

## Chapter 2

### *An overview of the teaching material used for “harmonie” and “accompagnement” at the Conservatoire between 1795 and 1840*

In this chapter, an overview of some French didactical material used at the *Conservatoire* will be presented. The sources chosen were written by professors of *harmonie* and/or *accompagnement* who were employed at the Conservatoire between 1795 and 1840; these all taught for a considerable length of time (specifically, an average of eight years), long enough to create a “school,” in the sense that they established a tradition in the teaching of these subjects. Certain professors – who were active during the period of reference – were excluded from this study because each of them taught at the Conservatoire for approximately three years; namely Rigel, Langlé, Rey, Eler, Halévy, and Rifaut. A detailed analysis of their contributions, although interesting, would therefore not impact the results of this investigation. Nevertheless, reference to their works may be introduced when relevant. Their contributions were valuable and should be considered for future research.<sup>183</sup> In addition to publications by professors at the Conservatoire, other materials were used in lessons, such as the French edition of Fenaroli’s *partimenti*.<sup>184</sup>

This chapter describes the sources and shares an overview of their contents. For reasons of space, each author’s theory of chords will not be investigated deeply. Should the reader wish to research this more fully, the work of other scholars will be referred to, when available. The main sources used for this research are illustrated here, with descriptions of their content and links to Neapolitan sources. Details on *regole* and other elements will be treated in Chapter 4.

The question of which musical theory should be adopted by the newly founded French school of music was the object of a long debate. Traditionalists promoted Rameau’s theories, believing it to represent the “true” French school – or, at least, what they thought to be Rameau’s theories. By contrast, supporters and admirers of the Neapolitan school endorsed the methods of the *écoles d’Italie* in France. The different sides of this debate will be explored in the section dedicated to the *méthodes*.

As will be discussed later, some of the sources described in this chapter contain elements of Ramellian theories, albeit with strong criticism, as in the writings of Henri-Montan Berton. These two visions on harmony differ in terms of perspective.

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<sup>183</sup> For further information on Rigel, see Brook-Viano (2001); on Langlé see Favre (1977) and Cafiero (2016), on Rey see Cotte (2001); on Eler see Favre (2001); on Halévy see Macdonald (2001) and Hallman (2011).

<sup>184</sup> See later in this chapter.

The *Ramistes* based harmony on the *basse fondamentale* and a vertical view of chords, whereas the “Neapolitan” approach favored a more horizontal and contrapuntal approach given by the *moti del basso* and *dissonanze*. However, as Ludwig Holtmeier has demonstrated, Rameau’s theories come from the practice of *accompagnement* and he reminds us that Rameau was not only the theoretician of the *basse fondamentale*, but also the theoretician of the *règle de l’octave*. Rameau was not just a famous music theorist but also a musician and composer who had been trained as a *musico pratico* (he replaced Lully as the main composer of the *opéra* and was a celebrated composer for the harpsichord).

Several elements of Ramellian theory survived in the teaching of music theory at the Conservatoire, while an introduction of contrapuntal techniques opened the way for the creation of a new French school.

A commission of professors was brought together to decide which *méthode d’harmonie* should be used at the Conservatoire. It was eventually decided that the *Traité* of Catel would be the best compromise between the vertical and horizontal approaches to music.

## 2.1. The *Méthodes du Conservatoire*

In 1794, the teachers at the *Conservatoire* were required to produce their didactical material that resulted in twelve *méthodes* for the main subjects taught. As mentioned before, there were several teachers for each subject at the Conservatoire, and each followed his own method.<sup>185</sup> As a result, students learned different content and methods, a discrepancy that became particularly evident during the debate between *ramistes* and *practiciens*. Music teaching had always been strongly influenced by the instructor’s school of origin, perpetuating the tradition of their own teacher and, in turn, passing this onto their own students. In Paris, it was recognized that this was a practice shared with the Neapolitan schools:

C'est un des points sur lesquels le Conservatoire français l'emporte de beaucoup sur ceux d'Italie, où chaque école prend les couleurs du maître qui la conduit et où la forme et l'esprit des leçons varient autant que les noms des professeurs.<sup>186</sup>

In Naples, one *primo maestro* was in charge of the content of the lessons, and the other teachers (*secondo maestro* and *mastricelli*) followed his lead and taught all other students. Thus, each *Maestro* had his own ‘school’. Transferring this model to the Paris *Conservatoire* led to debate and confusion, because the higher number of teachers

185 See Hondré (1995b).

186 *Journal de Paris*, 19 fructidor an VIII, p. 1748, quoted in Hondré, (1995b), 79.

per subject resulted in different approaches and methods coexisting side-by-side. The *Méthodes du Conservatoire* were created to unify the contents of lessons and ensure the same level of preparation for all students.<sup>187</sup>

The *méthodes* mostly containing Neapolitan (or related) didactic material and music are:

- a) Agus, Catel, Cherubini, Gossec, Langlé, Lesueur, Méhul et Rigel: *Principes élémentaires de musique arrêtés par les membres du Conservatoire, pour servir à l'étude dans cet établissement*, Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de musique, faub. Poissonnière, an VIII
- b) *Solfèges pour servir à l'étude dans le Conservatoire de musique*, Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de musique, faub. Poissonnière, an X
- c) Richer, Carat, Gossec, Méhul, Guiguené, Langlé, Plantade, Mengozzi, Cherubini, *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire de Musique, contenant des principes de chant, des Exercices pour la voix, des Solfèges tirés des meilleurs ouvrages Anciens et modernes et des Airs dans tous les mouvements et les différents Caractères*, Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de musique, an XII
- d) Catel, *Traité d'Harmonie*, an X

As mentioned previously, the *Principes élémentaires* are divided into three books which were used in the first *degré* of teaching. The first book covers the basics elements of music; the second and third books consist of several *solfeggi* composed by the authors and teachers at the Conservatoire. Among these are the aforementioned Langlé as well as Giuseppe Agus, another Italian living in Paris. These *solfeggi* are similar to Neapolitan ones, with florid melodies and a continuo accompaniment. As with the Neapolitan *solfeggi*, they are presented in increasing levels of difficulty, starting from scalic movements and ending with canons and fugues. One distinctive feature of this collection is that it omits *solfeggi* by Neapolitan composers (except for Langlé who had studied at *La Pietà*). Nevertheless, their structure and style are highly similar to Italian exercises and might have been composed following Neapolitan models.

In the *Méthode de Chant*, there are *Arie* and *Solfeggi* by Neapolitan *maestri* such as Alessandro Scarlatti, Leonardo Leo, Leonardo Vinci, Nicola Porpora, Nicola Sala, Niccolò Jommelli, and others. Unlike the *Principes Elementaires*, the continuo accompaniments in this edition of the *solfeggi* are realized as a piano accompaniment.

<sup>187</sup> For an overview on the *Méthodes* and their history, see Hondré, (1995b). See also the ongoing critical edition of the first *Méthode*, a series edited by Rosalba Agresta (<https://hemef.hypotheses.org/edition-critique-des-methodes-du-conservatoire>). Last accessed on 07.06.2022).



Figure 2.1. *Méthode de Chant*, 118. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k991280n/f128.i>

In the nineteenth century, it was common to use written realizations of continuo parts.<sup>188</sup> Written accompaniment instead of the traditional partimento could signal a separation between *solfège* for singers and the study of harmony and composition. As mentioned, students in classes of *accompagnement* were requested to accompany the *solfège* classes, but it appears that only students at higher levels were able to fulfill the task and this may explain why the continuo is realized into a piano accompaniment. *Solfège* seems to operate here merely as an exercise to improve a singer's vocal technique and not as a tool to augment counterpoint and voice-leading skills.<sup>189</sup>

With the exception the *Méthode de Chant*, the other methods – including Catel's treatise – mention neither the Italian school nor its representatives, although their content does reflect those methods in terms of style and didactical tools.

However, although these *méthodes* were created to contain all the knowledge necessary for the study of music, they were not the only didactical material used. In an *Ordre d'achat* of June 21 1819, the Conservatoire purchased copies of the *Solfèges d'Italie* and the *Traité d'accompagnement de Fenaroli*, almost certainly the French edition of Fenaroli's partimenti that had been edited by Imbimbo.<sup>190</sup>

The *Règlement* of 1822 confirms that Italian didactical material was permitted for use in the classroom, together with the *méthodes*:

Les ouvrages élémentaires à l'usage de l'École, admis pour l'enseignement et considérés comme classiques, sont:

Pour les classes de solfège:

Les Solfèges d'Italie, les Solfèges du Conservatoire, les Solfèges de Leo, les Solfèges de Cafaro, les Solfèges de Rodolphe.

Pour les classes de chant et de vocalisation, indépendamment des ouvrages indiqués ci-dessus pour les classes de solfège, sont employés: La Méthode de chant du Conservatoire, les Exercices de Crescentini, les Solfèges d'Aprile, les Solfèges de la Barbiera, les Cantates de Scarlatti, les Cantates de Porpora, les Duos de Durante, les Duos et Trios de Clari, les Duos

188 For further examples see Verwaerde (2015), 322–325.

189 See Baragwanath (2020).

190 Hondré (1995b), 101.

de Steffani, et les Psaumes de Marcello. [...]

Dans les classes instrumentales, sont employés les méthodes à l'usage du Conservatoire et les méthodes et ouvrages que les Professeurs désignent comme les plus convenables à l'avancement et aux progrès de leurs Élèves.<sup>191</sup>

These sources were most certainly in use before 1822. The Conservatoire library's *catalogue portatif*, drawn up by Abbé Roze in 1807, lists these same titles among the library holdings.<sup>192</sup> The majority of the composers mentioned in this *Règlement* came from Neapolitan *Conservatori*, and their works are described as "ouvrages classiques." The *Règlement* left the choice of didactical material to the professors of instrumental classes, to use together with the *méthodes*.

Later in this chapter, we shall focus on the other main texts that were used alongside the *méthodes* in lessons at the Conservatoire. These will include:

1. The official méthode by Catel:

*Traité d'harmonie par Catel. Membre du Conservatoire de Musique, adopté par le Conservatoire pour servir à l'Étude dans cet Établissement*, Paris, Le Roy, an X (1801).

2. French editions of Fenaroli's partimenti, especially:

The first, edited by Imbimbo:

*Partimenti ossia basso numerato. Opera completa di Fedele Fenaroli per uso degli alunni del regal Conservatorio a Niccola Zingarelli maestro di S.Pietro in Roma Direttore del medesimo Conservatorio Dall'Editore dedicata*. Paris, Carli, [1813/14].

The second volume of Fenaroli's Partimenti, edited by Imbimbo:

*Seguito de' Partimenti, ossia Esercizio d'Armonia Vocale e Instrumentale sopra i bassi fugati*, Paris, Carli, [1814].

3. The works of Berton, particularly his publication of 1815:

*Traité d'harmonie suivi d'un dictionnaire des Accords en trois volumes, par Henry Montan BERTON, Membre de l'Institut, Chevalier de la Legion d'honneur, Professeur au Conservatoire, Chef du Chant de l'Académie Royale de Musique*. Paris, Aux deux Lyres, chez Mme Duhan et Cie, 1815.

4. The monumental work by Perne, published in 1822:

*Cours Élémentaire d'harmonie et d'accompagnement, composé d'une suite de Leçons graduées, présentées sous la forme de thèmes et d'exercices, au moyen desquels on peut apprendre la Composition vocale et instrumentale. Ouvrage spécialement disposé pour les Élèves, et offert aux Professeurs pour faciliter l'enseignement*, par F.L. Perne, Pensionnaire du ROI, Professeur de Composition et d'Accompagnement.

<sup>191</sup> Pierre (1900), 249. Also quoted in Hondré (1995b), 101–102.

<sup>192</sup> F-Pn, VM FONDS 1 ADC-4(1) e (2). See Giovani (2021).

ment, Ancien Inspecteur-Général des Etudes de l'Ecole R.le de Musique et de déclamation (Conservatoire) Bibliothécaire de cer Etablissement, et Correspondant de l'Institut. Paris, à la Lyre d'Orphée, chez Mme Dorval, [1822].

5. The works on *harmonie* and *accompagnement* by Dourlen, published in 1838 and 1840 respectively:
  - a) *Traité d'harmonie contenant un cours complet tel qu'il est enseigné au Conservatoire de Paris, dédié à Monsieur Cherubini, Directeur du Conservatoire, Membre de l'Institut, Officier de la Legion d'Honneur, Par V. Dourlen, Membre du Conservatoire*, Paris, chez Prilipp et C.º Editeur de Musique, [1838].
  - b) *Traité d'Accompagnement contenant les notions d'harmonie nécessaires pour accompagner les Basses chiffrées et par suite la Partition; dédié a Monsieur Berton, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, Membre de l'Institut du Conservatoire, par V. Dourlen, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Professeur d'Harmonie au Conservatoire. Nota: Cet Ouvrage est approuvé par l'Institut de France et adopté pour l'enseignement au Conservatoire*. Paris, chez Mme Cendrier, Editeur de Musique, [1840].
6. The books published by Colet in 1837 and 1846:
  - a) *La Panharmonie Musicale, ou Cours complet de Composition théorique et pratique [...] par Hippolyte Colet, 1ère édition, l'auteur à fait suivre cette Méthode au Conservatoire dans la classe d'harmonie et dans celle de contre-point et fugue de Reicha, qu'il a remplacé jusqu'à l'abolition de son École*. Paris, chez Pacini, Principal Éditeur, 1837.
  - b) *Partimenti, ou traité spécial de l'accompagnement pratique au piano par H.R. Colet, professeur d'harmonie vocale et instrumentale au Conservatoire Imp. de Musique, Ancien Professeur et Remplaçant Intérinaire de Reicha pour le Contre-point et la Fugue: Autheur de la Panharmonie Musicale. Cet Ouvrage suivi dans les Classes du Conservatoire, est un complément nécessaire de la Panharmonie Musicale du même Auteur*. Paris, Chabal, 1846.
7. The treatise of Paul-Émile Bienaimé:  
*Ecole de l'harmonie moderne. Théorie*. Paris, M.lle Langlois, Imp. Jannot, 1863.

Of the *méthodes* mentioned, Catel's *Traité* is most relevant for this study and will now be examined more closely.

## 2.2. The *Traité d'harmonie* of Catel (Professor of harmonie between 1795 and 1816)

In order to develop a *méthode* for the classes of *harmonie*, a commission of fourteen composers and founding teachers of the Conservatoire was formed in 1800:

Aux termes du Règlement du Conservatoire, une commission spéciale composée des citoyens: Berton, Catel, Chérubini, Eler, Framery, Gossec, Lacépède, Langlé, Lesueur, Martinj, Prony, Rey et Rodolphe, s'est réunie le 2. nivose an 9. de la République pour procéder à la formation d'un traité d'Harmonie pour servir à l'enseignement dans le Conservatoire de Musique.<sup>193</sup>

From another report about one of the commission's meetings, it is possible to sense a tension emerging over which system to use, specifically whether or not the *méthode* should follow Rameau's theories – or what they took for Rameau's theories:

Le système de Rameau fut successivement attaqué et défendu. [...] Dans cette lutte d'opinions contraires, soutenue par les partisans ou les antagonistes du système de la *basse fondamentale*, la commission, ne pouvant distinguer la vérité toute entière, suspendait son jugement, quand l'ouvrage soumis à votre sanction vint terminer toutes les discussions, en offrant un système complet, simple dans ses principes et clair dans ses développements.<sup>194</sup>

Supporters of the *basse fondamentale* and some of Rameau's theories included Rey, Gossec, and Langlé, all authors of harmony treatises.<sup>195</sup> Langlé's *Traité* was also among those considered to become the official *méthode d'harmonie*.<sup>196</sup>

Fétis described the state of harmony teaching at the time, when Rameau's “*monstrueux*” system was well established, and contrasted it with the more practical Italian approach:

Les rêveries de Rameau sur la théorie de l'harmonie, adoptées jusqu'alors généralement en France, et repoussées dans le reste de l'Europe, avaient substitué, à la pratique si simple des écoles d'Italie, le système monstrueux de la basse fondamentale, dont le moindre défaut était d'être en opposition avec les usages de la pratique, et le sentiment harmonieux de l'oreille.<sup>197</sup>

Eventually, an *ouvrage* that seemed to satisfy supporters of different approaches to harmony was chosen as the official *méthode* for *harmonie*: Catel's *Traité d'harmonie*.<sup>198</sup> Charles-Simon Catel's *Traité* begins with an extensive theoretical introduction to the principles of music and is followed by a practical section that resembles the Neapolitan *moti del basso* found in any collection of *partimento regole*.<sup>199</sup> Catel studied with

193 Conservatoire de Musique, *Arrêtés relatifs à l'adoption du traité d'harmonie*, in Catel (1801), i.

194 Assemblée générale des membres du Conservatoire, le 15. floréal an 9. de la République, in Catel (1801), i-ii.

195 See Geay (1999), 228–232.

196 Langlé (1795). See Fétis (1844), 238. Also mentioned in Cafiero (2016), 324 and Gessele (1992), 206.

197 Fétis (1830). Also quoted in Geay (1999), 235.

198 An overview on this *Traité* is also found in Nicephor (2007), 189–195. See also George (1982), Groth (1983), Peters (1990) and Meidhof (2017a and 2017b).

199 Catel (1801), 31–33.

Antonio Sacchini,<sup>200</sup> himself a former student of Durante,<sup>201</sup> before being admitted to the *École Royale de Chant et de Déclamation* to study *harmonie* and composition under Gossec, a former student of Rameau.<sup>202</sup> Catel's work shows influences of both the theory-based French tradition that was popular in second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the more practical Neapolitan approach. The French influence is evident in the extensive theoretical explanation of chord generation, intervals, and other elements of music; the Neapolitan influence can be seen in the list of *moti* to be played on the keyboard with very little explanatory text,<sup>203</sup> many of which are commonly found in partimento sources.<sup>204</sup>

Catel was born in 1773 at Laigle in Normandy. He moved to Paris at the age of eleven, where he studied composition under Sacchini, who recommended him for the *École royale de chant et de déclamation*. In 1795 he was nominated to be Professor of *harmonie* at the newly founded *Conservatoire*, a position he maintained until 1816.

In his introduction, Catel declares that the purpose of his book is to simplify all elements of harmony. To achieve this, he reduces the chord types to those most commonly used. He then divides harmonies into two classes: *harmonie simple ou naturelle* – which includes all chords that do not require preparation – and *harmonie composée ou artificielle*, based on chords with suspensions. These dissonances result from the extension of one or more notes in the chord that precedes the *composé*.<sup>205</sup> Combining theory and practical applications is important for the author:

Cette méthode me paraît réunir le double avantage d'enseigner la véritable nature de chaque accord, en même temps qu'on en apprend l'emploi.<sup>206</sup>

The first part of the *Traité* is dedicated to elements of music theory such as classification of intervals, voice motions, and forbidden parallel motions. This introductory section is followed by the first chapter on the *théorie générale des accords*. Catel argues that all chords derive from one chord that contains all notes.

Il n'existe en harmonie qu'un seul accord qui contient tous les autres. Cet accord est formé des premiers produits du corps sonore, ou des premières divisions du Monochorde.<sup>207</sup>

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200 Antonio Sacchini (1730–1786) studied at the *Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto*.

201 Carlez (1894), 199–235, 201.

202 On Gossec see Geay (1999), 229–230.

203 For the relationship between Catel's *Traité* and the French music theory tradition, see Geay (1999), and Meidhof (2017).

204 For an overview of partimento rules, see Sanguinetti (2012a), 99–164.

205 A similar distinction is made by Choron, who stated that he derived his terminology, although with some differences, from the *école de Bologne*, that was developed by Catel in his *Traité*. See Meidhof (2016a), 157–162.

206 Catel (1801), iii.

207 Catel (1801), 5.

This results from the superposition in thirds of the sounds derived from the division of the monochord.<sup>208</sup>

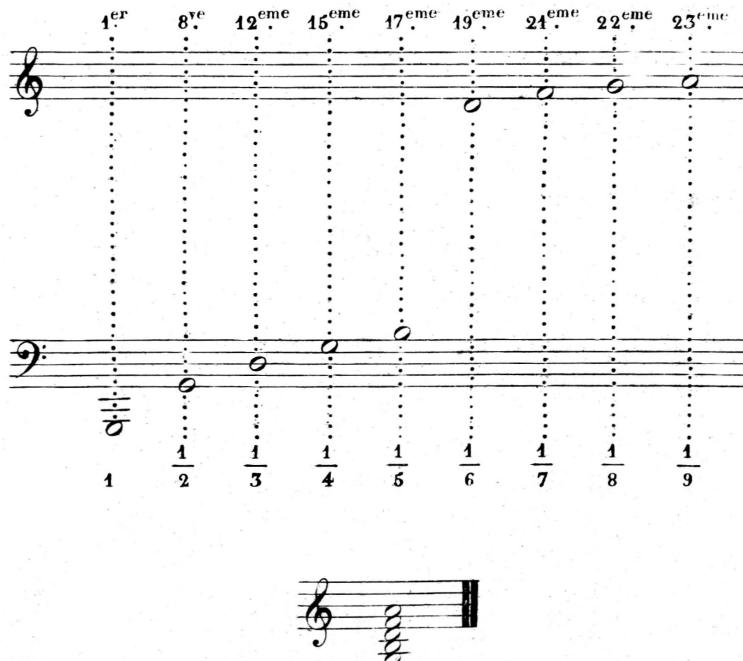


Figure 2.2. Catel (1801), 5. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k11638905/f15.item>

Although Catel does not mention the sources for his theories, similar ideas of chord generation from a third-stacked “super-chord” can be found in the works of the so called *Scuola dei rivolti*,<sup>209</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, Georg Andreas Sorge,<sup>210</sup> Johann Philipp Kirnberger, and Daniel Gottlob Türk.<sup>211</sup> Fétis, who doubted the originality of Catel’s theories, emphasised the alleged German link to this chord theory, while crediting his *méthodes d’accompagnement* to the *écoles d’Italie*:<sup>212</sup>

Cette théorie n’était pas absolument nouvelle, puisque ce n’était que le développement systématique des méthodes d’accompagnement pratiquées depuis longtemps dans les écoles

208 Catel (1801), 5. See also Nicephor (2007) 191–192. For further information on Catel’s theory of chords see George (1982), 36–64 and Meidhof (2017a).

209 See Vidic (2015) and (2016).

210 See George (1982), 41 and Holtmeier (2017a), 172 et seq.

211 Other authors that might have influenced Catel are D’Alembert and Kirnberger. It is not possible here to further investigate these similarities, already treated in George (1982) 112–173 and Meidhof (2016a), p. 167 et seq.

212 See Meidhof (2016a), 173–178.

d’Italie, d’ailleurs Kirnberger (*Grundsätze des Generalbass als erste Linien der Composition*, Berlin, 1781, in-4°) et Turk (*Anweisung zum Generalbaßspielen*) avaient posé précédemment les bases de cette théorie [...].<sup>213</sup>

The main difference between Catel’s work and the authors mentioned above is the simplification of theoretical concepts. The *corps sonore* generates the chords but does not “create” a complete *système* out of itself.<sup>214</sup> Also, in its consequent application of the third-stacking principle, the theory and generation of chords is quite different from the complexity of Rameau’s morphology of sounds.

Eight chords result from the superposition of thirds. These belong to the *harmonie simple ou naturelle* and require no preparation:<sup>215</sup>

- *Accord parfait majeur*
- *Accord parfait mineur*
- *Accord de quinte diminuée*
- *Accord de septième dominante*
- *Accord de septième de sensible*
- *Accord de septième diminuée*
- *Accord de neuvième majeure dominante*
- *Accord de neuvième mineure dominante*

Inversions of the perfect chord are called (in a slight variation of the traditional French continuo designations) *accord de sixte* and *accord de quarte et sixte*. Inversions of the dominant seventh chord are called *accord de sixte et quinte diminuée*, *accord de sixte sensible* and *accord du triton*. The half-diminished chord, *septième de sensible* (or *septième mixte*)<sup>216</sup> has its inversions in the *accord de quinte et sixte sensible*, *accord de triton avec tierce majeure*, and *accord de seconde*. The *septième diminuée* (diminished seventh chord) has its inversions called *accord de quinte diminuée et sixte majeure*, *accord du triton avec tierce mineure*, *accord de seconde augmentée*.

How close and, at the same time, how far away Catel is from Rameau’s chord theory can clearly be seen in his explanation of the diminished triad. Catel includes this chord among the *accords consonans*, since it has no *marche déterminée*.

Quoique l’intervalle de quinte diminuée ne soit pas consonnant, on ne peut pas cependant classer cet accord dans le nombre des accords dissonans puisqu’aucune des notes qui le composent n’a une marche déterminée, (comme l’ont toutes les dissonances) et qu’elles

213 Fétis (1830), 105–108, also quoted in Geay (1999), p. 235 and Meidhof (2016), p. 173.

214 See Gessèle (1992), 107. Méeus investigates the theory of the *corps sonore* in Catel’s *Traité* in Méeus (1999), 262–267.

215 A comparison of Catel’s theory of chords with Rameau is in Nicephor (2007), 189–195.

216 Catel does not explain this chord using Rameau’s principle of *substitution*. See Holtmeier (2017a), 59. The nomenclature comes from the *double emploi* of this chord on the seventh degree in major or second degree in minor. In this case, it is called *septième du seconde du mode mineur*. Catel (1801), 15.

peuvent toutes monter, descendre ou rester place; d'où l'on peut conclure que, si cet accord est moins parfait, que les deux autres, il peut néamoins être employé à faire un repos momentané avant d'arriver à un repos plus parfait: ainsi, il doit être classé avec les accords consonans.<sup>217</sup>

Catel thus makes use of Rameau's own category of the *progrès obligé*, but then justifies the sound in exactly the opposite way: for Rameau, the lower note of the diminished fifth is first and foremost the “scalar” *dissonance majeure*, the leading note that must take the *progrès obligé* into the tonic, while the upper note of the “false fifth” is the *dissonance mineure* that must take the path into the *médiane*. The diminished triad is consonant for Rameau only in its secondary meaning: “seulement par rapport à la Modulation,”<sup>218</sup> that is, within a diatonic, mostly sequential, context. In understanding this chord, Catel is surprisingly close to the German trias-harmonica-tradition.

Another striking difference is Catel's treatment of the ninth chords, which, unlike Rameau – who understands it as an *accord par supposition* – he counts among the fundamental chords and which are therefore *renversable*:

Cet accord est susceptible d'être renversé, mais il faut que le générateur soit toujours à une distance de neuvième de la dissonance, intervalle n'étant point susceptible d'être renversé.<sup>219</sup>

Suspensions are generated by the prolongation of a note of one chord into the next. This passage transforms a *harmonie simple* into a *harmonie composée*.



Figure 2.3. Catel (1801), 21.

At this point in the *Traité*, Catel inserts a series of musical examples in which each chord is given in all its inversions and in *simple* and *composée* variations.<sup>220</sup>

Next, the practical application of these chords on bass movements is shown, covering intervals from an ascending and descending second to the fourth. Each bass movement is given with the *harmonie simple* and all possible options for the *composée*. Students could easily practice, memorize, and transpose them for application in their exercises.

217 Catel (1801), 9.

218 Rameau (1722), 242 et seq. See Holtmeier (2017a), 48, footnote 144.

219 Catel (1801), 17.

220 Catel (1801), 24–30.



Figure 2.4. Catel (1801), 33.

In fig. 2.3, we see the suspension on an ascending second in the bass, while in fig. 2.4 the *prolongation* is applied to an ascending fourth.

This bears similarities to Fenaroli's more "Italian" approach. In Fenaroli's treatise, all dissonances are first handled with their possible preparations, after which he presents the *moti del basso*, in which dissonances are applied to sequential bass movements. Catel adds an intermediate step to this process: he first explains the *prolongations* (the suspensions), then he applies them to each single bass movement, and finally, there are sequential bass movements, such as Fenaroli's *moti del basso*, with consonances and dissonances. In his section dedicated to progressions, Catel combines accompaniment patterns with examples for diminutions and imitations, thereby creating a musical vocabulary for students that brings together harmonic and contrapuntal elements.

Groth has noted that, until the foundation of the Conservatoire, music-theoretical works in France were addressed to professional musicians, composers, theorists, or trained amateurs. Catel's *Traité*, serving as the official textbook of the Conservatoire, was addressed to students with a basic knowledge learned from the *principes élémentaires* and *solfège*. Therefore, it needed to be simple and introduce concepts with increasing levels of difficulty as it progressed.<sup>221</sup> The commission chose Catel's work as its official *méthode* because it integrated theoretical and practical contents – including elements of the theory of chords, their formation, and nomenclature – with a contrapuntal approach, in addition to having a detailed section containing *moti del basso*. Combining these elements contributed to the fusion of the Neapolitan practical approach and the French theoretical tradition.

### 2.3. The French editions of Fenaroli's partimenti

Fedele Fenaroli was born in Lanciano in 1730.<sup>222</sup> After his father's death, he moved to Naples where, at the age of fourteen, he was admitted to the *Conservatorio di Santa*

221 Groth (1983), 7.

222 For a reconstruction of Fenaroli's biography see Devillers (2014), 33–47.

See also, among others: Gmeinwieser (2001); Cerami (1996); Krause (2001).

*Maria di Loreto*. While at the *Conservatorio*, he studied first under Leonardo Leo and then with Francesco Durante until 1752.<sup>223</sup> He started teaching as a substitute for Antonio Sacchini at the *Loreto* and was then nominated *primo maestro* in 1777. His students included several notable members of the Neapolitan school, such as Domenico Cimarosa, the above mentioned Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli, Saverio Mercadante, Vincenzo Fiocchi, Vincenzo Lavigna – who went on to be the teacher of Giuseppe Verdi,<sup>224</sup> and Michele Carafa,<sup>225</sup> whose *solfeggi* was later used in France.

Fenaroli's *Regole musicali per i principianti di cembalo*,<sup>226</sup> printed in 1775, contains rules for the accompaniment for several bass movements. These rules are explained in a short text, which simply describes the movement and its accompaniment, while music examples were available in copied manuscripts.<sup>227</sup> The importance of Fenaroli's treatise comes from the systematic way it presents the *regole*, which distinguishes his book from other collections of *regole* and *partimenti*:

Nessuno de' sommi maestri della nostra scuola aveva prima del Fenaroli avuta la felice idea di presentare con metodo le regole dell'accompagnamento e di formarne un corso completo; ma contenti dal dettarle a' loro allievi, essi le propagavano per mezzo di una specie di tradizione, piuttosto che per mezzo di una regolare istituzione scritta. A Fenaroli devesi il vanto di aver concepito un sì felice pensiero, e di averlo eseguito con maestria, componendo le sue Regole musicali pe' principianti del cembalo, già più volte stampate, ed accompagnate da' numerosi esempj cui vien dato il nome di partimenti.<sup>228</sup>

The final purpose of the *Regole* is to provide instructions for realizing an unfigured bass. As will be shown, the lack of figures was considered normal practice in the Italian partimento tradition, but this was often criticized by both French and German musicians.<sup>229</sup>

The first French publication containing Fenaroli's work *Partimenti ossia basso numerato* is not dated, although comparison of the number of the *cotage* (in this book n. 500) with the dating in the *Dictionnaire des éditeurs français* by Devriès-Lesure suggests that it was printed in January 1814.<sup>230</sup>

Ewald Demeyere dates the book in 1813, based on the announcement of its publication in *Bibliographie de l'Empire français*, dated 30 July 1813.<sup>231</sup> The 5 February 1813

223 Florimo (1881–1883), 352–353.

224 See Sanguinetti (2013).

225 Carafa, born in Naples, studied in Paris under Cherubini before returning to Naples in 1808 and becoming Fenaroli's student. See Budden (2001).

226 Fenaroli (1775).

227 A number of copies of this manuscript can be found in several libraries in Italy. See Sanguinetti (2011) and (2012a), 77–79 and Demeyere (2018), 208–210.

228 Avellino (1818), 16. Also quoted in Cafiero (2011), 172, and in Sanguinetti (2011), 209.

229 Sanguinetti also quotes some Italian sources that criticize this practice. See Sanguinetti (2011), 201–202.

230 Devriès-Lesure (1975), 46. See Cafiero (2020), 125.

231 Beuchot (1813), 340. Demeyere (2018), 211–212.

issue states that the book will be published on 1 March 1813. This was done in order to attract subscribers to the publication, with a closing date for French subscriptions in the middle of February and a second closing date at the end of February for subscriptions from abroad. It is possible then, that printing was delayed due to a lack of subscriptions. In the 30 July 1813 issue, the book is published, which, once again could have been an *escamotage* to collect pre-orders and subscriptions for a later publication in January 1814 as per the *cotage* dating in Devriès-Lesure. This hypothesis is supported by the many debts that Carli had in 1813.<sup>232</sup> Another possible explanation is that it might have been printed in 1813 but that Carli's catalogues were updated in 1814: as a matter of fact, there is a gap in the catalogue between 1811 and January 1814 that might imply that *cotages* registered in 1814 could actually have been printed earlier.<sup>233</sup> Demeyere also points out that this book must have been printed at least in two editions, since there are different layouts for the same text on page 48 and an extra paragraph regarding the omitted resolution of the ninth.<sup>234</sup>

Among the subscribers for this volume were Ferdinando Carulli, Choron (here described as *homme de lettres*), the *Conservatoire Royal de Milan*, François Joseph-Marie Fayolle (also described as *homme de lettres*), Alexis de Garaudé, Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, Piccinni, Pierre-Joseph-Guillaume Zimmermann and Perne. As previously mentioned, the editor for this edition was Emanuele Imbimbo, a Neapolitan refugee living in Paris.<sup>235</sup>

The book begins with an introduction – *discorso preliminare del Sig. E. Jmbimbo*, – in which the author, following the example of other French treatises of the time, celebrates the links between music, science and nature, quoting Rousseau, Padre Martini, and the ancient Greek authors, who had established the division of the monochord. This is in marked contrast to way that Fenaroli begins his *Regole musicali*, launching straight into the rules of consonance and dissonance with almost no introduction to music, music theory, or chord formation theory.<sup>236</sup> Imbimbo also adapts the structure of Fenaroli's book for a French audience by adding instructive theoretical explanations to chords and elements of harmony; nevertheless, he continues to favor the practical, Neapolitan approach to music teaching.<sup>237</sup> In fact, Imbimbo concludes his preface by extolling the virtues of the Neapolitan method, with its practical approach and simplicity, compared to complicated modulations and calculus:

In mezzo a tante difficoltà che la musica per la parte *scientifico-teorica* ci rappresenta, noi lasciando ad altri d'internarsi per via di calcoli ne' segreti della natura, ci attenghiamo alla sola pratica guidati dalle regole stabilite da' maestri dell'arte, fondate sulla sperienza

232 Devriès-Lesure (1975), 45.

233 Devriès-Lesure (1975), 46.

234 Demeyere (2018), 211.

235 See Chapter 1 and Cafiero (2020), 141–144.

236 Fenaroli (1775), I.

237 See Chapter 1.

ed approvate dall'uditio [...]. Per la qual cosa ci siamo proposti di dare alla luce i sei libri de' *Partimenti* del nostro Signor Fenaroli Napolitano, sostenitore acerrimo della scuola di Durante d'ond'egli è uscito. I quali *Partimenti* riveduti ed accresciuti ultimamente da lui, servono di esercizio agli alunni del Real Conservatorio di Napoli, non solo per imparare l'accompagnamento, ma per aprirsi eziandio la strada alle regole del contrappunto, e che noi ci facciamo un dovere di pubblicarli senz'alcuna alterazione, per essersi con siffatto sistema distinta la scuola napolitana, che di tanti bravi maestri ha colma l'Europa [...].<sup>238</sup>

Here, Imbimbo shows his appreciation of the Neapolitan method. A modification for the French reader is made by writing that partimenti were used in Naples not only for teaching *accompagnement*, but also for learning the basics of counterpoint. The French edition includes a fifth book containing *partimenti fugati* that Fenaroli composed specifically for the edition, although he was aware that the French audience might not be prepared for them. In a letter to his former student Marco Santucci, Fenaroli himself affirms that these partimenti exercises are difficult for those who had not studied in Naples:

Ora sto facendo il quinto libro di partimenti fugati, e soltanto voi che siete della mia scuola, e che molto capite potete insegnarli.<sup>239</sup>

Imbimbo rearranged the original four books into five, with the fifth mentioned by Fenaroli probably being the sixth in this edition.<sup>240</sup> The fifth book in the French edition is entitled: *De' temi, canoni e fughe*.

The *temi* are themes given at the beginning of a partimento, indicating a possible realization, similar to the technique used by Durante in his *partimenti diminuiti*. Fenaroli includes five *temi*, followed by twelve preludes and fugues, and ten preludes and *fughe in tuoni cromatici*, while the sixth book contains *partimenti fugati, ricercati ed imitati*. Imbimbo defines a *ricercata* as a composition “non sommessa alle strette regole della Fuga, potendosi modulari ed imitare a piacere in tutti i tuoni.”<sup>241</sup> As mentioned, Imbimbo supplements Fenaroli's *Regole* with some theoretical explanations in order to make Fenaroli's instructions clearer to the reader:

Si è creduto non pertanto indispensabile di spiegare praticamente alcune cose riguardanti la *scala*, *gl'intervalli*, e *gli accordi*, rendendo così più chiaro il libriccino delle *Regole musicali* stampato in Napoli dallo stesso Fenaroli [...].<sup>242</sup>

In this “ristretto,” Imbimbo provides definitions for musical sounds and intervals. Interestingly, he endeavors to add scientific information to Fenaroli's *Regole*; for

238 Fenaroli (1813/14), VII–VIII.

239 Letter quoted, among others, in Cafiero (2011), 206.

240 Demeyere (2018), 212.

241 Imbimbo [1814], 8.

242 Fenaroli (1813/14), VIII.

example, he explains the origin of the distinction between the chromatic and the diatonic semitone.<sup>243</sup> In the preface, Imbimbo also gives one of the first definitions of partimento in a printed French source:

Più suoni insieme componenti un accordo si cifrano co' numeri cardinali 1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.X. la cui distribuzione sopra i gradi dicesi Partimento. [...] Partimento derivando da *partior* (dividere) si è applicato alla musica per la distribuzione de' numeri sul basso.<sup>244</sup>

Figures are written as in Neapolitan sources, and the examples are written using C-Clefs for the right hand, as is found in manuscripts containing Fenaroli's rules.<sup>245</sup> Small differences in figures appear in the French edition, such as 6/4 chords sometimes used where Fenaroli indicates a 5/4, or the 7<sup>th</sup> added to dominant chords, where Fenaroli leaves the perfect triad on the fifth degree. However, these changes cannot be considered evidence to show a French influence on these partimenti since they could have also been used as alternatives in the Neapolitan school.<sup>246</sup> In certain passages, figures are added in the French edition, which do not appear in Neapolitan sources. These are usually passages requiring a root position chord or application of the rule of the octave, that do not require specific figuring according to the practice of the Neapolitan school.<sup>247</sup>

The sixteen partimenti of Fenaroli's first book are here placed in the second book, following the section containing the *regole*.<sup>248</sup> These are then followed by the fourteen partimenti of the second book.<sup>249</sup> The rules in the third book reflect those in Fenaroli's *regole*, with a subsequent section containing all the rules with new examples in minor keys which were not included in the original source.<sup>250</sup>

The decision to modify the order of the partimenti changes Fenaroli's original pedagogical approach, in which students learned a rule and then applied it to the partimenti that had been specifically composed for practising it.<sup>251</sup> In fact, the structure of Fenaroli's exercises clearly shows their purpose, as they often contain the rule (and sometimes the rules of the previous lessons) and many repetitions of it in various

243 Fenaroli (1813/14), 4.

244 Fenaroli (1813/14), 5.

245 See e.g. I-Bsf MF I-8.

246 The use of cadential 6/4 chords is often found in e.g. Valente: see Sanguinetti (2012a), 139. Sala frequently uses passing 6/4 chords in his partimenti: see Sala (2017). See also Demeyere (2018), 224 and Chapter 4 of this book.

247 See e.g. Fenaroli (1813/14) p. 64, mm. 1–2: these bars are not figured in I-Bsf MF I-8.

248 Partimenti Gj1301–1316, Fenaroli (1813/14), 67–72.

249 Partimenti Gj1317–1330, Fenaroli (1813/14), 72–78.

250 Fenaroli (1813/14), 91–97.

251 Demeyere (2018).

tonalities. Being relocated, as in Imbimbo's edition, the partimenti lose their main didactical purpose as practice pieces for a particular rule.<sup>252</sup>

The importance of Fenaroli's partimenti, and his practical approach, was recognized by Fétis:

On raisonne peu sur la musique en Italie: tout y est de pratique, et depuis plus d'un siècle les méthodes des conservatoires de Naples n'ont point fait un pas. Toute la science y est bornée à un petit nombre de règles que Fenaroli a exposées avec clarté dans un livre élémentaire qui a pour titre: *Regole per i principianti di Cembalo*; mais ces préceptes peu nombreux sont suivis de beaucoup de basses chiffrées (partimenti) sur lesquelles le maître en faisait faire l'application; de sorte que ces règles devenaient bientôt familières aux élèves par l'usage constant qu'ils en faisaient. L'ouvrage de Fenaroli a été gravé à Paris par les soins de M. Imbimbo, qui en a traduit le texte, et se trouve chez M. Launer, successeur de Carli.<sup>253</sup>

Imbimbo was certainly aware of the practical function of the partimenti. Why then did he move them to the end of the book? A hypothesis might be found in Imbimbo's effort to convert Fenaroli's practical *Regole* into a French *Traité*, in which it is common to find exercises in the second part of a book, while the first part is dedicated to theoretical content and examples.<sup>254</sup>

In his article, Demeyere presents an accurate outline of Fenaroli's partimento pedagogy, which reflects partimento teaching of his *Maestro*, Francesco Durante.<sup>255</sup> Demeyere's reconstruction of Fenaroli's partimento curriculum, based on a number of manuscripts, positions the rule of the octave at the beginning of partimento training: first in common keys and then later in less common ones, so that his students learned how to harmonize a scale in their first class. Cadences followed, although in printed versions of his *Regole musicali*, the rule of the octave often follows the cadences.<sup>256</sup>

The French edition of Fenaroli's partimenti was reprinted in 1840<sup>257</sup> by the editor Launer, who acquired Carli's musical assets in 1828 and used the same printing plates from the first edition.<sup>258</sup>

The great success of Fenaroli's partimenti was not limited to the Conservatoire but, as the list of subscriptions shows, were also adopted by other professional musicians living in Paris. Thanks to the popularity of Neapolitan trained musicians, its practical

252 Ewald Demeyere also points out that the position given to these partimenti in Imbimbo's edition invalidates their increasing difficulty. The new position of these exercises, at the end of book two, implies that these easier partimenti (based on the rule of the octave and cadences) are now to be practised after partimenti on the dissonanze. See Demeyere (2018), 215.

253 Fétis (1837), 85. Also quoted in Cafiero (2011), 191.

254 Most of the sources examined for this book are structured as described. See e.g. the works of Perne, Berton and Bienaimé.

255 See Van Tour (2017).

256 Demeyere (2018), 212.

257 Fenaroli [1840].

258 Devriès-Lesure (1979), vol. 2, 260.

method was undeniably effective. In a review of 1825, Ludovic Vitet enthusiastically describes Fenaroli's method and the results that could be achieved if practised regularly:

Quand on a, pendant quelques mois, étudié sérieusement l'ouvrage de Fénaroli, on peut se dire initié à tous les secrets de l'harmonie pratique: les accords naissent d'eux-mêmes sous les doigts; on prélude avec aisance; on peut à son gré varier des motifs favoris, les enchaîner, les promener dans tous les tons: ce sont des plaisirs sans fin.<sup>259</sup>

Vitet describes the skills acquired through the practice of partimento by saying that chords form automatically under the fingers, and that pianists are able to play prelude, improvise variations and transpose melodies into all keys with ease.

A second volume of Fenaroli's partimenti, the *Seguito de' Partimenti*, was published in Paris shortly after the first French edition. As with the first, it was edited by Imbimbo and does not list the publishing year. According to the number of the *cotage* (in this book n. 536) it could have appeared in 1814. As the title proclaims, this volume is dedicated to the *bassi fugati*, the highest level of partimento teaching in the Neapolitan Conservatories.<sup>260</sup> As mentioned earlier, as well as in his preface, these exercises were almost unknown outside Naples and could consequently be considered difficult to interpret.<sup>261</sup>

In this book, Imbimbo writes an introduction outlining the rules of counterpoint, canons, imitations, and fugue, followed by examples of Fenaroli's *bassi fugati* realized as vocal fugues with *basso continuo*.<sup>262</sup> No specific record mentions whether this second volume of partimenti was used at the Conservatoire. As will be seen in the third chapter, the teaching of *harmonie* and *accompagnement* did not include fugues, although elements of imitation and counterpoint were introduced during harmony lessons. As considered earlier, the teaching of fugue was reserved until a higher level of education, the course of *contrepoint et fugue*.<sup>263</sup>

Imbimbo explains that the exercises contained in this book were used in Naples as preparation for the fugue. They were given to advanced students who already had good partimento and contrapuntal skills.<sup>264</sup>

Fra gli esercizj musicali della scuola napolitana vi è quello di dare a' giovani provetti ne' Partimenti, ed avanzati nel Contrappunto, un Basso fugato, da scioglierlo per formarne a più voci una Fuga. Il Sig. Fenaroli essendo maestro del regal Conservatorio di S. Maria di Loreto in Napoli, è stato il primo a lasciarci ne' suoi Partimenti una serie di Bassi Fugati

259 Quoted in Cafiero (2019), 65.

260 For further information on the partimento fugue, see Sanguinetti (2010) and (2012a), 316–341, Van Tour (2019) and his forthcoming monograph: *The Italian Fugue: Investigated through Young Apprentices in Eighteenth-Century Naples and Bologna*.

261 Imbimbo [1814], I.

262 For further information on this volume see Cafiero (2020), 156–160.

263 See Chapters 1 and 3.

264 See also Gjerdingen (2010).

per esercitare su di essi gli alunni, onde potessero facilmente divenire compositori, come fra' tanti contiamo i Sig.ri Santucci, Giordaniello, Zingarelli, Cimarosa &c. &c. Ora essendo un tal metodo poco, o nulla conosciuto altrove, i suddetti Bassi Fugati si rendono a molti di difficile interpretazione. Per la qual cosa, volendo agevolar la strada a' studenti di musica, ne ho decomposti alcuni riducendoli in Fughe a 2, a 3, a 4, e a 5 voci, senza alterare la condotta di essi: di alcuni altri poi ho cercato solamente distenderne qualche passaggio. E perché meglio si concepisca l'artifizio d'un componimento qualunque, ho creduto indispensabile di aggiungervi un compendio di quanto alla pratica del Contrappunto, e della Fuga appartensi; sperando di questa mia fatica trovare nel pubblico più indulgenza che severità, e nel rispettabile Fenaroli benigno compatimento.<sup>265</sup>

Imbimbo explains briefly how to realize partimenti *fugati*:

Volendo mettere in partizione un Basso fugato, o un Ricercare de' Partimenti, potrà il giovane servirsi delle medesime chiavi designate dall'autore, o pure cambiarle con quelle che giudicherà a proposito: Noterà la Proposta e la Risposta di ciascuna Parte, e se vi è un Contrasoggetto, esaminerà da chi si dee introdurre. Riempirà il vuoto d'armonia fra le Parti, facendole talvolta tacere per riprendere con più forza. Baderà alle note che portano cambiamento di Modo. Cercherà i Contrappunti doppi, i Canoni, i Rivolti, le Imitazioni, i Divertimenti, e lo Stretto della Fuga. Finalmente oltre il Basso cantante studierà a trovare, se è possibile; un Basso continuo, sia pur semplice, o composto, che serva non solo di accompagnamento, ma che concorra con le altre Parti all'artifizio dell'Armonia, ed al quale si unirà talvolta il Basso cantante, o quella voce che prende il luogo di Basso.<sup>266</sup>

In this short excerpt Imbimbo, lists all the steps that a student should follow when realizing a partimento *fugato*:

- 1) Choose voices as indicated by the clefs. These can be those contained in the partimento *fugato* or can be changed.
- 2) Find the subject and the answer in each voice and if there is a countersubject. Identify the voices that will eventually sing it.
- 3) Fill in the harmonic gaps between parts, sometimes using rests to make the entrance of the theme stronger.
- 4) Recognize points of modulation.
- 5) Look for double counterpoint, canons, inversions, imitations, episodes, and the *stretto*.
- 6) Write a basso continuo that works as an accompaniment to the entire piece and fill in the harmony.

In order to provide good examples of contrapuntal realizations, Imbimbo uses musical excerpts from Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi, Padre Martini, Giuseppe Zarlino, Antonio Eximeno together with examples by the Neapolitan *Maestri* Leo, Durante, and Pergolesi.

<sup>265</sup> Imbimbo, Emanuele [1814]: 1. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 203.

<sup>266</sup> Imbimbo, Emanuele [1814]: 17. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 204.

After the publication of the two volumes that Imbimbo edited, at least two other editions of Fenaroli's *Regole* were printed in Paris.

In 1822, Perne published his *Cours élémentaire* and, in the book's second part, he included his own edition of Fenaroli's *regole* and *partimenti*. To answer Rosa Cafiero's question about the existence of this edition, it could be suggested that this section of Perne's work is the "collection des partimenti de Fenaroli, avec le commentaire de M. Perne" mentioned by Choron in his edition of Azzopardi's *musicien pratique*.<sup>267</sup> This publication will be discussed later in this chapter.

More than fifty years after it was first published in France, a new edition of Fenaroli's *partimenti* came out in 1868, edited by Édouard Deldevez (1817–1897): *Fenaroli, Cours complet d'Harmonie et de Haute Composition*.<sup>268</sup>

L'ouvrage de Fenaroli a été gravé à Paris par les soins d'Imbimbo, qui en a traduit le texte, revu et augmenté l'édition d'un Extrait des Principes de Musique. Il se compose de Partimenti, ou basses chiffrées. Cet ouvrage adopté par les conservatoires de Naples et de Paris a formé "une multitude d'excellents élèves." C'est ce qu'il y a de mieux, dit Choron, pour apprendre l'accompagnement.<sup>269</sup>

Deldevez studied at the Conservatoire and won the *concours* of counterpoint and fugue and the second prize at the *Prix de Rome* in 1838. He was active as a violinist, composer, and teacher.

The *partimenti* in his work are simply defined as *basses chiffrées*.<sup>270</sup> The purpose of this edition is, in Deldevez' words:

[...] de présenter une espèce de rudiment d'un genre nouveau pour l'étude de l'harmonie appliquée au piano; un recueil d'exemples, de règles, de leçons pratiques; en quelque sorte un *corrigé* d'exercices, modèle de réalisations.<sup>271</sup>

There can be three types of *accompagnement pratique*:

1.<sup>o</sup> sous une forme élémentaire, telle que la disposition régulière de l'harmonie dans les trois positions d'accords; 2.<sup>o</sup> d'une manière choisie, résultant de l'alternative des trois positions; 3.<sup>o</sup> dans le style sévère, embrassant l'harmonie, le contre-point, la fugue, les trois éléments de l'art qui sont, comme l'a si bien défini Jean-Jacques Rousseau, la composition même, à l'invention près, qu'il faut de plus au compositeur.<sup>272</sup>

The first type is a realization in a chosen position; the second results from using all three positions; and the third requires knowledge of counterpoint and results in a

267 Azzopardi (1824), 99. Cafiero (2020), 62.

268 See Cafiero (2019).

269 Deldevez [1868], I. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 198, footnote 42.

270 Deldevez [1868], I.

271 Deldevez [1868], I.

272 Deldevez [1868], I.

composition. In fact, this third type of realization is in the tradition of the Neapolitan school, with the partimenti intended to guide improvised composition. Deldevez studied harmony and accompaniment with Berton, whose approach combined (Neo)-Ramellian theories and partimento *moti del basso*, with particular emphasis on imitation.<sup>273</sup> Interestingly, Deldevez then remarks:

Mais, avant de réaliser, soit au piano, soit par écrit, l'harmonie de la basse chiffrée, il faut exercer les doigts sur des réalisations écrites; de cette manière les doigts apprennent en même temps à lire et à écrire.<sup>274</sup>

In order to learn how to realize partimenti, the student should first play written realizations, such that the fingers will learn how to “read and write.” In the Neapolitan method, this kind of automatism in the fingers was acquired by playing the *regole* in all keys and possible positions. It is rare that a realized example is given in Neapolitan sources, though the order of the figures on the bass may sometimes indicate the position. However, as far as we know there is no indication that written realizations were used to practise improvisation, unlike the *disposizioni* that were used to practise written composition.<sup>275</sup> There is an extent to which this approach contradicts the main purpose of the training: improvised composition, stemming from an improvised and unwritten idea. However, as will be described in the following chapters, it was common practice in French teaching to write realizations of partimenti.

For the fourth book of partimenti, the author leaves the exercise of realization to the reader. Figures are given, in this and the following books, as found in other Fenaroli sources. Since the second half of the 18th century, the sign *plus* (+) had been common in French continuo figures to indicate the leading tone, and is occasionally substituted here with the sign #, with both signs used interchangeably.<sup>276</sup> In this section, footnotes are added, referring to previous partimenti in which certain rules were applied.

## 2.4. The work of Berton (Professor of *harmonie* and *accompagnement* from 1795 to 1815)

Henri-Montan Berton (1767–1844) came from a family of musicians.<sup>277</sup> He received his first musical training from his father, Pierre-Montan – a composer and conductor – and later took composition lessons from J.B. Rey and Sacchini. He was appointed

<sup>273</sup> See later in this chapter.

<sup>274</sup> Deldevez [1868], I.

<sup>275</sup> See Sanguineti (2005).

<sup>276</sup> The different use of figures in French continuo practice will not be focused on here as this has already been covered by Verwaerde. See Verwaerde (2015), 145 et seq.

<sup>277</sup> Information on Berton’s biography is taken from Charlton (2001).

professor of *harmonie* in the newly founded Conservatoire in 1795 and taught this subject until the suppression of the establishment in 1815. In the later *École Royale de musique et de déclamation*, he taught composition from 1819 until 1843, teaching for an impressive almost fifty years at the same institution.

In the introduction to his *Traité d'harmonie suivi d'un dictionnaire des accords en trois volumes*, Berton positioned himself in the middle-ground between theoreticians, on one side, and supporters of the practical approach, on the other. He positioned his *Traité* as a compromise between the two.<sup>278</sup>

Aussi deux sectes bien distinctes l'une de l'autre, celle des théoriciens et celle des praticiens, ont-elles voulu s'arroger tour-à-tour le droit exclusif de dicter les lois de la composition musicale. Les théoriciens ont créé des systèmes qu'ils ont appuyés sur des calculs mathématiques, tandis que les praticiens, ne se laissant guider que par l'instinct du sentiment, ont puisé leurs principes dans les leçons de l'expérience. Laquelle de ces deux sectes mérite une entière confiance? Ni l'une ni l'autre isolément; il faut chercher la solution du problème dans l'amalgame de ces deux écoles. Car s'il est vrai de dire que les beaux-arts doivent être plus sentis que raisonnés, il est vrai de dire aussi que l'ordre, l'arrangement, si nécessaires en toute chose, le sont plus encore en musique. Il lui faut surtout des règles, des lois qui, sans comprimer les inspirations du génie, arrêtent ses écarts, rectifient ses erreurs, et protègent l'art contre les séductions du mauvais goût qui naît presque toujours de l'amour de l'extraordinaire et de l'emploi des moyens surnaturels.<sup>279</sup>

According to Berton, merging these two approaches was the only way to balance the instinctive inspiration of genius and rigorous application of rules.

Berton also believed that great composers served as a yardstick by which one could determine which rules of composition should be followed. Among the names he lists, the majority are representatives of the Neapolitan school:

Si la langue française fut fixée dans le 17.<sup>me</sup> siècle par les immortels écrits de Racine, des Bossuet, des Boileau et de quelques autres écrivains célèbres, pourquoi la langue musicale ne l'aurait-elle pas été dans le siècle dernier par les chefs-d'œuvre des Pergolèze, des Handel, des Leo, des Durante, des Jomelli, des Gluck, des Sacchini, des Piccini, des Grétry, des Cimarosa, des Haydn et des Mozart? Si les premiers ont acquis le droit incontestable d'être considérés comme les législateurs de notre littérature; pourquoi les seconds n'auraient-ils pas celui de devenir les législateurs de la science musicale?<sup>280</sup>

The first five chapters of Berton's *Traité* are dedicated to basic notions of music theory; in the sixth chapter, chords and their inversions are introduced. Following Ramellian ideas, the *corps sonore harmonique* is here the *racine*, the root of all chords in their genealogical tree, and is composed of the fundamental note and its first overtones. Chords are divided into consonant and dissonant; there are five types of

278 An overview on this *Traité* is also found in Nicephor (2007), 195–202.

279 Berton (1815a), ii.

280 Berton (1815a), iii.

dissonant chords: *par augmentation* (obtained by adding one or two thirds to the triad); *par retardement* (chord containing a suspension, such as the 5/4 chord, and its inversions); *par augmentation et par retardement* (a combination of the two previous chord types); *accords de la pédaule tonique* (chords on a tonic pedal point) and *par altération* (when a note, usually the fifth or the third, is diminished). The inversion of the latter results in augmented sixth chords:



Figure 2.5. Berton (1815a), 27–28.

As Méeus pointed out, this approach is distinct from Catel's theory – the official teaching of harmony at the Conservatoire – and positions itself nearer to that of Langlé.<sup>281</sup> However, Méeus has omitted to point out that Berton's chord theory is much closer to Catel's than to Rameau's, which he rejects in nearly all essential aspects of chord generation.

Parallel fifths between the German sixth chord and the dominant are excused by Berton *par licence*:

Par licence, on fait aussi quelquefois deux quintes inaltérées de suite, mais ce n'est que lorsque toutes les parties descendant d'un demi-ton. Ce passage ne peut être considéré que comme une licence qu'il ne faut se permettre que lorsqu'un grand effet peut la justifier.<sup>282</sup>

For each chord type, Berton offers examples of good and bad suspensions and resolutions, all of which are collected in a table.<sup>283</sup> Including bad examples might seem to contradict his effort to simplify concepts for students, but he still gives a model for all cases that students can refer to in case of doubt.

281 Méeus (1999), 265.

282 Berton (1815a), 19.

283 Berton (1815a), 34–35.

In the three volumes that serve as an appendix to the *Traité*, called the *Dictionnaire des Accords*,<sup>284</sup> Berton presents 6298 examples of all types of chords, including all inversions, and all (good and bad) possible chord resolutions. The central point of his theory is the harmonic relation between the tonic, the dominant, and the subdominant. In his basic ideas about the *sons fondamentaux*, Rameau pointed out that the “natural” proportions of the harmonics of those degrees (Ut being the third harmonic of Fa, while Sol is the third harmonic of Ut) results in the dominant a fifth above the tonic and the subdominant a fifth under the tonic.<sup>285</sup> Following this, Berton created a game in 1842, the *Jeu des Préludes Harmoniques*, designed to help beginners identify these three pillar chords for each tonality through a sheet of paper with holes cut in it (called *compas*) superimposed on a table of chords.<sup>286</sup> By moving the sheet on the table of chords, it was easy to see the three fundamental chords of each tonality.

In general, Berton aimed to simplify music theory for students, especially the Ramellian theories – or, more correctly, the Neo-Ramellian theories – which he almost certainly learned from Rey. The content of his *Traité* frequently takes a critical stance, often in a subtly humorous way, towards the historical French “continuo” terminology of chords. Berton mentions that he does not use the name *accord du triton* to describe the 4/2 chord because it would not be consistent with the name of other intervals and would overload students’ minds with impractical information. Following his reasoning, if the word *triton* is used to describe an interval made of three tones, other intervals should be renamed accordingly: a major third should be called *biton* and a minor seventh a *quiton*, and so on.<sup>287</sup> He therefore suggests using the terms *quarte augmentée*, instead of *triton*, and *quinte diminuée* instead of *fausse quinte*. Regarding the *petite sixte mineure*, the second inversion of a minor seventh chord, he criticizes the redundancy of the name:

L'on n'a pas besoin, je crois, de prendre beaucoup de peine pour démontrer la nullité de cette dénomination; car en disant *petite mineure*, l'on fait un pléonasme, cette manière de s'exprimer est inconvenable, la qualification de 6.<sup>te</sup> mineure suffit; autrefois, quand on employait cette dénomination, l'on voulait désigner le 2. renversement d'un accord de 7.<sup>eme</sup> qui est celui que nous chiffrons maintenant par 3/4, le dégré de la gamme sur lequel on l'emploie et le mode où l'on est, indiquent la nature de la 6.<sup>te</sup> que l'on doit y introduire.<sup>288</sup>

The term *sixte mineure* instead of *petite sixte* is also preferred by Berton. In accordance with the terminological standards of his time, Rameau calls *petite sixte* the second

284 Berton (1815b).

285 Rameau (1737), 106.

286 For further information see Blackmore (2019).

287 Berton (1815a), 72–73.

288 Berton (1815a), 74.

inversion of a seventh chord (4/3),<sup>289</sup> in particular on the 2nd and 6th scale degree. The use of the terms *majeure* and *mineure* usually indicate the major or minor interval and, in the exceptional case of Rameau's theory, the *progrès obligé* of the dissonances: if it resolves upwards, it is *majeure*; if downwards, *mineure*.<sup>290</sup> Berton considers the *petite sixte majeure*, the second inversion of a dominant seventh chord, to be an oxymoron. To demonstrate this, he quotes the poet Jacques Delille:

Il ne voit que la nuit, n'entend que le silence!

Cela est très-bien dans un poème, mais ici l'antithèse de petite majeure passe la permission, et l'on ne peut entendre ce qu'on a voulu dire, par cette dénomination. L'accord dit de petite sixte majeure, n'est autre chose qu'un accord de 3/4 placé sur le 2.<sup>d</sup> degré, la 6.<sup>te</sup> du 2.<sup>d</sup> degré étant la note sensible du ton, il est donc inutile de l'indiquer dans sa dénomination et par les chiffres, excepté lorsque l'on veut moduler.<sup>291</sup>

The fact that *petite* actually refers to the position of the hand and not the size of the interval had disappeared from general awareness in just a few years. In this way, Berton consistently “cleans up” the old-fashioned, out-moded terms and exchanges them for newer, more “logical” ones.

It is not just here that Berton turns against Rameau:

Il doit paraître, sans doute, un peu téméraire d'oser attaquer le célèbre Rameau dans ses opinions musicales; mais malgré le respect que nous portons à ce célèbre compositeur, nous croyons avoir des arguments assez forts pour essayer de combattre l'erreur dans laquelle il tomba sur l'origine de son accord de 6.<sup>te</sup> ajoutée, et qu'il a voulu classer, dans certains cas, parmi les accords fondamentaux, et dans d'autres parmi ceux de renversement, ce qui en fait véritablement un accord amphibie.<sup>292</sup>

Berton criticized the concept of *double emploi* of the 6/5 chord in particular.

According to Rameau, the 6/5 chord is an *accord fondamentale*, generated by the *corps sonore*.<sup>293</sup> Berton may have been misled here (as so many are) by the fact that Rameau's *accords fondamentaux* – which arise directly from the *corps sonore* – should be distinguished from the *accords fondamentaux* of Rameau's proper chord theory. Because, as a chord with a *son surnuméraire*, the *accord de la sixte ajoutée* is not invertible and thus not an *accord fondamentale*. To Berton, it was confusing to assign

289 Concerning the *petite sixte* see the Chapter “Terzquartakkord: Quarta italica–quarta irregulär–petite sixte” in Holtmeier (2013), 196–203.

290 Holtmeier (2017a), 38–41.

291 Berton (1815a), 75.

292 Berton (1815a), 76.

293 Holtmeier (2017a), 59.

the role of a dissonance to the fifth or the sixth based on the chord that follows.<sup>294</sup> The dissonance should be recognizable, according to Berton, immediately it appears.<sup>295</sup>

However, what is significant is that Berton clearly did not understand which chord or which (plagal) cadential progression Rameau was trying to define with his term: what Berton defines as *accord de la sixte ajoutée* is actually nothing other than a *grande sixte*, which Rameau also sees as an invertible chord in which the fifth is the dissonance. The sheer complexity of the concept of the *sixte ajoutée* is likely to have contributed significantly to Rameau's theory being discredited as abstract.

Fétis expresses himself in a similarly misleading way in his *Traité*:<sup>296</sup>

Or, il est évident que ce prétendu accord fondamental, non formé par des tierces, superposées ou subposées, détruit de fond en comble l'économie du système de Rameau; mais tel est l'effet de la prévention, que l'inventeur du système de la basse fondamentale se fit une complète illusion sur ce défaut capital, et que ses sectateurs ne l'aperçurent même pas.<sup>297</sup>

As will be discussed later, although Berton criticized some of Rameau's terminology, he applied chord inversions to the *moti del basso* just as Rameau did.<sup>298</sup> Because of this approach, and his use of other elements and terminology from Rameau's theories, he was ironically classified as a *ramiste*. In his *Revue Musicale* of 1830, Fétis had pointed out Berton's adoption of Rameau's *basse fondamentale*; however, he describes Berton's theory as seemingly identical ("méthode semblable") to Rameau's theory:

M. Berton a publié un *Traité d'harmonie* et un *Dictionnaire des accords*, en quatre volumes in-4°, dans lesquels il suit une méthode semblable à celle de l'auteur de la basse fondamentale, en faisant venir toutes les harmonies de l'accord parfait, au moyen de superpositions de notes, et en les isolant de la double considération de la préparation et de la résolution des intervalles.<sup>299</sup>

From this overview it is clear that Berton's theories are plainly influenced by his study of Rameau's works under Rey, who already differed from Rameau in key areas of theoretical thinking. Nevertheless, lessons with Sacchini provided him with an insight into the practical and horizontal Neapolitan approach. During his years working as a teacher, in touch with the daily needs of students, he had to simplify some precepts in order to create an effective, hybrid method that combined both approaches. On the one hand, he introduces elements of chord formation, a methodology included

294 For the *double emploi* in Rameau see Holtmeier (2017a), 81–90.

295 Berton (1815a), 77–78. He uses a quite colorful example to explain this: "it would be like having two twins and not being able to recognize the sex of the first born until the second is delivered."

296 See Fétis (1844), pp. 207–8 and 297, also mentioned in Peters (1990) p.50–51.

297 Fétis (1844), 207. Also quoted in Peters (1990), 50.

298 See Chapter 4. See Rameau (1722), 396.

299 Also quoted in Geay (1999), 244.

in Catel's *méthode*, and therefore required for the *curriculum* of *harmonie*,<sup>300</sup> on the other, he tries to simplify terminology in an attempt to make neo-Ramellian theories more accessible to students.

Berton's *Traité* also contains a section on *Formenlehre*, in which elements of phrasing are treated. The purpose of this section is to give structural guidance to composers when composing different kinds of pieces. Here Berton clearly stands in the tradition of the French doctrine of the *repos*, which also plays an important role in Rameau's theoretical writings, especially in the *Code de musique*. As far as is known, no written Neapolitan sources discuss formal aspects of composition.<sup>301</sup>

A section on counterpoint closes the book. It includes paragraphs describing techniques for using imitation (transposition, inversion, rhythmic aspects), canon, and fugue. In the next chapter of this study, a manuscript by one of Berton's students will be used to reconstruct the contents of his course of *harmonie*.<sup>302</sup>

## 2.5. Perne's *Cours élémentaire d'harmonie et d'accompagnement*

François-Louis Perne (1772–1832) studied music at the *maîtrise* of Saint Jacques-de-la-Boucherie in Paris, sang in the choir of the *Opéra* from 1792 to 1799, and played double-bass in its orchestra until 1816. At the Conservatoire, he worked as Catel's assistant between 1811 and 1813, and that year was appointed Professor of *harmonie* as Catel's successor. He also was nominated *Inspecteur général* in 1816 (his successor was Cherubini, who started in 1822) and worked as a librarian in the *bibliothèque* from 1819.

One of the most remarkable examples of French reception of Neapolitan partimento is to be found in the work of Perne. In the preface to his *Cours élémentaire d'harmonie et d'accompagnement*,<sup>303</sup> he explains his choice of method, which aimed to simplify all principles and contents so that students could learn easily when they were not attending classes at the Conservatoire and combine the content of their aural lessons with those in this book. He claims that this method is similar to the one in use in Italy and Germany, with some differences:

Dans les écoles d'Italie et d'Allemagne, on emploie des moyens analogues à ceux que nous avons choisis; mais là, les Maîtres et les Traité s'abstiennent de motiver leurs préceptes,

300 See Chapter 3.

301 See Holtmeier (2017a), 78 et seq. Felix Diergarten investigated an Italian 18th Century analysis by Giuseppe Paolucci, a student of Padre Martini in Diergarten (2020).

302 See Chapter 3.

303 Perne, [1822], I.

tandis que nous avons cru devoir donner à nos principes les développemens nécessaires à une solide instruction.<sup>304</sup>

His book aims to compensate for the lack of explanations and instructions in Italian and German treatises.

Perne's book is similarly structured to Fenaroli's: there are rules, such as preparation and resolution of all dissonances, and then exercises to practise these rules. Unlike partimenti, these exercises are designed to be written at first for a trio and, in a second moment, as a quartet. Perne also provides his realizations of these exercises, so that students can compare their version with their teacher's. Alongside this practical approach, Perne includes long paragraphs on chords, their inversions, and formation. He mentions Rameau when using some of his terminologies but distinguishes the *accords primitifs* from the *accords par substitution*, whereby he clearly alters the original concept and seems to blend it with the Ramellian concept of *suspension*:<sup>305</sup>

Nous appellons accord par substitution, tout accord fondamental ou dérivé qui, au lieu d'être formé avec les notes qui le composent ordinairement, se trouve avoir une ou deux ou même trois notes qui lui sont étrangères et qui tiennent lieu de ses notes ordinaires; ce qui nous fera considérer désormais les accords, en accords Primitifs (qui sont les accords fondamentaux) et en accords par substitution, qui sont tous les accords primitifs où il entre une ou plusieurs notes étrangères.<sup>306</sup>

According to Perne, there are three ways of applying a *substitution* to a chord:

1. Substitution effective: the dissonant note is not prepared, nor anticipates a note of the chord that follows. The examples given by Perne show dissonant upper and lower neighboring notes.

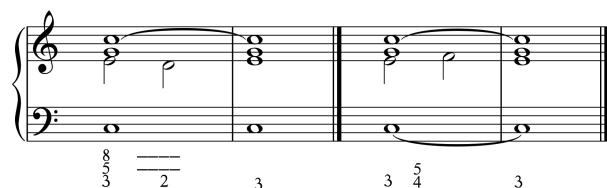


Figure 2.6. Perne (1822), 205.

2. Substitution par retard: This type of substitution occurs by means of a prepared (and resolved) suspension.

304 Perne [1822], I-II.

305 Rameau (1722), 43.

306 Perne [1822], 204.

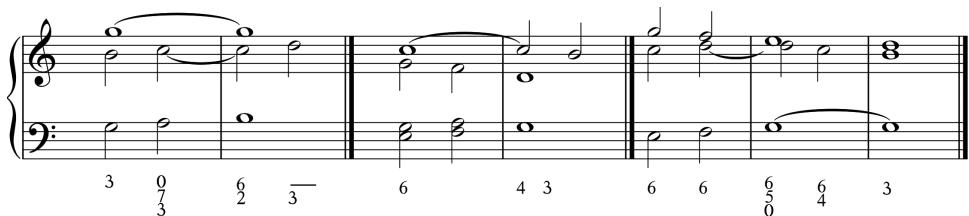


Figure 2.7. Perne (1822), 205.

In the first example, the ninth on the second bar resolves upwards. This is explained by the number 2 in the figures that indicates a *secunda supersyncopata* resolving upwards.<sup>307</sup> The dissonant C is considered by Perne to be *substitution*: the suspension is not a dissonance in the traditional contrapuntal meaning, but a delayed arrival of the third of the 6/3 chord.

3. Substitution par anticipation: This substitution is the figure of the *anticipatio*, the anticipation of a note sounding in a chord that follows and results in a dissonance at the moment of appearance.

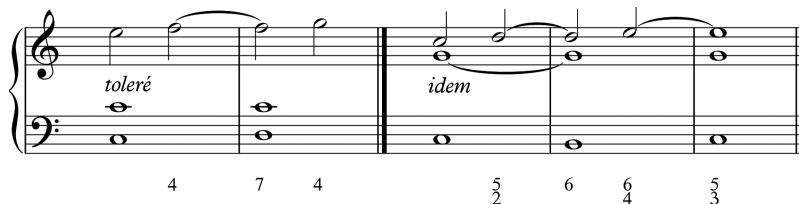


Figure 2.8. Perne (1822), 205

To clarify, Perne offers a table with all chords, the scale degree they can be placed on, and all *substitutions* that may apply.<sup>308</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the second part of Perne's *Cours élémentaire* is of particular interest for the purpose of this research. Perne essentially re-writes Fenaroli's book, using *regole* and *partimenti* with his own comments and additions, thereby creating another edition of Fenaroli's *Regole*.

Le meilleur ouvrage qui existe en Italie sur l'harmonie pratique étant le recueil des *Partimenti* ou Basses chiffrées de Fenaroli, nous avons cru devoir insérer dans la seconde partie

<sup>307</sup> See Holtmeier (2017a), 305.

<sup>308</sup> Holtmeier identifies in Heinichen the first method based on the "Sitz der Akkorde" in Holtmeier (2017a), 7–8.

de ce Cours Elémentaire les règles générales des mouvements de la Basse données par cet auteur et les leçons qui en sont la conséquence.<sup>309</sup>

The contents of this second part do not follow the same order as the French edition of Fenaroli. Perne must have had manuscripts in his possession, as these often follow the same order he uses to present *regole*, combined with partimenti designed to practise a certain rule.<sup>310</sup>

The first sixteen partimenti from Fenaroli's first book appear in this section. The figuration is maintained in the Neapolitan style. On each verso, there are the figured melodies composed by Perne and, on the recto, the partimento by Fenaroli from which the *chants* are derived. The student can easily combine them or use them as separate exercises. We shall discuss some of these examples in the section dedicated to realizations.<sup>311</sup>

Les Basses chiffrées (*ou Partimenti*) de Fenaroli sont, sans contredit, les meilleures leçons d'Harmonie pratique, connues jusqu'à présent. Elles sont faciles, graduelles et méthodiques; et elles nous ont servi de *Base* pour les *Mélodies à notes portantes* que nous avons composé et placé en regard de ces mêmes Basses.<sup>312</sup>

Perne also adds a didactic suggestion as to how these exercises should be used:

Pour tirer le plus grand avantage de ces mélodies et Basses chiffrées, données isolément, il sera à propos que l'Élève s'exerce d'abord à exécuter la Basse chiffrée, puis ensuite qu'il passe à la mélodie correspondante, en y plaçant dessous et à l'aide du chiffre et de sa mémoire, phrase par phrase, cette même Basse dont l'Harmonie fournit le chant comme partie aigüe.<sup>313</sup>

The student must first realize the bass and then the melody, using his or her memory to play the same bass and accompaniment written in the partimento. As a memory guide, Perne writes figures together with the melody.

Fenaroli's second book on dissonances follows. Perne comments on each dissonance preparation and resolution found in Fenaroli and presents it together with its partimento and, once again, a *chant donné* with figures composed on each partimento. In some cases, Perne adds options missing in Fenaroli, such as the dissonant ninth prepared by the fifth and resolved on the third or sixth. Although adding these examples does complete the picture of preparations and resolution of dissonance, it

309 Perne [1822], II.

310 e.g. I-Bsf\_M.F.\_I-8. This same order will be later found the the edition published by Canti in Firenze in 1856 and later by Forni in 1978. See Sanguinetti (2011) and Demeyere (2018) for further information on these sources.

311 See Chapter 5.

312 Perne, [1822], 273.

313 Perne [1822], 273.

does not add substantial pedagogical value to Fenaroli's lessons. Once the principle of dissonance treatment is learned, students can recognize for themselves when it is possible to apply a dissonance to a chord, or when it is not. Perne also modifies Fenaroli's examples for each dissonance. He sets the examples in the tonality of the partimento that follows, meaning that he adds examples in minor keys that are not present in Fenaroli's second book. By contrast, Fenaroli gives all examples in G major, followed by the transposition of its figured bass in the most common tonalities.<sup>314</sup>

Another difference is Perne's strict use of four-voice settings for his examples, whereas Fenaroli moves between a three and five-voice setting, in line with contemporary accompaniment practice. Fenaroli's examples also often feature the accompanist's habit of using a note at the same pitch as preparation, even when it is not in the same voice:

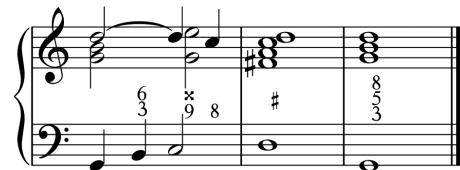


Figure 2.9. Fenaroli (1856), Libro II, p.7.

Perne uses strict voice leading in this example:

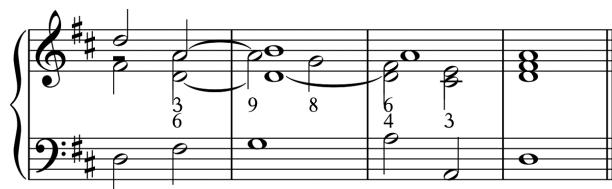


Figure 2.10. Perne (1822), 303.

As can be seen, Perne distinguishes the subjects of *harmonie* and *accompagnement*. When discussing *accompagnement*, he believes that the number of voices does not remain constant throughout the entire piece, just as Fenaroli notes in his examples.

As with Fenaroli's third book, there is a section on *moti del basso* after the section on dissonances. Perne transposes Fenaroli's examples into C major and standardizes

<sup>314</sup> See Demeyere (2018), 214.

the number of voices and any possible voice-leading inaccuracies. These examples will be examined in greater detail in the chapter dedicated to the *regole*.<sup>315</sup>

After the section dedicated to the rules, a selection of seventeen of Fenaroli's forty-four *partimenti senza numeri* from his fourth book are given.<sup>316</sup> It is rare to find *partimenti* or basses without figures in French sources; in fact, Perne confirms this and adds a three-page section with annotations at the end of this collection of *partimenti*. These annotations contain information regarding which rules are applicable for each *partimento* (e.g., for number 44 – Fenaroli libro IV n.1 in G major – he writes: “emploi de la règle de l’octave, selon les modulations”). For others, he indicates the chords used when modulations occur, such as the *accord du Triton* or *de la fausse quinte*. And, sometimes, he suggests the *moto del basso* to refer to “emploi de Marches d’accords parfaits ou d’accords de neuvièmes et accords parfaits, lorsque la Basse monte de quarte et descend de tierce”<sup>317</sup>

The title page clearly states its intention: “Annotations sur les Leçons de Basse à chiffrer, à écrire ou à accompagner à trois ou quatre Parties.”<sup>318</sup> Fenaroli’s *partimenti* are given as both harmony and accompaniment exercises to be realized for three or four voices in a *disposizione*, or as a written exercise, or to be realized at the keyboard. Cherubini reunited *harmonie* and *accompagnement* in 1823 in order to promote the education of musicians who were both good harmonists and accompanists. From Perne’s book, it seems clear that he had a knowledge of the Neapolitan method, as there was not much separation between harmony and *partimento*; he applied this to his teaching, albeit with some differences.

After completing the *partimenti*, students worked on *chant*: “vingt leçons disposées pour apprendre graduellement à mettre la basse sous le chant.”<sup>319</sup>

These lessons follow a similar structure to Fenaroli’s *Regole*. Each *chant* is designed to be harmonized with certain chords, such as the dominant seventh and its inversions, or the diminished seventh. No figures are given under the melodies this time, implying that – by this point – students might have enough knowledge to find the right accompaniment after their study of *partimenti* and melodies associated with *partimenti*.<sup>320</sup>

The *Cours* concludes with a section on the pedal, with exercises applying all concepts learned: these basses might have been composed by Perne.<sup>321</sup>

315 See Chapter 4.

316 In Fenaroli’s fourth book they are number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 24, 27 and 28. They do not appear in this order. Perne [1822], 347–352.

317 Perne [1822], 353. See Chapters 3 and 5 for more details on these annotations.

318 Perne [1822], 353.

319 Perne [1822], 356.

320 A study on *chant donné* in Perne and other French sources is in preparation. Carlisi (forthcoming).

321 They are not found in the UUPart nor in the RILM database. Consulted on 29.04.2020.

The appendix of the *Cours élémentaire* is provided for students wishing to practise *accompagnement*. There is a section dedicated to these lessons in Chapter 3.

## 2.6. Victor Dourlen's *Traité d'harmonie* and *Traité d'accompagnement*

Victor Dourlen (1780–1864) began his studies at the Conservatoire in 1799 (taking composition under Gossec and harmony under Catel) and was a *lauréat* of the *Prix de Rome* in 1805. In 1812, he began teaching as an assistant professor at the Conservatoire and, in 1816 was made professor: first for *harmonie* and then for *harmonie et accompagnement*, when the two classes were reunited. His teaching career continued for the next twenty-six years until his retirement in 1842. The title of his *Traité d'Harmonie* announces that its content was used at the Conservatoire “un cours complet tel qu'il est enseigné au Conservatoire de Paris”.<sup>322</sup> This is plausible, since Dourlen taught harmony for such a long time and this book was presented to the *Académie Royale des beaux Arts* in 1838 as a summary of his teaching by the commission of the Conservatoire, formed by Cherubini, Paer, Auber, Halévy, Carafa, and Berton.<sup>323</sup>

The *Traité* is dedicated to his former teacher, Cherubini. In the dedication, Dourlen writes:

J'ai cherché à consacrer dans ce traité les doctrines que j'ai reçues de vous Monsieur, de M. Berton, de Catel et de Méhul. Ces doctrines basées sur les anciennes écoles d'Italie sont, je crois, le plus pures et les seules qui survivront à ce fatras de prétendues innovations dont on a cherché à abuser le public depuis quelques années.<sup>324</sup>

Dourlen states here that he intends to base his work on the *anciennes écoles d'Italie*.

In the preface, he mentions Rameau as the first theoretician in France to order the principles of harmony. He also mentions Catel as the creator of a good method, combining an explanation of the origins of chords with their *marche naturelle*. According to Dourlen, the only drawback to Catel's work is the small number of examples and that these were not developed further. Catel had intended to write a second edition of his *Traité*, but no trace of this survived in his papers after his death.

Il y a quelques années, lorsque j'eus conçu le plan de mon ouvrage, fruit de ma longue expérience dans l'enseignement, je fus le confier à Catel; il me dit: “mais c'est précisément ce que je veux faire dans une seconde édition de ma méthode” alors je lui promis que mon ouvrage ne paraîtrait pas.<sup>325</sup>

322 Dourlen [1838].

323 Dourlen [1838].

324 Dourlen [1838].

325 Dourlen [1838], 1.

Only after Catel's death in 1830 did Dourlen decide to publish his book. At the end of the preface, he attributes many of the lessons contained therein to Catel and says that he added his own contribution to the development of his method.

Dourlen's *Traité d'harmonie* starts with an overview of intervals, their inversions and classification, voice movements, and forbidden parallel motions. From the first pages, it is evident that Dourlen uses a different approach to the study of harmony than his colleagues. He approaches harmony through counterpoint, starting with two voice settings and gradually adding more parts. He writes that this book is not a treatise on counterpoint, but that he will use some rules of counterpoint to teach how to compose in two voices. The five "species" of Fux's counterpoint are briefly described through examples in two voices.

After his section on two-voice counterpoint, Dourlen presents exercises in three-voice settings, explaining the perfect triad and its inversions, with exercises alternating with realized basses. The *Traité* continues with examples in four and five voices. As in Berton and Perne, diminutions and imitations are introduced together.

On a vu à la seconde et à la troisième espèce de contrepoint ce que c'était que de notes de passage; maintenant nous allons en faire l'application aux leçons à trois et à quatre parties. Quand deux ou plusieurs parties se répondent, font le même dessin ou à peu près, à quelqu'intervalle que ce soit, cela se nomme: imitation. Ainsi dans l'exemple suivant les deux parties font imitation entre elles.<sup>326</sup>

Figure 2.11. Dourlen (1838), 9.

Next come dissonant chords, beginning with the dominant seventh chord (with a seventh that does not require preparation) and its application for cadences. Dourlen maintains Catel's nomenclature for cadences and inversions of the dominant seventh chord (*accord de sixte et quinte diminuée*, *accord de sixte sensible*, *accord du triton*), the half-diminished seventh chord (*septième mixte*), and the diminished seventh chord (*septième diminuée*).<sup>327</sup>

Dissonances are considered next, and are presented as a prolongation (and resolution) of a consonant note of a preceding chord. These apply to *marches*. The approach to the *moti del basso* stems from the dissonance or the chord used for it (e.g., seventh or 6/5) instead of being generated from the bass movement, as in partimento teaching.

326 Dourlen [1838], 9.

327 Dourlen [1838], 20–27.

Dourlen teaches which bass movements apply to certain chords while, in partimento sources, a selection of bass movements with different chord options are applicable for each progression.

Dourlen discusses the 6/5 chord on the ascending fourth degree of the scale; he writes that, before Rameau, this *sixte ajoutée* chord was a 5/3 chord with an added dissonant sixth, resolving upwards:

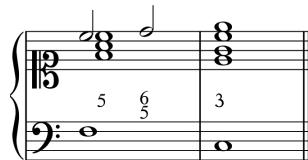


Figure 2.12. Dourlen (1838), 32.

He attributes this interpretation wrongly to the Abbé Roussier, who introduced this chord to solve some systematic problems of the *basse fondamentale*. This alone shows how little of Rameau's theories were still really present almost 80 years after his death. In fact, Dourlen correctly explains the chordal fifth as a *pédale*, i.e., as an actual holding tone which – one should add – does not usually appear, but is only present as *sous-entendue*.

As with Berton, all dissonances are generally presented in regard to a *basse fondamentale*: they are given with their inversions and explained from a vertical point of view, instead of the contrapuntal approach used in the first half of Dourlen's *Traité*.

The *Traité d'Harmonie* concludes with notes on pedal points and alterations. In the paragraph on the pedal point, he gives examples of how to create pedals in the bass, middle, or upper voices. He quotes Cherubini's works, mentioning that his favorite is in the *Crucifixus* of the second mass:

Une pédale admirable encore est celle qui se trouve dans la seconde messe de M. Cherubini, au *Crucifixus* je n'en connais pas de plus belle.<sup>328</sup>

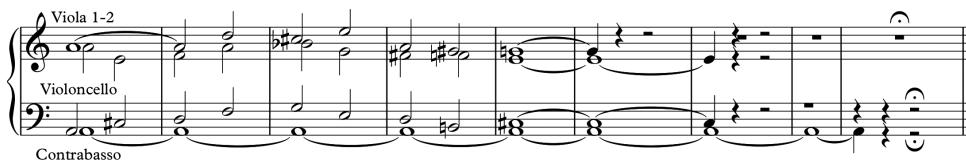


Figure 2.13. Cherubini, *Messe Solennelle* n.2, *Crucifixus* bb. 61–69.

328 Dourlen [1838], 48.

This pedal point begins in D minor. After a diminished seventh chord, Cherubini adds a Picardy third and, through a chromatic descent on the diminished seventh chord of the fifth degree, ends on dominant seventh chord of D minor.

Following exercises on the *marches* with consonances and dissonances, the rule of the octave and accompanying exercises are presented.<sup>329</sup> The last part of the *Traité d'Harmonie* covers the *chant donné*. Dourlen does not provide instructions on how to harmonize the melodies; instead, he offers several examples of harmonized melodies with *marches* used in the *Traité*.

The second book written by Dourlen is his *Traité d'Accompagnement*. Dourlen's treatise is not dated, although it contains a report signed by Cherubini, Auber, Halévy, Carafa and Berton on 16 May 1840, when the *Traité* was presented to the *Académie Royale des Beaux Arts*. As the title *Traité d'Accompagnement contenant les notions d'harmonie nécessaires pour accompagner les Basses chiffrées et par suite la Partition* indicates, the subject of *accompagnement* encompassed both figured bass and score reading; for it was considered easy to learn score reading once fluency in figure bass had been mastered.<sup>330</sup>

Dedicated to Berton, the *Traité* begins with a short review of the basic elements of music-theory required for an introduction to *accompagnement*. These are the definition and descriptions of intervals, their qualities and inversions, forbidden parallel motions, and positions of the right hand. In general, the *Traité d'accompagnement* contains all the topics that Dourlen had introduced and covered in his *Traité d'harmonie*. However, he now presents these matters in a more compact way, with examples for practical application on the keyboard. Each chord type is briefly explained and followed with exercises; at least one of which is realized by Dourlen in the three positions. Students are invited to transpose examples in order to practise in different keys. The same is applied to dissonances: each one is shown with several options for preparation and their resolution. As with Berton, Dourlen shifts the focus from the *moti del basso* to chords and their inversions. Whereas a Neapolitan partimentist practised the *regole*, Dourlen's student practised isolated intervals in the bass line.

The *Traité d'accompagnement* has two tables: the first includes all intervals in the bass and options for accompaniment, and the second contains intervals in the melody and their accompaniment patterns. This resembles the *tabula naturalis* and lacks one piece of fundamental information for the accompanist: the resolution of the chords on the second note.<sup>331</sup> Nevertheless, rules for dissonances, their resolutions, and voice-leading are given in the first part of the book. It is therefore implied that

329 For details on the rule of the octave in Dourlen see Chapter 4.

330 Dourlen [1840].

331 The *tabula naturalis* is an instruction for harmonization of single bass movements found in several sources of the 17th century. See among others Herbst (1643), 36–39. Thomas Christensen identifies a similar approach, inspired by the *tabula naturalis* found in Banchieri or Sabbatini, in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Austrian theorists. See Christensen (1992), 113.

students should have learned these before starting their practice; for example, fig. 2.14 shows all possible accompaniments for an ascending fourth in the bass line.

Among the exercises are several pieces; these include *solfeggi* or excerpts from chamber works to practise score reading, several *partimenti* by Neapolitan *Maestri* – such as Sala and Durante – to practise accompaniment, and some *chants donnés* to improve accompaniment skills when presented with a melody. At the end of the book, solutions for unfigured basses and to the *chants* are provided.<sup>332</sup>

The image displays three staves of musical notation, likely for a bassoon or cello, arranged vertically. Each staff consists of a treble clef, a bass clef, and a staff line. The notation is primarily unfigured basses, represented by open circles (bass clef) or dots (treble clef). Numerical figures are placed above or below the bass notes to indicate harmonic progressions. The first staff shows a sequence of bass notes with figures 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8. The second staff shows a sequence with figures 6, 5, 7, 6, 9, 8. The third staff shows a sequence with figures +4, 2, 5, +5, 7, +6, 7, +, 5, 3, 7, +. The fourth staff shows a sequence with figures 9, b4, 3, 7, +, 7, 3, 5, +5, +2, 3, 5, 6, 5, 6.

Figure 2.14. Dourlen (1840), 52.

## 2.7. Colet's *Panharmonie Musicale* and *Partimenti*

The next author to be considered for this overview of sources is Hippolyte-Raymond Colet (1808–1876). He entered the Conservatoire in 1828 and studied composition under Reicha and Berton (*composition lyrique*), winning second prize at the *concours* in 1833. He was professor for *harmonie et accompagnement* at the Conservatoire for eleven years between 1840 and 1851.

<sup>332</sup> Further details on this book are given in Chapter 3.

The contents of this book are summarized on the title page:

Harmonie, Mélodie, Contre-points, Fugues, Musique ancienne et moderne, Instrumentation, Orchestration, avec un nouveau système de clefs réduites à une seule clef de sol, et une nouvelle manière de chiffrer plus simple, plus logique, à l'usage des Artistes, de Amateurs, des Écoles de chant, de Pensions, et des Collèges.<sup>333</sup>

Simplification is key to Colet's work. As suggested by the title, he does not use the *setticlavia*, but only the G-clef and changes the figures used by his colleagues into more simple ones.<sup>334</sup> According to Fétis, this disappointed Cherubini:

L'esprit rempli d'idées fausses sur l'art qu'il était chargé d'enseigner dans la première école du royaume, au grand déplaisir de Cherubini, Colet avait entrepris la tâche de faire revivre le système de l'unité de clefs, proposé longtemps auparavant par l'abbé de la Cassagne [...].<sup>335</sup>

Colet went on to publish a compendium of harmony in 1847, designed as preparation for his *Panharmonie*. In *Conseils à mes Élèves, ou Traité élémentaire d'harmonie servant d'introduction à la Panharmonie musicale*, Colet introduces basic concepts of harmony – from intervals to chords – in a modern, pedagogical way. Each chapter is dedicated to one topic and is divided into the following sections:

- *Instructions*: a description of the topic and the rules attached to it.
- *Conseils*: practical advice on how to learn these said rules in the most effective way; for example, it may contain instructions on how to practise a passage or suggest how to transpose a chord in all tonalities, etc.
- *Explications*: some theoretical explanations concerning the subject of the chapter; as this is an introduction to harmony, these are usually short and expressed simply.
- *Exercises*: practical exercises to be realized at the piano and/or written down.
- *Examen*: questions to review the contents of the chapter, requiring a written answer.

L'élève, à chaque examen, devra faire une rédaction écrite pour répondre aux questions que nous lui adressons. Ce travail nécessaire ne le dispense pas de répondre aussi aux questions orales, sans regarder, bien entendu, la rédaction qu'il aura déjà faite. Cette observation s'appliquera à tous les examens.<sup>336</sup>

There was also an oral exam, in which students had to answer questions, without consulting the answers given in the written test.

333 Colet (1837).

334 See Chapter 4 for further information on Colet's system.

335 Fétis (1866–1868), 331. Joseph de la Cassagne (ca. 1720–ca. 1780) was a French theorist and teacher. In his *Traité général des éléments du chant* (Paris, 1766), he suggested simplifying music reading by employing only one clef (a movable G-clef) and only three time signatures. See Cohen (2001).

336 Colet (1847), 9.

After working through this course, students were ready to plunge deeper into the *Panharmonie*.

In the preface, Colet claims to be Reicha's successor.<sup>337</sup> Colet was a student in Reicha's counterpoint class, and was appointed by Cherubini to take over Reicha's class after his death. Colet's *Panharmonie* is divided into four parts, each dedicated to specific aspects of music composition. The first part is devoted to the elements of harmony: chords (*accords primitifs*),<sup>338</sup> voice leading, and the realization of “basses chiffrées ou partimenti,” cadences, rhythmic and melodic aspects, with special attention given to phrase divisions. The word *partimento* is rarely used in French sources, which usually opt for the more common *basse chiffrée* instead.<sup>339</sup> Colet includes a simple definition of *partimento*, similar to the one found in Imbimbo's preface to Fenaroli's French edition: “La manière d'indiquer les accords par des chiffres s'appelle en italien *partimento* (*basse chiffrée*).”<sup>340</sup>

The second section is dedicated to the *marches d'harmonie*, chord inversions, and alterations. The third part covers all kinds of embellishments, including passing notes, suspensions, pedal points, and all nonharmonic tones. The fourth and last section is dedicated to elements of imitation, canon, fugue, and counterpoint. In general, all topics are simplified and reduced to their basics; for example, the Ramellian theory of chord formation by superpositions of thirds is described by Colet in two short sentences:

Un accord se forme en plaçant sur une note quelconque d'autres notes de tierces en tierces. Lorsqu'il est ainsi disposé, la note la plus basse s'appelle *fondamentale*, celle au dessus *tierce*, l'autre *quinte*, etc.<sup>341</sup>

Following his teacher Reicha, Colet distinguished chords in *parfait majeur* or *mineur*, *diminué* and *augmenté*.<sup>342</sup> Reicha also categorized seventh chords in four species:

1st: dominant seventh chord,

2nd: minor seventh chord,

<sup>337</sup> Anton Reicha (1770–1836) was professor for contrepoint et fugue at the Conservatoire between 1818 and 1836. His innovative approach to counterpoint and his views on *Formenlehre* contributed to his fame as a theorist. For further information on Reicha and his works see Toplis (2005), Magee (1977), Groth (1983), 41–45 and Nicephor (2007), 259–284.

<sup>338</sup> Colet description of chords are derived by Reicha, Catel and Langlé.

<sup>339</sup> Among the sources studied for this work, the word *partimento* is only found in the work of Perne (1822), except for the French editions of Fenaroli's *partimenti* and the works of Choron.

<sup>340</sup> Colet (1837), 36. See Fenaroli (1813/14), 5.

<sup>341</sup> Colet (1837), 10.

<sup>342</sup> Colet (1837), 12. For a comparison of chord classifications in Colet, Reicha and other French authors see Groth (1983), 43.

3rd: half-diminished seventh chord;

4th: major seventh.<sup>343</sup>

A short chapter handles the *marches harmoniques* and, in general, Colet defines a *marche* as any movement that is transposed and repeated sequentially. Patterns for this sequential transposition are shown (e.g., second upwards, third downward) but, unlike other sources – where typical accompaniment patterns are given, Colet affords the student freedom to choose how to accompany the patterns. Colet, similar to Reicha, takes a polemical position on the rule of the octave, which he considered a limitation on the composer's creativity (see the chapter dedicated to the *regole*).<sup>344</sup> The third and last part of the *Panharmonie* focuses on composition: elements of instrumentation and counterpoint are treated simply and combined with elements of *Formenlehre*.

In 1846 Colet published his *Partimenti, ou traité spécial de l'accompagnement pratique au piano* as a practical manual, or exercise book, of the *Panharmonie*. The *Partimenti, ou traité spécial de l'accompagnement pratique* is the first book published in France to use the word *partimento* in its title since the publication of Fenaroli's collection. A second edition, revised by Colet's student and *répétiteur* J.-E. Crèvecoeur, was published in 1858. In the preface, Colet indicates how he used partimenti in his classes:

[l'élève] doit étudier ces *Partimenti* au Piano et les écrire aussi pour les voix. Les exercices au Piano rendent l'élève plus familier avec l'emploi des accords et avec toutes les formules Harmoniques; la réalisation de ces Basses avec des parties vocales lui apprend à écrire non seulement pour les voix, mais aussi pour l'Orchestre.<sup>345</sup>

Through this double realization, both written and on the keyboard, students develop familiarity with both chord progressions and harmonic relations. Colet describes how partimenti were used in Italy and how they were used in his own time.

Dans les écoles d'Italie, on ne réalisait ces basses que sur le Piano: la main gauche jouait la basse, et la main droite *plaquait* les accords; ces exercices étaient donc préparés pour l'étude de l'accompagnement; aujourd'hui, on écrit sur le basses trois parties vocales, et plus rarement deux ou une.<sup>346</sup>

This *could* imply that Colet himself only had a basic understanding of partimenti: chordal realization, at first with only consonances and then with dissonances, was the first instruction received. Later in the book, however, more complicated realizations are shown, embellished with *diminuzioni* and *imitazioni*, and the left hand either

343 Colet (1837), 67.

344 See Chapter 4. See Reicha (1818), 164.

345 Colet (1846), I.

346 Colet (1846), 92.

doubling the bass or filling in the chords for a fuller sound. Colet also uses an example from Imbimbo's edition of Fenaroli's *partimenti*.

L'élève peut plaquer simplement les accords, ou bien introduire des *imitations*, comme je viens de le faire dans les leçons précédentes écrites à quatre parties, mais il n'est pas toujours nécessaire de réaliser une harmonie à quatre parties pour le Piano; elle peut être plus ou moins nombreuse. Voici du reste comment E. Imbimbo réalise quelques *Partimenti* de Fénaroli.<sup>347</sup>

Another indication of Colet's use of *partimenti* is in their written realization: they are used as the bass line for a piece for three voices and *continuo*. Written realizations were also used in the Neapolitan school as “pratica di scrivere.”<sup>348</sup>

Colet includes *partimenti* by Fenaroli, Sala, Durante, and other *auteurs classiques* among the exercises contained in his book. For the rules, he uses examples from Albrechtsberger, whose theories were also known in France, thanks to Choron's translation of his works.<sup>349</sup>

Having introduced a new method in his *Panharmonie*, a chapter on how to read figures of the *école ancienne* was required.

The first 54 chapters were omitted in the second edition. These contain a summary of the music theory (intervals, chords and inversions, voice leading, cadences, modulation, dissonances, imitation) already included in the *Panharmonie*, and might have been excluded to avoid repetitions.

One interesting chapter – on placing certain chords on specific scale degrees – somewhat contradicts Colet's controversial position on the rule of the octave as expressed in the *Panharmonie*.<sup>350</sup> This chapter contains a pairing of chord type/inversion with a specific scale degree, and this is missing in the second edition. The chords are the same as those in the rule of the octave – as found in Fenaroli – with certain additions: the *septième de sensible* and the *septième diminuée* on the 7th degree in major and minor scales, respectively; inversions of the diminished seventh chord on the 2nd, 4th and 6th degree of the minor scale; the *onzième tonique*, that can be placed on a pedal point on the first degree (fig. 2.15) and the *treizième tonique*, that can be placed on the first degree in minor (fig. 2.16)

<sup>347</sup> Colet (1846), 244. The example realized by Imbimbo is from Fenaroli (1813/14), 270.

<sup>348</sup> I-Fc B.505, p. II. This manuscript will be discussed in the third chapter. See also Cafiero (2021).

<sup>349</sup> Albrechtsberger (1814).

<sup>350</sup> Colet (1846), 110–111. See Chapter 4 of this work for further information on this topic.

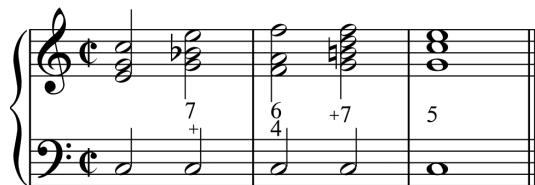


Figure 2.15. Colet (1846), III.

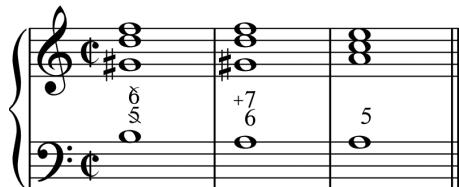


Figure 2.16. Colet (1846), III

At the time that the *Panharmonie* was being written, it appears that Reicha and Colet did not consider the rule of the octave to be a harmonic system. Relegating it to mere scale harmonization, they apparently did not embrace its versatility and key function in realizing unfigured basses. Around the time of his *Partimenti*, Colet seems to have experienced a change of direction in his understanding of this rule. He suggested practising the *regola* “en majeur et en mineur dans tous les tons et avec les trois positions, jusqu’à ce qu’il puisse la jouer très rapidement.”<sup>351</sup>

In his book, Colet incorporates almost all *regole* and *partimenti* by Fenaroli, and he mentions Fenaroli, together with Sala, in the preface. In the section containing the *regole* – here called *marches d’harmonie* – Colet specifies that these realizations are *usitée[s] dans les écoles d’Italie*.<sup>352</sup> Many *partimenti* are also realized, to provide examples for students.

Other examples of the *marches d’harmonie* are the same as those in Catel’s *Traité d’harmonie*.<sup>353</sup>

The closing chapters of the section dedicated to *partimenti* contain a table with all bass movement and chords that can be applied to them, similar to those found in Dourlen and Perne.<sup>354</sup>

In total, Colet’s *Partimenti*, collects 221 *partimenti*, of which:

- 62 *partimenti* (with and without figures) by Fenaroli
- 42 *partimenti diminuiti* by Durante

351 Colet (1846), 135.

352 Colet (1846), 194.

353 See Chapter 4 for further details.

354 Colet (1846), 239–243.

- 36 partimenti by Sala
- 10 partimenti by Cherubini
- 4 basses by Corelli
- 1 *basse chifrée* by Auber.

The remaining 66 partimenti are presumably composed by Colet, as stated in the preface. The book concludes with exercises for preludes, chants, and examples of past *concours* realized by Colet's students.<sup>355</sup>

## 2.8. Bienaimé's *École de l'harmonie moderne*

Paul-Émile Bienaimé (1802–1869) received his initial musical training at the *maîtrise* of the *Cathédrale de Notre-Dame de Paris*. He later studied at the Conservatoire under Dourlen (*harmonie*) and Fétis (*contrepoint et fugue*), and was teacher at the same institution for twenty-six years between 1838 and 1864. His *École de l'harmonie* is divided in two volumes: *théorie* and *pratique*. The first volume is dedicated to lessons in harmony and its theory, while the second contains exercises (*basses* and *chants donnés*). This second volume is published in two versions: one with exercises and the other with several realizations in different voice settings (between two and four voices), given as solutions of those exercises. Assignments are based on the contents of the book dedicated to theory: chords, inversions, different kinds of progressions, and their harmonization.

The first volume is divided in two books: the first dedicated to intervals, their quality and inversions, while the second book is devoted to chords. The first book is preceded by an introduction containing elementary music-theory topics, such as names of scale degrees and general definitions. The second book is dedicated to chords, harmonic relations, voice leading, and harmonization of *chant donné*.

As with his colleagues Colet, Perne and Berton, Bienaimé distinguishes the *accords fondamentaux ou primitifs* in: “l'un consonnant, appelé *parfait*; l'autre dissonant, auquel on donne le nom de *Septième de dominante*.<sup>356</sup> The *accord de quinte diminuée* is called here, following the nomenclature of his teacher Fétis, *accord de quinte mineure*.<sup>357</sup>

An entire chapter is dedicated to scale degrees and chords that can be applied to each degree, in the same way that his teachers Dourlen, Colet, and Fétis had done. Fétis had especially tied the concept of *tonalité* to the scale, referring to the draw of

<sup>355</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>356</sup> Bienaimé (1863), 3.

<sup>357</sup> Fétis (1844).

certain scale degrees toward others.<sup>358</sup> Fétis distinguishes between stable and unstable scale degrees. The unstable scale degrees help to form harmonic progressions to the points of *repos*.<sup>359</sup> The idea of a given chord belonging to each scale degree is the law underlying the rule of the octave. In partimento sources, the scale has the same function of tonal coherence, although the discussions about tonality were not current during the “golden age” of partimento.<sup>360</sup> Nevertheless, in Bienaimé’s *École*, there is no trace of Fenaroli’s approach to the rule of the octave within the chapter dedicated to chords applied to the scale.

Some scale harmonizations are similar to easier versions of the *regola*, with simple sixth chords and root position chords and no inversions of dominant seventh chords.<sup>361</sup> The *regola* with *harmonies dissonantes* is introduced in the section of the book dedicated to dissonances.<sup>362</sup> Bienaimé’s instructions on the *règle d’octave* and alternatives for harmonizing the scale will be discussed later.<sup>363</sup>

Elements of form, particularly the structure of phrases, are introduced in the later chapter dedicated to cadences. Different types of cadences (named according to the traditional French nomenclature: *parfaite*, *rompue*, etc)<sup>364</sup> produce different kinds of *repos*, or punctuation in the musical flow.

Ces divers cadences déterminent les différents degrés du repos; elles marquent la séparation des phrases dans le discours musical, et y remplissent les même fonctions que la ponctuation remplit dans le discours littéraire.<sup>365</sup>

In treatises of harmony, the concept of the cadence as musical punctuation is not emphasized very often and, as in other sources, elements of *Formenlehre* are only introduced for training composers.

A chapter on the *progressions harmoniques* introduces the *moti del basso*. Bienaimé demonstrates how progressions are formed by transposing a given interval. Unlike his predecessors, Bienaimé does not use either Catel or Rameau’s traditional nomenclature of chords. Instead, he describes chords by their inversion and continuo figuration, a choice that could also be traced back to the old *école d’Italie*.

Here, Bienaimé also uses the concept of *substitution* in a form that is relatively close to Rameau’s understanding, though Rameau did not connect the principle of *substitution* with the idea of an autonomous, fundamental (and therefore invertible) ninth chord. One *substitution* is formed by exchanging the doubled octave of a dominant

358 See Peters (1990), 44–78. For a study on tonality in the age of Fétis see Christensen (2019a).

359 See Peters (1990), 44–78.

360 See Carlisi (2021), Sanguinetti (2012a), 102–103 and Cafiero (2001a).

361 Bienaimé (1863), 27–36.

362 Bienaimé (1863), 165–166.

363 See Chapter 4.

364 See e.g. Rameau (1722), 61–73.

365 Bienaimé (1863), 54.

seventh chord with the note above it. The resulting chord will be the dominant-ninth chord, called *septième de dominante avec substitution*:

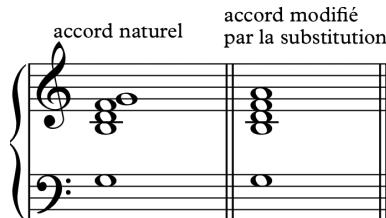


Figure 2.17. Bienaimé (1863), 123.

La substitution est  *facultative*, elle n'est qu'un accent mélodique qui donne à l'accord une expression plus énergique ou plus passionnée, suivant le sentiment qu'éprouve et que veut peindre l'artiste.<sup>366</sup>

Chords with *substitution* can be inverted, provided that the ninth is prepared and resolved.

Other substitutions include what Perne called *substitution par retard* and *par anticipation*.

Bienaimé's *École* contains a long and detailed section dedicated to dissonances.<sup>367</sup> All kinds of preparation and resolution of dissonances, or *retards*, are discussed in this section, as are consecutive dissonances introduced by bass movements (together with their inversions).<sup>368</sup>

The final section of the book is dedicated to alterations, modulations, and ornamental notes. Bienaimé explains the application of alterations in chords in detail, along with examples.<sup>369</sup> This section distinguishes Bienaimé's treatise from those of his predecessors and contemporaries. The meaning of the title of his book, *École de l'harmonie moderne*, is here fully embraced through long sections dedicated to elements typically found in the harmony of the Romantic era. The appendix of the book is divided into two sections: the first is dedicated to elements of counterpoint; the second, to rules of conduct for modulations.<sup>370</sup> Overall, Bienaimé's book is an exhaustive manual of harmony, on account of its attention to detail and the completeness of the topics presented.

Another publication by Bienaimé is *50 Etudes d'harmonie pratique, en usage dans les Conservatoires de France et de Belgique*, which was published almost twenty years

366 Bienaimé (1863), 124.

367 Bienaimé (1863), 173 et seq.

368 See Chapter 5 for further details.

369 Bienaimé (1863), 213 et seq.

370 Bienaimé (1863): 321–335.

earlier and contains exercises for practising *accompagnement*.<sup>371</sup> The report, signed by Auber, Carafa, Adam & Halévy, is addressed to the *Académie Royale des Beaux-arts*, and presents this work as being similar to Fenaroli's *Traité*.<sup>372</sup>

Pendant long-temps, le traité bien connu de FENAROLI, employé dans tous les conservatoires d'Italie, a été le seul ouvrage de ce genre.<sup>373</sup>

When this work was presented to the commission at the *Académie* – which later approved its use – it was described as a collection of exercises of progressive difficulty. These were inspired by the *bassi* of Stanislao Mattei, a student of Padre Martini, and are typically preceded by a *cadenza*, a harmonic progression to be realized through improvisation and which established the tonality of the bass that follows.<sup>374</sup>

Le livre de Mr. Bienaimé n'est pas un traité. Les exercices ou études qu'il renferme, sont destinés aux élèves qui connaissent déjà la nomenclature des accords, et auxquels leur emploi est familier. Ce sont de basses chiffrées, d'une difficulté graduée, dans tous les tons majeurs et mineurs, suivies d'études non chiffrées, sur lesquelles l'élève devra lui-même placer les accords, travail qui exercera à la fois l'œil, les doigts et l'intelligence.

Chaque étude est précédée d'une formule de cadence dans le ton de l'étude, il y a par conséquent une formule différente de cadence pour chaque ton majeur ou mineur. L'auteur en cela a suivi l'exemple donné par le célèbre professeur de Bologne, le Père Mattei, dans son ouvrage sur les basses chiffrées.<sup>375</sup>

In the preface, letters by Beauchesne (Secretary of the Conservatoire of Paris), Fétis (Director of the Conservatoire of Bruxelles), Daussoigne (Director of the Conservatoire of Liège) and Mengel (Director of the Conservatoire of Gand) confirm the use of this work in their respective Conservatoires. In his preface, Bienaimé writes about the purpose of his collection of exercises, most of which are contained in treatises on *accompagnement* (he mentions his colleagues Dourlen, Fétis, and Lemoine) but do not contain sufficient challenges for students, so that they are unprepared to accompany the *solfège* classes later on.

The book is divided into two parts: the first contains thirty *études*, which are basses that contain the most common progressions in all major and minor tonalities; the second part is dedicated to imitation and *stile fugato*, an exercise often found in Neapolitan partimenti. Towards the end, figures progressively disappear, giving room for students to improve their accompaniment skills.

371 Bienaimé (1845).

372 Reference presumably to the French edition of Fenaroli's partimenti in use at the Conservatoire.

373 Bienaimé (1845), (1).

374 Mattei (1912). From a consultation of the UUPart Database these partimenti do not correspond to others in the database but are supposedly composed by Bienaimé. Consulted on 02.04.2021.

375 Bienaimé (1845), (1).

To help students, figured basses often indicate the position of the chord, such that the resulting accompaniment has a more interesting melody.

In general, all sources described in this chapter share some common points that help us cultivate an idea of how *partimenti* were used in the teaching of *harmonie* and *accompagnement*. Written realizations in four voice settings – with imitations and diminutions – were common practice, in contrast to the realization of accompaniment exercises which were frequently restricted to simple chord placing.

Theoretical content, such as chord names and other terminology, is derived from Catel's official *méthode* or Ramellian theories, and play an important role in these treatises. In some cases, such as in Perne, Berton, Dourlen, and Colet, new terminology or figuration methods are introduced.

The *école d'Italie* is often mentioned as the reference point for “best practice” which could be imitated in order to achieve a high level. Nevertheless, not all sources adopted the “Neapolitan” approach with *regole* and *moti del basso*, choosing a chord-based method – such as Dourlen – instead. To a greater or lesser degree, all the French sources include a developed section on the harmonization of the melody and elements of musical form. Differences in the *regole* will be covered in Chapter 4.

