had run out of supplies (*Affiches de Lyon*, 25 January 1769). The *mandolino* was featured in a concert at the *Académie* in Lyon on 2 March 1768 when Cremasqui, newly returned from Italy, performed a sonata there (*Affiches de Lyon*, 2 March 1768). Vallas (1908, 10) notes that mandolins were included in the orchestra of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* in the years around 1760, in order to reinforce the upper parts. However, the *Académie* modelled its concerts on the *concerts spirituels* in Paris, and was therefore geared more to orchestral works than to chamber music, so little more is known about *mandoline* performers in Lyon.

3.3 OTHER FRENCH CITIES

Elsewhere in France the *mandoline* made a more modest appearance, but was a popular amateur instrument. Tobias Smollett, while in Nice on 6 December 1763, made the following observation:

We have likewise made acquaintance with some other individuals, particularly with Mr. St. Pierre junior, who is a considerable merchant, and consul for Naples. He is a well-bred,

sensible young man, speaks English, is an excellent performer on the lute and mandolin, and has a pretty collection of books. In a word, I hope we shall pass the winter agreeably enough (Smollett, 1766, Letter XII, vol. 1, 215).

highlighting that the influence of the Neapolitan instrument was spread not only through the skill of a few professional players, but also through contact with visitors to Naples.

A search through provincial journals of the period reveals countless advertisements for luthiers making *mandolines*, and for retailers importing and selling Italian instruments and strings. A typical example is J. Charles, a luthier, formerly of Paris, who settled in Marseilles and, amongst a wide range of instruments from violins to harps to *serinettes*, made *mandolines* (Gouirand, 1908, 179). There seem to have been no examples of French luthiers specializing in *mandolines*, however, in the way that Neapolitan families such as the Vinaccias did.

By the 1780's the worsening economic and political situation in France put an end to the escapist pursuits of the aristocratic elites. Apart from the appearances of Gervasio and Nonnini at the *Concert Spirituel* (already noted), the *mandoline* made little further impression on musical life, either in Paris or elsewhere in France.

CHAPTER 4

THE MANDOLINE ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

4.1 BRITAIN

The *mandolino* was introduced into Britain early in the eighteenth century when Fr. Conti performed at Mr. Hickford's Dancing Room in James Street, Haymarket, London, on 2 April 1707:

The Signior Conti will play upon his great Theorbo, and on the Mandoline, an instrument not known yet (Aston, 1882, vol. 2, 38. This is the first use of the word 'mandolin' recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary).

This instrument enjoyed aristocratic patronage in subsequent decades, as Philip Mercier's portrait of the Royal Family



fig. 4.1 - Philip Mercier: Portrait of the British Royal Family, 1733 (National Portrait Gallery, London)

testifies. In this painting (National Gallery, London,) Princess Caroline is depicted playing the *mandolino* (fig. 4.1). However, the mandolin never attained the popularity in Britain that it enjoyed in many other parts of Europe. Indeed the terms *mandolin*, *mandoline*, and *mandolino* appear to have been used to cover a number of instruments, as this excerpt from a letter by Dr. Clephane of the Rose of Kilravock family indicates:

10 March 1758 . . . The spinet, too, has its merit, and has more than the instrument I once proposed for you - the guitarre, or the *mandolino*, as it is called here by our London ladies. What induced me to recommend it is its portableness, and that methinks music is well as an amusement, but not as a study. However, if you have once made some progress on the spinet or the harpsichord, the mandola will be an easy acquisition (The Spalding Club, 1848, 461).

This compounding of the terms *guitar* and *mandolin* is also met with in the first published British music for the instrument:

Eighteen DIVERTIMENTOS for two Guitars or two Mandelins [sic]. Properly adapted by the best Masters. Printed for J. Oswald on the Pavement St. Martin's Churchyard, London (1757).

The music contained in this volume is quite unlike any mandolin music of the period to be found in Paris or Vienna, consisting entirely of melodic lines with no chords or double-stopping, and with a lower limit of d'. It is highly probable that the instrument referred to by "London ladies" as a mandolin at this time was actually a type of cittern, known as the "English Guittar", which had only recently been

introduced into the country (discussed in Coggin, 1987, and Spencer and Harwood, 1985).

By the late 1760's however the term seems to have been regularly used to describe the Neapolitan *mandoline*. Gervasio helped to popularize the instrument when, on 3 March 1768, he played a *mandoline* concerto during one of the intervals of Barthelemon's opera *Oithona*, at the Haymarket Theatre, London (Fiske, 1973, 261, and Highfill, 1978. Gervasio was referred to as "Signor Gervasia"). He also published a volume entitled:

Airs for the mandoline, guittar, violon or
german flute, interspersed with songs . . .

at about the same time.

Parisian journals record that Pietro Denis was in England during 1775, though I have as yet found no corroboration of this in British sources. Leoné performed at Hickford's Room, London, on 17 March 1766 (Grove, 1954, vol. 5, 548). A month later, in April 1766, also at Hickford's Room, was performed:

A concerto on the Calascioncino and Calascione
by the two Brothers Colla; a Solo and Concerto
on the Mandolin by Mrs. Francescis (Elkin, 1955,
45 - 46).

The *mandoline* was also featured at a concert in the Holywell Music Room in Oxford in December 1771:

Three *Italian musicians* are engaged on Monday
next to perform some select Pieces on the
Calisoncino, the Roman Guittar, and Maundolins
(*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 14 December 1771.
Mee, 1911, gives a full account of the Oxford
Music Room concerts, from 1748 onwards).

Zuth (1931 - 32, 90n) notes that Bartolomeo Bortolazzi visited England on a concert tour between 1803 and 1805.

The only tutor published at this time in Britain was an English translation of Leoné's *méthode, A complete introduction to the art of playing the mandoline, containing the most essential rules . . .*, published by Longman and Broderip (London, 1785), although a tutor for the Genoese mandolin, attributed to Francesco Conti, also survives in manuscript in the Euing Music Library, Glasgow. This work, *l'accordo della Mandola è listesso della Chitarra alla francese SCOLA del Leutino, osia Mandolino alla Genovese*, dates from c. 1770-80, and is not by the Conti mentioned earlier, but probably by his son. However, British lack of familiarity with the instrument, and continued confusion over its name, is illustrated in this passage from Samuel Pegge's *Anonymania*, written in 1796:

When the instrument now coming into use is called a Mandarin, we are led to think it to be something used by the Chinese Lords or Mandarins; but the truer pronunciation is *Mandolin*, for I suppose it has no connexion with the chinese nation, but rather is an Italian instrument, or *cítara*; and the correct way of writing and pronouncing is *mandola*, which, in Altieri's Dictionary is explained by a *cítarn*. *Mandola* signifies in Italian an *Almond*; which shews that it takes its name from the figure of its belly, which is much like an almond (Pegge, 1796 [1809], Century III, 49).

In the 1820's the *mandolino* received some exposure at the hands of the Milanese virtuoso, Pietro Vimercati (1788? - 1851). However the following entry from the *Dictionary of*

Musicians suggests that he also used the wire-strung instrument:

Vimercati (Signor). A celebrated performer on the mandolin, performed at the King's Theatre, and the oratorios in London, in the Season of 1824. The instrument is strung with wire, and is played with a plectrum, or piece of wood held between the thumb and forefinger. The tone has not the sweetness that is yielded by catgut strings, but is more penetrating, and therefore better calculated for a capacious theatre or a large room. Signor Vimercati has obtained great mastery over his instrument (Sainsbury, 1825, vol. 2, 507).

By the early nineteenth century, the instrument had been largely forgotten in Britain, and warrants only this brief entry in *The Penny Cyclopaedia*:

Mandoline. A musical instrument of the lute kind, but smaller, having four strings which are tuned as those of a violin. The mandoline is still met with occasionally in Italy, but has fallen into disuse in most other parts of Europe. (*The Penny Cyclopaedia*, 1833 - 46).

4.2 PRAGUE, VIENNA, AND GERMANY

During the period 1760-85, when the *mandoline* enjoyed great popularity in Paris, the Habsburg Empire accorded it a more modest place in music-making. Charles Burney, in his *Musical Tour* of 1771, noted its appearance at M. l'Augier's concert in Vienna, in this extract dated 3 September 1770:

The room was much too crowded for full pieces: some trios only were played by Signior Giorgi, a scholar of Tartini, Conforte, a pupil of Pugnani, and by Count Brühl, who is an excellent performer on many instruments, particularly the violin, violoncello and mandoline. The pieces they executed were composed by Huber, a poor man, who plays the tenor at the playhouse; but

it was excellent music, simple, clear, rich in good harmony, and frequently abounding with fancy and contrivance (Burney, 1771, vol. 2, 97).

Graf von Brühl was born in Dresden, and played viola in early Viennese performances of many of Haydn's quartets (Gerber, 1790). Choron and Fayolle (1810) state that he was the first musician to use steel strings on a pianoforte, in London in 1778.

Gervasio is recorded as having played in Frankfurt-am-Main on 10 December 1777 (Wölki, 1984, 10). However it was not until the late 1780's, at precisely the time when the fortunes of the *mandoline* were waning in France, that the instrument attained a higher status in Central Europe.

Prague was at this time second only to Vienna as an artistic centre within the Habsburg Empire and, although the *mandoline* never achieved there the popularity it had enjoyed in Paris, the instrument did attain some success in this city, and acquired several important repertoire items. Prague luthiers, such as Charles Joseph Hellmer and Joseph Antoine Laske, made copies of Italian *mandolines* but, more importantly, both Mozart and Beethoven composed there for the instrument.

Mozart, having already composed *Don Giovanni* in Vienna during the summer of 1787, added the aria *Deh, vieni alla fenestra* while rehearsing the singers for the first performance. The singer was Luigi Bassi, and the mandolinist Jean-Baptists Kucharz, who also made the piano arrangements

of many of Mozart's operas. This appearance of a serenading mandolinist, although probably inspired by the success of similar portrayals in Grétry's *L'amant jaloux* (Paris, 1778), and Paisiello's *Barber of Seville* (St. Petersburg, 1782, revised Paris, 1784), certainly crystallized the role of the instrument in "serious" music for succeeding generations of composers, who have used it mainly as an instrument for serenades. Two other Mozart songs with *mandoline* accompaniment, *Die Zufriedenheit* and *Komm, liebe Zither, komm* are in the catalogue of DDDR:Bds, mus. ms. 15210, but they have been missing since World War II.

Of Beethoven's four compositions for the *mandoline*, it is probable that at least three were written in Prague. In 1796, at the request of Prince Lichnowsky, Beethoven visited the city, where he met the Count Clam Gallas and the Countess-to-be, Josephine Clary, a *mandoline* pupil of Kucharz. For her he composed the

Sonatina in C	WoO 44a
Variations in D	WoO 44b
Adagio in Eb	WoO 43b.

A fourth piece:

Sonatina in C minor	WoO 43a
---------------------	---------

was probably composed for a Viennese friend, Wenzel Krumpholz, a violinist and mandolinist.

The Národní Muzeum in Prague has a large collection of manuscript *mandoline* music from this period, including a considerable amount of chamber music. Amongst the composers represented are Padre Bernardo Arauhal (including six

quartets for *mandoline*, violin, viola and *mandolono*), Jan Ladislav Dussik (two quartets for *mandoline*, violin, viola, and *mandolono*), and Megelin (a divertimento for *mandoline*, violin, and *mandolono*). Also in the collection are the earliest known parts for the bass *mandolone/mandolono*.

The mandolin achieved a higher public profile in the last years of the eighteenth century, due to the appearance of the virtuoso performer and composer, Bartholomeo Bortolazzi. Fétis (1873) states that Bortolazzi was born in Venice in 1773, but Wölki (1984) suggests that he was born in Toscolano, Lake Garda, near Brescia. Johann Nepomuk Hummel composed his Mandolin Concerto of 1799 (manuscript in GB:Lbl) expressly for this performer (Baines, 1984, 1125, is incorrect to state that this piece contains "chords of up to six notes, pointing to the Milanese variety [of mandolin]"; the work is unequivocally for a mandolin with violin tuning). Bortolazzi later published a tutor for the instrument, his *Anweisung die mandoline von selbst zu erlernen* (Leipzig, 1805). He toured principally in Germany and around Vienna, and serious music critics, such as this one from the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (published in Leipzig by Breitkopf & Härtel), were not easily convinced of the value of a small plucked instrument:

Dresden, den 2ten Septbr... Von Bartolozzi [sic], dem Mandolinenspieler, sage ich nichts, als, er macht sehr viel. Aber welch ein armliches Werkzeug, das, nur Gezirp, Keinen gehaltenen Ton, nichts von Gesang geben kann! (*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, September 1803, 836).

But Bortolazzi's skill won over many to his side, as this review from the same periodical admits:

Herr Bortolazzi. Virtuos auf der Mandoline. Auf der Mandoline? wiederholen viele Leser Kopfschüttelnd und lächelnd. Es sey drum! Wahr ist es allerdings, dass dies kleine, beschränkte, in weniger geschickter Hand nur zirpende Instrument nicht ohne Grund wenig kredit in Deutschland hat: aber Hr. B. giebt einen vollgültigen Beweis, wie Geist, Gefühl. Geschmack und unermüdlicher Fleiss auch durch ein unbedeutendes Organ zu sprechen vermögen. Seine Konzerte mit voller Orchesterbegleitung können, der Natur der Sache nach, weniger interessieren: aber seine Variationen und ähnliche kleinere Stücke, (meistens von seinem sieben jährigen Sohne auf der Guitarre, und gut begleitet) so wie sein Improvisiren, sind sehr hörenswerth und äusserst erfreulich. Schwerlich möchte irgend Jemand, als ein Italiener, durch kleines so interessant werden können. Hr. B. hat auch artige kompositionen für sein Instrument herausgegeben; andere werden bald erscheinen (*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 19 October 1803, 45-6).

Bortolazzi specialized in performances on the Cremonese or Brescian mandolin, an instrument tuned in the same way as the Neapolitan *mandoline*, but with single strings and a softer tone. In Vienna, in the early nineteenth century, the Neapolitan *mandoline*, Cremonese mandolin, and *mandolino* all took their part in music-making, all three being referred to simply as "mandolin". The *Handbuch der Musikalischen Litteratur* by Carl Friedrich Whistling and Friedrich Hofmeister (1817), a catalogue published for the music trade, lists the following works:

fig. 4.2

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Library Copy</i>	<i>Date</i>
Aichelbourg (d)	<i>Potpourri</i> op. 1 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	-	1812

	Variations op. 2 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	-	1812
	Notturmo conc. op. 3 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	-	1812
	Variations conc. op. 4 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	A:Wn	1812
Bortolazzi (B)	Six Variations (Nel cor più) op. 8 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	CS:Pnm	1804
	Sonate op. 9 (mand. or vln. & Pfte.)	A:Wgm	1804
	6 Thèmes variés op. 16 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	A:Wgm, D-brd:B	1803
	Anweisung die Mandoline...	E:Pn, B:Br	1805
Call (L. de)	Variations op. 8 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	A:Wn	1803
	Sonate conc. op. 108 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	A:Wn	1811
	Variations op. 111 (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	GB:Lbl	1812
Fouchetti (G)	Méthode de Mandoline à 4 et à 6 cordes.	E:Pn	1771
Zuconi (T. de)	6 Variations (mand. or vln. & gtr.)	-	c. 1810

The publication dates given are my own additions, compiled from notices in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and, in some cases, from unpublished research conducted by Marga Wilden-Hüsgen of Aachen.

Other works published in Vienna in the early years of the nineteenth century include:

fig. 4.3

Composer	Title	Library copy	Date
Bortolazzi (B)	Variations op. 8	-	c. 1803
	Variations [?] op. 10	D-brd:B	c. 1804
	6 Variations sur une piece d'Alcine (mand. & gtr.)	-	1802
Call (L. de)	Variations pour la Mandoline ou le Violon et la Guitarre sur la lire qui dove ride l'aura op. 25.	A:Wn	1804-05
Hoffmann, (J)	Tre Duetti, op. 1. (2 mands.)	GB:Lbl	1799
Hoffmann, (J)	Tre Duetti, op. 2. (2 mands.)	-	
Hummel (J. N.)	Grande Sonata per il Clavicembalo o Pianoforte con accompagnamento	A:Wgm	1810

	<i>di mandolino o violino obbligato.</i>	
Neuhauser	<i>Notturmo per il mandolino</i>	- c.1799
Neuling, V	<i>Sonata für Pianoforte und Violine I:Mc</i>	1813
	<i>oder Mandoline op. 3.</i>	

The Viennese music-dealer Johann Traeg issued a list in 1799 of manuscript music available from his shop in the Singerstraße, which included:

fig 4.4

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|---|
| 1 | Anonymo | <i>Serenata per il Mandolino e Viola</i> |
| 2 | Anonymo | <i>Sonate p. detto Violino e B in B</i> |
| 3 | Anonymo | <i>Sonata p. 2 Mandolini in G</i> |
| 4 | Anonymo | <i>Sonata p. 2 detto in B</i> |
| 5 | Hoffmann (Giov) | <i>Trio p. il Mand. e B</i> |
| 6 | Anonymo | <i>Serenata p. il Mand. e Viola in C</i> |
| 7 | Anonymo | <i>detto detto in F</i> |
| 8 | Anonymo | <i>detto detto in D</i> |
| 9 | Anonymo | <i>Cassazione p. il Mand. V. Viola e Vlllo.</i> |
| 10 | Anonymo | <i>Quartetto p. detto detto in D</i> |
| 11 | Anonymo | <i>detto detto in A</i> |
| 12 | Schlik | <i>Son. p. il Mandolino e Basso</i> |
| 13 | Anonymo | <i>Quartetto p. il Mand. V. Viola e B</i> |
| 14 | Anonymo | <i>Aria p. il Mandolino</i> |
| 15 | Anonymo | <i>Trio à Mand. Viola e B</i> |
| 16 | Neuhauser | <i>Noturno p. il Mandolino &c</i> |

(taken from Zuth, 1931-32, 94).

Giovanni (or Johann) Hoffmann also issued a number of works (manuscript copies rather than printed editions), through Traeg in 1799, including:

III Quartetti per il Mandolino, Viola, V. et Vc.
III Serenate à Mandolino e Viola

Another mandolinist was André Oberleitner, born in 1786 in lower Austria. He moved to Vienna to study surgery, but abandoned this career in favour of one as a mandolinist and guitarist, composing about 40 published works for the instruments.

During the 1820's, Pietro Vimercati made numerous appearances in Vienna. Eduard Hanslick noted concerts in 1820, 1826, and 1829, and refers to him as "the Giuliani of the mandoline", a comparison with Mauro Giuliani, who had enjoyed great success in Vienna as a virtuoso guitarist c. 1800 (Hanslick, 1869, vol. 1, 257). Gustav Schilling calls him "the Paganini of the mandoline", and notes that he often performed violin concertos by Kreutzer and Rode on his instrument (Schilling, 1835 - 40, vol. 6, 773). Moscheles records that Rossini referred to him in conversation:

He then talked of the specialities of the different instruments, and said that the guitarist [Fernando] Sor and the mandoline-player Vimercati, proved the possibility of obtaining great artistic results with slender means. I happened to have heard both these artists, and could quite endorse his views. He told me that, arriving late one evening at a small Italian town, he had already retired to rest when Vimercati, the resident Kapellmeister, sent him an invitation to be present at a performance of one of his [Rossini's] operas. In those days he was not as hard - hearted as he is now, when he persistently refuses to be present at a performance of his works; he not only went to the theatre, but played the double bass as a substitute for the right man, who was not forthcoming (Coleridge, 1873, vol. 2, 271).

Although he lived in Milan, Vimercati continued to make extensive tours of Europe, giving concerts in Holland and Germany in 1835, and in Berlin and Weimar in 1836 (Schilling, 1835 -40, vol. 6, 773, and Fétis, 1873).

Another performer of note was Signor Fr. Mora de Malfatti, who was the recipient of Hummel's *Grand Sonata*, and was also Beethoven's physician.

4.3 AMERICA AND RUSSIA

While it is not possible here to outline the development of the *mandoline* in every country, two other important areas should be mentioned. The first appearance of the *mandoline* in America was in 1769, when John (Giovanni) Gualdo played 'a solo upon the Mandolino' in Philadelphia (Howard, 1931, 10). Gualdo, an Italian, lived for some time in England, where he published *Six Easy Evening Entertainments* for two *mandolines* and basso continuo, before emigrating to America, where he set up shop as a wine merchant and music dealer in August 1767. His first recorded concert was given on 16 November 1769, followed by others on 30 November 1769 and 12 October 1770. He died in 1771 as a result of "a Fall from his House" (Gladd, 1987, 7).

On 17 June 1774, in the same city, a concert was given "for the benefit of Signor Sodi, first dancing master of the Opera in Paris and London, in which Mr. Vidal who has been a musician of the Chambers of the King of Portugal will play on diverse instruments of music", including "a duetto on the mandolino, accompanied with the violin" (Gladd, 1987, 7).

The Genoese mandolinist Zaneboni was a great success in Russia during the 1780's. This performer, who lived in Liège from about 1770, made numerous tours throughout Europe performing his own compositions:

[Moscow] Monsieur Zaneboni a l'honneur
d'annoncer que vendredi prochain, 7 janvier,
dans la salle des masquerades de Mr Maddox,
après la comédie, il donnera, sur la mandoline,

un concert vocal et instrumental au cours duquel
il jouera plusieurs pièces de sa composition,
soit:

- 1) Une symphonie à grand orchestre;
- 2) un concerto pour mandoline;
- 3) M^{lle} Vigna chantera un air italien;
- 4) une symphonie;
- 5) un solo avec variations, pour la mandoline;
- 6) un air italien;
- 7) un rondo pour la mandoline;
- 8) une symphonie ...

(Gazette de Moscou, 5 January, 1782).

Zaneboni (incorrectly called *Sannebuoni* by Gerber, 1790)
appeared again in Moscow, on 25 February 1782, "sur la
véritable mandoline" (*Gazette de Moscou*, 23 February, 1782).

In St. Petersburg he performed on 15 April 1781 at the
Théâtre du Pont-Rouge, during a performance of Beaumarchais'
Barber of Seville (*Gazette de S. Petersbourg*, 13 April,
1781). This may well have persuaded Paisiello to use the
mandoline in his operatic setting of the work, which
received its first performance in St. Petersburg in the
following year.

Another mandolinist (and singer) was L. Invernardi, who
toured Russia c. 1795 with the violinist and singer
Francesco Giordani. The duo performed throughout Europe,
including Dantzic, Stockholm, and Königsberg. Invernardi is
recorded as having performed in Hamburg in 1799 (Mooser,
vol. 2, 662 & 631).

In 1837, Pietro Vimercati made a highly successful tour of
Russia (Schilling, 1835 - 40, vol. 6, 773).

CHAPTER 5 A GUIDE TO PLAYING THE NEAPOLITAN MANDOLINE

5.1 the Instrument

Several of the Paris tutors give illustrations of the *mandoline*; Leoné (fig. 5.1), Denis (figs. 5.2 & 5.3), and Corrette (fig. 5.4). The Corrette example is quite unlike any known instrument of the period, and seems to be simply the result of poor drawing; however the other three illustrations offer a great deal of information.

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century orchestration tutors, such as Albrechtsberger (1790) and Kastner (1837), usually give the range of the *mandoline* as being g - d'''. However Denis's instrument has fourteen frets, giving a top note of f#''', while Leoné's has sixteen frets and an upper limit of g#'''. This discrepancy is explained by extra frets beyond the tenth (where the neck joins the body), set into the table of the instrument. These extra frets are usually made from ebony or ivory, unlike the lower frets which, as Gervasio mentions, are of brass (Gervasio, 1767, 2). The first movement of the Second Sonata from Leoné's op. II (published by Bailleux), requires still one more fret, in



Leoné - Sonata, op. II, no. 2, 1st mvt.

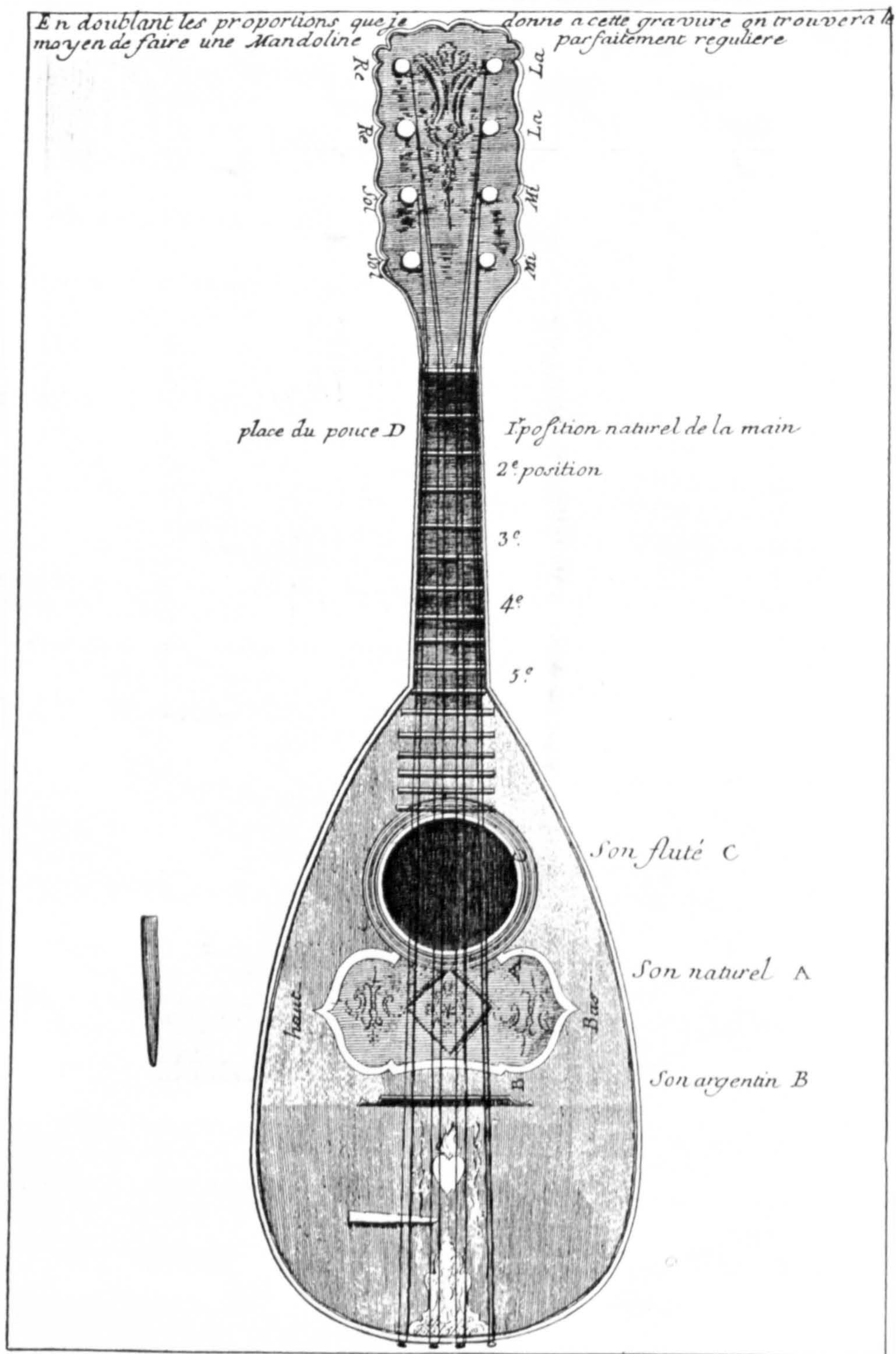


fig. 5.1
Leoné - illustration of a mandoline (1768)



fig. 5.2 - Denis: mandoline
player (1768)

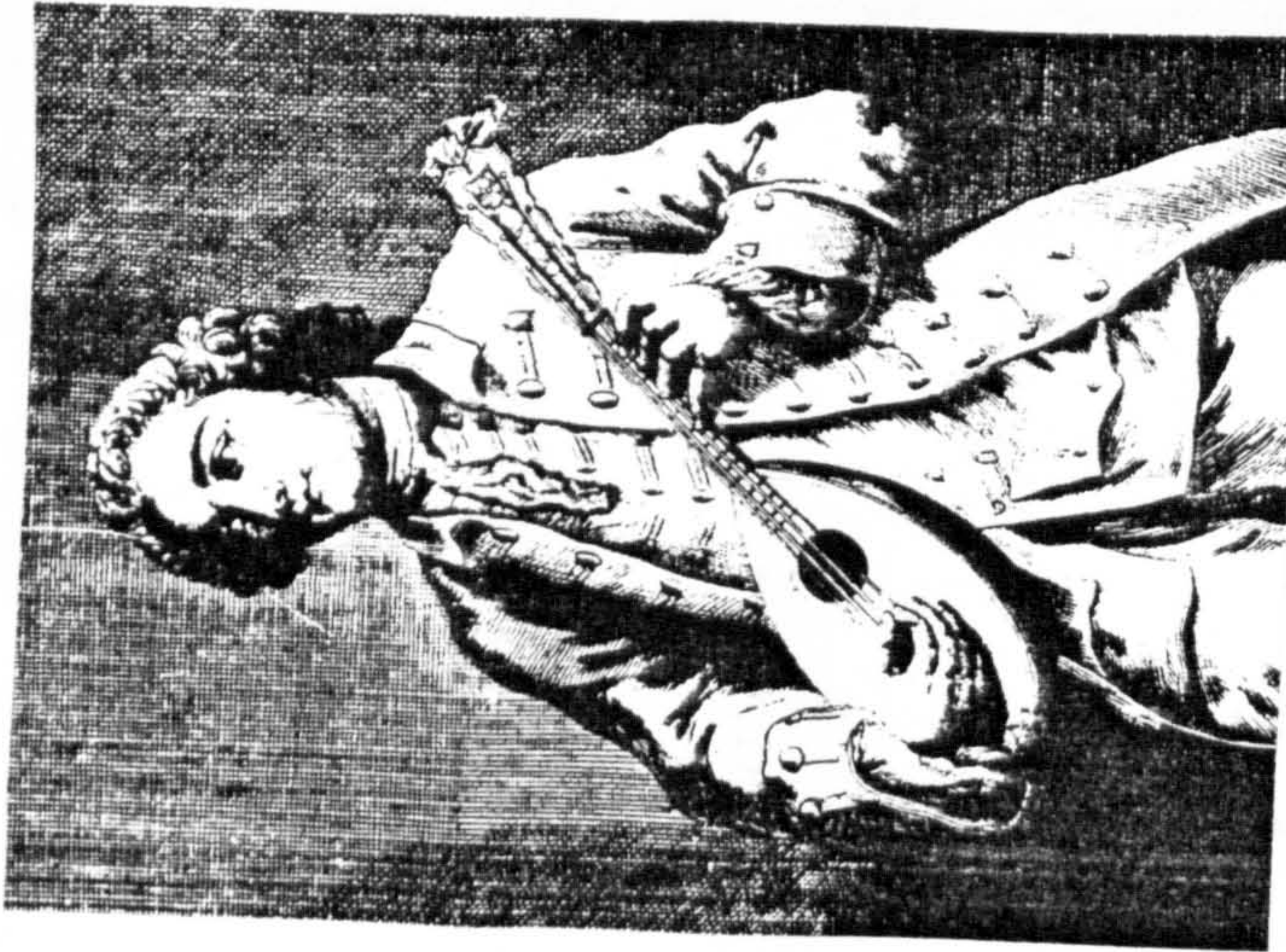


fig. 5.3 - Denis: mandoline
player (1773)

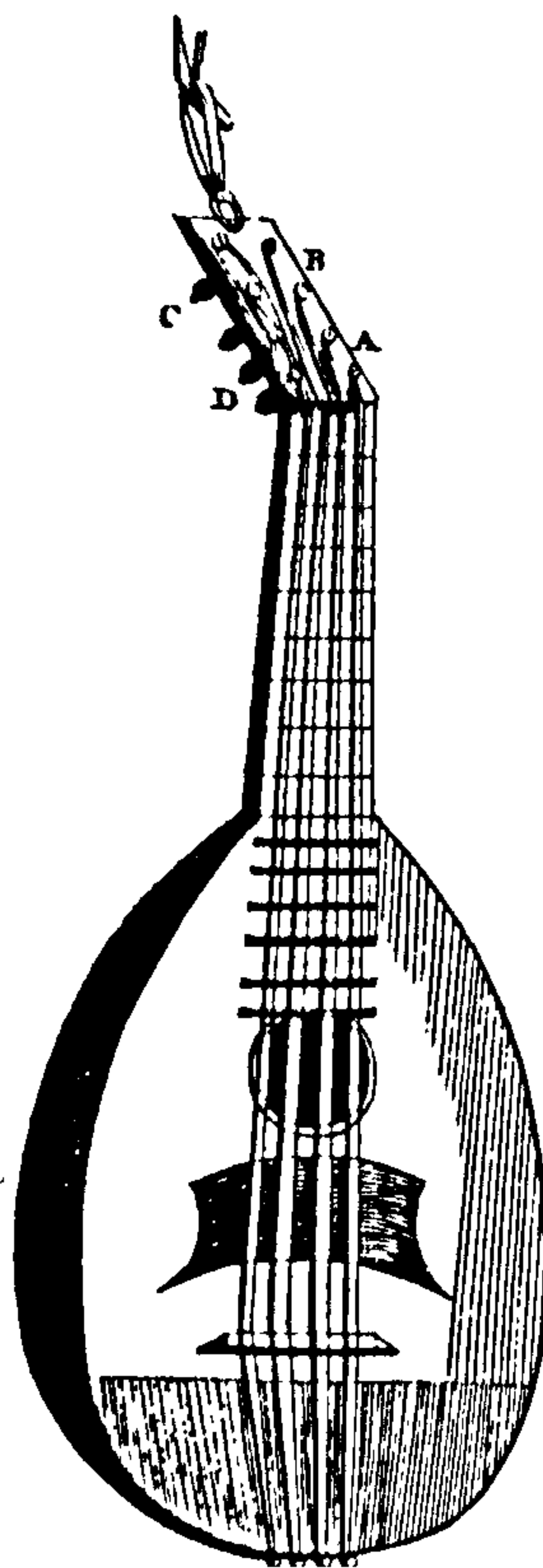


fig. 5.4 - Corrette: Illustration of a mandoline
(1772)

order to play several a''' semiquavers.

Fouchetti confirms the use of extra frets as common on the
four-course *mandoline*:

Il y a dix touches sur le manche de la
Mandoline et plusieurs autres sur la table de
cet Instrument, qui servent lorsqu'on veut
démancer (Fouchetti, 1771, 3).

These extra frets are more rarely encountered on the *mandolino*, because the tenth fret on the g'' course gives f''', a sufficiently high top note for most plucked string music of the period.

Neapolitan *mandolines* have always carried a protective scratch-plate with a distinctive batwing shape, unlike that of the Genoese, which is traditionally shaped like a parallelogram. Modern instruments carry a tortoiseshell plate, but, as Corrette relates, on many early instruments:

... il y a un plaque de bois dur, comme Ebenes grénadilles palissandes. &c que les faiseurs d'instruments ont soin de mettre pour que les coups de plumes ne grattent point la Table, car dans les comencemens on est sujet à ce déffaut (Corrette, 1772, 1).

Fouchetti mentions that both the four and six course instruments are termed mandolins. However, according to Leoné:

... il y a quelques autres Instruments d'une forme a peu près semblable qu'on nomme Mandoles en Italie, et que l'Etranger confond souvent avec celui dont il sagit ici, qui est le plus parfait et qui doit avec justice participer aux prerogatives du Violon reconnu pour l'Instrument le plus universel et le plus etendu (Leoné, 1768, 1).

Instruments were built in France, as well as imported from Naples. However, there is no doubt that the latter were more highly prized, as can be seen from an examination of inventories of luthiers' effects:

Inventaire après le décès du Sieur François Lejeune. 21 Septembre 1785 . . . Item deux mandolines de Naples et quatre communes (Paris, Archive National: Min. Centr. CXXII, 850).

Inventaire après le décès de Marie-Jeune Dupuis femme Lejeune. 29 Septembre 1801 . . . Item trois mandolines de Naples à quatre cordes prisé à raison de quatre francs chaque revenant à douze francs cy . . . 12 fr.
Item huit mandolines communes prisé quatre francs ci . . . 4 fr (ibid., Min. Centr. LXXIII, 1168).

Inventaire après le décès du Sieur Guersan 25 octobre 1770 . . . Item trois mandolines dont une neuve de Naples avec etui prisé vingt quatre livres; une autre de Naples d'hazard avec son etui rouge prisé dix - huit livres et une autre neuve commune prisé douze livres (ibid., Min. Centr. XXVII, 349 (taken from Milliot, 1970, 222 - 31 & 158 - 64)).

This distinction between a highly-priced Neapolitan instrument and a cheaper "commune" *mandoline* can be found in all musical inventories of the period.

5.2 Stringing

It is a common assumption that the canted table of the *mandoline* was introduced to counteract the greater tension of metal strings. Yet the Paris tutors reveal that all-metal stringing was not customary at this time:

A l'égard des Mi, l'on se sert de cordes de boyau l'on prend des chanterelles de Pardessus de Viole (Fouchetti, 1771, 5).

Corrette confirms this use of gut for the top strings:

A l'égard de la qualité des cordes, on se sert de chanterelles de Guitarre pour les [mi] (Corrette, 1772, 3).

An article in the *Encyclopédie* discusses the production of these gut strings. The author, M. de la Lande, states that the strings made by the eight *boyaudiers* in the fauxbourg

Saint-Martin in Paris do not compare with those made in Naples. Therefore he travelled to Italy to research his article and, at the workshop of M. Angelo Angelucci, by the fountain of serpents in Naples, he was initiated into the secrets of making the finest gut strings. Having described the ways in which the guts of seven to eight month old lambs are rendered serviceable, he remarks:

Quand ils ont été dégraissés & attendris pendant huit jours par cette eau alcaline, on les assemble pour les tordre; on ne met que deux boyaux ensemble pour les petites cordes de mandolines, trois pour la première corde de violon, sept pour la dernière (Encyclopédie, 1751-76, vol. 9, 446).

Kastner (1837) records that gut 'e' strings were still used on *mandolines* well into the nineteenth century, and I have found no sources from this period which recommend metal top strings. Indeed the American organologist and expert on strings Ephraim Segerman calculates that iron was not strong enough to be used at this pitch (Segerman, 1986, 100). Steel of a suitable tensile strength was not developed until the middle of the nineteenth century (Hipkins, 1954, gives a fuller account of the increase in maximum string tensions throughout the nineteenth century), when it began to replace the gut strings. At today's standard baroque pitch (A - 415 Hz), a gut string of about 0.5 mm is suitable. A modern nylon string of 0.6 mm is more durable, though less sonorous than gut.

Fouchetti and Corrette also give detailed information about the stringing of the lower courses:

A l'égard des cordes elles doivent être de laiton. L'on prend pour les La, des cordes de Clavecin du numéro 5. Les Re sont du numéro 6, mais l'on en met deux tordues ensemble pour chaque Re ... Les bourdons, ou Sol, sont aussi des cordes de Boyau, mais filées; l'on prend des bourdons de Violon, mais plus petits. On fait quelque fois filer des cordes de soye, pour servir de bourdons; elles sonnent très bien (Fouchetti, 1771, 5).

... se montent en cordes de Clavecin du N° 5 jaune [la], les cordes [re] demie fillés et celles [sol] filées en entier (Corrette, 1772, 3).

French no. 5 strings at this time had a diameter of between 0.3 - 0.34 mm, and no. 6 strings a diameter of 0.292 - 0.297mm (the higher figures are taken from Segerman, 1986, the lower were given to me by Kenneth Mobbs of Bristol University). Following Fouchetti's advice, the d' string is produced by plaiting two no. 6 strings together into a single length. A low twist coupling has proved to be successful on the *mandoline*.

For the g, a string composed of silver-plated copper wound on gut, with an equivalent gut density of 1.92 mm, is suitable. However, these strings are noticeably lacking in high harmonics when compared to the third and second courses. It is for this reason that Fouchetti and Corrette both remark that the two fourth strings are commonly tuned an octave apart:

J'ai parlé de la Mandoline à quatre cordes, c'est-à-dire à quatre cordes doubles, car elles sont accordées de deux en deux à l'unisson, c'est-à-dire, du même son excepté la grosse corde, ou Sol, à laquelle on met une octave. On se sert pour cela d'une corde semblable à celle de La, que l'on accorde à l'Octave au dessus de la grosse corde Sol. Quelque fois l'on met deux

bourdons ensemble, alors on les accorde à l'unisson comme les trois autres cordes (Fouchetti, 1771, 5).

Corrette, commenting on this octave tuning, remarks that:

Cet accord est le plus en usage (Corrette, 1772, 3).

Octave stringing on lower courses was a common feature on lutes and on early guitars, as the upper string reinforced the first harmonic of the duller, thicker, gut string. If octave stringing is used, I would recommend using a slightly thicker brass string than that recommended by Fouchetti (I suggest 0.37 mm).

Bortolazzi's tutor offers further information on the stringing of different types of mandolin:

Es sind die Darmsaiten, wie bei der Violine, jedoch weit feinere. Die doppelten Drathsaiten, welche man bei mehreren Mandolinen trifft, taugen nichts; sie geben einen bei weitem nicht so lieblichen Ton, als jene. Zwar giebt es auch Mandolinen von 6, 8 und mehreren Saiten (sie heissen auch Mandola, Mandora). Jene von 6 Saiten, sind die Mailändischen und Turiner; diese mit 8 Saiten versehen, die Neapolitanischen; allein da sie theils unbequemer sind, theils auch einen zu harten, zither-artigen Ton haben, so bleiben wir hier um so eher bei der, neuerlich erfundenen, mit Vier Saiten bezogenen Mandoline - der Cremonesischen oder Brescianischen - stehen, da sie theils bequemer, theils auch von weicherem, gesungvollerem Ton ist (Bortolazzi, 1805, 3).

As we have already seen, Bortolazzi was promoting his own type of instrument at the expense of the others, so his remarks cannot be taken too seriously.

5.3 Playing Positions

La Mandoline se tient comme la Guitarre de la main gauche le pouce dessous la 2^e Corde nommée La, et les quatre autres doigts arrondis pour qu'ils puissent toucher aisem^t sur les quatre Cordes. Quand on joue debout il faut attacher à un bouton qui est derrière le bas du Manche un petit Ruban que les Dames attachent avec une Epingle à leur Robe et que les hommes passent à un bouton de l'habit ou à la veste. Si on joue assis on peut se passer du Ruban de quelque manière que ce soit il faut toujours tenir le manche élevé du côté gauche (Corrette, 1772, 1).

La position la plus avantageuse pour les Dames, lorsqu'elles sont assises, est d'appuyer le corps de la Mandoline sur les genoux, vers le côté droit, mais de manière que cette position ne fasse pas jetter le bras droit trop en dehors quand on joue. A l'égard des hommes, ils appuient le corps de la Mandoline sur le creux de l'estomac, un peu vers le côté droit, et le manche élevé comme nous l'avons dit (Fouchetti, 1771, 4).

These two descriptions are well illustrated by engravings from Denis (figs. 5.2 & 5.3) and Leoné (fig. 5.5), as well as in the paintings of Lacour (fig. 3.1) and Tischbein (fig. 3.2). The two Denis illustrations show the common standing position, while the three latter ones show the seated position recommended by Fouchetti. Leoné and Gervasio do not express a preference for either position, but Bortolazzi (fig. 5.6) favours the seated position for women.

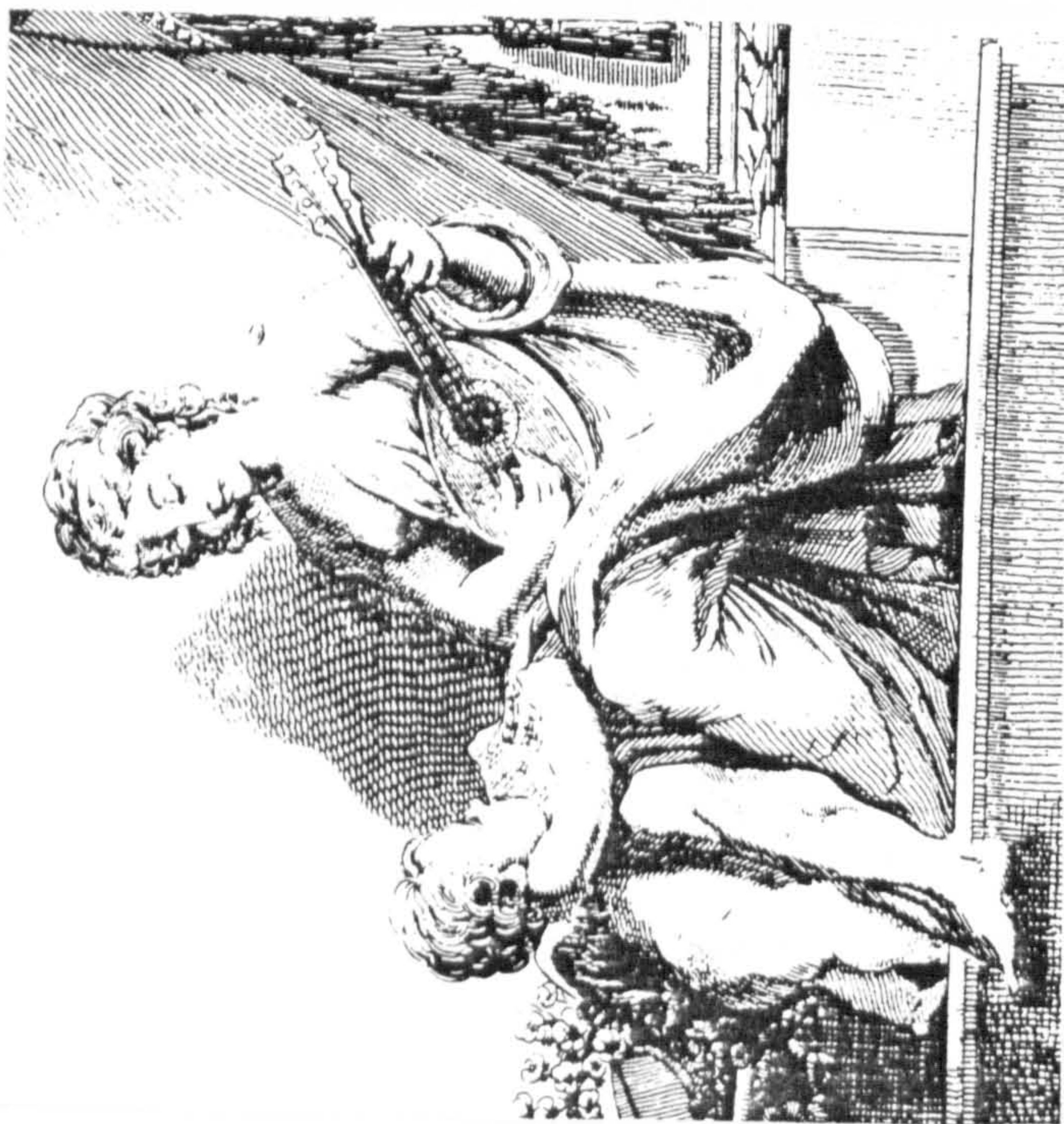


fig. 5.5 - Leoné: Seated female
mandolinist (1768)

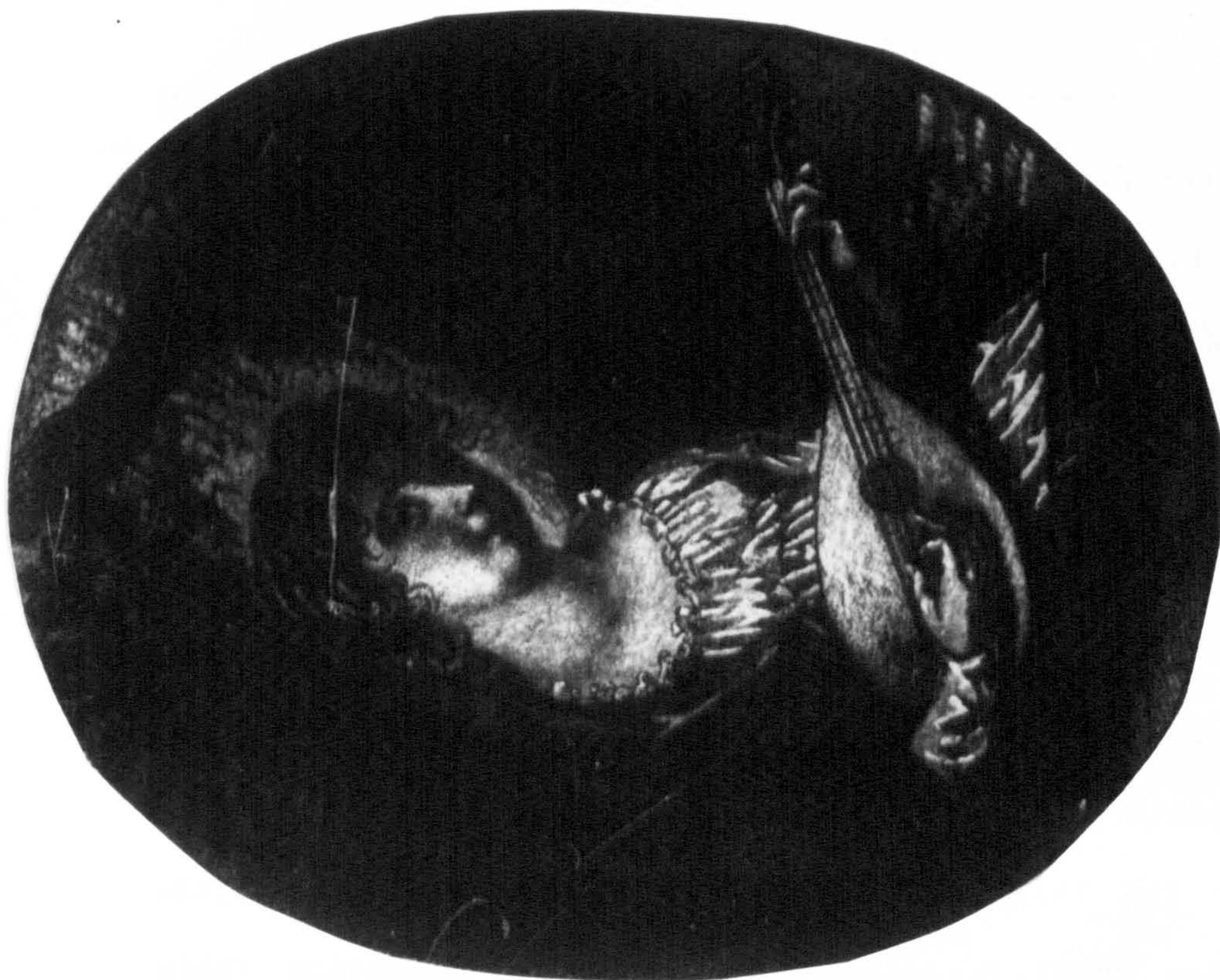


fig. 5.6 - Bortolazzi: female
mandolinist (1805)

Although the *mandoline* and the violin share a common tuning, the left-hand positions for the two instruments were quite distinct. By the mid-eighteenth century, violinists had adopted the modern position with the fingers pointing towards the bridge. *Mandoline* technique positioned the fingers parallel with the frets, as can be seen in figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.5, & 5.6.

Whereas Corrette (1772, 1) and Leoné (1768, 3) advise that the thumb should rest under the neck of the instrument (underneath the second course), violinists habitually brought the thumb around the neck. The result is that the *mandoline* position allows easier chordal formation (this hand position is still standard on the lute and guitar), whereas the violinist's position gives a greater facility in scale passages, especially in higher positions. Only Gervasio advocates freeing the thumb, but for an entirely different reason:

Prenez garde encore à la croix que vous trouverez sur les notes basses. Elles signifient que dans cette occasion, ces notes se doivent faire avec le pouce de la main gauche, qui tient le manche de l'instrument. On fait ainsi fort aisément des passages qui seroient fort difficiles (Gervasio, 1767, 1).

This fingering of bass notes with the left-hand thumb was a common eighteenth century guitar technique. Of the mandolinists presently under discussion, only Gervasio recommends it in the text, giving the following example, which shows a passage simplified by its use.



Gervasio (1767, 6). "Les notes marquées d'un + se doignent avec le pouce".

However, the practice was abandoned by mandolinists in general in the nineteenth century as a hand position closer to that of the violinist was adopted.

The instrument, in the sitting position, is supported at several points; by the legs, the stomach, the left hand, and the right forearm. As Corrette points out:

Pour que la main droite ait toute la liberté possible il faut poser l'avant bras sur la Table et le coude un peu en dehors; Non seulement cela donne à la main beaucoup d'aisance pour donner les coups de plumes, mais encore la facilité de contenir l'instrument contre soi (Corrette, 1772, 1).

Leoné recommends that the forearm should rest at a point two inches from the wrist, so that the instrument is held securely in place, with the wrist free to move (Leoné, 1768, 3). From all the information contained in the treatises, it seems to me that the position shown in fig. 5.5 was considered to be the most secure, the standing position being suitable for simple vocal accompaniments.

5.4 The Plectrum (Quill)

The Neapolitan *mandoline*, unlike the *mandolino*, has always been played with a plectrum. In the eighteenth century, the modern tortoiseshell plectrum was not used, players recommending the use of a quill instead (see fig. 5.7). Ostrich feathers are recommended by Leoné, but Fouchetti also suggests raven feathers, and Corrette hen feathers.

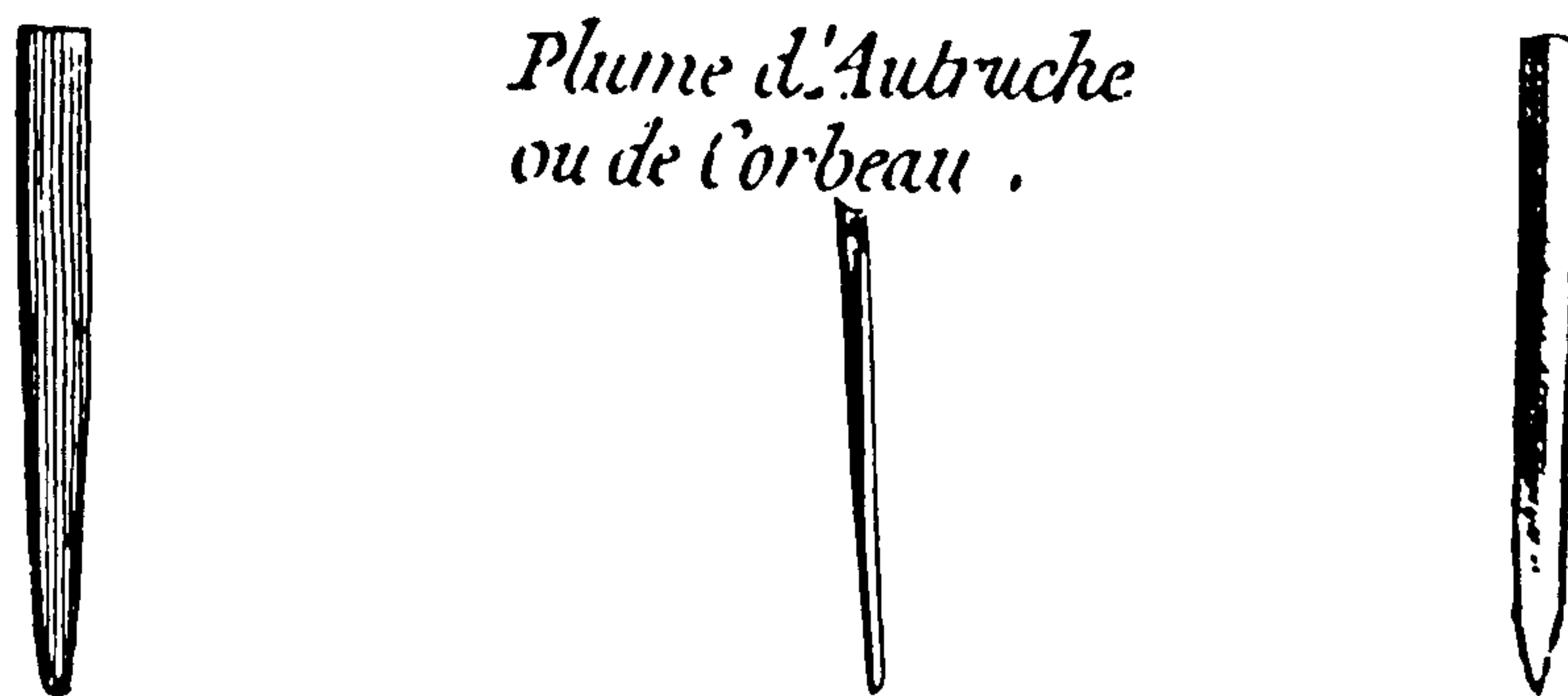


fig. 5.7 Examples of the quill, taken from the *Méthodes* of Leoné (left), Corrette (centre), and Gervasio (right). (Not to scale.)

Gervasio describes the processes involved in rendering the feather serviceable:

Il ne faut pas que la plume soit dure, mais au contraire taillée très mince. Le jeu en acquiert de la délicatesse, c'est le moyen de faire une plus grande quantité de notes, on rend de plus l'instrument doux et gracieux, et l'on lui fait perdre une sorte de dureté qu'il a naturellement.

Il ne faut pas presser la corde avec la plume, mais la toucher légèrement avec l'extrémité de celle-ci. Plus l'on touchera la corde avec délicatesse, et plus le son sera mélodieux et flatteur.

La plume doit être taillée de cette façon (fig. 5.7) lorsqu'on lui a donné cette forme, il faut abattre les angles de la partie concave, afin qu'elle soit des deux côtes également plate et polie (Gervasio, 1767, 1).

Leoné adds some more practical advice:

Il faut qu'elle soit Elastique, c'est à dire, qu'elle ne soit ni trop foible ni trop dure; autrement on ne pourroit ni donner de la force, ni adoucir son jeu.

C'est à tort que l'on retaille la Plume lors que sa pointe est un peu Emoussée; un peu de barbe est toujours bonne au moins pour rendre les sons plus grave et plus veloutés (Leoné, 1768, 3).

Corrette repeats Leoné's comments, and adds the following extra-musical tip to finish:

Quand on a fini de jouer, de crainte de perdre la plume, on la met dessous les cordes entre le chevalet, et les boutons qui les tiennent (Corrette, 1772, 8).

The use of narrow quills on gut strings allows the maximum production of harmonics; after the advent of all-metal stringing, wider tortoiseshell plectrums were preferred as these inhibit the production of high harmonic partials, and thus render the sound less "jangly". Although the quill was universally used in France, Bortolazzi preferred a small piece of cherry bark for the gut strings of his Cremonese mandolin. The Italians, he informs us, call this small plectrum *patacca* (Bortolazzi, 1805, 3). Fouchetti mentions, at the very end of his tutor, that cherry bark should be used if the mandolin is mounted entirely with gut strings,

as feathers are no good in such a case (Fouchetti, 1771, 18).

The quill was produced by cutting the feather to a length of approximately 40-60 mm, and trimming away the barbs with a knife. It was then filed down to a thickness of about 1 mm, the flexibility being adjusted during play by holding it either nearer to or further from the tip.

5.5 Quill Technique

The essence of right-hand technique on the *mandoline* is extremely simple: one gives either a down stroke (towards the floor) or an up stroke. These are notated in various ways by the different *maîtres*, as shown in fig. 5.8:

<i>Maître</i>	<i>Downstroke</i>	<i>Upstroke</i>
Gervasio	not notated	!
Denis	not notated	!
Leoné	\	/
Fouchetti	B (Bas)	h (haut)
Corrette	B	H
Bortolazzi	ab or .	auf or v

fig. 5.8 - Quill stroke notations used by various maîtres.

Leoné explains the difference between the down and up strokes:

Le premier que j'appelle supérieur par ce qu'il est le plus riche et le plus usité ... Le second que je nomme inférieur ... Celui ci moins doux, qui vient pour ainsi dire au secours du premier ne doit être employé que lors que la vitesse l'exige, il faut surtout l'éviter dans les passages d'une Corde inférieure à la supérieure par ce qu'il y est de la plus grande difficulté (Leoné, 1768, 4-5).

The upstroke was considered by eighteenth century mandolinists to give a less sonorous note than the downstroke, much as violinists at this time considered the downbow to be noble, and the upbow an inferior sound.

Denis attempted to simplify the rules for up and down strokes to the most basic few. Strong beats are usually played with a down stroke and one works out sequences in order to ensure this. In volume I, he applies this reasoning universally to all scales; however, in volume II (having perhaps contemplated Leoné's system and his comments in the meantime) he discusses the *contre-coup de plume*. This is Denis's term for the difficulty, outlined earlier by Leoné, of passing from a lower to a higher string with an upstroke (involving a movement with the quill past the string that one is about to play). Fig. 5.9 illustrates the various manners of playing scales. a & b show how the *contre-coups de plume* occur; c & d show how to avoid the difficulty by use of the *coulé*. None the less, apart from certain arpeggio and *batterie* patterns (discussed later), Denis maintains that quill technique is an uncomplicated subject.

By contrast, Leoné devotes a great deal of space to the matter. The *mandoline*, although designed in imitation of the

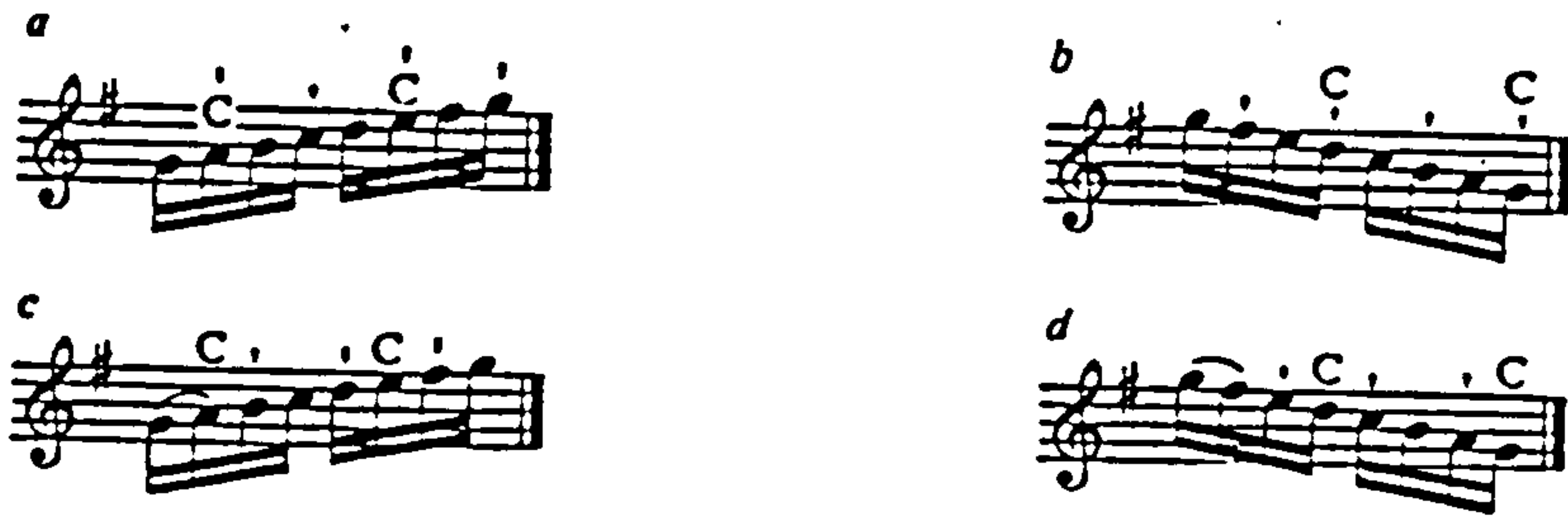


fig. 5.9 - Denis (1768): avoiding contre-coups de plume.

violin, lacks the most expressive and subtle part of the resources of the latter, namely the bow. Leoné, more than any other mandolinist of the period, was acutely aware of this deficiency, and sought to develop a right-hand quill technique which would give a versatility and breadth of expression comparable to that of the violinist.

In the preface to his *Méthode*, he discusses the differences between plucked and bowed strings:

Cet Instrument étant privé de l'Archet ne peut soutenir le ton comme le Violon ni exécuter comme lui une quantité de notes d'un seul coup; il a cela de commun avec le Clavecin, et tous Instruments qui se pincent (Leoné, 1768, 1).

Having conceded these technical advantages to the violin, Leoné states that, especially in Naples where the instrument is most widely played, players have developed an exact system of signs, both to give a greater range of expression in performance and to help with the negotiation of difficult passages. If a player does not observe these signs, Leoné warns that he or she will constantly find it necessary to

consult a teacher who can demonstrate how to perform difficult passages. Furthermore, he cautions readers not to take the advice of those mandolinists who play without strict guidelines about quill strokes:

Car j'assure qu'il n'y en à qu'un très petit nombre qui puissent s'exécuter arbitrairement. Du reste je conseille à ceux qui ne sont point en état de la bien marquer de ne s'en pas mêler, le remède seroit pire que le mal (Leoné, 1768, 20).

Besides the basic \ and / strokes, he gives several other ways of attacking a note. ^ instructs the player to bend the fingers holding the quill in order to obtain a gentle attack, while □ tells the player to straighten the fingers out, thus giving a firmer stroke. ∪ indicates that several notes are to be played with a single stroke of the quill. • indicates an accent, a sharp dry stroke. Several other signs are also used, which will be dealt with in subsequent sections.

These are the varieties of stroking which Denis dismisses as "a long verbiage of rules" (Denis, 1768, 3). Gervasio devotes almost the whole of his *Méthode* to an examination of every possible type of stroking, and Fouchetti and Corrette also put a greater emphasis on varieties of quill stroke than does Denis, although Leoné is alone in his use of

^ and □ . One can see throughout his *Méthode Raisonnée* a desire to rationalize every aspect of his subject, a desire which dominated eighteenth century thought in general.

The problem of stroking groups of three notes is discussed by all authors. Whereas even-numbered groups allow the use of continued up and down strokes, the triplet cannot be treated so simply. If alternate up and down strokes are used, the *inférieur* stroke will fall on the downbeat every other time, but any other system will involve at least two consecutive strokes in the same direction. One way of sidestepping the problem will be discussed later, but Gervasio summarizes the usual compromises:

Regle pour les notes de trois.
 Quand la lenteur du mouvement peut le permettre, il faut alors faire la première des trois notes en donnant le coup de plume du haut en bas, pour lui donner plus de délicatesse et de grâce; mais quand le mouvement est vif, il faut s'y prendre autrement comme vous le verrez (Gervasio, 1767, 4).

Fig. 5.1 (Leoné) marks out three varieties of timbre - *naturel*, *argentin*, and *fluté*. Corrette explains their function further:

On tire des sons fort ou doux selon la force que l'on donne au coups de plumes et suivant la place sur la corde, ou l'on les tirent presque toujours, les sons se tirent au dessous de la Rozette, quelque fois aupres du chevalet pour lors ils sont argentins et au dessus de la Rozette ils sont doux et c'est la où l'on joue les piano (Corrette, 1772, 9).

Eighteenth century mandolinists commonly equate *piano* with *dolce*, and in much *mandoline* music *p* and *d* are used interchangeably as contrasts to *f*.

5.6 Tremolo (Trill)

It is commonly stated in articles about the mandolin that tremolo, which today is an indispensable part of every mandolinist's technique, was a nineteenth century development, rarely if ever used by eighteenth century players. Kevin Coates, for example, regards it as undermining classical *mandoline* style:

It was only when mandoline writing ceased to be idiomatic, and players ceased to discriminate in their selection and adaptation of works, that the ubiquitous tremolo became such an unfortunate feature of popular mandoline-playing (Coates, 1977, 85).

However, there is ample evidence contained in both the tutors and the music of the period to establish that this was not the case.

The various *maîtres* vary greatly in their opinions as to the desirability of tremolo, or trill as it was referred to at this time. For instance, Fouchetti describes in tones of disapproval a method of playing common amongst the Italians, and both he and Leoné recommend that the trill should be used sparingly:

... car il y en a qui trillent toutes les notes, excepté les croches et les doubles croches, parce qu'ils n'auroient pas le tems de les triller, car sans cela ils trilleroient tout. En Italie on appelle ces sortes de joueurs de Mandoline des Pétacheux. C'est jouer de la Mandoline comme les violons de Village, qui jouent sur toutes les cordes à la fois. Cela met une confusion dans l'harmonie qu'on n'y comprend rien (Fouchetti, 1771, 6).

Le trill improprement dit est une repercussion de coups de plume de haut en bas dans le même

ton, dont on se sert pour soutenir la durée de la note au deffaut d'archet; il n'est tout au plus utile que pour dégager le poignet, d'où je conclus qu'il ne faut pas le répéter trop souvent. (Leoné, 1768, 16).

The two *maîtres* mentioned above both recommend restraint in the use of the tremolo. However, other writers were more enthusiastic in advocating its use. Corrette takes a positive attitude to the technique, as an idiomatic device peculiar to instruments plucked with a quill:

Il est à remarquer que sur la Mandoline on ne peut pas enfler les sons comme on fait avec l'archet sur le Violon. Pour suplérer à cela, on fait un Trill, qui est une répétition du même son sur une note. L'exécution du Trill dépend entierrement du poignet droit, cet agrément est très joli et ne se peut faire que sur les instrumens que l'on jouë avec la plume comme Mandores, Mandolines, Cistres, et Vielles Turques [a type of plucked hurdy-gurdy]. Le trill, nommé par les Italiens Trillo au singulier et Trilli au Pluriel, se fait sur des notes de longues durées (Corrette, 1772, 17).

Gervasio goes further, advocating the use of tremolo on all long notes:

Toutes les notes seules, comme par exemple les blanches, se doivent triller. Ce mot françoise et définé par M. Rousseau de Genève, signifie ici, qu'il faut agiter vivement la corde en sens contraires c'est-à-dire alternativement de haut en bas et de bas en haut, le plus prestement possible avec la pointe de la plume jusqu'à ce qu'on ait rempli la valeur de la note (Gervasio, 1767, 3).

Gervasio here is describing the non-metric tremolo, where the number and the frequency of quill strokes bears no relation to the tempo of the music. Fouchetti, Corrette, and Denis prefer a precise number of strokes in their trill, as the latter *maître* explains:

Le Trille doit toujours être de nombre impair, c'est à dire de trois, cinq, sept, ou plus de coups de plume, selon la valeur de la note ... Le trille de trois coups de plume est un trille de goût (Denis, 1768, 4).

Corrette explains the reason for the insistence on the odd number of strokes:

... il faut observer de la finir en baissant parce que le Trill est plus brillant en l'exécutant par nombre impair, par ce moyen on fait le silence, d'un quart de soupir, ce qui fait un très belle effet (Corrette, 1772, 17).




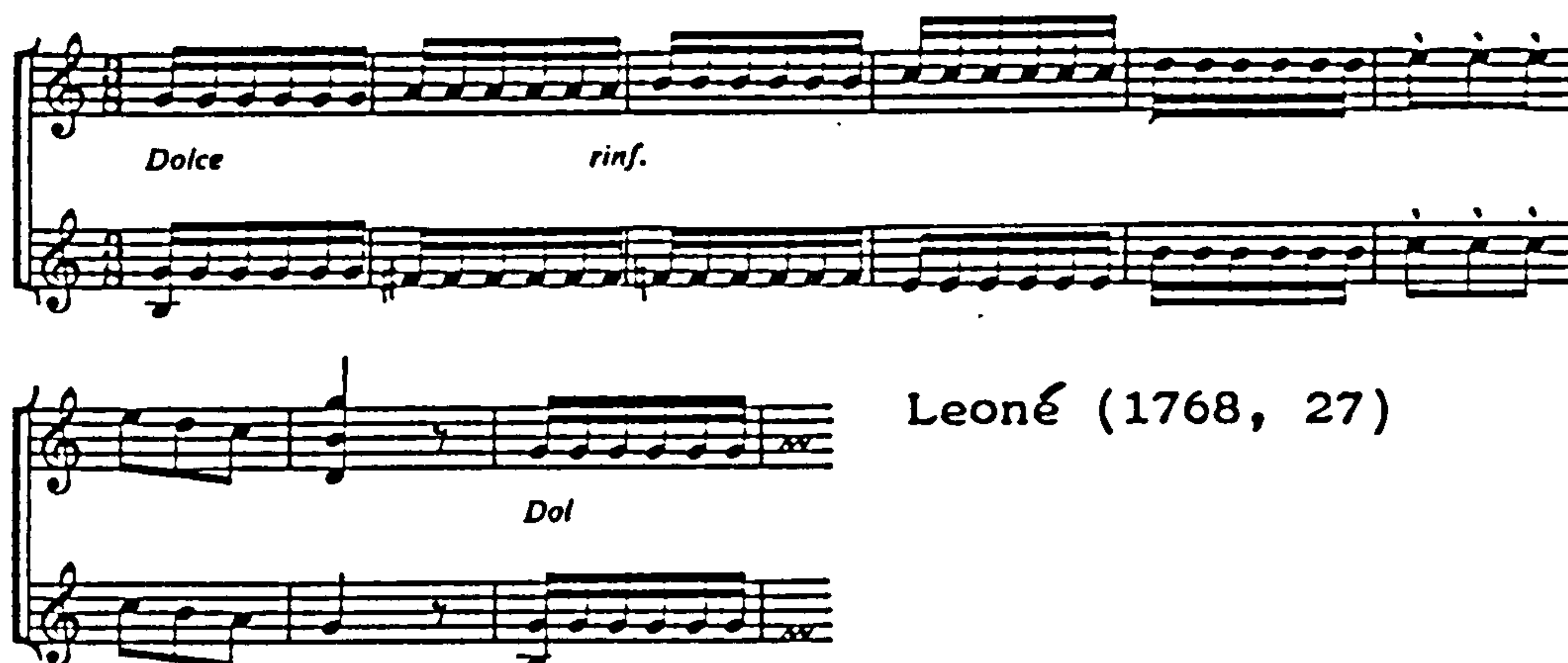
Corrette (1772, 17)

Denis remarks that the trille is used only for longer notes and must be added to the notated music principally when playing transcriptions:

On peut se passer de faire des trilles en jouant de la Musique des Maîtres de Mandoline, parce qu'il n'y mettent pas de notes longues: mais dans d'autre musique, où les notes longues sont employées, il faudroit substituer et multiplier d'autres notes, pour remplir la valeur des notes longues; ce qui demanderoit que l'on fût Compositeur. Le trille y supplée; et, quand il est fait par un poignet doux, il est très agréable (Denis, 1768, 5).

From the numerous quotations given above, one can see that the tremolo was part of the technique of all the Parisian *maîtres*. It is often indicated in *mandoline* music by the


sign , but more frequently left to the player's own taste and discretion. In the *méthodes* the tremolo is frequently notated in full, as in this example from Leoné's *méthode*,



which contradicts Richard Campbell's assertion that Grétry's use of the technique in 'Tandis que tout sommeille' from *l'amant jaloux* is "unusual for such an early period" (Campbell, 1980, 609).



Grétry - "Tandis que tout sommeille" (1778)

Bortolazzi, in his *Anweisung* ..., also mentions the tremolo, which he terms *bebung* and indicates , but his single-strung Cremonese mandolin is less suited to the technique than double-strung Neapolitan instruments. Wölki is incorrect to say that Bortolazzi "does not even mention the tremolo" (Wölki, 1984, 15. The reference is Bortolazzi, 1805, 23).

In conclusion, it is obvious that the tremolo style of playing was well known in the eighteenth century, and was practised by a type of mandolinist known as the *Pétacheux* in Italy. However, these players (presumably street musicians, who either played from memory or improvised) do not appear to have bequeathed any notated compositions to posterity. Classical players in the salons of Europe varied in their fondness for tremolo, but all used the technique more sparingly than the *Pétacheux*. However, from the evidence of the *méthodes* themselves, the tremolo technique was amongst the variety of ornaments to be introduced *ad libitum* by performers, especially in order to prolong the last note of a phrase.

5.7 Cadence

As shown above, *mandoline maitres* used the word *trille* or *trillo* to describe the tremolo (incorrectly, as Leoné notes). The modern trill was referred to by them (with the exception of Denis as we shall see later) as a *cadence*, because it tended to occur on the penultimate note of a phrase.

Corrette, who was principally a keyboard player, uses the standard mid-eighteenth century notation *t* for the *cadence*, but both Leoné and Fouchetti prefer *+*, reserving *t* for tremolo. Gervasio does not discuss the *cadence*; instead, as seen on pp.70-1, he uses *+* to indicate a note fretted with the left-hand thumb. Denis, in the first part of his *Méthode*, refers to "another species of *trille*" (that is, besides tremolo) which consists of four notes, starting above the main note. By extending this, he tells us, the *cadence* is formed. In the next volume he explains the execution of the *cadence*:

Elle se fait comme au Violon en baissant. et levant le doigt par gradation de vitesse de la note au dessus de celle sur laquelle elle est posée: mais il faut observer qu'à chaque battement et levement de doigt, il faut un coup de plume qui batte bien ensemble avec le doigt et que la plume ne pèse pas fort sur la corde; au lieu qu'au Violon, un seul coup d'archet sert à tous les battemens de doigt: ce qui rend la cadence plus facile sur cet Instrument que sur la Mandoline (Denis, 1769, 2-3).

Corrette echoes this last remark:

De tous les agremens la Cadence est le plus difficile et le plus necessaire a etudier, il ne

faut pas se flater de la bien faire d'abord mais avec le tems on en vient à bout (Corrette, 1772, 16).

And Fouchetti considers it to be suitable only rarely on the instrument:

Quoique les Cadences ne soient guères praticables sur la Mandoline, l'on peut cependant en faire quelques unes dans certains passages (Fouchetti, 1771, 17).

Every tutor stresses that each note in the cadence must be plucked with the quill. Whereas on the guitar the left hand could be used to prolong the cadence, on the *mandoline* the string length was considered too short (and the string tension too high) for the strings to be able to absorb sufficient energy from the left-hand fingers alone to keep in full vibration.

The purpose of the cadence is to create greater tension (through acceleration and dissonance) before the final resolution, and mandolinists developed a standard cadential formula. Fouchetti's is illustrated below:



Fouchetti (1771, 17)

On observera de triller toujours la note qui vient après la cadence, et on la trillera à proportion de sa longueur (Fouchetti, 1771, 17).

Ces accords font un bel effet aux finales et à la fin d'une phrase de chant..... Si, à la note finale, on ne peut pas faire l'accord parfait, on fait à la place un Trill autrement elle seroit trop maigre attendu que sur la Mandoline on ne peut pas enfler les sons comme au Violon (Corrette, 1772, 24-5).

5.8 Left Hand Techniques

Eighteenth century mandolinists sought various ways to compensate for their instrument's weakness *vis-à-vis* the violin, in particular the latter's ability to execute many notes under a single bow stroke. On a modern high-tension *mandoline* it is not possible to sound notes with the left hand alone in normal circumstances (only acciaccaturas and specialist pizzicato effects are nowadays performed in this manner), but this was not the case with early instruments. As we have already seen, these were of light construction (this lightness was enhanced on the best instruments by fluting the ribs), and were strung with a gauge lighter than that used on the violin. The *cadence* was considered to be too extended an ornament to be executed adequately with the left hand alone, but the following techniques are commonly employed in the *mandoline* music of this period.

Chûte

The *chûte* was a term derived from French harpsichordists and lutenists, and the same technique can also be found in

Elizabethan lute music, where it is termed "a fall".

Corrette gives a straightforward explanation:

La chute se fait quand il y a trois ou quatre notes à faire sur la même corde, en donnant seulement un coup de plume en baissant pour la 1^{re} note et en laissant tomber les doigts pour les autres notes, sur les vibrations de la corde sans donner d'autres coups de plume (Corrette, 1772, 14).



(Corrette 1772, 14.)

A little later Corrette remarks that, when a *chûte* is well executed, the fingers fall firmly onto the strings "as though each finger were a little hammer".

All other descriptions of this technique are similar. Leoné (1768, 8) mentions that the term is taken from guitar terminology and that it is a way of sweetening the tone of the instrument, and of making one's playing more brilliant and agreeable. The slur over the notes of the *chûte* has a special meaning for plucked instrument players, indicating that all the notes are to be played with one right hand stroke. Thus the slur is also found in the next technique to be discussed.

Tirade

This is a reverse *chûte* and, as the name implies, the string is pulled with the left hand fingers, as Corrette describes:


La Tirade se fait des doigts de la main gauche en tirant la corde avec le doigt supérieur convenable à chaque note c'est à dire qu'il faut tirer le Sol dans l'exemple cy dessous avec le doigt qui feroit le La, tirer le Fa avec le doigt qui a déjà fait le Sol et le Mi avec le doigt qui sort de faire Fa ... La Tirade est le contraire de la chute, l'un se fait quand les notes vont en montant, et l'autre quand elles vont en descendant. La Tirade ainsi que la chute ne se font point quand on va d'une corde à l'autre (Corrette, 1772, 15).



(Corrette 1772, 15.)

Although Corrette prefers to mark the *tirade* with a succession of T's, other *maîtres* use the slur exactly in the same way as with the *chûte*. Indeed both these techniques can be seen as varieties of the *coulé*.

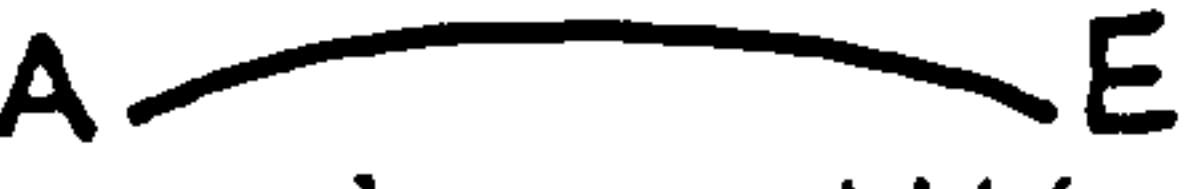
Coulé

Cette liaison  que l'on trouvera souvent sur les notes, marque que celles qui sont ainsi liées, doivent être faites avec la plume de haut en bas (Gervasio, 1767, 1).



The above example is played by fingering the d on the fourth string, the f on the third, and the a on the open second, and then allowing the quill to flow over the strings in one continuous down stroke (hence the name; *couler* means to flow).

Corrette uses the term in a more general manner to describe all ways of playing more than one note per quill stroke:

Des notes Coulées que l'on fait du même coup de plume. Quand il y a des liaisons sur deux ou trois notes on les jouë du  même coup de plume une plus grande quantité ne s'entenderoit point: il n'en est pas de même du Violon ou d'un seul coup d'Archet on peut couler une douzaine de notes (Corrette, 1772, 12).

Indeed Corrette also applies the term to a variety of *petites notes* performed with the left hand, as the next section describes.

5.9 Petites Notes

These would nowadays be called *acciaccaturas*, but Leoné and Denis use the above term, while Fouchetti and Corrette subdivide them further into *port de voix* and *coulé*.

In eighteenth century treatises (and commentaries upon them ever since), a great deal of space is devoted to the performance of "little notes". C. P. E. Bach, for example, observes that, in performance, some *appoggiaturas* vary in length, while others are always rapid and that it is frequently difficult to ascertain which is which (Bach, 1759, 87). However, this problem does not arise in *mandoline*

music for the simple reason that *petites notes* are always played in the *coulé* manner described above, and that this technique is only applicable to very brief ornaments. Leoné describes their execution, linking them with the falling and pulling techniques discussed earlier.

Il y a deux sortes de petites notes ... La première qui monte au Ton se fait en frappant fort d'un coup de plume de haut en bas, et faisant tomber le doigt suivant immédiatement après, les deux sons se font entendre d'un seul coup. C'est ce qui s'appelle *chûte* sur la Guittarre. La Seconde, qui descend au ton se tire avec le doigt au deffaut du retentissement qu'elle n'a pas comme la première et c'est ce qui s'appelle *tirade* sur la guittarre (Leoné, 1768, 13).



chûte



tirade

Corrette and Fouchetti separate the two species by their common musical names; the *port de voix* and the *coulé* (yet another nuance of meaning for this word!). As Corrette points out:

Le Port de Voix ... est presque semblable à la *chûte*: la différence ne consiste que dans le nombre des notes; attendu qu'en la *chûte* on passe plusieurs notes sans donner de coups de plume, et que pour le Port de voix on n'en fait qu'une sur les vibrations de la Corde (Corrette, 1772, 18).

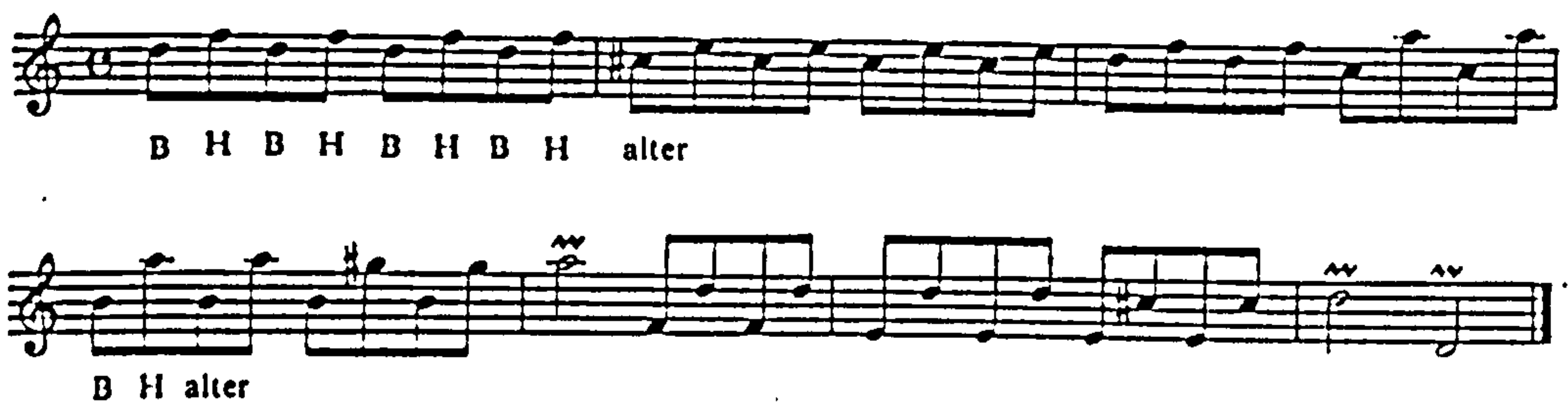
He also notes that these ornaments are scarcely ever performed on the fourth string; although he gives no reason,

it presumably lies in the octave stringing. The thick g and thin g' strings would not react equally to the pulling of the left hand fingers and thus this technique would be better avoided.

As for the use of *appoggiaturas*, these ornaments were written as ordinary large notes. The small note tied to the large was reserved (whether on violin, voice, or *mandoline*) to indicate two notes performed with a single attack. As long *appoggiaturas* required a stroke on both the *petite* and the main notes, *mandoline maîtres* considered it preferable to indicate both notes in full.

5.10 Batterie

On nomme Batteries, deux notes sur different degrés battues l'une après l'autre plusieurs fois, quand les notes se trouvent sur deux cordes différentes, l'effet en est plus beau (Corrette, 1772, 26).



(Corrette 1772, 26.)

The following sections will discuss various ways of prolonging sounds on the *mandoline*. As noted earlier, the *trille* was not considered by many of the Parisian *maîtres* to

be suitable for constant usage. Amongst the alternatives was the *batterie*. This is of course a standard formula on many instruments but, as Corrette remarks, when performed on the *mandoline* on two different strings it has a particularly full sound. This is because the two courses ring on in between strokes, giving the effect of interlocking tied crotchets. Indeed, according to Denis, this is the essence of the technique:

Les batteries sont des quantités de notes par deux, dont la première est sur une corde et la seconde, sur un autre en continuant de même comme l'exemple cy après, quand la première des deux notes est la plus basse, son coup de plume est en bas, et celui de la seconde en haut; mais, quand la première des deux est la plus haute, son coup de plume est en haut et celui de la seconde en bas (Denis, 1768, 9).



Denis (1768, 9)

Note that in the second example the quill-stroking is the reverse of the usual sequence, with the weaker up stroke falling on the beat. This practice allows each stroke to be performed so that the follow-through brings the quill into a

position where it is ready to attack the next note. If the normal down/up pattern were preserved, the quill would have to be brought back over the string which had just been played before the next note could be executed.

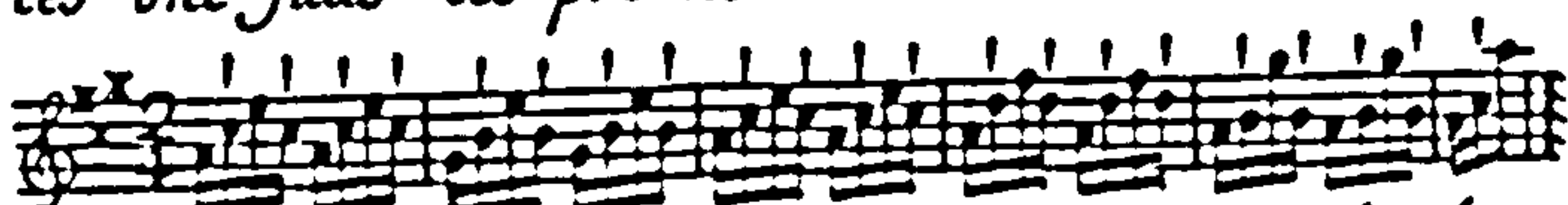
5.11 Arpèges

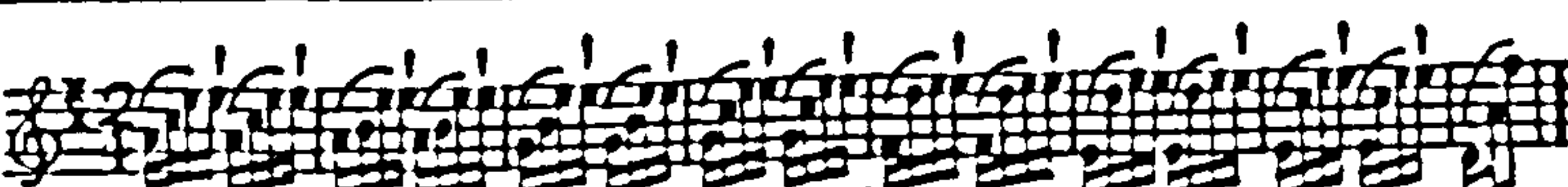
This technique allowed the *maîtres* to show off their brilliance with different *coups de plume*. Indeed Denis considered them so idiosyncratic that he identified certain patterns with certain Neapolitan virtuosos (fig. 5.10). Leoné devotes a full page of his *méthode* to an exhibition of twenty varieties of three-course arpèges (fig. 5.11), suggesting that when an arpeggio passage is encountered in a piece, the player should choose a suitable pattern from the *magazin*. Corrette notes that, although a composer will usually indicate how he wishes arpeggio passages to be performed (by writing out the first measure in full, and subsequent bars as chords), the player is often free to interpret such passages *ad libitum*.


Customary rules of stroking are often set aside in the execution of arpèges. Use is made of the *coulé* technique, gliding the quill over the strings in one continuous down or up stroke. Gervasio, for instance, gives a most unconventional stroking for the following arpège.



*Differentes coups de plume d'arpeggio et le nom de ceux
qui les ont faits les premiers.*

*Coup de plume
de m.^r
Francesi.* 
la note la plus basse doit être sur la troisième corde, la
seconde sur la seconde corde, la troisième sur la première corde.

*Coup de
plume du
même.* 
la note la plus basse doit être sur la 3^{me} corde, la seconde,
sur la seconde corde, la 3^{me} sur la première corde.

*Autre à
quatre cordes* 

*Coup de plume
de m.^r Gaudioso.* 

Autre du même. 

*Autre du
même.* 

*Coup de plume
de m.^r Julien.* 

Autre du même. 

*Coup de
plume de
l'auteur.* 

Autre 

*Tous ces coups de plume d'arpeggio sont le fondement de tous ceux que l'on
pourrait écrire.*

f19. 5. 10 Denis: favourite coups de plume of the maitres.

Magazin

De différents mouvements de plume, où les doigts restent toujours dans la même place laissent à travailler de plusieurs façons : ce qui est de la plus grande utilité pour se rendre Maître de tous les mouvements desquels dépend la plus difficile exécution, je conseille à ceux qui voudront profiter de cette règle de s'y exercer jusqu'à ce qu'une de ces manières d'arpèger leur soit bien familière avant que de passer à une autre, et quand ils les posséderont toutes, ils pourront se flatter d'être très habiles. N^o les C^ol^oles marquées d'un * se rassemblent en elles pour les coups de plume.

N^a Je ne parle pas des Arpèges à 4 Cordes puis qu'ils se trouvent facilement renfermés dans des coups de plume qui sont marqués ci dessous

<p><i>Altes</i> I.</p> <p>* <i>ad libitum</i></p>	<p>II.</p> <p>*</p>	<p>III.</p>	<p>IV.</p> <p>*</p>
<p>V.</p> <p>*</p>	<p>VI.</p>	<p>VII.</p> <p>*</p>	<p>VIII.</p>
<p>IX.</p> <p>*</p>	<p>X.</p> <p>*</p>	<p><i>difficiles</i> XI.</p>	<p>XII.</p>
<p>XIII.</p>	<p>XIV.</p>	<p>XV.</p>	<p>XVI.</p>
<p><i>coups de plume</i> XVII.</p>	<p>XVIII.</p>	<p>XIX.</p>	<p>XX.</p>

fig. 5.11 Leonc; varieties of arpegge.

The three-note downbeat chord is played with an up stroke, and the next three semiquavers played *coulé* with a single down stroke. In *arpège* playing, as with the *batterie*, facility of execution is primary to the observation of the normal rules of stressed and weak beats.

5.12 Martellement

Corrette and Leoné suggest this left hand ornament as another means of prolonging a note:

Le Martellement se peut faire avant une note longue, cet agrément est composé de trois petites notes. Elles se font du même coup de plume. On peut aussi l'exécuter en frappant seulement les doigts l'un après l'autre sur la corde le plus promptement possible, pour lors on ne donne le coup de plume que pour les Blanches (Corrette, 1772, 20).



Leoné gives a variation of the *martellement*, which he terms *jouer la blanche*. As remarked earlier, he disliked extensive use of the *trille* as a means of extending a note. In place of this technique, he considers other ways of prolonging a minim (*blanche*):

Au lieu de se servir du trill pour faire la blanche je trouve qu'il est plus agréable de la cadencer, où de la partager en deux noires en ajoutant un martellement à chacune d'elle. On peut encore employer quelques agréments soit de petites notes, soit d'autres tirées des accords de la note, le tout selon la connoissance et

l'habilité de celui qui joue. N°. on peut encore la partager avec l'8^{ve} en bas (Leoné, 1768, 17. By cadence, Leoné here means a rhythmic construction on a note).



Leoné (1768, 17)

Only Leoné devotes a whole section of his *méthode* to a discussion of the filling-in of long notes. However, as shown in ch. 5.7, Fouchetti preferred to fill in pairs of long notes with a cadence and a *trille*, while Corrette uses *accords*.

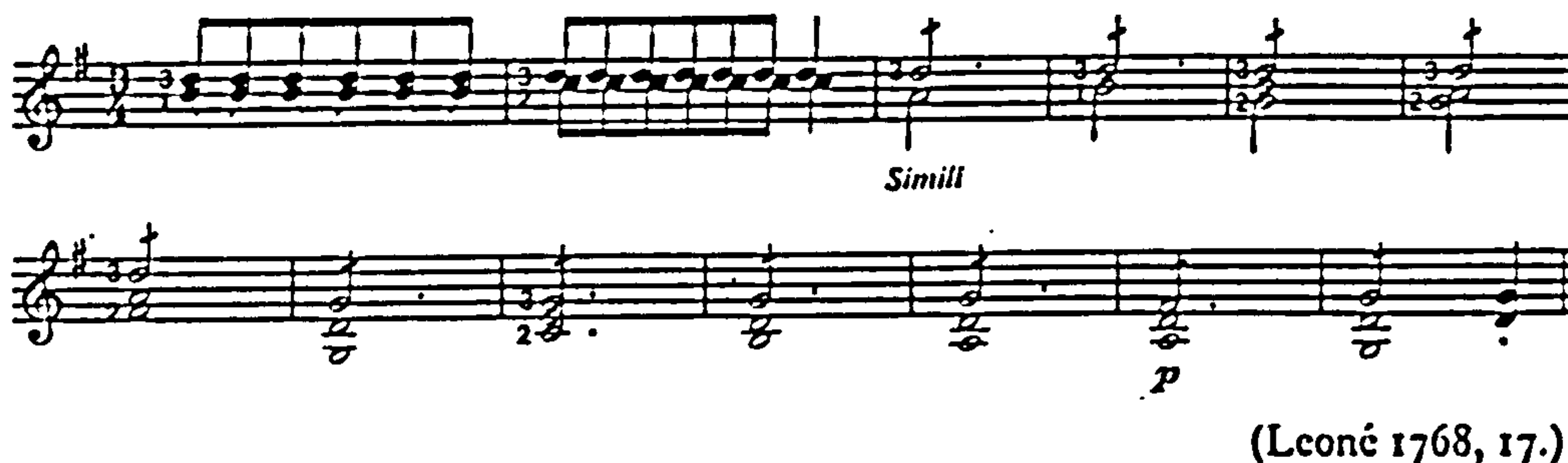
5.13 Accords

On nomme accord deux sons frapés ensemble sur deux cordes différentes du même coup de plume, quelque fois sur 3 ou 4 cordes. Ces derniers se font très souvent aux chants finals (Corrette, 1772, 22).

It has already been observed that the *accord* was used as an alternative to a *trille* at the end of a phrase. As with violin writing, passages of double, and even triple or quadruple, stopping are commonly encountered in music for *mandoline*. However Corrette and Leoné both discuss a technique peculiar to the *mandoline*, by which double-stopping can be performed on a single course:

La corde étant double et à l'unisson dans la mandoline, il est possible de tirer de la même deux sons différents. Pour y parvenir il faut

d'abord placer bien d'Aplomb le doigt de la note inférieure sur les deux cordes qui forment l'unisson, ensuite placer celui de la note supérieure de manière qu'il ne touche adroitement que la corde située vers le bas de l'instrument (Leoné, 1768, 17).



Corrette however, having discussed this technique, remarks upon the difficulty of executing *accords* in this manner, due to the likelihood of the upper finger fouling the lower note. He therefore recommends that the notes should be played on two different courses where possible. On modern instruments, where the two strings of each course are situated very close together (to allow a smoother tremolo), this technique is not considered practicable, although *scordatura* is often used as a method of playing two notes on a single course.

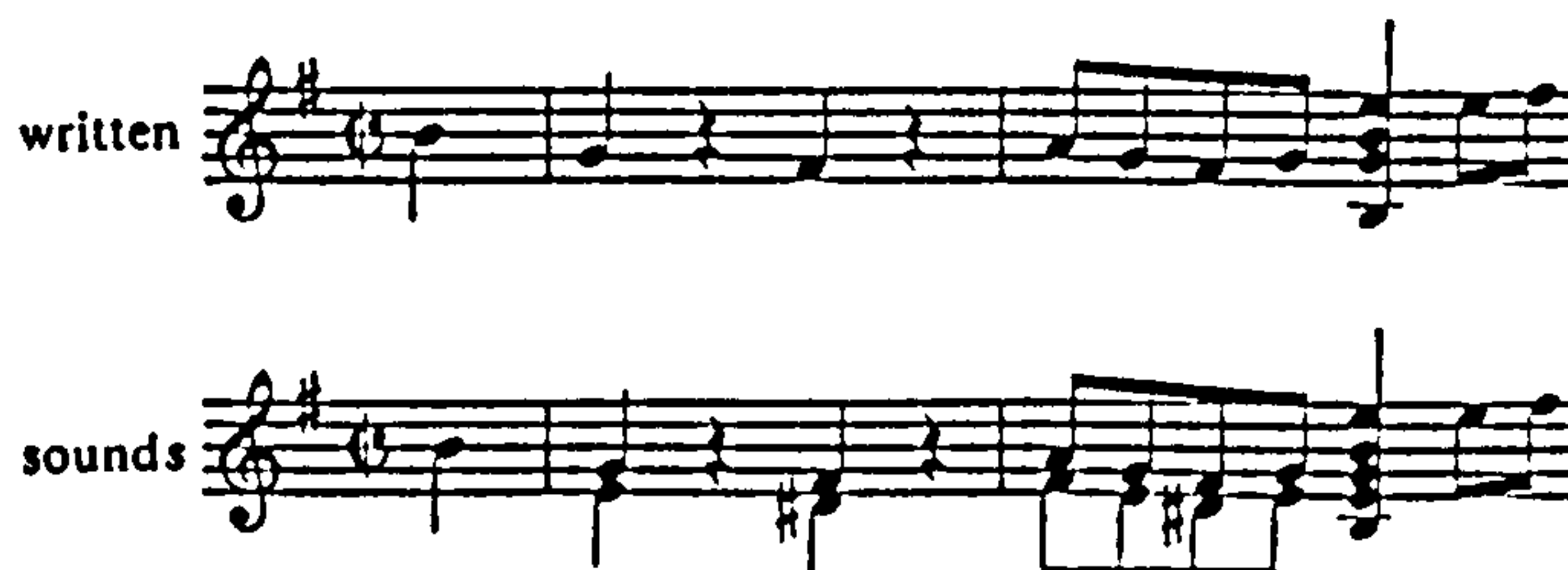
5.14 Scordatura

The tuning of the two strings of a course to different notes allows the mandolinist to perform passages in thirds and close position chords which would otherwise be impossible.

Several eighteenth century mandolinists took advantage of this possibility in their compositions. Leoné hints at it in his *méthode*:

On trouvera dans l'ouvrage que je donnerai après celui ci, des morceaux pour la Mandoline accordée de diverses manières (Leoné, 1768, 20).

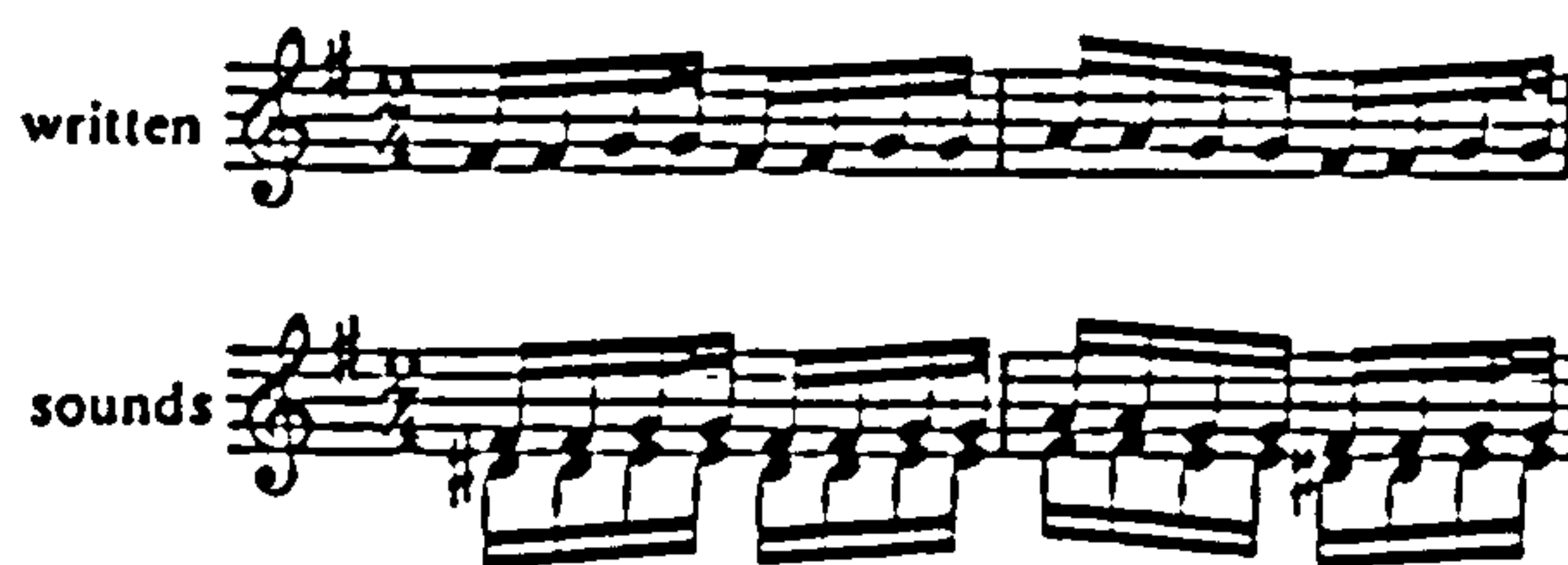
Unfortunately no copy of this proposed work is known. Antoine Riggieri, however, uses *scordatura* technique in the second movement (Adagio) of his op. 4, Sonata V, where one of the two unison d' strings is tuned to b:



Riggieri - op. 4, no. V, 2nd mvt.

The piece needs, of course, to be carefully composed and fingered if it is not to descend into bitonal nonsense. Pietro Denis also uses this device in Prelude 7 from Part II of his *méthode*:

Celui-ci doit se faire après avoir des accordés un des deux troisièmes d'un ton et demi plus bas que l'autre (Denis, 1769, 7).



Denis - Prelude 7 (1769)

Although it is not clear from the *méthodes*, my own opinion is that the lower of the two notes should be found on the string nearest to the bass, so that when playing down strokes the two notes will be played lower/higher.

5.15 Notes inégales

The systematic execution of written quavers as alternate dotted quavers and semiquavers (a practice universal amongst French musicians of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) had begun to die out by the period of the *maîtres de mandoline* of Paris. Furthermore, only Corrette, amongst those who published tutors, was a Frenchman (as noted earlier, Denis may have been Italian), and Italians conventionally notated, or at least indicated, irregular rhythms in full. Therefore it is not surprising to find that only Corrette discusses the matter:

Remarques que le coup de plume en baissant
sonnents aisement les deux cordes à l'unisson au

lieu que celui en haussant n'en sonne quelque fois qu'une: ce qui doit donner la préférence au 1^{er} pour les notes longues. Ordinairement dans les Menuets, Chaconnes, Passacailles, Sarabandes on joue les croches inégales sans qu'elles soient pour cela pointées sur la Musique (Corrette, 1772, 10).

With the exception of the minuet, these are all forms associated with the baroque suite, and are not encountered in music for *mandoline* of this period. As regards the minuet, I believe that Corrette's remarks only apply to the French form of this dance; the minuets of the Italian *maîtres* are notated as the composers intended them to be played. The *méthodes* cover all aspects of performance so thoroughly that there seems no doubt that *notes inégales* were not discussed because this was a practice foreign to the Italian taste and considered archaic.

CHAPTER 6

A REVIEW OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
REPERTOIRE OF THE NEAPOLITAN MANDOLINE

6. 1 THE MANDOLINE AND VIOLIN

At the outset of this chapter it must be made clear that, although the Neapolitan *mandoline* shares a common tuning with the violin, the *mandoline* repertoire cannot be compared, either in technical complexity or musical sophistication, to that of the violin. Whilst it is clear from their surviving compositions that *mandoline* virtuosos such as Leoné, Gervasio and Riggieri possessed both a fine instrumental and compositional technique coupled to a considerable musical imagination, one only has to look at the music of the leading contemporary violinists in Paris (many former pupils of Leclair), bristling with every type of technical difficulty, to see that the entire *mandoline* repertoire is straightforward in comparison.

vln

Andantino con moto

basso

Abbé Alexandre Auguste Robineau (1747-1828); *Sonate IV*
(Paris, c. 1770, GBLbl h. 218) 1st mvt. mm. 1-10.

vln

Allegro

basso

Pierre Gaviniès (1728-1800); *Sonata IV* (Paris, 1760,
GBLbl Hirsch 111. 212) 1st mvt. mm. 15-27.

A number of violinists of the period published works designated for either violin or *mandoline*, for example Prospero Cauciello, Valentin Roeser, and Mahoni Le Berton. None of these musicians can be numbered among the leading violinists of their time, and the technical difficulty of their duets and sonatas is much less than that of Gaviniès, Robineau, or their peers. This is not to say that *mandoline* music is necessarily undemanding or trivial. As will be shown, many works, especially among the sonatas and concertos, are large-scale compositions requiring great instrumental and musical skills for their execution. However much of the appeal of the *mandoline* has always been its simplicity, and this is reflected in the bulk of its repertoire, which consists of short, light, melodic pieces, intended for the amateur market and consequently not of a great technical or musical difficulty.

The following table has been compiled both to give an idea of the various types of instrumental and vocal music composed for the mandolin, and to show the relative frequencies of their occurrence. In order to give as complete a picture as possible of the full extent of the eighteenth century mandolin repertoire, I have counted all known published and manuscript music composed for any type of mandolin between 1750 and 1813, including works no longer extant (in some cases, this has involved estimating the number of individual

items contained in these editions), a total of approximately 1,380 individual items.

Each complete composition has been counted as a separate work. Therefore, a set of six three-movement duets has been calculated as six compositions, a set of twelve minuets as twelve. In general, it is true to say that the concertos, quartets, trios, sonatas for mandolin & basso, and arias are markedly more substantial works (both in length and in musical sophistication) than are the duets, songs and solos. The very large number of printed duets listed below is due in part to a handful of published collections and *méthodes*, each containing several dozen short airs and dances. Very short pieces, of 12 bars duration or less, have been excluded.

TABLE 6.1. MANDOLIN REPERTOIRE 1750 - 1813:

Type and frequency of various forms.

	Printed	Manuscript
1. DUETS. 2 mandolins (occasionally mandolin & violin). Mostly 2 or 3 mvt. duets or sonatas, but also some shorter pieces, variations, minuets, etc.	502	215
2. MANDOLIN & BASSO. Those in MSS. are mostly 3 mvt. sonatas with unspecified accompanying instrument. Many of the published works are single mvt. pieces, variations, minuets etc. (the basso part is occasionally designated as for guitar, cysteme, viola, or cembalo).	125	120

3. TRIOS. Usually 2 mandolins & basso (occasionally mandolin, violin & cello/ mandolone, or 2 mandolins & flute). Mostly 3 mvt. sonatas, sometimes marked "Sinfonia".	27	91
4. CONCERTOS. Usually for mandolin, 2 violins & basso (occasionally full strings & wind). Sometimes marked "Sinfonia", or "Overtura".	2	28
5. CHAMBER WORKS. Various combinations of mandolin quartet, mostly by G. F. Giuliani: Mandolin, violin, viola, & cello. Mandolin, violin, viola/cello, & liuto. 2 mandolins, flute, & cello. 2 mandolins, viola, & liuto. 2 mandolins, flute, & viola. Mandolin, flute/violin, viola, & cello. (Also 1 Quintet: mandolin, violin, 2 violas, & cello).	0	50
6. SONGS. Most with solo mandolin accompaniment. Almost exclusively popular airs from the <i>opéra comique</i> , mostly arranged by Pietro Denis.	125	2
7. ARIAS. Orchestral accompaniment with mandolin obbligato. (N.b. No specific research was undertaken into the frequency of appearance of the mandolin in C18 opera, which is almost certainly much greater than the figure given here would indicate.)	0	11
8. SOLOS. Apart from student pieces, there are few published C18 mandolin solos. Most of the surviving manuscript solos appear to be lacking a second part.	37	44

As the above table shows, the entire mandolin repertoire falls, with virtually no exceptions, into 8 distinct categories, each of which will be discussed in the following sections. As the total repertoire for all types of mandolin is so large, I shall concentrate here principally on music for the Neapolitan *mandoline* composed 1760-90. The great majority of composers under discussion were Italians, either composer/virtuosos in Paris or Naples, or opera composers in the major European capitals, French musical taste having, by the 1760's, all but capitulated to the light Italian style, with its emphasis on a single melody, uncluttered by excessive ornamentation and accompanied by simple harmonies. Technical aspects of *mandoline* music having been dealt with in the previous chapter, the following sections will concentrate on the musical content and style of the compositions themselves, and attempt to give an idea of the relative merits of the works of the principal composers for the *mandoline* at this time.

6.2 DUETS

The duet form was by far the most popular type of *mandoline* composition in the eighteenth century, especially the published duet, which accounted for almost two-thirds of all printed *mandoline* music in this period. No published duets (other than those contained in the various *méthodes*) were designated as being exclusively for the *mandoline*, the violin and the *par-dessus de viole* being the most common alternatives. The flute was also occasionally recommended, despite the frequently encountered chordal passages and the extensive use of notes below d' (then the flute's lowest note) in *mandoline* music. Although there are a few simple sets of *mandoline* duets surviving in manuscript, such as those by Domenico Mancinelli, which are completely devoid of double-stopping, and which use no notes below d', these appear to be original compositions for two flutes, sounding sparse and incomplete on *mandolines*.

Published duets were composed primarily with the amateur market in mind, and the great majority of them are consequently short, melodic, and not of any great technical difficulty. In the simpler duets, the music shows little sign of having been conceived for a fifth-tuned instrument, consisting as it does of two single lines, with chords rarely appearing except at cadences

(which is why these publications could be advertised as being suitable for a variety of stringed instruments, whether tuned in fifths like the *mandoline* or violin, in fourths like the *pardessus de viole*, or for a wind instrument). At their most basic, they may consist of nothing more than a melodic line played on the first *mandoline*, accompanied by a second instrument playing in rhythmic unison in thirds and sixths:

Handwritten musical score for two mandolins, labeled "mand I" and "mand II". The tempo is "Moderato Fanfare". The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The music consists of a melodic line on mand I and a rhythmic accompaniment on mand II, with various ornaments and slurs.

Antonio Teleschi; *Sonatina 1*, 1st mvt. mm. 1-12.

However even such simple writing is occasionally rendered more idiomatic by the use of tremolo technique, in this instance the held a" being passed from one instrument to the other:

Handwritten musical score for two mandolins, labeled "mand I" and "mand II". The tempo is "Moderato Fanfare". The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The music shows a tremolo technique where a held note is passed between the two instruments.

Antonio Teleschi; *Sonatina 1*, 1st mvt. mm. 13-20.

Airs from the *opéra comique* were often transcribed for mandoline duet. In the hands of a good arranger, such as Fouchetti, the second instrument is given a rhythmically independent high bass part, frequently with an imitative opening. Double stopping is found at cadence points, filling out the otherwise necessarily bare harmony:

Pianiss.

Giovanni Fouchetti; *Ouverture du Deserteur* (Monsigny),
mm. 1-16.

The less imaginative Denis produces a comparatively dull second part for the same piece, with an overdependence on thirds and sixths in rhythmic unison. He adds more notes than Fouchetti, but to less effect:



Pietro Denis; *Ouverture du Deserteur* (Monsigny),
mm. 1-16.

The most successful of these short, straightforward duets are those which use the second *mandoline* as a high bass instrument, rather than reducing it to a shadow of the first part or giving it only guitar-like arpeggios, and indeed many duets exist virtually unchanged in versions for *mandoline* and *basso*. The second movement of the Francesco di Majo duet given below (reproduced in full in volume III) is identical to the third movement of his sonata for *mandoline* and *basso*, apart from the octave transposition of the bass line:

mand I

Giga

mand II

Basso

Francesco de Majo; *Giga*, mm. 1-11.

(Mandoline II - from *Les Petites Récréations de la Campagne III*, Duetto I, 2nd mvt.

Basso - from *Sonata*, EPn L2757, 3rd mvt.)

As Karl Geiringer points out (1973, 545), this was an age when simple chamber music flourished. Domestic elegance and carefree gaiety was valued above grand spectacle, a single melody and light, plain homophony above contrapuntal complexity. Duets for two stringed instruments were ideal both for instruction and for the fashionable drawing room.

But beyond this level of simple, pleasing music are many collections of duets which require both a much more advanced technique and a more sophisticated musical appreciation. Leoné, to judge by his surviving

compositions and the reviews quoted in chapter 3, was the most brilliant *mandoline* virtuoso of his day, and his 1762 *duos*, the most technically advanced set published in this period, abound with rapid scales and arpeggios, double-stoppings, cross-stringing, remote keys, chromatic harmonies and irregular phrase lengths, all combining to produce demanding but effective passages:

Handwritten musical score for Mandolin I and II, Duo I, 3rd movement, measures 45-67. The score is written on ten staves. The first two staves are for Mandolin I and II, both in 2/4 time. Mandolin I starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). Mandolin II starts with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'Vivace'. The score contains various musical notations including notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano). The notation is handwritten and shows some corrections and annotations.

Leoné; *Duo I*, 3rd mvt. mm. 45-67.

mand
I

Allegro

mand
II

Leoné; *Duo III*, 3rd mvt. mm. 28-50.

One of the finest duets from this period is no IV from the set of *six sonates* by Gaetano Dingli (reproduced in full in volume III). Imitative entries abound in the first movement, with the upper part constantly being exchanged between the two instruments. It is very unusual to find so contrapuntal a texture being sustained throughout a duet for two *mandolines*:



Gaetano Dingli; *Duetto IV*, 1st mvt. mm. 1-11.

Duca Cedronio also makes imaginative use of the duet form, striving to create two equal and independent parts. In this case he uses double-stopping and imitation in inversion to add interest to a simple harmonic outline:



Duca Cedronio; *Divertimento 8ª*, 1st mvt. mm. 1-4.

In this next example he builds up a three part texture on the two instruments, the third part being sustained equally by the two *mandolines*:

The image shows a handwritten musical score. The top two staves are for mandolines, labeled 'mand I' and 'mand II' on the left. They are in 6/8 time and B-flat major. The tempo is marked 'Allegro con brio'. The bottom two staves are for piano, in the same key and time. The music features a three-part texture where the two mandolines play a similar melody while the piano provides a sustained accompaniment.

Duca Cedronio; *Divertimento 7^a*, 1st mvt. mm. 73-84.

Barbella, although primarily a violinist, left about twenty *mandoline* duets, including *Six duos* (1772-3, with optional bass part). In the central movement of the second of these Barbella indulges his "not disagreeable madness" (as Burney described it) to the full, using extreme key juxtapositions to describe a meeting between Pluto, Sabino the wizard, and a number of wives and devils (on next page).

Almost all the duets of this period, from the shortest to the longest, are in binary form, although very occasionally one meets with a set of variations, such as those by Denis on *les Folies d'Espagne*, and Leoné

mand I

mand II

Largo staccato e con espressione

Sorte Pluto
con sua
Consorte

sotto voce

Sortono tutti i diavoli

le due spouse si complimentano

Emanuele Barbella; *Duetto II*, 2nd mvt. mm. 13-27.

includes a superb *Tambourin en Rondeau* in his *Méthode* (reproduced in volume III), a very rare example of a French musical form being used in a *mandoline* composition. Most complete works consist of either two quick movements, or a slow movement followed by a quick one, although some composers, most notably Leoné, Gervasio, Giuseppe Giuliano and Barbella, favour standard sonata structure, with a central slow movement surrounded by two quick ones. Duet part-writing is noticeably free from bravura passage-work and rhetorical flourishes, suggesting that this was an intimate form suitable for performance in private houses, rather than public concert halls.

6.3 MANDOLINE & BASSO

Accompanied sonatas for any instrument were treated more seriously than unaccompanied duos in Paris during the second half of the eighteenth century. The full three-movement concert sonata for *mandoline* with *basso* is generally of greater proportions and a much greater technical difficulty than the duet. The accompanied sonata fulfilled many functions; it was a launching vehicle for a composer/performer, a concert item, an amateur diversion, and a study piece for students. When compared to duet style, the *mandoline* writing in these sonatas is markedly more instrumental in conception, this being reflected in the title-pages, where the music is deemed suitable for the *mandoline* or violin only. It is conceived for a fifth-tuned instrument and, unlike many of the duets, could not adequately be played on anything else. In these sonatas, effect is more important than rigorous continuity of line, and the quick movements abound with bravura passage-work, making use of elaborate arpeggios, rapid scale passages, repeated notes, and high positions (although, as noted earlier, they do not approach the pyrotechnics of virtuoso violin music of the period):

mand

Basso

Allegro

simile

Gio. Battista Gervasio; *Sonata* (SUu Gimo 142), 1st mvt.
mm. 44-50.

mand.

Basso

Leoné; *Sonata IV*, 1st mvt. mm. 19-23.

mand. *Allegro*

basso

Giuseppe Giuliani; *Sonata in E*, 1st mvt. mm. 33-6.

However when less proficient composers, such as Denis, tackle the sonata form, this dependence on passage-work is unable to mask a fundamental lack of musical imagination, and in some cases even betrays a lack of basic musical knowledge, as in this crude use of consecutive octaves and second inversions:

mand. *Allegro non molto*

basso.

Pietro Denis; *Capriccio I*, mm. 26-30.

Although Denis was probably a Frenchman, his *mandoline* writing betrays all the worst qualities of mid-eighteenth century Italianate instrumental music, and is frequently open to criticism on the grounds of hollow virtuosity, of note-spinning without substance. As was seen in fig. 5.10, Denis was preoccupied with the favourite arpeggios of different mandolinists, and his music often seems to consist of little more than a series of empty and unrelated bravura flourishes, perhaps justifying the brief and savage biography he was given by Choron and Fayolle in their *Dictionnaire Historique de Musiciens* (1810):

Le sieur Pietro Denis, musicien à Paris, y fit graver, ou, mieux dire, y trouva des éditeurs assez sots pour faire graver quelques mauvais ouvrages didactiques de sa façon... L'exécution typographique de ces ouvrages est digne de la conception et du style; un porte-faix n'eût pas fait pire...

The greater technical difficulty made the sonata for *mandoline* and basso much less marketable than the duet, and consequently few sets were published. Apart from those by Leoné and Riggieri, almost all 3-movement *mandoline* sonatas exist only in manuscript form, most of the 125 published pieces noted in table 6.1 being short minuets or other student pieces contained in the *méthodes* or in a few collections of airs and dances. Judging by the nature of these full-scale sonatas, it would seem probable that they are representative of the works which the great virtuosos of this period, such as Leoné and Gervasio, wrote to perform themselves, rather than for their students or for amateurs.

Although so many eighteenth century works for *mandoline*, whether published or in manuscript, contain a bass part, none of the tutors offer much in the way of advice as to how to perform them. By the end of the eighteenth century it was common to find the accompaniment fully written out, either for keyboard or guitar. Beethoven's four pieces have full keyboard parts, as do the sonatas by Hummel and Neuling, and Call's sets of variations have fully-notated guitar accompaniment. However, few of the Parisian works of this period give more than an unfigured bass line. It is customary nowadays to assume that a keyboard realization was implied and, although very few of the bass parts are figured, this solution works well in performance:

Il faut remarquer que la Mandoline et le Cistre ne sont jamais mieux accompagnés que par le Clavecin et la Viole D'orphée (Corrette, 1772, preface).

Corrette later recommends the use of the lute stop on the harpsichord when accompanying the *mandoline* (p. 44). There are a few contemporary Italian pieces with a fully written-out keyboard part which can serve as models; for example, Vincenzo Panerai's *Suonata XIV* (reproduced in volume III), and Bonaventura Terreni's *Minuetto* (IMc Nosedà P34-13, ms.). There are other possibilities, however. The guitar was a popular choice in Vienna c. 1800, so it may well have been used together with the *mandoline* in Paris twenty-five years earlier. The guitar in Paris at that time was a five-course instrument, lighter than the six-string guitars used in

Vienna, which were closer to today's classical guitar. Another possibility is the cello, not only together with a keyboard instrument, but also as a substitute. Eighteenth century cellists took a more harmonic approach to their instrument than today's players do, and were trained to add extra notes above the bass line which they were playing. The use of the cello is implied in Leoné's op. II, no. 2, 2nd movement (Bailleux), where the bass line is marked *la terza corda*. The whole of this movement can be played on the G string of the cello. As William S. Newman points out (1963, 609), by the 1770's the bass part was often not intended for realisation, but was a true, albeit subordinate, participant in duos and trios.

By 1796, when Beethoven was composing his four pieces for the *mandoline*, the relationship between it and the accompanying instrument had fundamentally changed. Not only was the keyboard part written out in full, but it was now of equal importance to the *mandoline*. The greater emphasis placed by composers on the keyboard part in sonatas is reflected in the titles, which often list the instruments in reverse order; Hummel's 1810 sonata is for piano *con accompagnamento di Mandolino o Violino obbligato*, Neuling's 1813 sonata *pour le clavecin et violon ou mandoline*. In passages such as this, from Beethoven's sonata in C major (reproduced in full in volume III), the *mandoline* takes a secondary role to the keyboard:

Allegro

mand.

cemb.

L. van Beethoven; *Sonatina in C* WoO 44a, mm. 35-40.

Although these are youthful pieces without opus numbers, there are many passages in them which are unmistakably Beethoven. This is particularly true of the sonata in c minor, the opening of the middle section of which he subsequently reworked in the Allegretto of his piano sonata op. 14 Nr. 1:

mand. *Adagio*

cembalo

piano *Allegretto*

L. van Beethoven; *Sonatina in c* WoO 43a, mm. 17-19, &
Sonata op.14 no.1, 2nd mvt. mm. 63-7.

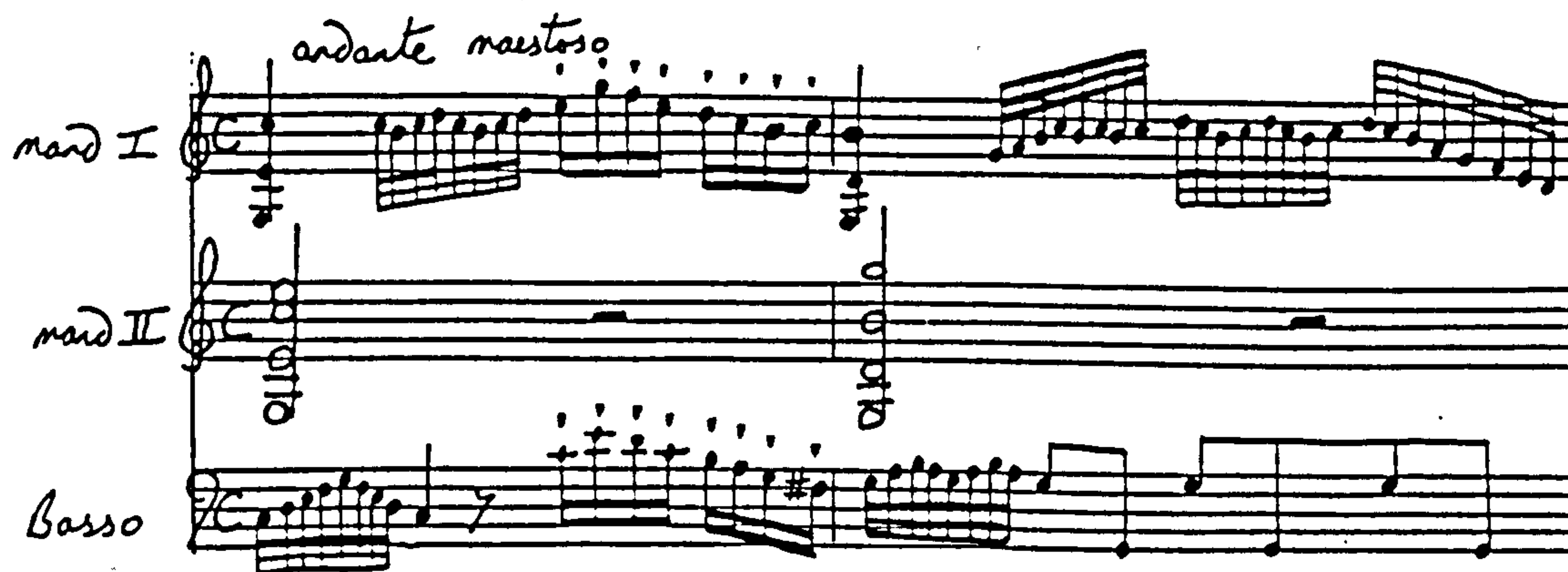
6.4 TRIOS

The published trio most commonly consisted of two *mandolines* and *basso*, with restrained part-writing and frequent rhythmic unisons in the upper parts reminiscent of duet style rather than of the bravura passage-work encountered in the accompanied solo *mandoline* sonata. Some trios are, indeed, simply duets with a bass part added, such as Barbella's *Six duos...* *avec une basse ad libitum lorsqu'on voudra en faire des trios*, where for the most part the bass line (to be played on a viola in the Italian high bass manner an octave higher than written) does no more than state what is already implicit in the upper parts:

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a trio. At the top, the tempo and expression markings "All.^o con moto e con espressione" and a fermata symbol "t" are written. The score consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled "mand I" and the middle staff is labeled "mand II". Both mandolin staves are in G major (two sharps) and common time (C). They feature intricate, flowing melodic lines with many slurs and ties. The bottom staff is labeled "Basso" and is in G major and common time. It contains a simple, rhythmic accompaniment consisting of eighth and sixteenth notes, often in unison with the lower lines of the mandolin parts. The notation is handwritten and appears to be a working draft or a composer's manuscript.

Emanuele Barbella; *Duetto II*, 1st mvt. mm. 1-2.

However Barbella does occasionally vouchsafe the viola an independent part, conspicuous by its absence when the work is played as a duet:



Emanuele Barbella; *Duetto VI*, 1st mvt. mm. 55-6.

Five sets of trios were published during the period 1760-80, by Barbella, de Machi (now lost), Merchi, Roeser and Gualdo, the last three all having figured bass parts, almost the only *mandoline* compositions to do so. The *Six Easy Evening Entertainments with a thorough bass for the harpsichord or violoncello* by Giovanni Gualdo (published in London c. 1765) are probably the simplest pieces in the entire *mandoline* repertoire; only the tonic, sub-dominant, and dominant keys are ever used, and entire movements pass in unaltered rhythmic unison in thirds and sixths between the two upper instruments, the bass giving the briefest of flourishes only at cadence points. These pieces are

style *galant* taken to an extreme - simple periodic melodies in endless four and eight bar measures with the lightest of accompaniments, no harmonic or melodic surprises, and consequently nothing to catch unawares two mandolinists of modest ability giving an impromptu after-dinner drawing room concert:

mand I

Allegretto

mand II

Basso

tr

tr

6

5

6

Giovanni Gualdo; *Sonata IV*, 1st mvt. mm. 1-8.

Amongst the numerous manuscript examples however, are several which were clearly composed with an audience in mind, rather than for domestic use. One of the finest of these is Gervasio's *Sinfonia* (SUu Gimo 149, reproduced in full in volume III), which opens with a

tremendous fanfare over a tonic pedal, busy scales and arpeggios in the upper parts contrasting with crashing chords from the first *mandoline*. This is clearly music designed to capture the attention of an audience:

M1

M2

B

Allo spiritoso assai

Gio. Battista Gervasio; *Sinfonia a due Mandolini e Basso*, 1st mvt. mm. 1-8.

F. Giuseppe Paolucci's twelve *Sonate a due Mandolini e Basso* (IAC N. 178/1), written between 1758-61 when he was *Maestro di Capella* at Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, are also full of the rhetorical gestures and bravura passages that suggest public, rather than domestic, performance. In this extract,

from the last movement of Sonata I, the first *mandoline* part is given added rhythmic impetus by the addition of the held lower notes, played on a different string so that they ring on throughout:

Handwritten musical score for F. Giuseppe Paolucci's Sonata no. 1, 3rd movement, measures 73-84. The score is written on six staves. The first three staves are labeled 'I', 'II', and 'Basso'. The last three staves are unlabeled. The music is in 3/8 time and D major. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and slurs. The first staff (I) features a prominent melodic line with many slurs and ties. The second staff (II) has a more active, rhythmic line. The third staff (Basso) provides a steady bass line. The last three staves continue the melodic and harmonic development.

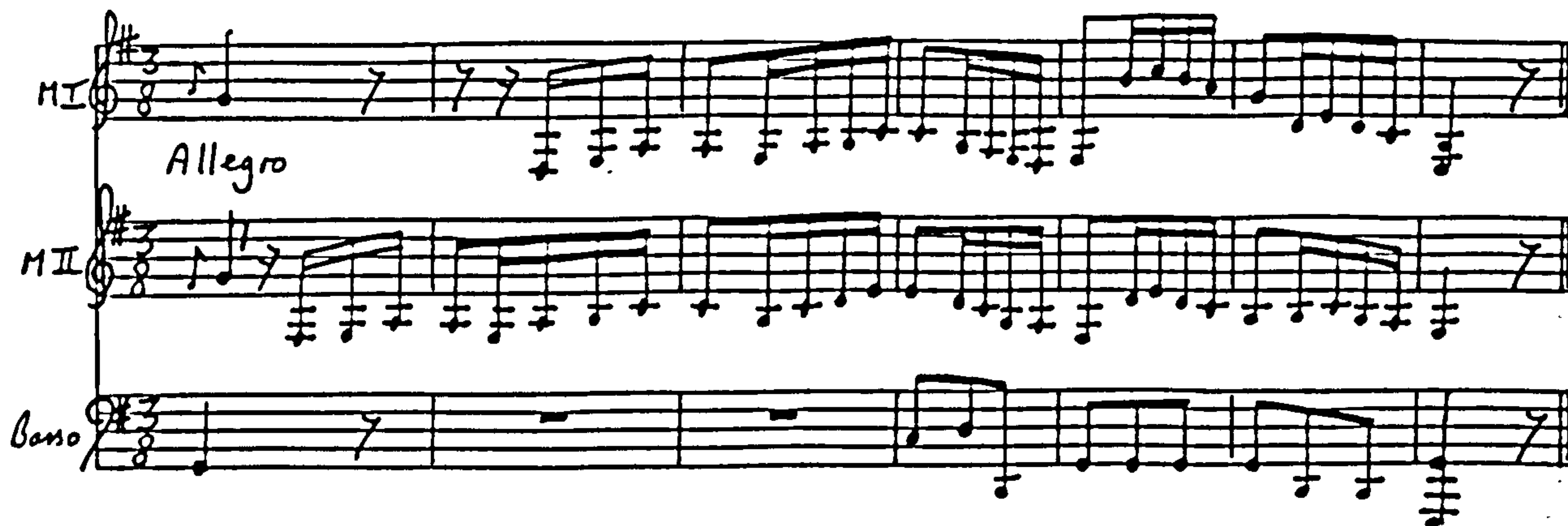
F. Giuseppe Paolucci; Sonata no. 1, 3rd mvt. mm. 73-84.

Although the harmony is usually simple, like many Italian composers of this period he uses sudden shifts to the tonic minor to great effect:



F. Giuseppe Paolucci; *Sonata no. 1*, 1st mvt. mm. 42-7.

Paolucci also makes extensive use of imitation between the two parts; however, at the end of the third movement he writes f# several times, a semitone below the usual lowest note of either the *mandoline* or the *mandolino*. As there is no composer's note suggesting *scordatura*, it is possible that these sonatas were originally intended for the Genoese mandolin, or for a Venetian variant of the mandolin with a distinct tuning not known today:



F. Giuseppe Paolucci; *Sonata no. 1*, 3rd mvt. mm. 106-12.

Prospero Cauciello, known to have been a musician at the Chapel Royal in Naples in 1780, left five three-movement trios in manuscript (IMc). Characteristic of his style are repeated semiquavers in the upper parts (effectively a slow, measured tremolo) and the frequent arpeggios of the second *mandoline*, requiring only the unelaborated bass part to provide a full musical texture:



Prospero Cauciello; *Trio in F*, 1st mvt. mm. 28-32.



Prospero Cauciello; *Trio in F*, 2nd mvt. mm. 1-3.

Although the commonest instrumentation was two mandolines and basso, other combinations were used. Bonifazio Asioli left a trio for *mandoline*, violin, and basso, Innocenzo Macia composed one for a flute and two *mandolines* (here the *mandolines* play a mixture of high bass parts and arpeggios to accompany the flute), and the manuscript collection at CSPnm contains several trios for *mandoline*, violin, and *mandolone* (a bass instrument discussed in chapter 7), a combination for which Johann Baptist Vanhall also composed. Occasionally these trios are labelled *Overtura* or *Sinfonia*; such pieces (for example by Eterardi and Gervasio) follow the same overall structure as other trios, but often have particularly arresting first movements, implying that they were written with public performance very much in mind.

6.5 CONCERTOS

The term *concerto* had two distinct meanings during the second half of the eighteenth century. In its broadest sense, it simply meant two or more musicians playing together, and it was probably this that was intended by the music critics of the day when they referred to mandolinists playing concertos at the *Concert Spirituel*. In a more specific sense it described a composition which featured one or more soloists and an accompanying group.

In the first part of the eighteenth century the quick first and last movements of the concerto were, particularly in the works of Italian violinists such as Vivaldi, Geminiani, and Tartini, vehicles for virtuosity, their *ritornello* construction allowing brilliant solo episodes to alternate with *tutti* statements of the main theme. By the end of the century the construction of these two movements had changed; the first had become sonata form, and the last most commonly rondo form. The great majority of *mandoline* concertos date from the 1760's and early 1770's, during the period of transition, and, although they are largely modelled on the older form of concerto, they also contain elements of the newly evolving form.

No *mandoline* concertos were published until the mid 1780's (the *concerto comique XXIV* of Corrette (1773)

would today be described as an overture) although there are at least 23 in manuscript from this period. Surprisingly neither Leoné, Fouchetti, Denis, Riggieri, nor Gervasio are represented; of the most prolific *mandoline* composers, only Barbella and Giuseppe Giuliano contributed to this part of the repertoire. The great majority of these works are for *mandoline*, accompanied by two violins and basso. It is clear from the manuscripts that this does mean just two violins, and not an orchestra, and with these forces the *mandoline* is well able to hold its own in performance. Several of the concertos retain ritornello form for their first movements. The concerto in G major by Domenico Gaudioso (SUu, c.1760, reproduced in full in volume III) is similar in this respect to Vivaldi models of forty years earlier, with the opening tutti passage appearing four times, the second of these in the dominant. In between the *mandoline* plays its flamboyant solo episodes, modulating to more remote keys, the mediant, supertonic major, dominant minor and tonic minor. As in the Baroque concerto, the *mandoline* plays throughout, doubling the first violin during the tutti passages. The first movement of the concerto in A major by Carlo Cecere (SUu, 1762) has a similar ritornello scheme, and if the solo episodes, accompanied by the two violins playing a high bass

exploration, they make up for it in virtuosity:

Handwritten musical score for "The Rose Tree". The score is written on ten staves, grouped into five systems of two staves each. The key signature is D major (two sharps: F# and C#). The time signature is 6/8, indicated by a '6' over the first staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, beams, and slurs. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 above notes. The score is labeled "mano" on the first staff and "Vlns. I e II" on the second staff. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some complex passages involving beamed sixteenth notes and slurs. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs on the final staff.

Carlo Cecere; *Concerto in A*, 1st mvt. mm. 13-20.

Many of the concertos are miniatures, not only in instrumentation but also in length. The first movement of the concerto in F by Gregorio Scirolli consists of 60 bars of allegro 2/4 in binary form. Together with the

26 bars of grave 2/4 which comprise the middle movement (to be played twice), and a 48 bar binary form gigue to end, the entire work is usually performed in just under six minutes if all repeats are observed. However, within this small framework the usual concerto conventions are preserved; tutti and solo passages alternate and, although no virtuosity is required from the *mandoline*, it plays a more elaborate part than the violins. The concerto in G by Vito Ugolini (SUu, c.1760, reproduced in volume III) is of slightly larger dimensions, but retains binary form for its outer movements, separated by a brief largo in which the *mandoline* is doubled by the first violin. While the *basso* part is labelled *Concerto*, the *mandoline* part is entitled *Sinfonia*, and indeed several works which are clearly *mandoline* concertos call themselves either *Sinfonia* or *Overtura*, although there are no fundamental musical differences between such works and other concertos.

Two unusual concertos are preserved in EPn, one by Antonio Sacchini dated 1768, the other by Nicola Piccinni (the latter reproduced in volume III). Both are for two *mandolines*, viola, two oboes, two horns and *basso*, and the parts are labelled variously as *Concerto*, *Sinfonia* and *Overtura*. These are the only two known works for this instrumentation, and were both presumably written for the same patron. Another oddity

is the *Concerto...echo* by Eterardi, the opening bars of which toss phrases from the two violins, playing in unison, to the solo *mandoline*:

Eterardi; *Concerto ... echo*, 1st mvt. mm. 1-15.

By the 1780's and 1790's the nature of the concerto was changing. The first published *mandoline* concerto, composed by G. A. K. Colizzi c.1785, has a sonata form first movement and, although the soloist plays from the outset, the opening theme is restated in an embellished form by the *mandoline* at its first solo passage. This is a first movement of a recognisably classical design, with a clearly defined development section and

recapitulation, followed by a lyrical adagio and a
final rondeau:

mand. *f* *p* *rinf* *f* *p* *f*

Allegro non tanto

Vlns I *f* *p* *rinf* *f* *p* *f*

Vlns II *f* *p* *rinf* *f* *p* *f*

Vla *f* *p*

Corn

3 6 3 6

Basso *f* *p* *f*

mand. *rinf* *p*

Allegro non tanto

Vlns I *p*

Vlns II *p*

Vla *p*

G.A.K. Colizzi; Concerto, 1st mvt. mm. 1-4, &
1st mvt. mm. 25-8.

The most substantial of all eighteenth century *mandoline* concertos is that composed by Hummel for Bortolazzi in 1799. A sonata form first movement (with a full orchestral exposition before the first entry of the *mandoline* and with a *fermata* marked for a solo cadenza) is followed by a set of variations and a rondo, the elaborate *mandoline* part being accompanied by full orchestra. Mention should also be made of the concerto for two mandolins by Antonio Maria Giuliani, the first double mandolin concerto since that of Vivaldi. The most unusual concerto in the repertoire is undoubtedly that by Leopold Kozeluch. The three movements are conventional enough - sonata form first movement, variations and rondo - but the group of soloists is unique, *mandoline* being joined by pianoforte, two trumpets, two oboes, two horns, two bassoons and double bass, all accompanied by strings. So exceptional are these forces, one suspects that he must have written this concerto for performance by a group of friends. With so many soloists, each instrument is given only brief passages to itself. However, in the middle movement, the *mandoline* has this variation, accompanied lightly by the upper strings only:

Andantino

mand
solo

Vlns
I & II

Vla

Basso

Leopold Kozeluch; Concertant, 2nd mvt. var. II mm. 1-8.

6.6 CHAMBER WORKS

One composer, Giovanni Francesco Giuliani, accounts for about four-fifths of the *mandoline* chamber music written during this period. None of this music was published, and, indeed, the form seems to have been an experimental one, evolving during the 1790's without any standard instrumentation or number of movements.

Thirty-six of the forty-five known *mandoline* quartets exist as six sets of six (five by Giuliani and one by Arauhal), a standard number for a patron to commission at this time. The other nine consist of a group of four and a single quartet by Giuliani, two by Jan Ladislav Dussik and two attributed to Alessandro Rolla, which are in fact copies of two by Giuliani. There is also one quintet by Arauhal, and four early nineteenth century quartets for *mandolino* and strings.

The overall form of Giuliani's quartets can be either a two or three-movement structure. In the former, the first movement is usually a sonata-form allegro, the second a rondo or minuet and trio. In the latter case, the most common pattern is andante - minuet and trio - rondo. However his use of the *mandoline* differs from set to set, depending on the other instruments involved.

In the AWgm set for *mandoline*, violin, cello or viola, and *liuto* (*mandolone*), the upper two instruments share

the role of principal melody instrument, one often
echoing or doubling phrases first heard on the other:

Handwritten musical score for a string quartet, measures 1-13. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It features four staves: mandolin (mand), violin (vln), viola (vla), and cello (cello). The tempo is marked "Rondo moderato". Dynamics include piano (p) and forte (f). The notation shows various musical elements such as rests, eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and slurs.

However, although the melody is evenly distributed, semiquaver bravura passages are given exclusively to the violin, where their execution is considerably easier than on the *mandoline*, which has either to pluck every note in a scale, or play some notes with the left hand only, a technique too quiet to be effective in a quartet:

The musical score shows four staves. The top staff is for the mandolin (labeled 'mand'), the second for the violin (labeled 'vln'), the third for the viola (labeled 'vla'), and the fourth for the lute (labeled 'liuto'). All staves are in D major (two sharps) and common time. The tempo 'Allegro' is written above the violin staff. The mandolin part has rests in the first two measures, then enters with a semiquaver scale. The violin part plays a melodic line with slurs. The viola and lute parts play semiquaver scales throughout the passage.

G.F. Giuliani; *Quartet no. 1* (AVgm), 1st mvt. mm. 9-12.

Many of Giuliani's quartets have quite extended first movements, where the rate of harmonic change is extremely slow, much more so than in his duets. The opening of quartet no. 4 (AVgm), with its pounding *liuto*, *ostinato mandoline* and viola parts, and held tonic and dominant harmonies, suggests that a lengthy piece of music is to follow:

Handwritten musical score for G.F. Giuliani's Quartet no. 4 (AWgm), 1st mvt. mm. 1-14. The score is written on four systems of staves. The first system includes parts for mandolin (mand), violin (vln), viola (vla), and cello (cello). The tempo is marked 'Moderato' and the dynamics include 'p' (piano). The notation is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The second system continues the instrumental parts. The third system shows the introduction of a vocal line (soprano) and continues the instrumental parts. The fourth system continues the vocal and instrumental parts.

G.F. Giuliani; Quartet no. 4 (AWgm), 1st mvt. mm. 1-14.

An unusual feature of these quartets is that, during the development section in the first movement, Giuliani often gives the *liuto* a melodic passage in the treble clef. Phrases such as this are of such high tessitura for a bass instrument that it seems probable that they should be played an octave lower than written:

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a quartet. The instruments are labeled on the left: *mand* (mandolin), *vln* (violin), *vla* (viola), and *liuto* (lute). The tempo is marked *Moderato*. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lute part is written in the treble clef, which is noted as being unusually high for the instrument. The score consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system shows the beginning of the passage, and the second system shows the continuation. The lute part features a melodic line with many eighth and sixteenth notes, while the other instruments provide harmonic support.

G.F. Giuliani; Quartet no. 4 (AVgm), 1st mvt. mm. 90-7.

Most of the instrumental combinations Giuliani uses correspond in range roughly to the string quartet. However, one of the sets at ILs has three high instruments and only one bass, the six quartets for two mandolines, flute and cello. Giuliani resolves this apparent imbalance by alternating the role of the mandolines, moving them from principal melody instruments, often playing thirds in rhythmic unison, to accompanying instruments when the flute enters:

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a six-part instrumental ensemble. The score is written on six staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked "Largo". The instruments are labeled on the left: Fl. (flute), mand I (mandolin I), mand II (mandolin II), and cello. The flute part is mostly rests, with a melodic line appearing in the lower systems. The mandolin parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, often in thirds. The cello part provides a bass line. The score is divided into two systems, with the first system containing the first three staves and the second system containing the remaining three staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.



G.F. Giuliani; *Quartet no. 1* (ILs), 1st mvt. mm. 1-8.

As mentioned above, because the *mandoline* cannot use left-hand slurring techniques effectively in chamber music, the instrument encounters difficulty when required to play very fast scales, whereas the violin can perform such passages comparatively easily, with many notes to a single bow stroke. This is illustrated in the two quartets by Dussik. In the quartet in F, the violin part is labelled as *mandolino ou violino secondo*, and no notes shorter than a semiquaver are written. In the quartet in G, the equivalent part is only for violin and, although the first movement opens with *mandoline* playing the melodic role, it soon gives way to a stream of demisemiquavers from the violin:

Andante molto

mand

vln

vla

mand?

Giovanni Dussik; *Quartetto in G*, 1st mvt. mm. 1-8.

6.7 SONGS WITH MANDOLINE ACCOMPANIMENT

Cet instrument est très brillant, il est charm^t
la nuit p^r exprimer le doulour^x martire des
amans sous les fenêtres d'une Maitresse
(Corrette, 1772, preface).

Although the most enduring image of the mandolin over the past two centuries has been as the ideal instrument for serenading (in, for instance, Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and Verdi's *Otello*), only Pietro Denis of the eighteenth century *maîtres de mandoline* argued in favour of its suitability for accompanying the voice. This was the one area of *mandoline* literature where Denis made an important contribution, publishing four volumes of songs with *mandoline* accompaniment and including a fifth volume in the final part of his *méthode*. Most songs in circulation in France during the second half of the eighteenth century were *ariettes* from the *opéra comique*, and this was the case with Denis' collections, simple settings of songs by Monsigny, Grétry, Rodolphe, Kohaut and their contemporaries.

Denis adds straightforward accompaniments to these songs, which sketch out the harmonies, yet are simple enough to be played by the singer. They consist mostly of guitar-like arpeggios, varied with pedal notes and passages in thirds and sixths. The two songs from Monsigny's *Deserteur* reproduced in volume III are typical of these sparing but effective arrangements.

Denis devotes most of the third part of his *méthode* (1773) to a discussion of the technique of accompanying oneself on

the *mandoline*, claiming that only unfamiliarity and lack of application on the part of players limits the use of the instrument in this way:

Souvent aussi l'amour propre étend les racines de l'ignorance, c'est ce qui fait que beaucoup de gens ont prétendu jusqu'à présent qu'on ne pouvoit chanter et s'accompagner soi même avec la Mandoline. Ils ont même négligé les moyens d'y parvenir, parce qu'il fal-loit de l'étude et de l'application pour les connoître. (Denis, 1773, 1).

The study and application of which he speaks refers to the method of attack to be employed. According to Denis, the strings of the *mandoline* must be plucked over the soundhole when the instrument is used with the voice. The resulting sound is sweet, with many of the harmonics cut out, and:

... le son se marie fort bien avec la voix
(Denis, 1773, 1).

Secondly, the *mandoline* must be plucked:

... en même tems que le coup du gosier qui forme le son de voix (*ibid*, 1).

Here Denis seems to be saying that the *mandoline* note should be played just before the voice enters, so that the attack is not masked by the more powerful voice.

Mozart composed two original short songs with *mandoline* accompaniment, *Die Zufriedenheit*, and *Komm, liebe Zither, komm* (reproduced in full in volume III) in Munich, between 8 November 1780 and mid-March 1781. Both have attractive *mandoline* parts which provide a full harmonic background while still managing to add memorable melodic fragments to the song:

The image shows a musical score for voice and mandolin. The voice part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "mei - ne Freun - din sein". The mandolin part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. It features a complex melodic line with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and a bass line that is mostly octaves. The word "Komm" is written at the end of the mandolin part.

V.A. Mozart; *Komme, liebe Zither komm*, mm. 9-12.

The principal difficulty with solo *mandoline* accompaniment of the voice is one of high tessitura. Cifolelli resolves this in his splendid *ariette* (reproduced in volume III) by adding a bass line, leaving the *mandoline* free to weave around the voice. Another attempt (ultimately unsuccessful) to overcome the problem was the development in Paris c.1773 of the *bissex* (discussed in chapter 7), a *mandoline* with the capacity to play a bass line.

6.8 ARIAS

The most famous appearance of the *mandoline* in opera is in the canzonetta *Deh, vieni alla finestra* from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (reproduced in volume III), where it plays an *obbligato* line over pizzicato strings, accompanying the eponymous hero. However, this use of the instrument in opera is by no means exceptional, there having been a tradition of such mandolin arias throughout the eighteenth century, beginning with examples such as *Scherza l'alma* from Francesco Mancini's opera *Alessandro il Grande in Sidone* (1706), and *Transit aetas* from Vivaldi's oratorio *Juditha triumphans* (1716). Handel (1748), Hasse (1759), Majo (1760), Grétry (1778), and Salieri (June 1787) are amongst other famous names to have contributed mandolin arias before *Deh, vieni alla finestra* was composed late in 1787.

In late eighteenth century opera these arias are usually serenades of amorous intent, with the *mandoline* playing scales and arpeggios against a slowly-moving vocal line, to a restrained harmonic backing from either the continuo or a small orchestral group. The *mandoline* is free to play an *obbligato* line, without the need to support the voice, allowing for a much more independent and varied part than is possible in the solo song.

The instrument's most celebrated appearance in any opera prior to *Don Giovanni* was in the aria *Saper bramate* from *il barbiere di Siviglia* (1782, reproduced in full in volume III) by the Neapolitan Giovanni Paisiello. Until Rossini's 1816 version supplanted it, this opera enjoyed enormous success throughout Europe, and Count Almaviva's serenading of Rosina with a mandoline (although Beaumarchais specifically requests a guitar) would undoubtedly have been well-known to Mozart:

mand

sotto voce

vlns
I & II

Clars.
I & II

Vlas

Basso

Giovanni Paisiello; *Saper bramate* from *il barbiere di Siviglia*, mm. 1-6.

The accompaniment in these arias is often very light, so that the singer does not have to project too

forcefully and risk drowning out the *mandoline*. Vivaldi
uses continuo with pizzicato violins at the octave:

Antonio Vivaldi; *Transit Aetas* from *Juditha Triumphans*,
mm. 1-4.

Frequently the continuo alone provides the harmonic support, while the orchestra remains silent, as in this anonymous late eighteenth century aria, where the *mandoline* part, although not in canon, frequently imitates the vocal part at a minim's distance:

Anon; aria *Scherza l'alma*, mm. 9-13.

Gaetano Andreozzi, in his aria *frena quel pianto ò cara* (c. 1800), accompanies the voice partly with strings and wind, and partly with *mandoline* and archlute. In these latter passages he allows only the most sparing of interjections from the rest of the orchestra:

The musical score is arranged in ten staves. The first staff is for Violins (Vlns.), followed by Oboes (Oboes.), Clarinet (Cl.), Corni (Corni.), Fag. (Fag.), Mand. (Mand.), Archluto. (Archluto.), Voice, and Basso. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 2/4. The Voice part has the lyrics 'fre na ò cara frena quel pianto chio' written below it.

Gaetano Andreozzi; *Frena quel pianto ò cara*. mm. 39-42.

At present, given the complete oblivion to which most eighteenth century operas, particularly Italian ones, have been consigned, it is not possible to generalize about how frequently the *mandoline* serenade appeared in them. However, as most of the leading opera composers from the second half of the eighteenth century have contributed to this genre, it is reasonable to assume that a search through the scores of their less well-known contemporaries, whose works have not yet been rehabilitated, would reveal a great many more examples. The mandolin serenade, although never a regular operatic set-piece, was a common occurrence in this period, and Mozart, although he composed perhaps the finest example, certainly did not create the form.

6.9 SOLOS

Apart from short compositions for students, there are very few eighteenth century pieces for unaccompanied *mandoline*. Pieces consisting entirely of single notes seem inadequate on a plucked instrument, and, although it is possible to play a bass line and an upper part simultaneously, the use of the quill means that the notes must either be on adjacent strings, or be played separately, making it difficult to write two truly independent parts.

Most of the longer solo compositions are sets of variations. Leoné includes several sets on melodies from the *opéra comique* in his *Méthode* (one is reproduced in full in volume III) which show considerable invention in the upper part, but rely too heavily on held dominant and tonic pedals to be effective performance pieces:

Theme
mand.

Var 1

Leoné; *de sa modeste mere*, theme mm. 1-4, & variation
1 mm. 1-4.

Riggieri published a set of variations on *La Fustemberg* (reproduced in volume III), a late seventeenth century melody which had again become popular in France in the 1770's. These are well-written for the *mandoline*, with bass notes inserted to fill out the harmony whenever possible. In some places, he builds up a genuine two-part texture with alternating notes on different strings; in others a mixture of scales and arpeggios sketch out the harmony:

mand.

Antoine Riggieri; *La Fustemberg*, variation 5 mm. 1-4, &
variation 6 mm. 1-4.

At first sight the opening Bb chord at the start of the final variation seems to be a misprint; however, Riggieri is so insistent on it, writing it six times, that perhaps he really does intend the modal harmony and the consecutive fifths:



Antoine Riggieri; *La Fustemberg*, variation 10 mm. 1-4.

In EPC is a manuscript set of 24 *Sonate a solo di violino ò mandolino* by Francesco Lecce. Despite their title, these do not appear to be genuine solos, as passages such as those given below make little sense without a second part:



Francesco Lecce; *sonate a solo*, no.2 mm. 12-13, no.11 mm. 9-11.

Sonatas with *basso* were often described on the title-page as being for *mandolino solo*, and these Lecce compositions appear to have become detached from their accompanying bass line.

CHAPTER 7

OTHER INSTRUMENTS RELATED TO THE MANDOLINE

7.1 Bissex

Literally twice six strings, this instrument was designed in Paris by Van Hecke and built by J. Henri Nadermann, c. 1773. It has a rounded back like a large mandolin, and possesses six free bass strings (A-B-c-d-e-f) which run alongside the neck, over which run a further six (g-a-d'-g'-b'-e''). There are twenty frets on the fingerboard.

The instrument was advertised by its inventor as being ideal for vocal accompaniments, and the six free bass strings, which give a total range of three and a half octaves, overcome the problem of high tessitura discussed earlier with regard to the mandolin. The *bissex* did not ever achieve widespread popularity.

There is a surviving example in the *Musée Instrumental, Conservatoire de Musique*, Paris. For further reading on the instrument, see Vannes, 1951, and Baines, 1966. The latter contains an illustration of the *bissex*, nos. 320 - 21.

7.2 Colascione

The *colascione* was developed in Naples in the fifteenth century, probably by Turks who settled in Italy, and was a

combination of the Arabian long lute (the *tanbur* or *buzuk*), with characteristics of Italian lute construction. It is often confused with the *calachon*, the German name for a type of 5, 6, 7, or 8-course *mandora*, described by Albrechtsberger (1790). The overall length of the *colascione* was usually between 120-150 cm and the very long, narrow neck was fitted with two or three single strings, and about sixteen frets on the fingerboard.

Mersenne, 1636, says that many different tunings were used, but that the most common were to tune the two string version to a fifth, and the three string version to an octave and a fifth. The instrument features in many seventeenth century rustic paintings, and a smaller version, often termed the *colascioncino*, achieved popularity in France in the mid-eighteenth century. It was introduced there by two Neapolitans, the Merchì brothers, in 1753, one of whose performances was commented upon by the Duc de Luynes, in his *Mémoires*, writing in 1753:

... à la fin de son concert, deux Italiens qui jouent d'un instrument singulier; c'est une espèce de guitare dont la manche est fort longue. Cet instrument s'appelle le calichonchini; il est monté avec deux cordes accordées à la quarte; il a deux octaves; on pince les cordes avec un petit morceau d'écorce d'arbre terminé en pointe. Ils jouèrent un morceau de musique qui est un dialogue en duo; ils tirent un grand parti de cet instrument et le rendent même fort agréable; ils ont une exécution prodigieuse; on peut bien juger qu'il n'y a que les airs de mouvement qui peuvent réussir (Luynes, 1860).

Their performance at the *Concert Spirituel* in Paris was equally impressive:

Mrs. Merchi frères jouent un concerto de leur composition sur le Calasoncini: c'est un instrument à deux cordes, montées sur le re & le la, par conséquent très-borné; mais la manière extraordinaire dont les deux musiciens Italiens en jouent, le rend très-surprenant & assez agréable (*Mercure de France*, June 1753, pt. 2, 163).

In an announcement for a concert he was giving at Hickford's Room in London in 1766, Giacomo Merchi announced that he would:

perform several pieces on a new Instrument invented by him called the Liutino Moderno, or the Calisoncino (Elkin, 1955, 46).

A few pieces of music for the instrument survive, including six sonatas by Domenico Colla (Dresden). For further reading on the *colascione*, see Donald Gill, 1985.

7.3 Cremonese Mandolin

Bortolazzi's *Anweisung die Mandoline* (Leipzig, 1805) refers to this instrument as the Cremonese or Brescian mandolin, and describes it as possessing four single gut strings. The tuning was identical to that of the Neapolitan instrument, but the Cremonese mandolin had a fixed bridge like the *mandolino*, and a scrolled rather than a block head. The strings were plucked with a cherry-bark plectrum.

This instrument was probably developed in Cremona in the late eighteenth century (Bortolazzi speaks of it as a newly invented instrument), and became moderately popular in

Vienna. There is an illustration on the title-page of the *Anweisung* (fig. 5.6). There is an anonymous Cremonese mandolin (Italian, c. 1810, catalogue no. I. 8) in the *Bach Haus, Eisenach*.

7.4 Genoese Mandolin

A manuscript, attributed to Francesco Conti (a descendant of the musician mentioned in ch. 4.1) and entitled:

l'accordo della Mandola è l'istesso della
Chitarra alla francese SCOLA del Leutino, osia
Mandolino alla Genovese (c. 1770 - 80).

can be found in the Euing Music Library, Glasgow (fig. 7.1 reproduces a depiction of a Genoese mandolin from this work). Although it gives little direct information to the mandolinist, being mostly concerned with a general explanation of musical signs and terminology, it does give the tuning of the instrument: e-a-d'-g'-b'-e'', exactly one octave above the modern guitar, and not the g-b-e'-a'-d''-g'' suggested by Sachs, 1913. It should be noted that, although Sachs presumably found examples of the many different types of mandolin he lists (*Fiorentino, Genovese, Padovano, Senese* etc.), there is no evidence that these existed as individual types, with the tunings he suggests, in the eighteenth century.

The following pieces by Niccolò Paganini were composed for the Genoese mandolin:

Sonata p rovene di Niccolò Paganini (Conservatorio di Musica 'Arrigo Boito', Parma).

Minuetto p l'amandorlino di Niccolò Paganini (Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna).

Serenata p l'amandorlino e chitarra francese di Niccolò Paganini (Biblioteca dell'Istituto (Liceo) Musicale 'Paganini', Genoa).

The three sonatas of Zaneboni in the Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Schwerin, may also be intended for the Genoese mandolin rather than the *mandoline*, although several chords appear to have been adapted by the copyist for the *mandoline*.

7.5 Mandola

It has been noted in ch. 2 that several different instruments have, at various times, been called *mandola*. Leoné (1768, 1) notes that this confusion existed in his own day. Most of these instruments are either of the *mandolino* or *liuto* type.

Another instrument called by this name, which is still in widespread use today, is a larger version of the *mandoline*, tuned either c-g-d'-a' (tenor *mandola*) or G-d-a-e' (octave *mandola*). It is not known whether these tunings were in use in the eighteenth century, as no music or tutors for the

instrument have survived. As mentioned above, the earliest known instrument bearing the characteristics of the Neapolitan *mandoline* is a *mandola* by Gaetano Vinaccia, dated 1744.

7.6 Mandolone

To the modern mandolinist, the term *mandolone* refers either to the *mandocello* (tuned C-G-d-a) or to a three-string bass instrument developed in the late nineteenth century to complete the mandolin family and to play the bass line in mandolin orchestras. To most organologists however the name refers to an eight-course instrument developed by the Roman luthier Gaspar Ferrari in the mid-eighteenth century and tuned F-G-A-d-g-b-e'-a' (Godwin, 1973).

The earliest surviving music designated for the *mandolone* is to be found in the Národní Muzeum in Prague, where several manuscript chamber works contain parts for the instrument. However, these parts resemble cello writing, being entirely in single notes, without the frequent chords one might expect in music written for an eight-course instrument. The lower range descends to C, and it may be that the intended instrument for these parts was actually a large *mandola* or *mandora* of the type described in ch. 2. These Prague manuscripts also contain the earliest known use of the word *mandolone*.

The earliest surviving music for *mandolone* may well be found in a Neapolitan manuscript of c. 1760, *Chitarra a penna / Leuto con l'ottava*, ms. no. 48/A in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio in Milan. The music in this manuscript is unequivocally for an eight-course plectrum instrument and as, even in the nineteenth century, the *mandolone* was usually referred to as the *liuto*, an instrument of the Ferrari type may well have been intended.

The earliest surviving *mandolone* of which I am aware is by Gaspar Ferrari, Rome, 1744, in the *Musikhistoriches Museum*, Copenhagen (Claudius, 133).

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TRANSLATIONS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE CITATIONS

p19 The Neapolitans call by this name an instrument similar to the *mandola*, but much bigger. It has eight metal strings which are struck with a plectrum, and gives out a pleasing sound (Bonani).

p22 The *mandoline* is tuned in fifths, exactly like the violin; there are some other instruments of roughly the same shape which are called *Mandoles* in Italy, and which strangers often confuse with the one under discussion here, the most perfect type. It ought justly to participate in the prerogatives of the violin, which is acknowledged to be the most universal and widely-used instrument (Leoné).

p24 I have seen Mr Julien, whom I believe to be the finest player of the *mandoline*, in Naples.. (Denis).

p27 ... must at one time carry only one melody to the ear and one idea to the soul (Rousseau).

p28 Italian literature, admired at the time of the Renaissance and the classical epoch, lost its prestige in the eighteenth century. Mme. du Bocage bemoaned the slowing down of literary commerce with the country of Dante. Starting from 1756, the *Journal étranger* established correspondents in Rome, Venice, Florence . . . articles on Italy became more copious . . . the controversy on the merits of the Italian language, then raging in the peninsula, was reflected in this revue (Bellanger).

p28 Sr. Sodi, brother of the excellent Pantomime from the Royal Academy of Music [the Paris Opera], played his *mandoline* there with the success which he deserved (*Mercure de France*).

p29 Signor Cifotelli [sic], a musician of the Elector Palatine, played a mandolin sonata of his own composition. The *mandoline* is a sort of little guitar, and Signor Cifotelli played it skilfully (*Mercure de France*).

p30 We have had in this city for some time a virtuoso whose talents in every way deserve to be universally known. M. Cifolelli, an Italian, has in his manner of singing all the graces which one admires in artists of his country, with none of their faults; He draws infinite variety from a very small voice, and his exquisite taste makes it appear calm or excited according to his will. He adds to this merit that of accompanying himself most agreeably upon the *mandoline*, and of composing charming music. M. Cifolelli, as much through his singing as through his compositions, has excited the admiration of many private societies. We cannot suggest strongly enough that amateurs go to hear him, and receive lessons from him (*Journal de Musique*).

p30 Signor Leoni played the *mandoline* with great skill (*Mercure de France*).

p30-1 M. Leoné executed a very good *mandoline* solo of pleasing taste. This artist's skill was astonishing and he was a genuine success, which was all the more flattering for him because his chosen instrument is not loud, compared to the size of the venue where he was displaying his talents (*Mercure de France*).

p31 In the concert, one heard with both surprise and pleasure M. Leoné, Professor of the *Mandoline*, executing different pieces on this instrument. Clarity of playing and precision could not be carried further (*L'Avant-Courreur des Spectacles*).

p34 One would have wished that M. Gervasio had done himself justice and realised that the *mandoline* is quite unsuitable in a place where one can only hear large ensembles; these reflections would have spared him some vexation (*Le Journal de Paris*).

p37 It is not necessary to detail here all the ancient customs, good and bad, and to deliver a long verbiage of rules which certain people falsely imagine to be of some use . . . I have seen, in Naples, Mr Julien, whom I believe to be the finest mandolinist, and who assured me that no one has fixed or decided the strokes of the plectrum (Denis).

p37 Besides, I can, in six lessons, position the hand and accomplish everything that I have proposed, for the price of thirty-six livres, payable in advance (Denis).

p38 I determined to do this, partly owing to the lack of teachers capable of demonstrating the instrument adequately in a region where it is not well-known, but still more because I believed that I had to remedy a defective treatise which has already appeared on this subject (Leoné).

p38 It is a mistake to think that the *mandoline* is an easy instrument. Those who undertake to teach it in twelve lessons must have got their principles, and in consequence their music, from some famous Neapolitan stroller. But it is much easier to discover in them the true portrait of a Quack, and the love of money, than it is even to learn how to tune the instrument in so short a time (Leoné).

p39 This instrument is not as difficult to play as the four-course *mandoline*, because one does not have to move up the neck as often. At present it is preferred to the other type, and is considered more harmonious, though this is a question of taste (Fouchetti).

p41 The first of November, All Saints Day, the *concert spirituel* commenced with a Motet for full choir by Gille. Mademoiselle de VILLENEUVE, this young person whose talents we have already announced in reporting the *Fête de Chilly* performed a *mandoline* concerto, composed by M. Frizeri, with all the art and great execution of the most skilful master. She gave greater pleasure than one could have expected from an instrument which is too dry, and too lacking in resonance, to be heard in a large hall. Mademoiselle de Villeneuve is not limited to this talent, although she excels at it. She is also expert on the harpsichord (*Journal de Musique*).

p41-2 Thursday November 1, 1770, there was a *concert spirituel* . . . One applauded loudly the performance of Mlle de Villeneuve, who played a concerto by M. Stritzieri [Frizeri] lightly and precisely. This virtuoso proposed to play a concerto on the harpsichord, but arrangements did not permit it (*Mercure de France*).

p42 Madame Favart, perfectly dressed in the Strasbourg manner, arrived with her husband, M. Clerval, holding a child by the hand and preceded by a young girl playing the *mandoline*. It was Mademoiselle de Villeneuve, a young person full of grace and talent. She is the daughter of M. de Villeneuve, Director of the *Comédie* at Strasbourg. . . The superior talent of Mademoiselle de Villeneuve on the *mandoline* is not easy to relate (*Journal de Musique*).

p42 . . . played the *mandoline* with a facility and a rapidity which was most extraordinary (*Journal de Musique*).

p42 M. Aldaye the younger, aged about 10 years old, played on the *mandoline* with both speed and precision (*Mercure de France*).

p42 This instrument, regarded as unsuitable for a large concert hall, achieved, under his fingers, a mellowness and a perfection which one would have believed impossible; he was applauded enthusiastically (*Journal de Paris*).

p43-4 In this town there have been for some time two Venetians who teach an instrument called the *mandoline*; they already have many male and female students, and those who wish to augment their number should address themselves to the Swiss House, rue Raisin, near the Place des Jacobins, where they are living. They have to remain for a while in our town (*Affiches de Lyon*).

p44-5 Sr. Cremaschy, an Italian, continues to teach the twelve-string mandolin in this town (*Affiches de Lyon*).

p45 Sr. Dubrec, the younger, pupil of Sr. Leoni, *maître de mandoline* to S.A.S. M. le Duc de Chartres, has settled in

this town, and offers lessons on this instrument at nine livres a month at his house, or fifteen livres in town. His principles are the same as those of Sr. Leoni, & he believes himself worthy of public attention due to the rapid progress made by those who come to him (*Affiches de Lyon*).

p45-6 Sr. Verdone, musician, Italian, proposes spending some time in this town, and offers his services to persons wishing to learn to play the *mandoline*; he asks only three months to make good students, as he has already done in London and Paris, with his particular method of simplifying all the principles ... To judge his capacity and talent, you can listen to him at his lodgings (*Affiches de Lyon*).

p46 Sr. Fouquet, pupil of the best Paris *maîtres* of the *par-dessus-de-viole*, offers to teach how to play the *mandoline*, which he learnt himself from Sr. Leoni (*Affiches de Lyon*).

p56 *Dresden* 2 September 1803 . . . About Bortolazzi, the mandolin player, I say nothing except that he does a lot. But what a poor tool that only chirps and cannot hold a note in order to produce a singing melody (AMZ).

p57 Herr Bortolazzi. Virtuoso on the mandolin. *On the mandolin?* many readers repeated, shaking their heads and grinning. So be it. Though it is true that this small, limited, chirpy instrument is well-played by few and has gained little credit in Germany, Hr. B. gives a sterling demonstration, with imagination and feeling. Tastefully and with unflagging industry he speaks through this paltry instrument. His concertos with full orchestra are, by their very nature, of little interest: but his Variations and similar small pieces (mostly with his seven-year-old son, who accompanies him well on the guitar), and also his improvisations, are most delightful and well worth hearing. Scarcely anyone except an Italian, would be inclined to specialise in such a small skill. Hr. B. has also published pleasing compositions for his instrument; others are still to appear (AMZ).

p61-2 Monsieur Zaneboni has the honour to announce that, next Friday 7th January, in the *salla des masquerades* of Mr. Maddox, after the comedy, he will give a vocal and instrumental concert on the mandolin, in the course of which he will perform many pieces of his own composition, namely:

- 1) A symphony for full orchestra
- 2) A concerto for mandolin
- 3) Mlle. Vigna will sing an Italian air
- 4) A symphony
- 5) A solo with variations, for the mandolin
- 6) An Italian air
- 7) A rondo for the mandolin
- 8) A symphony . . . (*Gazette de Moscou*).

p66 There are ten frets on the fingerboard of the *mandoline*, and several others on the table of the instrument, which are used when one has to change position (Fouchetti).

p67 There is a plaque of hard wood, such as ebony, grenadille, palissande etc. and which instrument makers have put there so that quill strokes do not scratch the table, because beginners are subject to this fault (Corrette).

p67 There are some other instruments of a roughly similar form which one calls *Mandoles* in Italy, and which foreigners often confuse with the one under discussion here, which is the most perfect and which ought justly to participate in the prerogatives of the Violin, recognised as the most universal and versatile instrument (Leoné).

p67 Inventory after the death of Sieur François Lejeune. 21 September 1785 ... Item: two Neapolitan *mandolines* and four ordinary ones (*Archive National*).

p68 Inventory after the death of Marie-Jeune Dupuis, wife of Lejeune. 29 September 1801 ... Item: three four-string Neapolitan *mandolines* reckoned at four francs each, making twelve francs (*Archive National*).

p68 Inventory after the death of Sieur Guersan 25 October 1770 ... Item: three *mandolines*, one of which is a new one from Naples with case, at twenty-four *livres*; another probably from Naples with red case, at eighteen *livres*, and another new ordinary one, reckoned at twelve *livres* (*Archive National*).

p68 As regards the e'', use gut strings, taking the *chanterelles* of the *par-dessus de viole* (Fouchetti).

p68 As regards the quality of the strings, use the *chanterelles* of the guitar for the e'' strings (Corrette).

p69 When they have been cleaned and softened for eight days in alkaline water, they are put together to be twisted; one puts only two guts together for the thinnest strings of *mandolines*, three for the first strings of violins, seven for the lowest (*Encyclopédie*).

p70 As regards the strings, they must be of brass. Use number 5 harpsichord strings for the a'. The d' is number 6, but two are twisted together for each d' . . . the *bourdons*, or g, are also of gut but wound; use violin *bourdons*, but very fine ones. Some people use wound silk strings for the *bourdons*; they sound very good (Fouchetti).

p70 Harpsichord strings no. 5 yellow, for the a', the d' half-wound and the g fully wound (Corrette).

p70-1 I have spoken of the four-string *mandoline*, that is to say four double strings, because they are tuned two by two in unison, that is to say, to the same sound, excepting the thickest string, g, where one puts an octave. For this, use a string similar to the a', tuned an octave above the thickest string g. Sometimes two *bourdons* are put together, then they are tuned in unison like the other three courses (Fouchetti).

p71 This tuning is the most common (Corrette).

p71 There are gut strings, as on the violin, but much finer. The double wire strings, which one meets with on some mandolins, are no good; they give a far less lovely sound than the former sort . . . those with eight strings are called Neapolitan; alone, these sound unpleasant, with an overly-hard, zither-like sound, so we are left as before with the newly invented four string mandolin - the Cremonese or Brescian - which is pleasing and possesses a full, songlike tone (Bortolazzi).

p72 The *mandoline* is held like the guitar, with the left-hand thumb under the second course and the other four fingers rounded so as to be able to rest easily on the four courses. When playing while standing up, it is necessary to attach a little ribbon (which ladies affix with a pin to their dress and which men slip onto a button of their coat or jacket) to a button which is behind the underside of the neck [of the *mandolin*]. When playing while sitting down, pass the ribbon in any manner as long as the fingerboard is raised at the left side (Corrette).

p72 The best position for ladies, when they are seated, is to rest the body of the *mandoline* against the knees, towards the right side, but in such a manner that the arm does not stick out too much while one is playing. As regards men, they support the body of the *mandoline* against the stomach, a little on the right side and with the neck raised, as we have said (Fouchetti).

p74 Always take note of the cross that you will find over the bass notes; they signify that on such occasions these notes must be made with the left-hand thumb, which is holding the neck of the instrument. Thus one can easily manage passages which would otherwise be very difficult (Gervasio).

p75 For the right hand to have as much liberty as possible, one must rest the forearm on the table and the elbow a little outside; not only does this give the hand a great deal of ease in giving quill strokes, but it also holds the instrument against oneself (Corrette).

p76-7 The quill must not be stiff, but, on the contrary, carved very thin. Playing imparts delicacy to it, which is the means of making a greater quantity of notes. This makes the instrument sound sweeter and more gracious and through playing one loses a sort of stiffness which it [the quill] naturally has. One must not squeeze the string with the quill, but touch it lightly with the end of same. The more one touches the string with delicacy, the more the sound will be melodious and pleasing. The quill must be cut down in this fashion until one has given it this shape. One must cut down the angles of the concave part, so that the two sides are equally flat and smooth (Gervasio).

p77 It must be elastic, that is to say neither too feeble nor too stiff, otherwise one cannot give force or sweetness in playing.

It is wrong to trim the quill when the tip has become a little wispy; a little beard is always good not least for making the notes more solemn and velvety (Leoné).

p77 When one has finished playing, for fear of losing the quill, put it under the strings, between the bridge and the buttons which hold the strings (Corrette).

p79 The first I call *supérieur*, because it is the richest and the most frequently used . . . the second I call *inférieur* . . . this one is less sweet . . . and should not be employed except where speed demands it; it must above all be avoided in passing from a lower to a higher string, because this creates the greatest difficulty (Leoné).

p80 This instrument [*mandoline*], lacking a bow, is unable to sustain a note like the violin, nor can it execute a quantity of notes in a single stroke as can the latter; it has this much in common with the harpsichord and all plucked instruments (Leoné).

p81 Because I assure you there are only a very few who can play in an arbitrary way. Moreover, I counsel those who are not in a position to judge for themselves not to mix with them; the remedy will be worse than the illness (Leoné).

p82 Rule for triplets.

When the slowness of the movement permits it, one needs to play the first of the three notes by giving a quill stroke from high to low, to give it more delicacy and grace; but when the movement is fast, they must be taken otherwise as you will see (Gervasio).

p82 One draws loud or soft sounds out according to the force that one gives to the quill strokes and according to the place on the string. Where one usually plays, the sounds are drawn out below the rosette. Sometimes one plays close to the bridge, where they are tinkling, or above the

rosette, where they are sweet. It is here that one plays *piano* (Corrette).

p83 There are those who trill all the notes, except for quavers and semiquavers, because there isn't time to trill those, otherwise they trill everything. In Italy one calls these sorts of players *Pétacheux*. To play the *mandoline* like that is like a village fiddler who plays on all the strings at once. It makes such a confusion in the harmony that one comprehends nothing (Fouchetti).

p83-4 The trill, improperly so called, is a repercussion of quill strokes on the same note, which serves to sustain the duration of the note in the absence of a bow; it is useful at most only for loosening the wrist, from which I conclude that it should not be repeated too often (Leoné).

p84 It has been noted that on the *Mandoline* one cannot swell the sound as one does with the bow on the violin. To compensate for this, one performs a trill, which is a repetition of the same sound on a note. The execution of the trill depends entirely on the right wrist. This ornament is very pretty and can only be performed on instruments which one plays with a quill such as *Mandores*, *Mandolines*, *Cistres*, and Turkish *Vielles*. The trill, called *trillo* in the singular and *trilli* in the plural by the Italians, is made on notes of long duration . . . In general, the trill can be made on all final notes (Corrette).

p84 All single notes, for example minims, ought to be trilled. This French word, defined by M. Rousseau of Geneva, signifies here that one must agitate the string in a lively manner in opposite directions, that is to say alternately from high to low and low to high, as quickly as possible with the tip of the quill, until one has filled up the duration of the note (Gervasio).

p85 The *trille* must always have an unequal number of strokes, that is three, five, seven or more, according to the length of the note . . . the *trille* of three quill strokes is a tasteful *trille* (Denis).

p85 Take care to finish with a down stroke because the trill is more brilliant when executed with an odd number of strokes; by this device one makes a silence of a quarter of a beat, which gives a very beautiful effect (Corrette).

p85 One can do without *trilles* in playing music by mandolinists because they do not use longer notes; but in other music, where long notes are employed, one must substitute and multiply with other notes to fill the value of the long notes which the composer demands. The *trille* supplies this; and, when it is performed with a supple wrist, it is most agreeable (Denis).

p88 This is performed as on the violin, by lowering and raising the finger, through a gradation of speed, on the note above that on which [the cadence] is placed; but it must be remembered that, at each lowering and raising of the finger, there must be a quill stroke which strikes exactly together with the finger, and that the quill must not press too hard upon the string; whereas on the violin a single bow-stroke serves for all the beatings of the finger: this makes the cadence easier on that instrument than on the *mandoline* (Denis).

p88-9 Of all the ornaments, the *Cadence* is the most difficult and the most necessary to study. One must not delude oneself into thinking right away that one can perform it well, but with time one will achieve it (Corrette).

p89 Although cadences are scarcely practicable on the *mandoline*, one can play them in certain passages (Fouchetti).

p89 One will remember to *trill* every time the note after the cadence and to *trill* it in proportion to the length [of the cadence] (Fouchetti).

p90 Chords [of 3 or 4 notes] give a beautiful effect at the finale, and at the end of a melodic phrase.

If, at the final note, one is unable to play a perfect *accord*, one puts a trill in its place, otherwise it would be too meagre, given that the *mandoline* cannot swell the sound as can a violin (Corrette).

p91 The fall is made when there are three or four notes to play on the same string by giving only one quill stroke downwards for the first note, and by letting the fingers fall onto the vibrating string for the other notes without giving any more quill strokes (Corrette).

p92 The *tirade* is performed by the fingers of the left hand pulling the string with the finger above appropriate to each note, that is to say that in the example below it is necessary to pull the g with the finger that made the a, pull the f with the finger that made the g, and the e with the finger that is leaving the f . . . The *tirade* is the opposite of the *chûte*, the latter is made when the notes ascend and the former when they descend. Neither can be played when one passes from one string to another (Corrette).

p92 This *liaison* which one often finds above notes shows that those notes which are thus tied must be made with the quill from high to low [that is, with one continuous downstroke] (Gervasio).

p93 One plays *notes coulées* with the same stroke of the quill. When there are bindings on two or three notes one plays them with a single stroke of the quill. A greater quantity [of notes] will not be heard; it is not the same as the violin where one can bind together a dozen notes under a single bow stroke (Corrette).

p94 There are two types of *petites notes* . . . The first, which ascends, is made by giving a strong down stroke with the quill and letting the following finger fall immediately after, the two sounds being made together with a single stroke. This is called *chûte* on the guitar. The second, which descends, is pulled with the finger above the main note, unlike the first, and it is this which is called *tirade* on the guitar (Leoné).

p94 The *port de voix* . . . is similar to the *chûte*: the difference consists only in the number of notes, given that in the *chûte* one performs many notes without giving quill strokes, and that for the *port de voix* one makes only one on the vibrating string (Corrette).

p95 One calls *batteries* two notes on different degrees struck one after the other several times; it is more effective when the notes are on two different strings (Corrette).

p96 *Batteries* are quantities of pairs of notes, where the first is on one string and the second on another, continuing the same as the following example; when the first of the two notes is the lower, the quill stroke is down, and up for the second note; but when the first of the two is the higher, the quill stroke is up and that of the second note is down (Denis).

p100 The *martellement* can be made before a long note. This ornament is composed of three *petites notes*, made with the same quill stroke. One can also execute it by beating the fingers one after another on the string as rapidly as possible, in which case one gives a quill stroke only on the minim note (Corrette).

p100-01 Instead of using a *trille* to fill the minim, I find it more agreeable to make a *cadence* by dividing it into two crotchets, and playing a *martellement* on each. One can also use ornaments, be they *petites notes* or other harmony notes, the whole being done in accordance with the knowledge and ability of the player. N. B. One can also divide the note with the octave in the bass (Leoné).

p101 One calls *accord* two sounds struck together on two different strings with the same quill stroke, sometimes on 3 or 4 strings. These latter sorts are very often found as final notes of melodies (Corrette).

p101-02 The stringing being double and unison on the *mandoline*, it is possible to draw out two different sounds at once. To obtain this, one must first place the finger on the lower note, very upright on the two strings that make the unison, then place the upper note finger skilfully in such a manner that it only touches the string situated towards the lower part of the instrument (Leoné).

p103 The work which I will publish after this one will include pieces for the *mandoline* tuned in diverse manners (Leoné).

p103 This piece must be played after having tuned one of the two thirds a tone and a half lower than the other (Denis).

p104-05 Observe that the down stroke in passing sounds both of the strings in unison whereas the up stroke sometimes only sounds one; this gives a preference to the first type for long notes. Normally in *Menuets*, *Chaconnes*, *Passacailles*, *Sarabandes*, one plays the quavers *inégaies* without them being dotted in the music (Corrette).

p125 Mr Pietro Denis, a Parisian musician, had engraved there, or rather found editors there foolish enough to engrave some bad didactic works of his...the typography of these works is in keeping with the conception and style; a stevedore would not have done worse (Choron/Fayolle)

p126 It must be said that the *mandoline* and the *cistre* are never better accompanied than by the Harpsichord and the *Viola d'orphée* (Corrette).

p154 This instrument is very bright. It is played at night to express the painful martyrdom of lovers under the window of a mistress (Corrette).

p155 Often vanity spreads the roots of ignorance, and it is this which makes many people claim even today that one cannot sing and accompany oneself on the *mandoline*. They even disregard the means of accomplishing it, because it requires study and application to learn (Denis).

p155 It marries well with the voice (Denis).

p155 At the same time as the movement of the throat which forms the sound of the voice (Denis).

p166 13 June, Versailles . . . At the end of the concert, two Italians played on an unusual instrument; it was a type of guitar with a very long neck. This instrument is called the *calichonchini*; it has two strings, tuned a fourth apart; it has two octaves; the strings are plucked with a small piece of tree bark, shaped to a point. They played a piece

of music which was a dialogue in duo form; they got the best from their instrument, and played it most agreeably; their execution was prodigious; but one could well imagine that it is only in quick music that they would succeed (Luynes).

p167 The Merchi brothers played a concerto which they composed themselves upon the *calascione*: it is an instrument with two strings, tuned to d and a, and consequently very limited; but the extraordinary manner in which the two Italian musicians play it is astonishing and agreeable (*Mercur de France*).