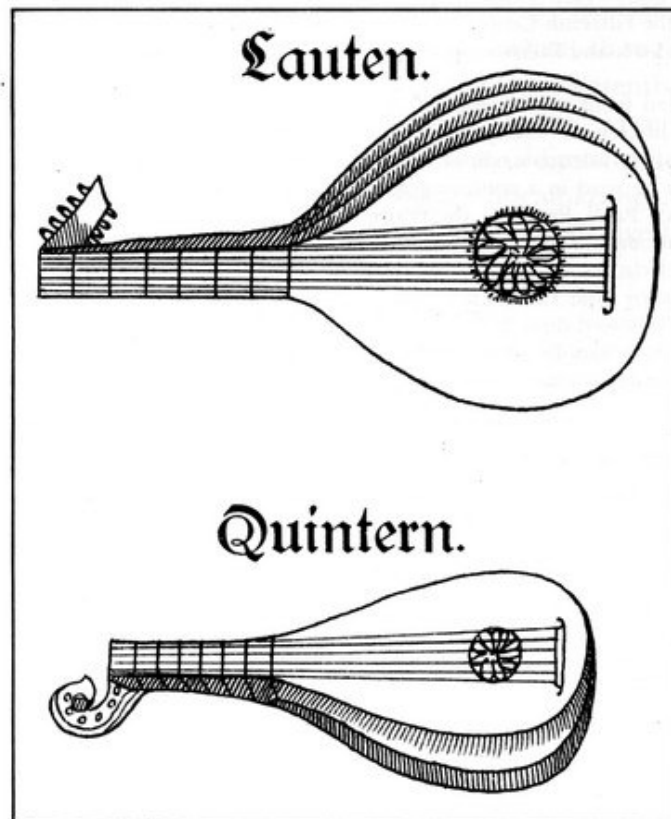


The mandore in the 16th and 17th centuries

James Tyler



1 Lute and mandore ('Quintern'), from M. Agricola, *Musica Instrumentalis Deusch* (Wittenberg, 1528, enlarged 1545)

Often when one consults the majority of today's standard reference works on instruments, one comes away confused by the jumble of information, usually rehashed accounts of entries from other standard reference works published earlier in the 20th century, which generally treat instruments as caged specimens quite divorced from the music which was written to be played on them.

Using the practical experience of having correlated, studied and played through their surviving repertoires, it is my aim in this article to try and dispel some of the confusion surrounding the important family of treble lute-type, gut-strung instruments called 'mandores' and 'mandolini'. I hope to show that there was an instrument in the 16th and 17th centuries which was fairly consistent in its physical properties, tuning characteristics and playing technique, typically called the 'mandore',¹ that this instrument was particularly associated with northern Europe (especially, as we shall see, France) and seems to have become obsolete by the end of the 17th century; and that in Italy this same, gut-strung instrument, known in the 16th century by the generic term 'mandola', was developed by the mid-17th century into an instrument with its own distinct tuning, technique and music, and became known by the specific term 'mandoline'. This instrument is not to be confused with the relatively modern, metal-strung, Neapolitan instrument, tuned like a violin, which is the standard mandolin of today. The old-style mandolin ('mandolino'), tuned in 4ths, has a long and fascinating history and a repertoire which includes

¹ Later, in the 18th century, there was a larger instrument, very like the modern guitar in its tuning (though still having the shape of a lute), grounded in German baroque traditions, which was typically called the 'mandora'. I plan to discuss this instrument and its own special repertoire in a future article.

works by such composers as Vivaldi, Hummel and Beethoven.

Thanks to the brilliant research work done by Laurence Wright,² it is now known that the small, lute-like instrument of the Middle Ages called, until recently, the 'mandora' by modern writers, was originally called the 'gittern' (or etymological equivalents, such as the *quintern*). By the mid-16th century the terms 'gittern' (English) and *gitterne* or *guiterre* (French) became generally used for the small, four-course, renaissance guitar,³ but it was still also occasionally used (until well into the 17th century) for the instrument which, during the 16th century, became known as the 'mandore'.⁴

Under the name *quintern*, the mandore is familiar to us from the illustrations found in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511) and Martin Agricola's *Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch* (1528, enlarged 1545) (illus. 1). These writers say nothing specific about the instrument, however, and it is to the Spaniard Juan Bermudo that we must turn for the earliest information about it. In his *Declaration de instrumentos* (1555), Bermudo speaks of the *bandurria* (libro segundo cap. xxxii and libro quarto cap. lxxviii and lxxix) as having three strings in the fashion of a *rabél*. He also mentions that some players used frets and others did not, the instrument being so small that it was difficult to fret it so that it was well in tune. The three strings were tuned to the intervals, from highest to lowest, 5th and 4th or, the opposite, 4th and 5th. Bermudo gives no pitch names. As we proceed we shall see that these intervals are characteristic of the mandore. Bermudo also mentions that some players tuned in 5ths, and that there were other bandurrias with four and five strings. He does not describe the shape of the instrument but, as the bandurna shared the stringing of a *rabél*, it is possible that it also shared its shape. As we have no firm evidence from the 16th century as to what precisely a *rabél* was, however, we cannot be certain as to its shape.

In the 17th century, Sebastian de Covarrubias (*Tesoro de la lengua castellana* of 1611, f. 119) defined *rabél* as a three-stringed, bowed instrument all of one piece and high-pitched, and the bandurria as being like a little *rabél*, all in one piece and hollowed out.

The Spanish sources, then, seem to suggest that the early *bandurria*, a small lute- or rebec-like instrument with 5th and 4th tunings, was the mandore, though, as we shall see, four rather than three was the more expected number of strings for the mandore.

Contemporary information about the tuning of the instrument used in France appears in a manuscript of 1585⁵ which illustrates a four-course mandore and includes a chart in French lute tablature giving the following intervals: from the first (highest course) downward, a 5th, a 4th and a 5th. Specific pitches are not given. The first known music for the mandore, Pierre Brunet's *Tablature de Mandorre*, was published in Paris in 1578. Unfortunately this book is now lost, as is the next known publication, Adrian Le Roy's *L'instruction pour la mandorre* (Paris, 1585).⁶ Pertinent here is the information given by Pierre Trichet who, though writing in about 1640,⁷ states that he actually saw Le Roy's 1585 book, that Le Roy said the mandore originated with the people of Navarre and Biscay, whose instruments were somewhat larger, and that although some did not use frets, now (Le Roy's time) nine frets were common. It is worth noting Trichet's comment that Le Roy's instruments had four single strings.

Since we know that Adrian Le Roy's surviving books for the lute, guitar and cittern all had a great deal of repertoire in common (especially in the area of dance music), Le Roy often presenting the same pieces arranged to suit the particular instrument, it is possible, assuming the

² L. Wright, 'The Medieval Cittern and Citole: A Case of Mistaken Identity', *GS/30* (May 1977), pp. 8-42.

³ J. Tyler, 'The Renaissance Guitar 1500-1650', *EM* 3/4 (October 1975) and *The Early Guitar—A History and Handbook* (London, 1980), pp. 25-34.

⁴ Wright, op cit, p. 22, quotes Cotgrave's dictionary of 1611: 'Mandore—A Kitt, small Gitterne, or instrument resembling a small Gitterne'.

⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS fr.9152, f.166. This was prepared by Jacques Cellier between 1583 and 1587 to be presented to King Henri III, and contains drawings and information on several instruments as well as a whole range of other, non-musical subjects. See S. Jeans and G. Oldham, 'The Drawings of Musical Instruments in MS Add. 30342 at the British Museum', *GS/13* (1960), pp. 26-31.

⁶ Described in H. M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600. A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), under the headings [1578:] and [1585:].

⁷ *Traite des Instruments de Musique*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'abbaye Sainte-Geneviève (MS 1070), ed. F. Lesure (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1957).

missing mandore book was treated by Le Roy in the same fashion, and using both the information we already know about the instrument and that which follows, to reconstruct much of the music in the lost Le Roy book.⁸

The earliest source giving the mandore's specific tuning pitches is Michael Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum* of 1619. In a chart for the *mandürichen* on page 28, he gives the following three tunings, plus a fourth tuning on page 53:



Note that tunings one, three and four have the familiar 5th, 4th, 5th intervals, and tuning two, the 4th, 5th, 4th intervals, tuning combinations which relate to those of both Bermudo and Cellier (in his 1585 manuscript). To my knowledge, the mandore is the only plucked instrument of this time that used these tuning combinations.

Praetorius gives the following further information about the instrument:

Pandurina: Mandürichen. It is known by some as bandürichen, by others as mandoër or mandurinichen (because it is easy to handle and play). It is like a very little lute with four strings tuned thus: g d' g' d". Some are also strung with five strings or courses and go easily under a cloak. It is used very much in France where some are so practised on them that they play courants, voltes, and other similar French dances and songs as well as passamezzi, fugues and fantasias either with a feather quill as on the cittern or they can play with a single finger so rapidly, evenly and purely as if three or four fingers were used. However some use two or more fingers according to their own use. (p. 53)

Praetorius then gives an illustration of a *mandöraen* in his plate 16, which reveals it to be a very small, round-backed instrument with four strings, a sickle-shaped peg box and a string length of exactly half that of the neighbouring chorlaute (the standard lute). Praetorius' standard lute was tuned to g' suggesting that his tuning 1 at g" is the most appropriate for the instrument he illustrates as a mandore (*mandöraen*). Praetorius, then, gives us some idea of the tuning and playing technique of the mandore. But what music for the instrument actually survives?

To my knowledge, the earliest surviving music for the mandore is the sizeable collection of manuscripts in Ulm (Stadtbibliothek, Depositum Schermer, MSS 132, 132 Kapsel, 133a, 133b and 239).⁹ Collectively, these comprise over 314 folios of French tablature for a five-course 'mandour', dating from about 1625 to 1630, with the year 1626 marked in two of the manuscripts. The tablature requires an instrument with the intervals 5th, 4th, 5th, 4th (no pitches are given) and, because in many of the chords the notes to be plucked are not on adjacent strings, the music seems to be for a lute-like or finger-style right-hand technique rather than a plectrum technique.

The style of the writing is that of the melody in the treble with very sparse, rudimentary

⁸ The complete lute music of Adrian Le Roy is being made available in a modern edition by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris, 1962-). His guitar music has been published in a facsimile edition by Editions Chanterelle (Monte Carlo, 1979).

⁹ Not listed in *KISM* B/VII, W. Boetticher, *Handschriftlich Überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen* (Munich, 1978), but Boetticher briefly notes them in his article, 'Zur inhaltlichen Bestimmung des für Laute intavolierten Handschriftenbestands', *Acta Musicologica*, 51 (1979) pp. 199-200.

harmony, or suggestions of harmony, beneath. If we assume the pitch to be a high one, such as Praetorius' g", there are no true bass notes at all. This suggests a small melody instrument which, like a violin, can play unaccompanied if so desired, but which normally requires the support of at least one other instrument playing a bass line, or, better still, a small 'back-up' ensemble. In practice, this sort of treble plucked instrument makes an excellent 'melody' instrument in an ensemble, especially when playing dance music, and, in fact, the Ulm manuscripts consist almost exclusively of dance music and popular airs.

Although these manuscripts were evidently copied by a German, the bulk of the repertoire they preserve represents a valuable record of the music for the French ballets de cour and other pieces in use at the court of Louis XIII. Many well-known items are included, such as *En Revenant de St Nicolas* (also known as *more palatino*), *La Vignonne*, *La Vallette*, *Pantalon* and *Branle de village*. But the manuscripts also contain many ballets written for specific court occasions. An example is the *Ballet de Grenouille* (MS 133a, f. 32). In order to discover what that court occasion was one would first attempt to find concordances for the music, beginning with a search for any other surviving music with the same title. As it happens, music is known from a certain 'Ballet des Paysans et des Grenouilles danse le 28 juillet [1607]'; for example, the five-part setting preserved in Michael Praetorius' *Terpsichore* (1612).¹⁰ But a comparison of this piece with the mandore setting in the Ulm manuscripts reveals that the two pieces are unrelated.

However, in the same Praetorius collection one discovers an anonymous four-part 'ballet' (mod. edn. p. 163) which is the same music as the mandore setting. One can now add 'la Grenouille' to the title of this anonymous 'ballet'. The continuing search for concordances turns up a lute duet simply labelled 'ballet' in Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus*, 1603 (f. 150V-151), as well as several English lute sources the earliest of which (Cambridge University Library, D.d.9.33, f.57v) is dated c1600 and gives the title *la ballat desfolles*.¹¹ This suggests three things: first, that the title *Ballet de Grenouille* might be descriptive of the steps for a particular character dance in a more well-known ballet; secondly, that this well-known ballet might have been the *Ballet des Folles fait par MM. d'Auvergne et Bassompierre*, which Margaret McGowan dates from 1598;¹² and thirdly that our mandore piece from 1626 is actually a rather late version of a piece current nearly two generations earlier.

Other pieces of ballet music in the Ulm mandore manuscripts are the *Ballet du Roy*, *La Royale*, the *Ballet mormorami*, the *Ballet des nicolas*, the *Ballet du grand Turq*, and various other untitled ballets and 'entrees'.

The *ballets de cour* were not merely entertainments, but very important political functions and intriguing court rituals.¹³ Unlike the literary, historical and social aspects of the ballet from this early period, the music of the ballet has yet to receive a specific, extensive and up-to-date study. When such a study is undertaken, I have no doubt but that the Ulm mandore manuscripts will provide invaluable information on the subject.

References to certain important composers of ballet music and dancing masters at court occasionally occur in conjunction with the mandore. For instance, Jacques, Sieur de Belleville (died c. 1647), composer and 'conducteur des ballets' to Louis XIII from about 1615, was apparently a noted virtuoso on the mandore.¹⁴ Though Belleville's only surviving music is, as far as is currently known, some treble and bass ballet scores and 11 lute pieces, one would like to

¹⁰ Modern edition: *Opera Omnia*, 15 (Berlin, 1929), pp. 141-3. For further information on all the ballets of this period, see M. McGowan, *L'art du Ballet de Cour en France 1581-1643* (Paris, 1963).

¹¹ Other sources are: London, British Library, MS Add. 38539, f.20, 'ballet' (for lute); Haselmeere, Dolmetsch Library, MS II.B.I, f.137, 'ballet' (for lute); London, R. Spencer Library, Board Lutebook, f.43, 'a ballet'; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 31 H28 CLowther Lutebook', f.345, 'ballett'. This last is transcribed by A. Sabol as item 221 in his *Four Hundred Songs for Dances From the Stuart Masque* (Providence, R.I., 1978). See his notes for its possible use in English masques.

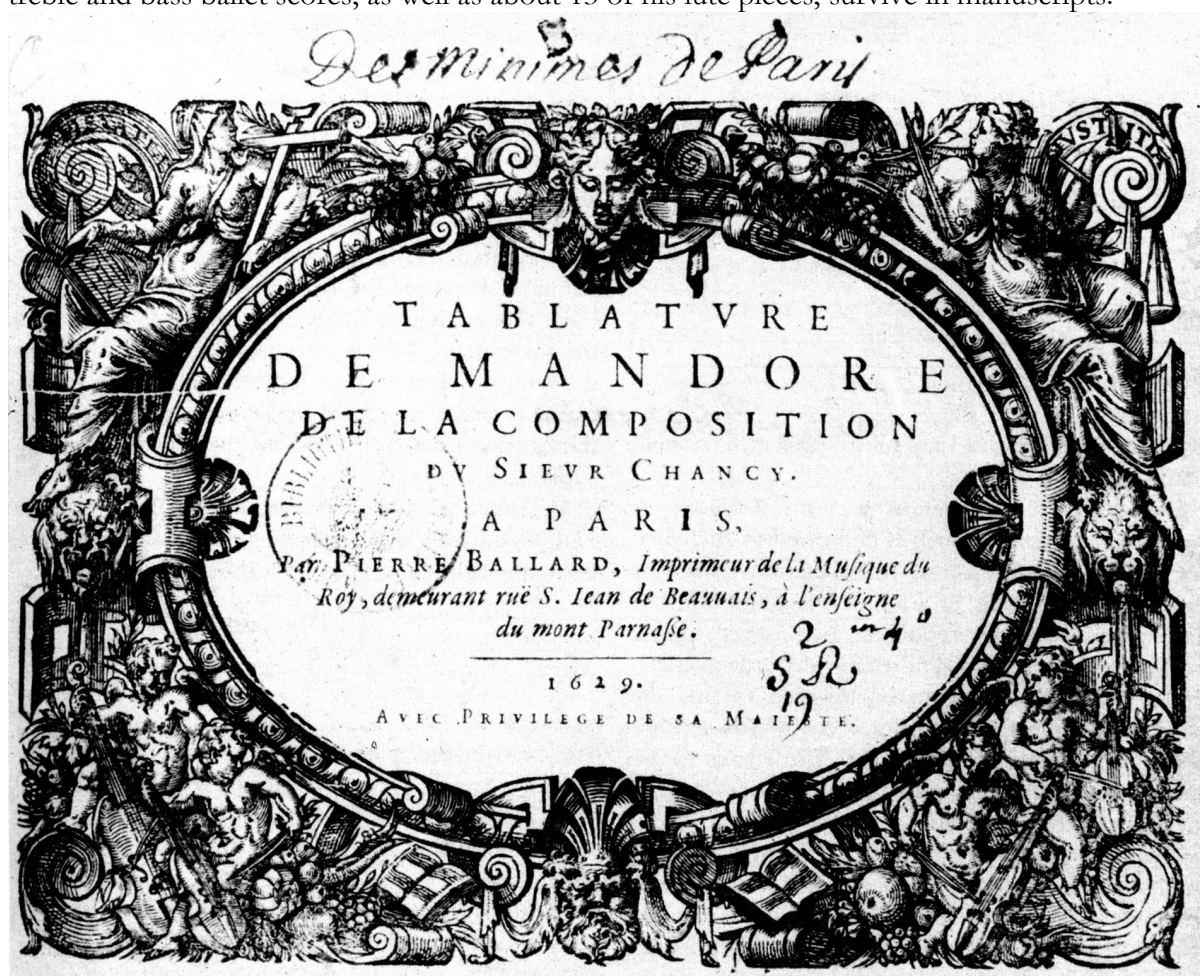
¹² M. McGowan, op cit, p. 255.

¹³ For a truly eye-opening account of the meaning and importance of the ballets see R. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King* (Ithaca and London, 1973).

¹⁴ His surviving lute music and biographical information are found in A. Souris and M. Rollin, *Oeuvres de Chancy, Bouvier, Belleville...* (Paris, 1967).

think that some of his mandore settings might possibly survive in the Ulm manuscripts. The same collection is also the earliest source for a piece by 'Bocan' (*branle du Baucane*), whose real name was Jacques Cordier (b1580). A colleague of Belleville's and one of the foremost dancing masters of his time, Bocan is first mentioned as supervising masques at the English court in 1610 and 1611, and later as tutor to the queens of Spain, Poland, Denmark and, of course, France. He was also a brilliant violinist and it was said that the famous '24 violins of the King' in Paris were 'les disciples de Bocan'.¹⁵

The *branle du Baucane* is also found in a mandore collection published by another important composer of both ballet music and airs de cour, François, Sieur de Chancy (d1656). Chancy had a long and eventful career at court, first in the service of the Cardinal de Richelieu and later as 'Maitre de la Musique de la Chambre du Roi'. He published many books of airs, and some of his treble and bass ballet scores, as well as about 13 of his lute pieces, survive in manuscripts.¹⁶

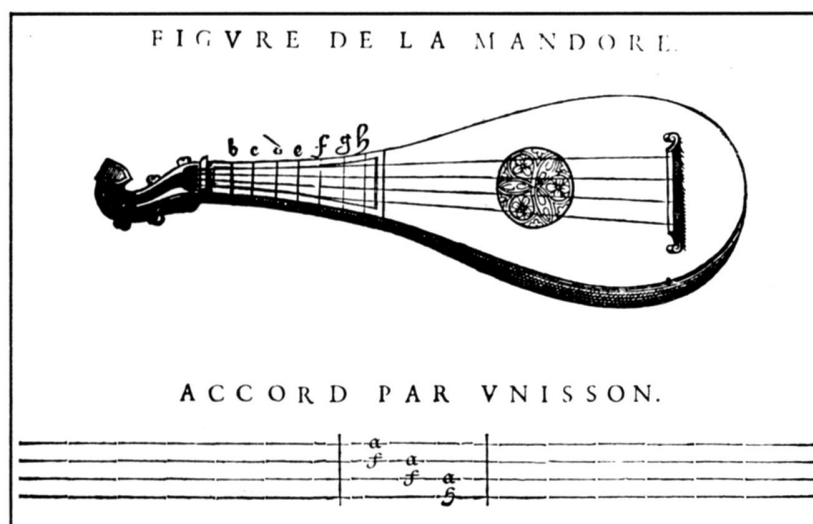


2 Title-page of François, Sieur de Chancy, *Tablature de mandore* (Paris, 1629)

Chancy's first publication was his *Tablature de mandore* (Paris, 1629) which is dedicated to Richelieu (see illus. 2). It is for a four-string mandore with the usual tuning intervals of a 5th, a 4th and a 5th, but also contains pieces requiring two other tuning arrangements. The first, known as 'à chorde avallee', requires the first string to be lowered so that the intervals become a 4th, a 4th and a 5th. The second, 'accord en tierce', requires the first string to be lowered so that the intervals become a major 3rd, a 4th and a 5th (see illus. 3).

¹⁵ H. Prunieres, *Le Ballet de Cour en France* (Paris, 1914), pp. 175, 209.

¹⁶ A. Souris and M. Rollin, op cit, pp. xiv-xvi. Included is a transcription of the first three pieces from Chancy's mandore book.



3 Tunings for the mandore, from Chancy, *Tablature de mandore*

Chancy's music offers a whole range of high quality, sophisticated repertoire, similar to contemporary lute music. Written in French tablature, the collection contains seven suites, each usually consisting of a 'Recherche' (an unmeasured prelude), two or three courantes and a sarabande. One of the suites comprises the 'Branles de Boccan' (see illus. 4).

C H A N C Y.

B R A N L E S D E B O C C A N A C C O R D .

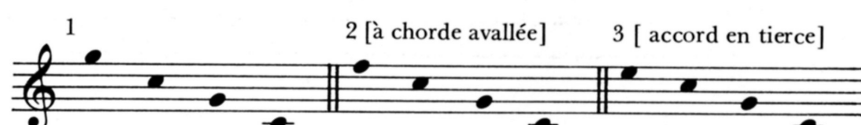
4 'Branles de Boccan', from Chancy, *Tablature de mandore*

The first branle uses the same musical material as the *branle du Baucane* of the Ulm manuscript. It is followed by another, untitled branle, then *branle gay*, *branle de Poictu*, *Branle double de Poictu*, *Branle de Montirande* and *la Gavotte*. This is, in fact, a common sequence of branles. The collection also includes some separate pieces: *Passemaise*, *En me revenant de S. Nicolas* (also found in the Ulm manuscript), *Volte-- Je veux mourir au cabarat, volte pour Dardon*, and *les Rocantins*.

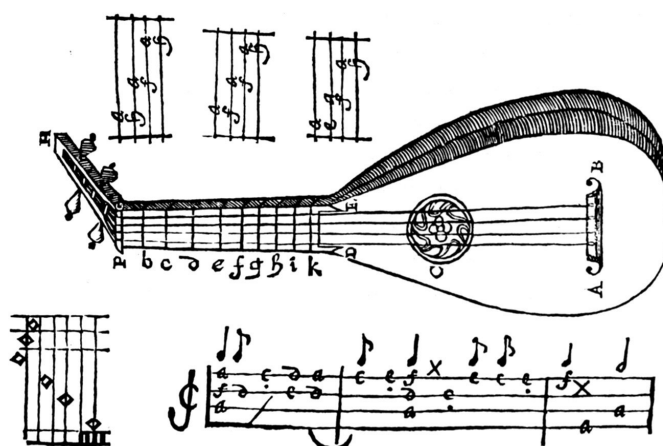
All the music contains chords which are always arranged on adjacent strings, implying a plectrum technique. Though Chancy gives no playing instructions, merely an illustration of a mandore and a tablature chart for tuning by intervals (no pitches are given), we are fortunate in having another source of information which relates specifically to Chancy's music and his mandore, Marin Mersenne's famous *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636).¹⁷

In his section on the mandore (Livre Second des Instruments, ff. 93-5), Mersenne uses Chancy's tablatures to explain the instrument. He illustrates a four-string mandore with nine frets; it is described as being 1.5 feet long, which, according to Mersenne, was the usual length. The foot in Mersenne's time was about 32.8 cm, so the overall length of the instrument was a quite small 49.2 cms. As to the nature of the instrument, Mersenne says that it played above the consort of lutes, that its lively and sharp sound was very penetrating, and that the best players moved the quill plectrum so fast that they seemed to play simultaneous chords.

Mersenne also describes Chancy's three tunings and, fortunately, gives specific pitches, saying that the first (5th, 4th, 5th) tuning is the most usual:



He states further that the mandore can also have six or more strings, and can be played with the fingers or with a quill (*plume*) held either between the right-hand thumb and index finger, or tied to one of the other fingers.



5 Explanations of tuning and tablature for the mandore, with a passage from the second 'bransle de Bocan' in Chancy's *Tablature de mandore*, from M. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636)

Mersenne gives bars 16-18 of Chancy's second 'bransle de Bocan' (see illus. 5) to explain the tablature and its signs: the dot under a note means that the beginning note is plucked in an upward direction (this is important for the sound, he says); a diagonal or curved line means that the beginning notes must be held by the left-hand fingers; the ornament sign x means a *tremblement* and one 'chrochüe' requires one or two *tremblements*, while one 'noire' requires two or four. He ends by reprinting in full Chancy's second piece from the 1629 book, an allemande (neglecting, however, to mention that it requires the 'chorde avallée' tuning).

Mersenne's contemporary, Pierre Trichet, referred to earlier in connection with Adrian Le Roy,

¹⁷ A facsimile edition has been published by the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (Paris, 1965). An English translation of the material on instruments has been published by R. Chapman, *Mann Mersmne: Harmome Universelle, The Books on Instruments* (The Hague, 1957).

gives much the same information about the mandore.¹⁸ But Trichet also describes a five-string instrument with the tuning of a 5th, a 4th, a 5th and a 4th (giving no specific pitches), as well as with the first string 'à chorde avallee'. In addition, he states that the mandore can have five or six double courses of strings, and that the quill is held between the thumb and index fingers or, sometimes, tied to another finger. Trichet further mentions that some players use the index finger alone for plucking the strings, while others employ all the right-hand fingers except the little one, in lute fashion. He concludes by paraphrasing Mersenne's comment that many people like the mandore for its lively sound and great carrying power, and that it can easily dominate in a consort of lutes.

Another important mandore manuscript, dating from around 1630-50, is the Scottish 'John Skene Manuscript' (Edinburgh, National Library, MS ADV.5.2.15).¹⁹ It contains music for a five-course 'mandor' in French tablature (finger-style technique), most of which requires the usual 5th, 4th, 5th, 4th tuning (no pitches given); but there is also one section, beginning with instructions 'to tune the Mandor to the old tune of the Lutt' (pp. 81-2), which describes, in prose, how to achieve the intervals 4th, 4th, 3rd, 4th, which are, indeed, those of the first five courses of the standard renaissance lute (though in Britain and elsewhere this tuning was, as Skene implies, becoming old-fashioned).²⁰ If one can assume his mandore to have been a typically small instrument intended to be tuned an octave higher than the lute, then his mandore tuning for this section of the manuscript would be g", d", a', f, c'.

The Skene manuscript preserves settings of earlier English masque tunes, such as *Prince Henreis Maske*, *Ladye Elizabeths Maske*, *My Lord Hayis Currand*, *Comedians Maske* and *Sommersets Maske*, as well as settings of such well-known English pieces as *What if a day*, *Nightingale*, *Male Simme* and *Floodis of Teares* (actually Dowland's 'Sleep wayward thoughts'). Most interesting is Skene's setting of the *Frog Galliard* in which, after a plain statement of the theme, he offers a whole series of rapid, single-line divisions around the melody, a style which suggests the possible use of this setting in a consort, with the mandore taking the lead.

The manuscript also contains some international favourites, such as *Alman Nicholas* (*En revenant de S. Nicolas/More Palatino*), *Pantalone* (*Bergamasca*), *Brangill* [brangle] of *Poictu* and *Veze Setta* (*Veze Sette Ninfe* by Gastoldi). But most of the pieces are Scottish popular tunes, such as *My Ladie Laudians Lilt*, *Bonniejean makis meikle of me* and *Mane me marie me quoth the bonnie lass*. Interestingly, the Scots tunes all do seem to have the distinctive 'pentatonic' melodies which we have come to associate with Scottish folk music of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Skene himself appears to have been an amateur, for the manuscript is written in a hand distinctly inexperienced in writing tablature, and the pages are full of mistakes and corrections, the latter sometimes only succeeding in making matters worse. Since he was a beginner, he frequently marked down left-hand fingerings which, had they been used on a largish instrument, would have required some rather awkward stretches. It is therefore possible to assume that Skene's mandore was probably rather like the mandore described by Mersenne and Trichet. But despite the many problems it presents for the transcriber and editor, Skene's mandore manuscript is well worth the effort for anyone interested in the delightful Scottish and English repertoire it preserves.

There are three sources of mandore music from the mid-17th century, which unfortunately do not survive, by the lutenist Valentin Strobel (the younger) of Strasbourg, giving further indications of the instrument's use in ensemble: *Concert für 1 Mandora und 3 Lauten oder für 4 Lauten mit Diskant und Bass* (1648); *Concert für 1 Mandora und 3 Lauten oder für 4 Lauten mit Diskant und Bass*

¹⁸ See footnote 7.

¹⁹ This is actually seven short manuscripts bound as one. It is discussed and indexed (inaccurately) by W. Daune, *The Ancient Melodies of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1838), who also transcribes a selection of the pieces. Some reference works, such as W. Boetticher, *RISM* (op cit, p. 98), give its date as C1615-35, but the music's style, especially in the Scots melodies, suggests a later date.

²⁰ On pp. 221-4, Skene describes how to tune a ten-course lute to the 'sharp tune' and the 'Halt tune', both of which are similar to the various contemporary lute tunings of Britain and France.

(1654); *Symphonie für 3 Lauten und 1 Mandora (oder für 4 Lauten mit Diskant und Bass)* (1654).²¹

Some of the music they contained seems to survive in another form, that of a later 17th-century keyboard transcription (Darmstadt Staatsarchiv MS 2897). Though this transcription is now also lost, there is a photographic copy of it in the Paris Bibliothèque nationale (RES. Vmc. 42(1)). The manuscript, in German keyboard tablature, is entitled 'Allemanden Couranten, Sarabanden, Giguen, Cavotten auss unterschiedlichen Tonen mit sonder-barem Fleiss von der Lauten und Mandor auff das Spinnet von einem beedes der Lauten Mandor und dess Clavier Verstandigen abgesetzt, Anno 1672 den 18 May'. It contains several items of music by Strobel and is in itself an interesting document of 17th-century transcription practice.

Another reference to the mandore is in Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* of 1650 (p. 476 and the facing plate), but the mention is very brief, seems to have been culled from Mersenne, and gives no new or practical information. Kircher shows a four-string instrument and gives a tuning (at g" pitch) based on Mersenne's. The lute, mandore and cittern are all rather cursorily discussed as a group of typical plucked instruments, Kircher revealing his attitude towards them in this sentence (translated from his tedious Latin prose): 'And although it scarcely befits a Philosopher of Music to lower himself to them, since they have become cheapened by use and are indeed the province of a low type of artisan [i.e. the practical musician], yet because we have begun to describe instrumental music, it being part of our plan, so we will here begin, in order that we will not seem to have left anything out of this "Musurgia" ' (p. 476).

Returning to the realm of practical music-making, we find another interesting collection from the second half of the 17th century. This is a manuscript containing music for both guitar and mandore, now in Bloomington, Indiana, in the library of Professor Paul Nettl.²² The mandore portion requires a five-course instrument with the intervals 5th, 4th, 5th, 4th, and the French tablature is for finger-style technique. Of German provenance, the manuscript contains about 50 anonymous pieces for mandore, including 13 courantes, 15 sarabandes, 3 allemandes, a 'tambour', a bouffons, a cannarie, a ciacona, two preludes, and a fantasia.

A further source of mandore music is found in yet another guitar manuscript, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Mus. Sch. C94).²³ Known as the De Gallot Guitar Books, it seems to have been compiled by a French musician, Henry François de Gallot, and/or other musicians associated with the English Restoration court around 1660-85. The composers are various members of the de Gallot family, as well as Francesco Corbetta (a very prominent musician at court during this time), Francois Du Faut and several unidentified English writers. Amongst its 160 folios of guitar music are two (ff. 131-2) which are headed 'per la mandore' and contain French tablature for a five-course instrument with the following three interval arrangements: 5th, 4th, 5th, 4th; major 3rd, 4th, 5th, 4th; and minor 3rd, 4th, 5th, 4th (no pitches are given). The music requires finger-style technique. No composers' names are attached to the four courantes, four sarabandes and the gigue for mandore, nor is much known about the circumstances in which this music might have been played and heard—although there is a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London, by Philip Mercier (illus. 6), which does offer a clue. Frederick, Prince of Wales, and his sisters are engaged in playing some chamber music. Presumably Frederick is playing the bass on the cello, while one of his sisters plays continuo on the harpsichord and another sister the melody line on the mandore.

²¹ These titles are quoted in E. Pohlmann, *Laute, Theorbe, Chitanone*, 4th edition (Bremen, 1975), p. 119. He quotes *Mendels Musikalishes Conversations-Lexicon*. One cannot be sure if the original titles were in German, French or Italian. Note that the titles quoted use the spelling 'mandora' which, if not Mendel's editorial spelling, would mark the first appearance of it for this repertoire.

²² Boetticher (*RISM*, op cit, p. 47) dates this manuscript 1700-80, but the type of repertoire and style of the music suggest that it must certainly date from a century earlier.

²³ The manuscript (actually two bound together) is described by Donald Gill, 'The de Gallot guitar books', *EM* 6/1 (January 1978), pp. 79-87. Gill, however, does not mention it in his useful summary of information, 'Mandore and Calachon', *FOMRHI* 19 (April 1980), pp. 61-3.

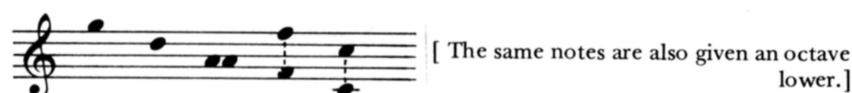


Although the date of the painting, 1733, is later than the de Gallot manuscript, the painting nevertheless seems to portray rather nicely the sort of genteel, courtly pastime for which the manuscript might have been used.

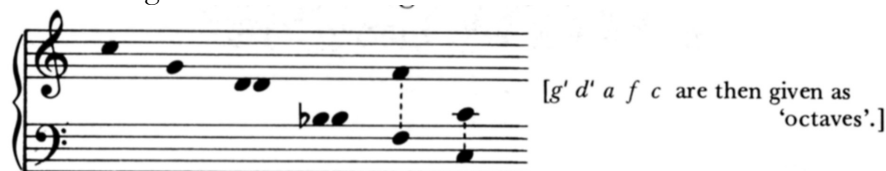
Further information can be found in Antoine Furetiere's *Essai d'un Dictionnaire* (1685). While he does not include a separate entry for the instrument in this first edition, at the end of the lute entry he mentions the term 'luthée', which he says is a term applied to the mandore with more than four courses; 'thus the instrument approaches nearer to a lute'. His 1690 edition of the *Dictionnaire* does have a short entry describing the mandore, in which Furetiere gives some indication of right-hand technique, commenting that the melody is usually played on the first course with a plectrum tied to the index finger and the other three courses are plucked with the thumb. A much more detailed description of the various kinds of mandore from the end of the 17th century is James Talbot's notes on musical instruments, compiled between 1685 and 1701 (Christ Church Library, Oxford, MS Mus. 1187).²⁴ Talbot describes and measures a range of different types of mandore, the first of which is somewhat larger than Mersenne's. It is a six-course instrument with nine frets, an overall length of about 61 cm and a vibrating length of about 43.2 cm. Talbot further describes the stringing system (on this particular instrument) as having the first three courses single, the fourth double in unison, and the fifth and sixth double in octaves. He calls the instrument the 'mandore' (this is a correction from 'pandore', which he first wrote down). He then gives notes on the mandore taken from the works of Praetorius, Mersenne and Kircher, and, in addition, a description of how to tune to the intervals of a 5th, a 4th and a 5th. He also notes that the strings are 'sometimes wire'; this is the first and, it would appear, the only mention of metal strings for these instruments. He then brings up the term 'mandole', and quotes his informant, 'Mr Lewis', as saying: 'Mandole properly 5 courses/ranks

²⁴ The information on the mandore is described and edited by M. Prynne, 'James Talbot's Manuscript IV: Plucked Strings—the Lute Family', *GSJ* 14 (1961), pp. 62-8.

whereof the lowest double the rest single'. He then gives the tunings in staff notation for the 'mandole', first from a Mr Shore:



And then from a Mr Finger:



Note that these have an interval arrangement of a 4th, a 4th, a major 3rd, a 4th (and a 4th), unlike the usual 5ths which we have come to expect (remember, however, 'the old tune of the Lutt' which is mentioned in the Skene manuscript).²⁵ The second tuning is one mentioned by Michael Praetorius in *Syntagma Musicum*, ii (1619, p. 51), not as one for the mandore, but for the 'Kleine Octavlaut', this being the highest in his uniform family of proper lutes.²⁶ From Talbot's manuscript it would appear that by the end of the 17th century the traditional mandore,²⁷ with its distinctive tuning, had all but disappeared, and the term was used for all small, lute-like instruments.

To my knowledge, the sources already discussed are all those surviving which contain music for the mandore, though I am hopeful that more sources will come to light as a result of this article.²⁸

Clearly, the mandore and the music known for it are particularly associated with northern Europe and, especially, with France. But southern Europe, and especially Italy, also knew this little instrument, and by the mid-17th century the Italians had developed it into a distinctively Italian instrument, which became known as the mandolino.

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²⁵ Talbot also measures an instrument which he calls both an 'arch-mandore' and an 'arch-mandole'. It is like a small theorbo with six courses on the fingerboard and seven single basses on an extended neck. The tuning given is: *C, D, E, F, G, A, Bflatt/cc', ff, flatbb, d'd', a'(sic), c''*.

²⁶ By the end of the 17th century, however, the lute had become a much more complicated instrument, with at least 11 courses of strings, and, in England, France and Germany, a radically different tuning from Praetorius' 4th, 4th, 3rd, 4th, 4th.

²⁷ The spelling 'mandora' was to become the more prevalent one in the 18th century. See footnote 1.

²⁸ Several sources described by Boetticher (*RISM*, op cit) as for 'mandora', or six-course lute, or five-course guitar, from the late 17th and 18th centuries, are for the later and larger instrument with guitar-like tuning described in footnote 1, and thus are not included in this article. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 40179 (c 1680-90) is an example. Boetticher describes it as a five-course guitar tablature, though the term 'Bandour' is used in the MS. Others, described as six-course guitar or lute tablatures, are in fact for lyra viol (e.g. Lund, University Library, MSS Littera G.28, G.31, G.35 and Norrköping, Stadsbiblioteket, MS Finsp. 9096.3).