

Tolerance between instrumental repertoires or commercial tricks? Mandolin-related prints until the early 19th century

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Introduction

Approach

Many mandolin players and scholars are surprised when they come across the original prints of mandolin music from the 18th century. Inevitably questions come to mind: Why were the violin or other instruments also mentioned on the title pages? Are these other instruments proper alternatives, the original instrumentation or only included for commercial purposes? If there is a case of interchange of repertory, to what level does this tolerance extend?

Few studies have investigated this in detail, so this paper must be based on primary sources.¹ The scope of sources was restricted to mandolin-related prints until the early 19th century. The study includes all types of mandolins, as they are often difficult to distinguish. Some sources sometimes linked to the mandolin family are excluded to avoid confusion.²

To address both mandolin experts and musicologists alike, some wide-ranging introductions are in order: first [nomenclature](#), followed by some [contextual overview](#), next as main part the [sources and interpretations related to tolerance between the mandolin and other instruments](#). After the [conclusions](#), [Annex 1](#) lists all sources and [Annex 2](#) contains the bibliography.

¹ Only two referenced PhD dissertations briefly touch on the subject but tackle it from a different angle: [Sparks 1989](#) and [Martínez 2016](#). Sources were gathered from library research but also through secondary sources (advertisements, catalogues etc.).

² For example, there are some prints for mandora as well as the English gittern. Though these instruments have some mandolin connection, this is not direct enough to be included in this study. The mandora is mostly considered a lute, and the English gittern a cittern.

Nomenclature

The term mandolin and the different instrument types that are part of the mandolin family usually cause confusion (and even did so in historical sources). Although Paul Sparks, Stephen Morey and Stefanie (Acquavella-)Rauch already addressed questions of mandolin related terminology some limited clarification and definitions seem relevant to this paper. The term mandolin (mostly encountered in the sources in Italian ‘mandolino’ or French ‘mandoline’) was usually generic and did not mean a specific type. Even though the so-called Neapolitan mandolin became a firm favourite, it did not eliminate other types. It seems prudent to use the generic term mandolin whenever possible and in its generic sense unless one of the following specific types is indicated.³

Mandolins:

- **Mandore:** Instrument mainly active at the end of the 16th and early 17th century, mostly in France but also played in Italy, Germany, Great Britain and Belgium, usually with 4, 5 or 6 courses primarily tuned in fifths and fourths (such as c'-g'-c''-g''), presumed predecessor of the Milanese mandolin. Mainly active at the end of the 16th and 17th century.
- **Milanese (or Lombardian) mandolin:** Italian mandolin mainly active during both the 17th, 18th and 19th century played across Europe (though mostly only in Italy during the 19th century), tuned mainly in fourths (also, 4, 5 or 6 strings or courses, g-b-e'-a'-d''-g''), assumed descending from the mandore.⁴
- **Neapolitan mandolin:** Italian classical mandolin which started to spread across Europe from around 1750 and played until today, tuned

³ This paper only gives a small description based on the referential studies, especially [Tyler & Sparks 1989](#), p. 7–10, 12–41, 81–104, 139–40; [Morey 1993](#), p. 12, 17–18, 141; [Rauch 2012](#), p. 22–26.

⁴ There is some debate about what terminology to use for this type, see [Morey 1993](#), p. 12. Paul Sparks and James Tyler suggested to use ‘mandolino’ (quite confusingly the Italian generic term for mandolin), see [Tyler & Sparks 1989](#), p. v–vi. As pointed out by Stefanie (Acquavella-)Rauch, the term “baroque mandolin” is also problematic (the type is not limited to the baroque period), see [Rauch 2012](#), p. 25. The term Milanese mandolin was a late invention (likely by or at least spread by Bartholomeo Bortolazzi around 1804, see [Rauch 2012](#), p. 24, [Bortolazzi 1804](#), p. 3, footnote **), and the instrument certainly was not limited to Milan or Lombardy. But it remains one of the few distinguishing terms that has also been in use for quite a while. So even though there are some problems we will use ‘Milanese mandolin’ in the course of this article.

like a violin with double strings (g-d'-a'-e"), mostly referred to simply as "mandolin" today.⁵

- **Cremonese (or Brescian) mandolin:** mandolin type with four single strings tuned like the Neapolitan mandolin, favoured by Bartholomeo Bortolazzi,⁶ which shares some building characteristics with the Milanese type.

Other instruments:

- **(English) guttitar:** a type of cittern, not to be confused with the late baroque and classical guitar. Usually, when the term "guit(t)ar" is used in 18th century British sources, the English guttitar is meant.⁷
- **Musette:** a French type of baroque bagpipes, not to be confused with the piccolo oboe which was sometimes also known as musette.⁸
- **Vielle (à roue):** the French baroque hurdy-gurdy.⁹
- **Tambourin (de Béarn):** not to be confused with the percussion instrument of today, this instrument combines a flute (played with one hand) and a set of bourdon strings that are struck with a stick.¹⁰
- **Pardessus de viole:** a soprano type of viola da gamba used in France during the late baroque and early classical era. It is played while seated and has frets on the fingerboard. The tuning of a pardessus (G-c'-e'-a'-d''-g'') is very alike to that of a Milanese mandolin.¹¹

⁵ Though the term Neapolitan mandolin is quite accepted, there are also some things to be said about the fact that the instrument was not limited to Naples or Campania, but also build and played in regions in the north of Italy (even in the first decades of its creation, see [Morey 1993](#), p. 83, 109, 121–126 and [Rauch 2012](#), p. 24, also [Bortolazzi 1804](#), p. 3, footnote **). Even though this term also has some drawbacks, like the term Milanese mandolin, it is a distinguishing term in use for quite a while. We will use the term 'Neapolitan mandolin' in the context of this paper.

⁶ See [Bortolazzi 1804](#), p. 3, footnote **).

⁷ For further information see [MacKillop s.d.](#)

⁸ For further information see [Seeler s.d.](#)

⁹ For further information see [Fustier 2006](#).

¹⁰ For further information see [Lavallière 1749](#), p. II–IV.

¹¹ For further information see [Sutcliffe s.d.](#) See also chapter '[Pardessus de viole](#)'.

Contextual introductions about mandolin-related prints until the early 19th century

European musicians started to become a little more independent during the 18th century. Besides the option to be in service to a patron, court or clergy, there were also financial gains to be found in performing in public, teaching and publishing. The huge amount of printing centres in Europe (London, Paris, Vienna and Leipzig amongst others) and their output are clear examples of the new developments. The advancement of music engraving got firmly established and made it easier and cheaper to print instrumental music.¹²

Unsurprisingly, also 18th century mandolin composers of note show the different steps of this change. Some mandolinists still entered service (for example Gabriele Leone as teacher to the duke of Chartres or Giovanni Battista Gervasio as teacher to the princesses of France).¹³ For others, we have not found similar positions of service, e. g. Pietro Denis and Giovanni Fouchetti probably were independent mandolin teachers and publishers.¹⁴ As music printing was a source of income and a vehicle for gaining and showing popularity, mandolin prints obviously have commercial purposes. This did not only influence which music got printed (the most popular and fashionable – hence the big numbers of “airs choisis” prints) but could have also motivated which alternative instruments were mentioned on a title page (hoping to achieve a bigger potential audience of buyers).¹⁵

Another context of mandolin-related prints is the popularity of Italian (and Neapolitan) music in the 1750s to the 1770s in Paris, starting with the *Querelle des Bouffons*. This new style of music broke away from highly complex French music and advocated a new idea of simplicity. The political ties between the kingdoms of France and Naples likely also helped to reinforce these cultural developments. An example of an attempt to harness this interest in the Italian style, though not directly mandolin-related, is Leone’s cantata, who emphasises

¹² See [Boorman, Selfridge-Field, & Krummel 2001](#).

¹³ See title pages of [Gervasio 1768](#) and [Leone 1768](#), also Annex 1, items [45](#) and [46](#).

¹⁴ Denis and Fouchetti regularly advertised their prints and position as “maître de mandoline”. Please note: Fouchetti first appears under the name ‘Fouquet’ and that ‘Pietro Denis’ is suspected to be another italianization. Fouchetti: see [footnote 36](#). Also, in the *Almanach musical* (1776, p. 152, 1777, p. 183) both Fouchetti and Denis are listed under “mandoline”. Many advertisements of their prints also list them as mandolin teachers.

¹⁵ [Rauch 2012](#), p. 27–29.

in its title *Cantate à voix seule et Symphonie dans le Genre Italien* (1762).¹⁶ A second instance inside the mandolin output is from Fouchetti, in his *Six Duos composés dans le goût Italien* (1770).¹⁷ Another illustration linking the mandolin output with the musical Italophilic movement can be found in the person of Nicolas-Étienne Framery. Framery was editor of the *Journal de Musique* when several mandolin pieces were printed,¹⁸ and he adapted several Italian operas for the French theatres (including the occasional mandolin aria).¹⁹ This brings us to the *Comédie Italienne*, as a lot of Framery's adaptations were performed there. This theatre is another clear link to Italy (and not surprisingly a place often linked to mandolin players).²⁰

Besides these close associations, there are a few other aspects which seem to be naturally connected with the mandolin. A first notion is a link to mythical or biblical themes, sometimes when the instrument name "lyre" is used in the

¹⁶ [Leone 1762](#) (GB-Lbl). An advertisement is in *Affiches de Lyon* (26/5/1762), p. 82. The advertisement also mentions that the cantata's separate parts were also available (not preserved). Likely the cantata was not related to his mandolin activities (it has a fair number of long notes and carries bowed string articulations – though none of this is unknown even in music originally for mandolin). There are other works by Leone not linked to his mandolin output (for example, Ariette "Je vous l'ai dit cent fois", in a volume composed from many 'Ariette du jour' prints, US-PHu shelf mark M1508.1 .G58 1700z). See also [Price & Milhouse & Hume 1992](#) about Leone's activities as opera impresario. For his passage in Dublin as performer on mandolin and violin/mandolin teacher in 1765, see [Greene 2011](#), p. 127, 129, 176–7, 199.

¹⁷ Annex 1, item [70](#) (lost).

¹⁸ Annex 1, items [73](#), [74](#), [75](#), [76](#).

¹⁹ To name some examples: at the Comédie Italienne, Sacchini's *L'isola d'amore* (1766, as *La colonie*, 1775) and *L'olimpiade* (1763, as *L'olympiade* 1777). For the Academie Royale de Musique: Paisiello's *Le due contesse* (1776, as *Les deux comtesses* 1783). For the Théâtre de la Reine, Paisiello's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (1782, as *Le Barbier de Séville*, 1784), including the mandolin aria. See [footnote 122](#) and Annex 1, item [111](#).

²⁰ For example: Carlo Sodi (parodie *Baiocco et Serpilla* (1753), based on *Le Joueur* (1729) by Domenico Giuseppe Biancolelli and Jean-Antoine Romagnes; ballet *les Amusemens chamêtres* (1753) also known as *La Mandoline*), Antonio Riggieri (canovaccio *Il Gondolier Veneziano* (1762)), and of course several mandolin composers based prints on music from the *Comédie Italienne* (for example: Denis, Fouchetti, Giammaria (?) Mazzuchelli, see some of their preserved 'airs choisis' prints, see Annex 1, items [63](#), [72](#), [77](#), [82](#), [88](#), [98](#)).

lyrics, or when an Eastern or biblical atmosphere is desired.²¹ This is most often encountered in operas, cantatas or oratorios from before 1770. A second setting is pastoral – though not as prominent, there are still some examples to be found.²² Later on, in the 18th century, the mandolin aria in the form of a serenade also became a popular operatic genre closely linked with the mandolin.²³

Apart from the mandolin arias, vocal music also played an important role for the developing mandolin repertory which can be observed in the “airs choisis” bundles.²⁴ These are often instrumental adaptations of vocal music such as popular opera arias (often from the *Comédie Italienne* in the case of the French prints).²⁵ Often variation sequences have a theme with vocal origins.²⁶ Some music could be seen as “instrumental” while inspired by vocal music.²⁷

Allowing for hindsight and projecting more importance to instrumental music in the mandolin-related prints until the early 19th century, we can still see the rise of instrumental music and genres related to it towards the end of the 18th

²¹ For example, Antonio Vivaldi’s *Juditha triumphas* (1716), Georg Friedrich Händel’s *Alexander Balus* (1748), Johann Adolph Hasse’s *Achilles in Sciro* (1759) and Pasquale Cafaro’s *Il trionfo di Davide* (1746) (see [Van Tichelen 06/08/2014](#)).

²² For example, Sodi’s ballet *La Mandoline (Les amusemens champêtres, 1753)*, see [footnote 20](#). Another example is the anonymous (Sodi?) opera parody *Le prix des Talens* (1754), also for the *Comédie Italienne* see Annex 1, item [10](#). Based on Jean-Philippe Rameau’s *Les Fêtes de l’Hymen et de l’Amour* (1747), but with anonymous musical additions such as the song with a mandolin prelude. See [Van Tichelen 2013](#). See also [Rauch 2012](#), p. 27, esp. footnote 22.

²³ To name two famous examples: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s aria *Deh, vieni alla finestra* in *Don Giovanni* (1787) and Paisiello’s *Saper bramate* from *Il Barbieri di Siviglia* (1782), but there are many others; see [Siegert 2012](#), p. 41–51. Most opera arias are only available in manuscript form and are out of the scope of this paper. Exceptions see Annex 1, items [83](#), [105](#), [126](#).

²⁴ Non-exhaustive examples by Anonymous (ed. by Toussaint Bordet), Denis, Louis-Auguste (?) Papavoine, Mahoni (“dit le Berton”, first name 158errière), Fouchetti, Johann Andreas Kauchlitz Colizzi, Riggieri, Mazzuchelly, see Annex 1, items [63](#), [66](#), [71](#), [72](#), [77](#), [82](#), [88](#), [95](#), [98](#), lost: [54](#), [78](#), [81](#), [85](#), [104](#), [106](#), [110](#).

²⁵ See [footnote 20](#) and [Rauch 2012](#), p. 27.

²⁶ Non-exhaustive examples by Bortolazzi, Leonhard von Call, Riggieri, Leone, Fouchetti, Gervasio, Denis, Girolamo Stabilini, Pedro Anselmo Marchal, François de Zucconi, Charles d’Aichelbourg, see Annex 1; items [35](#), [45](#), [52](#), [60](#), [69](#), [80](#), [112](#), [125](#), [128](#), [129](#), [130](#), [131](#), [133](#), [138](#), [140](#), [142](#), lost: [15](#), [58](#), [119](#).

²⁷ For example, several airs choisis volumes without lyrics would doubtless be seen as instrumental music were it not for explicit vocal origins mentioned in the title page or titles of pieces. Examples: see annex 1, items [82](#), [98](#).

century. Before the 1750s genres such as the dance suite and early forms of sonata and concerto can also be found (mostly in manuscripts). Later the duet is by far the most popular genre of mandolin music. Even when counting in the manuscripts, which have a bigger number of different genres (especially of chamber music), the duet is the ‘clear winner’. The few solo (and some trio) sonatas are not very numerous, and there is evidence that even the solo sonatas were often performed as duets.²⁸

As a last reflection on the context, we should analyse the importance and place of the mandolin. Looking at the whole of sources related to the mandolin from the 18th century, the impression is that the mandolin was usually a secondary instrument and played for entertainment. Quite a few of the composers mainly attached to the mandolin were also credited with playing on or composing for other instruments.²⁹ None of the 18th century mandolin methods (except for Bortolazzi, who published in the early 19th century) include an introduction into music theory (such as how to read notes). This suggests a prior familiarity with music is assumed.³⁰ Some mandolin related prints mention they are meant

²⁸ Some sources suggest the use of instruments sounding an octave higher when playing the bass part of mandolin solo or trio sonata. Didier Le Roux did extensive research on the topic and compared at length with contemporary practices on violin sonatas, concluding that most post-1750 mandolin sonatas are rarely meant for a full continuo. Most common is the use of viola (octave higher), but sometimes a cello also fits (as written). More seldom a violin (octave higher) could be used and even more rare a mandolin (octave higher) is possible. See [Le Roux 2001](#) & [Le Roux 2013](#). I can add one more source to his observations: the *La Pierre de Touche Variations* (1768) by Leone contains plectrums signs on the bass part (see [fac. 1](#)).

²⁹ Fouchetti: composition, pardessus, cello, violin (see [footnote 36](#)); Denis: composition (see [footnote 105](#), Annex 1, item [91](#), lost: [90](#)); Leone: violin, see [footnote 16](#); Corrette: organ, music theory, violin, flute, pardessus, harpsichord, singing, guitar, contrabass, harp, viola, vielle, recorder (see [Fuller & Gustafson 2001](#)); Bortolazzi: guitar (see [footnote 30](#)). For Gervasio I have yet to find traces of other instruments.

³⁰ Alternatively, it could mean the introduction to music theory was supposed to be introduced by a teacher. Most writers of mandolin methods advertised as mandolin teachers or were credited as a teacher to certain members of the aristocracy. Denis and Fouchetti advertised openly. (Both are for example mentioned under “Maîtres de Mandoline” in *Almanach Musical*, 1775, p. 128, 1776, p. 152.) Gervasio and Leone are credited with their appointment as private teachers (Leone to the Duke of Chartres, Gervasio to the princesses of France, see title pages of [Gervasio 1768](#) and [Leone 1768](#), also Annex 1, items [45](#) & [46](#).) Leone appears as teacher in some Lyon advertisements (*Affiches de Lyon* (26/5/1762) mentions him as “professore di mandolina [sic]”). Bortolazzi advertised after his move to Brazil as a teacher of guitar and mandolin (see

for ‘amateurs’. It is clear that an emerging market of “amateurs” on the instrument helped fund the publication of prints.³¹ We should certainly not understand the word “amateur” in today’s pejorative meaning of the word.³² An amateur was someone well-endowed enough to pursue leisure activities such as playing music. In this context, the word should be seen more in its literal meaning of “lover” of music in general or an instrument like the mandolin specifically. Some of these amateurs applied themselves quite profoundly.³³ The question of this paper is to try and find out if these amateurs were inclined towards ‘tolerance’ with other instruments.

[Budasz 2015](#), p. 81 who mentions an advert in *O Spectador Brasileiro*, 10/2/1826). Michel Corrette did not advertise as a mandolin teacher, but he was a generalist who published methods for many instruments. On the other hand, all the methods seem to claim the reader will learn to play the mandolin by oneself without a teacher, or how to switch from the violin to the mandolin. See title pages of [Denis 1768–73](#), [Leone 1768](#), [Corrette 1772](#) and [Bortolazzi 1804](#) (who even includes introductions to music theory which the others lack). A first exception is [Fouchetti 1770–1](#), who does not claim the same but however very clearly compares the Neapolitan mandolin to the violin and Milanese mandolin to the pardessus de viole (see [Fouchetti 1770–1](#), p. 3 & 5.) More of an exception however is [Gervasio 1767](#), who does not seem preoccupied with learning without a teacher or switching to mandolin from playing the violin. Though there is certainly a commercial motive for a method to claim you can learn without lessons, it could be suggested the emphasized themes of learning without teacher or switching from violin could mean most readers were presumed to have prior knowledge about music and/or playing of another instrument (like the violin). See Annex 1, items [35](#), [44](#), [45](#), [60](#), [80](#), [86](#), [88](#), [134](#).

³¹ Some publications such as the volume by Gaetano Dingli specifically mentions amateurs on its title page. See Annex 1, item 34. Fargere (first name unknown) calls himself “amatore”, as does Joseph Carpentier “amateur”. See Annex 1, item [79](#), [99](#), [101](#), [108](#). Another example somewhat less directly linked to the mandolin is the *Journal de Musique* (who included some pieces for mandolin) which was founded by amateurs. See title page of most of the *Journal de Musique* issues, “par une société d’amateurs”. There are numerous references to young ladies’ education, Gervasio’s method seems to suggest this on the title page “instrument fait pour les dames” – this could also be considered part of the “amateur” culture (see [Rauch 2012](#), p. 28–29). Another interesting quote is listed in Anonymous 1775, p. 58, where the mandolin is mentioned in a philosophical letter about scientific versus amateur hobbies like the arts.

³² See for example [Choron & Fayolle 1817](#) contains quite a lot of ‘amateurs’.

³³ See [Sponheuer 1998](#), p. 31–37.

Crunching the numbers

By looking at some overviews of mandolin-related prints before the early 19th century, we will draft some insights. This will in turn help build the relevant points regarding tolerance towards other instruments.

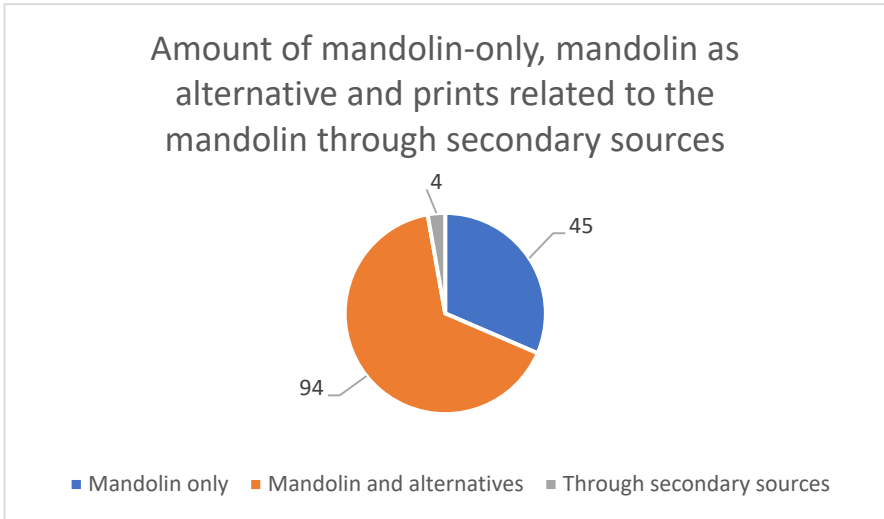


Figure 1

Mandolin-specific prints versus mandolin as one of many alternative instruments in a print

A first view to take into consideration is exactly how many sources mention the mandolin with one or more alternatives (see [figure 1](#)). Actually, there are quite a few prints who are ‘mandolin-specific’ (about 30%).³⁴

Instruments mentioned alongside the mandolin on prints

There are is a substantial number of different instruments mentioned alongside the mandolin on mandolin-related prints until the early 19th century (see [figure 2](#)), but only a few obtained significant numbers. We will discuss them from higher occurrence to lower. The convention for reading the number of occurrences per instrument is *the number of references in a source + the number of times as separate parts in a source = total number*.

³⁴ See [Annex 1](#), mandolin-specific prints are marked with bold instrument names.

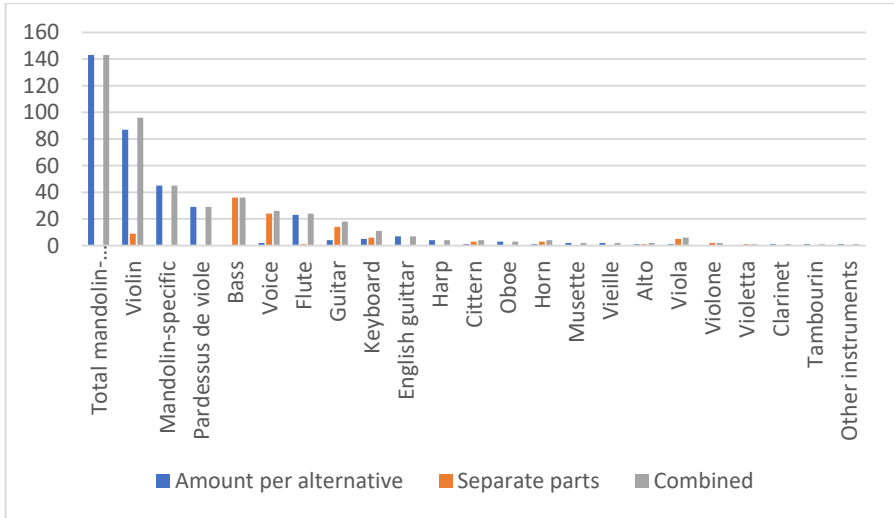


Figure 2

Violin (87+9=96)

The violin has unsurpassed numbers of sources in which it is mentioned alongside the mandolin as an alternative. This is the case in about 2 out of 3 of the mandolin-related prints. This high number increases the expectations of interaction. Promising is that this plainly was a two-way crossing: repertory originally written for mandolin as well as violin mentions the other instrument.

The details about the volumes and the interchange between mandolin and violin will be discussed in the following chapters under the ‘[Combined geographical and chronological view](#)’.

Relevant sources (as alternative) by item number in Annex 1: [5](#), [6](#), [7](#), [8](#), [9](#), [13](#), [16](#), [17](#), [19](#), [20](#), [21](#), [22](#), [23](#), [26](#), [28](#), [29](#), [32](#), [33](#), [34](#), [38](#), [40](#), [42](#), [43](#), [52](#), [53](#), [57](#), [59](#), [64](#), [65](#), [66](#), [67](#), [68](#), [71](#), [73](#), [79](#), [82](#), [87](#), [89](#), [94](#), [95](#), [97](#), [99](#), [101](#), [108](#), [112](#), [114](#), [120](#), [121](#), [125](#), [128](#), [129](#), [130](#), [131](#), [132](#), [133](#), [136](#), [137](#), [138](#), [139](#), [140](#), [141](#), [142](#), lost: [15](#), [18](#), [25](#), [27](#), [30](#), [31](#), [36](#), [37](#), [39](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [50](#), [54](#), [55](#), [61](#), [70](#), [81](#), [85](#), [92](#), [96](#), [102](#), [103](#), [106](#), [118](#), [122](#), [143](#).

Bass (0+36=36)

As can be expected, there are quite a few prints with a separate bass part (mostly solo sonata, sometimes trio sonata). This is not very relevant to this discussion

though these might have been performed on viola (or cello, violin or mandolin).³⁵

Pardessus de viole (29+0=29)

Next is the pardessus de viole, which is still commonly mentioned. The pardessus has some potential link with the ‘Milanese’ mandolin through the similarity in tuning. Furthermore, Fouchetti advertised as a pardessus teacher as well as a teacher of the mandolin (and was familiar with the Milanese mandolin).³⁶ The pardessus has a limited geographical range (mainly France) and also started to decline around 1770, so any interchange with the mandolin was limited. Next to that, all sources who mention the pardessus also include the violin as an alternative. Hence, we might imagine this reflects mostly on the situation of the violin’s exchange with the pardessus, and not too much with the mandolin. With only Fouchetti to draw on as source and example of tolerance, we can only describe this case as plausible (and quite limited in duration and location). Relevant sources (as alternative) by item number in Annex 1: [13](#), [16](#), [20](#), [21](#), [22](#), [32](#), [38](#), [65](#), [66](#), [67](#), [89](#), lost: [15](#), [18](#), [25](#), [30](#), [31](#), [36](#), [37](#), [39](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [50](#), [54](#), [55](#), [61](#), [81](#), [85](#), [92](#).

Voice (2+24=26)

As mentioned in the introduction, the importance of vocal repertory before 1800 should not be underestimated. Much only survives in manuscripts and is out of scope for this study. If the vocal origin’s influence or its contribution is minimal, it was also not taken up in this overview. The voice is quite present with 26 sources, but almost all as a separate part. Only two sources suggest that

³⁵ See [footnote 28](#). There is no relevant source in Annex 1 with bass as alternative.

³⁶ “Fouquet” or “Fouchetti” regularly advertised, first in Lyon and later in Paris, which leaves a trace of his activities. He is most often mentioned as teacher of mandolin, but still quite frequent for composition and cello, sometimes for pardessus de viole and occasionally violin and guitar. Those less frequent instruments are usually from his early period in Lyon. Those advertisements predating his mandolin activities usually follow on those other activities. To list some references: see *Affiches de Lyon* (3/6/1761), Lyon, p. 94 and *Almanach civil, politique et littéraire de Lyon*, 1763, p. 167 & 168) and *Tablettes de renommée des musiciens, auteurs, compositeurs, virtuoses*, 1785, Paris, np. (categories 1/ Compositeurs Virtuoses, Amateurs et Maîtres de Musique pour les instrumens a cordes et a chevalet, 2/ Pour la Guitare, le Cistre & la Mandoline – “Mandoline” 3/ Basse ou Violoncel & Contrebasse – “Violoncelle”). Fouchetti also compares the Neapolitan mandolin with the violin and the Milanese mandolin with the pardessus in his method (see [Fouchetti 1770–1](#), p. 3 & 5, also Annex 1, item [80](#)).

the vocal part can be played by the mandolin: *XX Canzonette* (1730?) by Willem de Fesch³⁷ and *Miss Mayer* (1759) by Santo Lapis.³⁸ This seems to imply that the exchange with vocal music was unidirectional: from vocal origin to mandolin adaptation.

Relevant sources (as an alternative) by item number in Annex 1: [7](#), [14](#).

Flute (23+1=24)

The flute is mentioned quite a lot, but this is an overrepresentation. Four prints are in fact from before 1750 and are not very relevant.³⁹ Quite a few of the sources are part of a print series which obviously almost always listed the same instrumentation. For example, *Les petites récréations de la campagne* (1762-8) is linked to the flute eight times as an alternative,⁴⁰ though the mandolin can be proven to have been the originally intended instrument of at least part of its music through manuscript sources.⁴¹ Similarly, the (anonymous) series of *Amusemens des Dames*, which list the mandolin in volumes 7, 8 & 10 (1767–8) seems composed for violin (though avoiding too much idiomatic writing) but has mandolin and flute as alternatives.⁴² Some less convincing sources mention the flute and mandolin in a large list of alternatives - such as the *Six Sonates en duo* by Lavallière (first name unknown, 1777)⁴³ or the *Concerto Comique* by Michel Corrette (1773).⁴⁴

³⁷ See Annex 1, item [7](#).

³⁸ See Annex 1, item [14](#).

³⁹ See Annex 1, items [6](#), [7](#), [8](#), [9](#). In the first three, the mandolin was likely not the instrument originally intended and put in for commercial reasons only. Item 9 is only included as it has a flute and mandolin depicted (and no instrument assigned).

⁴⁰ See Annex 1, items [17](#), [21](#), [22](#), lost: [18](#), [31](#), [36](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [50](#). Only for the first three items (vol. 1, 3 & 4) the exact instrumentation is preserved but we assume the other volumes were similar.

⁴¹ See Annex 1, item [17](#), duet 4, 2nd movement and the ‘Echo concerto’ by Gian Francesco (?) Eterardi in F-Pn L 2789) and Annex 1, item [21](#), duet 1, 2nd movement & the mandolin sonata by Gian Francesco Majò in F-Pn L2757. These two correspondences are far too limited for final conclusions but at the very least it is an indication that the editor of these prints was partly arranging music originally for mandolin that was available in manuscript form in Paris.

⁴² See Annex 1, items [38](#), lost: [37](#), [55](#). Volume seven lists Jean-Baptiste Miroglio as composer, but the other two were published anonymously (“Par Mr ***”).

⁴³ See Annex 1, item [92](#) (lost). Advertisements list no less than ten alternatives.

⁴⁴ See Annex 1, item [89](#).

Already more interesting but likely meant for another instrument than flute or mandolin are: *Miss Mayer* by Lapis (1759), targeted towards the guitar;⁴⁵ the *6 Sonates en duo* by Christian Canabich (1767), likely for violins;⁴⁶ and the two prints “by an African” (Ignatius Sancho?), *Minuets Cotillons & Country Dances* (1767) and *Minuets &c &c [...] Book 2d* (1767?), likely for violins.⁴⁷

The sources which could be seen as better proof for interchange between mandolin and flute start with the flute and mandolin duet volumes: *Sei duetti notturni* (1766) by Giacomo Veginy⁴⁸ (flute + mandolin and alternatives) and Filippo Ruge’s *Duetti* (1767) (two flutes/mandolins/violins).⁴⁹ Other volumes either originally for flute or mandolin which list the other as an alternative, are Gervasio’s *Airs* (1768),⁵⁰ the *Second Recueil de Duo tirés des Ariettes des Operas comiques* (1771) by Mahoni (“dit le Berton”, first name unknown),⁵¹ and a Lisbon print by Pedro Anselmo Marchal, *Variações de Marlborough* (1794).⁵²

In conclusion, though many prints link flute and mandolin, only five items point to a possible interchange. That seems too limited for a common instrument such as the flute, so the case can at most be classified as plausible.

Relevant sources (as alternative) by item number in Annex 1: [6](#), [7](#), [8](#), [9](#), [11](#), [14](#), [21](#), [22](#), [40](#), [42](#), [43](#), [46](#), [89](#), lost: [31](#), [36](#), [39](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [50](#), [81](#), [92](#), [119](#).

Guitar (4+14=18)

The guitar is a bit of a special case. First of all, the guitar is one of the instruments who took over the role of partner in the sonatas and variation sequences from 1800 onwards.⁵³ Hence the guitar is mainly present as a separate part, and only a few prints mention it as an alternative to the mandolin part. The prints that do are once more examples that seem unreliable as too many alternative

⁴⁵ See Annex 1, item [14](#).

⁴⁶ See Annex 1, item [39](#) (lost). Though this volume is lost, it can be presumed to have been composed primarily for violin as Canabich printed other music aimed at bowed strings in Paris.

⁴⁷ See Annex 1, items [42](#), [43](#). The score mentions violin first on the title page and only lists violin 1 & 2 for the parts. There are occasionally articulations such as slurs and staccato. The second book has one piece for specifically designated to “German flute, violin and bass” (*Air* p. 12).

⁴⁸ See Annex 1, item [32](#).

⁴⁹ See Annex 1, item [40](#).

⁵⁰ See Annex 1, item [46](#).

⁵¹ See Annex 1, items [81](#) lost.

⁵² See Annex 1, item [119](#) (lost).

⁵³ See chapters [‘Leipzig: 1800s’](#) & [‘Vienna: 1800–1820’](#).

instruments are listed. Tomaso Motta's *Armonia Capricciosa* (1681)⁵⁴ only mentions the mandolin and guitar in a long list in the postface. The *Six sonates en duo* by Lavallière (1777) lists many alternatives (and was likely originally for tambourin de Béarn).⁵⁵ The songs *Le Festin de l'Amour* and *Les Projets de l'Amour* both have interchangeable instrumental accompaniment.⁵⁶

As so few sources mention the guitar and mandolin as alternatives, it is unlikely real interchange of their repertory was taking place. Even such adamant advocates of both the guitar and mandolin as the brothers Giacomo and Bernardo Giuseppe Merchi or Bortolazzi don't mention them as alternatives in their numerous prints. To sum up: there are not enough sources to prove exchange with certainty.

Relevant sources (as alternative) by item number in Annex 1: [5](#), [26](#), lost: [27](#), [92](#).⁵⁷

Keyboard (5+6=11)

Comparable to the guitar, the keyboard also takes over the role of partner in the sonatas from 1790 onwards. This accounts for the six prints who list a keyboard part separate from the mandolin. Five prints list the mandolin and keyboard as alternatives. Denis' *Six Sonates* (1765) mention you can also play them on a keyboard,⁵⁸ and Nonnini's *Six Italian Canzonets* (1783) was likely mainly aimed at keyboard accompaniment (with mandolin as an alternative).⁵⁹ Some prints can be considered a case in point of the lack of popularity of the mandolin: Girolamo Stabilini's *Favourite Minuets* (ca. 1785?) and Bortolazzi's *Favorite Waltzes & Trios* (1807–1811) are examples of music originally for mandolin which was adapted for keyboard (with violin accompaniment in the case of Stabilini).⁶⁰ The only other case is the print *XXX Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*

⁵⁴ See Annex 1, item [5](#).

⁵⁵ See Annex 1, item [92](#) (lost). Advertisements list no less than ten alternatives.

⁵⁶ See Annex 1, items [26](#), lost: [27](#).

⁵⁷ Girolamo Nonnini's *Six Italian Canzonets* (1783) was not entered here, as these were almost certainly targeting the guittar rather than guitar as alternative. See Annex 1, item [109](#). The print is likely originally using harpsichord as accompaniment, and though the upper part can be played by mandolin, quite some notes are out of range of the guittar. But this is quite similar to that other mandolin player's print certain to target the guittar as alternative, [Gervasio 1768](#), see Annex 1, item [46](#) and chapter '[London: post-1750](#)'.

⁵⁸ See Annex 1, item [23](#).

⁵⁹ See Annex 1, item [109](#).

⁶⁰ Both Stabilini and Bortolazzi mention the music was originally performed on mandolin on the title pages of the prints. Annex 1, items [112](#), [135](#).

(1799) of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart songs with keyboard accompaniment, which included an adapted version of one of his mandolin songs.⁶¹ In a nutshell, there are too few sources to establish a link.

Relevant sources (as alternative) by item number in Annex 1: [23](#), [109](#), [112](#), [124](#), [135](#).

English guittar (7+0=7)

The English guittar is quite a special case. It is an instrument which was used locally and, in that context, the number of prints relating to both instruments is quite high. The case of interchange with the mandolin will be discussed in detail (see chapter ‘[London: post-1750](#)’).

Relevant sources (as alternative) by item number in Annex 1: [11](#), [12](#), [14](#), [46](#), [51](#), [109](#), [113](#).

Other instruments

The other instruments listed in mandolin-related prints until the early 19th century do not have enough significant numbers of prints to draw conclusions with certainty. These other instruments encompass the harp, cittern, oboe, horn, musette, vielle, alto, viola, violone, violetta, clarinet and tambourin (de Béarn). They are usually only mentioned in three or fewer volumes, and often in cases where they are amongst a huge list of alternatives. One print also mentions “other instruments” making it clear the print is not discriminating about what instrument you might play it on.⁶²

One special case that needs to be mentioned here is the print of *Six Duos* by Denis (1764).⁶³ Its title page lists the music for two mandolins or two violins but puts vielle and musette as other alternatives for the last two duets. These last duets have been cleverly adapted to fit the range and bourdons of both instruments. He also writes out alternatives for violin versus mandolin, thereby devising a very versatile print.

Combined geographical and chronological view

Another most instructive view is the combined numbers of geographical and chronological properties of mandolin-related prints (see [figure 3](#)). Besides some

⁶¹ See Annex 1, item [124](#).

⁶² See Annex 1, item [34](#).

⁶³ See [Van Tichelen 16/04/2019](#) and Annex 1, item [20](#).

general thoughts, we will review the specific alternatives mentioned in the prints of a specific location and date.

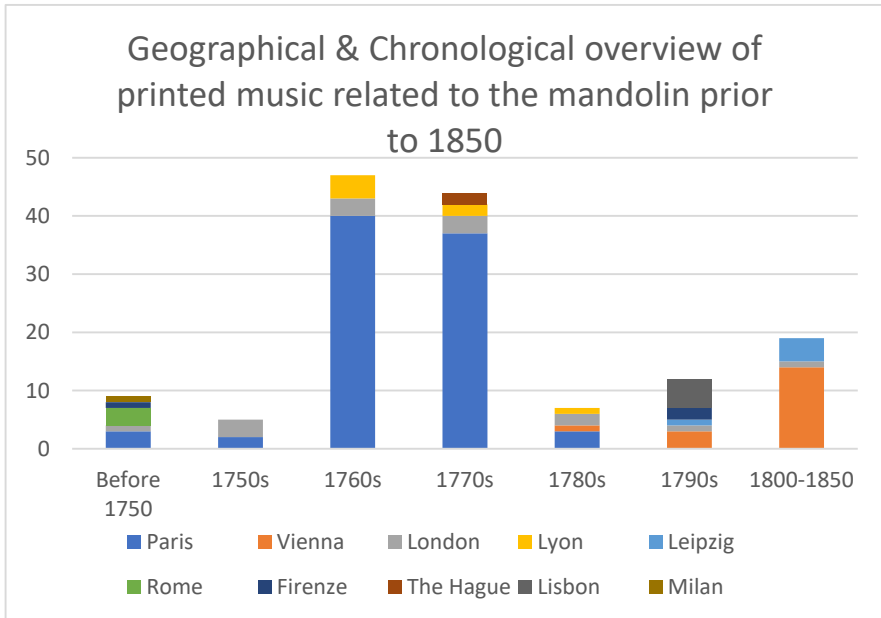


Figure 3

Prior to 1750: Paris, Rome, Milan, London, Florence

A glance at [figure 3](#) shows that only very few mandolin-related prints were published prior to 1750. Only nine prints are known to me today, and it is unlikely that this number will grow a lot through new discoveries. Only a limited amount of instrumental music achieved to get published prior to 1750. But even granting the low amount of instrumental prints, this still means the mandolin did not have a big enough market share to attract the attention of publishers. Besides the three mandore prints in Paris, only Rome had three mandolin-related prints, and other printing cities are London, Florence and Milan, all with one print to their name.

The most interesting case in this scope concerns the mandore. Sadly, only the François de Chancy volume is preserved.⁶⁴ The three mandore prints are marked as mandolin-specific prints. Due to its quite specific tuning, the man-

⁶⁴ See [Lambert 2006](#) and Annex 1 item [3](#) and lost: items [1](#), [2](#).

dore music could not very easily be played on other instruments. It remains remarkable and a good indication of popularity that the mandore ranks three specific prints during a time when there were only relatively few volumes of instrumental music printed.

Other prints prior to 1750 mention the mandolin as an alternative, but mostly seem to contain music originally written for another instrument (flute, violin, etc).⁶⁵ This suggests that the mandolin was just added as a potential extra market (commercial motive only). However, as these printed sources are not quite numerous, no definitive conclusions should be drawn.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [3](#), [4](#), [5](#), [6](#), [7](#), [8](#), [9](#), [lost: 1](#), [2](#).

Paris: 1750s

A big milestone for mandolin history is the first appearance in music printing in Paris in the 1750s. The first presence I have traced is in the opera parody *Le prix des talens* (1754), the lyrics and vaudevilles of which were printed in 1755.⁶⁶ Though only the vocal line is printed, it still marks the first appearance of the mandolin in an opera print and is unsurprisingly linked to the *Comédie Italienne*.

That same decade also produced a print originally not marketed towards the mandolin: the *Sei duetti a due violini ò pardessus de viole* op. 2 (1758?) by Giacomo Merchi.⁶⁷ As the Merchi brothers are only referenced as virtuosi on plucked

⁶⁵ The *Sonate nuove di mandola*[...] by Cantarelli (ed. Ricci, 1677) is a piece for Milanese mandolin but features as part of a bigger print for guitar (see Annex 1, item [4](#)). Motta's *Armonia capriccioso* [...] (1681) does not specify the instrument (but Motta mentions the mandolin on p. 19, see Annex 1, item [5](#)). Giuseppe Gaetano Boni's *Divertimenti per camera* (1720?) mentions the “mandola” as alternative in a list of 5 possible instruments and contains slurs (for bowing?) and long held notes (see Annex 1, item [6](#)). The XX *Canzonette* by Willem de Fesch (1730?) are songs who can be performed instrumentally by a range of instruments, amongst which the “mandolino” is mentioned (see Annex 1, item [7](#)). Robert Valentine's *Sonate* (1730?) are for flute and list “mandola” as one possible alternative of three (see Annex 1, item [8](#)). Lastly the *Sonate da Camera per vari strumenti* (1744) by Abbate Ranieri Capponi don't specify an instrument. The inner frontispiece shows a picture with a Milanese mandolin, violin, flute, cello and someone singing (see Annex 1, item [9](#)).

⁶⁶ The mandolin is used during the song of the shepherd Lison (“prelude de mandoline”) in the air no. 4 “Les Ruses de l'Amour”. See [Anonymous 1755](#), p. 23–4, 45–6 and Annex 1, item [10](#).)

⁶⁷ See Annex 1, item [13](#).

string instruments such as guitar and mandolin,⁶⁸ this is slightly suspicious. Indeed, when looking at the print, there is a lack of violin-specific treatment and all music can easily be played low on the fingerboard. This suggests the music might have been originally for mandolin. Interestingly, advertisements from later Merchi prints (from the late 1760s onwards) mention the opus 2 print for mandolin/violin.⁶⁹ Further proof of the Merchi brothers' changed marketing scheme is found in their opus 9 print of trio sonatas where they even altered the title page.⁷⁰ There are a few cases in opus 2 with longer notes, but these are easily handled by the techniques for playing long notes as described in the mandolin methods from the 1760s.

With only very few mandolin-related prints, mostly connected to Italian musicians coming to Paris, it is difficult to state more than suggestions. It seems that there was not yet a mature market for mandolin prints, which prompted the reuse of this fashionable music as a violin or pardessus print.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [10](#), [13](#).⁷¹

Paris: Early 1760s

During the early 1760s, Paris saw its first real mandolin-related publications. Most of these early prints were likely originally written for mandolin, but the prints always mention the violin first, and the mandolin as an alternative (for example: Leone's *Duo* (1762),⁷² the anonymous *Les petites récréations de la campagne* volumes 1–5 (1762–6),⁷³ Merchi's *Sei Trio* opus 9 (1761–4) and *Sei Duetti* opus 15 (1766)⁷⁴ and Fouchetti's *Six Duos* (1765)).⁷⁵

⁶⁸ See [Libbert 2016](#).

⁶⁹ The clearest example can be found in his *Catalogue des Oeuvres de M. Merchi* printed in his opus 35 (see [Merchi 1777](#)): There are even separate categories “Duo pour la Mandoline et le Violon | Oeuvre 2^e 6. [lt] | œuvre 15^e 6. [lt] | Trio pour 2 Violons ou Mandolines et Basse | Oeuvre 9^e 7.[lt] 4 [s]”.

⁷⁰ See Annex 1, item [19](#). Title pages of the upper parts have “Sei Trio a Due Violini e Basso” and have the wrong opus number V, bass part has “Sei Trio a Due Violini e Basso ò Due Mandolini” and correct opus number IX. See also later catalogue, [footnote 69](#).

⁷¹ Detailed cases on *Le prix des talents* and Merchi's opus 2 were the subject of some of my presentations at the first symposium of historical mandolins in Germany: [Pieter Van Tichelen 2013](#).

⁷² See Annex 1, item [16](#).

⁷³ See Annex 1, item [17](#), [21](#), [22](#), lost: [18](#), [31](#). See also [footnote 40](#).

⁷⁴ See Annex 1, item [19](#), lost: [30](#). See also footnotes [69](#), [70](#).

⁷⁵ See Annex 1, item [25](#) (lost).

The honour of the first print that mentions the mandolin first and foremost on its title page goes to Denis' *Six Duos* (1764).⁷⁶ His *Six Sonates* (1765)⁷⁷ also follow this statement of putting mandolin first, and violin & pardessus or other alternatives later. Some vocal pieces utilise mandolin accompaniment, such as the anonymous *Le Festin de l'Amour & Les Projets de l'Amour* (1765)⁷⁸ and *Couplets à une dame très aimable* (ca. 1760–70?) by Dédruit (first name unknown).⁷⁹

The mandolin method by Giovanni Cifolelli (1765?) must be treated carefully.⁸⁰ Though this method is mentioned in some reference works,⁸¹ this was likely copied over from one source (possibly Alexandre-Étienne Choron & François Favolle's *Dictionnaire*). Without further evidence, it seems a bit unlikely that Cifolelli published a method, as no existing copies or advertisements have turned up to back up this claim. However unlikely, as there are secondary sources who mention this, we have still entered the item.

The early 1760s volumes almost only mention the violin, and quite a few the pardessus. Other alternatives in this period are usually in less reliable sources, likely put in for commercial purposes only.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [16](#), [17](#), [19](#), [20](#), [21](#), [22](#), [23](#), [26](#), [29](#), lost: [18](#), [24](#), [25](#), [27](#), [30](#), [31](#).

Paris: Late 1760s

The breakthrough of mandolin-related prints in Paris can be dated to a very specific time: 1767–8. During that time, no fewer than three mandolin methods were printed in Paris: Gervasio, Denis vol. 1 (with volume 2 following soon in 1769) and the first and second editions of Leone's method.⁸² Somehow, during the late 1760s, a sudden craze erupted for mandolin prints. The mandolin methods are probably only another example of the instrument being an object of sudden interest, but they certainly helped to increase a certain awareness.

⁷⁶ See Annex 1, item [20](#) and [Van Tichelen 16/04/2019](#).

⁷⁷ See Annex 1, item [23](#).

⁷⁸ See Annex 1, items [26](#), lost: [27](#).

⁷⁹ See Annex 1, item [29](#).

⁸⁰ See Annex 1, item [24](#) (lost). Dating is based on the assumption that if Cifolelli wrote a method, it would have been quite early on in his Paris career, before his activities as an opera composer and when he still advertised as mandolin teacher.

⁸¹ See [Choron & Favolle 1817](#), p. 141, [Fétis 1833–1844](#), vol. 2, p. 301, [Bone 1914](#), p. 73.

⁸² See [Gervasio 1767](#), [Denis 1768–73](#) & [Leone 1768](#), and Annex 1, items [35](#), [44](#), [45](#), [60](#).

The ‘playing field’ of mandolin prints changed: for the first time, some prints were dedicated solely to mandolin. Examples should primarily include the mandolin methods already mentioned. However, more and more other volumes got printed who only mentioned the mandolin. Examples are the *La Pierre de Touche Variations* (see [fac. 1](#) below, 1768) and *Minuet* (1768) prints by Leone (though the variations are side-by-side with violin sonatas by Emmanuele Barbella edited by Leone),⁸³ the *Un air connu varié & arrange* by Giammaria (?) Mazzuchelli (1769),⁸⁴ a print of mandolin with violin accompaniment *Sei duetti* by Jean Georges (?)⁸⁵ Bürckhoffer (1769)⁸⁶ and the first volume of Denis of his *Recueil de petits airs* (1769).⁸⁷

There are also several prints who likely had a link to original mandolin repertory but were published with several alternatives. For instance, there were further instalments of the *Récréations de la campagne* (vol. 6–10: 1767–8).⁸⁸ Other examples are the first volume of *Six sonates* (1676) by Leone⁸⁹ and the *Sei sonate* (1767) by Dingli (ed. Denis).⁹⁰ At the same time, some volumes of music are published which are likely adaptations of music originally not for mandolin. This would make sense as the sudden demand for mandolin music reached a peak. Good examples are the volumes of *Amusemens des dames* (vol. 7, 8, 10: 1767–8) which were likely originally written for violin.⁹¹ Another example is the volume of *Six sonates op. 3* by Valentin Roeser (1769) which was likely originally

⁸³ See Annex 1, item [52](#), lost: [56](#).

⁸⁴ See Annex 1, item [58](#) (lost).

⁸⁵ Usually only mentioned as “J. G. Bürckhoffer”. First names Jean Georges were taken from the testimony in *Suite de la Procédure criminelle*, Paris, 1790 p. 34.

⁸⁶ See Annex 1, item [59](#) [M part only].

⁸⁷ See Annex 1, item [63](#).

⁸⁸ See Annex 1, items, all lost: [36](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [50](#).

⁸⁹ See Annex, item [33](#). The first editions reads “Mandoline et Basse Arrangées au mieux pour le Violon” but the second switched to “Mandoline et Basse Marquées des signes suivant la Nouvelle Methode”. The second edition indeed changed violin articulation with plectrum and fingering signs as in Leone’s mandolin method. (Blog publication pending.)

⁹⁰ See Annex 1, item [34](#).

⁹¹ See [Van Tichelen 10/08/2014](#) about the discovery of one volume of the series (vol. 8). I have recently achieved permission for publishing which still has to appear. See also Annex 1, item [38](#), lost: [37](#), [55](#). Advertisements of the earlier instalments of the series don’t mention the mandolin as alternative. These rather simple duets are written in a non-idiomatic manner so other instruments could also play these amateur duets.

written as violin trio sonatas.⁹² Also, the *6 Sonate en duo* (1767) by Christian Can[n]abich though lost were likely for violin and only mention pardessus, flute and mandolin to boost sales.⁹³

Fac. 1: Leone, *La Pierre de Touche* variations, page 2.⁹⁴

⁹² Roeser is also known for translating Leopold Mozart's violin school in French and publishing a sizeable amount of music for bowed string instruments and ensembles. Though Roeser was in service of the Duke of Orléans and hence active and known within the same circles as Leone, his music is not idiomatic to the mandolin. See [Roeser 1770](#) and Annex 1, item [57](#).

⁹³ See Annex 1, item [39](#) (lost).

⁹⁴ See [Van Tichelen 15/04/2018](#) & [25/04/2018](#) about the discovery. Reproduced with kind permission by the Music Library of the University of California, Santa Barbara. A facsimile can be downloaded in the second blog post. See also Annex 1, item [52](#).

An interesting case of possible interchange with flute is the *Duetti* print (1767) by Ruge.⁹⁵

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [33](#), [34](#), [35](#), [38](#), [40](#), [44](#), [45](#), [52](#), [53](#), [57](#), [59](#), [60](#), [63](#), lost: [36](#), [37](#), [39](#), [41](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [50](#), [54](#), [55](#), [56](#), [58](#).

Paris: 1770s

During the 1770s, Paris continued to idolise the mandolin and quite a few mandolin-related prints were published. However, during the later 1770s, the amounts start to decrease. This could partially be influenced by the move from the ‘gentile’ style towards the style favoured by the first Viennese school. Of course, it is likewise possible that the mandolin and/or Italian music were losing some of their appeal for other reasons.

An interesting phenomenon is the occasional appearance of small mandolin pieces in the *Journal de Musique* (1770, four contributions, one anonymous, others by Wilhelm (?) Cramer, Framery and Cifollelli).⁹⁶ Only the first contribution has “mandoline ou violon”, all the others are intended solely for mandolin. The editor of the *Journal* during this period, Framery, is a known advocate of Italian music, including instrumental music and was also active at the *Comédie Italienne*.⁹⁷

Other volumes printed which only mention the mandolin are Denis’ further volumes of the *Recueil de petits airs* (volumes 2, 3 & 4).⁹⁸ In 1771, Fouchetti also published his mandolin method,⁹⁹ followed by the method of Corrette (1772),¹⁰⁰ and Denis published the third volume of his mandolin method conjoined with the fifth instalment of the *Recueil de petits airs* (1773).¹⁰¹ Leone published a new volume of sonatas around 1774 (likely replacing the first volume as part of a reprint of his whole mandolin œuvre when his license ran out),¹⁰² and Maz-

⁹⁵ See Annex 1, item [40](#).

⁹⁶ See Annex 1, items [73](#), [74](#), [75](#), [76](#).

⁹⁷ [Rushton 2001](#). See also [footnote 19](#).

⁹⁸ See Annex 1, items [72](#), [77](#), lost: [78](#).

⁹⁹ See Annex 1, item [80](#).

¹⁰⁰ See Annex 1, item [86](#).

¹⁰¹ See Annex 1, item [88](#).

¹⁰² The privilege of Leone was recorded on 10/07/1768 (see Ms. Fr. 21962 in F-Pn) and antedated to start on 01/06/1768: “10 juillet 1768. P.[rivilège] G.[enerale] pour 6 ans, du 1 juin, au Sr Leone, pour la Methode nouvelle pour jouer de la Mandoline, avec des exemples de musique pour cet instrument et une suite de pieces, ensemble les œuvres de musique de Barbella.” Also already mentioned in [Brenet 1907](#), p. 458. It is likely that Leone’s prints before this were published under privilege of the respective

zuchelli published two volumes of *Recueil d'ariettes* (1776–8).¹⁰³ A volume of *Six sonates* by Alessandro Maria Antonio Fridzeri is another mandolin-specific print (1771–2).¹⁰⁴ Denis' volumes of *Les IV Saisons Européennes* (1773–4)¹⁰⁵ mentions lots of instruments on the title page, but in fact, these have mandolin-specific parts. The volumes are meant as a treatise on composing and arranging, and in that sense, some mandolin-specific parts are included.

Interestingly enough there are also two opera prints from the 1770s that have mandolin parts in them. Both are by André Ernest Modeste Grétry, one of the most famous comic opera composers in Paris at the time. A print of *Les deux avarés* (1771) was followed by the print of *Les amants jaloux* (1778), each with mandolin aria.¹⁰⁶ Both mention more than one mandolin, likely to increase volume. Opera prints are still rather uncommon and finding mandolin arias in two opera prints is a statement about the popularity of the pieces as well as the mandolin aria.

An interesting other case is the volume of violin/mandolin trio sonatas by Barbella edited by the Verdone brothers (1772–3).¹⁰⁷ They seem to step into the path laid out by Leone, who printed some sonatas and duets of Barbella in Paris and London.¹⁰⁸ On top of that, several manuscripts contain mandolin music by

publishers (La Chevardière, Bérault). It seems too much of a coincidence that starting in the year when it ran out (1773), several volumes were reprinted (by Bailleux). This fact was already noted by Didier Le Roux. (See [Le Roux, s.d.](#), p. 14–16.) No new music was printed by Bailleux except for a second set of mandolin sonatas instead of reprinting the first set. We can only speculate about the reason, but the second edition of the first set might be a clue (see [footnote 90](#)).

¹⁰³ See Annex 1, items [98](#) [M2 only], lost: [104](#).

¹⁰⁴ See Annex 1, item [84](#) (lost).

¹⁰⁵ From the subscription fee in advertisements (for example *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, 27/05/1773), we can deduce that Denis intended to publish 4 volumes in total from 1773 until 1776. However, secondary sources only confirm the publication of the first two volumes in 1773 and 1774 and only the second volume seems preserved (B-Bc). See Annex 1, items [91](#), lost: [90](#).

¹⁰⁶ [Grétry 1771](#), p. 16–19, aria “Du Rossignol pendant la nuit” has “Mandolini ad libitum” and [Grétry 1778](#), p. 109–11, aria “Tandis que tout sommeille” has “Florival, deux Violons une Basse, deux Mandolines derriere la Scene”. See Annex 1, items [83](#), [105](#).

¹⁰⁷ See Annex 1, item [87](#). Though called “Six Duo” it has a bass ad libitum, which must be played on a viola (see title page).

¹⁰⁸ Besides the *Six sonates* (with mandolin variations) print in Paris, Leone also printed Barbella duets in Paris (RISM A/I B 891, US-Wc) and London (see Annex 1, item [64](#)). Though the London print seems targeting violin (long notes) it's not impossible to play on mandolin. I have requested a reproduction of the Paris print that has not yet reached

Barbella (for example, the Gimo collection in Uppsala). Barbella's mandolin output merits some further examination. The Verdone print seems to have been adapted or intended for mandolin. Leone's editions of sonatas and duets seem to be for violin but can be played on mandolin with slight adaptations. The fact that we have such unclarity about whether the music was originally for violin or mandolin seems to indicate this is an example of tolerance between the violin and mandolin.

At the same time volumes were still published with the mandolin as an alternative, often to the violin. The pardessus is mentioned less and less. Carpentier's cittern method (1771) is a good example of pieces that were likely meant originally for the mandolin but mentioned the violin for the convenience of a bigger market.¹⁰⁹ Fargere's *Six sonate* (1777) appears to contain some pieces more idiomatic to the mandolin, as well as pieces which could be played on both instruments (and might have been originally intended for violin).¹¹⁰ These occurrences further reinforce the view that the mandolin and violin had quite a tolerant exchange of repertory.

Some music originally for mandolin is still printed with the violin put in as alternative on the title page: Fouchetti printed another volume of duets, the *Six Duos dans le goût Italien* (1770), as well as a *Recueil De Jolis Airs* (1771) and a later *Recueil d'airs choisis* (1778–9).¹¹¹ Giuseppe Giuliano's *Sei sonate cantata per camera* (1776) is another incarnation of mandolin music being advertised for violin or mandolin.¹¹² Even Gervasio's *Six sonates* (1777–8) is advertised for both mandolin and violin alike, though this was likely music more idiomatically suited for mandolin.¹¹³

Some prints keep the tradition of mentioning the mandolin though originally written for another instrument. As the mandolin was still rather fashionable, it might have been included only to increase the possible market. An example is the *Recueil d'airs choisis* (1770) by Louis-Auguste (?) Papavoine.¹¹⁴ The title page even does not mention the mandolin, but the only advertisements found mention the mandolin as an alternative. There are also a couple of publications by

me at the time of publication. As both volumes might be one and the same, I've not listed the first one in the list of sources.

¹⁰⁹ See Annex 1, item [79](#).

¹¹⁰ See Annex 1, item [101](#).

¹¹¹ See Annex 1, items [82](#), lost: [70](#), [106](#).

¹¹² See Annex 1, item [96](#) (lost).

¹¹³ See Annex 1, item [102](#) (lost).

¹¹⁴ See Annex 1, item [71](#).

Mahoni (“dit le Berton”) of *Recueil des Duo tires des Ariettes des Operas comiques* (vol. 2 1771, vol. 3 1772)¹¹⁵ that mention flutes, violins, mandolins and pardessus as alternatives. Mahoni was a musician in the *Comédie Italienne* and violin teacher. Most of his other prints mainly mention the violin. Corrette also mentions the mandolin as one alternative out of many possible instruments in one of his *Concerto Comique* (concerto no. 24).¹¹⁶

The fact that publications first intended for the violin were also marketed for mandolin is mostly proof of commercial motives in mentioning the instrument. But it adds further weight to the hypothesis of interchangeability between the mandolin and violin. Some prints mention too many alternatives and are not reliable sources for this investigation (such as Lavallières *Six sonates* (1777)¹¹⁷ which were likely originally for the tambourin de Béarn).

One instance needs to be mentioned separately: Antonio Riggieri’s five prints for mandolin (1762–1777?).¹¹⁸ Recently the dating of these volumes has become the subject of some research.¹¹⁹ All four regular volumes mention the

¹¹⁵ Volume 1 does not mention the mandolin. See Annex 1, items both lost: [81](#), [85](#).

¹¹⁶ See Annex 1, item [89](#).

¹¹⁷ See Annex 1, item [92](#) (lost). Advertisements list no less than ten alternatives.

¹¹⁸ See Annex 1, items [65](#), [66](#), [67](#), [68](#), [69](#).

¹¹⁹ Didier Le Roux, who did excellent background research, found a Girard catalogue from 1783 which mentions the *Fustemberg variations* whereas the 1780s catalogue does not mention these (see [Le Roux s.d.](#)). Sparks suggests a Rigiesi in a 1767 advertisement for a Castaud music shop might be Riggieri (see [Tyler & Sparks 1989](#), p. 153.). Though I always was convinced the style was earlier than the 1780s, and the fact that the pardessus is mentioned is more in line with an earlier date, my assumption so far was a date of around 1770. It seems the Girard catalogue might have been indicating a reprint, and perhaps the Castaud advert might indeed be linked. First of all, and most enlightening, is the fact that Antonio Riggieri wrote the music for *Il Gondolier Veneziano* (1762). (See [Wild & Charlton 2005](#), p. 270.) Volume two of the five prints by Riggieri is partially based on the music of this “canovaccio” which according to Wild & Charlton was played until 1777 by the *Comédie Italienne*. In terms of dating of the prints it is likely better to assume the print was made between 1762–1777 (and likely earlier rather than later). Until further evidence comes to light, I’ll keep these volumes under the 1770s. Another source that might be related is a statement by Marie-Anne Corticelli from 22/04/1766 who stayed with Riggieri and states he was “maître de mandoline”. Riggieri seems to have been the person married to Angélique-Dorothee Rombocoli and father to the (in)famous Colombes (see [Campardon 1880](#), vol. 1, p. 145). Later on, people seem to have put the first name “François” to the father of the Colombes, but the earliest and most reliable sources such as legal testimonies do not mention any first name (“ledit Riggieri”). One further observation by Jean-Paul Bazin (in personal

mandolin first, violin as an alternative and the three first also the pardessus. Riggieri's variations on *Fustemberg* do not mention the instrument, but Riggieri calls himself *maestro di mandolin* in the title, and the music has some idiomatic treatment suiting the mandolin.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [65](#), [66](#), [67](#), [68](#), [69](#), [71](#), [72](#), [73](#), [74](#), [75](#), [76](#), [77](#), [79](#), [80](#), [82](#), [83](#), [86](#), [87](#), [88](#), [89](#), [91](#), [93](#), [98](#), [99](#), [101](#), [105](#), lost: [70](#), [78](#), [81](#), [84](#), [85](#), [90](#), [92](#), [96](#), [102](#), [104](#), [106](#).

Paris: 1780s

The 1780s see a dramatic decrease in output for mandolin in Paris. The exact reasons are not easily deduced. On the one hand, the pre-revolutionary years might have already made publishing new prints difficult. On the other hand, the mandolin was likely getting more and more out of fashion, as was the simple Italian style with which it seems to have been primarily identified in France. In any case, it seems that some of the prominent figures such as Leone and Merchi left Paris, and some of the regular publishers such as Denis did not produce new output for mandolin.¹²⁰

Only three prints appeared in Paris during the 1780s. A first volume is the *VIIIe Recueil De petits Airs de tout genre, entremelé d'Ariettes choisies* (1780–1) of Carpentier's vocal-inspired cittern prints with additional mandolin parts (and violin as an alternative).¹²¹ Mazzuchelli published a third volume of *Recueil d'ariettes choisies* (1783).¹²² More interesting perhaps is an opera print, a French translation (*Le Barbier de Séville*, 1785) by Framery of the Italian opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia, ovvero La precauzione inutile* (1782) by Paisiello. The mandolin aria “Saper

correspondence) is that opus 4 by Riggieri can't have been published before 1770, as the title “grand d'Espagne de 1^e classe” in the dedication on the title page didn't exist before 1770. The fact that his address is different and that the pardessus is missing as alternative suggests that opus 4 was printed somewhat later than opus 1–3. Also in favour is the fact that the opus 1–3 still mention the pardessus as alternative, and opus 4 does not. I have been corresponding with Didier Le Roux and Jean-Paul Bazin who are working on dating Riggieri's output more exactly. Until their work is finished a cautious but earlier than currently assumed date seems best (“1762-1777?”).

¹²⁰ There is a reprint of Denis' airs choisis and method volumes in 1788. However, in the course of this investigation we only count the originals.

¹²¹ See Annex 1, item [108](#).

¹²² See Annex 1, item [110](#).

bramate” and its mandolin part are included, another example of opera prints in Paris with a mandolin aria.¹²³

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [108](#), [111](#), lost: [110](#).

Conclusions Paris 1750 to 1790

The mandolin certainly seems to have made quite an impression in the music scene of Paris in the second half of the 18th century. The prints started prudently with mandolin music being promoted as violin music and mandolin sometimes not even mentioned, and later added as an alternative. Once its popularity grew, prints targeted the mandolin solely. Music originally for another instrument also got printed with the mandolin as an alternative setting. The violin and pardessus are the substitute instruments most mentioned. The most important case for an interchange of repertory can be found in the prints of *Barbella* edited by Leone and Verdone, where both the violin and mandolin can lay claims. The advertisements in some mandolin methods about switching from violin to mandolin also emphasize the tolerance between violin and mandolin. The pardessus has a plausible claim, but it’s usually mentioned as an afterthought of the interchange of repertory of the pardessus with the violin. The flute is the only other instrument which has another plausible case.

Lyon

Lyon is the only other centre of mandolin-related music printing in France from 1750 to 1800. Some prints who first appeared in Lyon were reprinted later in Paris. Likely some volumes only printed in Lyon were also available in Paris through certain music shops. Leone’s *30 Variations* (1761) for two violins with pardessus and mandolins as alternatives first appeared in Lyon and got reprinted in Paris.¹²⁴ Veginy’s *Sei duetti notturni* (1766, for flute and mandolin, or two vio-

¹²³ See <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1158793b/f64.item> (16/04/2020). The Italian opera is based on a translated French theater libretto by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais. This had a guitar accompaniment in mind, but Paisiello wrote a mandolin aria. The libretto print of the French translated version of the opera goes back to Beaumarchais and mentions the guitar, but the music follows the Italian version and has the “mandolino solo” accompaniment. (See [Paisiello ed. Framery 1785](#), p. 56–61 : aria “Ma foi bientôt dépisté”. Also see Annex 1, item [111](#).)

¹²⁴ See *Almanach Musicale*, Paris (1777), p. 519. This reprint seems to have combined the early variation sequence with the La Pierre de Touche variations. See Annex 1, items [52](#), lost: [15](#)

lins or pardessus) also first appeared in Lyon, followed by a reprint in Paris.¹²⁵ A volume of *Six duo [sic]* by Fantiny (1769, violins, mandolins or pardessus)¹²⁶ and an anonymous volume of *Duo [sic]* (1769) for violins or mandolins was also printed in Lyon,¹²⁷ unfortunately, both seem lost. A volume which did survive is the opus II *Sei Duetti* by Prospero Cauciello (1776, violins or mandolins).¹²⁸ Cauciello apparently also published a lost volume of *Sei Duetti* opus III (1777–8) for violins/mandolins.¹²⁹ As a quite late contribution, the *3 Trio* (ca. 1780) by Giuseppe Demachi is one of the few prints with trio sonatas.¹³⁰

It seems Lyon evolved similarly to Paris: first some mandolin music that includes alternatives, and later on music originally for other instruments that mentions the mandolin as an alternative. The only important missing step to confirm the likeness in full is a mandolin-specific print.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [32](#), [97](#), lost: [15](#), [61](#), [62](#), [103](#), [107](#).

The Hague: 1770s

Some music for the mandolin was printed in the Netherlands. Music printer Johann Julius Hummel had settled in The Hague around 1753 and his firm published two mandolin-related prints by Johann Andreas Kauchlitz Colizzi. One is a volume of *Airs Choisis des Operas Français* (1776) for two violins or mando-

¹²⁵ See Annex 1, item [32](#).

¹²⁶ See Annex 1, item [61](#) (lost).

¹²⁷ See Annex 1, item [62](#) (lost).

¹²⁸ The opus numbering of Cauciello's music is confusing, as another volume of duets with the same opus number but different music has survived. This is not uncommon as opus numbers were linked to a combination of composer and publisher, hence the overlapping opus numbers. See Annex 1, item [97](#). (This other "opus II" was published by Huberty around 1770.)

¹²⁹ See [Breitkopf 1778](#), p. 9 and [Breitkopf 1780](#), p. 956 („Sei Duetti per due Violini o Vero Mandolini, composti del Signore D. Prospero Caudiello. Op. III. À Lyon, chez Guera.“). Also: Giordani 1776, p. 117, in a catalogue of Longman & Broderip with „Duets for Violins or Mandolins [...] Cauciello Op. 2, & 3 Mandolins ea [...] Gervasio Op. 5 Mandolins“ & Schwindl 1780, violin part p. 14, in a catalogue of Longman & Broderip with „Duets for Violins or Mandolins [...] Cauciello Op. 2, & 3 Mandolins ea [...] Gervasio Op. 5 Mandolins“. Hence we have confirmation from several catalogues that opus 3 existed and was also meant for mandolins. See Annex 1, item [103](#) (lost).

¹³⁰ See Annex 1, item [107](#) (lost).

lins.¹³¹ The other print is a *Concerto* (1776?) for violin or mandolin with strings and horns ad libitum.¹³²

Though we lack hard evidence, there is one plausible candidate from the ranks of mandolin players who might have inspired Colizzi. Gervasio is known to have given concerts with his wife in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in 1776 and 1777.¹³³ In Amsterdam, the tickets for the concerts were sold in the shop of Hummel, obviously also selling the prints by Colizzi.

In any case, there seems to have been some level of interest in the mandolin in the Netherlands, and the Colizzi prints are likely a result of this rise of interest.

As both Colizzi prints mention mandolin and violin as alternatives (violin first), it is another example of an emerging printing centre trying out mandolin music with the safeguard of the violin market interested in Italian instrumental music. The music is not idiomatic and can be played on either violin or mandolin.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [94](#), [95](#).

Florence: 1790s

Another small appearance of printed mandolin music can be found at the end of the 18th century in Italy. At that time, Florence was home of Antonio Giuseppe Pagani, a very active music publisher. Both of the two mandolin-related prints from this area are keyboard sonatas with mandolin accompaniment and are from about the same time. The print *Suonata decimaquarto* (1790) by Vincenzo Panerai¹³⁴ is rather short but Michele Bolaffi's print *Suonata Prima* (1794)

¹³¹ See Annex 1, item [95](#). Advert in the Dutch paper *'s-Gravenhaagsche Courant*, Monday 22/01/1776: "Bij B. Hummel in's Hage is gedrukt en word thans uitgegeeven: [...] J.A.K. Colizzi, Airs Choisis des Opera's Françaises Accomodés pour deux Violons, ou deux Mandolines à f 1-16. Voorn. Is meede te bekomen te Amsterdam bij J.J. Hummel [...]" See [Rasch 2015](#), p. 4.

¹³² See Annex 1, item [94](#).

¹³³ See the following six advertisements: 1. *Amsterdamse Courant*, 25 & 26 (27 & 29 February 1776), 2. *Amsterdamse Courant*, 46 (16 April 1776), 3. *Amsterdamse Courant*, 144 & 145 (30 November & 3 December 1776), 4. *Rotterdamse Courant*, 29 (8 March 1777), 5. *Rotterdamse Courant*, 32 & 33 (15 & 18 March 1777), 6. *Amsterdamse Courant*, 42 (8 April 1777). See [Rasch 2015](#), p. 7, 15, 33, 42–3.

¹³⁴ See Annex 1, item [114](#). NB: Panerai includes the mandolin in his print *Principi di Musica. Teorico-Pratici* (1770), Florence, on p. 7 ("Scala per il Violino, e Mandolino").

shows a more substantial sonata.¹³⁵ Interesting about these two prints is that they mark the transition from the solo sonata to a written keyboard part.¹³⁶ The prints are also both dedicated to noblewomen in Florence.¹³⁷ It can be presumed that there was an active interest in the mandolin in these circles and that this triggered the output for mandolin by Pagani. This is another confirmation of the amateur context as well as education of noble (wo)men. Though printing mandolin music was short-lived in Florence, it is proof that even in Italy people were finding a market for it. Both prints mention the mandolin first and violin as an alternative. Although the music is not very idiomatic, both sonatas are suitable for mandolin and do not show violin-specific techniques. Most likely the inclusion of the violin was again commercially motivated, as often in upcoming mandolin printing centres.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [114](#), [120](#).

London: post 1750

One of the more interesting mysteries still to unravel is the story of the mandolin in England. Only a few sources have been found while London was a major music printing centre in the 18th century. Besides the known sources offered by Paul Sparks in his PhD and his subsequent publication with James Tyler (*The Early Mandolin*),¹³⁸ he also recently added some more sources in an article in *Early Music*.¹³⁹ This paper adds a few additional sources to that list.

Foremost, there are seven prints linked to the English guittar. The first two prints are published by John Walsh (*Forty select Duets, Ariettas and Minuets*, 1757)¹⁴⁰ and by James Oswald (*Eighteen divertimento's*, 1757).¹⁴¹ Both were prob-

¹³⁵ For more information, especially about Bolaffi, check my blog post about its discovery, see [Van Tichelen 14/07/2018](#) and Annex 1, item [120](#).

¹³⁶ For information about the suggestion that in prior mandolin sonatas bass parts were usually played on a viola, cello, violin or mandolin, see [footnote 28](#).

¹³⁷ Panerai : “Dedicata | Alla Nobil Donna La Signora | Teresa Lorenzani | Nata Medici | Dilettante”. Bolaffi: “Dedicate | Al Merito delle Sige Dame Fiorentine | Dilettanti di Musica”. Both taken from the title pages, see Annex 1, items [114](#), [120](#).

¹³⁸ See [Sparks 1989](#) and [Tyler & Sparks 1989](#).

¹³⁹ See [Sparks 2018](#).

¹⁴⁰ See [Van Tichelen 14/06/2018](#) about the discovery of the John Walsh print. Thanks to the British Library I have also been able to provide a modern edition of this volume. See Annex 1, item [11](#).

¹⁴¹ See [Goodin 2003](#), and Annex 1, item [12](#). The advert in the *London Chronicle* (21–3 June, p. 600) specifies that Oswald also sells “the best Guittars or Mandelins, carefully

ably originally meant for the English guittar,¹⁴² but the mandolin (slightly misspelled as “mandelin”) is mentioned as an alternative on the title page of both prints (besides cittern, flute and horn in the case of Walsh). The next print is *Miss Mayer* (1759) by Lapis and contains songs with guittar accompaniment with flute and mandolin as alternatives.¹⁴³ The next print of interest is by Giovanni Battista Gervasio, a book of *Airs* (1768?), for mandolin with other instruments (guittar, violin or flute) as alternatives.¹⁴⁴ Interestingly enough, there is a guittar book by Rudolf Straube which has music by Gervasio: *Three Sonatas for the Guittar [...] Likewise a choice Collection of the most Favourite English, Scotch and Italian Songs For one and two Guittars of different Authors* (1768). Straube, one of the major contributors to the repertory of the guittar, includes some “cantoncini” by Gervasio – songs with guittar accompaniment.¹⁴⁵ Nonnini’s *Six Italian Canzonets* (1783?) is another London print, and it is set for voice with accompaniment by

fitted, by an eminent Master; with Directions for tuning them. Likewise Strings of all Kinds, and the newest Music, both vocal and instrumental.”

¹⁴² There is only circumstantial evidence – there are no chords or other indications that might be considered idiomatic. However, there are some clues that seem to indicate the guittar was the main target of the prints. First of all, the range never goes below the lowest string of the guittar. (As counterexample, in the *Airs* mandolin/guittar print by Gervasio, originally composed for mandolin, the lower notes go beyond the range of the guittar, see Annex 1, item 46.) There is also the choice of keys: nothing is very odd for the mandolin, but the key of C major is chosen way more than usual in mandolin repertory. Furthermore, in the Walsh print the title page has “guittar” much larger than mandolins or cittars. Guittars is also the first word on the title page (though that is not always a good indication as the French mandolin prints prove).

¹⁴³ See Van Tichelen [14/06/2018](#). Though I have in the meanwhile obtained permission to publish a modern edition, this is yet to be published. See Annex 1, item 14.

¹⁴⁴ I have traced a surviving copy of this volume and have obtained permission for a modern edition. An article about this discovery including the editions will be published later. Interestingly enough, this source, combined with manuscript pieces found in Sweden (see [Van Tichelen 10/08/2014](#)) seem to suggest there might have been a second book of *Airs*. Gervasio visited England and likely followed up successful concerts by teaching and selling a print, similar to what he seems to have done in France and the Netherlands (though it’s not yet proven beyond doubt he was involved in the Colizzi prints, see chapter [‘The Hague: 1770s’](#)). See also [footnote 145](#) for the Straube 1768 print containing songs by Gervasio. See Annex 1, item 46, 51.

¹⁴⁵ See Annex 1, item 51. [Straube 1768](#), p. 43–4. (Cantoncina “Cosi tiranna” & Cantoncina “Signorine Zitelline vivolette maritar”). As these are so close in style, even in accompaniment, there can be little doubt they were originally written by Gervasio for mandolin and adapted by Straube.

harpsichord, and alternatively accompaniment for English guittar, harp or mandolin (and bass).¹⁴⁶ Another print from the late period in London is the volume by Cesare Mussolini, the *Six Songs and Minuets* (1790?) for guittar or mandolin with the accompaniment of harpsichord and/or violin.¹⁴⁷

There are only three English mandolin-related prints without a link to the guittar, and three adaptations. The first is entitled *Six Easy Evening Entertainments* (1765?) for violins/mandolins with bass by Giovanni Gualdo.¹⁴⁸ The next two mandolin-related prints without guittar link were composed “by an African” (Sancho?) for violin, mandolin or flute with harpsichord: *Minuets Cotillons & Country Dances* (1767) and *Minuets &c &c* (1767?).¹⁴⁹ There is also a possibility that Gervasio printed his *Sei Duetti* (1776?) in London.¹⁵⁰ Next we have to consider the only Paris mandolin method to be translated in English, Leone’s *A Complete Introduction to the Art of playing the Mandoline* (1785).¹⁵¹ There are also two adaptations of mandolin music. First Stabilini’s harpsichord and violin arrangement of his *Favourite Minuet* for mandolin (ed. by Domenico Corri, 1785?).¹⁵² And last but not least, Bortolazzi moved back to England before emigrating to Brazil.¹⁵³ He printed a keyboard adaptation of his mandolin and guitar *Favourite Waltzes & Trios* (1807–1811), claimed to have been performed before the royal family.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁶ It was also advertised in Paris, but the only preserved volume in fact is a London print but with a Paris distributor (Leduc) pasted over the bottom of the title page. Interestingly enough the advertisement has a different distributor: *Journal de Paris*, 4/12/1783, p. 1389 (“chez M. de Roulede”). There are a lot of references to Nonnini performing as a singer in the same journal.

See Annex 1, item [109](#). The accompaniment does not always fit the guittar very well as it goes below the range.

¹⁴⁷ See Annex 1, item [113](#).

¹⁴⁸ Dating after library catalog GB-Lbl. See Annex 1, item [28](#).

¹⁴⁹ See Annex 1, items [42](#), [43](#). Likely originally for violin.

¹⁵⁰ See Gervasio in chapter [‘Vienna: 1800–1820’](#) as it seems currently presumed printed in Vienna. I only found references in Longman & Broderip catalogues and the setting of the print bears resemblances to Longman & Broderip prints. As there is probably more need of further study to conclude this, I have held the Gervasio duets located in Vienna. See [footnote 177](#) & Annex 1, item [100](#).

¹⁵¹ As any translation or reprint, this source was not counted, as only original prints were counted. See Annex 1, item [45](#).

¹⁵² See title page of Stabilini, Annex 1, item [112](#).

¹⁵³ See [Budasz 2015](#).

¹⁵⁴ See title page of Bortolazzi, Annex 1, item [135](#).

Clearly, the English prints tell a different story than the continental sources. The violin is mentioned but much less. There is however a high number of interactions with the guitar. From around 1790 on there are also some adaptations to keyboard who seem to indicate a decline of interest in the mandolin. There is also a difference in style: most continental sources are in the modern Italian style. In England, the music in the mandolin-related prints shows a prominence of folk dances, quite different from the ‘Italian-inspired’ mandolin duets and sonatas on the continent.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [11](#), [12](#), [14](#), [28](#), [42](#), [45](#), [46](#), [51](#), [64](#), [109](#), [112](#), [113](#), [135](#).

Leipzig: 1800s

From 1800 onwards, some new mandolin-related printing centres emerged or rose to fame in Germany and Austria. The only German one that favours the mandolin occasionally is Leipzig.¹⁵⁵ Bortolazzi published some music (opus 8, *VI Variations sur l'air Nel cor più non mi sento*¹⁵⁶ & opus 9, *Sonate pour le Piano-Forte avec accompagnement d'une Mandoline ou Violon*,¹⁵⁷ both printed 1804), as well as his method *Anweisung die Mandoline von selbst zu erlernen* with Breitkopf & Härtel (also 1804)¹⁵⁸ after his prints in Vienna and before his *XII Favorite Waltzes & Trios* print in London (1807–1811). Bortolazzi proclaimed his love of the Cremonese type¹⁵⁹ though his method and the rest of his music, of course, can equally be played on the Neapolitan type (or even the Milanese mandolin).

¹⁵⁵ Through looking for preserved sources, as well as from the secondary sources (such as a collective catalog like [Whistling 1817](#), or advertisements in Austrian or German papers), we are aware of most of the output in Germany and Austria. Unfortunately, it seems the only publishing house in Leipzig to favor the mandolin was Breitkopf & Härtel. The only other German based print is a Simrock reprint of Bortolazzi's opus 16 (wrongly reprinted as opus 10, 1807?, see Annex 1, item [129](#)). Vienna is a case on its own and will be discussed in a separate chapter ‘[Vienna: 1800 to 1820](#)’. Simrock and some other German printers also (re)printed some of Bortolazzi's non-mandolin works.

¹⁵⁶ See Annex 1, item [131](#).

¹⁵⁷ See Annex 1, item [132](#).

¹⁵⁸ See Annex 1, item [134](#).

¹⁵⁹ [Bortolazzi 1804](#), p. 3 (and especially footnote **).

Breitkopf & Härtel also had some further mandolin-related prints. Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787) was published in 1801.¹⁶⁰ The 1799 edition of Mozart's songs with keyboard accompaniment also holds one of his mandolin songs.¹⁶¹

An interesting observation can be made in Bortolazzi's opus 8: whilst it mentions mandolin and violin alike on the title page "Mandoline ou Violon", the part itself only lists "Mandolino" and has no articulations for bowing. This fits quite well with a printing centre which publishes its first mandolin music (see also Lyon, Paris, The Hague etc). The alternative instrumentation of the violin is put in to increase the potential market.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [124](#), [126](#), [131](#), [132](#), [134](#).

Lisbon: 1790s

Through some secondary sources so far ignored, I was able to trace several mandolin-related prints originating in Lisbon. No less than five prints are advertised in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*. The first advertisements mention João da Mata de Freitas as the composer of a *Sonata nova para o Mandolino* (1793),¹⁶² followed by a *Sonata de dous mandolinos* (1793).¹⁶³ Marcos Antonio [da Fonseca Portugal], contributed in the same year with *Perdoar com condições* (1793), with an accompaniment for two mandolins.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ See Annex 1, item [126](#). Mozart 1801, p. 319–21, aria "Deh, vieni alla finestra" (KV 527).

¹⁶¹ See Annex 1, item [124](#). Mozart 1799, p. 96, song "Die Zufriedenheit" (KV 349) in adapted keyboard version.

¹⁶² *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 2/3/1793, 2nd supplement, p. 4: "Na Real Fabrica, e Impresão de Musica no largo de Jesus se estampou ultimamente huma *Sonata nova para o Mandolino*, composta por João da Mata de Freitas." See Annex 1, item [115](#) (lost).

¹⁶³ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 16/3/1793, 2nd supplement, p. 4: "Na Cidade do Porto, em casa de Trausehe e Companhia, Negociantes Alemães, na rua das Flores, se acha huma *Sonata de dous Mandolinos* para o uso de S. A. R. a Senhora D. Carlota Joaquina, Princesa do Brazil, composta por João da Mata de Freitas." See Annex 1, item [116](#) (lost).

¹⁶⁴ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 31/8/1793, 2nd supplement, p. 4: "Na Real Fabricana Impresão de Musica no largo de Jesus se continúa a assignatura para o Jornal de Modinhas; e fahirão á luz os Numeros 1., 2., 3. e 4.: o Numero 2 se intitula a *Doce união de Amor*; e o Numero 4, *Perdoar com condições*, ambas com acompanhamento separado de dous mandolinos, compostas por Marcos Antonio. Quem quizer mandar abrir ou eslampar Musica, Mappas de Geografia, Cartas maritimas, ou outras quaesquer Estampas; pode fallar com o Mestre da dita Fabrica." See Annex 1, item [117](#).

Not long afterwards, another two prints appeared: *Duetto a dous mandolinos ou violinos tirado das obras de Pleyel* (1794) by José Forlivesi¹⁶⁵ and *Variações de Marlborough para Mandolino ou Flauta* (1794) by Marchal.¹⁶⁶ It is not entirely unexpected as there are several manuscripts with mandolin music linked to the Portuguese royal court.¹⁶⁷

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [117](#), [119](#), lost: [115](#), [116](#), [118](#).

Vienna: 1800 to 1820

Paris left aside, Vienna is the most industrious printing centre for mandolin music (active in the early 19th century).¹⁶⁸ No less than 18 prints were published, mostly for mandolin and guitar. Some are also for keyboard with the accompaniment of a mandolin, a genre which reappeared after its first and short manifestation in Florence in the 1790s,¹⁶⁹ and to which the *Grande Sonata* (1810) by Johann Nepomuk Hummel¹⁷⁰ and the *Sonata* (op. 3, 1813) by Vincent Neuling contributed.¹⁷¹ (Bortolazzi's keyboard sonata op. 9 though probably originating from Vienna was printed in Leipzig.¹⁷²) Sonatas like these are more commonly

¹⁶⁵ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 27/9/1794, 2nd supplement, p. 2: “Duetto a dous Mandolinos, ou Violinos, tirado das obras de Pleyel, e huma Aria intitulada Amor Timido, com acompanhamento de Viola, ou Cravo, composta por José Forlivesi; e a Moda nova de Hei de amar, com acampanhamento de Viola, e Cravo, do mesmo Author : achão-se em casa de Pedro Anselmo Marchal, no largo de Jesus”. See Annex 1, item [118](#) (lost).

¹⁶⁶ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 1/11/1794, 2nd supplement, p. 2: “Aria Il mio-Ben dell’Opera de Nina cantando pelo Caporaline, com acompanhamento de Cravo, arranjado por P. A. Marchal: e las *Variações de Marlborough para Mandolino ou Flauta*, com acompanhamento de Violino e Basso, as quaes obras se achão na Real Impressão de Musica de P. A. Marchal, no largo de Jesus.” See Annex 1, item [119](#).

¹⁶⁷ For example, the pieces by Epifanio Lo Forte, such as the *Minuetti Per Due Mâdolini* (P-Ln, M.M. 4810), online <http://purl.pt/14648> (16/04/2020) (ca. 1770), the variations by Davide Perez for the royal princesses (1773), see facsimile: [Perez 1773](#), or the quartet by Totti (1793), see [Van Tichelen 17/03/2018](#).

¹⁶⁸ This is already quite clear when looking at a historical bundled catalog such as [Whistling 1817](#), p. 39, 238–40, 263–4. As this catalog bundles the contemporary output of prints for mandolin from the early 19th century, it immediately clear that The Hague and Leipzig are dwarfed by the Viennese mandolin-related prints.

¹⁶⁹ See chapter ‘[Florence: 1790s](#)’ and Annex 1, items [114](#), [120](#).

¹⁷⁰ See Annex 1, item [136](#).

¹⁷¹ See Annex 1, item [143](#).

¹⁷² See chapter ‘[Leipzig: 1800s](#)’ and Annex 1, item [132](#).

found in manuscripts, but at least there are five Firenze, Leipzig and Vienna printed keyboard sonatas with mandolin accompaniment.¹⁷³

The mandolin and guitar duet volumes are quite numerous (11) and suggest that this was a new fashion which enjoyed some popularity in Vienna. First to print in Vienna for this combination seems to have been François de Zucconi, with his *Variations* (1801).¹⁷⁴ Bortolazzi also had at least two volumes printed in Vienna: *6 Variations pour la Mandoline avec accomp. de Guittarre sur une pièce tirée du Ballet Alcina* (1802) and his *Variations opus 16* (1803), before choosing Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.¹⁷⁵ Leonhard von Call contributed four prints: *Variations opus 8* (1803), *Variations sur l'Air qui dove vide Laura* (1804–5), *Sonate Concertante opus 108* (1811) and *Variations opus 111* (1812).¹⁷⁶ Charles baron d'Aichelbourg (Karl Stefan Freiherr zu Aichelburg) also provided plenty of volumes: *Pot-Pourri concertante opus 1*, *Variations Concertante opus 2*, *Notturmo Concertante opus 3* and *Variations concertante sur la theme favorit de l'Opera Dite Schweizer Familie opus 4* (all 1812).¹⁷⁷ The guitar part is often limited to easy accompaniment, but in the case of Zucconi and Aichelbourg, the guitar part is often more intricate.

A special case of mandolin prints in Vienna is the *Notturmo* (1799) for mandolin with strings and horns by Leopold Neuhauser, which seems lost.¹⁷⁸ Though there is some Viennese music where the mandolin participates in a large ensemble in manuscript, this is the only known Viennese print for larger instrumentation than the mandolin-guitar or mandolin-keyboard duets.

¹⁷³ The manuscript sources are outside the scope of this paper, but I can announce I will publish a blog article on some early 19th century mandolin keyboard sonatas I discovered.

¹⁷⁴ See my blog post which includes a modern edition of this previously thought lost volume: [Van Tichelen 21/06/2018](#) and Annex 1, item [125](#).

¹⁷⁵ See Annex 1, item [129](#), lost: [127](#). The opus 16 volume was reprinted by Simrock in Bonn (1807?) with a wrong opus number (10 instead of 16). There is also a manuscript that contains a copy of a print which seems to have been from Bortolazzi (or von Call), see Annex 1, item [128](#).

¹⁷⁶ See Annex 1, items [130](#), [133](#), [137](#), [138](#).

¹⁷⁷ Andreas Grün's research on these prints links the pieces with the famous guitar virtuoso Mauro Giuliani. Grün managed to find opus 2 to 4 in full. I have been able to retrieve opus 1 but have yet to publish about this volume on my blog. For Grün's research see [Grün 2006](#). See Annex 1, items [139](#), [140](#), [141](#), [142](#).

¹⁷⁸ See Annex 1, item [123](#) (lost). Mentioned in [Gerber 1813](#), p. 575. Also mentioned in [Traeg 1799](#), p. 33. For me it remains in doubt whether this really was a print, or rather just available in manuscript copy. But as it is currently listed by some sources as a print, it has been taken up in this paper.

There are also some mandolin duets printed in Vienna. The first is by Gervasio, *Sei duetti* (1776?) but it can be questioned whether it was printed in Vienna.¹⁷⁹ The prints by Giovanni Hoffman, two *Duetti* (1799), form a special case as these are for the Milanese mandolin.¹⁸⁰ It seems that the Neapolitan mandolin did not entirely overshadow the Milanese mandolin everywhere, and some manuscripts from Vienna are backing this up. Some other sources also seem to confirm this, even Mozart's *Don Giovanni* aria "Deh, vieni alla finestra" might have been indicated for the Milanese type.¹⁸¹

We can conclude from these sources that Vienna was a major centre of mandolin music publishing and that chamber music of mandolin with guitar or piano became an established genre. Unfortunately, the interest in the mandolin declined rather fast, as from 1813 onwards no new mandolin-related prints emerge. Most likely the instrument went out of fashion as in many other places at that time.

Relevant sources (based on date/place) by item number in Annex 1: [100](#), [121](#), [125](#), [128](#), [129](#), [130](#), [133](#), [136](#), [137](#), [138](#), [139](#), [140](#), [141](#), [142](#), [143](#), lost: [122](#), [123](#), [127](#).

¹⁷⁹ See Annex 1, item [100](#). I put the currently often used estimated date (1785 – see Tyler & Sparks 1989, p. 157) in doubt. I found a reference in [Giordani 1776](#), p. 117, in a catalogue of Longman & Broderip with „Duets for Violins or Mandolins [...] Cauciello Op. 2, & 3 Mandolins ea [...] Gervasio Op. 5 Mandolins“ & [Schwindl 1780](#), violin part p. 14, in a catalogue of Longman & Broderip with „Duets for Violins or Mandolins [...] Cauciello Op. 2, & 3 Mandolins ea [...] Gervasio Op. 5 Mandolins“. So far, the print was always listed as Viennese. The Longman & Broderip catalogues make it less likely to me, especially as the print bears some resemblances to other Longman & Borderip prints.

¹⁸⁰ See Annex 1, items [121](#), lost: item [122](#).

¹⁸¹ The idiomatic writing for the Milanese mandolin is quite clear as each phrase in the beginning bars starts exactly on an open string, and the fingering stays almost the same for each phrase, just switching from string to string. You can also play the whole tune without changing to a higher position, whilst on Neapolitan mandolin you need to move up to third position very early on, which is rather uncommon in the 18th century (apart from some pieces by Leone). Though probably created for Milanese mandolin, it is quite likely the piece was already performed on Neapolitan (and/or Cremonese) mandolin in the 18th century because of the interchange between the two types. NB: By linking this famous aria to the Milanese type, I do not make statements about a specific mandolin type used in the other mandolin pieces within the Austrian empire. NB2: I was not the first or only scholar to notice this, though it does not seem mentioned in most mandolin history articles and books.

Conclusions

The fact that mandolin manuscripts only very seldomly enter alternatives might be for the obvious reason that they were usually written for a specific occasion or ensemble. In such circumstances, there is usually no need to provide alternative instrumentation. In the case of mandolin-related prints, however, commercial motives are clearly an important reason for mentioning other instruments. Several prints were likely originally either written for the mandolin or another instrument, yet they mention other instruments on title pages and/or advertisements. Commercial aspects are universal through all printing centres with output for mandolin from the 17th until early 19th century. This makes it more difficult to draw conclusions about (in)tolerance towards other instruments. Still, some composers and editors took the effort to create or adapt the printed music to make it a better fit for more than one instrument. This is a big argument in favour of interchange. Even if this was commercially inspired, it is still a big step towards an acceptance of the printed music in another instrument's repertory.

The most interesting cases of this phenomenon can be seen with the violin in continental Europe (especially France during the 1760s and 70s) and the English guittar in England. For most other instrumental settings there are not enough sources to draw decisive conclusions (though the flute and pardessus have a plausible case). The mandolin methods also seem to reinforce the relationship with the violin.

There might be some specialization – or 'intolerance' – assumed in the case of the prints intended solely for mandolin. It started around 1767, with the publication of several mandolin methods in Paris. This was soon followed by mandolin-specific music prints. But by large those do not seem to prove 'intolerance', in fact, they suggest a maturity of mandolin printing rather than intolerance. Mandolin related prints mentioning other instruments continued, even by people also printing mandolin-specific volumes. Similarly, we need to consider that only Paris achieved a considerable amount of mandolin-only prints. Other centres such as London, Leipzig, Vienna, Lisbon and Florence fell short. Any possible intolerance is hence short-lived and cannot be extrapolated. It seems that the 'appetite' towards new Italian vocal and instrumental music on the European continent overcame any possible intolerance. The tolerance and intolerance towards Italian instrumental music was very tightly linked with mandolin and violin alike. Besides the violin, there are some plausible cases for the flute

and pardessus. In contrast, in England, the closest link is not with the violin but with the English guittar, without the association of a new Italian style of music.

Though there is a case of adaptation of vocal parts for mandolin, it only goes one-way and cannot be interpreted as a real interaction. It cannot be denied though, that the voice is important in mandolin-related prints until the early 19th century. Examples are the mandolin arias, the 'airs choisis' prints, but also lots of instrumental music inspired by vocal originals, from variation sequences to sonatas and duets. Other instruments seem to lack a significant number of sources to be claiming an active interchange and tolerance in both directions. In short, the cases of tolerance and interchange with the violin and English guittar appears genuine, and plausible for flute and pardessus. Hopefully, awareness of the context and complexity of the situation, as explained in this paper, will help musicians and scholars to judge to what extent tolerance can be assumed for individual pieces.

Annex 1 Primary sources: Mandolin related music prints prior to 1850

Legend

Dotted underline: no preserved copy found so far (based on secondary sources)

Bold instrument name: print targets mandolin solely

Gray encased: surviving copy found recently; research ongoing and/or publication pending

Remarks

Not all of the surviving copies mentioned in case of multiple surviving copies were checked in person. Sometimes these extra copies were listed based on reference works such as RISM or online catalogues. Alas, not all catalogues were recently updated, available online or perfect, and even such musicological reference works as RISM contain a few mistakes (quite a few in case of the mandolin). It has also been my experience that items sometimes move, and libraries sometimes close and their content sold. Hopefully maintaining this list might move towards an online reference repertorium. I welcome corrections to the list which can be sent through the contact form on my blog (where I propose to maintain the first online version).¹⁸²

Items not preserved were put in based on secondary sources – usually advertisements. Dating of all items is based on secondary sources such as advertisements or catalogues; if no secondary sources provide dating estimations in literature or library catalogues are used (marking the uncertainty with question marks).¹⁸³

The only item not included which could be (at least partially) seen as a mandolin-related print is the bundle of duets and sonatas by Palesi.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² <http://www.vantichelen.name> – I plan to move this specific effort to a dedicated website later, separate from my research blog articles. I also promise to add all references on which the dating is based, for which there was not enough space and time in order to publish this article.

¹⁸³ Dating is often based on my own research, crosschecked with reference works and the excellent work by Didier Le Roux ([Le Roux s.d.](#)).

¹⁸⁴ See [Van Tichelen 16/04/2019](#). There are some indications that this bundle was in preparation for a print. But as only the title and dedication pages are in print, and all music is in manuscript, it was excluded.

Mandolin-related prints

<u>Nr</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Composer, editor</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Preservation sigla</u>	<u>Instrumentation</u>
1.	Paris	1578	Brunet	<i>Tablature de mandore</i>	/.	“mandore”
2.	Paris	1585	Le Roy	<i>L'Instruction pour la mandorre</i>	/.	“mandore”
3.	Paris	1629	Chancy	<i>Tablature de mandore</i> (RISM A/I C 1841)	F-Pn	“mandore”
4.	Rome	1677	Cantarelli ed Ricci	<i>Sonate nuove di mandola con una ghirlanda di varie villanelle raccolte</i> (RISM BVI ² II: 702)	D-Bim F-Pn GB-Lbl	“mandola”
5.	Milan	1681	Motta	<i>Armonia capricciosa di sonate musicali da camera, con alcune ariette per balli allo stile francese. Opera prima.</i> (RISM A/I M 3828)	I-Bc	No specific instrument listed (mentioned on title page and elsewhere are “chitarra spagnuola, liuto, violino, violone, mandolino di quattro, ò cinque, ò sei corde”)
6.	Rome	ca. 1720 ?	Boni	<i>Divertimenti per camera</i> (RISM A/I B 3490; BB 3490)	I-Bc US- LAKool e US- PHu US- PRV	“a violino, violone, cimbalò, flauto, e mandola”
7.	Londra	ca. 1730 ?	de Fesch	<i>XX Canzonette</i> (RISM A/I F 548)	B-Bc GB-Lbl US-AA US-Wc	“a Voce Sola di Soprano, Col Basso Continuo da potersi suonare Con Violino, Flauto Trav. ^{ra} è Mandolino”
8.	Rome	ca. 1730 ? (repr Paris 1750)	Valentine	<i>Sonate</i> (RISM A/I V 81)	B-Bc F- Pn GB- Lbl I- Pac I- Rsc NL- DHnmi	“Per il Flauto traversiero, col Basso Che possono servire per violino, mandola, et oboé”
9.	Florence	1744	Capponi	<i>Sonate da Camera per vari strumenti</i> (RISM A/I C 924)	A-Wgm D-BNsa GB-Lbl I-Fc US-Wc	“vari strumenti” but inner frontispiece has a picture containing Milanese mandolin, violin, flute, cello and someone singing

10	Paris	1754 –5	Anonymous (Sodi?) ¹⁸⁵	<i>Le prix des talens</i>	F-Pn	“prélude de mandoline”
11	London	1757	Walsh	<i>Forty select Duets, Ariettas and Minuets</i>	GB-Lbl	“for two guitars, mandelins [sic] or cittars [...] These Airs are also proper for two German Flutes or French Horns”
12	London	1757	Oswald	<i>Eighteen divertimento’s</i>	GB-Lbl GB-Ob GB-P US-IO	“for two Guitars or two Mandelins [sic]”
13	Paris	1758 ?	Merchi	<i>Sei duetti [...] opera II.</i> (RISM A/I M 2283)	F-Pn	“à deux violini, ô pardessus de viole” but later printing catalogues list the print as mandolin or violin duets
14	London	1759	Lapis	<i>Miss Mayer. A new Guittar book in 4 Parts Viz Italian, French, English Airs, and Duets</i> (RISM A/I L 667)	GB-Lbl	“Guittar book [...] for Voice accompanied with the Guittar and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord [...] These Airs & Duets may be play’d on the German Flute and Mandolin”
15	Lyon	1761 (repr. Paris 1779)	Leone	<i>30 variations en dispute</i> [no opus number, reprint 1779 “Oeuvre.4”]	L	“à deux Violons, qui peuvent se jouer sur le Pardessus, la Mandoline et la Harpe.”
16	Paris	1762 (repr 1764, 1774 –5)	Leone	<i>Duo</i> [sic, no opus number, possible reprint 1774–5 has “Opera 3” but likely opus numbering specific to the re-edition] (RISM A/I L 1978, RISM A/I L 1979)	F-Pn I- Nc	“pour deux Violons Qui peuvent se jouer sur la Mandoline et sur le par-Dessus”
17	Paris	1762	Prota, Eterardi, Cornielli, Cantone ed.	<i>Les petites récréations de la campagne 1.^{er} livre Contenant VIII Duetti</i>	Blog publication	“à deux Violini o Mandolini”

¹⁸⁵ Sodi is not mentioned in any source linked to this performance, but it’s an educated guess as he was working regularly at the Comédie Italienne and had written a parody and ballet in 1753, see [footnote 20](#).

Mandolin-related prints

			by Anony- mous		plan	
18	Paris	1763	Anonymous	<i>Les petites récréations de la campagne 2</i>	/	No advertise- ments found, likely same as vol 1. & 2 (2 vio- lins, (pardessus), or mandolins)
19	Paris	1761 —4	Merchi	<i>Sei trio [...] Opera IX</i> [first title page mentions “ <i>Opera V</i> ”, but later title page seems to have the correct one] (RISM A/I M 2286)	GB-Lbl S-Skma S-Vil	“A Due Violini e Basso” alter- native title page “A Due Violini e Basso ò Due Mandolini”
20	Paris	1764	Denis	<i>Six duos</i>	US-NH	“pour deux mandolines Qu’on peut exé- cuté avec le Vio- lon ou par des- sus de Viole Et les deux derniers [sonates] sur la Vielle et Mu- sette”
21	Paris	1764	Maio, Bar- bella, Giuli- ano, Hasse, Gaetano, ed. by Anony- mous	<i>Les petites récréations de la cam- pagne III^e livre. Contenant VI Duetti</i>	US-BE	“a 2 Violons Pardessus ou Mandolines [...] On peut les exé- cuter sur la Flutte [...]”
22	Paris	1765	Scirola, Rag- iola, Mancin- elli, Barbella, Eterardi, Con- forto, ed. by Anonymous	<i>Les petites récréations de la cam- pagne IV^e livre. Contenant VI Duetti</i>	F-Pn	“a 2 Violons Pardessus ou Mandolines [...] On peut les exé- cuter sur la Flutte [...]”
23	Paris	1765	Denis	<i>Six sonates</i> (RISM A/I DD 1646a)	F-Pn	“pour mando- line et basse On peut les executer sur le Clavecin et ne sont point difficiles sur le Violon”
24	Paris	ca. 1765 ?	Cifolelli	<i>Méthode</i> (This is a questiona- ble source, as it is entered only from quite late second- ary sources. Might be the re- sult of confusion with one of the preserved mandolin methods.)	/	“ mandoline ”
25	Paris	1765 (repr. 1766)	Fouquet (Fouchetti)	<i>Six Duos</i> [no opus number]	/	“pour 2 mando- lines, 2 violons ou 2 pardessus de violes”.

26	Paris	1765	Anonymous	<i>Le Festin de l'Amour</i>	F-Pc ¹⁸⁶	“à 4 parties, voix seule, harpe, guitare, mandoline, violons, ou clavecin et basse”
27	Paris	1765	Anonymous	<i>Les Projets de l'Amour</i>	/.	“avec les mêmes accompagnemens?” (as the <i>Festin de l'Amour</i> , hence “à 4 parties, voix seule, harpe, guitare, mandoline, violons, ou clavecin et basse?”)
28	London	1765 ?	Gualdo	<i>Six Easy Evening Entertainments</i> (RISM A/I G 4788)	GB-Ckc	“two Mandolins or two Violins with a Thoroug Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello”
29	Paris	ca. 1760 –70?	Déduit	<i>Couplets à une dame très aimable</i>	F-LA	“avec accompagnement de Mandoline our de Violon pizzicato”
30	Paris	1766	Merchi	<i>Six Duos</i> (Likely <i>Sei Duetti</i> originally as the Merchi's normally used Italian titles but the advertisement has a French title)	/.	“à deux Mandolines ou Violons ou Par-dessus de viole?”
31	Paris	1766	Anonymous	<i>Les petites récréations de la campagne. V^e livre</i>	/.	No advertisements found, likely same as vol 3 & 4 (a. 2 violins, pardessus, or mandolins, flute(s))
32	Lyon	1766 (repr Paris 1767 –8)	Veginy	<i>Sei duetti notturni</i> (RISM A/I V 1091; VV 1091)	F-Pn GB-Ckc GB-Lbl	“Flauto traverso e Mandolino o due Violini o pardessus di Viola”
33	Paris	1767 (2nd edition 1768)	Leone	<i>Six sonates</i> [without opus number, not reprinted in the 1770s; to clarify this is best referred to as Leone sonatas volume 1, not via	F-Pn 2 nd edition 1768; Blog	“de Mandoline et Basse Arrangées au mieux pour le Violon” (1767) “de Man-

¹⁸⁶ Though I have traced an existing copy of *Le Festin de l'Amour*, and have requested a reproduction, at the date of publication I have yet to receive a reproduction to study.

Mandolin-related prints

				opus numbers] (RISM A/I L 1977)	publi- cation plan	doline et Basse Marquées des signes suivant la Nouvelle Methode” (2 nd edition 1768)
34	Paris	1767 (repr. 1769 ?)	Dingli ed Denis	<i>Sei sonate</i> (RISM A/I D 3113)	F-Pn	“per Due Vio- lini, ò Mandoli- ni, ò Altri Istromenti”
35	Paris	1767	Gervasio	<i>Méthode très facile Pour ap- prendre à jouer de la Mandoline à quatre cordes Instrument fait pour les dames</i> (RISM A/I G 1678)	US-Wc	“Mandoline”
36	Paris	1767	Anonymous	<i>Les petites récréations de la cam- pagne. VI. livre</i>	/.	“a. 2. Violons Pardessus ou Mandolines”. (. flute(s)?)
37	Paris	1767	Miroglio	<i>7. Suite des Amusemens des Dames. Duo [...] Oeuvre II.</i>	/.	“pour 2. Vio- lons. Mando- lines ou Par-des- sus de viole.”
38	Paris	1767	Mr ***	<i>Huitième Suite des Amusemens des Dames. Petits airs en duo</i> [Announced for blog publi- cations: edition]	US- WGw	“pour deux Vio- lons, Mando- lines, ou Pardes- sus de Violes”
39	Paris	1767	Canabich	<i>6. Sonate en duo</i>	/.	“pour 2. Violons, 2. Par-dessus, 2. Flûtes ou 2 Mandolines”.
40	Paris	1767	Ruge	<i>Duetti</i>	F-TLm	“due flauti traversi, o due mandolini, o vi- olini” but inner title page reads: “due flauti traversi, o due mandolini, o vi- olin e alto di vi- ola”
41	Paris	1767 -8	Gaëtan	<i>Recueil de menuets</i>	/.	“à deux Man- dolines”.
42	London	1767	Anonymous “composed	<i>Minuets Cotillons & Country Dances</i> ¹⁸⁷	GB-Lbl	“for the Violin, Mandolin, Ger-

¹⁸⁷ Dating of this and the next volume “by an African” is based on the indications from the library (GB-Lbl) who claim Ignatius Sancho is the composer and that he paid for in 1767 to have the first volume to be printed. See <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/minuets-cotillons-and-country-dances-by-ignatius-sancho> (09/04/2020)

			by an African” Sancho?			man Flute & Harpsichord”
43	London	1767	Anonymous “compos’d by an African” Sancho?	<i>Minuets &c &c [...] Book 2^d</i>	GB-Lbl	“for the Violin Mandolin German Flute and Harpsichord”
44	Paris	1768 (repr 1788)	Denis	<i>Méthode Pour apprendre à Jouer la Mandoline Sans Maître [vol. 1] (RISM A/I D 1645)</i>	A-Wn F-Pn GB-Lbl	“Mandoline”
45	Paris	1768 (2 nd ed. 1768, repr 1773, transl . in En. 1785)	Leone	<i>Methode Raisonnée Pour passer du Violon à la Mandoline et de l’archet a la plume ou le moyen de Jouer Sans maître en peu de temps par des Signes de Convention assortis à des exemples de Musique facile. Contenant XXIV Airs dansants [...] VI Minuets Avec accompagnement II. Duo I. Sonate [...] Et plusieurs Airs Connus Variés [1773 reprint:] Opera 1^o likely specific to re-edition] (RISM A/I L 1980, RISM A/I L 1981, RISM A/I L 1982, RISM A/I L 1983)</i>	B-Br F- Pn GB- Ob GB- Lbl NL- DHmi D-DO D-KA US-BE US-SB US-Wc English translation: B- Br GB- Lbl GB- Ob US- Wc US- NYp	“Mandoline”
46	London	? (ca. 1768)	Gervasio	<i>Airs [...] Interspersed with Songs in an Easy & Familiar Taste [...] Opera III. (RISM A/I G 1679; GG 1679)</i>	Blog publi- cation plan	“for the mandoline guitar violin or Ger: Flute”
47	Paris	1768	Anonymous	<i>Les petites récréations de la campagne. VIII^e livre</i>	/.	“a 2 Violons Pardessus ou Mandolines”. (flute(s)?)
48	Paris	1768	Anonymous	<i>Les petites récréations de la campagne. VIII^e livre</i>	/.	“a 2 Violons Pardessus ou Mandolines”. (flute(s)?)
49	Paris	1768	Anonymous	<i>Les petites récréations de la campagne. IX^e livre</i>	/.	“a 2 Violons Pardessus ou Mandolines”. (flute(s)?)
50	Paris	1768	Anonymous	<i>Les petites récréations de la campagne. X^e livre</i>	/.	“a 2 Violons Pardessus ou Mandolines”. (flute(s)?)
51	London	1768	Gervasio ed Straube	<i>Three Sonatas [...] With an Addition of two Sonatas [...] Likewise a choice Collection of the most Favourite English, Scotch and Italian Songs For one and two Guittars of different</i>	GB-Cu	[English] guitar [some songs by Gervasio likely originally for mandolin and adapted for guitar]

				<i>Authors Properly adapted for that instrument</i>		
52	Paris	1768 (repr variations 1776)	Barbella ed Leone & Leone	<i>Six sonates [...] Avec un Sujet Varié en XXIV. Manieres [no opus number for either, variations reprinted as part of variations in 1776 "Oeuvre 4"]</i>	US-SB	"[for the Barbella sonatas] A Violon et Basse [...] [for the variations] Utile pour les amateurs de la Mandoline"
53	Paris	1768	Teleschi	<i>Trois sonatines</i> (RISM A/I T 458)	GB-Lbl	"à deux Mandolines ou Violons"
54	Paris	1768	Anonymous ed Bordet	<i>Recueil d'Airs, Ariettes, Vaudevilles, Romances, Menuets, Imitation du Menuet d'Exaudet, &c. auxquels on a joint la Marche des Gardes-Francoises & des Gardes-Suisses</i>	/	"pour 2 violons, Pardessus de violes ou Mandolines"
55	Paris	1768	Mr ***	<i>Dixième Suite des Amusemens des Dames, composees de plusieurs Allemandes nouvelles & Menuets en duo</i>	/	"pour deux Violons, Par-dessus de viole ou Mandolines".
56	Paris	1768	Leone	<i>Minuets</i>	/	"pour mandoline".
57	Paris	1769	Roeser	<i>Six sonates [...] Oeuvre III</i> (RISM A/I R 1869)	F-BO F-Pn GB-Lbl S-KA US-PHu	"Deux Violons et Basse qui peuvent s'exécuter sur la mandoline"
58	Paris	1769	Mazzuchelli	<i>Un Air connu varié &c arrangé.</i>	/	"pour la Mandoline et Basse".
59	Paris	1769	Bürckhoffer	<i>Sei duetti [...] Opera V (Raccolta Dell'Harmonia Collezione Trentesima Ottava Del Magazzino Musicale) [M only]</i>	Blog publication plan	"Mandolino e Violino O due Violini"
60	Paris	1769 (repr 1788)	Denis	<i>Seconde partie de la Méthode Pour apprendre à jouer de la Mandoline Sans Maître Avec des Variations sur douze petits airs de la Comédie Italienne, et six Menuets pour danser, six Allemandes, et un Prélude d'Arpeggio sur chaque ton de Musique</i> (RISM A/I D 1645)	B-Br F-Pn GB-Lbl	"Mandoline"
61	Lyon	1769	Fantiny	<i>Six duo. [sic] [...] Op. Ia</i>	/	"pour deux Violons, Mandolines, ou Pardessus de viole"
62	Lyon	1769 (repr.	Anonymous	<i>Duo.</i>	/	"pour Violon ou Mandoline".

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		Paris 1770)				
63	Paris	1769 (repr 1788)	Denis	<i>Recueil de douze petits Airs de chants connus, des plus à la mode [...] pour ceux qui voudront s'accompagner</i> (RISM A/I D 1642)	F-Pn GB- Lglen S- Skma	“avec deux dif-ferens accom-pagnemens de Mandoline”
64	London	ca. 1765 –75?	Barbella ed Leone	<i>Six duets</i> (RISM A/I B 892)	F-Pn	“for two vio-lins”
65	Paris	1762 – 1777	Riggieri	<i>Six duo [sic] [...] et six sonates [...] Oeuvre I^e</i> (RISM A/I R 1532; RR 1532)	D-B F- Pn GB- Lbl	“A Deux Man-dolines [...] Mandoline, et Basse Qu'on peut executer avec le Violon, et le Pardessus de Viole”
66	Paris	1762 – 1777	Riggieri	<i>Airs italiens chantés a la comedie italienne Menuets et Sonates en Duo [...] Oeuvre II^e</i> (RISM A/I R 1533)	F-Pn GB-Lbl	“Pour la Man-doline, Qui peu-vent s'exécuter sur le Violon, et le Pardessus de Viole”
67	Paris	1762 – 1777	Riggieri	<i>Six duo [...] Oeuvre III^e</i> (RISM A/I R 1534)	F-Pn GB-Lbl	“A Deux Man-dolines Qu'on peut executer avec deux Vio-lons ou deux Pardessus de Viole”
68	Paris	1762 – 1777	Riggieri	<i>Menuets, allemandes et petits al-legro, six sonates [...] avec six sonates [...] Oeuvre IV^e</i> (RISM A/I R 1535)	F-Pn	“A Deux Man-dolines ou Violon [...] A Man-dolines ou Violon”
69	Paris	1762 – 1777	Riggieri	<i>La Fustemberg Variationi N° 10</i> (RISM A/I R 1536)	F-Pn US-Wc	[No specific instrument but “da Mr. Riggieri Maestro di Mandolino” and idiomatic for mandolin]
70	Paris	1770	Fouquet (Fouchetti)	<i>Six Duos [...] composés dans le goût Italien [...] Opera II^e</i>	/	“pour deux Vio-lons ou deux Mandolines”
71	Paris	1770	Papavoine	<i>Recueil d'airs choisis de l'Am-bigu-Comique mis en duo [...] Oeuvre V</i> (RISM A/I P 872)	Blog publi-cation plan	“Deux Violons” but advertise-ments mention “deux Violons ou Mandolines”
72	Paris	1770 (repr 1788)	Denis	<i>Second recueil De petits airs de chants les plus à la mode [...] et les Folies d'Espagne avec des</i>	F-Pn GB-	“avec accom-pagnement de Mandoline”

Mandolin-related prints

				<i>Variations faciles</i> (RISM A/I D 1643)	Lglen S-Skma	
73	Paris	1770	Cramer	<i>Petit air</i> [in <i>Journal de Musique</i> , June 1770]	See Minkoff reprint	“Mandoline ou Violon”
74	Paris	1770	Framery	<i>Romance Le tems n'est plus</i> [in <i>Journal de Musique</i> , August 1770]	See Minkoff reprint	“Mandoline”
75	Paris	1770	Cifolelli	<i>Ariette Non! Laisse-moi Lucas</i> [in <i>Journal de Musique</i> , September 1770]	See Minkoff reprint	“Mandoline” plus voice and bass parts
76	Paris	1770	Anonymous	<i>Petite pièce de Mandoline</i> [in <i>Journal de Musique</i> , November 1770]	See Minkoff reprint	“Mandoline”
77	Paris	1770 (repr 1788)	Denis	<i>Troisième recueil de petits airs de chants les plus nouveaux de la Comédie Italienne</i> (RISM A/I D 1644)	F-Pn GB-Lglen S-Skma	“avec accompagnement de Mandoline”
78	Paris	1770 (repr 1788)	Denis	<i>Quatrième Recueil de petits airs de chants de la Comédie Italienne [...] & le menuet d'Exaudet, varié sur différens tons</i>	/.	“avec accompagnemens de la Mandoline”.
79	Paris	1771	Carpentier	<i>Méthode distribuée par leçons pour apprendre en peu de temps à jouer de l'instrument appelé cytre ou guitthare allemande</i>	F-Pm F-Pn F-Psg NL-DHnmi	“cytre ou guitthare allemande” but several pieces have an additional accompaniment for “mandoline ou violon”
80	Paris	1770 -1	Fouchetti	<i>Méthode Pour apprendre facilement à jouer de la Mandoline à 4 et à 6 Cordes. Dans la quelle on explique les differents coups de plume nécessaires pour cet Instrument. On y a joint six Serenades et six petites Sonates</i>	B-Bc F-Pn I-Bc	“Mandoline à 4 et à 6 cordes”
81	Paris	1771	Mahoni (“dit le Berton”)	<i>Deuxième Recueil de Duo, tirés des Ariettes des Opera-comiques</i>	/.	“arranges pour deux Flûtes, ou deux Violons, deux Mandolines ou deux Pardessus”.
82	Paris	1771	Fouchetti	<i>Recueil De Jolis Airs choisis dans les Opera Comiques</i> (RISM A/I F 1546)	NL-DHnmi	“deux mandolines ou violons”
83	Paris	1771	Grétry	<i>Oeuvre V Lex: deux avares Opéra Boufon</i> (RISM A/I G 4079; GG 4079)	A-Wn B-Bc B-Br and several others	“Mandolini ad libitum”
84	Paris	1771 -2	Fridzeri	<i>6. Sonates</i>	/.	“pour mandoline”.

85	Paris	1772	Mahoni ("dit le Berton")	<i>Troisième Recueil de Duo tiré des Ariettes des Opéra-Comiques</i>	L.	"arrangées pour deux Violons, deux Mandolines, ou deux Par-dessus."
86	Paris	1772	Corrette	<i>Nouvelle Méthode Pour apprendre à Jouer en très peu de tems la Madôline [sic] ou les principes sont démontrés si clairement, que ceux qui Jouent du Violon peuvent apprendre deux mêmes [...] avec des Preludes, Menuets, Allemandes, Marches et Sonates, avec la Basse, pour ces deux Instruments [also includes Cittern tutor]</i>	F-Pn	"Madôline" [sic]
87	Paris	1772 -3	Barbella ed Verdone	<i>Six Duos</i> (RISM A/I B 884)	F-Pn [M1&2 only] US-Wc	"deux Violons ou deux Mandolines Avec une Basse ad Libitum [...] mais il faudra executer la Basse sur un Alto"
88	Paris	1773 (repr 1788)	Denis	<i>Troisième Et dernière Partie de la Méthode Pour apprendre à Jouer de la Mandoline Sans Maître, Contenant la manière facile de S'accompagner Soimême en Chantant et de broder Les passages d'un Air. De plus le cinquième Recueil de petits airs de la Comédie Italienne avec l'accompag.' de Mandoline, Et d'autres Airs avec des Variations</i> (RISM A/I D 1645)	A-Wn B-Br	"Mandoline [...] à deux Mandolines"
89	Paris	1773	Corrette	<i>XXIV Concerto comique contenant La Marche de Huron avec Les Ariettes Comme L'Amour Soyons Enfans, On dit qu'a 15 ans, on plaît, on aime, on se mair</i>	GB-Lbl	"pour les Violons, flutes, Haut-bois, pardessus, Mandolines, Alto, avec la Basse Obligée pour le Clavecin"
90	Paris	1773	Denis	<i>Les IV. Saisons Européennes. Premier recueil. Contenant les meilleurs morceaux de Chant, avec leurs accompagnements qui ont été donnés l'année dernière sur les Théâtres d'Italie, d'Allemagne, d'Angleterre & de Paris, & notamment sur le Théâtre de la Comédie Italienne.</i>	L.	"avec des parties l'accompagnement faits pour les différents instrumens, comme Harpe, Guitarre, Mandoline, Violon et Flute."

91	Paris	1774	Denis	<i>Les IV Saisons Européennes Second recueil Contenant les meilleurs morceaux de Chant, avec leur accompagnements qui ont été donnés l'année dernière sur les Théâtres d'Italie, d'Alle- magne, d'Angleterre & de Paris, & notamment sur le Théâtre de la Comédie Italienne</i>	B-Bc	“avec des parties l'accompagnement faits pour les differens instrumens, comme Harpe, Guitarre, Mandoline, Violon et Flute”
92	Paris	1777	Lavallière	<i>Six Sonates en duo. [...] on- zième. œuvre (original print: RISM A/I L. 1122)</i>	L.	“pour le Tambourin accompagnées d'une violine. [sic] seul [...] elles peuvent s'exécuter sur le Violon, Flûte, Hautbois, Clarinette, Pardessus de viole, Mandoline, Guitarre, & sur la Vielle & Musette?”
93	Paris	1774 –5	Leone	<i>Six sonates [...] Oeuvre II</i> [opus numbering differs from other publications is not universal; it's clearer to speak of Leone sonata volume 2. This is likely not a reprint and may be a replacement for the first volume of sonatas] (RISM A/I LL 1977a)	GB-Lbl	“Mandoline avec la Basse”
94	The Ha	1776 p ¹⁸⁸	Colizzi	<i>Concerto</i> (RISM A/I CC 3365a)	D-MÜu S-Smf	“a Violino concertante ò Mandolino Due Violini di Ripieno Violetta Due Corni ad Libitum e Basso”
95	The Ha	1776 189	Colizzi	<i>Airs Choisis Des Operas Français</i> (RISM A/I C 3369)	D-Fmi	“Pour Deux Violons ou Deux Mandolines?”
96	Paris	1776	Giuliano, ed. Raymond	<i>Sei sonate cantati per camera [...] op. 1.</i>	L.	“a violino e bassa ossia mandolino & viola?”

¹⁸⁸ Dated to 1776 similarly to item [95](#).

¹⁸⁹ See [footnote 129](#) for advert on which the date is based.

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97	Lyon	1776	Cauciello	<i>Sei Duetti [...] opera II.*</i> (RISM A/I C 1536; CC 1536)	F-Pthi- bault [M1 only] D- B	“Per Due Vio- lini o vero Man- dolini”
98	Paris	1776	Mazzuchelly	<i>Recueil Des plus agreables ariettes et airs tires de La Colo- nie, D’Iphigenie, et D’Orphée</i>	F-Pn [M2 only]	“Pour deux Mandolines”
99	Paris	1776	Carpentier	<i>IV^{me} Recueil d’airs de toute es- pèce et trois suites de pieces [...]</i> <i>entremelés d’Ariettes</i> (RISM A/I CC 1236 I,6)	F-Pm F- Pn F- Psg GB- Lbl NL- DHnmi	“Avec Violon obligé où Man- doline [...] Avec accompagnement pour le cy- thre où la guit- thare alle- mande”
100	Vienna (/Lond	1776 ?	Gervasio	<i>Sei duetti</i> (RISM A/I G 1680; GG 1680)	I-TSmt RUS- Mrg	“per due man- dolini”
101	Paris	1777	Fargere	<i>Sei sonate</i> [3 duets and 3 sona- tatas with bass] (RISM A/I FF 96 I,1)	F-Pn	“per il mando- lino, O per il Vi- olino”
102	Paris	1777 –8	Gervasio	<i>Six sonates.</i>	∟.	“pour Mando- line ou Violon et Basse”
103	Lyon	1776 – 1779	Cauciello	<i>Sei Duetti op. 3</i>	∟.	“Sei Duetti per due Violini o Vero Mando- lini” [Taken from the Breitkopf cata- logue. See Breitkopf.1780. see also foot- note 128.]
104	Paris	1778	Mazzuchelli	<i>Recueil d’ariettes tirées des plus nouveaux Opéras & Opera-co- miques des meilleurs Auteurs [...] Recueil II.</i>	∟.	“arrangées pour deux Mandolines”
105	Paris	1778	Grétry	<i>Les amant jaloux: Comédie en trois Actes [...] Oeuvre XV</i>	CZ- Pnm US- CHH US- PRV	“Florival, deux Violons une Basse, deux Mandolines derrière la Scene”
106	Paris	1778 –9	Fouchetti	<i>Recueil d’airs choisis dans les derniers Opera. & de divers Au- teurs.</i>	∟.	“avec accompa- gnement de Mandoline ou de Violon”
107	Lyon	ca. 1780 ?	Demachi	<i>3 Trio</i>	∟.	“pour 2 man- dolines et basse”

Mandolin-related prints

108	Paris	1780 -1	Carpentier	<i>VIII^e Recueil De petits Airs de tout genre, entremel� d'Ariettes choisies</i> (RISM A/I CC 1236 I,11)	F-Pm F-Pn F-Psg	“avec accompagnements oblig�s de Guitarre Allemande ou Cythre et de Violon ou Mandolinne [sic]”
109	Londor (Paris?)	1783	Nonnini	<i>Six Italian Canzonets [...] Op. 1st</i>	I-Bc	“for a Single Voice Which may be Accompanied either by the Harpsichord, Guitar, Harp or Mandolin”
110	Paris	1783	Mazzuchelli	<i>3^e Recueil d'Ariettes choisies</i>	/.	“avec accom- pagnement de mandoline”.
111	Paris	1785	Paisiello ed. Framery	<i>Le Barbier de Seville Opera comique en quatre Actes</i>	B-Bc CDN- Lu DK- Kk F- CN F- Pn GB- Ohard- ing I- BGc I- Nc US- CHH	“Mandolino solo”
112	Londor	1785 ?	Stabilini ed Corri	<i>The Favorite Minuet With Variations and a Jigg [...] With Additional Variations by Sig. Corri</i>	GB-Ckc ZA- STusmb	“as Performed on the Mandolino by Sig. Stabilini [...] Adapted For the Harpsichord” [also contains violin part]
113	Londor	ca. 1790 ?	Mussolini	<i>Six New Songs and Six Minuets [...] With a New Pastoral air</i> [some with two voices and bass, some voice and bass] (RISM A/I M 8246)	GB-Lbl US- CHH	“Properly Adapted for y ^e Guittar and Mandolin With Accompaniment for the Harpsichord & Violin [...] Each of these Minuets and Songs for conveniency are also Calculated to be Play'd singly upon any of the above Instruments”

114	Florence	1790	Panerai	<i>Suonata decimaquarto</i> (RISM A/I P 843)	I-PS	“Per Cimbalo a piano-forte e Mandolino o Violino obbligato”
115	Lisbon	1793	João da Mata de Freitas	<i>Sonata nova</i>	∕.	“ para o Mandolino ”.
116	Lisbon	1793	João da Mata de Freitas	<i>Sonata</i>	∕.	“de dous mandolinos”.
117	Lisbon	1793	Marcos Antonio [da Fonseca Portugal]	<i>Perdoar com condições</i>	P-Ln	“com acompanhamento separado de dous mandolinos”
118	Lisbon	1794	José Forlivesi	<i>Duetto [...] tirado das obras de Pleyel</i>	∕.	a dous mandolinos ou violinos
119	Lisbon	1794	Marchal	<i>Variações de Marlborough</i>	(manuscript copy of piano version in P-Ln)	“para Mandolino ou Flauta”
120	Florence	1794	Bolaffi	<i>Suonata Prima</i>	DK-Kc	“Cimbalo a piano-forte, con Accompagnamento d’un Mandolino, o Violino”
121	Vienna	1799	Hoffman	<i>Duetti [...] Op 1</i> (Artaria plate number 811, RISM A/I H 6249)	A-Wmi A-Wst GB-Lbl	“per il Mandolino, e Violino”
122	Vienna	1799	Hoffman	<i>Duetti [...] Op. 2</i>	∕.	“per il Mandolino, e Violino”.
123	Vienna	1799?	Neuhauser	<i>Notturmo per il mandolino</i>	∕.	“per il mandolino. V. A. 2 Cor. E. Vc. e.”
124	Leipzig	1799	Mozart	<i>XXX Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i> (RISM A/I M 7316; MM 7316, Breitkopf & Härtel plate number 2263)	F-Pn [and many more]	[One of these songs is originally for mandolin, Die Zufriedenheit]
125	Vienna	1801	Zucconi	<i>VI Variations</i> (Joseph Eder plate number 90, RISM A/I ZZ. 364 1,5)	D-LÜh	“pour la Guitarre, et Violon, ou Mandolin”
126	Leipzig	1801	Mozart	<i>Il Dissoluto Punito ossia Il Don Giovanni</i> <i>Dramma giocoso in due Atti</i> (RISM RISM A/I M 4502; MM 4502)	A-M, A-SF, A-Sm, A-Wgm, A-Wn [and many more]	“mandolino”

Mandolin-related prints

127	Vienna	1802	Bortolazzi	<i>6 Variations [...] sur une pièce tirée du Ballet Alcina</i> ¹⁹⁰	L.	“pour la Man- doline avec ac- comp. de Guit- tarre.”
128	Vienna	ca. 1800- 1805 ?	Anonymous [likely Bortolazzi or von Call]	[no title – a manuscript copy of a print] <i>Thema Var. I-XII</i>	A-Wn (shelf- mark Mus. Hs. 14973)	“Mandolino ò Violino Gui- tarra”
129	Vienna print B	1803 (re- print 1807 ?) ¹⁹¹	Bortolazzi	<i>Six Themes avec Variations [...] Oeuvre 16</i> [original print Bureau d’Arts et d’Industrie, plate number 455, 16 can be misread as 10 in the original print, later reprint has Ro- man wrong numeral X – Simrock reprint plate 527 has a wrong number “10”]	CZ- Pnm D- B D- Budka D-Mbs D-Tu	“pour le Violon ou la Mandoline avec accompa- gnement de la Guitarre”
130	Vienna	1803	von Call	<i>Variations [...] Oeuvre VIII</i> (Bureau d’Arts et d’Indus- trie, plate number 141)	A-Wn CZ- Pnm I- OS	“pour la Mando- line ou le Violon et la Guitarre”
131	Leipzig	1804	Bortolazzi	<i>VI Variations sur l’air Nel cor più non mi sento de l’Opera La Molinara [...] Oeuv. 8</i> (Breitkopf & Härtel plate number 198)	CZ- Pnm D- Tu	“pour la Mando- line ou le Violon avec accompa- gnement de la Guitarre” [man- dolin part only has “Mando- lino”]
132	Leipzig	1804	Bortolazzi	<i>Sonate [...] Oeuv. 9</i> (Breit- kopf & Härtel plate number 205)	A-Wgm D-Tu	“pour le Piano- forte avec ac- compagnement d’une Mando- line ou Violon”
133	Vienna	1804 –5	von Call	<i>Variations [...] sur l’Air qui dove ride Laura [...] Op. 25</i> (Bureau d’Arts et d’Indus- trie plate number 470, RISM A/I: [CC 72a I, 47])	A-Wn	“pour la Mando- line ou le Vio- lon et la Gui- tarre”

¹⁹⁰ Published by Artaria, advertised in *Wiener Zeitung* (11/09/1802).

¹⁹¹ See *Gnädigst Privilegirtes Leipziger Intelligenz-Blatt, in Frag-und Anzeigen: Für Stadt-und Land-Wirthe, zum Besten des Nahrungsstandes. Auf das Jahr 1807*, p. 311. This advertisement announcing the arrival of “Neue Musikalien, welche in der Rostizschen Kunsthandlung in Auerbachs Hofe angekommen” has the same wrong opus number as the Simrock reprint. Though it’s not proof by far that the Simrock reprint is from 1807, it’s currently best clue to date the reprint. [Whistling 1817](#) is the first clear proof of the Simrock reprint.

134	Leipzig	1804	Bortolazzi	<i>Anweisung die Mandoline von selbst zu erlernen nebst einigen Uebungsstücken</i>	B-Br D-B D-Mbs F-Pn GB-Lbl I-BGc NL-DHnmi US-NYp	“Mandoline”
135	London	1807 – 1811 ¹⁹²	Bortolazzi	<i>XII Favorite Waltzes & Trios</i>	GB-Lbl	“For the Piano Forte As Performed by the Author on the Mandolino”
136	Vienna	1810	Hummel	<i>Grande Sonata</i> (Maisch plate number 364)	A-Wn D-WRz GB-Lbl PL-Wn	“per il Clavicembalo o Piano Forte con accompagnamento di Mandolino o Violino obbligato”
137	Vienna	1811	von Call	<i>Sonate Concertante [...] Oeuvre 108</i> (Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique plate number 1626, RISM A/I CC 72a I,154)	A-Wn A-Wst D-B	“pour Guitarre et Mandoline ou Violon”
138	Vienna	1812	von Call	<i>Variations [...] Oeuvre 111</i> (Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique plate number 1754, RISM A/I CC 72a I,155)	GB-Lbl	“pour mandoline our violon et guitarre”
139	Vienna	1812	Aichelbourg (Giuliani)	<i>Pot-pourri concertante [...] Oeuvre 1</i> (Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique plate number 1969)	Blog publication plan	“pour la mandoline ou violon et guitarre”
140	Vienna	1812	Aichelbourg (Giuliani)	<i>Variations concertante [...] Oeuvre 2</i> (Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique plate number 1970)	HR-Zh	“pour la Mandoline ou Violon et Guitarre”
141	Vienna	1812	Aichelbourg (Giuliani)	<i>Notturmo concertante [...] Oeuvre 3</i> (Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique plate number 1971)	HR-Zh	“pour la Mandoline ou Violon et Guitarre”

¹⁹² Dating is not exact, but I have been able to correct it slightly. Bortolazzi was in London on several occasions. He was certainly in London from 1801–3 (so I previously estimated in ca. 1802). Often neglected (also by me in my first date estimation) is the fact that Bortolazzi returned there for some years around 1806, before he emigrated to Brazil. He printed quite a number of volumes (for guitar & vocal) in London during this second stay, so it is most likely dated between 1807 and 1811. See also [Budasz 2015](#), p. 123.

142	Vienna	1812	Aichelbourg (Giuliani)	<i>Variations concertante [...] Oeuvre 4</i> (Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique plate number 1972)	A-Wn	“pour la Mandoline ou Violon et Guitarre”
143	Vienna	1813	Neuling	<i>Sonata [...] Oeuvre 3</i> (Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique plate number 2114)	D-TU I-Mc	“pour le Clavecin et Violon ou Mandoline”

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