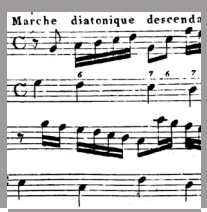
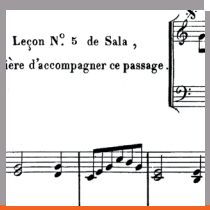
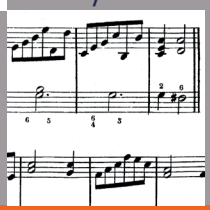
Lydia Carlisi

From Naples to Paris



The Reception of the Neapolitan Partimento Tradition at the Paris Conservatoire in the Early Nineteenth Century





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The Reception of the Neapolitan Partimento Tradition at the Paris Conservatoire in the Early Nineteenth Century

GEORG OLMS VERLAG

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Introduction

When reading the works of partimento scholars, it is common to find mentions of its use in France.[1] The fact that partimento was known and used in France is easily demonstrated by the most famous partimento collections curated by Choron and Imbimbo, published in the first half of the nineteenth century. Choron's *Liste de souscripteurs* alone shows just how many musicians and intellectuals of the time were interested in learning more about this practice, or understood themselves to be part of this tradition; indeed, a look at the Paris Conservatoire's current curriculum reveals traces of partimento still alive today in the subject called *harmonisation au clavier.*[2] From this, it would therefore be legitimate to deduce that partimento was used in teaching at the Conservatoire, even in its early years. Nevertheless, at the time of writing, there is no evidence to suggest that either the ways in which partimento was introduced into the curriculum of the newly-founded Conservatoire, or its reception and transformation have been thoroughly investigated. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap in partimento research.

During the eighteenth century, Neapolitan-trained musicians were in demand for their skills throughout Europe and composers, in particular, occupied the most prestigious positions in the world of music.[3] One reason for this was their presence in one of the most vibrant intellectual capitals of the world, where they won fame and admiration in the best theaters in France. It was therefore logical that the Neapolitan Conservatori, the source of so many fine artists, should be taken as models when the first French national conservatory of music was being planned.

Together with the ideal model of the *écoles d'Italie,*[4] their teachers and methods needed to be imported to train French musicians in the same way. At this time, the French musical world was dominated by theoretical writings that adopted a scientific approach in its explorations of tonal harmony. The distinction between *musicien-algebriste*[5] and *musico prattico* is at the core of this encounter between the two *écoles;* nevertheless, in both countries there was a link between music theory and practice. The 17th and 18th century French tradition of *accompagnement* was florid

1 Among others: Cafiero (2020), Christensen (1992), Gjerdingen (2020), Holtmeier (2017), Sanguinetti (2012a).

2 Isabelle Duha, former teacher of this subject at the CNSMDP, collected her lessons in Duha (2000).

3 The names of Cimarosa, Paisiello, Piccini, Porpora, Sacchini and Spontini are only a few examples of Neapolitan-trained musicians who have been invited to work in European courts and/or theaters.

4 The name *écoles d'Italie* has been borrowed from the titles of Choron's works to describe the teaching tradition prevalent in Italy, especially in Naples in the 17th and 18th centuries.

5 Choron defined Rameau with these words. Meidhof (2016a), 217.

and popular, and authors like François Campion, Jean-François Dandrieu, Denis Delair, Saint-Lambert and Dubugrarre produced valuable treatises on *accompagnement* that deserve in-depth study.[6] At the same time, beyond the Alps, a growth in the production of theoretical works was emerging into the Italian musical world; notable examples of this being the works of Francesco Bianchi, Giuseppe Tartini and the so-called *scuola dei rivolti* of Francesco Antonio Calegari, Francesco Antonio Vallotti, Luigi Antonio Sabbatini and Giordano Riccati.[7] These topics certainly warrant further study but, for the purposes of this research, it is necessary to take some important facts into consideration. Firstly, the practice of *accompagnement* in France was starting to decline during the period chosen to focus upon and, in place of the traditional *basse continue,* written-out piano accompaniments started to appear in scores.[8] As will be discussed later, this change in the approach to *accompagnement* was also reflected at the Conservatoire. The second consideration was that partimento teaching in Naples was mainly devoted to children and, consequently, the theoretical content of lessons was simplified to the extreme – to the point of being almost nonexistent.[9]

As Rousseau had mentioned in his *Dictionnaire,* the role of *accompagnement* in French music teaching had lost its direct connection to the teaching of composition:

> Plusieurs conseillent d'apprendre la Composition avant de passer à l'*Accompagnement:* comme si l'*Accompagnement* n'étoit pas la Composition même, à l'invention près, qu'il faut de plus au Compositeur. C'est comme si l'on proposoit de commencer par se faire Orateur pour apprendre à lire. Combien de gens, au contraire, veulent qu'on commence par l'*Accompagnement* à apprendre la Composition? & cet ordre est assurément plus raisonnable & plus naturel.[10]

Paraphrasing Rameau, Rousseau defines accompaniment as composition, in much the same way that the Neapolitan masters considered partimento. At the time of the founding of the conservatory, the role of *accompagnement* was beginning to lose its central place in the teaching of composition.

Nevertheless, accompaniment was still an important subject at the Conservatoire, mostly for practical reasons, as accompanists were needed during classes in *solfège,* singing and other areas of performance training.[11] It was taught separately from *harmonie* until 1823, when Cherubini reunited the two courses.

Accompagnement therefore had a different role to partimento in musical teaching, although the terms were often treated as synonymous – as in the following passage by Fétis:

6 See Zappulla (2000) and Verwaerde (2015).
7 See Riccati-Vallotti (1991), Vidic (2016). On Bianchi see Cafiero (2003).
8 See Chapter 2 and Verwaerde (2015).
9 See Chapters 3 and 4 and Sanguinetti (2012).
10 Rousseau (1768), 8–9.
11 See Chapter 3.

> Au reste, en ne considerant l'harmonie que sous le rapport de l'Accompagnement, je ne fais que suivre la méthode des anciennes Ecoles d'Italie, qui n'y ont jamais vu autre chose, et qui ont formé les meilleurs Accompagnateurs.[12]

This matter will be considered at greater length later in the book.

This study investigates the integration of partimento at the Parisian Conservatoire, from its foundation in 1795 until 1840. After this date, a revival of partimento began in France and many authors included it in their works.[13]

Traces of the partimento tradition are mostly found in sources dealing with *harmonie* and *accompagnement,* specifically those written by Conservatoire professors: these will therefore be this essay's main focus. Clearly, there are other coeval French sources containing elements of partimento, written by authors who were not associated with the Conservatoire. Their works are certainly of great value but, since this field of research is restricted to the reception of partimento in harmony and accompaniment teaching at the Conservatoire, this area of research will be left for future investigation. For the purposes of this study, attention has been focused solely on those sources written by professors of *harmonie* and/or *accompagnement* at the Paris Conservatoire. When relevant, the work of other authors will be mentioned.

State of the Art

The main studies conducted on the teaching of composition and music theory at the Parisian Conservatoire at the beginning of the nineteenth century are by Groth (1983), Peters (1990), and Nicephor (2007). An older work by Wagner (1979) is also available, though its contents are now outdated. Wagner's study investigates music theory treatises from the first half of the nineteenth century in Austria, France, and Germany. In his section on France, he highlights the influence of Rameau on French theorists but does not restrict his focus to teachers at the Conservatoire, including the work of other contemporary authors in his research. The aim of his work is a comparison of *Harmonielehere* in the three countries, and consequently does not focus on French theories. Although Wagner's work is an early attempt to offer an overview of music theory treatises in Austria, Germany and France, it does not provide a complete and detailed insight into the ideas circulating at the time in those countries.

Groth explores the teaching of single subjects included in composition courses: harmony, counterpoint, fugue, melody and form, and orchestration. Her section on *Harmonielehre* mainly focuses on the works of Catel, Reicha, and Fétis, though she also considers the writings of other authors, exploring the subject and comparing their different ideas. In addition to this, she dedicates a short section to *praktische*

12 Fétis (1824), 2.
13 See Remeš (2021) for an overview.

Harmonielehere, linking it to *accompagnement*. Because partimento studies were not common at the time of her writing, she does not acknowledge the connection between these subjects and the Neapolitan methods. Above all, she exclusively takes printed works as her starting point, and the manuscript teaching materials used at the Conservatoire are not taken into consideration at all.

Peters focuses on aspects of harmony teaching in Fétis, Reber, Durand, and Gevaert. Although her work affords valuable insight into the evolution of harmonic theories at the Conservatoire, the authors she examined are excluded from this research: Fétis was professor of *contrepoint et fugue* and never taught harmony at the Conservatoire; Reber, Durand, and Gevaert were active in the second half of the nineteenth century and, therefore, beyond the period under consideration.

Nicephor follows the evolution of the Conservatoire to provide an overview of early nineteenth-century composition teaching. Whilst rich in material, her work lags behind Groth in clarity and structure: she places the subjects taught within the broader context of the institution's organization, drawing profiles of the main harmony, counterpoint, and composition teachers of the time and outlining the contents of their works. As will be described later, *accompagnement* focused mainly on piano accompaniment and was for many years taught separately from *harmonie*; in spite of this, Nicephor chose to follow the Conservatoire's curriculum at the time and does not include *accompagnement* in her research.[14]

By contrast, accompaniment is the topic of Verwaerde's 2015 study. Her groundbreaking work is centered on the practice of *accompagnement* in France during a slightly earlier period (1750–1800) and traces the development from *basse continue* to realized accompaniments in violin sonatas. The time frame examined in her work precedes the period that is being considered, so her research helps to define the state of accompaniment in France at the beginning of the period covered in this book. In her study, Verwaerde also includes sources that contain partimenti, acknowledging the influence of the Neapolitan school on French accompaniment. She cites Geminiani as one of the most influential sources of partimento in France, together with the works of Tomeoni, Choron and, of course, Fenaroli's French edition of partimenti. Verwaerde also includes examples of the French realization of partimenti and her study provides detailed insight into *accompagnement* in France, which is the starting point for this research. This study explores the period immediately following and focuses on the teaching of *accompagnement* at the Conservatoire and the role that partimento played.

Further research about the presence of partimento at the Conservatoire was recently published by Curtice (2021). His work focuses on the period of Cherubini's directorship of the Conservatoire (1822–1841) and how partimenti were used at the time. Cherubini came from the tradition of the *scuola bolognese* of Padre Martini, though he was also a supporter of Neapolitan partimenti. Nevertheless, in France all Italian traditions were frequently defined under the collective heading of *écoles d'Italie*.

14 See Chapter 3.

Curtice's work focuses on Cherubini's *basses chiffrées* and therefore does not explore in depth other French sources.

For some time, the prevailing belief amongst scholars was that French music theory during this period was dominated by the theories of Rameau (Christensen 1992). Since then, Holtmeier (2017a) and others have been able to show that Rameau's theories lived a rather isolated existence for a long time, and then only received a hesitant reception. When reviewing the sources consulted for this research, it became evident how Rameau's theories were being misinterpreted just 50 years after his death.[15] Although it would be interesting to research the reception of Ramellian theory at the Conservatoire in detail, this is beyond the scope of this study. When relevant, certain elements of Ramellian theory will be mentioned, though with reference to the work of scholars who covered similar topics.[16]

Partimento studies have awakened the interest of many esteemed researchers in the past two decades; amongst these, the main studies on this topic will be mentioned.

Research on the Neapolitan school has been championed by Cafiero in her many works, especially her recent volume, published in 2020. Sanguinetti (2012a) is the main reference for any research in this field, providing both historical and technical insights into partimento teaching. Gjerdingen (2007a) contributed to the field by applying schema theory to partimento and galant music. Van Tour (2015) investigated the relation between counterpoint and partimento teaching, providing an important contribution to our understanding of composition teaching at the Neapolitan Conservatori. Also, the works of Holtmeier (2007a and 2013), and Diergarten (2011a and 2011b) are an important contribution to the research in this field.

The recent critical edition of Fenaroli's partimenti by Demeyere (Fenaroli 2021), together with Sanguinetti's online appendix (2012a), are used in this study as reference for partimento *Regole.* Fenaroli's *Regole* has been used as the reference for partimento rules for various reasons: first, Fenaroli's books were well known in France at the time, thanks to Imbimbo's editions; moreover, they were purchased and used by the Conservatoire. Finally, Fenaroli's rules and partimenti are the ones most frequently found in the sources examined.[17]

Cafiero has also researched the various musical exchanges that took place between Naples and Paris (2001a; 2005b; 2007; 2016a) as well as producing studies on Imbimbo (2001b) and Carli (2019). The recent publication by Giovani (2021) brings to light the history of the Conservatoire library's Neapolitan acquisitions.

15 See Holtmeier (2017a).

16 Other works on French music theory and theorists include the studies of Méeus (1999) and Gessele (1994), those on Choron by Simms (1971) and Meidhof (2016a, 2016b, and 2021), and the contributions on Catel by George (1982), Geay (1999), and Meidhof (2017a and 2017b). At the time of writing this dissertation, Masci's article (2022) and book (2023) were not available for consultation.

17 See Chapters 2 and 4.

The history of the Conservatoire has been the object of many studies. Reference will frequently be made to the two volumes published for the 200th anniversary of its foundation and edited by Hondré in 1995, *Le Conservatoire de Paris, regards sur une institution et son histoire,* along with the 1999 publication edited by Anne Bongrain and Alain Poirier, *Le Conservatoire de Paris. Deux cent ans de pédagogie.* In addition, the online *Dictionnaire* by De La Grandville served as a vital reference, as did Gessele's 1992 work on the early years of the Conservatoire.

From this overview, it is possible to identify some gaps in the research that focuses on the French reception of partimento. It is not clear how partimento was taught at the Conservatoire, nor how it coexisted with French music theory. Likewise, doubts remain as to whether partimento played an active role in the teaching of *harmonie* and *accompagnement* and how it might have been used.

In her 2019 article, Cafiero questions how much Fenaroli's tradition could have circulated in the Conservatoire. An attempt will be made to answer this by using archival resources and reconstructing the courses in *harmonie* and *accompagnement* at the Paris Conservatory in its first years; and, from this, discover how – and if – Neapolitan *partimento* and Neapolitan teaching methods were integrated there.

The aim of this study is to answer the following questions as fully as possible:

How did the Conservatoire pursue its ambitious founding goal of establishing a school "qui peut rivaliser avec celles d'Italie?".[18] To what extent was this goal achieved?

What kind of Neapolitan teaching material was used at the Conservatoire and how was it used? Did the *professeurs* follow the "Neapolitan method"? What role did partimento have in French music teaching?

How did the theoretical tradition of French *traités,* with their lengthy arguments, coexist with the practical Italian approach?

What was taught during lessons in *harmonie* and *accompagnement* at the Conservatoire?

How were partimento *regole* taught in Paris? How were partimenti realized in France?

Methodological and terminological considerations

The present study is based on a combination of research in two fields: historical research and theoretical investigation.

Archival research is crucial in uncovering aspects of the organization of the Conservatoire and its curricula, and the works of Pierre (1900) and Sablonnière (1996)

18 Sarrette (1802), 37.

helped navigate archival resources. Moreover, the discovery of unpublished documents helped to fill in the gaps.

It was possible to reconstruct the teaching contents from manuscripts and printed sources: the manuscripts focused on were those of Le Borne, which contain his notes from *harmonie* lessons – mostly under Berton and Dourlen – and Perne's teaching notes.[19] Several printed sources were selected, these being written by professors at the Conservatoire who taught *harmonie* and/or *accompagnement* for a considerable amount of time between 1795 and 1840. These criteria exclude teachers who worked there for short periods and therefore could not have had a relevant influence on an establishment with a long-standing tradition. Sources were studied through the lens of historically informed music theory, meaning that their contents were examined from a partimento-oriented perspective. As mentioned, the main references were Fenaroli's *Regole,* one of the most widely circulated sources in France at the time and, when relevant, other Neapolitan collections of *regole*. Elements have been analyzed according to the Neapolitan system, based on the rule of the octave and scale degrees, as opposed to Rameau's *basse fondamentale* approach:[20] consequently, unless indicated otherwise, the term "degree" is used when referring to the scale degree (Arabic numerals), not the harmonic degree represented by Roman numerals. In the same way, the term *"dissonanza"* (dissonance) is used to indicate both suspensions – as the term is used in the Neapolitan school – and dissonant intervals, making the context clear whenever this term arises. In order to maintain coherence, elements of German *Generalbasslehre* will not be introduced unless strictly necessary. In general, the term partimento is only employed when referring to both the subject taught in Neapolitan conservatories and to describe a single (figured or unfigured) exercise.

One goal of this research was to identify the elements of partimento used in teaching at the early Conservatoire by reconstructing the *harmonie* and *accompagnement* curricula and examining the professors' writings. Additionally, the intention has been to understand if – and how – partimenti were used during their lessons and what changes, if any, were applied to them. The chord theory contained in the examined sources has not been discussed, as this has already been addressed by other scholars and, in any case, is not a typical element of partimento teaching. Reference will be made to the work of these researchers when mentioning chord formation theories and the aspects of French theory that are relevant. French theories are undoubtedly of great value and deserve further study; however, there is insufficient space here to discuss this topic in depth.

The Conservatoire went through several changes during the years under investigation, often due to the tumultuous political upheavals in nineteenth century France. For clarity and consistency, all these institutions will be referred to as "Conservatoire",

19 Respectively F-Pn Ms 8303 and F-Pn Ms 7641 (1–4).
20 Holtmeier (2011a).

although they might have been called something different at the time in question. An overview of the institution's history will be provided in Chapter 1.

Reference will be made to the *scuola napoletana,* or Neapolitan school, following the definition given by Sanguinetti:

> A continuous pedagogical tradition, developed in a specific locale, that made use of particular methods and developed its own corpus of theoretical and practical works.[21]

More specifically, this focuses on musicians trained at Neapolitan Conservatories and their teaching methods developed between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries.[22]

It has been decided not to translate citations from Italian, French, or German and the author trusts that music theorists active in this field of research are familiar with these languages, since the majority of texts draw freely on them. The quotations were also copied from the original without modification, thus leaving any differences from current language usage intact, without marking them with [sic].

Outline of the book

This present study follows the pathway of partimento during the development of a French national institution for higher musical education. The journey from Naples to Paris starts with the founding of the Conservatoire, moving through the teaching material used in Paris, the courses of *harmonie* and *accompagnement*, and their contents, before ending with realizations of partimenti in France.

In Chapter 1, the history of the Conservatoire is explored, along with the ways in which its transformations have influenced music teaching throughout France. We also follow the road from Naples by presenting Neapolitan-trained musicians living and working in Paris and their role in the radically changing musical life in France at the turn of the eighteenth century.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the analysis of teaching material used at the Conservatoire, including works written by professors working at the establishment before 1840 but which were published later. This material might contain teaching resources used by the professors during their lessons, even if these remained unpublished until several years later.[23]

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21 Sanguinetti (2012), 30. See also Cafiero (2007), 137.

22 For a detailed description of the four Neapolitan Conservatori, see Cafiero (2015). See also Sanguinetti (2012), 29–40.

23 This was common at the time. Another example of this practice are the books of Förster (1818 and 1823).

The third chapter attempts to reconstruct the *harmonie* and *accompagnement* courses at the Conservatoire by drawing on manuscript and printed sources; this will include a description of the syllabus that students on those courses followed and give an idea of what they learned.

In Chapter 4, the partimento *regole* that are contained in the French sources studied are brought together and examined in order to provide an overview on how these instructions were taught in Paris.

In the final chapter of this study, French realizations of Neapolitan partimenti will be introduced, together with instructions found in French sources on imitation, diminution, and the so-called *beste Lage*.[24] Some examples of French realizations are also presented.

24 See Chapter 5.

Abbreviations and symbols

Continuo figures are used to designate chords. Chord inversions are thus indicated as follows:

6/3 first inversion,
6/4 second inversion,
etc.

Circled Arabic numbers indicate scale degrees.

Roman numerals indicate the scale degree of the chord in its root (i.e. third stacking) position.

Both the terms bar and measure, abbreviated as m. or mm., are used.

In musical examples, continuo figures are respected as they are found in the original sources. A complete general analysis of French continuo figures has been conducted by Verwaerde; consequently, aspects of figuration have not been examined further and the reader is invited to consult her work.[25]

25 See Verwaerde (2015), 145–196.

Chapter 1
Founding the Conservatoire: creating a French national school of music and pursuing the ideal model of the Neapolitan Conservatori

The history of the Paris Conservatoire was as tumultuous and variable as the history of France. In the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the French people lived alternatively under Monarchies, Republics and Empires; each of these was marked by instability, not only on account of the political situation of the time, but also in the ways this affected the country's public institutions, including the Conservatoire.[26]

After every regime change, the Conservatoire needed to be remodeled and altered in line with the requirements of the new government. Sometimes only minor changes were made, like the name of the institution, whereas other adaptations had an impact on a deeper organizational level. From evidence in archival documents, it appears that many of the requests from the directors and professors at the Conservatoire were accepted by the authorities in charge, allowing those working at the institution to have a certain degree of freedom.

There is a considerable body of literature recounting the history of the Conservatoire[27] and the Neapolitan Conservatori.[28] Drawing on this secondary literature and other archival documents, the first chapter focuses on the influence of the Neapolitan school during the creation of the French national school of music. It will expand on the events and people who influenced the growing myth of the *écoles d'Italie* in France before and after the revolution of 1789, demonstrating how the Conservatoire was founded as an imitation of the Neapolitan Conservatories and describing some differences between these institutions in their didactical approach and organizational structure.

1.1. The pre-revolutionary period

Prior to the revolution of 1789, the most important institutions dedicated to music education were *maîtrises* and the singing schools at the Opera. The *maîtrises* were schools for church musicians, where young students would take lessons of *solfège*,

26 For an overview of French history see Popkin (2020) and Crook (2002).
27 See e.g. Bongrain (ed.) and Poirier (ed.) (1999) and Hondré (ed.) (1995c).
28 See e.g. Cafiero (2005b) and (2009a), Sanguinetti (2012a), Gjerdingen (2009) and (2020).

music composition, organ and singing;[29] however, after the revolution, these *maîtrises* were suppressed along with all religious institutions. These were then reestablished a few decades later in order to provide a musical education for children who could later enter the Conservatoire with a solid foundation.[30]

In 1672 Jean-Baptiste Lully founded an *École de chant et de déclamation* at the Opera, thus starting a long tradition of secular singing schools. Although the founding principles of these schools were promising, the results eventually achieved were unsatisfactorary.[31] French singers had a reputation for being technically and vocally inferior to their Italian colleagues, who often described their neighbors' vocal performances as *urlo francese.* Castil-Blaze described an episode in which this term was used by the Neapolitan trained composer Tommaso Traetta (1727–1779):[32]

> Dans la *Sofonisba* de Traetta, cette reine se jette entre son époux et son amant qui veulent aller se battre. – Cruels, leur dit-elle, que faites-vous? Si vous voulez du sang, frappez, voilà mon sein; et comme ils s'obstinent à sortir, elle s'écrie: Où allez-vous? Ah! – Sur cet *Ah!* l'air est interrompu. Le compositeur voyant qu'il fallait s'éloigner ici de la règle générale, mit au-dessus de la note *sol*, entre deux parenthèses: *(Un urlo francese).* C'était en connaissance de cause, que Traetta nommait *hurlement français* le cri le plus aigu que pût former la voix humaine. Il jugeait d'un seul trait, avec une piquante justesse, la manière des chanteurs français de son époque.[33]

A colorful description of this is given in Grimm's *Lettre sur Omphale*, published in 1752. The author describes his surprise when listening to a good singing performance in Paris, having had quite different expectations:

> C'était Mademoiselle Fel, qui avec le plus heureux organe du monde, avec une voix toujours égale, toujours franche, brillante et légère, connaissait encore l'art que nous appelons en langage sacré *chanter,* terme honteusement profané en France, & appliqué à une façon de pousser avec effort des sons hors de son gosier, & de les fracasser sur les dents par un mouvement de menton convulsif; c'est ce qu'on appelle chez nous *crier,* & qu'on n'entend jamais sur nos Théâtres, à la vérité, mais tant qu'on veut dans les Marchés publics.[34]

Italian music and musicians had been highly-regarded in France for over two centuries prior to the founding of the Conservatoire. By the end of the seventeenth century, Arcangelo Corelli's music was circulating in France, and French composers were composing *à l'italienne.* Arguments then developed during the first years of

29 For further information on the *mâitrises,* see Dompnier (ed.) (2003), together with Dompnier (ed.) and Duron (ed.) (2020).
30 One famous example is the *Institution royale de musique classique et religieuse* founded by Alexandre Choron in 1817.
31 Lassabathie (1860), 1.
32 Traetta studied under Nicola Porpora and Francesco Durante.
33 Castil-Blaze (1856), 243.
34 Grimm (1752), 5–6.

the eighteenth-century between supporters of Italian music, represented by historian and musicologist abbot François Raguenet (1660–1722), and advocates of the French style, led by magistrate and musicographer Jean Laurent Le Cerf (1674–1707).[35] The ongoing debate became so heated that composers like François Couperin used an Italian pseudonym for their compositions in the Italian style.[36]

The point when Italian music ultimately triumphed is usually identified as the so-called *querelle des bouffons*, which started in 1752 following the staging of Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's "La Serva Padrona". At the time, the opera scene in Paris was dominated by the French *tragédie lyrique*, represented by the works of Lully (who, ironically, was a naturalized Italian living in France); whilst Italian operas were normally restricted to the performances at the *Comédie Italienne*. The introduction of the Italian *stile buffo,* with short comic interludes, within the temple of the French musical theater generated an animated debate between supporters of French and Italian music.[37] As a consequence of the preference for Italian music, Italian musicians moved to Paris in ever greater numbers and, as will be seen, these included exponents of the Neapolitan school.

1.2. From Naples to Paris: traces of the Neapolitan school and Neapolitan-trained musicians in Paris at the turn of the nineteenth century

The so-called *scuola napoletana* was well known in Paris by the end of the eighteenth century,[38] with a particular focus on singers on account of the perceived difference in quality between French and Italian performers. Italian instrumentalists were also in high demand, but in this area they distinguished themselves on the same level as their French or German colleagues. Evidence of this admiration for Italian singers can be seen in articles, revues, and references in manuals and books. Consequently, the *écoles d'italie* were held as a model to which French teaching methods should aspire. Many French commentators of the time wrote of their admiration for their Neapolitan colleagues, expressing a desire to reach a similar level of mastery and offering suggestions as to how this might best be achieved.

For instance, in his *Dictionnaire* Jean-Jacques Rousseau mentions Naples in several definitions, including under the description of the word *génie:*

35 See Fubini (1971), 38–51.

36 Rameau contributed to this dispute by criticizing Corelli's use of continuo figures. Rameau (1726), 94–106. See Gessele (1992), 193.

37 For further information on the *querelle* see Cook (2001).

38 On the definition of "scuola napoletana"- "Neapolitan school" see Sanguinetti (2012a), 29–40 and Cafiero (2007), 137.

> Veux-tu donc savoir si quelque étincelle de feu dévorant t'anime? Cours, vole à Naples écouter les chef-d'œuvre de Leo, de Durante, de Jommelli, de Pergolèse.[39]

Similarly, under *harmoniste* he uses Francesco Durante as *exemplum* for the entire world, and identifies Italy as the source of the best musicians:

> Durante est le plus grand Harmoniste de l'Italie; c'est-à-dire, du Monde.[40]

Under *composition,* he cites mainly Neapolitan-trained composers – including David Perez, Niccolò Jommelli, Durante and Leonardo Leo[41] – as notable exponents of the art.

More than 40 years later, in the *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens,* Alexandre-Etienne Choron and François-Joseph-Marie Fayolle ascribe perfection in the rules of tonality (particularly their practical aspects) to the Neapolitan school, especially the one represented by Durante:

> C'est dans l'école de Naples, et particulièrement dans celle de Durante, qu'elle [la tonalité] a été fixé sous tous les rapports, du moins en ce qui concerne la pratique: car, en ce qui concerne la théorie, elle est encore très imparfaite [...].[42]

This reference to the advanced levels reached in the practical application of the rules of tonality (as opposed to a more limited display of the theoretical aspects) highlights a theme that recurs in other texts of the time. The tradition of French *traités* reached its peak during the era of the *Encyclopédistes,* around the midpoint of the eighteenth century and, as will be discussed later, Rameau's monumental *Traité d'harmonie* of 1722 cast a "long shadow" over French music teaching.[43]

The repeated appearance of Durante's name in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French texts serves not only as evidence of the admiration for Italian music and musicians; it also points to the interest that French musicians cultivated in the methods of the Neapolitan school.[44] In the Neapolitan school, *théorie* appears to be limited to elementary concepts and practical instructions, in marked contrast to the florid and prominent theoretical disquisitions circulating in France at the time. These different approaches – scientific and theoretical by the French, as opposed to the practical and product-oriented by the Neapolitan – served as a source of criticism on both sides.

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39 Rousseau (1768), 230. Also mentioned in Van Tour (2015), 41; Diergaten (2021); and Cafiero (2005b), 15.

40 Rousseau (1768), 243. Also mentioned in Cafiero (2020), 83.

41 Rousseau (1768), 109. Also mentioned in Nicephor (2007), 37.

42 Choron-Fayolle (1810), XXXVIII. Also quoted in Cafiero (2020), 45. As Cafiero mentions, Fétis will later use this definition in his *Biographie universelle.*

43 See Holtmeier (2017a).

44 For an overview of Durante's reception in France see Cafiero (1999).

Although François Fétis admired the work of Fenaroli for its practical value as an example of the school of Durante, he also condemns its lack of theoretical contents:

> On ne peut considérer les règles d'accompagnement pratique de Fenaroli (Naples, 1795) comme l'exposé d'une théorie d'harmonie; ce n'est qu'un aperçu pratique de la tradition de l'école de Durante; tradition pure, mais arriérée, et qui ne représentait pas l'état actuel de l'art.[45]

On the other side, Emanuele Imbimbo (1756–1839) supported Neapolitan methods. Whilst his introduction to the French edition of Fenaroli's partimenti contains elements of French music theory, he criticizes this abstract approach to music-theory through praise to the ancient masters. These *anciens maîtres de l'art* are the Neapolitan *maestri,* who "senza essere mattematici, ne hanno lasciato monumenti eterni di angelica melodia nelle loro armoniche composizioni."[46]

Despite this mutual criticism, both traditions attempted to emulate one another as a way to improve their standards of music education.[47] The French, and most other European countries, admired their Italian colleagues' style and ease of composition and sought out the best *Maestri* to learn their idealized musical secrets and skills. Similarly, some *trattati*, written with a more French theoretical approach, were published and circulated in Italy.[48]

During the first years of the nineteenth century, many Neapolitan-trained musicians lived and worked in the *ville lumière.* Thanks to pioneering research by Rosa Cafiero, we can now follow the footsteps of some of these characters.[49] The first to be mentioned is Imbimbo who, according to Fétis[50], arrived in Paris in 1808 following his exile after the Neapolitan Revolution of 1799.[51] Giuseppe Sigismondo, his teacher and mentor, describes a young and enthusiastic Imbimbo in his *Apoteosi:*[52]

> Ne' primi anni, che uscii, come suol dirsi dalla scuola grammaticale di quest'arte, e cominciai a scriver qualche oratorio sacro, come ho accennato dapprima, per la casa di Spadetta, ivi mi fu proposto per uno de' cantanti un tal D. Emmanuele Imbimbo, che cantava di basso. Volli ascoltarlo, e trovai ch'era un baritono. Non avea gran voce, ma per camera era ottimo, e soprattutto trovai ch'era un giovane bastantemente culto nelle lettere, e versato nella Poesia. Egli dunque cantò bene la sua parte, e mi cominciò a far la sua corte, per non lasciarmi mai più. Indefesso per apprendere il canto, il partimento per accompagnare, il contrapunto per scrivere qualche arietta, e sempre nelle unioni accademiche volea a viva

45 Fétis (1840), 143. Also quoted in Cafiero (2020), 91.
46 Fenaroli (1814), V.
47 For the reception of French methods in Italy see Cafiero (2016), 342.
48 See among others the *Trattato di armonia* by Gaspare Selvaggi and Francesco Bianchi's *Trattato di armonia teorico pratico.* See Carlisi (2021) and Cafiero (2002) and (2003).
49 Cafiero (2016) and (2019).
50 Fétis (1837), 397.
51 Imbimbo appears to have been active in Montpellier after his exile. See Cafiero (2019), 63–64.
52 Sigismondo (2016).

> forza cantar de' duetti buffi con me, cosa ch'io faceva malvolentieri, ma non c'era verso: bisognava secondarlo [...].[53]

Saverio Mattei, a renowned student of Padre Martini, praises Imbimbo's singing skills in a letter written to Paisiello on the 17th of April 1785: "Jeri sera [...] in casa del Consigliere Boragine sentii cantare da Imbimbo l'aria *è un birbante*, e restai incantato."[54]

In Paris, Imbimbo earned his living teaching music. From a collection of letters exchanged in 1820 between Imbimbo, Siméon (the *Ministre de l'Interieur*)[55] and Pradel (the *Ministre de la Maison du Roi)*[56] it is possible to reconstruct Imbimbo's application for the post of Professor "soit de chant, soit d'harmonie" at the École Royale de Musique.[57] Imbimbo mentions that his application should have been recommended by Gaspare Spontini (1774–1851), who had recently left Paris for Berlin. Spontini had been supported by Napoleon's first Empire but moved to Berlin after losing its protection following the Bourbon Restauration. However, it is not known whether Imbimbo's relationship with Spontini played a role in the rejection he received. Pradel received a presentation letter written by the *Ministre de l'Interieur* and a letter from Imbimbo himself. The *Ministre* wrote that Imbimbo "désire être admis parmi les professeurs de l'École Royale de Musique pour démontrer l'harmonie sous le rapport de la Basse fondamentale et continue." The mention of the *basse fondamentale,* extensively used by Rameau, was possibly an attempt to convince Pradel that Imbimbo could teach following French traditions. The same letter mentions that he had been living in France for twenty years and had become a French citizen. As we shall see, Imbimbo mentions Rameau's theories in his *preface* to Fenaroli's partimenti, but he does so critically and clearly still favors Neapolitan teaching methods. On receiving Imbimbo's letter, Pradel added a note: "Je crois qu'il suffit [...] de répondre qu'il n'y a pas de place vacante". The response that Imbimbo received on the 30th of May 1820 confirmed that, whilst there were no positions available at the time, they would consider him if any position opened up in the future.

Imbimbo published a collection of scale harmonizations dedicated to his student of *harmonie,* Marie Barbet, entitled *Gamme ou Echelle Musicale avec les Accords ordinaires et les Variantes dans la Marche de ses dégrés,*[58] along with a pamphlet on mutual instruction, which will be discussed later in this chapter. He composed several pieces, including *La lontananza,* "canto alla luna", published by Raffaele Carli and dedicated to Luigi Cherubini.

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53 Sigismondo (2016), 52–53. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 193–194.
54 Villarosa (1840), 87. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 193.
55 Joseph Jérôme, comte Siméon (1749–1842).
56 Jules Jean-Baptiste François de Chardebœuf, comte de Pradel (1779–1857).
57 Archives nationales O/3/1804.
58 Imbimbo [1830].

Cafiero[59] reconstructs Imbimbo's contacts with other Neapolitans in Paris and lists among these Nicola Basti (teacher of Italian language), Francesco Saverio Salfi (librettist and writer),[60] Gaspare Selvaggi[61] (a music collector and author of a *Trattato di armonia*)[62] and Raffaele Carli (owner of the *Typographie de la Sirène*, to whom we owe the publication of Fenaroli's books in France).[63] In 1807 Carli (1764–1827) began his work as a *marchand de musique, livres italiens et cordes de Naples*.[64] His printing house became a meeting place for Italian musicians in Paris.[65]

Notable Neapolitan-trained musicians in Paris included the composers Giovanni Paisiello, Niccolò Zingarelli, Antonio Sacchini and the theoretician Francesco Bianchi, who was mentioned earlier. As one of Napoleon's favorite composers, Paisiello was invited to Paris by the French government to work as a composer. He collaborated with Le Sueur for two years before returning to Naples.[66] Zingarelli was forced to leave Rome for Paris in 1811 after he refused to conduct the *Te Deum* for Napoleon's new-born son, who had been nominated as King of Rome.[67] He remained in Paris, where he was ordered to compose a *messe solennelle;* he delivered this in 8–10 days, whereupon he received a request for five verses of the *Stabat Mater.* His works were greatly appreciated and in February 1812 he found himself free to return to Rome.[68] Antonio Sacchini studied composition under Durante at the *Conservatorio di S.M. di Loreto*. He moved to Paris in 1781, where he lived as opera composer and teacher. Having taught two future professors of the Conservatoire, Charles-Simon Catel and Henri-Montan Berton,[69] he played an important role in the dissemination of Neapolitan partimento in France.[70] Francesco Bianchi, a former student of Pasquale Cafaro, was author of an unpublished *Trattato di armonia teorico pratico*,[71] which contains references to Rameau's theories. In 1775 he attempted to create a school in Paris emulating Neapolitan conservatories.[72]

Adding to the influence of Neapolitan musicians, several treatises with references to the Neapolitan school were published and were circulating in Paris between the

59 See Cafiero (2001a), (2001b), (2002), (2007), (2016).
60 See Cafiero (2001b).
61 For further information on Gaspare Selvaggi see Carlisi (2021) and Cafiero (2002).
62 Selvaggi (1823).
63 Fenaroli [1814], Imbimbo [1814]. See Chapter 4.
64 Devriès-Lesure (1979), 45.
65 See Cafiero (2019), 45–46.
66 For further details on Paisiello's work in Paris, see Cafiero (2016), 353–358.
67 See Cafiero (2016), 363.
68 For the full account of Castil-Blaze on Zingarelli's stay in Paris and further details about these events see Cafiero (2016), 362–370.
69 See DiChiera-Johnson Robinson (2001).
70 See DiChiera-Johnson Robinson (2001).
71 GB-Lcm, MS 45.
72 See Cafiero (2003).

end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.[73] Among these, Cafiero mentions the works of Francesco Azzopardi,[74] Gennaro Biferi,[75] Florido Tomeoni[76] and Honoré Langlé.[77] Apart from of Langlé, who was directly involved in the creation of the Parisian Conservatoire, there is no record of treatises by the others being used during lessons at the Conservatoire. In his 1808 *Éloge de Langlé,* Fayolle gives us this biographical detail about Langlé:

> Honoré-François-Marie Langlé, né à Monaco en 1741, fut envoyé à Naples, à l'âge de seize ans, par le prince de Monaco, pour y apprendre la composition, et entra au conservatoire de la Pietà, et en devint premier maître de chapelle.[78]

In his *Traité,*[79] Langlé describes himself as *Ancien premier Maître du Conservatoire de la Pietà à Naples*;[80] yet, as Cafiero points out, no evidence suggests that Langlé was actually the *primo maestro* at *La Pietà*. Most likely, he was a *mastricello,* as Fétis describes in his Biographie:[81] "Il eut le titre de maître, c'est à dire*, répétiteur."*[82] In Paris, Langlé's *Traité d'Harmonie et de Modulation* was one of the manuals proposed as official *méthode* of the Conservatoire.[83] Together with Catel, he was *Professeur d'harmonie* for only two years following the Conservatoire's foundation (1795–97) and then served as Librarian until 1807. In the previous *École Royale de Chant* he had been appointed as a singing teacher in 1784.[84]

Another further figure who contributed to the spread of Neapolitan teaching methods was Alexandre-Etienne Choron*,* who thus described his musical and mathematical training in the biography of his *Dictionnaire*:

> CHORON (Alexandre-Etienne), né le 21 octobre 1772 à Caen, où son père était directeur des fermes, n'entreprit l'étude de la musique qu'au sortir de ses classes, qu'il termina avant l'âge de quinze ans, au collège de Juilly. Privé de toute espèce de secours, et contrarié dans ses goûts, il commença par apprendre lui-même, sans livres et sans les conseils d'aucun maître, à noter tous les chants qu'il pouvait retenir ou imaginer, et parvint à aquérir assez de facilité dans cet exercice, avant même d'être en état de lire une note de musique. Les ouvrages de Dalembert, de Roussier, de Rousseau et autres écrivains de la secte de Rameau, lui serviront ensuite de guide dans l'étude de la composition, et le mirent en état de

73 Rosa Cafiero has extensively researched this matter. See Cafiero (2001b), (2007), (2009b), (2016a).
74 Az[z]opardi (1786).
75 Biferi [1770].
76 Tomeoni [1798] and [1800].
77 Langlé (1795).
78 Fayolle (1808), 152. Also in Cafiero (2020), 147.
79 Langlé (1795).
80 Langlé (1795).
81 Cafiero (2020), 147.
82 Fétis (1867), V, 192. Also quoted in Diergarten (2021).
83 See Chapter 2.
84 Pierre (1900a), 7, 14.

> composer, tant bien que mal, en parties ou en accompagnements. Monsieur Grétry, à qui il montra quelques essais en ce genre, l'engagera à faire des études suivies, et lui indiqua M. l'abbé Rose, un des meilleurs maîtres français, avec qui il travailla quelques tems. Desirant ensuite connaître les autres écoles, il travailla assez longtems avec M. Bonesi de l'école de Leo,[85] et avec d'autres professeurs de celle d'Italie, et lut avec beaucoup de soin les meilleurs didactiques allemands, dont il apprit exprès la langue.[86]

This description illustrates that Choron began his musical studies autodidactically, and without any support until he started taking lessons from the "Abbé Rose" – almost certainly the famous librarian of the Conservatoire, Abbé Nicolas Roze (1745–1819) – and Barnaba Bonesi (1745–1824), a second-generation student of Leonardo Leo.

Choron's works stand as some of the most high-profile and remarkable examples of French response to the Neapolitan partimento tradition.[87] He demonstrates a thorough knowledge of Neapolitan pedagogical methods and repertoire and, in his *Principes de composition des écoles d'Italie*, he credits Nicola Sala's *Regole del Contrappunto pratico*[88] as one of his major sources. Indeed, Choron's *Principes* was advertised as a new edition of Sala's book, after the original printing plates for this had been destroyed. As examples of the "style d'Eglise concerté," he exclusively refers to Neapolitan composers, including Niccolò Jommelli, Francesco Durante, Leonardo Leo, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi and Davide Perez. He published the *Principes d'accompagnement des écoles d'Italie*[89] in collaboration with Vincenzo Fiocchi, drawing upon Neapolitan masters once again and extensively quoting *partimenti* by Francesco Durante and Fedele Fenaroli.[90]

In the preface, Choron tells us that he intends his publication to be a collection of practical rules and exercises of harmony, in contrast to the many theoretical works that had circulated previously. The book is divided into five chapters: the first being dedicated to the rules of *accompagnement*; the second to progressions; the third to the harmonization and accompaniment of a melody; the fourth to modulation; and the fifth to alterations, which contains partimenti realized by Fiocchi.[91] Choron also quotes examples from Francesco Azzopardi's *Le musicien pratique,* which he had revised in a new French edition with additions approved by Azzopardi's student

85 Barnaba Bonesi studied composition under Giovanni Andrea Fioroni, a former student of Leonardo Leo.

86 Choron-Fayolle (1810), 137–138.

87 See Choron-Fiocchi [1804] and Choron (1808–1809). The contents of Choron's works are not explored here, as they are already discussed in Groth (1983) and Meidhof (2016). See also Simms (1971).

88 Sala (1794). See Cafiero (2016a), 326–328; Cafiero (2020), 57–80; Stella (2009) and Diergarten (2021).

89 Choron-Fiocchi, [1804].

90 A table containing Fenaroli's *regole* and partimenti, found in both Choron's *Principes*, is included in Cafiero (2020), 173–199.

91 See Chapter 5 for some examples.

Nicolò Isouard.[92] Additionally, Choron incorporates Neapolitan partimenti, including those by Carlo Cotumacci, Nicola Sala, Durante and Fenaroli.[93]

Choron also contributed to the reopening of the *maîtrises*. In 1812 he founded an *École Normale de Musique* where he taught using a method of collective teaching inspired by the *enseignement mutuel*, the first time that this had been used in France.[94] His *Méthode concertante* was based on a system of teaching different groups of different standards at the same time, with students divided into four classes, based on their starting level. The exercises used were polyphonic *solfeggi*, for which each class sang a melodic line of varying difficulty; first with separated voices, then together.[95] In 1820 his institution was renamed *École royale et spéciale du chant*; in 1825 it became an institution dedicated to church music, the *Institut royal de musique religieuse de France*.

Between 1817 and 1830 Choron was in charge of the *École primaire de chant,* a school connected to the Conservatoire (then *École Royale*) aimed at training and educating ten young singers aged between six and thirteen years old, who lived at the school for free.

> Il était alloué à M. Choron 800 fr. par Élève:
>
> 1. Pour nourriture saine et suffisante, le logement, le feu, la lumière, le coucher et le blanchissage;
> 2. Pour enseigner les principes de la musique vocale et instrumentale en ce qui a trait à l'accompagnement sur le piano, et donner l'éducation religieuse, morale et grammaticale en usage dans les Établissement désignés sous la dénomination de Pensionnats [...].[96]

Upon Choron's death his schools were closed, apart from the *Institut Royal de Musique Religieuse* which became the *École Niedermeyer.*[97]

Another prominent figure in the Paris music scene who contributed to the spread of Neapolitan methods was François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871).[98] Fétis was a Belgian composer, who had studied harmony at the Conservatoire under Jean-Baptiste Rey, whose own theory was deeply influenced by his teacher, Rameau.[99] Fétis did not limit his understanding of harmony to his teacher's system, but studied other methods – including partimento, the ideas of the so-called *scuola padovana* (represented by

92 Azopardi (1824).
93 See the *Uupart* database for correspondences. See also Cafiero (2020), 46.
94 For further information see later in this chapter.
95 Choron [1817].
96 Lassabathie (1860), 50.
97 For an overview of Choron's schools, see Ellis (2005).
98 See Ellis, Wangermée, Chouquet (2001), Peters (1990) and Toplis (2005).
99 Jean-Baptiste Rey (1734–1810) taught harmonie at the conservatoire for only three years and left because of his disagreements with Sarrette. His theories were also at odds with those of Catel, author of the official *méthode* of the Conservatoire. See Chapter 4.

Francesco Antonio Calegari, Francesco Antonio Vallotti and Luigi Antonio Sabbatini) and such exponents of German *Musiktheorie* as Georg Andreas Sorge and Georg Joseph Vogler. His extensive research resulted in Fétis' 1844 *Traité complet de la théorie et de la pratique de l'harmonie*.[100] Prior to that, he was appointed Professor of Counterpoint and Fugue at the Paris Conservatoire in 1821 and worked as librarian at the same institution between 1826 and 1831.

However, Fétis's works are not limited to theoretical treatises and compositions. He was active as what we would describe today as a music journalist, and he wrote countless articles on a variety of subjects. In 1827 he founded the *Revue Musicale,* a weekly publication which he almost always wrote single-handedly. Through his writings, Fétis became one of the most significant supporters of the *écoles d'Italie*. In his *Méthode,* he used partimenti primarily by Fenaroli, Durante and Sala as exercises in *accompagnement*.[101] He also wrote many articles promoting the use of partimenti in France. In his *Esquisse*, Fétis mentions a different approach between Italy and other countries in the realization of these exercises:

> Ces grands musiciens [Pasquini and Scarlatti] écrivirent pour leurs élèves beaucoup de basses chiffrées auxquelles on donna le nom de partimenti: au lieu d'y faire plaquer des accords, suivant l'usage des Français et des Allemands, ces maîtres exigeaient que l'accompagnateur fit chanter d'une manière élégante toutes les parties de l'accompagnement. Sous ce rapport, les Italiens conservèrent longtemps une incontestable supériorité dans l'art d'accompagner.[102]

Fétis mainly highlights the use of counterpoint in the Italian realization of a partimento. This resulted in all voices being individual melodies, in contrast to the German and French chordal realizations.[103] The ways in which some elements of counterpoint were integrated into these subjects will be demonstrated later in the book.[104]

1.3. The creation of the Conservatoire in imitation of the *écoles d'italie*

Neapolitan influences on the history of French music pedagogy can be traced throughout the history of the Paris Conservatoire.

Around 1770 another *querelle* broke out in Paris between *Gluckistes* and *Piccinnistes*, both sides intending to rescue French opera from its decline. One proposed solution

100 Fétis (1844).
101 Fétis (1824).
102 Fétis (1840), 53. Also quoted in Cafiero (2007), 148–149.
103 For French *accompagnement* see Verwaerde (2015), that also contains a section dedicated to *Generalbass*, pp. 261–284. For Bach's circle composition teaching methods based on *Generalbass* see Remeš (2020). See also Christensen (2008) and Brandes (2018).
104 For further information on Fétis' theoretical works see Peters (1990).

was to create a vocal school in the style of Neapolitan conservatories,[105] about which Claude-Philibert Coquéau – a supporter of the operatic style of Niccolò Piccinni – wrote:

> Je crois que vous oubliez une des principales causes des progrès de la musique en Italie, les conservatoires et l'excellente méthode qu'on y professe. A l'aide de cet établissement utile, les travaux des hommes de génie ne furent pas perdus avec eux. Ils purent transmettre à leurs élèves une étincelle du feu qui les embrasait et la carte qui les avait guidés leur route.[106]

In 1784, an institution dedicated to developing a French singing school, the *École Royale de Chant et de Déclamation*, was founded "à l'instar des conservatoires d'Italie."[107] In a letter, it was suggested that Piccinni would be head of the school, with the aim of training French musicians to work in the *Opéra* and theatres, rather than importing musicians from abroad:

> Il faudrait attribuer à cette École le sr Piccinni, qui joint à son talent l'art de bien montrer et qui pourrait ainsi former d'excellents compositeurs pour l'avenir sans être obligé d'en faire venir d'étrangers.[108]

Niccolò Piccinni (1728–1800) studied in Naples with Leonardo Leo and Francesco Durante. At the invitation of Queen Marie-Antoinette, he moved to Paris in 1766. Piccinni was then asked by Papillon De La Ferté[109] to lead this new singing school as *Premier Maître* (*primo maestro*), the same title used in the Neapolitan *Conservatori* for the Professor in charge of a specific class. Piccinni declined the position, making it clear that he could not leave his employment at the *Opéra* and the *Comédie Italienne* for a salary of 3000 Fr.[110] After some negotiations, an agreement was reached, and the "Annonce de la création de l'école royale" from the *Correspondance littéraire de Grimm et Diderot*, named Piccinni as the main teacher of an institution created in imitation of the Neapolitan *Conservatori*.[111]

François-Joseph Gossec, a composer and former protégé of Rameau, was selected as Director; with Piccinni designated *premier maître*; and Langlé and Guichard appointed as singing teachers. Girls were admitted to the school and all students learned dance, acting, and stage-fighting.[112]

105 See Gessele (1992), 195.
106 Coquéau (1779), 125. Also quoted in Gessele (1992), 195–196.
107 Pierre, (1900a), 1. For further information on the institutions that preceded the Conservatoire see, among others, Gessele (1992).
108 Pierre, (1900a), 2.
109 Papillon de La Ferté (1727–1794) was at the time the administrator of the *Menus-Plaisirs du Roi.*
110 See Pierre (1900a), 12–14.
111 Pierre (1900a), 14.
112 See Pierre (1900a), 16–17. In the Neapolitan *Real Collegio* girls were admitted starting in 1806 after the interdiction of training *castrati*. See Cafiero (1998).

In 1786 the potential of the school was acknowledged in a review of the students' concert, which was written by Le Prévot d'Exmes and appeared in the *Mercure de France*:

> La France recueillera abondamment les fruits de cette institution, lorsqu'on verra, dans quelques années, sortir de l'École royale de chant, de danse et de déclamation, des sujets instruits, tant en qualité d'artistes que de compositeurs, qui prouveront par leurs productions, que le goût de la bonne musique nous est aussi facile et aussi naturel qu'aux Italiens. On reconnaitra alors que les peuples d'Italie n'ont eu l'avantage sur nous, que parce qu'ils jouissent depuis longtemps d'un établissement de cette nature, sous le titre de Conservatoire.[113]

In this same review, the author offered some criticisms that would later be directed at the Conservatoire: a) the need for a *pensionnat* (eventually established in 1806) so that students could live on-site and focus on their studies, avoiding the need for them to travel back and forth to the *école;* b) problems arising from the individual teacher's different teaching methods, which would later be addressed with the publication of the *méthodes;* c) the failure to apply the *enseignement mutuel* used in Neapolitan Conservatories, though this would later be partially achieved through the introduction of *répétiteurs*.[114]

In a review of the *École* six years after its formation, comparisons with the Neapolitan schools were still inevitable:

> C'est d'après les conservatoires d'Italie qu'on a voulu avoir à Paris une école de chant. Mais quelle différence dans la formation de ces deux genres d'établissements, dans leurs effets, dans leur régime et dans leur utilité! Les conservatoires de Naples sont des espèces d'hôpitaux, des fondations pieuses qui se soutiennent par leurs propres revenus, en y joignant les bienfaits volontaires de quelques amateurs de musique, le service que font les élèves dans quelques églises et les pensions, quoique modiques, payées par des élèves étrangers. Ils sont ouverts à toutes les classes de citoyens, particulièrement aux plus pauvres et fournissent des musiciens de tout genre à l'Italie entière. L'École de Paris, qui ne forme guère des sujets que pour l'Opéra, qui ne peut être utile qu'à un petit nombre de personnes, est entretenue aux dépens du trésor public. Les conservatoires de Naples contiennent depuis 90 élèves jusqu'à 200. Il n'y a que deux maîtres résidents et quatre ou cinq externes. Ils forment d'excellents chanteurs, d'excellents compositeurs et des professeurs pour les instruments d'orchestre. Les jeunes gens y sont logés, nourris, entretenus et instruits gratuitement pendant huit ans. L'École de Paris n'a que 30 élèves et vingt maîtres auxquels il faut en joindre encore deux ou trois de supplément. On n'y forme que des chanteurs pour l'Opéra, ou tout au plus pour la Comédie italienne, quand on ne leur trouve pas assez de voix pour la grande scène. On y apprend le violon et la basse, mais on n'y enseigne pas le hautbois, la flûte, le basson et le cor, quoique ces instruments soient parmi nous d'une rareté extrême et que nous soyons obligés de les prendre presque tous parmi les Allemands. Ces élèves, quoiqu'en petit nombre, ne sont ni logés, ni nourris, mais on leur donne des appointements

113 Pierre (1900a), 19–21.
114 See later in this chapter.

> proportionnés aux dispositions qu'ils montrent ou peut-être à la protection qui sollicite pour eux. Quelques-uns de ces sujets tirent aussi des appointements de l'Opéra.[115]

There is an interesting difference between these institutions in their sociological background. In Naples, the *Conservatori* were initially created as religious, charitable institutions,[116] devoted to providing shelter and professional training for orphans;[117] while, in Paris, they were primarily set-up to train professional musicians, in order to create a substantial body of French musicians to work at court or in orchestras, where there were currently large numbers of foreign musicians. In Naples, pupils had to sign a contract with the *Conservatorio*, agreeing that all their earnings from musical activities would go to the institution in exchange for board, lodging, and musical training.[118] Paying students, often foreigners, were also admitted. In Paris, there was a similar system, whereby students had to sign an exclusivity contract with the Conservatoire to manage all their performances outside the Conservatoire (mainly in orchestras or choirs in theaters).

During the French Revolution, the *École* was suppressed and Piccinni moved back to Naples, where he was arrested on charges of Jacobinism in 1794. He returned to Paris in 1798.[119] During the years of the revolution, military music was promoted through the *École de la Garde Nationale*, where students received two lessons of *solfège* and three instrumental lessons per week.[120] Among the students at the *École* were Catel, Lefèvre, Ozi, Duvernoy, all of who would go on to become teachers at the future Conservatoire.[121] In 1793, the *École de la Garde Nationale* became the *Institut National de Musique*. Prior to this, music had been the domain of the church, court and military but the new *Institut National* sought to make all music accessible to a wider audience and, in addition to the subjects previously taught at the *École Royale* and the *École de la Garde Nationale,* there were lessons in composition (with Méhul and Le Sueur), violin, and cello. Also, a library was created at the *Institut*, containing all the scores,

115 *De l'organisation des spectacles de Paris ou essai sur leur forme actuelle…,* Paris, 1790 in Pierre, (1900a), 44.

116 Although these institutions were founded by the clergy, thanks to the many donations received, they were able to maintain a certain degree of independence from the Church. See Del Prete (1999).

117 The Neapolitan conservatories were created with a charitable purpose; however, since they specialized in music education, they were not only attended by orphans. In fact, by the end of the 17th century, orphans were a minority of the children admitted, as most of the students came from the families of professional musicians or were members of the clergy. See Olivieri (1999) and Aerts (2021).

118 See Cafiero (2005b), 20.

119 See Cafiero (2016), 328–329.

120 See Mongrédien (1986), 13–14 and Lassabathie (1860), 19.

121 Pierre (1900a), 85.

books and instruments confiscated during the revolution.[122] This library later also housed the books and scores collected in Italy by Napoleon's delegates, Rodolphe Kreutzer, violinist and professor at the Conservatoire, and the Neapolitan-trained, Maltese composer, Nicolò Isouard. These two musicians were sent to Italy twice (in both 1796–97 and 1798–99) to collect the best works of music and send them back to the Conservatoire's library.[123]

In 1795 Marie-Joseph Chénier, lyricist of revolutionary songs and a friend of Sarrette, presented a report on the reorganization of the *Institut National de Musique* at the July 28th convention. The main point of his argument was that musicians were needed for patriotic celebrations, and that these should be trained at the Conservatoire.[124] Most teachers of the former É*cole Royale* signed an agreement to join this new institution called *Conservatoire de Musique*, beginning in 1795.[125] The mission of the newly founded *Conservatoire* was to "Entretenir la musique dans la société, former des artistes pour les armées et pour les théâtres."[126]

Despite efforts to create a leading French singing school, the preeminence of Italian singers persisted. In 1801 Fétis wrote a *Projet d'un plan général de l'instruction musicale en France, particulièrement dirigé vers la vocale et la composition.*[127] In his proposal, Fétis aimed to show "les vices du Conservatoire actuel" and offered solutions, including the reestablishment of the *maîtrises* and the establishment of a school dedicated to composition and vocal music. Once again, the comparison with the *écoles d'Italie* and their "bonne instruction" guided the debate. According to Fétis, the first critical point to be addressed was the number and quality of teachers of composition and singing because, after a reduction in Government funding, three singing professors were replaced by two pianists "totalement étrangers à l'art du chant".

In Paris, pupils were admitted from the age of seven. Like their Neapolitan colleagues, they started their training with *solfège*, after which they were allowed to learn instruments and take singing classes. In Naples there was a distinction between singers and instrumentalists, and Fétis argued that playing wind instruments affects young students' voices and compromises the quality of their singing. This statement, published in 1801, seems to be at odds with the *Règlement* of 1800 (*Germinal an VIII),* in which the *ordre de l'étude* states:

122 For further information on the Library of the Conservatoire, see Massip (1996) and Giovani (2021b).
123 See Cafiero (2016a), 349–352 and (2016b), XXXVI–XXXVIII. Details of these expeditions are in Giovani (2021a).
124 See Mongrédien (1986), 16–17.
125 For an overview of the teachers at the Conservatoire, see Hondré (1995a).
126 Pierre (1900a), 160.
127 Fétis (1801).

> IV. Les Élèves étudiant le chant ne peuvent recevoir l'enseignement d'aucune partie instrumentale.[128]

It is not known whether Fétis wrote his pamphlet prior to the establishment of these rules at the Conservatoire or if the new *Règlement* had not yet been applied in 1801. In his 1802 *Observations sur l'Etat de la Musique,* Bernard Sarrette suggested the creation of a French school of music and singing that could rival those in Italy.[129] A few years later it was clear that, although instrumentalists trained at the Conservatoire were visibly successful and employed in orchestras, theaters and military bands, the quality of the trained singers was still considered by many critical observers to be substandard.[130] This is well-illustrated by an incident that Gabriel Vauthier relates about Choron who, upon hearing a student shouting at the top of his voice instead of singing, reprimanded him with the words: "tu chantes comme au Conservatoire."[131]

A critique of the vocal teaching at the Conservatoire can be found in a review of a concert at the Conservatoire in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* from 23 August 1809. The author of this excerpt paints a colorful picture of the above mentioned *urlo francese* which, apparently, still continued (and was taught) at the Conservatoire:

> Zum Zurückbleiben des Gesanges trägt endlich auch bey, dass man in Frankreich keine eigentliche Gesang-Schule, keine sicher gestellte Methode des Unterrichts, angenommen hat: jeder Lehrer singt, oder schreyet, auf eigne Hand und nach eigner Weise; was nun noch an dem Einen gut ist, wird von Andern für schlecht erklärt, woraus folgt, dass der Schüler nicht weiss, wem er folgen soll, oder der Affe von dem wird, den er sich nun einmal zum Muster erwählt hat, wo denn nicht selten, wie bey blinden Nachahmungen fast allezeit, wahre Karikaturen zum Vorschein kommen. So wird der Hauptzweck des Conservatoire verfehlt; der nähmlich, den Theatern gute Sänger und Sängerinnen zu verschaffen.[132]

On paper, the administration of the Conservatoire appeared to be working. In 1808 students were living in the *pensionnat* and being tutored there:

> Les Élèves [...] recevaient la plus grande partie de leur éducation dans l'intérieur du Pensionnat; il y avaient Professeurs de solfège, de vocalisation et de chant, une classe de musique d'ensemble et de lecture de la partition, sans compter l'étude accessoire du clavier pour l'accompagnement; voilà pour la musique. Ils recevaient en outre, le soir, et trois fois par semaine, des leçons de langue française et italienne, de géographie et d'histoire, et, en dehors de celles de déclamations, il y avait des exercises de tenue et d'escrime.[133]

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128 Lassabathie (1860), 246. In the *Réglement* of 1808 it is specified that the piano is admitted together with *chant.*

129 "De créer (…) une école de chant qui pourrait par la suite rivaliser avec celles d'Italie", Bernard Sarrette (1802), 37, also quoted in Hondré (1995b), 81.

130 Choron-Fayolle (1810), 154.

131 Vauthier (1908), 622. Also quoted in Devriès-Lesure (1996), 75.

132 Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, n.47, 23/08/1809, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 749.

133 Lassabathie (1860), 85–86.

An archival document written by Choron and dated 1820, entitled *Considérations sur la situation actuelle du chant en France et sur le moyen d'en opérer la restauration*, highlights the differences between the *école d'Italie* and France. It describes a significant pedagogical difference which may help explain the variance in quality between the two schools: the French separation of *solfège* and singing lessons. In Neapolitan conservatories the two disciplines did not exist independently.[134]

> En France, il n'en est point ainsi: on a fait de la lecture musicale un art séparé que l'on enseigne à part à ceux qui veulent devenir musiciens dans un genre quelconque, et l'on fait succéder à cette étude celle du chant ou des instruments. Il résulte de cette méthode un désordre effroyable et qui est une des principales causes de la situation fâcheuse et de l'infériorité ou le chant a été depuis si longtemps en France.[135]

The document continues by criticising the teaching of *harmony*. Choron states that instruction in the theoretical principles of harmony at the *Conservatoire* should be taught alongside the more practical approach of partimento:[136]

> Le principal de ces vices (qui) consiste en substituer l'étude abstraite de l'harmonie à celle du partimento ou basse chiffrée, en usage dans toute l'Europe et qui a l'inconvénient d'éloigner les élèves du but vers lequel ils tendent, celui de devenir accompagnateurs (…) aussitôt que les élèves auront acquis quelque connaissance du clavier et quelque facilité à exécuter à vue sur le forte piano ils devront être appliqués à l'étude pratique du partimento. Le recueil de Fenaroli et celui de Durante, qui sont en usage à Naples et dans toute l'Italie, sont ceux que l'on peut employer de mieux pour cet usage. (…) Je dirais seulement que plus on pourra, pour l'enseignement du chant e de l'accompagnement, se rapprocher des usages suivis dans les anciennes écoles d'Italie, plus on fera sagement et plus on sera assuré d'obtenir des résultats avantageux.[137]

The Conservatoire was closed after the Bourbon Restauration in 1816, and was reopened shortly thereafter under the name of *École Royale de Musique et de Déclamation,* with Louis Perne as Director and many of the professors who had served the previous institution.[138] When he was elected Director of the *École Royale* in 1822, Cherubini decided to develop a plan aimed at improving the quality of singing lessons.[139] La Rochefoucauld, Director of the *Beaux-Arts*, was concerned about the poor results of the school and, without consulting Cherubini, decided to replace the four singing teachers with three Italians recommended by Gioacchino Rossini:

134 See Baragwanath (2020).
135 Arch. nat. O/3/1804.
136 A similar transformation happened in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century. See Holtmeier (2012).
137 Arch. nat. O/3/1804. See Chapter 3 for the details of teaching of *accompagnement.*
138 Pierre (1900a), 186–187.
139 Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842) was the director of this institution from 1822 to 1842. For further information on Cherubini as the director of the Conservatoire, see Devriès-Lesure, (1996).

David Banderali (1789–1849) from Milan, Felice Pellegrini (1774–1832) from Turin and Gianmarco Bordogni (1789–1856) from Bergamo. In a letter addressed to Cherubini from 29th December 1827, he wrote:

> Pour remédier à une décadence inévitable, il faut nécessairement chercher à naturaliser parmi nous les principes de l'école italienne si supérieure à toutes les autres.[140]

Lessons in *solfège* became the first step in the training of singers, who were now required to attend a two-hour lesson, three times per week. Following the Neapolitan model, Cherubini reestablished the *pensionnat* (which had been closed since 1814) so that students could live in the school and concentrate all their efforts on music.[141] Since the boarding was paid for by the *Conservatoire*, students had to repay the institution through their musical services. As in Naples, where pupils would sing in churches and for the *paranze,* students in Paris were employed as *choristes* at the *Opéra*. However, the best singers were exempt from choir duties to preserve their voices. These *élèves distingués* could also be offered piano lessons in order to learn how to accompany their singing.

Another measure introduced to improve the standard of French singers was to allow only those singers who had completed their training to take lessons in *déclamation lyrique*, thus avoiding any confusion arising from learning different vocal techniques at the same time.[142] In 1823 the classes of *harmonie* and *accompagnement pratique* were reunited in order to achieve "des élèves qui soient à la fois bons harmonistes et accompagnateurs."[143] Additionally, a *basse chiffrée* class – led by a *répétitrice* – was provided as an introductory course to *accompagnement* for girls. For the first time in France, Cherubini also introduced a "classe de composition pour femmes"; however, despite its promising title, this simply consisted of *accompagnement* for girls.[144]

Cherubini also requested the immediate restoration of the name "Conservatoire":

> Ne serait-il pas convenable, de restituer à l'École royale de musique et de déclamation son ancien titre de *Conservatoire,* titre, que par habitude, on lui donne toujours dans la société, titre sous lequel il avait acquis sa grande réputation?[145]

Despite this request, the institution would not regain its name until 1831.

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140 Arch. nat. AJ37/83/1, letter of the 29th of December 1827 from La Rochefoucauld to Cherubini, quoted in Devriès-Lesure (1996), 78.
141 Devriès-Lesure, (1996), 76–85.
142 Devriès-Lesure, (1996), 80.
143 AJ37/83/8, in Pierre (1900a), 280. Also quoted in Devriès-Lesure, (1996), 88.
144 Nicephor (2007), 90.
145 Arch. nat. AJ37/1/5c *Rattachement de l'École royale à la division des Beaux-Arts du ministère de la Maison du roi. 12–17 avril 1821.* Also quoted in Devrès-Lesuer (1996), 63.

1.4. Didactical organization at the Conservatoire

Research conducted by partimento scholars such as Nicholas Baragwanath, Rosa Cafiero, Robert Gjerdingen, Giorgio Sanguinetti and Peter Van Tour has reconstructed the pedagogical course taken by an apprentice musician in Naples. Young students could only start to learn partimento after training in *solfeggio* (which included the so-called "elements of music" and *solfeggio parlato*) for an average of three years, though this could last as long the *Maestro* deemed necessary.[146] Pupils were given singing or instrumental lessons according to their inclination, and the more advanced could progress to study counterpoint.

Similarly, the *Règlement* adopted when the Conservatoire was founded in 1795 divided teaching activities into three levels:[147]

> *Premier degré.* Les principes élémentaires du solfège forment la première partie de l'enseignement; les Élèves qui y sont classés ne peuvent suivre d'autre partie qu'ils n'aient été classés au second degré.
>
> *Second degré.*
> Les développements du solfège,
> La vocalisation,
> Le chant simple, le chant déclamé,
> Les instruments en tous genres. [...]
>
> *Troisième degré.*
> Répétition de la scène chantée, avec accompagnement d'orchestre,
> Accompagnement,
> Composition théorique et pratique.
> Le complément de l'enseignement, par une suite de cours dans lesquels la théorie générale et l'historique de l'art musical devaient être traités sous tous les rapports.[148]

The pedagogy of the *premier degré* was later incorporated into the *méthodes* of the Conservatoire, specifically in the volume entitled *Principes élémentaires de musique [...] suivis de solfèges*.[149] This was divided into the basic elements of music (rhythm, intervals, scales, etc.) and the *solfèges*, which were similar to Neapolitan *solfeggi,* but accompanied by a figured bass. The exercises in *Principes élémentaires* were increasingly difficult, beginning with simple scales written in several rhythmic variations, before covering all intervals and tonalities. C-clefs are also introduced. The third book contains the second part of the *solfèges*, in which the level of difficulty progressed through the addition of time signatures that include compound meters, smaller note

146 Baragwanath (2020).
147 For an overview on teaching of theoretical subjects at the Conservatoire see Groth (1983), 14–17.
148 Lassabathie (1860), 229.
149 Agus, Catel et al. (1800). See also Chapter 2.

values, and embellishments. The final level includes *solfeggi fugati* in invertible counterpoint and canons.

The second level of teaching includes advanced *solfeggi*, presumably like those that were included a few years later in the *méthode: Solfèges pour servir à l'étude dans le conservatoire de musique*.[150] Here, the exercises, which were composed by professors at the Conservatoire, are similar to music pieces intended for public performance in both their form and melodic shape. The second portion of this volume contains polyphonic *solfeggi* scored for two, three and four voices. The content of singing and instrumental lessons can also be reconstructed from the official *méthodes* that were published and used as the main teaching material in the French institution.[151] Archival sources also show that, together with the official *méthodes,* the *Solfèges d'Italie* was used at the Conservatoire.[152] The celebrated collections of *solfeggi* edited by Jean-Louis Bêche and Pierre-Charles Levesque were published in at least five editions, starting in 1772,[153] and copies of them were regularly purchased by the Conservatoire.[154]

During the third level of teaching, singers and instrumentalists could devote their time to preparing for public performances, while aspiring composers would start their journey with *accompagnement* and theoretical subjects.[155]

The *Règlement* of 1800 describes the steps of this academic pathway. Students were examined every three months to determine whether they needed to continue in their class or if they could advance in their studies. Once their *solfège* training was completed, and they were sufficiently skilled in reading music and playing the piano, they could begin the *cours d'harmonie.* This class could last only one year, which meant that a student could not repeat it; those who did successfully complete the year of harmony were then permitted to take courses in composition. The first of these was *contrepoint et fugue* and, once this had been successfully completed, they could progress to *composition libre.* This indicates that not all students could attend classes in *harmonie* and *accompagnement.* Also, not all *Conservatoire* students would be eligible to perform in theaters. Those who did not achieve soloist standard were directed towards another career path: boys were destined to become orchestral musicians; girls, music engravers.[156] These selection criteria were similar to those used in Neapolitan conservatories, whereby the best students could aspire to a position of *Maestro di cappella* while the less gifted students could become instrumentalists; or, in the worst case, they could leave the Conservatorio to become priests.[157]

150 Agus, Catel et al. (1801). See also Chapter 2.
151 The *méthodes* will be discussed in Chapter 2.
152 See Chapter 2. For further information see also Mamy (1998), Sullo (2012) and Baragwanath (2020).
153 Baragwanath dates the first edition in 1768 in Baragwanath (2020).
154 See Chapter 2 and Hondré (1995b), 101.
155 See Chapter 3.
156 Pierre (1900a), 17.
157 Cafiero (2005b), 21.

In 1822 the *Règlement* signed by Cherubini describes the three steps in training a composer in greater detail:

1) *Harmonie-Accompagnement:* in order to be admitted, students must have keyboard skills, be able to read music in all keys, and be confident in their sight-reading. Twelve students were admitted: six *en exercice,* effectively meaning that they studied directly with the professor; and six *auditeurs ou aspirants*, who took most of their lessons with the *répétiteur*, and occasionally with the professor.[158] The maximum age for admission was sixteen years old although, in some exceptional cases, students were taken up to the age of twenty.
2) *Contrepoint et Fugue:* Students must have completed their course in *harmonie* and be approved by the professor. Twelve students were admitted (six *en exercice* and six *auditeurs*), with the maximum age being eighteen or, in some exceptional cases, twenty-two years old.
3) *Composition:* Students who have successfully completed *harmonie* and *contrepoint* could then start composition courses. *Auditeurs* were not admitted. Students up to twenty-one years old, and in exceptional cases, up to twenty-five, were eligible to enter these classes. Only four students per professor were admitted; in 1822, the three professors of composition were Henri-Montan Berton, François-Adrien Boieldieu and Jean- François Lesueur. Cherubini left his position after he was nominated *Directeur.*[159] This study will focus on the first step in the training of a composer, the teaching of *harmonie* and *accompagnement.*[160]

1.5. *Mastricelli* and *Répétiteurs*: the *Enseignement mutuel* between Naples and Paris

Enseignement mutuel is a teaching method used with large classes, where the presence of only one teacher could be insufficient for maintaining high quality instruction.[161] The *Maestro* would teach the advanced students (called *mastricelli)* who would then teach the younger pupils. On account of this initiative, students learned more effectively and gained experience in teaching.

Imbimbo claimed that this method was invented in Naples. He wrote a pamphlet called *Observations sur l'enseignement mutuel appliqué à la musique,*[162] in which he sought to describe the teaching methods of the Neapolitan conservatories to the French public.

158 Lassabathie (1860), 289.
159 Lassabathie (1860), 373.
160 See Chapter 3.
161 Several scholars have discussed the topic of mutual teaching. See e.g. Cafiero (2001b), 206–210.
162 Imbimbo (1821).

> Il y avait des maîtres externes, payés par chaque conservatoire, qui ne communiquaient qu'avec les élèves supérieurs de chaque classe […]. Parmi les élèves supérieurs, il y en avait un certain nombre qui étaient désignés sous le nom de *Mastricelli,* et qui instruisaient les élèves inférieurs des classe respectives. En général les élèves les plus forts remplissaient les fonctions de maîtres vis-à-vis des plus faibles, et par ce moyen, les leçons se transmettaient d'élève à élève.[163]

The *Maestro* would arrive, announced by the ringing of the bell, and the advanced students would go to him for the correction of their exercises. This would happen in front of the entire class so that all students could listen to the corrections made:

> Lorsque la cloche annonçait l'arrivée d'un maître, par exemple, du maître de contrepoint, les élèves supérieurs de la classe se rendaient, avec leur cartella, et les corrigeait toutes, l'une après l'autre, en présence de tous les élèves de la classe. Les autres maîtres suivaient la même marche dans leurs classes respectives, avec les élèves supérieurs.[164]

The advantages of this method are easily explained:

> Un jeune élève abandonné à lui-même, après avoir écouté la leçon de son maître, perde facilement de vue l'impression passagère qu'il a reçue. Mais lorsque cette impression se répète un grand nombre de fois; lorsque les élèves sont appelés à concourir mutuellement à leur enseignement; lorsque, enfin, on a l'adresse d'animer l'émulation par le puissant aiguillon de l'amour-propre, on ne peut pas manquer de hâter les progrès des élèves, de faciliter le mécanisme de l'instruction, et de soulager l'esprit dans une partie des difficultés qui résultent de la complication des signes et de l'aridité des principes.[165]

There was debate as to the value of the *enseignement mutuel* at the time of Imbimbo's publication. Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster had already used this method in England and India,[166] while other publications by Louis-Benjamin Francoeur and Wilhem appeared in France.[167] Bell and Lancaster's methods were translated into Italian and printed in Naples in 1817.[168] Two years later, Federico Massimino published a pamphlet in France about the application of this method to music teaching, based on his experiences as *professeur* at the *Institution de la Légion d'honneur* of Saint-Denis.[169] An earlier statement about mutual teaching in Naples is found in Nicolas-Étienne Framery's *Encyclopédie méthodique*:

> On demandera peut-être comment un seul maître pour la composition, comment un seul pour le chant, peuvent donner leçon à deux cents élèves. On pourra croire qu'un grand

163 Imbimbo (1821), 4–5.
164 Imbimbo (1821), 3. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 207.
165 Imbimbo (1821), 16.
166 Lancaster (1803). Bell-Lancaster (1817). Bell (1823).
167 Massimino [1819]. Francoeur [1818], Bocquillon, Guillaume-Louis, dit Wilhem (1821).
168 Bell (1823) and Lancaster (1803). Bell-Lancaster (1817).
169 Massimino (1819). See Cafiero (2020), 160–172 and Cafiero (2019), 58–59.

> nombre passe souvent plus de huit jours sans en recevoir; on se tromperait. Chaque écolier reçoit chaque jour une leçon au moins d'une heure, dans chaque genre, & voici comment on s'y prend:
> Le maître choisit quatre ou cinq des plus forts élèves; il les exerçait tour-à-tour en présence l'un de l'autre avec le plus grand soin. Quand cette leçon est donnée, chacun des élèves qui l'a reçue la rend à son tour à quatre ou cinq autres d'une classe inférieure, & sous l'inspection du maître. Ces seconds écoliers en font autant, & la leçon se propage ainsi jusqu'aux derniers rangs. Parmi tous les avantages sensibles de cette méthode, il faut distinguer ceux-ci, [1.] qu'en même temps que les élèves s'instruisent dans l'art musical, ils apprennent à enseigner les autres, [2.] qu'ils ne peuvent écouter légèrement les préceptes qu'on leur donne sans que le maître s'aperçoive à l'instant même de leur négligence ou de leur distraction, & [3.] que les principes de l'art ainsi reçus et rendus au même moment se gravent dans leur esprit de manière à ne jamais s'en effacer.[170]

Imbimbo strongly criticizes Massimino's suggestion that *enseignement mutuel* could be applied to singing lessons,[171] stressing that each voice depends on the singer's unique anatomy and therefore requires individual training. Entrusting the teaching of singing to *mastricelli* would not allow each student to fully develop his or her vocal abilities. In addition, limiting the teaching of singing to group lessons would result in improper development of vocal technique.

Consequently, while Imbimbo recommends the use of this method for harmony lessons, he warns of its limits when learning musical expression and interpretation skills:

> Nous croyons pouvoir ajouter qu'on peut aussi appliquer utilement la même méthode à l'enseignement de l'harmonie, en divisant cette partie de l'instruction en deux sections, celle des *Partimenti* et celle du *Contrepoint*. On démontrera, sur le tableau, la division de la corde sonore, la théorie de tous les intervalles, la combinaison et la marche de tous les accords sur les différents mouvements de la basse, et l'on dictera les règles de la composition. En suivant cette méthode, et en lui donnant tut le développement dont elle est susceptible, on parviendra, sans doute, à faire des musiciens très-instruits; mais parviendra-t-on à faire exécuter la musique avec goût, avec sentiment, avec expression?[172]

Another publication on this topic appeared in 1823 by Tommaso Consalvo, organist of the Real Cappella Palatina and teacher at the *Real Casa de' Miracoli*, a school for girls at which music was taught.[173] He published a pamphlet on the application of the Lancastrian method to "Teoria, Canto, Suono, Setticlavio, Partimento."[174] Consalvo describes how the students of the "first class" receive lessons from the *maestro*; these students then teach the same lesson to the students of the "second class", who then repeat the process with the next group. In his method, Consalvo suggests the use of

170 Framery-Ginguene (1791–1818), 304–305.
171 Imbimbo (1821), 20 et seq.
172 Imbimbo (1821), 17–18. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 208.
173 Cafiero (1999), 762.
174 Consalvo (1823). The text is entirely reproduced in Cafiero (2001b), 219–220.

the *Méthode de Piano* by Adam, the official method for piano teaching used at the Conservatoire, together with Clementi's books, Fenaroli's partimenti, and the *solfeggi* for two voices by David Perez.

In 1816 Choron presented a plan for the reopening of the Conservatoire based on the teaching methods of Neapolitan conservatories. Although this plan was not adopted, it contained a description of how the *enseignement mutuel* was supposed to be applied:

> Deux professeurs titulaires, l'un de composition, l'autre de chant, ce dernier donnant leçon chaque jour à tous les Élèves. Les plus avancés, recevant directement la leçon du Maître qui exposait les règles, donnait les exemples, les faisait exécuter par les *Élèves-maitres,* indiquait les défauts et les moyens de les corriger; après la leçon principale, les Élèves se formaient en subdivisions, dans lesquelles les *Élèves- maîtres* faisaient répéter la leçon qu'ils venaient de recevoir, sous la surveillance du professeur titulaire. L'Élève recevait ainsi deux heures de leçons par jour.[175]

A similar role to a *Mastricello,* called *Répétiteur*, was first introduced at the Conservatoire to assist singers and instrumentalists during rehearsals before performances.[176] In the *Règlement* of *Germinal an VIII*[177] the *Répétitions* were extended to all classes and *répétiteurs* supervised three lessons out of the eight that students received every 10 days (*décade*):

> Art. 13. Les Élèves reçoivent huit leçons par décade, pour chaque partie de l'enseignement auquel ils sont admis; cinq de ces leçons leur sont données par leurs Professeurs; les trois autres par un Répétiteur choisi parmi les Élèves les plus avancés de la classe. Ce Répétiteur, désigné par le Professeur, est nommé par le Directeur sur la proposition motivée des Inspecteurs de l'Enseignement.[178]

Experience gained as a *Répétiteur* was taken into account when new professors were selected:

> Les Élèves du Conservatoire, pour être admis aux Concours des places de Professeurs, doivent avoir rempli les fonctions de Répétiteurs dans la partie qu'ils veulent professer, pendant une année au moins; à talent égal, l'Élève aura la préférence sur l'étranger.[179]

As with the Neapolitan *Mastricelli,* the role of *Répétiteur* was considered as preparation for a future professorship, as stated in a *Règlement* of 1808:

175 Lassabathie (1860), 47.
176 Pierre (1900a), 227.
177 March 1800.
178 Pierre (1900a), 232.
179 Lassabathie (1860), 243.

> Pour compléter les moyens d'étude des Élèves, en les disposant à transmettre l'enseignement, les plus avancés d'entre eux sont appelés, sous la surveillance immédiate des Professeurs, à remplir les fonctions de Répétiteurs. Les Répétiteurs qui se distinguent par leur manière d'enseigner et leur bonne conduite peuvent être appelés aux fonctions d'adjoints aux Professeurs.[180]

In the *Règlement* of 1822, *Répétiteurs* were chosen from among graduated students and were obliged to work for the *Conservatoire* for at least one year.[181] Later on, it was noted in the 1841 *Règlement* that they were again selected from among the students in a class, and their services were required to cover for the professor's absence:

> Il est nommé par le Directeur, dans chaque classe, un Répétiteur pris parmi les Élèves de la classe. Les Répétiteurs sont tenus de remplacer les Professeurs dans le cas de maladie, de congé ou d'absence prévu par l'article précédent.[182]

The *enseignement mutuel* was possibly introduced in the early Neapolitan Conservatories in order to be the most economic way of teaching a large number of students. On the one hand, students were able to memorize the content of the lessons by repeating them to younger students and gain teaching experience; on the other, this method carried with it the risk of passing on incomplete or incorrect ideas, since the majority of students had only limited contact with the *Maestro.*

The history of the *Conservatoire* and its evolution illustrates how the institution pursued its two main goals. The first was the foundation of a school like the Neapolitan *Conservatori* that would bring forth generations of highly competent French musicians, particularly singers. The second, inspired by the spirit of the French Revolution, was the establishment of an *école nationale française*, with a distinct character and identity. The two goals might have contradicted one another: the role model for the *Conservatoire* was a highly-admired foreign institution but, at the same time, there was a desire for a musical conservatory that reflected the national identity and presented itself as distinct from other nations. Following the French Revolution, the need to fashion a new national identity permeated every area of life, and music was not exempt from this change. By contrast, Naples had always been a Monarchy, both before and after the failed revolution of 1799. Nevertheless, the coexistence of these two goals generated a new model of institution, and one that was imitated by other institutions throughout the world.

The reputation of the Neapolitan school and its effective teaching methods was undoubtedly an inspiration for the foundation of the first public music schools in France. The *Conservatoire* attempted to follow the model of the Neapolitan *Conservatori,* not only in the contents of their lessons but also in their teaching methods.

180 Pierre (1900a), 238.
181 Pierre (1900a), 247.
182 Pierre (1900a), 250–251.

The adoption of a system similar to the *enseignement mutuel* – as practised at the Neapolitan conservatories, the establishment of the *répétiteurs* and the creation of a *pensionnat* are key examples of this influence.

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.[183] In addition to publications by professors at the Conservatoire, other materials were used in lessons, such as the French edition of Fenaroli's partimenti.[184]

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 of Henri-Montan Berton. These two visions on harmony differ in terms of perspective.

183 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).

184 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.[185] 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.[186]

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.[187]

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.

187 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).

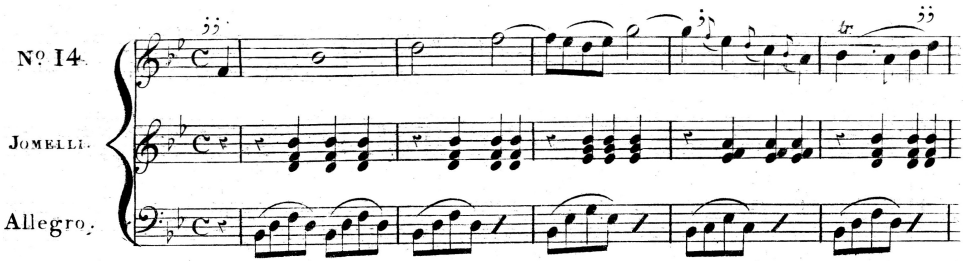

Figure 2.1. Méthode de Chant, 118. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k991280n/f128.item

In the nineteenth century, it was common to use written realizations of continuo parts.[188] 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.[189]

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.[190]

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.[191]

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.[192] 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 Elémentaire d'harmonie et d'accompagnement, composé d'une suite de Leçons graduées, présentées sous la forme de thêmes et d'exercices, au moyen desquels on peut apprendre la Composition vocale et instrumentale. Ouvrage spécialement disposé pour les Elèves, et offert aux Professeurs pour faciliter l'enseignement, par F.L. Perne, Pensionnaire du ROI, Professeur de Composition et d'Accompagne-

191 Pierre (1900), 249. Also quoted in Hondré (1995b), 101–102.
192 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 Corresposndant 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'Honner, Par V. Dourlen, Membre du Conservatoire,* Paris, chez Prilipp et C.e 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 Contrepoint et la Fugue: Autheur de la Panharmonie Musicale. Cet Ouvrage suivi dans les Classes du Conservatoire, est un complément nécéssaire 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.[193]

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.[194]

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

Fétis described the state of harmony teaching at the time, when Rameau's "*monstrueaux*" 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.[197]

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*.[198] 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*.[199] 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,[200] himself a former student of Durante,[201] before being admitted to the *École Royale de Chant et de Déclamation* to study *harmonie* and composition under Gossec, a former student of Rameau.[202] Catel's work shows influences of both the theory-based French tradition that was popular in second half of the 18th 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,[203] many of which are commonly found in partimento sources.[204]

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 *hamonie 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.*[205] 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.[206]

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.[207]

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.[208]

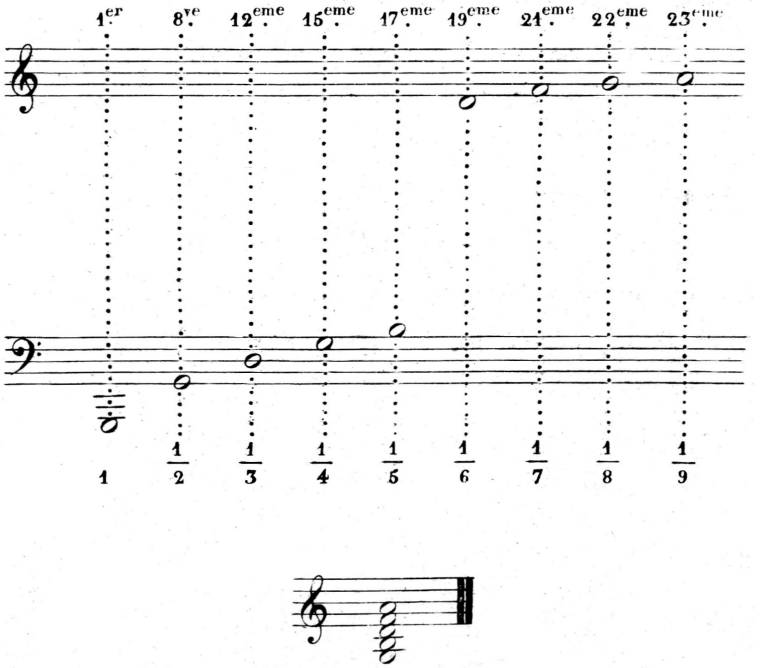

Figure 2.2. Catel (1801), 5. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k11638905/f15.item

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,*[209] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, Georg Andreas Sorge,[210] Johann Philipp Kirnberger, and Daniel Gottlob Türk.[211] 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*:[212]

> 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 [...].[213]

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.[214] 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:[215]

- *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)*[216] has its inversions in the *accord de quinte et sixte sensible, accord de triton avec tièrce 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 determinée*.

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

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

214 See Gessele (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.[217]

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 *médiante*. The diminished triad is consonant for Rameau only in its secondary meaning: "seulement par rapport à la Modulation,"[218] 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 neuvieme de la dissonnance, intervalle n'étant point susceptible d'être renversé.[219]

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*.

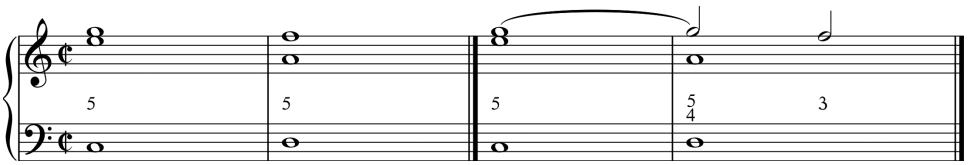

Figure 2.3. Catel (1801), 21.

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.[220]

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.

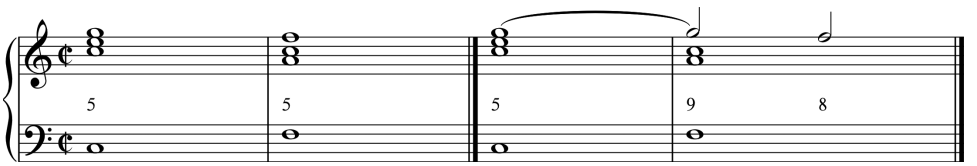

Figure 2.4. Catel (1801), 33.

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.[221] 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.[222] 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.[223] 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,[224] and Michele Carafa,[225] whose *solfeggi* was later used in France.

Fenaroli's *Regole musicali per i principianti di cembalo*,[226] 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.[227] 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.[228]

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.[229]

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.[230]

Ewald Demeyere dates the book in 1813, based on the announcement of its publication in *Bibliographie de l'Empire français,* dated 30 July 1813.[231] 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.[232] 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.[233] 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.[234]

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.[235]

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.[236] 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.[237] 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), 1.
237 See Chapter 1.

> ed approvate dall'udito [...]. 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 eziandìo 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 [...].[238]

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.[239]

Imbimbo rearranged the original four books into five, with the fifth mentioned by Fenaroli probably being the sixth in this edition.[240] 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 modulare ed imitare a piacere in tutti i tuoni."[241] 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 [...].[242]

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.[243] 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.[244]

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.[245] Small differences in figures appear in the French edition, such as 6/4 chords sometimes used where Fenaroli indicates a 5/4, or the 7th 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.[246] 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.[247]

The sixteen partimenti of Fenaroli's first book are here placed in the second book, following the section containing the *regole*.[248] These are then followed by the fourteen partimenti of the second book.[249] 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.[250]

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.[251] 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.[252]

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.[253]

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.[254]

In his article, Demeyere presents an accurate outline of Fenaroli's partimento pedagogy, which reflects partimento teaching of his *Maestro*, Francesco Durante.[255] 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.[256]

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

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.[259]

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.[260] As mentioned earlier, as well as in his preface, these exercises were almost unknown outside Naples and could consequently be considered difficult to interpret.[261]

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.*[262] 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.*[263]

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.[264]

> Fra gli esercizj musicali della scuola napolitana vi è quello di dare a' giovani provetti ne' Partimenti, ed avvanzati 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 appartiensi; sperando di questa mia fatica trovare nel pubblico più indulgenza che severità, e nel rispettabile Fenaroli benigno compatimento.[265]

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 doppj, 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.[266]

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, Gioseffo Zarlino, Antonio Eximeno together with examples by the Neapolitan *Maestri* Leo, Durante, and Pergolesi.

265 Imbimbo, Emanuele [1814]: 1. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 203.
266 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*.[267] 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*.[268]

> 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. II 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.[269]

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*.[270] 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.[271]

There can be three types of *accompagnement pratique*:

> 1.º sous une forme élémentaire, telle que la disposition régulière de l'harmonie dans les trois positions d'accords; 2.º d'une manière choisie, résultant de l'alternative des trois positions; 3.º 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.[272]

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 Az[z]opardi (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.[273] 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.[274]

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.[275] 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.[276] 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.[277] 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

273 See later in this chapter.
274 Deldevez [1868], I.
275 See Sanguinetti (2005).
276 The different use of figures in French continuo practice will not focused on here as this has already been covered by Verwaerde. See Verwaerde (2015), 145 et seq.
277 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.[278]

> 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.[279]

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.me 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?[280]

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 pédale 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:

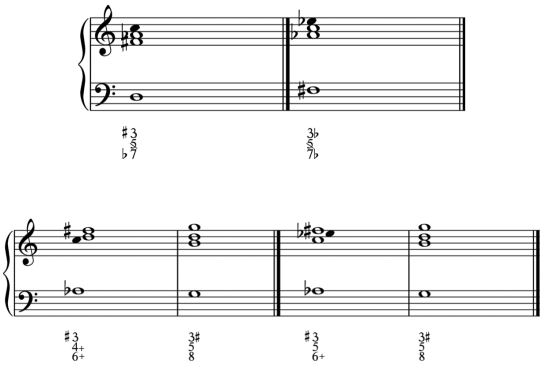

Figure 2.5. Berton (1815a), 27–28.

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.[281] 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 descendent 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.[282]

For each chord type, Berton offers examples of good and bad suspensions and resolutions, all of which are collected in a table.[283] 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,*[284] 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.[285] 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.[286] 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.[287] 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.te mineure suffit; autrefois, quand on employait cette dénomination, l'on voulait désigner le 2. renversement d'un accord de 7.eme 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.te que l'on doit y introduire.[288]

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),[289] 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*.[290] 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 poëme, mais ici l'antithêse 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.^{d} dégré, la 6.^{te} du 2.^{d} dégré 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.[291]

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.^{te} 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.[292]

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*.[293] 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 surnumeraire*, 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 irregularis–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.[294] The dissonance should be recognizable, according to Berton, immediately it appears.[295]

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:*[296]

> 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.[297]

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.[298] 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.[299]

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*;[300] 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.[301]

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*.[302]

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*,[303] 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 Traités 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.[304]

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:*[305]

> 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.[306]

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.

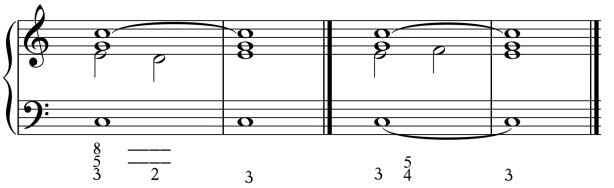

Figure 2.6. Perne (1822), 205.

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.

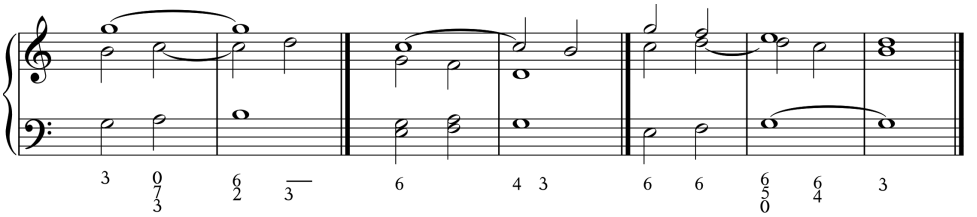

Figure 2.7. Perne (1822), 205.

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.[307] 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.

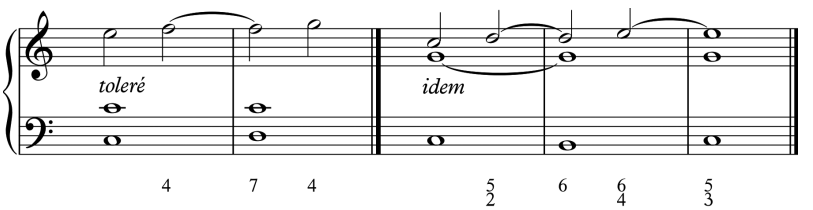

Figure 2.8. Perne (1822), 205

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

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

307 See Holtmeier (2017a), 305.

308 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.[309]

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.[310]

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.[311]

> 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.[312]

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 aigue.[313]

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.[314]

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:

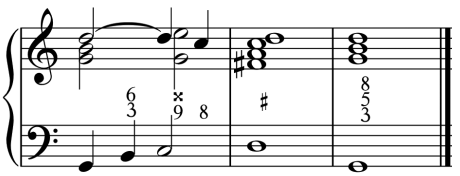

Figure 2.9. Fenaroli (1856), Libro II, p.7.

Perne uses strict voice leading in this example:

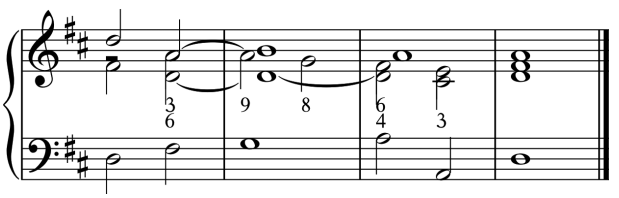

Figure 2.10. Perne (1822), 303.

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

314 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*.[315]

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.[316] 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 descende de tierce".[317]

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."[318] 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."[319]

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.[320]

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

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".[322] 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.[323]

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.[324]

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 paraitrait pas.[325]

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.[326]

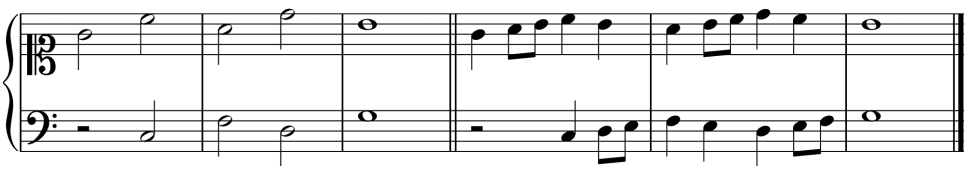

Figure 2.11. Dourlen (1838), 9.

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).*[327]

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:

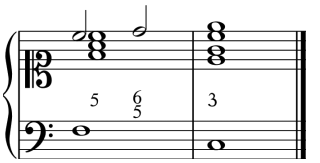

Figure 2.12. Dourlen (1838), 32.

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.[328]

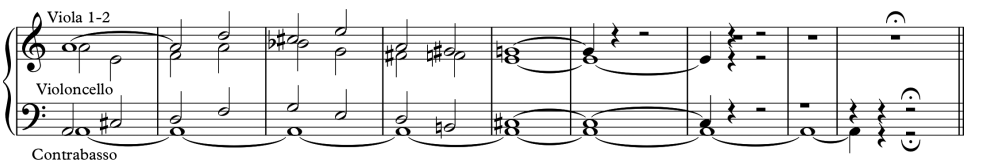

Figure 2.13. Cherubini, Messe Solennelle n.2, Crucifixus bb. 61–69.

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.[329] 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.[330]

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 Doulen 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.[331] 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 18th-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.[332]

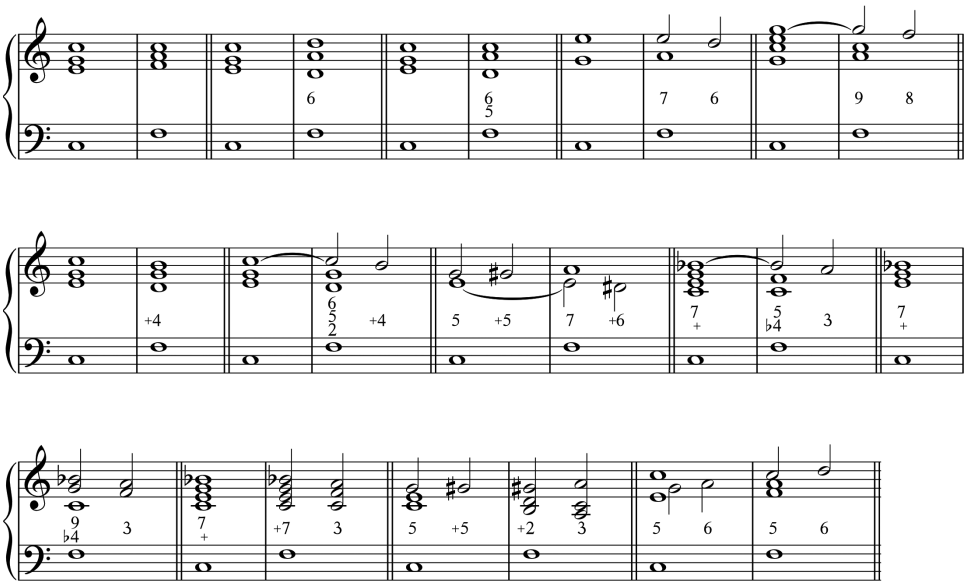

Figure 2.14. Dourlen (1840), 52.

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.

332 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.[333]

Simplification is key to Colet's work. As suggested by the title, he does not use the *setticlavio,* but only the G-clef and changes the figures used by his colleagues into more simple ones.[334] 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 [...].[335]

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.[336]

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

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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 élémens 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.[337] 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),*[338] 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.[339] 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)."[340]

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.[341]

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

1st: dominant seventh chord,
2nd: minor seventh chord,

337 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.

338 Colet description of chords are derived by Reicha, Catel and Langlé.

339 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.

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

341 Colet (1837), 10.

342 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.[343]

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*).[344] 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.[345]

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.[346]

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.[347]

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."[348]

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.[349]

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*.[350] 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)

347 Colet (1846), 244. The example realized by Imbimbo is from Fenaroli (1813/14), 270.
348 I-Fc B.505, p. 11. This manuscript will be discussed in the third chapter. See also Cafiero (2021).
349 Albrechtsberger (1814).
350 Colet (1846), 110–111. See Chapter 4 of this work for further information on this topic.

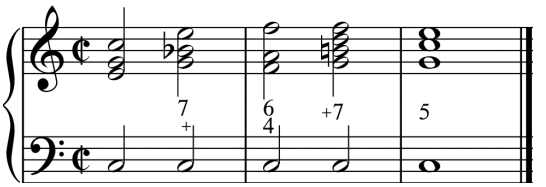

Figure 2.15. Colet (1846), 111.

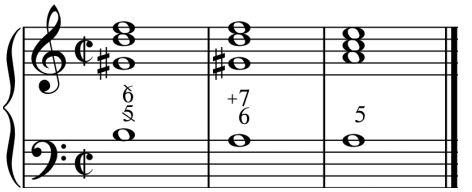

Figure 2.16. Colet (1846), 111

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."[351]

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.*[352] 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.*[353]

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.[354]

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.[355]

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

Paul-Émile Bienaimé (1802–1869) received his initial musical training at the *maîtrise* of the *Cathedrale de Nôtre-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*."[356] The *accord de quinte diminuée* is called here, following the nomenclature of his teacher Fétis, *accord de quinte mineure*.[357]

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

355 See Chapter 3.
356 Bienaimé (1863), 3.
357 Fétis (1844).

certain scale degrees toward others.[358] Fétis distinguishes between stable and unstable scale degrees. The unstable scale degrees help to form harmonic progressions to the points of *repos*.[359] 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.[360] 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.[361] The *regola* with *harmonies dissonantes* is introduced in the section of the book dedicated to dissonances.[362] Bienaimé's instructions on the *règle d'octave* and alternatives for harmonizing the scale will be discussed later.[363]

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)[364] 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.[365]

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 *subsitution* 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*:

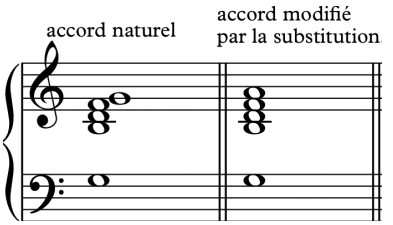

Figure 2.17. Bienaimé (1863), 123.

> 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.[366]

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.[367] 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).[368]

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.[369] 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.[370] Overall, Bienaimé's book is an exaustive 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.*[371] 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*:[372]

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

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.[374]

> 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 celèbre professeur de Bologne, le Père Mattei, dans son ouvrage sur les basses chiffrées.[375]

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.

Chapter 3
The teaching of "harmonie" and "accompagnement" at the Conservatoire between 1795 and 1840

Harmonie and *accompagnement* were the first stages of study in the composition *classe*.[376]

After learning basic music theory and *solfège,* the best students could start learning harmony (mainly based on the *Traité* of Catel, with *basses et chants donnés* as exercises) and *accompagnement.* The courses of accompaniment were intended to impart basic piano accompaniment skills to be used during lessons of *solfège* and *chant*, possibly owing to the central role of singers in the 19th century Parisian musical scene.[377] A testimony by Rameau, dating from thirty-five years prior to the period in question, offers a possible reason why teaching accompaniment was necessary for singers: apparently, many teachers could not accompany their pupils at the piano.

> N'ayons donc plus de maître de musique, de maître à chanter, qu'il ne soit capable d'accompagner son élève sur le clavecin ou sur l'orgue: c'est l'unique moyen d'en faire un musicien; c'est le seul qu'on emploi en Italie, où l'on engage même l'élève à s'accompagner, dès qu'on le croit en état de pouvoir se livrer à cet exercice.[378]

In 1843 the composer and Conservatoire professor Antoine Elwart published a *traité* called "Le Chanteur-Accompagnateur". The book is a "Traité du clavier, de la basse chiffrée, de l'harmonie simple et composée" addressed to the "personnes qui s'occupant de l'art du chant, sont privées d'un accompagneteur spécial."[379] Its content is similar to the *traités d'accompagnement* by Perne and Dourlen that will considered here.

The *méthode de chant* includes a chapter entitled "Des connaissances harmoniques et littéraires qu'un chanteur doit avoir."[380] Here we find further information on the application of harmony and accompaniment on the training of singers.

> L'instruction qui convient à un chanteur ne doit pas se borner à savoir lire seulement la musique à la première vue, ce qui suppose déjà une étude fort longue; il est essentiel qu'il ait une connaissance assez étendue des accords, des lois de l'harmonie et des modulations; de

376 Pierre (1900a), 350. See Chapter 1.
377 See Chapter 1.
378 Rameau (1760), 5. Also quoted in Lescat (1991), 124.
379 Elwart (1843).
380 Richer et al. (1804), 83–84.

> plus, qu'il sache pratiquer l'harmonie sur le forte piano, et il ne serait point inutile qu'il eût quelques principes de composition.
> Ces connaissances sont nécessaires à un chanteur pour se conduire, en ornant le chant, de manière à n'employer jamais des traits qui ne seraient pas d'accord avec l'harmonie, ni propres à la nature et au caractère tant de la mélodie qu'ils doivent orner que des accompagnements qui marchent avec elle.[381]

The main reason singers were required to learn rules of harmony, modulation and accompaniment was to learn how to ornate the sung melody without clashing with either the melodic or the harmonic structure of the work.

In this chapter, printed and manuscript sources are used in an attempt to reconstruct *harmonie* and *accompagnement* courses. Although it is impossible to understand exactly how these two subjects were taught in Conservatoire classrooms, we can piece together the content of the lessons thanks to some highly comprehensive sources:

For *harmonie*, the manuscripts consulted are:

F-Pn Ms8303.
Le Borne, Aimé. 1813. *Cours d'harmonie de l'année 1813 suivi par A. Le Borne, dans la classe de M. Berton, professeur au Conservatoire de Musique. Commencé le 26 Octobre 1812. M.Dourlen Repétiteur.*

F-Pn Ms-7641 (1–4).
Perne, François-Louis. 1813. *Leçons du cours d'harmonie*. Four volumes.

For *accompagnement*, the printed sources used are:

Perne, François-Louis. [1822]. *Cours élémentaire d'harmonie et d'accompagnement.* Two volumes. Paris: Dorval.

Dourlen, Victor. [1840]. *Traité d'Accompagnement contenant les notions d'harmonie nécessaires pour accompagner les Basses chiffrées et par suite la Partition* [...]. Paris: Cendrier.

Another professor of *harmonie et accompagnement* was Joseph Daussoigne-Méhul, nephew of the composer Méhul.[382] He studied composition under Cherubini and his uncle, and harmony with Catel. He mainly taught classes for girls between 1816 and 1827 but, unfortunately, no written traces of his teaching methods survive. In an 1866 article published in the *Bulletins de l'académie royale*, he criticized Catel's terminology, although he also maintained a respectful position towards his harmony teacher's theory of chords and teaching method.[383]

381 Richer et al. (1804), 83–84 Also quoted in Lassabathie (1860), 43.
382 See Bartlet (2001).
383 *Bulletins de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique,* Bruxelles: Hayez, 1866, 436–445.

3.1. Reconstruction of a course of *harmonie*

Thanks to Aimé Le Borne (1797–1866), it is possible to reconstruct Henri-Montan Berton's harmony course during the academic year 1812–1813.[384] Berton taught *harmonie*, and later *harmonie et accompagnement*, for 20 years from the foundation of the Conservatoire in 1795 until the suppression of the Conservatoire in 1815. He was one of the institution's longest tenured professors and contributed to the creation of the French school of harmony. Later, at the newly established *école royale,* he was appointed as a teacher of composition from 1819 to 1843.[385]

Le Borne collected all the exercises and concepts he learned during his lessons with Berton and his *répétiteur* Dourlen into a single manuscript. Dourlen himself became a professor for *harmonie et accompagnement* in 1816, teaching these subjects until 1842. Occasionally Le Borne took lessons from Gossec and Cherubini (probably substituting for Berton) and, at the end of the course, was also frequently taught by Catel. In fact, this course mostly follows the contents of Catel's and Berton's *traités.*[386]

The course started on 26th October 1812 and ended on the 8 August 1813 – the date of the *concours*[387] – with lessons taking place each Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. According to Fétis, Le Borne "commença l'étude de l'harmonie dans la classe de Berton; mais il reçut toutes ses leçons de Dourlen, alors répétiteur de cette classe, et plus tard professeur."[388] In fact, the name Dourlen appears next to each exercise. We might assume that Berton would give the theory classes (perhaps in a group lesson) while the *répétiteur* was in charge of the exercises. From the information contained in the *règlements*, it appears that courses of *harmonie* were group lessons and *répétiteurs* helped with exercises and, in some cases, assisting with teaching (for example, when the professor was absent). This could explain the presence of Dourlen's name next to the assignments.

The course follows the same topics covered in Catel's *Traité*, and is almost always consistent in their order of presentation. Most of the examples in Le Borne's manuscript are copied from those in Catel's book, with small changes and additions in terminology, suggesting that Berton did use the official *méthode* in his lessons. All exercises included one figured or unfigured bass to be harmonized in a three- and/or four-voice setting for a trio or string quartet. No corrections of the exercises survive, presumably indicating that Le Borne copied the corrected assignments into this manuscript, together with his lessons.

384 F-Pn Ms8303. An overview of this manuscript is in Geay (1999), 242–248.
385 See Chapter 2 for further information on Berton.
386 See Chapter 2.
387 Le Borne did not win the *concours.* Pierre (1900a), 538.
388 Fétis (1837), Bd. 5, 239.

After he had finished the course in 1813, Le Borne began to attend Cherubini's composition classes, which he continued with until 1820.[389] In 1847 Le Borne wrote his own *Cours d'harmonie,* that remained unpublished.[390] His course is very similar in structure and content to the one he himself had attended between 1812–13.

Let us now take a look at the course that Le Borne followed as a student of composition. As already indicated, the subjects correspond to those offered in Catel's *méthode,* with some differences in the order in which they are presented:

1. Classification of intervals and their inversions

Interval qualities are those found in Berton's *Traité d'harmonie: majeur, mineur, juste, augmenté, diminué*.[391] Each interval is notated together with its inversion and description (e.g., minor second together with major seventh), exactly copying the examples in Catel's *Traité*. Catel does not label the perfect fourth and fifth as "juste," but indicates them simply by using the interval name "quarte" and "quinte".[392]

2. Consonances and dissonances

In a short note, Le Borne writes that consonant intervals are the third, the fifth, the sixth and the octave; dissonant intervals are the second and the seventh, and it is not hard to notice that the fourth is missing. As we will later discuss, Berton and Catel both write about the ambiguous nature of the fourth as both consonant and dissonant in their *traités*.[393] It seems that the complicated nature of the fourth is left to further lessons and is not treated at first.

3. Motions

Three motions are taught: *direct* (parallel), *oblique* and *contraire*. Le Borne introduces the voice leading rule regarding forbidden parallel fifths and octaves, which applies even when these are hidden:

> Il est defendu de faire des consonnances parfaites dans le mouvement direct même quand elles sont cachées.[394]

389 He will collate his composition lessons in seven manuscripts: F-Pn Ms 7664 (1–7). In the two manuscripts dedicated to the *marches d'harmonie* Le Borne was required to realize Cherubini's *marches* as counterpoint exercise for up to eight-voices, treating each bass movement as a *cantus firmus*.

390 The manuscripts containing this course are at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris: F-Pn Ms-7902.

391 See Chapter 4.

392 Catel (1801), 2.

393 See Chapter 4.

394 Le Borne (1813), 2.

This is also found in Catel's book, where a footnote specifies an exception to this rule:

> A trois et à quatre parties, les quintes et les octaves cachées sont tolérées, dans les parties intermédiaires, entre les consonnances seulement.[395]

4. The perfect triad

During the first three weeks of the class, Le Borne (assisted by Dourlen) realized one bass per lesson using the 5/3 chord on each note. The assignment was divided into two parts: first, realizing the same bass line in three voices, and then in a four-voice setting. From these exercises, it is clear that instruction was given to maintain linear voice leading and avoid skips. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognize, especially in the three-voice setting, some melodic patterns designated for the upper voice. In fact, these exercises contain some *moti del basso,* and we can deduce that some common choices of *beste Lage* were taught.[396] Furthermore, in some three-voices harmonizations, the third is often omitted from certain chords. In the second bar of figure 3.1, the third is missing in the *basso che sale di quinta e scende di quarta.* The second voice descends stepwise and seems to give priority to linear voice leading, rather than having the third in the chord.[397] The explanation for this is given in Catel's manual, where connecting perfect triads by preparing the fifth is suggested to avoid forbidden parallel motions.[398] Le Borne also applies this same principle to the eighth.

395 Catel (1801), 4.

396 Holtmeier used the term "beste Lage" (originally derived from Förster) to describe the best position used in certain passages or sequences. The application of this principle in Paris using, among others, examples form Le Borne's manuscript will be discussed in Chapter 5. See Holtmeier (2017a), 113–115 and 138–140.

397 See Chapter 5 for a further view of this example.

398 Catel (1801), 9.

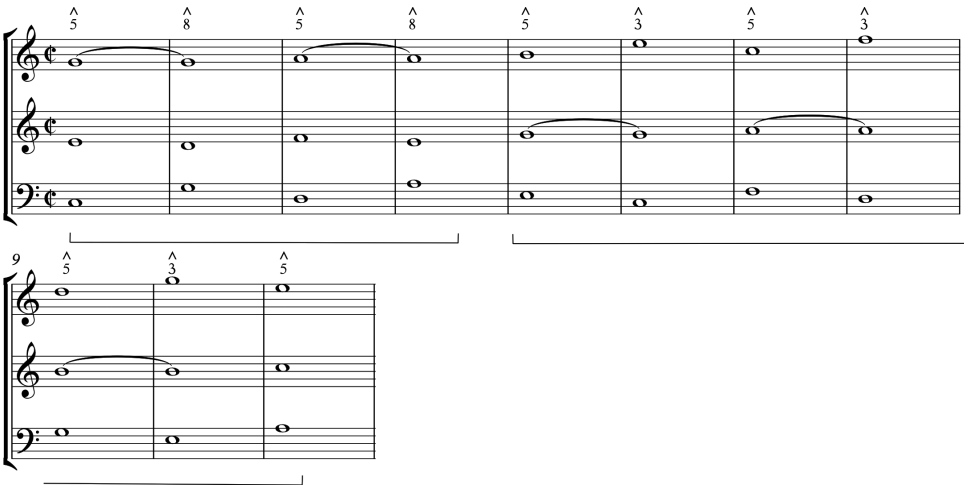

Figure 3.1. Le Borne, p. 2, n. 1, bb. 1-11.

5. The first and the second inversion of the perfect triad

The second and third weeks of the course covered the 6 and 6/4 chord; once again, there are two versions of the same exercise (both for three and four voices). There are no remarks on voice leading, but all fourths are prepared by a tied note. This does not happen in later exercises, in which the *quarta consonans* is often introduced stepwise in cadences, following instructions given by Catel:

> [...] la quarte est employée comme consonnance dans le second renversement de l'accord parfait; aussi ce renversement est-il le moins agréable et le seul dont on ne puisse pas former une succession.[399]

These voicings are maintained in the four-voice setting, though some passages are realized in three voices. This is typically the 5–6 sequence of an ascending scale progression, whereby the addition of a fourth voice results in a leaping voice. This switch in the number of voices was also used by the Neapolitan school. The typical texture of this progression is often found in three-voice partimento sources.[400]

Imitation was also taught in the eighth lesson. In the assignment for this lesson (figure 3.2), the upper voice imitates the bass with descending thirds, while the middle voice makes an *imitation à l'inverse,* as Berton calls it.[401]

399 Catel (1801), 3. See also Chapter 4.
400 See among others Sanguinetti (2012a), 137, and Sala (2017), 4.
401 Berton (1815a), 232.

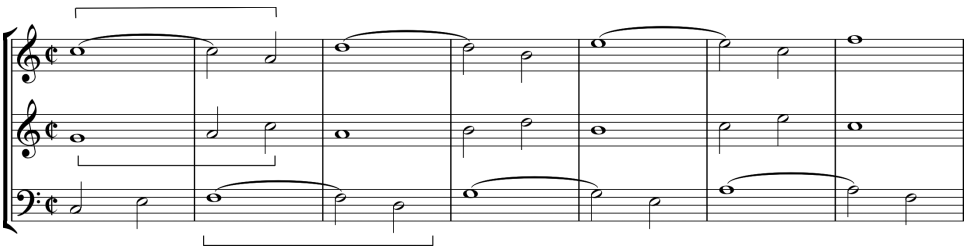

Figure 3.2. Le Borne p. 10 n. 8, bb.1–7.

What is also remarkable is the presence of an easy version (with root position and sixth chords) of the rule of the octave at the start of the tenth exercise (fig. 3.3) that Le Borne realized under Dourlen.

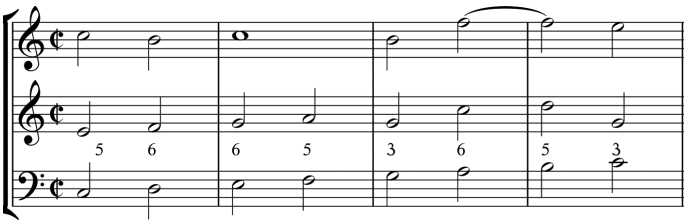

Figure 3.3. Le Borne p. 12 n. 10 bb. 1–4.

These basses were offered with figures, and there is no lesson on the rule of the octave in Berton's *traité*.[402] However, in Catel's manual there is a version of the *regola* with inversions of seventh chords included in the section dedicated to the "mouvements de la basse".[403] From studying the contents of the manuals written by professors, there is no doubt that the *règle de l'octave* was taught at the Conservatoire in both harmony and accompaniment classes.[404]

6. Passing tones

During the eleventh lesson, Le Borne learned about melodic embellishments. This appears later in Catel's book, after the dominant seventh and ninth chords, the half-diminished and the diminished seventh chord. After the description of passing tones, several examples are given in this lesson regarding how to embellish different intervals, examples of which are copied from Catel's *Traité*.[405] Usefully, the diminutions are always combined with imitations; this enables students to learn patterns that

402 See Chapter 4.
403 Catel (1801), 41.
404 See Chapter 2 and 4.
405 Catel (1801), 19–20.

embellish melodic intervals, as well practising imitations from the very beginning of their studies. In fact, from this point onwards, Le Borne starts using imitations and diminutions in his exercises.

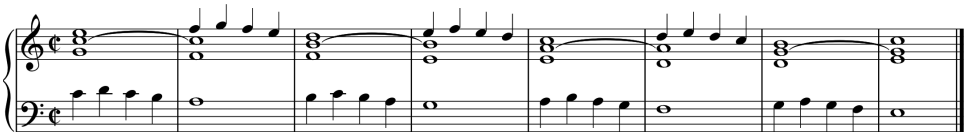

Figure 3.4. Le Borne, p. 14 and Catel (1801) p. 20.

7. The dominant seventh chord

Le Borne offers just a few words about this chord. It is formed by a major third and two minor thirds;[406] the seventh must resolve downwards; the leading tone must go upwards; if the dominant seventh chord moves to the tonic it is called *cadence parfaite*; and, if it resolves on the sixth degree, it is called *rompue*.[407] The first lesson on the dominant seventh chord is centered on one bass to be realized in three and four voices. For the first time, modulations to the fifth, fourth, and sixth degree are introduced, probably for variety when using the dominant seventh chord.

Figure 3.5 shows a succession of secondary dominants in which two voices alternate the passing seventh and the chromatic ascent to the leading tone.

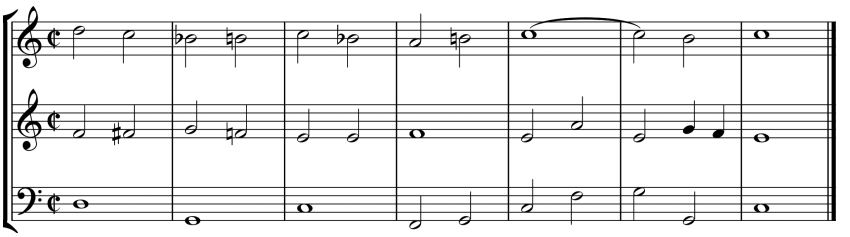

Figure 3.5. Le Borne, p. 17 n. 13, bb. 14–20

8. The first inversion of the dominant seventh chord

The fifth week covered exercises on the 6/5 chord. Le Borne allows the diminished fifth of this chord to leap. In French and Neapolitan sources, the diminished fifth was considered a half-consonance and therefore did not require preparation, though it was

406 As already noted, Rameau, Berton, Catel and other teachers used the method by which the principle of chord formation achieved by stacking thirds on the fundamental note. See Chapter 2.

407 See Chapter 2.

often used as a passing or a neighbor note.[408] Nevertheless, it was sometimes also reached by a skip, as shown in Muscogiuri's exercises.[409]

9. The second and third inversion of the dominant seventh chord

The second and third inversion of the dominant seventh chord were studied during the sixth week of the course. The 4/3 chord is labeled as *accord de sixte sensible* and was used on the second degree of the scale, while the 4/2 chord is the *accord du triton*, used on the fourth degree of the descending scale. As noted, Berton changes the name of the 4/3 chord from the traditional *petite sixte* and does not agree with using the term *accord du triton.*[410] The chord names mentioned above were used in these lessons, probably because they were included in Catel's *Traité,* the official harmony method used at the Conservatoire. A total of five exercises and lessons are dedicated to this topic.

10. The half-diminished seventh chord

Le Borne writes that the *septième sensible ou mixte*[411] is formed by two minor thirds and a major third. It is found in major keys on the seventh degree and in minor keys on the second degree. Three lessons are dedicated to this chord.

11. Inversions of the half-diminished chord

All three inversions are treated here, for which only two exercises and lessons are given for practising these chords. The 6/5 chord is called *accord de quinte et sixte* (in Catel's *Traité*, it is called the *quinte et sixte sensible* to distinguish it from the first-inversion dominant-seventh chord).[412] The remaining two inversions are labeled according to Catel's terminology: the 4/3 chord is called *accord du triton et tierce majeure,* and the 4/2 is the *accord de seconde.* The name *accord du triton* is usually given when the tritone includes the bass tone. This explains why the third inversion of the dominant seventh chord is named similarly to the second inversion of this half-diminished chord.[413]

12. The diminished seventh chord

The *septième diminuée* on the seventh degree in the minor is the topic for the next three lessons. Le Borne quickly defines this chord:

408 See Chapter 4.
409 Demeyere (2018), 216–224.
410 See Chapter 2.
411 This denomination is in Catel (1801), 15.
412 Catel (1801), 13.
413 See Chapter 2 for other denominations of these chords.

> La Septième Diminuée se pose sur la note sensible dans le mode mineur, elle s'accompagne de tierce mineure, quinte diminuée, et septième diminuée, elle se chiffre par 7.[414]

13. Inversions of the diminished seventh chord

Three lessons and exercises cover inversions of the diminished seventh chord. The 6/5 chord is called *accord de la 6. sensible et 5. diminuée,* the 4/3 is the *triton et 3. mineure;* and the 4/2 is called *accord de 2. augmentée.*[415] At this point in Catel's book, a section is dedicated to the *neuvième majeure dominante.* This is missing in Le Borne's course.[416]

14. Suspensions: the seventh

Suspensions (called here *retards)* are treated as they are in partimento sources. There are several interval options for their preparation and examples given. Berton calls them *dissonances* in his *Traité*, just as the Neapolitan *maestri* did.[417] Once again, a whole week (three lessons, with exercises) is dedicated to this topic. The most common patterns used for chains of sevenths are the traditional descending scale and falling fifths/rising fourths. Catel explains all suspensions as prolonged notes *(notes prolongées)* that transform a *harmonie simple* in a *harmonie composée.*[418]

15. Suspensions: the first inversion of the seventh

Berton uses inversions to explain how certain *retards* are tied to specific bass movements.[419]

The example given refers to the 6/5 chord on the ascending fourth degree of the scale and, in the exercises, inversions of other seventh chords are used (e.g., in progressions), and dissonances are prepared and resolved in the same way. In this 6/5 chord, the fifth has to be prepared – unlike the 6/5 chord on the ascending seventh degree (first inversion of the dominant seventh chord).

16. Suspensions: the second inversion of the seventh

This kind of suspension is not typically present in Neapolitan sources. The 4/3 chord enriches the sixth chord which is often a resolution of a 7–6 chain on a descending scale:

414 Le Borne (1813), 28.
415 Terminology as in Catel (1801), 16.
416 Catel (1801), 17–18.
417 Berton (1815a), 14.
418 Catel (1801), 21. For the concept of "Sitz der Akkorde" See Chapter 2.
419 See Chapter 4.

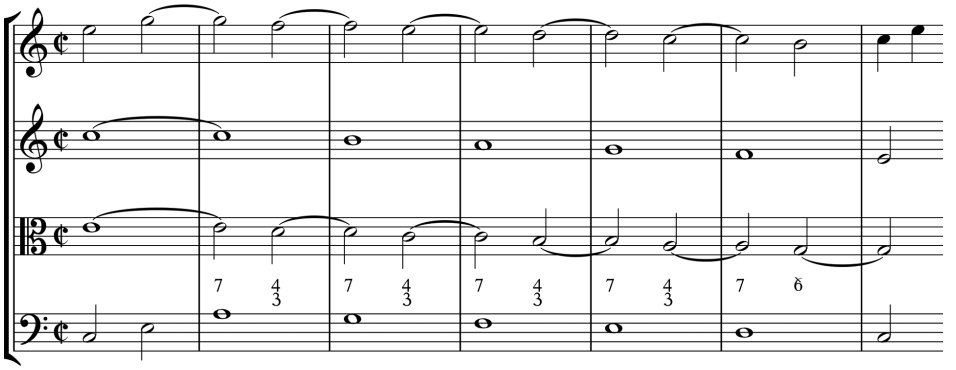

Figure 3.6. Le Borne, p. 40 n. 35b, bb. 3–9.

This progression is a variation of a falling fifth/rising fourth sequence accompanied by a succession of seventh suspensions, in which the falling fifth is substituted for its second inversion (shown in figure 3.7, with the *basse fondamentale* added to this sequence). The use of chord inversions derives from Rameau's theories;[420] however, this chord differs from the *accord de sixte sensible* – a second inversion of the dominant seventh chord placed on the second degree of the scale – as it does not contain the leading tone.

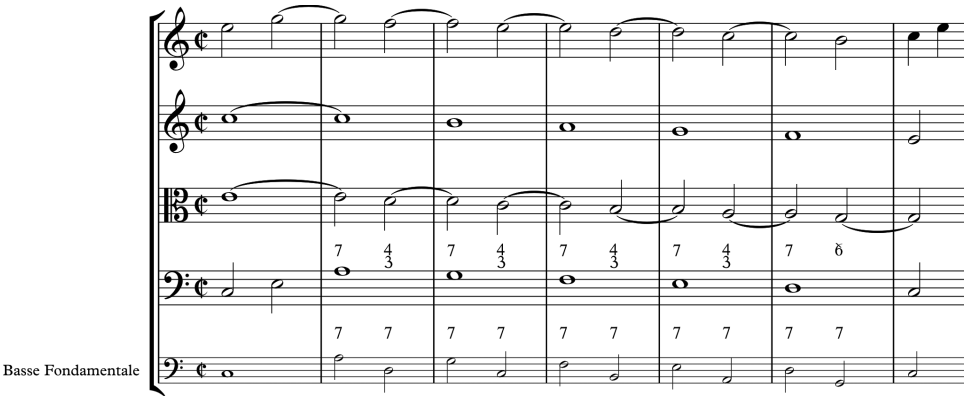

Figure 3.7. Le Borne, p. 40 n. 35b, bb. 3–9 with basse fondamentale.

420 See Chapter 2. See also Rameau (1722), 238.

17. Suspensions: the third inversion of the seventh

For this inversion, the dissonance can be found in the bass line. As above, it differs from the *accord du triton*, in which the dissonance does not need preparation.

18. Progressions

The next seven lessons are dedicated to the *marches,* which correspond to the *moti del basso* in partimento sources. In the first two lessons, Berton initially gives his student examples with consonances and then with dissonances in three and four voices. Many of these examples are found in both Catel's and Berton's *traités,* although with a different voice setting.[421] In the order of their appearance, the patterns given are:

- Fifth downward-fourth upward: harmonized with a) 5/3 chords; b) 7 chords.
- Third downward-second upward: harmonized with a) alternating 5/3 and 6/3 chords; b) alternating 5/3 and 6/5 chords.
- Descending syncopated scale: harmonized by alternating 4/2 and 6/3 chords.
- Descending and ascending scale: harmonized by a) 6/3 chords; b) alternating 7–6.
- Ascending syncopated scale: harmonized by a) alternating 6/3 and 5/3 chords; b) alternating 6/5 and 5/3 chords.

This last, syncopated ascending scale is actually the inversion of the *basso che sale di quarta e scende di terza.*[422]

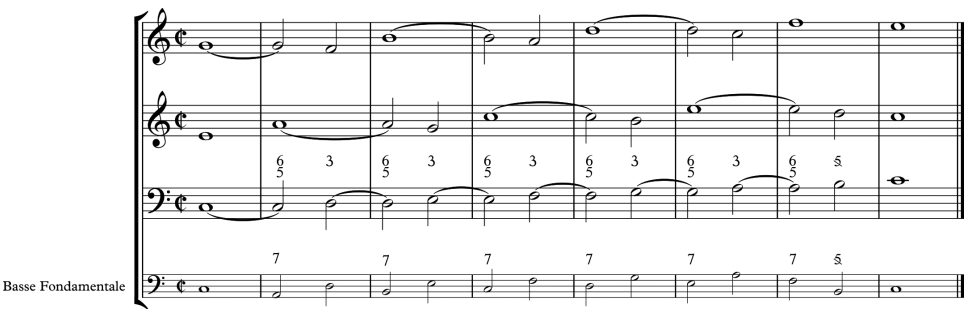

Figure 3.8. Le Borne, p. 43, n. 21 with basse fondamentale.

19. Suspensions: the ninth

After concluding the section on the dissonance of the seventh in all its inversions and its practical application in the *marches,* Berton introduces the ninth. As with the seventh, several examples are given of intervals in which preparation can occur. Four lessons are dedicated to the practice of this dissonance.

421 Berton (1815a), 109 et seq. Catel (1801), 41 et seq.
422 In figure 3.8. the fundamental bass is added.

20. Suspensions: the fourth

This dissonance is usually the first to be taught in partimento sources. Here, it is presented as *la quinte et quarte* – also called *harmonie composée* – as opposed to the *harmonie simple*. The distinction between *simple* and *composée* comes from Catel's *Traité d'harmonie*.[423] All options for preparation and resolution are given. Three exercises are dedicated to this suspension.

21. Suspensions: the first and second inversion of the fourth

The first inversion of the 5/4 has the dissonance in the bass and it is figured as 5/2. The second carries the fifth in the bass (which is the second degree of the scale) and is notated 7/4 (see bar 4 in figure 3.9). Both dissonances require preparation and resolution.

22. Double dissonances

When transforming the *harmonie simple* into *composée,* some inversions of dissonances generate double dissonances. Berton shows the most common (figure 3.9), while in Catel's book several further options are given.[424]

423 See Chapter 2.
424 Catel (1801), 31–33.

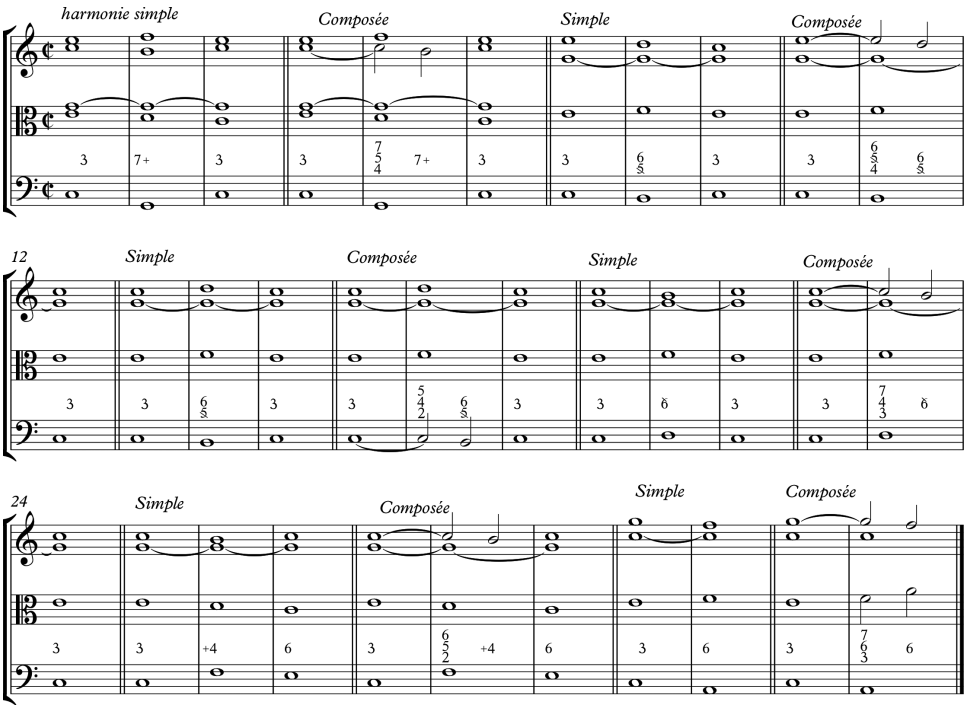

Figure 3.9. Le Borne, p. 65.

By summarizing the double dissonances shown in figure 3.9 applied on their typical scale degrees, we obtain:

- Syncopated descending first degree: 5/4/2
- Second degree: 7/4/3
- Descending fourth degree: 6/5/2
- Fifth degree: 7/5/4
- Sixth degree: 7/6 (inversion of the ninth on the fourth degree)
- Seventh degree: 6/5/4.

23. The late resolution of the dominant seventh chord on the tonic

When the dominant seventh chord is held to form a belated resolution, it creates a 7/4/2 suspension on the tonic called *accord de onzième tonique*.

> L'accord de onzième tonique est produit par le retard de la 7+ sur la tonique; cet accord se compose de seconde, quarte, et septième majeure. Il faut que l'accord de 7+ aye sa résolution comme s'il n'était pas prolongé. Il se chiffre par +7.[425]

425 Le Borne (1813), 73.

Dissonances resolve downwards, while the leading tone ascends to the tonic.

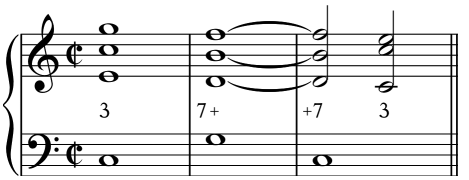

Figure 3.10. Le Borne, p. 73.

It is also possible for the leading tone to move chromatically downwards to a new seventh in a *basso che sale di quarta e scende di quinta* progression:

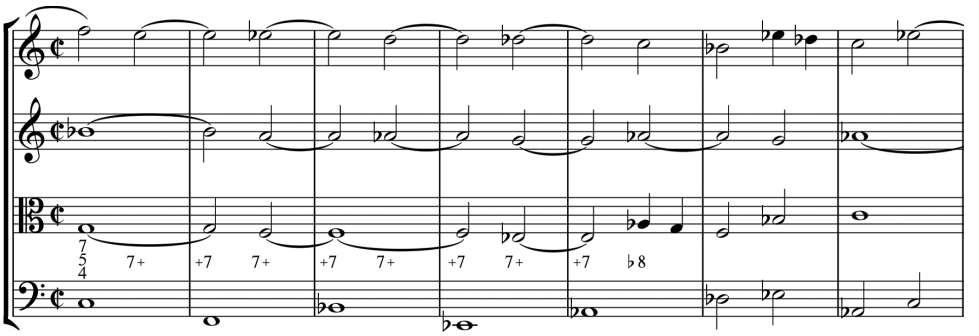

Figure 3.11. Le Borne, p. 74, n. 61, bb. 13–19.

24. Augmented sixth chords

Two lessons are dedicated to the three types of augmented sixth chords (that today are typically called Italian, German, and French). There are no written annotations next to the musical examples for these three chords and their resolutions. Nevertheless, there is a chapter dedicated to *altérations* in Catel's *méthode* that contains the description of these (and other) altered chords.[426]

25. Augmented fifth chords

As with the previous lesson, Le Borne writes down only the musical examples, probably leaving the explanations to Catel's book. In figure 3.12, the augmented fifth chord on the first degree in root position and two inversions on the dominant seventh chord appear.

426 Catel (1801), 58–61.

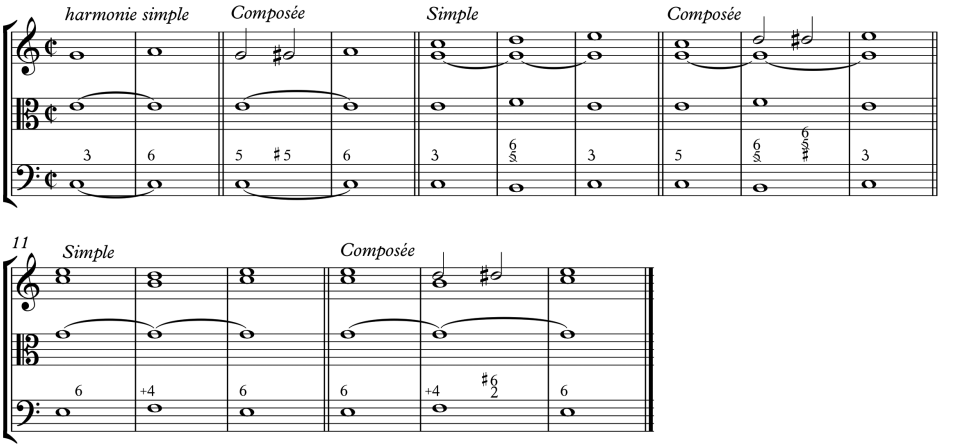

Figure 3.12. Le Borne, p. 78.

26. Pedal points

In Catel's *Traité* this section precedes altered chords. There are three kinds of pedal points: *dominante*, *tonique*, and *intérieure*. The pedal on the dominant can support all kinds of consonances and dissonances, given that it starts with a dominant chord and ends with a *cadence parfaite*. The pedal on the tonic is frequently used alongside the dominant seventh chord and diminished seventh chords. The *intérieure* type of pedal point is a pedal note in another voice, rather than the bass. Berton gave his student several examples of the application of a pedal point, essentially showing how any *moto del basso* can apply to a pedal in the dominant, while pedals on the tonic and in other voices are less flexible. These same examples are found in Catel's *Traité*.[427]

This was the last topic of the course, with the exception of a lesson on the *genre enharmonique* (enharmonic modulations through the diminished seventh chord) that took place two months later. The only subjects missing from Catel's *Traité* are modulations and continuo figures, though these were possibly covered without any specific assignments being given. Meanwhile, Le Borne started intensive study under Catel himself: three lessons per week, with two substantially long and complicated unfigured basses to be realized in a four-voice setting for each lesson. Le Borne continued his lessons uninterrupted until August 1813, when the *concours* took place.

One year later, Perne was appointed *harmonie* professor at the Conservatoire. The manuscript F-Pn Ms-7641 (1–4) contains his *Leçons du cours d'harmonie*, and appears to be the notebook in which he collected the exercises that he gave to his students. The basses are not realized and next to each one of them are one or two dates for lessons. Only the *basses et chants données* contained in the fourth volume are

427 Catel (1801), 56–57.

realized for three and/or four voices. From these exercises, we can see that the topics are the same as those covered by Berton during his course, though Perne follows a different order. While Berton first teaches all chord types and their inversions – followed by suspensions and progressions – Perne starts his course with the perfect triad and its inversions, and then introduces the scale with parallel sixths. After introducing the diminished chords, there are exercises on other *moti del basso* (rising third/falling second, falling third/rising second, rising fourth/falling third, rising fifth/falling fourth, rising fourth/falling second). The suspension of the fourth is followed by other progressions (falling fifth/rising fourth and its inversion falling third/rising second). It is only at this point that the dominant seventh chord is introduced with its inversions, and this is followed by the *septième de sensible*. The exercises that follow contain all the content presented up to this point, and these have to be realized in 3 or 4 voices (and later, up to 10 voices). As in Berton's course, diminution and imitation are included in all exercises. Occasionally, Perne notates some fragments of imitations and/or diminutions that can be used in his exercises.

At the end of the course, there are exercises on cadences (*cadences évitées, interrompues, rompues, à la dominante, plagale).* Usually, we find cadences at the very beginning of a *cours d'harmonie*, while here they precede the last two topics: pedal point and *enharmonie*, though no explanation is given for this choice. An educated guess might be that Perne still needed to refine his syllabus in his first year of teaching; however, this would not explain why the cadence exercises presented do not become progressively more difficult. Nearly ten years later, Perne published his *Cours Elémentaire d'harmonie et d'Accompagnement*[428] and, in this, we find the same topics he taught in 1813, in a similar order. One of the changes involves the position of cadences which here are inserted at the beginning, between the inversions of the perfect triad and the diminished chords.[429]

There are no written exercises in Le Borne's notebook on cadences, but rather only a short note on cadences in the lesson dedicated to the dominant seventh chord. There is no evidence that cadences were covered during the course; though there are chapters dedicated to them in all three treatises written by Berton, Perne, and the official *méthode* by Catel, and both courses handle all the topics presented in Catel's *Traité*. The manuscript containing Berton's course follows Catel most closely in its contents and the order in which the topics are presented. Perne refers to Catel's *Traité, article IV* when discussing the *septième de sensible,* probably to suggest that students read that chapter in the *méthode*.[430] As pointed out earlier, Catel's *Traité* was certainly used as the main textbook for *harmonie* at the Conservatoire.

428 Perne [1822].
429 See Chapters 2 and 4 for further information on this source.
430 Perne (1813), II, 33.

3.2. Reconstruction of a syllabus of *accompagnement*

The subject of *accompagnement* consisted mainly of teaching piano accompaniment skills. Chordal realizations were often played from the figured basses found in the *solfèges*. It is rare to find unfigured basses – as opposed to figured – in French sources; yet Bienaimé, in his *50 Etudes d'harmonie pratique*, chooses to include some exercises without figures among his basses. He believed that the reason why students did not learn how to play an unfigured bass was due to certain teaching methods, which used written-out realizations of the bass. Therefore, students would play a piano score instead of reading and understanding continuo figures. Among the teachers who we know certainly used written realizations to teach *accompagnement* were Deldevez, Perne, and Dourlen.[431]

> Il n'y a que deux moyens pour indiquer aux élèves comment ils doivent traduire les chiffres et disposer l'harmonie qu'ils représentent; le premier employé dans plusieurs traités, consiste à écrire, sur la clef de Sol et au dessus de la basse chiffrée, toutes les parties de l'harmonie; le second, à représenter la disposition de l'harmonie par la position des chiffres: mais le premier de ces moyens a cela de défectueux, qu'il place sous les yeux de l'élève l'harmonie écrite, et qu'alors l'élève lit un accompagnement de piano et ne s'habitue pas à lire les chiffres; l'autre, au contraire, le force à ne lire que des chiffres; et celui-là m'a paru devoir être préféré.[432]

Classes of *accompagnement* were taught separately from harmony until 1823:[433] This was usually done aurally and, presumably, Fenaroli's *basses* were among the material used, since we have evidence that the Conservatoire bought numerous copies of the French edition of his *Regole*.[434]

Thanks to Perne's *Cours élémentaire*, we can follow a thread through a syllabus of *accompagnement*. The appendix of his book contains a course specifically for *harmonistes* who wanted to learn how to be accompanists. In the preface, Perne writes that his *Cours* is specifically created for those students who live in the outskirts of Paris and cannot attend lessons regularly. For these students, it was necessary to have teaching material that would revise what was learned in the classroom and support them in their independent study. The lessons in his book are designed to contain basic theoretical information, practical instructions, and several exercises in order to practise what was learned in the lesson.

The ability to play the piano was not all that was needed in order to become an accompanist; other skills required include reading in all clefs, a good knowledge of

431 See Chapter 2.
432 Bienaimé (1845), 3.
433 They were separated again in 1878.
434 See Chapter 2.

all tonalities, and having sufficient understanding of harmony to analyze any kind of music.

> Pour se livrer à l'accompagnement, il ne suffit pas de toucher passablement le piano forte, il faut encore être bon lecteur sur toutes les clefs, bien connaître les tons ou modes et les modulations dans lesquels sont composés ou passent les morceaux de musique, et surtout avoir des notions suffisantes d'Harmonie pour pouvoir analyser celle de quelque musique que ce soit.[435]

In Perne's *Cours*, the student is referred to the chapters where the following concepts of harmony are explained:

1. *Notions préliminaires* (intervals and their inversions, scales)
2. *Notions élémentaires d'harmonie* (voice motions, chords and their inversions)
3. *Notions essentielles sur la manière de coucher ou écrire les parties sur la basse* (voice leading rules).

There is no mention of the typical music theory topics to be found in other similar books, such as chord formation or nomenclature, topics which might not be considered sufficiently practical for accompaniment and which are normally limited to *harmonie* lessons. As will be seen, similar voice-leading instructions are given to those in written harmony lessons.

During *harmonie* classes, Perne strictly maintains the same number of voices throughout the piece/exercise;[436] however, in his *accompagnement* course, the number of voices may change according to the requirements of the movement of the bass or desired texture. Fenaroli's examples show the same interchangeable use of voices, which was a common practice among continuo players at the time.

Lesson n. 1: Positions of the Right Hand

The first lesson gives guidelines for the right hand. The range remains in the *ambitus* of the G-Clef (C under the staff – G above the staff) and all voices move linearly and avoid skips. The first exercise is on root position chords. Perne gives some *règles générales d'accompagnement* for these chords:

1. Notes in common have to be tied (the fingers playing these notes do not move).
2. If there are no notes in common, hands move in contrary motion.

Positions of the right hand are also covered in this lesson and, like his Neapolitan colleagues, Perne uses the same classification:

435 Perne [1822], 401.
436 See Chapter 2.

> Les meilleurs maîtres ont appelé *Première Position* celle où l'*Octave* est en dessus, parceque c'est la plus parfaite, et qu'on doit toujours terminer sur cette Position; *Seconde Position* celle qui a la *Tierce* en dessus; et *Troisième Position* celle qui a la *Quinte* en dessus.[437]

The best position is the first, followed by the second. The third is rarely used, and mostly confined to the middle portion of a composition. Each composition must end in the first position. If the right hand exceeds the limits of the given range, it is necessary to change position and bring it towards the center. This passage is called *reprise de position*, which can happen through similar, contrary, or oblique motion, provided that no forbidden parallels (parallel fifths and octaves, and octaves per contrary motion) are produced. The only exception is found in Catel's *Traité:*[438] parallel octaves between the bass and the lowest voice of the right hand are considered a doubling of the bass line. These parallel octaves, although tolerated, are best avoided.

> Les Octaves avec la Basse ne sont tolérés que lorsque c'est la partie la plus grave de la main droite qui les forme, ce que l'on considère alors comme redoublement de la Basse; mais il vaut encore mieux les éviter.[439]

The first exercise is now presented by realizing each position, such that the student can correct himself during independent practice. Perne next adds annotations to each realization, to explain when modulations occur and how to change position.[440] At this stage in the training, changes of positions are suggested only to maintain a central range for the accompaniment. From the combination of the three positions, it is possible to obtain the *beste Lage*.[441] Some annotations give the students instructions on the *accompagnement pour le meilleur effet.*[442]

The first lesson closes with a reference to cadences. Only basic information is given on the *repos* ending on the tonic (*cadence parfaite)* and on the dominant (*cadence imparfaite ou à la Dominante).*[443]

The first lesson ends with seven other exercises (in major and minor keys), all containing modulations indicated by annotations. They are ordered in increasing difficulty and contain rhythmic patterns (with instruction to imitate them in the accompaniment) and diminutions.

437 Perne [1822], 404.
438 See the following pages of this chapter. See also Carlisi (2021).
439 Perne [1822], 407.
440 Similar annotations, with indications of modulations, positions and a few suggestions on harmonization, are found in a manuscript from 1789 containing basses (accompaniment lessons) by Gabriele Vignali. Vignali was trained in Bologna, presumably by Padre Martini. See Carlisi-Curtice (2021).
441 See Chapter 5.
442 See Chapter 5 for details.
443 Perne [1822], 408.

Lesson n. 2: The perfect triad and its inversions

The second lesson of *accompagnement* is dedicated to root-position chords and their inversions; though here Perne writes much simpler explanations for chord formations than he did in the the section covering *harmonie*. Chords are distinguished by being consonant or dissonant: consonant chords are the perfect triad and its inversions; dissonant chords are the seventh chords and their inversions, and all chords resulting from a *substitution*. Consonant and dissonant intervals are also listed through practical instruction on the preparation and resolution of dissonances. The only exceptions are the *dissonances appellatives*.[444] These dissonances must resolve in a particular way:

- the *quarte superflue ou triton* and the *seconde superflue* on the descending sixth degree in the minor resolve to the first degree of the scale.
- the diminished fifth and the seventh of the dominant resolve to the third note of the scale.
- the diminished seventh resolves to the fifth note of the scale.[445]

In order to help students, a table is included in this lesson with all inversions of triads in the most commonly used tonalities (all major keys and minor ones, except for D-flat minor, G-flat minor, and C-flat minor – which are covered by their enharmonic equivalent).

The lesson continues with instructions on how to use the first inversion of the perfect triad – the *accord de sixte* – which can be on all scale degrees, particularly the second, the third, and the seventh:

> Cet accord s'emploie plus particulièrement sur la seconde, la troisième note et sur la note sensible du mode; mais il peut s'employer généralement sur toutes les notes de l'Échelle, surtout dans une suite ou marche de sixtes, ascendante ou descendante.[446]

In the case of consecutive sixths, the sixth has to be placed in the outer voice to avoid parallel fifths. Parallel octaves are tolerated if they occur in the lower voice of the right hand, to double the bass line: "Si l'on juge à propos d'ajouter l'octave, il faut la placer dans le bas de la main droite, comme redoublement de la basse." However, in the first lesson, it was suggested that this practice is best avoided in order to maintain better voice leading.[447]

444 See the following pages of this chapter.
445 Perne [1822], 413.
446 Perne [1822], 415.
447 Perne [1822], 415. See also Carlisi (2021).

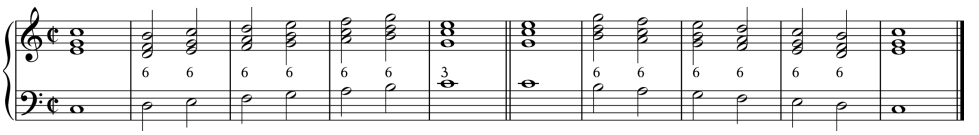

Figure 3.13. Perne (1822), 415.1

Perne provides two practical examples to show how the first voicing (fig. 3.13) is the best. He calls each of the following examples *disposition vicieuse* (fig. 3.14 and fig. 3.15).

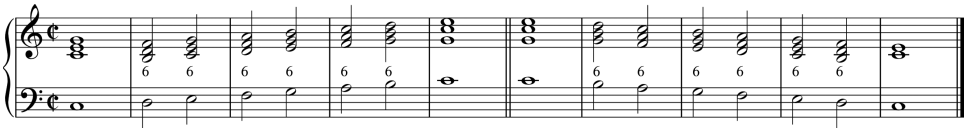

Figure 3.14. Perne (1822), 415.2

In the first (3.14) he demonstrates how parallel fifths are produced. In the second (3.15), where the right-hand moves in contrary motion to the bass, he shows how the characteristic sound of the consecutive parallel sixths is lost.[448]

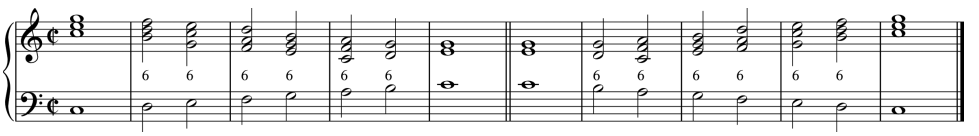

Figure 3.15. Perne (1822), 415.3

Eight figured basses in different major and minor tonalities follow these examples, allowing the student to practise applying the sixth chord. The first given assignment is realized by Perne in two different versions with different positions in order to show how the "best voicing" is more effective than other positions.

The next topic of this lesson is the 6/4 chord. The preferred positions of the chord are those in which the fourth or the sixth is in the upper voice. Four exercises on the application of this chord are provided. Once again, the first is realized by Perne in three versions (three positions) in order to show which *Lage* is preferable.

448 Perne [1822], 415. There are also parallel fifths between the last two chords on the descending degrees.

Lesson n. 3: Dissonant chords

The third lesson covers all dissonant chords in general, with special attention paid to the dominant seventh chord and its inversions. The general rules are a) maintain tied the notes in common or proceed as per contrary motion; b) resolve the dissonance downwards and the leading tone upwards. Students were not required to transpose the examples, as their Neapolitan colleagues would have had to. Nevertheless, Perne provides a table for this chord and its resolution in all tonalities so that students could easily practise them.

Five exercises are given to practise seventh chords and their inversions. These consist of figured basses containing some *marches d'harmonie*, and passages in which these chords are applied. Once again, the first exercise is realized by Perne in three positions, and certain passages are commented on through annotations.

Lesson n. 4: Règle ordinaire de l'octave

> On appelle Règle d'Octave celle qui détermine l'Harmonie que doit porter chaque note de l'Échelle du mode, soit majeur, soit mineur, selon le degré ascendant ou descendant.[449]

In the section dedicated to the rule of the octave, Perne stresses the placement of each inversion of the dominant seventh chord on the scale degrees to which they belong. Once again, a table with these chords in the most used tonalities is provided. Following this, the rule of the octave (in the same version presented by Fenaroli) is given in three positions and in all major and minor tonalities. Each *regola* is followed by a *cadenza composta* preceded by the fourth degree harmonized with a 6/5 chord. Figure 3.16 shows Perne's examples in C major.

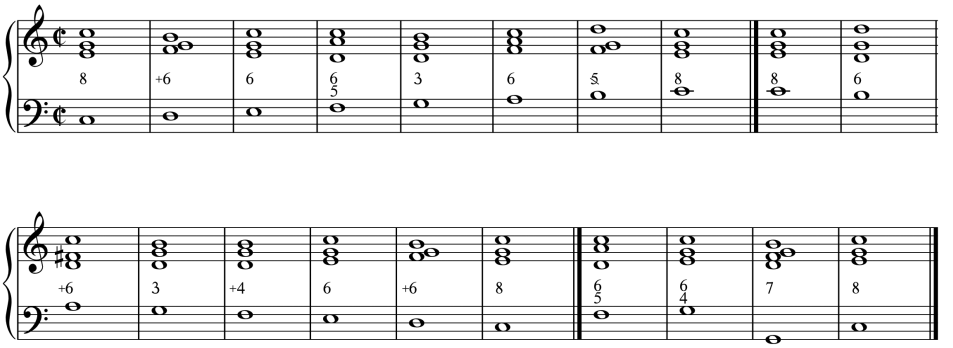

Figure 3.16. Perne (1822), 443.

449 Perne [1822], 437.

At the end of the appendix, Perne suggests how the student should continue their *accompagnement* practice:

> Présentement que l'Étudiant en accompagnement, est en état d'avoir les mains bien placées pour la dispositions de l'harmonie, au moyen des leçons que nous venons de donner dans lesquelles les principes d'accompagnement sont développés, et surtout par l'exercice continuel de la Règle d'Octave dans tous les Modes, il devra reprendre ses études et son travail dès le commencement du Cours d'Harmonie, et suivre les leçons dans l'ordre indiqué en appliquant au clavier toutes les règles et notions qui sont données pour écrire à trois et quatre parties, et par conséquent se mettre dans le cas de pouvoir analyser l'harmonie des Partitions, et autres Ouvrages de Musique.[450]

Once the student has practised the rule of the octave in all positions and tonalities, Perne suggests he practises all the lessons of *harmonie* contained in his *Cours* on the keyboard. The goal of this instruction is not only to be able to accompany in an efficient way, but also to be able to analyze (and thus understand) all kinds of music. Indeed, this focus on analysis and comprehension is often present in French sources.[451] Although it might not have been an explicit intention in Neapolitan sources, the acquisition of analytical skills subsequently followed training in partimento and counterpoint. Perne's book ends with some suggestions for score reading and pieces to practise. He suggests three steps to learn this skill:

1. Choosing easy scores by Grétry, Dalayrac, Sacchini, and Piccini and starting with slow movements.
2. Moving on to Opera pieces from Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Mehul, Cherubini, Le Sueur, Berton, Catel, Boieldieu; again, starting with slow movements before progressing to faster pieces.
3. The last step is the practice of *fugato* pieces like *Oratori* and/or masses by Haydn, Händel, Mozart, and Cherubini.

Among theoretical works on *harmonie, accompagnement* and *composition*, Perne suggests books by Fenaroli, Albrechtsberger, Choron, Langlé, Catel, Reicha and Grétry.

Another example of a course for *accompagnement* is the *Traité d'accompagnement* by Victor Dourlen, Professor for *harmonie* and *harmonie et accompagnement* at the Conservatoire between 1816 and 1842.[452]

Dourlen's book (presumably as with his lessons) is similar to Perne's course. After a short overview of intervals, Dourlen introduces the position of the right hand. Unlike Perne, who uses the same positions found in Neapolitan sources, Dourlen follows Choron and names positions based on the interval between the bass and the lower

450 Perne [1822], 457.
451 See Chapter 2.
452 Dourlen, [1840].

voice of the right hand.[453] This results in a first position with a fifth between bass and higher voice, a second position with an eighth between these voices, and a third position with the third between the two external voices.[454]

After an exercise on the perfect triad and its inversions, Dourlen introduces some examples with scales accompanied by a *faux-bourdon* and consecutive 5–6 chords. The seventh chords and their inversions follow (dominant seventh chords, *septième mixte, septième diminuée)* and introduce the treatment of dissonances and their application on the *marches* (descending scale with 7–6, falling fifth/rising fourth, falling third/rising second, syncopated bass motion, etc.). The remaining dissonances and their application to the appropriate *moti del basso* are then provided. As with other treatises of the time, all *marches* are given with their inversions.[455] At the end of this short theoretical section, Dourlen provides a number of *partimenti* by Neapolitan authors like Sala and Durante, and *solfeggi* with which to practise.[456] Unfigured basses are also present among the exercises, though Dourlen provides the figures to these basses at the end of the book. This is because the use of figures was the norm among French accompanists, who were not taught to play unfigured bass lines and therefore found some Neapolitan unfigured partimenti challenging.

3.3. Conservatoire vs Conservatori: a comparison of teaching in Paris and Naples

Based on the information collected and presented up to this point, we can now summarize the different approaches to the teaching of *harmonie* and *accompagnement* at the schools in Paris and Naples.

Teaching harmony in the Neapolitan school was—as is known—tied to partimento. The theory arose from practice, as opposed to the reverse scenario. Ettore De-Champs describes the steps of the Neapolitan learning process: 1) first gaining knowledge on intervals; 2) learning and practising the rule of the octave; 3) and then finally, partimento. Origin of chords and harmonic tensions were taught through aural instructions of the *Maestro* and consultation with treatises:

> Si dice e si sostiene come articolo di fede che la pratica non può, né deve avere altro uffizio che quello di corroborare più tardi quei sani principii che soltanto dalla teorica possono apprendersi, non riflettendo che la teorica non si deduce che dalla pratica [...]. Gli antichi però non la pensavano così: e tutti sappiamo che dalla Scuola Napoletana specialmente, dove si tenne e per molto tempo un sistema d'insegnamento tutto affatto opposto a quello ora in voga, si ebbero ciò nonostante teorici e pratici di gran valore. [...] Fino a qualche

453 See Chapter 4. Choron (1804), 4. Dourlen (1840), 4 and 7. See also Verwaerde (2015), 327–328.
454 See Chapter 4.
455 See Chapter 4.
456 Dourlen [1840].

> anno fa, in quasi tutte le scuole d'Italia, l'armonia s'imparava presso a poco nel metodo seguente. Conosciuti appena gl'Intervalli, studiavasi la cosidetta Regola dell'Ottava, impratichiti sufficientemente di essa nelle tre differenti posizioni, si passava senz'altro allo studio del partimento, poco o nulla curandosi, almeno nei primi tempi, di conoscere teoricamente l'origine e la tendenza degli accordi. Queste origini e queste tendenze s'imparavano a conoscere grado a grado che ci s'inoltrava nello studio, guidati in ciò oltreché dal proprio talento, dalla viva voce del maestro insegnante e dalla lettura dei trattati di armonia che venivaci indicati di consultare.[457]

Three Italian manuscripts, two by Biagio Muscogiuri[458] and one by Vincenzo Lavigna,[459] contain exercises done under the guidance of Fenaroli (as well as occasionally other teachers); these offer insight into Fenaroli's composition teaching.[460] The two manuscripts of Muscogiuri are part of his lesson notebooks. The Bologna manuscript contains books n.3 *Delle disposizioni a 2 parti*; and n.4 *Delle fughe a due parti*; while the Florentine manuscript contains books n.6 *Studio sopra tutti i moti del Basso a 3 parti*; n.7 *Delle disposizioni a 3 parti*; and n. 8 *Delle fughe a 3 parti.*[461]

Table 3.1. List of ***moti del basso*** *in the manuscript of Muscogiuri.*

1.	*Basso che sale di grado*
2.	*Basso che scende di grado*
3.	*Basso che sale di terza e scende di grado*
4.	*Basso che scende di terza e sale di grado*
5.	*Basso che sale di quarta e scende di terza*
6.	*Basso che scende di quarta e sale di grado*
7.	*Basso che sale di quarta e scende di quinta*
8.	*Basso che sale di quinta e scende di quarta*
9.	*Basso che sale di sesta e scende di quinta*
10.	*Basso che sale di sesta e scende di settima*[462]
11.	*Basso che scende legato*
12.	*Basso semitonato.*

457 De-Champs, Ettore (1879), 46–47 in Sanguinetti (2005), 456–457. Also quoted in Sanguinetti (2012a), 96. For a deeper look into the discussion held at the Florentine Academy in 1878 see Sanguinetti (2012a), 95–98.

458 I-Fc B.505 e I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C.1R).

459 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117.

460 These manuscripts have already been treated by Sanguinetti (2013), Van Tour (2015), Demeyere (2018) and Cafiero (2021). Their work is referred to here.

461 Unfortunately books 1, 2, and 5 are missing at the time of writing.

462 All bass movements, except n.10 are also in Lavigna's notebooks (I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117) and in the printed editions of the *Regole*. See the comparative edition by Demeyere: Fenaroli (2021a).

Lavigna's manuscript is divided into seven sections containing an entire counterpoint course, beginning with two-part cadences, *moti del basso, disposizioni* in two, three, and four voices, as well as four-part fugues.[463] Contents in these notebooks that could fall under harmony are:[464]

1. *Cadenze*
2. *Scale e moti del basso* (including *dissonanze*)
3. *Bassi e canti*
4. *Disposizioni*

The main difference between the French and the Neapolitan approach arose from the traditions of the two schools and the role that theoretical concepts played in both countries. The Parisian course proceeded by introducing chords and their inversions, and the *marches d'harmonie* were introduced as an application of certain chords or their inversions. A summary of an incomplete list of *moti* was presented late in the course, while other *marches* were used in previous exercises, such as those shown earlier in this chapter. On the other hand, in Fenaroli's teaching, there are apparently no lessons on chord inversions. The written instructions only cover on which scale degree a major or minor chord can be found.[465] The *uscite di tono* are described by musical examples. The twelve *moti del basso* are introduced as applications of *consonanze* and *dissonanze* and suspensions, rather than chord inversions, as with the description in the *Regole*.[466] The contrapuntal approach of the *scuola napoletana* is here evident through its application to lessons of "harmony."[467]

Despite differences in how theoretical content was taught, it seems that students took a similar approach to written exercises: assignments where both *bassi* and *canti* were realized with imitations and diminutions in two, three, and four parts. Berton and Dourlen asked their students to realize the same bass in three and four parts. Imitations and diminutions were gradually introduced during the course. Instead, Fenaroli asked his students to realize a two-voice basso or canto in three different ways prior to adding a third voice: 1) *semplice:* with diminutions, but only *colle consonanze*; 2) *con dissonanze*, diminished with suspensions; 3) *per imitatione*, diminished with imitations.[468] Comparing a two-voice *disposizione* realized by Muscogiuri, (fig. 3.18) with Le Borne's four-voice assignment for the *concours* (fig. 3.17), it appears that in

463 See Van Tour (2015), 160.
464 See also Van Tour (2015), 161.
465 We could assume that the instructions given during lessons were similar to those in Fenaroli (1775).
466 Fenaroli (1775). Further differences on the *regole* will be treated in Chapter 4 of this book.
467 As known, the Neapolitan *Maestri* did not refer to this kind of teaching as the modern subject of "harmony".
468 See Van Tour (2015), 165–166.

this case Fenaroli's training resulted in a higher level than that achieved in Paris.[469] Figure 3.17 shows the first eighteen bars of this *leçon du concours*. Le Borne used mainly static chords with lengthy tied notes. It is rare that imitations are attempted, and there are few diminished parts in the assignment. Even in the bars containing the *marches d'harmonie,* which he had practised with imitations and diminutions, there are no diminutions (e.g., the two diminished *basso che sale di quarta e scende di quinta* in mm. 7–10 and the *basso che scende di terza e sale di grado* in mm. 13–15).

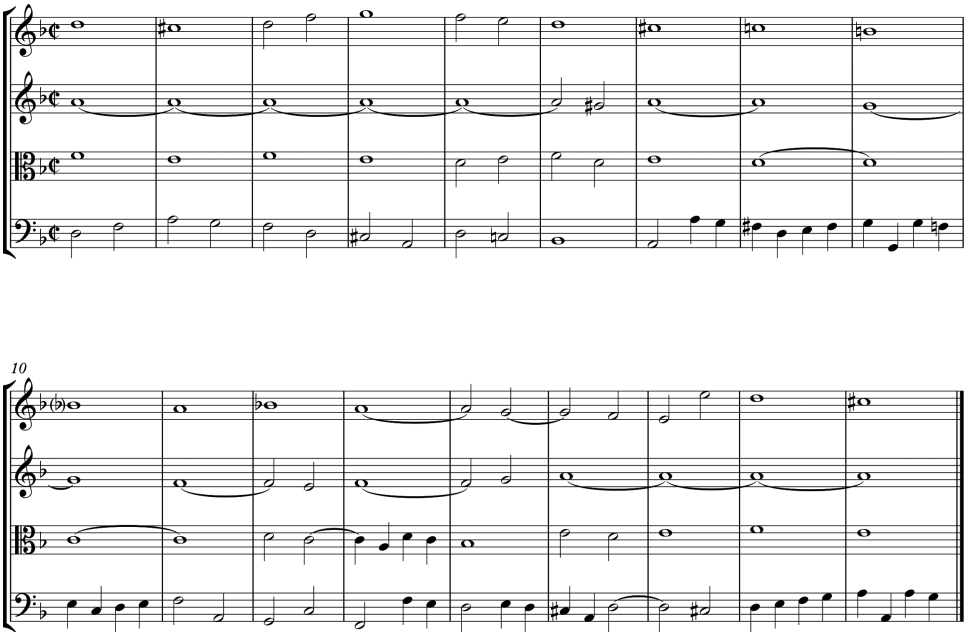

Figure 3.17. Le Borne, p. 169, bb. 1–18.

The assignments realized by Muscogiuri under Fenaroli look quite different. Figure 3.18 shows the first sixteen bars of the *disposizione* on the *basso VI.*[470] In this realization, we find both diminutions and imitations which create an overall rhythmic and melodic balance that is missing in Le Borne's assignment. In any case, we must keep in mind that the individual learner's abilities influence the level they achieve during their studies. Beyond the type of exercises performed and based on these manuscripts, it would seem that Muscogiuri was working at a higher level than Le Borne.

469 The two-voice example from Muscogiuri is used instead of a three-voice *disposizione,* because Fenaroli's three voices assignments were preparatory exercises for a fugue based on a given *motivo* (we could call it the head of a subject or theme) and not on a given bass.

470 I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS1 (C.1 R).

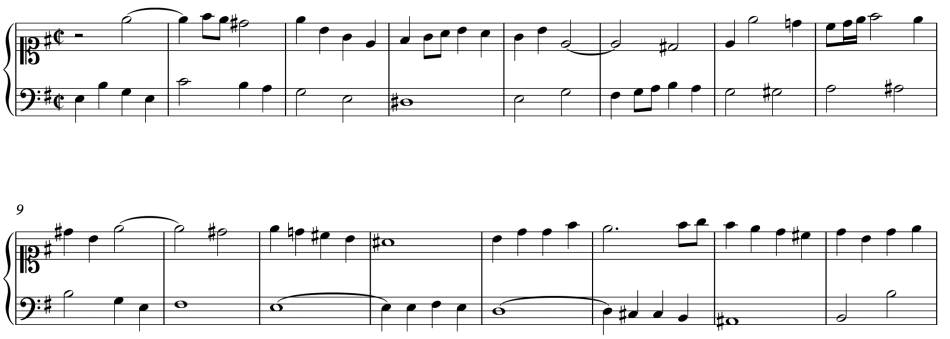

Figure 3.18. Muscogiuri, basso VI

In fact, Le Borne's realization alone is not enough to determine the level that was achieved at the Conservatoire. Berton's student did not win the *concours*, and therefore did not rank among the best students. Colet collected a number of his student's assignments for the *concours de harmonie* and, among these, were winners of first and second prizes. Figure 3.19 shows an excerpt of the exam of Charles Lebouc, for which he won the first prize in 1844.

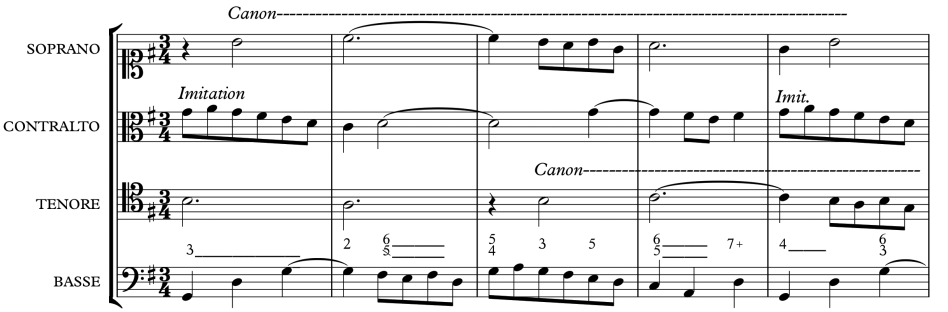

Figure 3.19. Colet (1846), 332, bb.1–5.

The assignment above is at a similar level to the *concours* of 1818 (fig. 3.17). Unlike Le Borne, the student here uses imitations and inserts canons at the octave throughout the entire piece. The use of canons and imitations places this assignment closer to the *bassi fugati* of the Neapolitan school. As mentioned, Colet was an important representative for the French reception of partimento, and his book *Partimenti ou traité spécial de l'accompagnement pratique* was used during his classes.[471] It is therefore plausible that Colet might have taught harmony by combining it with partimento, although he

471 See Chapter 2.

often provided written realizations to facilitate students.[472] There is no doubt that the assignments given for the *concours* required a knowledge of counterpoint, especially of imitations and diminutions. As seen in all the teaching material examined, starting from Catel, all teachers taught these skills and required students to master them in order to advance to the next step of composition training: *contrepoint et fugue*.

By comparing the Neapolitan and Parisian harmony courses, it is evident that the two schools followed different approaches which derive from each school's heritage and goals: the French theoretical tradition was deeply rooted in in the Neo-Ramellian *basse fondamentale*; whereas the Neapolitan, practical teaching method aimed to train young composers in the most effective and simple way. While a French *harmoniste* learned about chords formation, their inversions, and how to name and distinguish them, a Neapolitan *partimentista* would start by practising the rule of the octave, learning the application of those same chords on each scale degree and practising *moti del basso* with applied *dissonanze* both at the piano and in writing. Berton suggested that "learning by doing" – as opposed to memorizing chord names[473] – was a more effective training method, as proven by the success of Neapolitan-trained musicians.[474]

In view of the above reconstruction of accompaniment courses, we can compare contents and results from courses of *accompagnement* and partimento.[475]

Summarizing the contents treated during classes of *accompagnement*, we can trace the following line:

1. Introduction, focusing on basic elements of music theory and harmony (a rudimentary knowledge of which was required to enter the course)
2. Positions of the right hand
3. Chords and inversions
4. Dissonant chords (including examples of their application of the *marches d'harmonie)*
5. The *règle de l'octave*
6. Figured exercises, often with given realizations

It is possible to compare this teaching with Fenaroli's partimento course:[476]

1. The *regola dell'ottava*
2. *Cadenze*
3. *Dissonanze*
4. *Moti del basso*
5. Figured and unfigured partimenti

472 See Chapter 2.
473 See Chapter 2.
474 See Chapter 1.
475 Partimento teaching in Naples will not be covered here, as it is already extensively covered by, among others, Sanguinetti, Van Tour, and Cafiero.
476 See Sanguinetti (2012a), Van Tour (2015), 162–165 and Demeyere (2018), 212–215.

The position of the rule of the octave in these two courses provides us with a clue that might explain why students did not learn how to play unfigured basses.[477]

After this training, if the student was talented, they would start a counterpoint course in parallel with *partimenti fugati*;[478] however, it appears that French students did not attain these improvisational skills.

The reason for this discrepancy in the final level is probably also due to a difference in the course's goals. While partimento was crucial for the education of a composer – and one of the main tools by which harmony and improvisation were taught – in Paris, the purpose of learning *accompagnement* was to equip students with the ability to accompany the classes of *solfège, chant,* and *accompagner une partition.*

> Dès qu'un Élève de la classe d'accompagnement sera reconnu en état d'accompagner la basse chiffrée à l'examen trimestriel, le Directeur pourra le mettre à la disposition d'un Professeur de solfège ou de vocalisation et de chant ou de classe d'ensemble pour continuer ses études et mettre à profit les leçons qu'il reçoit ou qu'il a reçues.[479]

Bienaimé gives us a picture of what would happen during these lessons:

> En effet, qu'un élève après avoir étudié les ouvrages que je viens de citer, veuille accompagner certaines leçons des solfèges du Conservatoire ou de Cherubini, il est presque toujours arrété à chaque mesure; soit que les basses de ces solfèges lui présentent des difficultés de rhythme ou de lecture, soit que la rapidité de certains passages portant des harmonies différentes sur chaque note ne lui laisse pas le tems de trouver les accords.[480]

According to Bienaimé (quoting his colleagues Dourlen, Fétis, and Lemoine), most of the exercises contained in *accompagnement* treatises do not contain many challenges for students, so these students are later unprepared to accompany the classes of *solfège*. He also points out that having realizations given is also counterproductive for achieving this goal.

From the lessons contained in the examined sources, it is evident that elements of imitation and diminutions were introduced in both courses of *harmonie* and *accompagnement.*

The *concours d'harmonie e d'accompagnement* consisted in realizing a figured bass at the piano. The following example (3.20) shows the assignment given at the *concours* of 1830. The long notes in the bass line usually indicate points of imitation, and the patterns in the bass line can easily be used in these moments.[481] Borrowing an analogy

477 See Chapter 4 for a deeper look at the rule of the octave at the Conservatoire.
478 Van Tour (2015), 165–168.
479 Lassabathie (1860), 118. Also quoted in Vewaerde (2015), 323.
480 Bienaimé (1845), 2.
481 There are several partimenti with a similar structure. See e.g., Sala (2017).

from Robert Gjerdingen, this *basse* is composed of a combination of "interesting" and "boring" parts.[482]

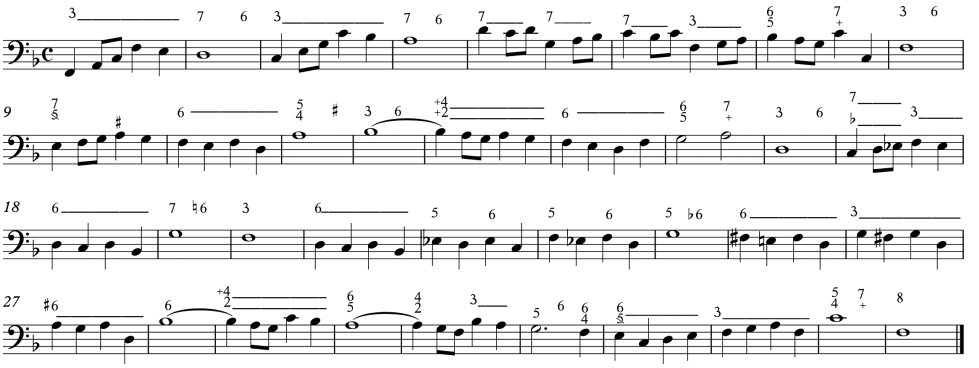

Figure 3.20. Pierre (1900b), 206.

The *marches* in this bass are diminished as, for example, the *marche de septièmes,* or *basso che sale di quarta e scende di quinta* in bars 5–6 and the ascending 5–6 scale in bars 22–24. In m. 7, there is a two-step cadence that is a simple dominant seventh chord, instead of a *composta.* Similarly, the final cadence is a *composta*, whereas it would most likely be a *doppia* in Neapolitan partimenti, especially in a 4/4 tempo. However, it can be suggested that the slower harmonic rhythm could justify the use of a *composta* in this case.

Compared to Fenaroli's partimento course, especially the partimenti in the fourth book (the last one before the *partimenti fugati),* it is evident that the level required to realize Neapolitan partimenti is substantially higher. These partimenti are unfigured and contain a greater number of *moti del basso* and more frequent chord changes (therefore a faster harmonic rhythm) per bar. In the French assignment shown (fig. 3.20), chords are often held for an entire bar and figures are given throughout the bass. Even compared to the figured partimenti of Fenaroli's second book, the basses of the *concours* generally appear to be easier, since they contain fewer dissonances and *uscite di tono.*

As seen in both the courses of *harmonie* and the teaching of *accompagnement*, the differences between the teaching methods may have played a crucial role in the results attained by the two schools. Partimento training is based on systematic repetition and the transposition of patterns: the *regole,* that prepare the hand and the brain to respond automatically to a *stimulus* contained in the bass line. The French approach, although using similar exercises (and frequently adopting the same partimenti by Fenaroli), based its methodology on learning from a more theoretical starting point.

482 Gjerdingen (2010).

This would suggest that Bienaimé was correct when he stated that the solutions and realizations given for practising the *marches* and *basses* also had a negative effect on the learning process. The mental process triggered by reading and playing a score differs from that used in finding a solution and applying it at the piano.[483] Another reason for the different results of the French approach is the theoretical basis for teaching *accompagnement*. As noted in Chapter 1, the centrality of theory in French teaching methods had already been recognized by Choron to be among the causes of the weaker results for courses of *accompagnement*, as far back as 1820.

483 "Project-based learning" has been studied in psychology since the end of the 19th century and is still proven as the best method for learning efficiently. Studies on this matter started with John Dewey in 1897 and were followed by the work as other renowned scholars such as Maria Montessori.

Chapter 4
The Regole and other elements of improvisation and composition in French sources

In this chapter, all the partimento *regole* from the French sources of reference (when available) will be presented and compared with Neapolitan models.[484] As an exemplar of Neapolitan partimento teaching, the collection of *regole* by Fenaroli will be used as the main source since it was the most widely circulating at the time; thanks to Imbimbo's edition and because it was used at the Conservatoire. However, Fenaroli's 1775 publication will be used as an ultimate reference since, as seen, the French edition does contain changes. The latest critical edition of Fenaroli's *Regole* by Demeyere and the overview on the rules provided by Sanguinetti and his "synoptic compendium"[485] will be consulted as a summary of partimento rules;[486] the rules contained in Muscogiuri's and Lavigna's manuscripts, examined in the previous chapter, will also be considered. The following classification of partimento rules – as given by Sanguinetti – will be adopted,[487] though some alterations have been made in order to adapt their contents to "French partimento." These modifications will be outlined.

The categories are:

Class I: Basic axioms
Class II: Rule of the Octave
Class III: Suspensions
Class IV: Bass motions

For reasons of space, Class V: Scale mutations will not be discussed. Modulations in 19th century France became more and more central to music theory and therefore several chapters in *traités* are dedicated to this topic.[488] The approach of the Neapolitan school to this topic remains simple and is based on a changing scale (what Sanguinetti calls *scale mutation*).[489] French sources have several chapters on modulating between

484 As we know, these rules and *moti del basso* are not a Neapolitan invention, but are derived from the *continuo* practice in use earlier in Europe: see, among others, Nuti (2007), Zappulla (2000), and Verwaerde (2015). For the purpose of this study, I refer to the rules commonly found in Partimento *regole,* since the Neapolitan school was taken as model and inspiration for the founding of the Conservatoire.
485 www.oup.com/us/theartofpartimento.
486 Sanguinetti (2012a), 99–164.
487 Sanguinetti (2012a), 100.
488 On modulation in French theories in the nineteenth century, see e.g., Groth (1983), 47–51.
489 For modulations in partimento, see Sanguinetti (2012a), 158–164.

different tonalities and expanding tonality to remote keys through chromatic and enharmonic modulations, in a system that Fétis called "omnitonique".[490] This expanded horizon has little in common with the relatively simple modulations used in the *écoles d'Italie*. Nevertheless, it will be shown that modulations do occur in French *traités* through some of the *moti del basso* that are discussed here. As will become clear, these sometimes even occur unexpectedly and abruptly through the introduction of alterations or the application of certain scale models, such as the harmonic minor scale instead of the melodic minor.

Concerning terminology, the term "dissonance" will be used to indicate a suspension as it was intended in the Neapolitan school. In paragraphs dedicated to dissonant intervals, the same term will indicate the quality of an interval. The word "degree", unless otherwise specified, means a degree of the scale, not the vertical harmonic degree represented by Roman numerals. Diminutions and imitations will be discussed in Chapter 5, together with realizations.

Here it is worth briefly mentioning both schools' choice of tonalities.

Fenaroli follows a logical order of tonalities in his rules and partimenti. Starting with G, he alternates the major key and its parallel minor following the natural scale (from G to F) and adding at the end B-flat major and E-flat major.[491] G is the starting point and a common choice for Neapolitan sources, being the first note of the *durus* or *bequadro* hexachord.[492] Imbimbo uses the same order in his French editions.

Deldevez uses the same tonalities as Fenaroli for cadences, while for the rule of the octave he follows the circle of fifths. The order begins with major keys on C major and then progressively adds sharps to reach G, D, A major, etc. He then starts the progression of flat key signatures and, after these, minor keys are presented in the same order.[493] A similar approach is seen in Choron's *Principes de composition,* in which Fenaroli's partimenti are also transposed to match the order of the tonalities.[494]

4.1. Basic axioms

Sanguinetti includes the following elements in this category: tonal coherence, the distinction between consonance and dissonance (in the partimento, meaning played both with or without suspensions), voice leading, cadences, single bass motions, and

490 See Christensen (2019a), 251–256.
491 See Demeyere (2018), 214.
492 The three hexachords were *Bequadro* (Sol), *Naturale* (Do), *Bemolle* (Fa). See Baragwanath (2021).
493 See Deldevez, [1868], 2–9.
494 For example, Fenaroli's first partimento (1st book) in G major is transposed in Choron into C major. Choron (1808–1809), book 2, 1.

positions of the right hand. Based on the contents of the sources examined, this category is divided into the following most relevant topics:

- Classification of intervals
- Consonant and dissonant intervals
- *Posizione*
- Voice leading
- Cadences.

4.1.1. Classification of intervals

In Fenaroli's *Regole*, intervals are described as *maggiore, minore, giusto, falso* and *superfluo.*[495] No specific technical explanation is given: it is implied that the reader already knows what a *quinta falsa* is.

In Fenaroli's French edition, Imbimbo defines interval qualities as *grande o piccolo, semplice o composto, maggiore o minore, diminuito o superfluo, consonante o dissonante.* A few terms are explained here, such as *superfluo,* deriving from *superfluens,* meaning *eccedente* and not *inutile* (in English, useless). Similarly, the distinction between *semplice* and *composto,* which indicates pitch: *semplici* being the notes in the first octave – starting on the C in Bass clef, *composti o duplicato* those in the second octave, and *triplicati* in the third octave that ends on the C above the staff in treble clef. This distinction comes from Zarlino,[496] who describes these intervals as *replicati*, *raddoppiati*, and *composti*. These were later expanded by Gasparini,[497] who defines *intervalli composti* as those resulting from the sum of an octave and a smaller interval.

Choron offers a similar description of interval qualities in the *Principes d'accompagnement*, in which the same distinction between *simples* and *composés* is given (*composés* are intervals bigger than an octave, which can be *redoublés, triplés* and *quadruplés*). The same distinction is found in Bienaimé and Perne. Furthermore, Perne identifies consonant and dissonant intervals in *primitifs* and *multiples ou composées.* The *primitif* is what Choron calls *simple*: the range of intervals within an octave; the *multiple* is the interval exceeding the first octave, and Choron calls these *composé.*[498]

Concerning types of intervals, we find that Choron gives the same description as Fenaroli: *majeur, mineur, juste, diminué, superflue ou augmentée.* The augmented fourth is also called *triton* and the diminished fifth is called *fausse-quinte,* which is suggestive of the Neapolitan *quinta falsa.*[499]

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495 These are, respectively, major, minor, perfect, diminished, and augmented.
496 Zarlino (1558), part III, 149–151; 153–154.
497 Gasparini (1722), 11.
498 Perne [1822], 3.
499 Choron [1804], VIII.

The other authors (Catel, Colet, Berton, Dourlen, Perne, and Bienaimé)[500] use the same terminology with some small differences. Colet also calls the *juste* interval *parfait;* among these under consideration, Perne is the only French author after Choron to use the terms *quinta falsa* and *superflue,* while his colleagues use *diminué* and *augmenté.*[501]

In his *Traité d'harmonie* (the official method of the Conservatoire), Catel calls the perfect fourth and the perfect fifth simply *quarte* and *quinte.* These same labels are used in Dourlen's *Traité d'harmonie.*[502]

> Il y a trois sortes de quarte: quarte diminuée, quarte, 4.te augmentée.[503]

Berton provides the reader with an explanation on why he does not use the terms *superflue* or *fausse quinte*: he judges the use of the terms *faux* and *superflue* to be misleading, as the literal meaning is *wrong* and *superfluous.* While Imbimbo chose to maintain this terminology, while adding a short note on its meaning, Berton adopts the terms *diminué* and *augmenté* instead.

This overview on interval quality nomenclature demonstrates that French sources mainly preserve the terminology already used in France. Choron, Perne, and Berton include the name *fausse quinte* to describe the diminished fifth, recalling Fenaroli's *quinta falsa.* Nevertheless, most authors prefer the word *triton* to the Neapolitan *quarta maggiore*, thereby adopting traditional terminology when describing chord inversions, as seen in Chapter 2. The fourth will be further treated in the next section.

4.1.2. Consonant and dissonant intervals. The case of the fourth, the diminished fifth, and the minor seventh

All authors examined generally agree that perfect consonances are the unison, the fifth, and the octave; imperfect consonances are the third and the sixth. The disagreements regarding whether the fourth is a consonance and/or a dissonance has been debated in countless works and has been considered by several scholars.[504] Consequently the focus here is on how the fourth is treated in the sources of reference, with an overview on the vision of these intervals in partimento sources and in works written by the professors at the early Conservatoire.

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500 Catel (1801), 2. Colet (1837), 6. Berton (1815a), 4. Bienaimé (1863), 5. Perne [1822], 3. Dourlen (1838), 2.

501 Perne [1822], 30.

502 Dourlen (1838), 2.

503 Catel (1801), 2.

504 E.g. see Holtmeier (2007), 39 et seq., Lester (1992); Mirka (2015); Vantour (2015); Meidhof (2016a); Demeyere (2018).

In the Neapolitan school, the topic of the consonant or dissonant fourth harks back to the traditional distinction between *leisti* and *durantisti*. The school of Leo was said to be a promoter of the consonant fourth, while Durante's school considered the fourth a dissonance. Nevertheless, both interpretations of this interval may have been present in the two schools.

Mirka claims that Rameau distinguishes between the consonant fourth, the inversion of the perfect fifth (he refers here to Zarlino), and the dissonant eleventh, that requires preparation and resolution.[505]

> Donc la Quarte qui ne peut se trouver que dans un accord renversé, où elle represente la Quinte, est consonante; & la Onziéme qui détermine un accord premier dans son espece, dont les Sons qui le composent doivent être contenus dans l'étenduë de cette Onziéme, est pour lors dissonante; & si nous la chiffrons d'un 4, c'est pour suivre en cela l'usage ordinaire.[506]

Rameau distinguished between *dissonance majeure* (resolving upwards) and *mineure* (resolving downward).[507] In Rameau's theory, the fourth is the upper note of the interval of a seventh, the fifth below, i.e., an *accord par supposition*. In this so-called *accord de la onziéme heteroclite*, the third and fifth of the seventh chord are then "substituted" by the octave of the *note de supposition*.[508]

The distinction between the consonant and the dissonant fourth persists in some French sources and also to some extent relates to the Neapolitan distinction between *quarta maggiore* and *minore*. In fact, Fenaroli's *Regole* contains this same label to describe the quality of the fourth. When describing intervals on the keyboard, he defines two types of fourth: *minore* and *maggiore*.

> Modo di contare i tasti del Cembalo, dalla prima del tono fino all' ottava.
>
> Prima giusta: seconda minore, seconda maggiore: Terza minore, terza maggiore: Quarta minore, quarta maggiore: Quinta giusta: Sesta minore, sesta maggiore: Settima minore, settima maggiore, ed ottava.[509]

The "minor" fourth would be the perfect fourth and the "major," augmented.

505 See Mirka (2015), 160.
506 Rameau (1722), 78.
507 Rameu (1722), 424–428. See chapter 2 and Holtmeier (2017a), 38–42.
508 e.g. a 5/4 chord (C, F, G) derives for Rameau from the seventh chord on G with a fifth *par supposition* (a C below the G). B and D are then substituted by C. The traditional, simple *accord de la quarte* poses similar problems in Rameau's theory as the ninth chord, as Holtmeier has shown, see Holtmeier (2017a), 235.
509 Fenaroli (1775), 6.

As seen, Imbimbo calls the perfect fourth "naturale", the augmented "maggiore o tritono" while "superflua" is the interval between C and double-sharp F (fig. 4.1).[510] Artusi calls the interval between C and F-sharp the "quarta superflua accidentale", while he names the tritone "quarta superflua naturale," the difference being the use of alterations (*musica ficta)*.[511]

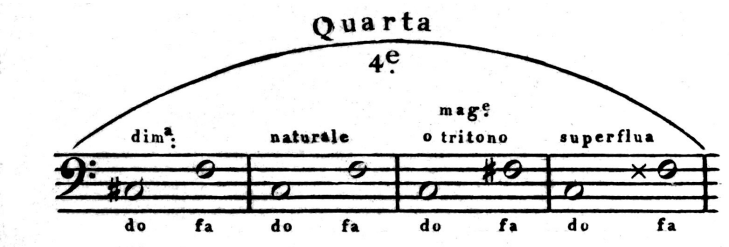

Figure 4.1. Fenaroli (1813/14), 3. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9639183h

Moreover, Imbimbo describes the double application of the fourth: "la 4ª è di doppia specie, cioè a dire, consonante accompagnata colla 6ª e dissonante colla 2ª, o colla 5ª."[512]

He then goes onto explain the concept of *quarta consonans:*[513]

> La 4ª. consonante è quella che fa parte della piena armonia perfetta, il cui intervallo si trova dalla 5ª. all'8ª. Diasi per esempio il complesso armonico ne' suoni *Do_mi_sol_do_mi,* la 4ª. sarà *sol do.* Si divida il suddetto complesso armonico in due, e sia il *sol* il punto di divisione; si avrà l'accordo fondamentale *Do mi sol,* e per trasposizione il suo derivato *Sol Do mi.*
> Or siccome la numerica segnatura degli intervalli in ogni accordo separato comincia sempre dall'unità rappresentante il suono più grave, così l'accordo *Do mi sol* sarà di 1.ª 3.ª e 5.ª, e quello di *Sol do mi* sarà di 1.ª, 4.ª e 6.ª; in conseguenza il *fondamentale* ed il *derivato*, essendo composti dalle medesime corde, malgrado la combinazione e la segnatura diversa, saranno entrambi consonanti.[514]

The fourth accompanied by the second, typically placed on the descending fourth scale degree, or on the "partimento che scende legato," does not require preparation.[515]

> Si deve avvertire a' principianti, che nella scala discendendo di grado, dandosi alla quarta del tono 2., 4. Maggiore, e 6., allora non viene considerata come quarta, ma come nota

510 Fenaroli, (1813/14), 3.
511 Artusi (1598), 45.
512 Fenaroli (1813/14), 15.
513 On the cadential 6/4, see also Mirka (2015).
514 Fenaroli (1813/14), 34.
515 For further information on this fourth, see Diergarten (2010a).

> di passaggio, che viene dopo la quinta del tono, che cala alla terza; ed essendo nota fondamentale, deve avere 3., e 5.[516]

As Demeyere points out, the 4/2 chord should be accompanied by a sixth when the fourth is augmented and often by a fifth if the fourth is perfect. Demeyere bases his conclusions on Lavigna's counterpoint exercises, in which this is found; however, in a letter to Santucci from 1791, he also quotes Fenaroli, saying that he does not approve of the latter kind of accompaniment because he "doesn't like it, nor [does] it sounds well" to his ears.[517]

Another consonant fourth is in the 6/4/3 chord on the second degree of the scale (as in the rule of the octave).[518] Imbimbo explains that, in this case, the fourth is not a dissonance because, if we rearrange this inversion to its root position, we can see that the fourth is the fundamental note – that is, the dominant of the scale. The dissonance in this chord would be the third, namely the seventh of the dominant and, therefore, it does not need preparation.[519] The cluster between the third and fourth creates the dissonance in this chord.[520]

An augmented interval was often called "superfluo" (French: *superflue*). Fenaroli also uses this term, but to refer to the augmented sixth on the descending sixth degree in a minor mode:

> La sesta superflua si dà alla sesta minore del tono, che scende alla quinta; la quale sesta superflua deve salire all' ottava della quinta del tono.[521]

This *sesta superflua* has the same leading tone function as the *quarta maggiore* on the first or fourth descending scale degree:

> La quarta maggiore si dà alla prima del tono, che cala alla settima, o pure alla quarta del tono, che cala alla terza del medesimo; la quale quarta maggiore deve salire alla sesta della settima del primo tono; ma qualora si dà sopra la quarta del tono, deve salire alla sesta della terza del tono.
> La quarta maggiore fa subito uscire alla quinta del tono; mentre la quarta maggiore altro non è, se non la settima maggiore della quinta del tono.[522]

This same description of the *sesta superflua* and the *quarta maggiore* appears in Choron-Fiocchi's first chapter of the *Principes d'accompagnement.* The *quarte majeure*

516 Fenaroli (1795), 30.
517 "ciò a me no piace, né all'orecchio mi suona." See Demeyere (2018), 226. Letter quoted in Cafiero (2011), 176.
518 For an overview on this chord see Holtmeier (2013), 196–197.
519 Fenaroli (1813/14), 34–35.
520 See also Van Tour (2015), 59–61 for an insight of this chord in Tritto.
521 Fenaroli (1775), 6.
522 Fenaroli (1775), 7.

there is also called *triton* and its position is on the first degree, descending to the seventh, or on the fourth degree and descending to the third.[523] If we look at this instruction through "Neapolitan eyes," we can easily see an implicit rule by which we can use a *quarta maggiore* on a descending semitone (or, as the Neapolitans would say, on a Fa when it goes to Mi). Logically, applying a "major" fourth on the first degree transforms it – through a scale mutation – into a fourth degree (accompanied with a dominant seventh chord in third inversion), descending to the third of a new scale; consequently, it is an application of the rule of the octave. Apparently, the resolution of the tritone was one of the first instructions given by Neapolitan *Maestri*; indeed, Angelo Catelani noted his teacher Zingarelli's instruction on this matter in his workbook: "ricordatevi che in armonia la quarta scende, la settima sale".[524]

Choron includes the fourth among the dissonances. He understands a dissonance in the same way that the Neapolitans did: "En général toute Dissonance, n'est que la prolongation d'une Consonance, qui retarde une autre Consonance, dont elle devroit être suivie."[525]

Catel distinguishes between a consonant and dissonant fourth, based on the voices that form it. He therefore uses the 17th-century distinction between *quarta fundata* (when the fourth is between the bass and another voice) and *quarta non fundata* (when the fourth does not involve the bass).[526]

> La quarte étant un renversement de quinte, devrait être considérée comme consonnance, mais son effet étant beaucoup moins agréable que celui de la quinte, elle est regardée comme dissonance contre la basse, et comme consonnance entre les parties intermédiaires et supérieures.
> Néanmoins, la quarte est employée comme consonnance dans le second renversement de l'accord parfait; aussi ce renversement est-il le moins agréable et le seul dont on ne puisse pas former une succession.[527]

Berton, in his *Traité*, also distinguishes between the consonant and dissonant fourth:

> La quarte est regardée comme consonance, dans les renversements de l'accord parfait. [...] la quarte, pour être traitée comme consonnance, doit être accompagnée de la tierce en dessus ou de la sixte en dessous.[528]

523 Choron [1804], 3.
524 Sanguinetti (2005), 453.
525 Choron [1804], X. For further details on Choron's view on this topic see Meidhof (2016a).
526 See e.g., Walther (1955) or Remeš-Kuhnau (2020). See also Meidhof (2016a), 157 et seq. for Catel's influence on Choron's theories.
527 Catel (1801), 3.
528 Berton (1815a), 9–10.

Dissonances are here generally distinguished as *naturelles* or *artificielles:*

> Les dissonances naturelles, sont celles qui se rencontrent dans les accords où l'on peut trouver deux sons à distance l'un de l'autre, ou de 4te. augmentée ou de 5te. diminuée, ces deux sons étant presque toujours la 4.te et la note sensible du ton, en attestant impérativement l'authenticité. La satisfaction qu'ils donnent à l'oreille dans les modulations dont ils sont le premier mobile, laisse, pour les employer, la faculté d'enfreindre les lois de la préparation auxquelles il faut se soumettre pour toutes les autres espèces de dissonance.[529]

Natural dissonances are generated when a tritone is created between any two voices of a chord. As Fenaroli said, this kind of dissonance needs no preparation,[530] and the explanation Berton gives for this lack of preparation is that the two notes forming the *triton* (or the superposition of the seventh and fourth scale degree) unequivocally belong to a certain tonality. All other dissonances that do not produce a tritone are called artificial; they require preparation and must occur on a downbeat, as opposed to natural dissonances that can be used on upbeats (e.g., a passing note).

As did Choron and Fétis before him, Perne calls this interval (the *quarte superfue ou triton*) and the diminished fifth (*quinte diminuée ou fausse quinte)* "dissonances appellatives". This name indicates that these dissonances "call" their resolution, having a required resolution: they do not require preparation. Other dissonances – or *appellatives* – are the dominant seventh, the diminished seventh, and the augmented second:[531]

> Dans ces dissonances, les unes sont appellées Appellatives, et les autres s'appellent simplement Dissonances; les dissonances appellatives sont celles qui décident le mode par elles-mêmes en demandant leur résolution, et qui n'exigent point de préparation; on en compte cinq: la fausse quinte, la septième de dominante du ton, le triton, la septième diminuée, et la seconde superflue.[532]

Dourlen, like his colleagues, also addresses the ambiguity of the fourth by considering it a dissonance, except when used in cadences (as a 6/4 chord on the fifth or the first degree of the scale).[533]

Although Perne notes that the consonant fourth might be possible, he warns against a fourth reached by leap, arguing that it produces an unpleasant effect, especially if the fourth is between the outer voices.

529 Berton (1815a), 12.
530 The dominant seventh chord in Naples was considered a consonant chord. See Sanguinetti (2012b), 506.
531 See also Chapter 2 and Meidhof (2016a), 224 et seq.
532 Perne [1822], 30.
533 Dourlen [1838], 2.

> Ces divers emplois de la quarte, vicieux dans la partie aigüe, le sont bien moins dans la partie médiaire, et sont tolérés assez généralement; mais quiconque se destine à accompagner, composer ou écrire purement, doit bien se garder de toutes ces marches, qui n'étant formées que de sauts, détruisent la liaison harmonique, et causent une aspérité et une dureté d'effet, que rejettent les oreilles délicates et bien organisées [...].[534]

He also suggests preparing the *dissonances appellatives,* even if it is not strictly necessary; he writes that, if prepared, "elles n'en font que meilleur effet."[535]

As mentioned earlier, Bienaimé distinguishes the fourth in *majeure* and *mineure*. The *quarte mineure* corresponds to the perfect fourth and is described as a *consonnance mixte*. This interval does not have the stability of a perfect consonance, nor the changing quality of an imperfect consonance:

> La quarte mineure, bien qu'elle soit le renversement de la quinte majeure, n'est point, comme celle-ci, une consonnance parfaite, car cet intervalle s'oppose à tout acte de repos. Elle n'est pas non plus une consonnance imparfaite, car elle ne change pas de nature sur chaque degré de la gamme, comme les tierces et les sixtes, qui sont ou majeures ou mineures: nous donnons à cet intervalle le nom de *consonnance mixte*.[536]

He also makes the same distinction regarding the fifth: the *quinte majeure* is the perfect fifth, while the *quinte mineure* is the diminished.

Later, in the chapter dedicated to dissonances, Bienaimé explains the difference between a consonant and dissonant fourth in quite a practical and simple way:

> La quarte n'est point par elle-même une dissonance, si elle prend ce caractère comme retard de la tierce dans la septième de dominante, c'est parce qu'elle dissonne contre la quinte de cet accord avec laquelle elle se trouve en rapport de seconde ou de septième.[537]

The *quarte majeure* is the augmented fourth. The *triton* is defined, as stated by Choron, Perne, and Fétis, as a *consonance appellative*. Bienaimé calls other dissonant intervals – such as augmented and diminished intervals – *dissonances attractives-variables*, a term attributable to Fétis. The name derives from the quality of these intervals: *attractives* because they must be resolved and *variables* because they can be enharmonically modified.[538]

> On les nomme *dissonances attractives-variables. Attractives:* parce que les sons altérés d'un intervalle ont des attractions ascendantes ou descendantes, suivant la nature de l'altération; *variables:* parce que ces sons altérés sont synonymes d'autres sons, et que, si l'on prend

534 Perne [1822], 33.
535 Perne [1822], 62.
536 Bienaimé (1863), 11.
537 Bienaimé (1863), 156.
538 Fétis (1844), 10. See also Peters (1990), 55.

ces synonymes, on produit, par cette transformation, des consonnances, ou des dissonances d'une autre espèce, lesquelles, par conséquent, ont des tendances tonales différentes.[539]

Colet offers a different interpretation of the fourth in the 6/4 chord. First of all, he states that this fourth has to be prepared and resolved, even when it is a consonance. Perne, too, had suggested the preparation in order to obtain a better result. Secondly, the note that requires preparation is not necessarily the fourth above the bass, but rather any of the two notes forming the interval. This means that the fourth might not be prepared if the bass has been. This was common practice in the 17th century and called *quarta subsyncopata*.[540]

Une quarte juste entre la basse et une partie haute, provenant du 2.me renversement, doit être préparée et résolue: c'est-à-dire, l'une des deux notes qui font cette quarte (la fondamentale ou la quinte) doit avoir été entendue à la même place, et à la même partie, dans l'accord précédent, soit à la basse ou dans une partie supérieure; ce qui est la *préparation;* Exemple:[541]

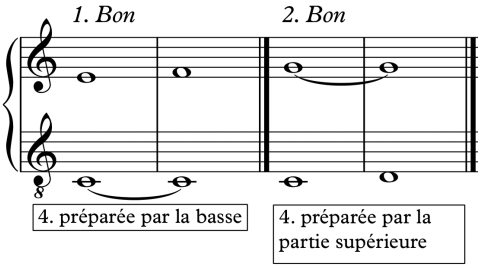

Figure 4.2. Colet (1837), 43.

The resolution does not always occur by descending stepwise motion, but by one note that remains tied, while the other note moves either downwards or upwards to form another consonant interval.[542]

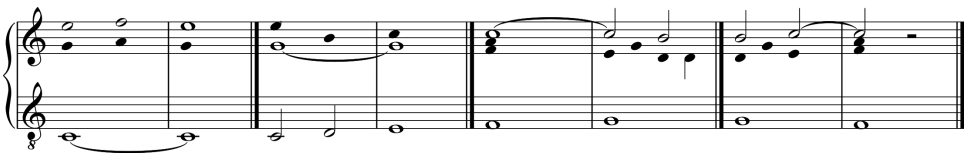

Figure 4.3. Colet (1837), 44.

539 Bienaimé (1863), 12.
540 See e.g., Heinichen (1728), 171. See Holtmeier (2017a), 274–282 for further examples.
541 Colet (1837), 43.
542 Ludwig Holtmeier has dedicated a chapter to *Resolutionslehre*, in which similar cases are treated. See Holtmeier (2017a), 269–307.

Colet analyzes these examples as follows: in the first example, the fourth is prepared and resolved in the bass line; in the second, preparation and tied resolution occur in the middle voice; in the third, the fourth is prepared in the upper voice, but resolved by the lower voice moving upwards in the second measure. For Colet, a resolution can happen in either the voice *patiente* or in the *agente*. In the fourth example, the fourth is prepared in the bass and resolved in the upper voice.[543] Therefore, it is not problematic to find an upper voice leaping to a fourth, provided the bass voice forming the interval has been prepared. By contrast, if the bass is not prepared, it must always proceed stepwise.

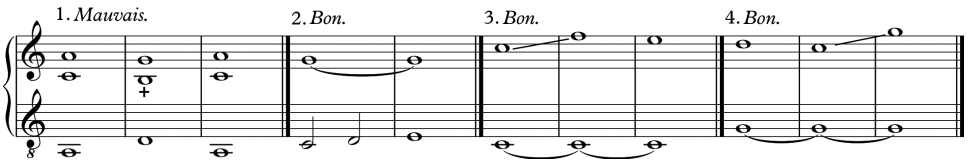

Figure 4.4. Colet (1837), 44.

According to Colet, there are some exceptions to this rule:

1. The fourth in a cadential 6/4 does not require preparation if placed on the downbeat.

This exception denotes the application of the "consonant fourth" found in the other authors, mentioned above.

2. Two consecutive fourths are prohibited because of the lack of preparation, except if the first is an augmented fourth, and the second is an inversion of the tonic chord.

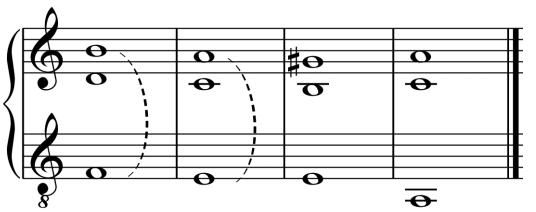

Figure 4.5. Colet (1837), 46.

In the example given by Colet, the two fourths are the result of $II^{6/4}$ followed by a cadential 6/4, a succession of chords seldom found in music of the time.[544]

543 Colet (1837), 44.
544 More commonly the *cadenza composta* would be preceded by a $II^{6/5}$.

3. Sometimes a fourth does not need a tied resolution; instead, the bass may proceed by a downward step and the other voice moves freely (fig. 4.6).

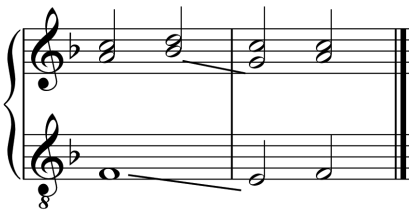

Figure 4.6. Colet (1837), 46.

Colet does not provide any further explanation for this example, which might not make this exception comprehensible to students. If we look at this example in light of the rule of the octave and consider the bass note F as a descending fourth degree, the chord containing the fourth would be part of a 4/2 chord. The dissonance would therefore be in the bass line, prepared and resolved downwards. The *quarta subsyncopata* could here be a variation of an *accord du triton.*

4. The two notes that form the fourth could also resolve when both move by step:

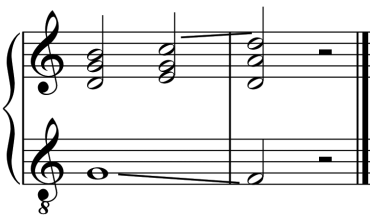

Figure 4.7. Colet (1837), 47.

Here Colet shows what we describe in modern music theory as a neighboring 6/4 chord that becomes a passing chord. The upward resolution of the fourth is permissable, because of the *subsyncopatio.*

5. A 6/4 chord resulting from a change of position does not need preparation:

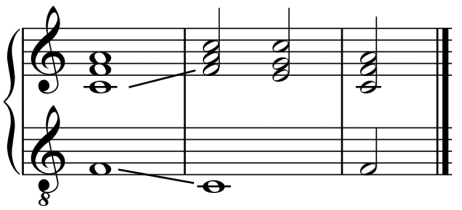

Figure 4.8. Colet (1837), 47.

Although Colet does not mention the arpeggiated 6/4 chord, we could consider it included in exception number 5, since it implies changes in position of the same triad.

Except for Colet, who gives specific rules on the treatment of the fourth, all the authors examined agree on the double nature of the fourth as both consonant and dissonant. This interpretation was established long before by authors such as Zarlino and Gasparini.[545] Although common in both Italian and French traditions, authors adopt either Neapolitan terminology or combine Neapolitan and French terminology. Imbimbo and Choron mostly use partimenti and Neapolitan material in their works, while Bienaimé incorporates this knowledge into his mixed Italian and French treatise. Bienaimé's book was published later (1863) than those by Imbimbo and Choron and, unlike these two authors, he did not intend to provide a *traité* based on the *écoles d'Italie*. It is therefore easy to explain how elements from these different traditions can coexist together in his books.[546]

In the Neapolitan school, minor sevenths and diminished fifths were considered consonances.[547]

According to Choron-Fayolle, this can be traced back to Monteverdi's compositions:[548]

> Mécontent des règles et de la pratique de ses prédécesseurs, il hasarda de nouvelles méthodes; il osa le premier employer la quinte diminuée, comme consonance; il employa de la même manière et sans préparation la septième de dominante et celle de sensible, ainsi que la neuvième de dominante.[549]

545 It is also important to point out that the topic of *Pseudo-Consonantiae* had also been studied in 18th century Germany, especially by Sorge. See Sorge (1746), 124 et seq., and Holtmeier (2017a), 184 et seq. For reasons of space, French and Neapolitan sources will not be compared with German theories.

546 See Chapter 2.

547 Gasparini also mentions the subject in Gasparini (1722), 44, 51. Van Tour explored this topic in Neapolitan sources: see Van Tour (2015), 64–68.

548 Van Tour (2015), 54.

549 Choron-Fayolle (1810), 63.

The diminished fifth is, in fact, considered a half-consonance. This was also found in earlier sources, such as Giovanni Maria Artusi's 1598 treatise *L'arte del Contraponto*, in which diminished fifths can be reached by skip or used as the resolution for suspensions.[550]

These intervals, although not necessarily requiring a preparation, still needed a downward stepwise resolution. In Fenaroli's 1795 edition, we also find that:

> 1) La settima minore, e la quinta falsa, sono consonanze; perchè non hanno bisogno di preparazione, ma soltanto di risoluzione calando di grado.[551]

Imbimbo's edition gives the same instructions:

> La 7a minore, la diminuita e la 5a falsa, detta ancora diminuita, godono il privilegio di darsi senza la preparazione, la prima sulla Dominante, le altre due sulla Sensibile, considerandosi da molti teorici come intervalli mezzani tra la consonanza e la dissonanza, e conseguentemente partecipi dell'una e dell'altra specie.[552]

And the same rule also appears in Choron's second book of the *Principes de Composition*:

> Les dissonances, comme on sait, sont de deux-espèces, savoir: les dissonances non soumises à la préparation, et celles qui y sont assujetties. Le premières sont ce que nous avons appellé dissonances naturelles; il y en à [*sic*] trois, savoir: la Septième de dominante, la Septième sur la septième note de l'échelle, appellée communément Septième de sensible, qui peut être mineure ou diminuée: enfin, la Neuvième dite de dominante, qui peut être majeure ou mineure. […]
> C'est donc avec raison que M. Fenaroli, dit que la Septième mineure de dominante, en particulier, est une véritable consonance, puisqu'elle peut s'employer sans préparation; cette observation peut, selon moi, s'étendre aux autres dissonances naturelles.[553]

However, if we take a deeper look into Fenaroli's *regole*, we can see that the diminished fifth and the minor and diminished seventh are often not prepared. When one of these intervals occurs, it always proceeds by step as either a passing or a neighboring note. Nevertheless, in Muscogiuri and Lavigna's manuscripts, the seventh is prepared only if it results in a suspension of the sixth, as a normal *dissonanza*. In all other cases, it may be reached by a leap.[554]

550 Artusi (1598), 41. Ludwig Holtmeier underlines the importance of Artusi: his theoretical constructs were the starting point of the "modern" *Kontrapunktlehre,* which reached its highest point in Heinichen's works. Holtmeier (2017a), 272 et seq.
551 Fenaroli (1795), 15.
552 Fenaroli (1813–14), 15.
553 Choron (1808–1809), 2nd book, 19.
554 Demeyere (2018), 218–219.

As seen in Chapter 2, the French authors being discussed all seem to agree with this approach to these intervals and give no further relevant information regarding their treatment.[555]

4.1.3. *Posizione*

As we learn from Fenaroli, each chord can be played in three positions: the first with the tonic in the outer voice, the second with the third, and the third position with the fifth. Each position enables the formation of a distinct melodic profile on a partimento.[556]

In Choron and Fiocchi's *Principes d'accompagnement*, there is a section dedicated to the position of the right hand.[557] This contrasts with Fenaroli's instruction, or rather, there is a more complicated version of this axiom; for here, there are as many positions as the number of notes that form a chord. We will therefore have three positions for triads and four positions for seventh chords. Positions are distinguished as *simples* and *composées.* Unlike the positions given in Fenaroli's book, in which the order is determined by the interval between the bass and the upper voice, the positions *simples* shown here are identified by the interval between the bass note and the lower voice of the right hand.[558] *Positions composées* are formed by the combination of two *simples.* These result from doubling the lower note of the right hand in the upper stave. The first *position composée* is therefore a combination of the first and second *position simple*, which equates to the Neapolitan *prima posizione.*

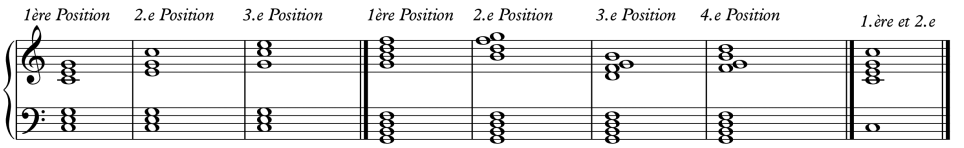

Figure 4.9. Choron [1804], 4.

Figure 4.9 shows Choron's three positions for the triad, the four positions of the dominant seventh chord, and the *position composée* of the first and second position. This is elaborated upon further in Choron's *Principes de composition* in which, by contrast, he adopts the "Neapolitan" positions.

555 See Chapter 2.
556 See Sanguinetti (2012), 112–113.
557 Choron-Fiocchi, [1804], 4.
558 See also Verwaerde (2015), 327–328.

> Les Maîtres ont varié sur l'application de ces dénominations, qui sont en effet très arbitraires. Il semblerait plus naturel ainsi que l'ont fait Durante, Fenaroli &c: d'appeler première position celle où l'Octave est au dessus, deuxième, celle où la Tierce est au dessus, et troisième, celle où la Quinte occupe cette place, mais l'usage le plus ordinaire est d'appeler, première celle où la Quinte est au dessus, deuxième, celle où l'Octave, et troisième, celle où la Tierce est à cette place. Cela est assez indifférent; [...]pour éviter toute équivoque, je me servirai d'une autre dénomination, et je dirai, position en Octave, pour désigner celle où l'Octave est au dessus.[559]

Dourlen's *Traité d'accompagnement* also uses the same three positions as Choron in the *Principes d'accompagnement*.[560] He justifies this on the basis that the function of the accompaniment is to be subordinate to the melody, so that if a higher first position is played an octave above, it would stand above the melody and obscure it. He suggests trying to maintain the same position throughout an accompaniment, at least at the beginning of the training.[561] Once the student has gained independence and fluency in playing, they can switch to the *position libre,* a mixture of the three original positions.[562]

In the section dedicated to the rule of the octave, Perne introduces it in the three positions, which he calls *manières ou positions*.[563] As seen earlier, Perne discusses the topic of positions extensively in the appendix of the book dedicated to lessons of *accompagnement*.[564] The choice of position is vital in order to create variety in the melody and play an accompaniment of good quality. Similarly, Colet's *Partimenti* introduces the three positions of the right hand, as found in Neapolitan sources.[565]

As one of the most prominent promoters of partimenti in France, Choron used a different classification of positions to those traditionally found in Neapolitan sources,[566] while Dourlen's choice of classification might indicate a preferred order of the positions. A good accompanist should not cover the melody, but play in the middle range, meaning that the first position would not be the best choice in most instances. This hypothesis supports the premise of this study as to how partimenti were used differently in France. A French accompanist would favour a low-profile accompaniment to serve his soloists, whereas a Neapolitan partimento player would prefer the best position to create the most effective melodies. Partimento realizations in France will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

559 Choron [1808], 23. A similar approach is found in the "Griff" tradition. See Holtmeier (2017b).
560 Dourlen [1840], 4.
561 Dourlen [1840], 4.
562 Dourlen [1840], 29.
563 Perne [1822], 180.
564 See Chapter 3.
565 Colet (1846), 128; 134.
566 Verwaerde has also examined positions of the right hand in other authors such as Lemoine, Dubugrarre, Le Charpentier in Verwaerde (2015), 326–334.

4.1.4. Voice leading

The common voice-leading rules articulated in the sources examined will now be summarised, together with the description of notes with obligatory resolution.

Notes that create tension are typically dissonances, and the "natural" semitones of the scale are combined together to form the tritone. Imbimbo describes four notes with a natural tendency to resolve upward or downward: Mi-Fa and Si-Do:

> I maestri distinguono negl'intervalli della scala quattro suoni che per forza di armonica attrazione, due amano di riposarsi salendo, e due di riposarsi scendendo su' suoni prossimi ad essi in distanza di mezzo tuono. p. es. Mi Fa; Si Do; Fa Mi; Do Si; chiamando elativi (ascendenti) il Mi e il Si relativamente al Fa e al Do, e rimessivi (discendenti) il Fa e il Do relativamente al Mi e al Si.[567]

Mi and Si have an ascending tension towards Fa and Do, and descending Fa and Do most often lead to Mi and Si. This descending tension of scale degrees ① – ⑦ and ④ – ③ and their combination in a melodic pattern has been highlighted by Gjerdingen as an important element in the composition of classical phrases. He labeled this the *Meyer* schemata.[568] The succession of these notes implies a typical harmonic pattern of music of the Galant and Classical eras: I-V V-I. Imbimbo probably learned this as part of his composition lessons.

Choron and Fiocchi describe the treatment of the diatonic semitones of the scale and the dissonances associated with them in practical terms:

> La Quatrième du Ton formant septième Mineure sur la cinquième, ou fausse-quinte sur la septième du Ton ne doit point aller par saut, mais se sauver en descendant diatoniquement sur la troisième.
> La Septième du Ton montant à la première pourra avoir septième. Cette septième sera Mineure dans le mode Majeur et diminuée dans le mode Mineur: elle devra être amenée par mouvement contraire, et descendre à la cinquième du Ton.[569]

The fourth and the seventh degrees require special treatment. The fourth cannot proceed by a leap, but has to resolve by a downward step. This rule comes from the fourth's role in certain chords: the fourth is the seventh of the dominant seventh chord or the diminished fifth of the diminished chord. By contrast, the seventh degree is the leading tone, and therefore needs to resolve upwards. The diminished or half-diminished seventh built on this leading tone has to resolve by descending to the fifth of the tonic.

567 Fenaroli [1814], 14.
568 Gjerdingen (1986) and (2007a), 111–116.
569 Choron [1804], 3.

Concerning forbidden parallel motions, all authors included in this research agree on forbidden parallel fifths and octaves. In Choron-Fiocchi we find a short instruction on this matter:

> On défend de faire deux Octaves et deux Quintes par mouvement semblable et de suite: les deux Octaves, parcequ'elles ne sont d'aucun effet; les deux Quintes, parcequ'elles en produisent un très mauvais [...].[570]

Concerning parallel octaves resulting from doubling the bass line, Imbimbo states clearly that they are to be considered as a support for fuller harmony:

> Se ne' *Partimenti* si trovano talvolta raddoppiate alcune note per mezzo de' numeri, in maniera che facciano ottava col basso, ciò non accade per errore di composizione, ma per un rinforzo di armonia nel suonare, siccome fra gli strumenti la *viola* va spesse volte col basso.[571]

Moreover, parallel fifths are tolerated for contrary motion or if the second is diminished:

> Si tollerano però due 5^{e} di seguito per moto contrario, o pure nel caso che la 5^{a} giusta discenda sulla 5^{a} falsa, e ciò per essere meno duro all'orecchio [...].[572]

The *quinta falsa* cannot resolve on to a perfect fifth, because it would infringe the rules of tension mentioned above regarding the diatonic semitones: the lower note (Si) tends to go upwards and the higher note (Fa) tends to go downwards.[573] It can, however, pass through another "major fourth" (another tritone), before its resolution.

In addition to forbidden, direct parallel fifths and octaves, both Catel and Berton mention that hidden octaves and fifths between external voices should also be avoided.[574]

Dourlen uses counterpoint to introduce voice leading rules. The rigour of these rules depends on the number of voices: in three-part settings, for example, hidden octaves are allowed, if they lead to the resolution of a leading tone on the tonic. Alternatively, hidden fifths are allowed between the bass and the middle voice, if the upper voice moves in contrary motion.

Bienaimé dedicates an entire chapter to voice leading in two, three & four parts. He collects together all the above-mentioned contrapuntal rules and adds examples

570 Choron [1804], 1.
571 Fenaroli (1813/14), 25.
572 Fenaroli (1813/14), 15.
573 Fenaroli (1813/14), 15.
574 Catel (1801), 4. Berton (1815), 19.

for their required resolutions. He also includes instructions on voice doubling for all chord inversions.[575]

4.1.5. Cadences

> La Cadenza è quella, quando il Basso dalla prima del Tono va alla quinta; e dalla quinta ritorna alla prima.[576]

Names of cadences can vary according to different authors. Durante, for example, calls the two-step cadence *semplice*.[577] He also adds a passing sixth, along with an augmented fourth ("cadenza semplice con la passata della 4a maggiore e 6a"), to the *cadenza semplice*.[578] Sala calls the *cadenza doppia* the *cadenza lunga*[579] while, in his *Regole*, Paisiello describes the *cadenza composta* as any cadence preceded by a *penultima*.[580] For Fenaroli, there are three types of cadences: *semplice*, *composta,* and *doppia*, which differ according to the number of chords applied to the fifth degree.[581] Cadences will now be referred to using Fenaroli's classification.

French authors tend to maintain a classification of cadences that makes use of Ramellian terminology, while frequently describing quite different phenomena.[582] In their *Principes d'accompagnement,* Choron and Fiocchi use the same definition and classification of cadences as Fenaroli, adding two cadential types: the *cadence rompue* or *suspendue*, which corresponds to the deceptive cadence, and the *cadence plagale*.[583] In the appendix, Choron lists several cadential progressions, including the *cadences interrompues* (cadences ending on any degree other than the first or plagal cadences) and cadential progressions, including excerpts to the rule of the octave or *moti del basso*.[584]

In Fenaroli's French edition, Imbimbo adds to and changes the three basic types of cadences. He first distinguishes between perfect cadences (authentic cadences) and imperfect cadences (half-cadences). Then, the three partimento cadences are introduced, though the *cadenza semplice* – a cadential 6/4 chord (fig. 4.10, no. 1), and the *composta* – the typical 5/4 suspension (fig. 4.10, no. 2) are now included.[585]

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575 Bienaimé (1863), 66–76.
576 Fenaroli (1775), 7.
577 I-Nc-34.2.3.
578 See Sanguinetti (2012a), 106–107.
579 Sala (2017), 2.
580 Paisiello (2008), 24, 68.
581 See Sanguinetti (2012a), 105–107. For a deeper look on the *cadenza doppia*, see Menke (2011) and Holtmeier (2017a), 121–125.
582 See Chapter 2.
583 Choron [1804], 4.
584 Choron [1804], 156–164.
585 Fenaroli (1813/14), 27.

La cadenza semplice, colla quale dalla *Dominante* coll'accordo di 4.ª e 6.ª e poi di 3.ª e 5.ª si fa riposo sulla Tonica.[586]

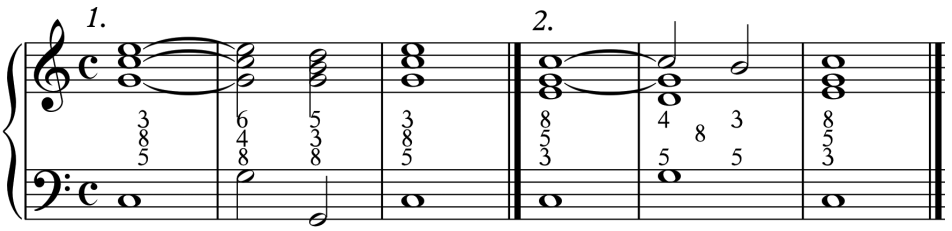

Figure 4.10. Fenaroli (1813–14), 27.

A *cadenza mista*, which Valente calls a *cadenza lunga*, follows: this is a perfect cadence preceded by a fourth degree harmonized with a 6/5 chord. It could also be preceded by a 6th degree.[587] In one variation of this cadential form, the fourth degree could also ascend chromatically to form Gjerdingen's *Converging cadence*.[588] The *cadenza plagale* finishes this description of the *cadenze principali* or, in other words, all cadences that bring conclusion to a piece of music. Open cadences include, according to Imbimbo:

- the *cadenza sfuggita, o evitata* (fig. 4.11). This cadential form either:
  a) ends on a third degree in the bass, and the first inversion of the tonic chord is reached stepwise from the dominant; or,
  b) modulates chromatically to another degree; or,
  c) modulates through bass movements, such as falling fifths (*basso che sale di 4.ª e scende di 5.ª)* or,
  d) features a chromatic descent, accompanied by diminished sevenths.
- the *cadenza falsa*: the deceptive cadence.
- the *cadenza tronca:* the fifth degree skips to the third in the bass, which becomes the first inversion of the tonic chord.
- the *cadenza cromatica:* the chromatic alteration of a note that becomes the new leading tone on the same degree.
- the *cadenza per transizione:* that is commonly called *enarmonica.*

After showing all these possibilities for cadences, Imbimbo takes a step back to his native Naples and writes:

> Or queste ed altre simili cadenze non sono in realtà che modulazioni, o per uscir di tuono o per tornare in quello d'onde si è uscito. Infatti presso tutti i pratici antichi e moderni non

586 Fenaroli (1813/14), 27.
587 See Sanguinetti (2012a), 107–110.
588 Gjerdingen (2007a), 159–162.

si fa menzione che di tre sole cadenze, cioè *semplice, composta e doppia,* chiamando *cadenza semplice* quella che noi chiamiamo *perfetta.*[589]

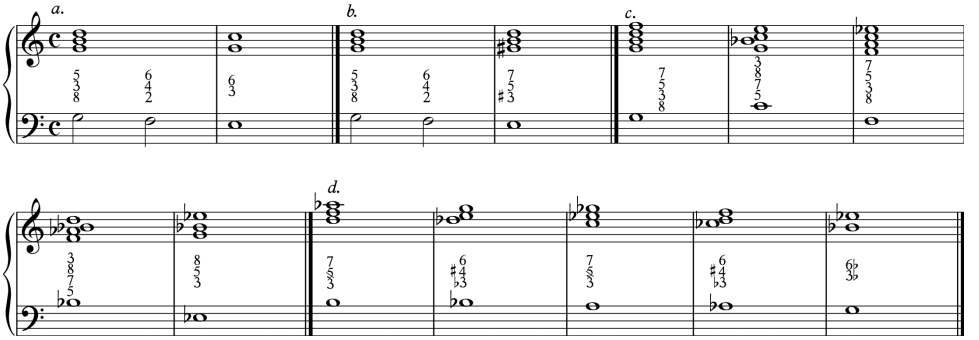

Figure 4.11. Fenaroli (1813–14), 29.

By stressing the word *pratici*, it is clear that Imbimbo is refering to the distinction between practical musicians and theoreticians. As we know, the Neapolitan method – based on partimenti – was strictly practical, while the tendency in eighteenth-century France (and, incidentally, in Germany)[590] was to emphasize the scientific and academic character of music theory. These *traités* were also often written to impress a community of intellectuals and scientists rather than the opera composer or harpsichordist/pianist who was working in the theaters. At this time, the training of practical musicians focused on the development of hands-on skills, as opposed to theoretical concepts derived from calculations and principles of acoustics.

When discussing the *regole*, Imbimbo leaves the cadences unaltered, as does Fenaroli. The only addition is the *cadenza semplice colla passata della settima minore.*[591]

Catel dedicates a chapter of his *Traité* to cadences. He catalogues them as:

- *parfaites:* a movement from the dominant to the tonic (in any inversion);
- *plagales:* a movement from the *sous-dominante* to the *tonique*;
- *à la dominante:* a half cadence, ending on the dominant;
- *évitées:* the tonic turns into a new dominant seventh chord;
- *interrompues:* the dominant seventh chord is followed by another dominant seventh chord, the *son générateur* of which is a third below the first dominant;
- *rompues:* the dominant resolves on a consonant triad other than the *tonique*, typically on the sixth degree.[592]

589 Fenaroli (1813/14), 31.
590 See Holtmeier (2017a), 147 et seq.
591 Fenaroli (1813/14), 56.
592 Catel (1801), 34–38.

Among the examples Catel gives for perfect cadences are the *cadenza composta* and *doppia* (with and without a minor seventh added), but he offers no mention of the Neapolitan names. Catel does not refer to Neapolitan sources, although his *Traité* contains elements of partimento *regole*.[593]

Berton dedicates a long chapter to cadences in his *Traité*. In general, he defines a cadence by a fall in the bass line – from the Latin etymology of the word *cadenza*, derived from *cadere* (to fall) – and this is accompanied by two fundamental (root position) chords.[594] The main cadences are the *cadence parfaite ou authentique* and the *cadence plagale*, which divide the scale into two tetrachords.[595]

Other categories of cadences – such *imparfaites, rompues, interrompues* and *évitées* – all derive from the two main types but, unlike perfect cadences, are all used to avoid closure in a musical phrase.

In Neapolitan sources, a *cadenza composta* (with two movements on the fifth degree) usually has a 4–3 suspension, which is mainly accompanied by the 5. Rarely, a cadential 6/4 chord is used for this type of cadence.[596] Berton explains the difference between the 5/4 suspension and the 6/4 chord in this way: the 6/4 chord is an inversion of a triad, and therefore all notes belong to a chord, whereas in a 5/4, one note does not belong to the triad, namely the fourth which delays the arrival of the third.

> Le Fa ne peut être regardé dans cet exemple comme note de retardement, car il est l'intervalle fondamental de l'accord de 4/6 et le La en est une partie constitutive. (fig. 4.12.1)

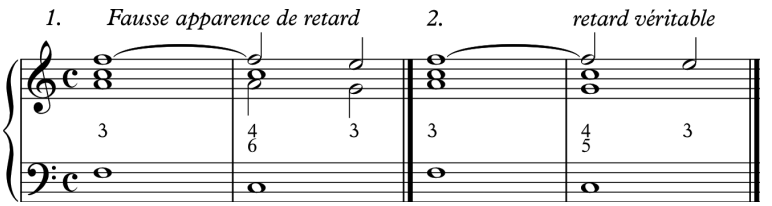

Figure 4.12. Berton (1815), 33.

> Ici le Fa est véritablement note de retardement, car il ne fait que retarder la 3.ce de l'accord suivant et se trouve en contact de dissonance avec la 5.te du son fondamental.[597] (fig.4.12.2)

Perne also divides cadences into *parfaite, imparfaite, rompue, interrompue* and *plagale*, adding that the *évitée, irrégulière, simple, double, composée* are simply variations of the first group of cadences. *Simple, double* and *composée* correspond to the three

593 See Chapter 2.
594 Berton (1815), 81.
595 On the division of the scale in tetrachords, see Carlisi (2021).
596 One example of this exception is in Cotumacci, see Sanguinetti p. 110.
597 Berton (1815), 33.

Neapolitan cadences, with the caveat that Perne defines *composée* as the cadence with four movements on the dominant (for Fenaroli, *doppia)*, and *double* as the cadence with a suspension of the fourth (Fenaroli's *composta).* Unlike in Catel's *Traité,* the *cadence évitée* is an imperfect cadence, in which the bass moves from the dominant to the third scale degree while holding a sixth chord. This same definition of the *cadence évitée* is given by Bienaimé:

> La cadence évitée ou imparfaite est la marche de la dominante sur le troisième degré. Le sens incomplet que produit cette cadence demande nécessairement que la phrase ait une autre conclusion. Fort souvent elle est suivie de la cadence parfaite.[598]

The *cadence imparfaite* is described by Perne as the half-cadence. The *rompue* is the deceptive cadence, while the *interrompue* is a cadence in which the dominant seventh chord resolves to another dominant seventh chord. Once again, Bienaimé gives the same definition as Perne.

Dourlen introduces cadences alongside the dominant seventh chord and, as did his colleagues, draws loosely from Ramellian terminology for the *cadence parfaite, imparfaite rompue, évitée* and *plagale.*[599] In the *Panharmonie*, Colet lists the *parfaite, imparfaite, demi-cadence, interrompue,* and *plagale* among the cadences. Both Bienaimé and Colet introduce Reicha's concept of *quart de cadence,* a cadential rest on the first, fourth or fifth degree in an inversion.[600] Colet defines this as a weak cadence, having the same function as a comma in written texts.

In his *Partimenti,* Colet also includes the three typical cadences from the Neapolitan school (*semplice, composta* and *doppia*), as found in Fenaroli; he includes examples in several tonalities, along with the optional passing seventh:

> Les Anciens donnaient ces différents noms à la *Cadence Parfaite*, suivant les accords dont elle était précédée.[601]

Colet adds examples in his the section dedicated to cadences for *cadence imparfaite, demi-cadence, interrompue, plagale.*[602]

This overview shows that all French authors predictably use terminology derived from Rameau, even if this terminology has already moved on considerably from its original meanings. The main distinction between *cadence parfaite* and *imparfaite* lies at the core of all the works examined, followed by the subdivision in the other types of cadences. Authors such as Catel, Perne, and Colet – all of whom include Neapolitan school partimenti and/or *regole* in their works – also identify the perfect cadence as

598 Bienaimé (1863), 57.
599 Dourlen [1838], 18. Dourlen [1840], 6.
600 Reicha (1814), 11–12.
601 Colet (1846), 148.
602 Colet (1846), 149–151.

simple, *composée* or *double*, although they sometimes interchange the labels *composta* and *doppia*. This can also be found in the writing of Neapolitan authors like Durante, one of the most renowned Neapolitan composers in France. It is therefore understandable that this difference in the labeling of cadences would transfer to French sources and, once again, Imbimbo acts as mediator between the two schools by combining the Neapolitan school terminology with French theories.

4.2. The rule of the octave

The rule for accompanying a scale is contained in every set of *regole*.[603] It is not only found in Neapolitan partimento sources, but also in virtually all works on accompaniment and improvisation.[604] It essentially ties together all scale degrees through tonal coherence (achieved by an underlying cadential structure),[605] while providing individual harmony for each scale degree; or rather, a *Sitz* for each chord. As Holtmeier points out, the rule of the octave has become an important analytical tool for this, and it has combined the rules of partimento with the vertical dimension of *Harmonielehre*.[606]

Often simply called a *scala* in Neapolitan sources,[607] the rule of the octave probably owes its name to the French theorboist François Campion.[608] Early versions offer a simple harmonization, often with triads in root position or in first inversion. Each Neapolitan *Maestro* provided their own version of this rule, which might have contained small variations from one to another.[609] The rule was well known among accompanists in France in the eighteenth century and was described by Corrette as "the compass of the accompanist":[610]

> Il ne faut pas passer trop légèrement sur l'étude de la règle de l'octave. C'est elle qui vous servira de guide, en un mot c'est la boussole de l'accompagnateur.[611]

603 Sanguinetti (2012a), 113–124.
604 See Christensen (1992), and Holtmeier (2007).
605 See Holtmeier (2017a), 66–71.
606 Holtmeier (2007), 11 et seq.
607 It seems that only Selvaggi calls the rule of the octave *canone armonico*; but he does say that it is so-called in Naples. See Selvaggi (1838), and Carlisi (2021).
608 Campion (1716). See Christensen (1992). For an overview of the rule of the octave in French sources, see Lescat (1991), 86–92. In Geay (1999), there is mention of an earlier rule of the octave by Henry Grenerin. However, this scale harmonization is quite different from the more common versions, and lacks the harmonic and tonal coherence between scale degrees. In Grenerin's manual, there is no mention of the name *règle de l'octave*. See Grenerin [1680], 1.
609 Sanguinetti (2012a), 123.
610 In his *Traité* Rameau calls it *ordre de l'octave* (p. 265) and *règle de l'octave* (p. 409), see Holtmeier (2017), 67 footnote 189.
611 Corrette (1753), 22. Also quoted in Lescat (1991), 86.

Fenaroli's version will be used as a reference and other variations will be mentioned when necessary.[612] We now introduce Fenaroli's *regola* and the versions conveyed by our sources.

In Fenaroli's *Regole*, the rule is described simply by the figures placed on each scale degree:[613]

> La prima del tono vuole 3., 5., ed 8.
> La seconda vuole 3., e 6. maggiore. La terza vuole 3., e 6.
> La quarta vuole 3., e 5.
> La quinta vuole 3. maggiore, e 5. La sesta vuole 3., e 6.
> La settima vuole 3., e 6.
> Si avverte però, che qualora la quarta del tono sale alla quinta, oltre della 3., e 5. può avere ancora la 6.; e se la settima del tono sale all'ottava formando il semitono, oltre della 3., e 6., può aver ancora la 5. falza.[614]

A few pages later, Fenaroli gives another description of the harmonization of the scale with the same figures, but now in the three positions. The right hand plays up to four voices, often doubling the bass note (and the leading tone).[615]

The rule of the octave should first be practised in the three positions in the most common keys, and later in less common ones.

Imbimbo describes the learning process applied to the *regola*. A contrapuntal approach is suggested, whereby the student adds one voice at a time to the scale. The scale is treated as a *cantus firmus* in Fuxian counterpoint. The student should first practise note-against-note voices (first species), then introduce a voice with different and shorter values (fifth species, with diminutions). The second step suggested by Imbimbo is the composition of a two-voice counterpoint in mixed values (*contrappunto florido*) above the scale/*cantus* – first with *consonanze*, then with *dissonanze*. The exercise can then be repeated with three and four voices. The scale can also be used as *soggetto* to create a modulating fugato.

> Provetto che sarà il giovane nelle regole de' Partimenti e del Contrappunto comincerà ad esercitarsi sulla Scala, creandovi sopra non una, ma più cantilene a voce sola, prima di nota contro nota, e poi di più note di diverso valore contro una della stessa battuta. Continuerà l'esercizio disponendo sulla medesima Scala un Contrappunto florido a due voci prima in consonanza, e poi in dissonanza fra loro, e farà lo stesso a tre e a quattro voci, tanto con note picciole, quanto con note grandi. Si servirà ancora della stessa Scala per Soggetto, e farà modulare con esso le altre Parti, rivoltandone gl'intervalli.[616]

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612 For a comparison between different Neapolitan versions of the *regola dell'ottava*, see Sanguinetti (2012a), 123 et seq., and Cafiero (2020), 28–29. Other earlier versions are found in Christensen (1992).

613 Fenaroli does not use the name *regola dell'ottava*, but just *scala* or *tono*.

614 Fenaroli (1775), 5.

615 Fenaroli (1775), 10–11.

616 Imbimbo [1814], 16. Also quoted in Cafiero (2001b), 206 and (2011), 191.

As was seen in Chapter 3, Fenaroli also used this approach with his students during their composition lessons.

Choron and Fiocchi's *Principes d'accompagnement* offer two different versions of the rule of the octave. The first uses simple root position and sixth chords on the scale degrees, with options for adding a sixth on top of the ascending fourth and seventh degrees to form a 6/5 chord.[617] They both use traditional French terminology, such as *petite* or *grande sixte*, to distinguish the 4/3 chord on the second or the 6/5 chord on the ascending fourth degree. The second version, attributed to Durante in the book, replicates the rule of the octave from Fenaroli. Unlike the version found in Durante's manuscripts – in which only root position and sixth chords are used (except for the ascending seventh degree, which uses a 6/5 chord) – Durante's published version applies inversions of the dominant seventh chord to the second degree.[618] It is possible that Choron attributed Fenaroli's *regola* to the *scuola di Durante* and, as Fenaroli had been a student of Durante, his scale harmonization may be a product of his studies with his *Maestro*.

The scale is given in the three *positions simples,* whereby the first position in the Neapolitan tradition is here the third (with the fifth in the upper voice), the second would be the first (with the tonic in the soprano) and the third corresponds to the second (with the third in the higher voice).[619] An interesting pedagogical suggestion is given for practising the rule of the octave. In order to avoid confusion when working with the melodic minor scale, Choron and Fiocchi suggest first practice up to the fifth degree and then descend to the first; and secondly, reach the natural sixth degree before descending the hexachord, "d'après l'Echelle des Grecs."[620]

Imbimbo inserts two versions of the rule into the French edition of Fenaroli's partimenti. The first carries a 6/4 chord on the ascending fifth degree (fig. 4.13). According to Imbimbo, the purpose of this harmonization is to avoid too many perfect triads in a row (he places one on the ascending fourth degree), and explains this choice through the succession of notes of the fundamental bass. When the fifth degree is a passing tone, it could be accompanied by a 6/4 chord, though it has to be accompanied by a perfect triad when part of a cadence (half cadence or authentic).

617 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 1–2.
618 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 5. For Durante's scale, see Sanguinetti (2012a), 120.
619 See Chapter 4.1.3.
620 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 8.

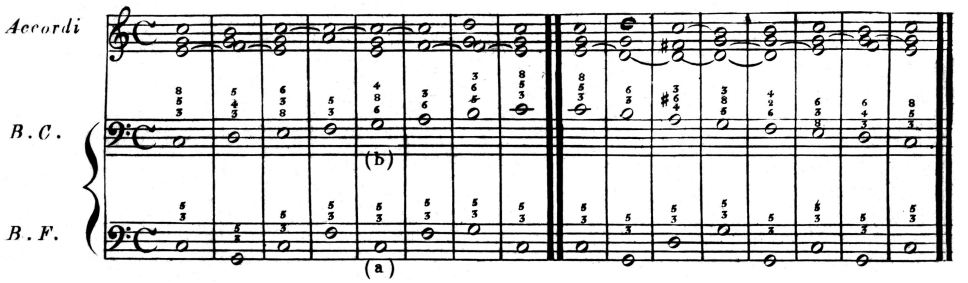

Figure 4.13. Fenaroli (1813/18), 19. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9639183h/f39.item.texteImage

> Alla *Quinta* del tuono che sale alla *Sesta* per evitare più accordi perfetti di seguito, quantunque sieno giudiziosamente disposti, invece di 3.ª e 5.ª, si può dare 4.ª e 6.ª
> Una tal regola è sostenuta dalla dimostrazione del basso fondamentale di sopra esposta, ma tutte le volte, o che si faccia riposo sulla *Quinta,* o che da questa si torni alla *Prima* del tuono, essa *Quinta* esigge l'Armonia perfetta di 3.ª e 5.ª.[621]

The second version has the same figures as in Fenaroli's treatise (1775).

Imbimbo then explains some characteristics of the 6/5 chord on the fourth degree. First, he clarifies why the fifth is a dissonance and, in doing this, he uses the theory of chord inversions:

> La 5.ª diviene ancor dissonante quando è accompagnata colla 6.ª, poiché si considera come un rivolto di 7.ª minore e dee risolvere scendendo [...].[622]

Then, he attributes the dissonance to the collision with the 6th, following the general use of European thorough-bass thinking:

> Nell'accordo di 3.ª, 5.ª e 6.ª, siccome altrove si è detto, la 5.ª divien dissonante per l'urto che riceve dalla 6.ª, per la qual cosa la detta 5.ª può risolvere non solo in 3.ª scendendo, ma rimaner legata per 4.ª consonante, o scendere sulla 4.ª maggiore.[623]

In his introduction, as elsewhere, he often uses French terminology (and theories) in order to help the reader better understand the practical Neapolitan approach found in Fenaroli's book.

621 Fenaroli (1813/14), 23.
622 Fenaroli (1813/14), 15.
623 Fenaroli (1813/14), 45.

Other options for scale harmonizations are then given, in which other degrees are tonicized. These are not included in previous editions of Fenaroli's rules but, around 1830, Imbimbo wrote a collection of scale harmonizations, *Gamme ou Echelle Musicale,* in which he offers over 130 options for different types of scales.[624] One can see from this that the understanding of the rule of the octave as both a harmonic system and as scale harmonization – i.e. as one way, among many, to harmonize a scale – often went hand in hand, especially in early 19th century French music theory.

In both Imbimbo's and Deldevez' edition of Fenaroli's partimenti, scale harmonisation is also used for the melody, as we know from 18th century examples like Albrechtsberger (fig. 4.14 and 4.15).[625] In some Neapolitan sources, it is also common to find similar exercises, with scales in the upper voice, with which to practise invertible counterpoint.[626] In French sources, the use of the scale in the upper voice often demonstrates how the *basse fondamentale* reduces a scale to a succession of *accords parfaits.* Deldevez introduces this practice as a combination of vocal and harmony exercises, from which to start learning composition:

> Cette étude du *chant* et de l'harmonie réunis est le point de départ de la composition. Elle prépare l'élève à l'interprétation vocale et instrumentale des solfèges, des vocalises et de la partition.[627]

As with *solfeggio*, Deldevez tells us that using the scale as a melody prepares both vocal and instrumental interpretations of these exercises.[628] Instructions are given later in the book:

> On doit aussi chanter en s'accompagnant les *Echelles* vocales harmonisées, si l'on veut arriver à l'interprétation de la Partition.[629]

624 Imbimbo [1830].
625 Albrechtsberger (1790).
626 See Sanguinetti (2012a), 116–117.
627 Deldevez [1868], II. This technique/exercise can be traced back to the 16th century.
628 In Naples *Solfeggi* were also used and/or composed specially for instruments. See e.g., Rolla (2016).
629 Deldevez [1868], 36.

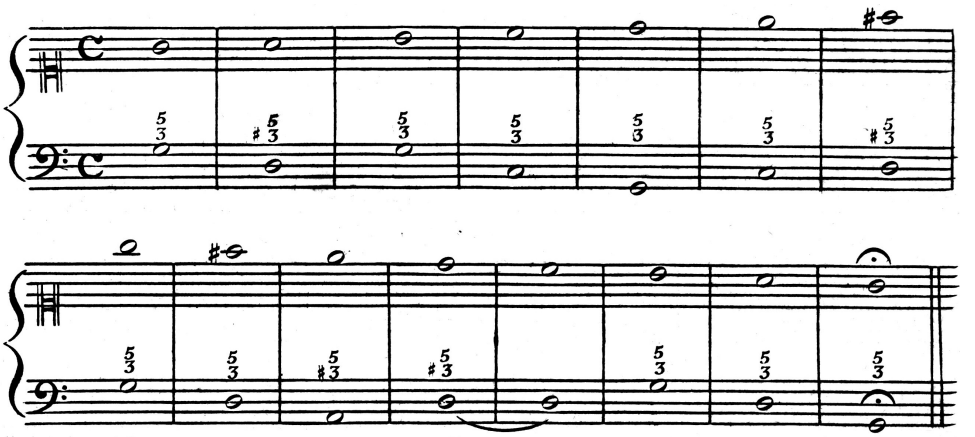

Figure 4.14. Fenaroli (1813–14), 50. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9639183h/f70.item.texteImage

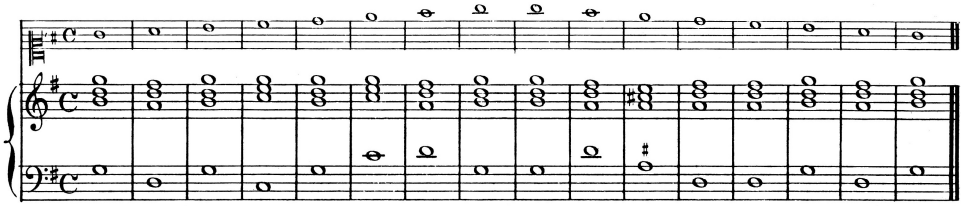

Figure 4.15. Deldevez [1868], 2. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9690498v/f16.item.r=deldevez%20fenaroli

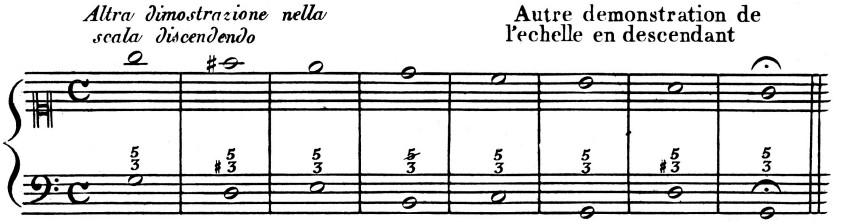

Figure 4.16. Fenaroli (1813–14), 50. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9639183h/f70.item.texteImage

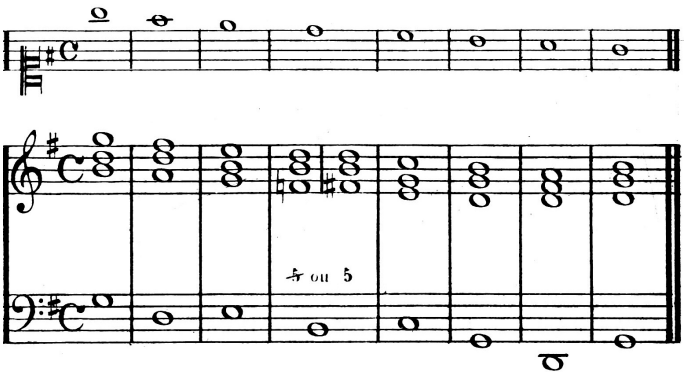

Figure 4.17. Deldevez [1868], 5. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9690498v/f19.item.r=deldevez%20fenaroli

Both authors also provide a second option for the descending scale, in which a *Romanesca* is used as the bass line. This harmonization is commonly found in 18th century treatises. Deldevez adds an optional tonicization for the descending fourth degree (fig. 4.17).

Like Imbimbo, Deldevez uses the tonic chord under the ascending fifth degree. In this case, the scale is in the melodic line, and this choice appears to be clearer, since no 6/4 chord results from this harmonization. It is possible that Imbimbo based his first version of the rule of the octave on the *basse fondamentale* on the harmonization of a melodic scale. This clarifies what Holtmeier stated about Rameau's *basse fondamentale* and can be applied to almost every harmonic theory based on a fundamental bass: "Die Basse fondamentale ist eine Melodielehre und darin liegt ihre wirklich epochale Bedeutung begründet."[630] Holtmeier shows that Rameau's theory of the *basse fondamentale* was intended to free music from the rule of the *basse continue*. From the perspective of the *basse fondamentale*, it is irrelevant whether the scale lies in the bass or in the melody; in relation to the *basse fondamentale*, the *basse continue* becomes the *basse chantante*, which Rameau incorporated into the concept of melody in the same way as the descant.

With some small differences, Deldevez' use of Fenaroli's *Regole* is undeniably based on Imbimbo's edition;[631] in fact, his version contains a second section dedicated to the rule of the octave, but this time as a written realization for keyboard in three positions, using the same figures as Fenaroli.

Catel inserts the rule of the octave in the section of his *traité* dedicated to bass movements. He uses the name *règle de l'octave* and offers two versions. The first is *avec les seuls accords naturels,* or only with chords that do not require preparation; as seen,

630 Holtmeier (2017a), 96.
631 Deldevez [1868], I.

these chords include the dominant seventh and its inversions. The second version corresponds to Fenaroli's rule, with the 6/5 chord on the ascending fourth degree or, as Catel describes it: "la même avec dissonance de quinte sur la quatrième note en montant."[632]

In Berton's *Traité d'harmonie*, there is no special section dedicated to the rule of the octave. The rule itself is used for some musical examples in the book, although it is never mentioned as a device for harmonizing. Interestingly, Berton does mention certain chords as belonging to a certain scale degree (e.g., the 4/3 being the chord on the second degree), and there is no doubt that he knew the *regola* and used it as a matter of course. Consequently, it is interesting that he chose not to include a paragraph dedicated to the rule of the octave in his book. Nevertheless, as seen in Chapter 3, his student Le Borne realized an exercise based on the rule of the octave, although he did it under Dourlen's guidance, certainly following the topics contained in Catel's *Traité*. The scale is only mentioned in Berton's chapter dedicated to cadences, demonstrating how cadences divide it into two tetrachords. Ascending and descending scales are harmonized here in a sort of variation of the rule of the octave, in which each tetrachord ends on a root position chord.[633]

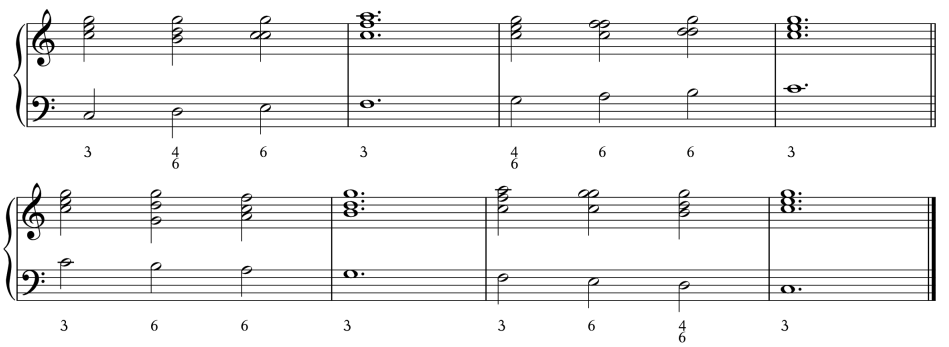

Figure 4.18. Berton (1815a), 82.

The complete *regola* is used as an example of the diatonic genre, although the tonicization of the descending fifth degree is avoided – as in the tradition of the diatonization of the rule of the octave – which goes back as far as the 18th century.

632 Catel (1801), 41.

633 Berton (1815a), 82. The division of the scale into two tetrachords is found in treatises by other authors. See Carlisi (2021).

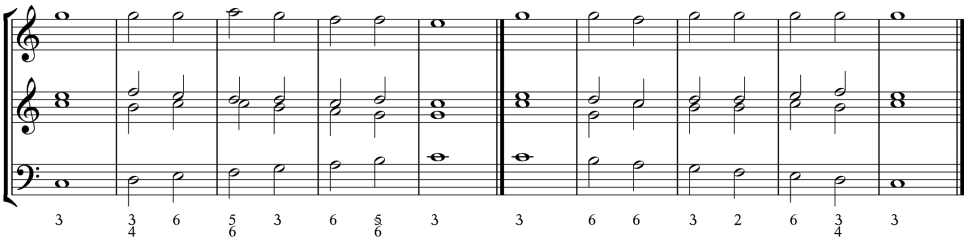

Figure 4.19. Berton (1815a), 146.

Perne dedicated a section to the rule of the octave entitled: "Règle ou manière ordinaire dont on accompagne chaque note du mode, appellée communément Règle d'Octave",[634] which corresponds to Fenaroli's version. Next to each chord, Perne adds the *note génératrice* – the fundamental note of each chord – and the name of each inversion. The rule is given in three *manières ou positions,* or the three positions of the upper voice, as seen in Neapolitan sources.

Perne's book includes a table dedicated to all *substitutions* that may apply to the rule of the octave including, among others, the dissonance of the seventh on the second or fifth degree or a ninth on the tonic.[635] The appendix of the *Cours élémentaire,* dedicated to *accompagnement,* presents the *règle de l'octave* practically, transposing it into different tonalities and writing it in the three positions.

Dourlen includes a small paragraph on the *règle de l'octave* in his *Traité d'harmonie.* Under a figured scale, harmonized in the same way as Fenaroli's *regola,* he writes:

> Manière habituelle de chiffrer la gamme qu'on nomme règle d'octave. La tonique porte toujours accord parfait, la seconde note toujours sixte sensible, qu'elle monte ou qu'elle descende la troisième note toujours accord de sixte, la quatrième si elle monte à la dominante 6/5, si elle descend, triton; la dominante toujours accord parfait, la sixième note en montant, sixte; en descendant sixte sensible, enfin la note sensible en montant 6/5 en descendant, sixte.[636]

This simple description of the chords placed on each scale degree could be considered a French version of Fenaroli's similarly straightforward approach.[637] Once again, the difference between the Neapolitan and French approach is the use of specific French terminology when referring to scale degrees and names of certain chords.

In his *Traité d'accompagnement*, Dourlen introduces the *règle d'octave* in the three positions. In the minor scale there is a significant difference in the accompaniment of the descending sixth degree. Unlike in Fenaroli's treatise and elsewhere, Dourlen ac-

634 Perne [1822], 178.
635 Perne [1822], 208.
636 Dourlen [1838], 54.
637 Fenaroli (1775), 5.

companies this degree with either a sixth chord or a 6/4/3 chord instead of the French sixth.[638] Nevertheless, this augmented sixth chord is introduced in the chapter dedicated to alterations. What is particularly remarkable here, however, is that Dourlen no longer presents the minor mode as a typical *modus*, i.e. with "major" 6th and 7th scale degrees while ascending, and "minor" 6th and 7th degrees while descending. He is already using a modern, fixed "harmonic minor mode" with a "minor" 6th and a "major" 7th that remain constant when both ascending and descending. The gradual "demodalisation" of the minor in favour of a "fixed" succession of tones – comparable to the major mode – can be clearly observed here.[639]

Bienaimé places two versions of the *règle d'octave* in two separate sections of his *École de l'harmonie moderne*. His fifth chapter is devoted to the "harmonies propres à chaque degré de la gamme". Each scale degree is examined individually, with the most suitable chords assigned to each of them;[640]though only root position chords and sixth chords are used here. The complete scale harmonization given in this chapter is the simple version of the rule of the octave found in other French sources, such as Catel's treatise, in which sixth chords are applied to the ascending and descending second, third, fourth, sixth and seventh degree, while the first and fifth degree maintain a 5/3 chord. The ascending fourth and seventh degree have a second option: a 5/3 chord and a diminished fifth chord, respectively.[641] For the fifth degree, the 6/4 chord is given as second option, as seen in Imbimbo's examples. He also states that the rule of the octave is based on the scale of the harmonic minor mode with exactly the same continuo figures as in the major mode, and the descending sixth degree does not carry an augmented sixth here.

These scale harmonizations are no longer described by the name *règle d'octave*. Bienaimé employs this term in his chapter dedicated to dissonant chords, where the rule of the octave follows Fenaroli's model.[642] Interestingly, the minor scale—which was never used in previous examples—is in its direct form here, probably showing a direct reference to the Italian tradition and Fenaroli's *regole*. However, it differs from Fenaroli's rule in that the descending sixth degree is minor. Once again, the augmented sixth is missing, yet Bienaimé acknowledges the presence of this chord in the *regola* and refers the reader to the chapter on alterations, where – as in Dourlen – the augmented sixth chords are introduced.[643]

638 Dourlen [1840], 30.
639 Holtmeier (2020), 129.
640 Bienaimé (1863), 27–36.
641 Bienaimé (1863), 36.
642 Bienaimé (1863), 166.
643 Bienaimé (1863), 223.

Other scale harmonizations with dissonant chords offered in this chapter are:

- the traditional diatonic version of the rule of the octave, with a sixth chord on the descending sixth degree and no temporary modulation between the descending sixth and fifth degree.
- a scale harmonization modified by *substitution* (fig. 4.20).[644]
- a version of this latter example with *substitutions* and suspensions of the leading tone.

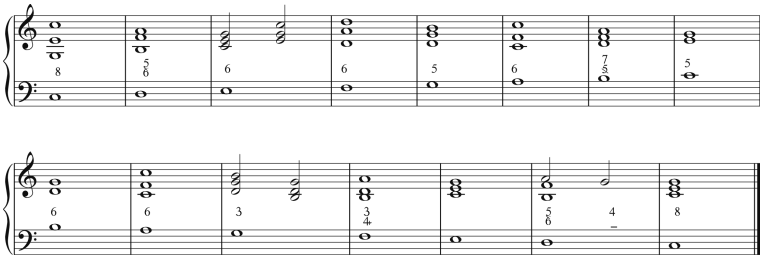

Figure 4.20. Bienaimé (1863), 166.

Colet's *Panharmonie* includes Imbimbo's version of the rule of the octave, with a 5/3 chord on the ascending fourth degree and a 6/4 chord on the fifth. He then expresses a controversial opinion about this rule.[645]

> La *règle d'octave,* fut publiée en 1700. C'est une formule harmonique qui détermine d'une manière absolue les accords qu'on doit placer sur chaque dégré de la gamme majeure et mineure, tant en montant qu'en descendant. [...] Ainsi, malheur à celui qui s'éloignera de cette formule pour introduire de nouveaux accords dans les deux gammes; car il a plu à un homme, nommé je crois, Delaire, d'établir ce grand principe audelà duquel il n'est plus d'harmonie. [...][646]

The citation continues with a rather long complaint, declaring that rules limit genius and how, because of its immutable stability, the rule of the octave might compromise the future evolution of music. Colet disputes the rigidity of the rule, an opinion that he certainly adopted from his teacher, Reicha. Ironically, Reicha himself was only following Rameau's reconsideration of his own rule of the octave that he wrote in his *dissertation* of 1732.[647]

644 The fundamental note of the dominant seventh chord is substituted by the ninth of said chord.
645 Earlier discussions on the value of the rule of the octave are covered in Christensen (1992), 103–106.
646 Colet (1837), 62.
647 Holtmeier (2017a), 116.

Reicha wrote on the *règle d'octave:*

> Cette formule est de si peu ressource dans la composition pratique qu'elle ne vaut pas la peine d'être discutée dans cet ouvrage. Elle ne serait indispensable que si la Basse était contrainte de marcher continuellement par gammes ascendantes ou descendantes, et qu'il n'y eût pas moyen de prendre plusieurs accords différents sur un même dégré.[648]

Colet attributes the origin of the rule to a certain Delaire. He is almost certainty referring to the French theorboist Denis Delair, author of a *Traité d'accompagnement pour le théorbe et le clavessin* (1690) and its second edition, the *Nouveau traité [...],* published in 1724. Rousseau might have been the source of this information concerning the origin of the *règle de l'octave*. In his *Dictionnaire de musique,* he claims that the rule was first published in 1700 by Delair.[649] Delair actually mentions the *regola* in his 1724 second edition; the fact that his treatise (like all French thorough bass and lute treatises of the late 17th and early 18th centuries) deals with the *Sitz* of the chords and the *moti di bassi* does not, however, make Delair the "author" of the *règle*.[650]

Although Colet was strongly against the *regola*, he radically changed his position towards the rule of the octave almost ten years later in his *Partimenti*. He includes it as it is found in Fenaroli, along with Fenaroli's exercises for practising it: transposed scales with figures – here "translated" to French – with the barred sixth to indicate the *petite sixte* on the second degree and a +4 for the *accord du triton*.[651] Colet's instructions indicate that the *règle* should be practised in all positions and tonalities, starting in a slow tempo and playing progressively faster:

> L'élève jouera ces gammes dans toutes les positions, d'abord lentement, et ensuite dans un mouvement toujours plus accéléré. Il est important, pour bien accompagner la Basse chiffrée, de pouvoir jouer sans hésitation, ces Basses avec les trois Positions.[652]

Colet here shows a complete change in attitude about the rule from that which he expressed in his *Panharmonie*. He now encourages students to practise it, suggesting that all accompanists should be able to play this rule fluently in all major and minor keys:

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648 Reicha (1818), 164.

649 Rousseau (1768), 413. It appears that Rameau was in possession of a copy of Delaire's treatise containing many annotations, which has unfortunately disappeared. Holtmeier has therefore emphasized the importance of Denis Delaire's and Jean-François Dandrieu's treatises. See Holtmeier (2017a),13, footnote 17.

650 Sanguinetti mentions the 1628 harmonization of the scale by Galeazzo Sabbatini as one of its earliest known versions. See Sanguinetti (2012a), 114.

651 Colet (1846), 135–139.

652 Colet (1846), 136.

> La *Règle d'Octave* est donc une formule Harmonique qui fait connaitre quels accords on doit placer sur chacun des degrés de l'Echelle *Diatonique,* lorsque la Basse parcourt cette échelle dans toute son étendue et sans interruption, soit en montant, soit en descendant. Tout accompagnateur, qui veut faire de bonnes études, doit se familiariser d'abord avec l'usage de cette formule, dans tous les modes majeurs et mineurs.[653]

The rigidity of assigning one chord to each scale degree that he proposed in the *Panharmonie* is here recognized to be an important tool for learning harmonization skills and becoming a good accompanist. But when he concludes that "il existe bien d'autres manières d'accompagner la Gamme,"[654] he makes it unmistakably clear that he understands the *règle* to be an important practical tool for the *accompagnement* but not, in itself, the underlying harmonic "system".

Consequently, Colet introduces other scale harmonizations, including tonicizations on different scale degrees and options for the chromatic scale. Most of these are also found in Imbimbo's *Gamme ou Echelle musicale,* published a few years earlier.[655] After the publication of his *Panharmonie,* Colet must had encountered Imbimbo's work and therefore had an opportunity to deepen his understanding of partimento rules.

In the following tables, all the versions of the rule of the octave that have been examined hitherto are brought together. Common differences include harmonizations of the second or ascending fourth degree. The cases of Imbimbo, Berton and Colet were discussed previously, all of whom include one version of a 6/4 chord on the ascending fifth degree when prioritizing the harmonic progression of the *basse fondamentale*. On the descending scale, Berton is the only author who prefers not to use the major (or augmented in minor) sixth on the sixth degree. However, it should be reiterated that the reconstruction of his scale is based on paragraphs of his book dedicated to single scale degrees since, apart from one example, he does not introduce the entire scale.

653 Colet (1846), 138.
654 Colet (1846), 139.
655 Imbimbo [1830]. For further information on these scales see Carlisi (2021).

Table 4.1: Ascending rule of the octave

	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	①
Fenaroli	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3
Choron/ Fiocchi 1	5 3	6 3	6 3	5 or 6 3 5	5 3	6 3	6 or 6 3 5	5 3
Choron/ Fiocchi 2 (Durante?)	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3
Imbimbo 1	5 3	4 3	6 3	5 3	6 4	6 3	6 5	5 3
Imbimbo 2	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3
Catel	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 or 6 3 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3
Berton 1	5 3	6 4	6 3	5 3	6 4	6 3	6 3	5 3
Berton 2	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3
Perne	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3
Dourlen	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3
Bienaimé	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3
Colet (1837)	5 3	4 3	6 3	5 3	6 4	6 3	6 5	5 3
Colet (1846)	5 3	4 3	6 3	6 5	5 3	6 3	6 5	5 3

Table 4.2: Descending rule of the octave

	①	⑦	⑥	⑤	④	③	②	①
Fenaroli	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Choron/ Fiocchi 1	5 3	6 3	#6 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	6 3	5 3
Choron/ Fiocchi 2 (Durante?)	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Imbimbo 1	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Imbimbo 2	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Catel	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Berton 1	5 3	6 3	6 3	5 3	5 3	6 3	6 4	5 3
Berton 2	5 3	6 3	6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Perne	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Dourlen	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Bienaimé	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3
Colet (1837) (1846)	5 3	6 3	#6 4 3	5 3	4 2	6 3	4 3	5 3

In Neapolitan sources, the rule of the octave in the minor is typically explained in 18th century terminology, i.e., as a flexible *modus* with variable 6th and 7th scale degrees. Fenaroli explains that this type of scale is preferred because it avoids the augmented second (*ditono*) between the sixth and seventh degrees:

> Si avverte, che nella scala in terza minore, ascendendo, la sesta del tono si fa maggiore, e discendendo la settima del tono si fa minore; e tutto ciò per evitare il ditono, che vi è tra la sesta minore, e la settima maggiore, il quale perché composto di due intieri toni, si sfugge per la sua asprezza di suono.[656]

Most French sources apply the *règle* to the "modal" minor; however, as shown earlier, Berton and Bienaimé, choose to use the minor harmonic scale for all the *moti*, whereas Perne uses both options. One explanation for this choice is given by Bienaimé, in which he makes clear how much the minor mode has already been subjected to the process of "demodalisation" – as highlighted by Holtmeier – and approximates the major mode, understood here as an unchanging group of scalar tones. In his *École de l'harmonie moderne,* Bienaimé affirms that the minor scale should maintain an unaltered sixth degree and the leading tone. The reason is that, according to the author, if the melodic scale is used, the minor mode is compromised as there is a change in the tonality in both ascending and descending motion:

> La véritable gamme mineure doit avoir la Sixte mineure et la Septième majeure en montant et en descendant. L'introduction de la Sixte majeure en montant détruit évidemment un des caractères du mode: la première moitié de la gamme est mineure, et la seconde est majeure. La suppression de la Septième majeure en descendant change la tonalité: rien n'empêche que le sens ne se termine sur la tonique du mode majeur relatif. Néanmoins, des considérations et des convenances mélodiques et harmoniques nécessitent souvent ces transformations.[657]

In Perne's exercises both the minor harmonic and melodic scales are present. He also includes a version with the addition of diminished seventh chords on the ascending second and seventh degree and descending sixth, fourth and second degree.

656 Fenaroli (1775), 13.
657 Bienaimé (1863), 3.

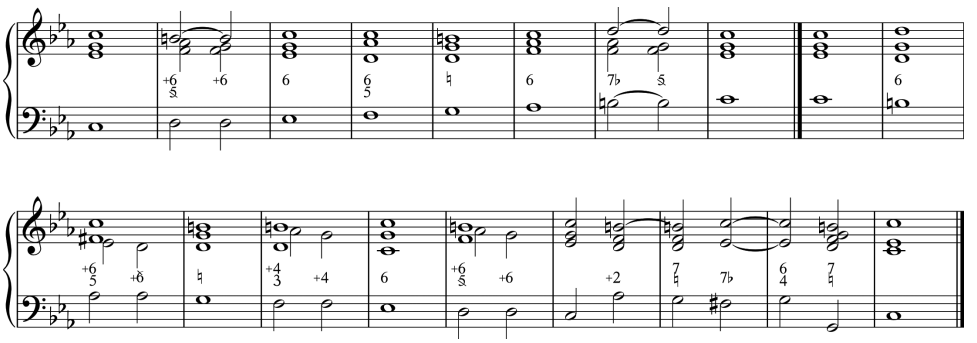

Figure 4.21. Perne [1822], 181.

This overview makes it clear that the rule of the octave was taught as part of *harmonie* and *accompagnement.* Sources that used Fenaroli's rules certainly drew on the French edition with Imbimbo's additions, which sometimes were copied entirely in *traités.* The cases of Berton and Colet are particularly interesting. Berton does not include the topic in his books, but he uses it in examples to demonstrate other topics related to cadences and tonal coherence. Colet, influenced by his teacher, did not believe the rule of the octave to be the basis and starting point of a harmonic system; placing himself firmly in the tradition of Rameau, he considered it to be an essential element of the practice of *accompagnement*. Nevertheless, it is obvious that he placed increasing value on the pedagogical importance of partimento practice during the course of his professional life. It is unclear when and how he changed his mind, but he certainly must have gained experience with the practical approach of *partimenti* between 1837 and 1846, and became deeply convinced about their effectiveness, since he intitled his book "Partimenti."

4.3. Dissonanze[658]

> Quelle voci o suoni che perturbano o ritardano l'armonia perfetta si chiamano dissonanze. Di questo genere siccome altrove si è detto, sono la 2ª. la 4ª. la 7ª. e la 9ª. il cui maneggio armonico consiste in *preparazione, percussione, e Resoluzione;* dal che si deduce che le dissonanze non reggendo da se sole, han bisogno delle consonanze che le preparino e le risolvano.[659]

658 As mentioned, the term dissonance/*dissonanza is used* here, as in partimento sources, to describe a suspension.

659 Fenaroli (1813/14), 33.

In the *Regole Musicali*, Fenaroli distinguishes four consonances (octave, third, fifth and sixth) and four dissonances (second, fourth, seventh, ninth) that require preparation and resolution.[660] Fenaroli's approach to the treatment of dissonances is based on the bass motions over which it is possible to prepare and resolve a dissonance. Depending on the movement of the bass, a dissonance is prepared by a specific consonance. This same approach appears in Imbimbo's description of Fenaroli's rules.[661] Imbimbo adds a contrapuntal instruction not found in Fenaroli's *Regole*, regarding the proportion between the lengths required for preparation, dissonance, and resolution:

> Per esattezza di comporre si richiede che la legatura si debba far sempre, o tra due note di egual valore, o tra la nota grande e la picciola, e che giammai la nota picciola debba legar la grande per la ragione che il corpo minore non può attirare a se il maggiore, quantunque vi siano esempj di ottimi maestri in contrario, specialmente nel basso de' recitativi correnti.[662]

Tied notes should either have the same length or the preparation should be longer than the dissonance.

Choron considers all dissonances to be suspensions which need to be prepared, suspended and resolved, descending by step. He also shows a rare resolution option found in Bononcini, in which the seventh resolves by a skip downwards.[663] While the dissonance of the fourth delays the arrival of the third of the chord in Neapolitan partimenti, in the first chapter of *Principes d'accompagnement* that contains the *regole,* the fourth is figured as eleventh.[664] It can therefore be used, according to Choron (as with Rameau), together with the third. In the same way, Choron states, the seventh can be accompanied by the sixth.

660 Fenaroli (1775), 3 and 14.
661 Fenaroli (1813/14), 36.
662 Fenaroli (1813/14), 45.
663 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], XI.
664 As seen, the distinction between fourth and eleventh was treated by Rameau.

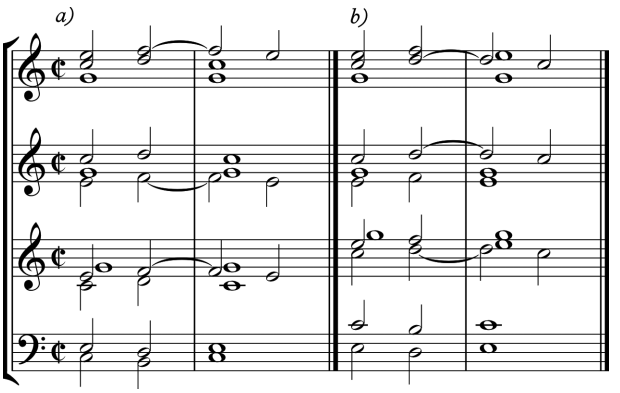

Figure 4.22. Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 15.

Figure 4.22 shows the fourth accompanied by the third (a) and the seventh accompanied by the sixth (b). Both examples are given in three positions, and the dissonances are separated by an interval that is greater than an octave. Choron attributes these examples to Azopardi, although in the first French edition of the *Musicien Pratique,* which he curated, there is nothing to suggest this practice.[665]

It is generally a rule that dissonances resolve stepwise downwards. According to Berton and Colet, there are some rare cases when dissonances can resolve upwards to avoid parallel octaves (or hidden parallel octaves) with the bass line. In this case, Berton notes, a voice substitution can be made, and the dissonance resolves in the bass (fig. 4.23).

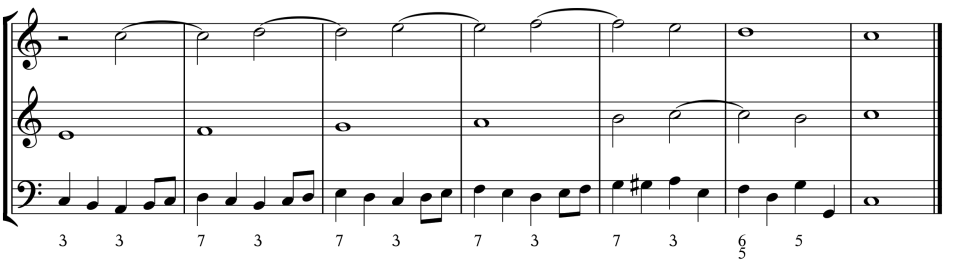

Figure 4.23. Berton (1815), 23.

In this example, the dissonance is resolved by the bass and the upper voice proceeds in ascending stepwise motion.

665 Azopardi (1786).

In his chapter on *Resolutionslehre*, Ludwig Holtmeier examined several examples with upward resolving dissonances.[666] He states that this practice had been in use since the *Vollstimmigkeit* counterpoint of the sixteenth century.[667] The most similar example to Berton's is one in Johann Georg Neidhart's *Compositio harmonica*, in which upward resolving dissonances result from voice exchange: the expected resolution note appears in another voice, while the dissonance moves upwards to reach a consonance.[668]

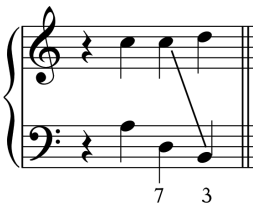

Figure 4.24. Niedhardt (s.d.), 29.

In his *Traité,* Berton includes a table with all ascending and descending suspensions. Here, he shows systematically which suspensions are possible, which are not, and which can only be used on certain scale degrees.[669]

Another example of dissonances resolving upwards is offered by Colet in his *Panharmonie*. As we can see in this example (fig. 4.25), dissonances are considered a prolongation of the note on the next chord, which receives its "proper" note after a short delay.

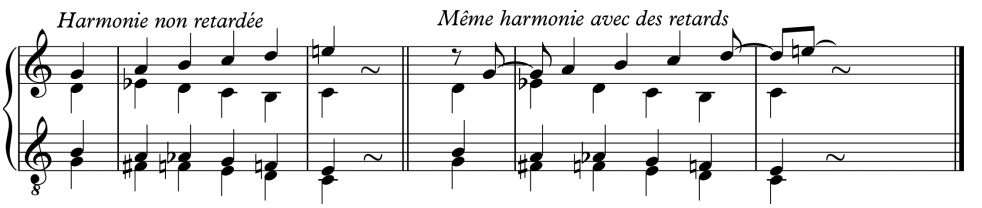

Figure 4.25. Colet (1837), 149.

Colet calls this figure *retard,* distinguishing it from the *suspension*, which corresponds to the Neapolitan *dissonanza*.[670] Colet adds the *suspension de la quinte* to the *dis-*

666 Holtmeier (2017a), 269–307.
667 Holtmeier (2017a), 306.
668 Neidhart (s.d.) 27. Holtmeier (2017a), 305.
669 Berton (1815), 34–35.
670 Colet (1837), 151. This figure is present as syncopated *anticipatio* in Spieß (1746), 158.

sonanze commonly found in partimento sources. This idiom was common in nineteenth-century music, examples of which are typically found in compositions by César Frank, Franz Schubert, and Robert Schumann (fig. 4.26).

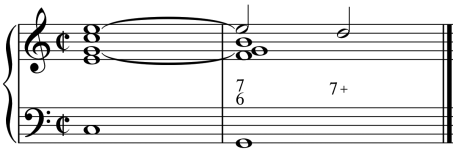

Figure 4.26. Colet (1846), 107.

The delayed arrival of the fifth of the chord usually occurs on the dominant or dominant-seventh chord and can appear in all inversions.

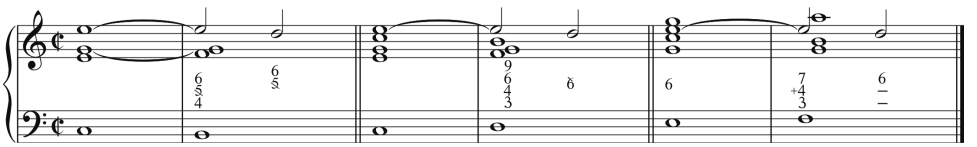

Figure 4.27. Colet (1846), 107.

The third example also contains a *substitution* in the upper voice.

Perne includes a section on each dissonance in his *Cours élémentaire*, with several examples of preparation and resolution of dissonances, and exercises with which to practise them. This approach is very similar to Fenaroli's *Regole*. In fact, Perne transcribes Fenaroli's second book, in which each dissonance is presented with examples for each possible preparation and resolution and is followed by a partimento composed for practising the rule. Perne changes some examples, but he copies the same partimenti given by Fenaroli for each rule.[671] One crucial difference is that each example given for the preparation of a dissonance appears twice: first by applying a *chant donné* composed on Fenaroli's partimento; and second, by applying the dissonance on the bass, illustrated by Fenaroli's original partimento.[672] Although Perne presents the same options for dissonances, he makes some changes in the tonalities of the examples. Fenaroli writes all examples in G major, adding examples of figured bass in other tonalities underneath; Perne actually changes the tonality of the example to adapt it to the key of the partimento which follows. This makes the student's task of realizing the bass somewhat easier, though it deprives them of transposition practice, which is useful for learning the art of accompaniment. Perne also normalizes the voice

671 Perne [1822], 290–309.
672 A selection of these melodies is analyzed in Chapter 5.

setting to either three- or four-voice settings, while Fenaroli writes the examples with a flexible number of voices, following the practice of accompaniment.

Dourlen uses both dissonances and their inversions, as did his colleagues Berton and Colet. In his *Traité d'harmonie*, we therefore see examples of dissonances of ninths, fourths and sevenths in their inversions, prepared and resolved as prescribed. In the following example, we can see how the arrival of the leading tone is delayed by a fifth. This suspension is the third inversion of a *dissonanza* of the fourth above the dominant, and this is harmonized by a dominant seventh chord.

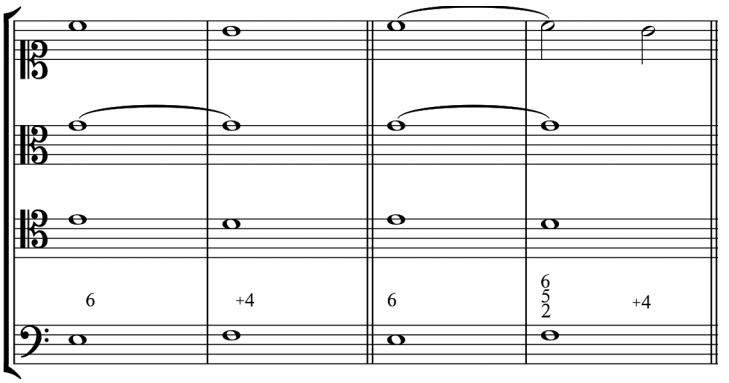

Figure 4.28. Dourlen [1838], 41.

Bienaimé labels *dissonanze* with three different terms used as synonyms: *retard, retardement,* and *suspension.* The effect of the dissonance is produced *par prolongation*, holding a consonant note which becomes dissonant in the next chord.[673] *Retards* are divided into *supérieurs* – for which the prolonged tone is above its resolution and therefore must descend – and *inférieurs,* for which the prolonged tone is a step under the resolution and must move upwards to reach its goal. According to Bienaimé, *inférieur* forms of suspensions cannot be dissonant, unlike the examples of upward resolution of dissonances seen in Berton and Colet:

> Toute note prolongée produisant un intervalle dissonant ne peut avoir de résolution ascendante; car la loi de résolution des dissonances serait violée: *toute dissonance doit descendre d'un degré.*[674]

Bienaimé does not allow the exception that Berton made for avoiding parallel octaves by tolerating an ascending resolution of the dissonance (which was achieved through a

673 Bienaimé (1863), 145–146.
674 Bienaimé (1863), 146.

voice exchange). The only exception allowed here is the suspension of the leading tone, on account of its natural tendency to resolve upwards:

> La note sensible se prolongeant sur la tonique, ou sur le sixième degré dans une cadence rompue, fait exception à cette règle; parce que la force de son attraction vers la tonique absorbe la sensation de la dissonance qui résulte de sa prolongation sur cette dernière, ou sur la sixième note du ton: sa marche ascendante satisfait donne parfaitement à la loi des tendances tonales.[675]

Among the ascending suspensions, Bienaimé lists only the consecutive 5–6 pattern on the ascending scale; the fifth being a consonance that can "resolve" the suspension upwards.[676]

It is also possible, according to Bienaimé, to use a *substitution* together with the dissonance. In the following example, we can see how the leading tone of the 4/2 chord (suspended on the downbeat) is accompanied by the third A (the seventh of the root position chord on B or the ninth of the chord based on G). This note A substitutes for the fundamental note G.

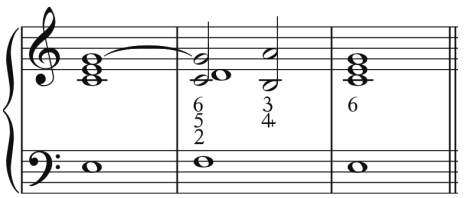

Figure 4.29. Bienaimé (1863), 152.

Bienaimé's *École de l'harmonie moderne* was published at the height of the Romantic era. It therefore expands traditional eighteenth-century harmony to incorporate some idioms of Romantic composition, one of these being the suspension of the fifth on the dominant seventh chord, as seen earlier in Colet.[677] As with other French authors, such as Berton, Colet or Perne, Bienaimé presents dissonances together with their inversions, which results in different suspensions between the bass line and the upper voice. As we have seen, this practice was also found in Rameau.[678]

In general, all the French authors studied treat dissonances according to very similar rules found in partimento sources. We shall now consider a few examples of some differences or variations for each dissonance.

675 Bienaimé (1863), 147.
676 Bienaimé (1863), 146. See chapter 4.4.1.
677 See fig. 4.26.
678 See Rameau (1722), 396. See also Chapter 2.

4.3.1. The fourth

In Fenaroli's *regole*, all kind of preparations of this dissonance are shown. Apart from being prepared by consonances, the fourth can also be preceded by the diminished fifth – if it appears on the first degree of the scale. We find the same explanation in Imbimbo's preface, in which examples for each dissonance preparation are given.[679]

> La dissonanza di quarta deve esser sempre accompagnata con la consonanza di quinta; per lo che la detta dissonanza non può mai aver luogo sopra una nota, la quale di sua natura non voglia la quinta.[680]

The six-four on a strong beat was sometimes exempt from preparation. Muscogiuri writes in his annotations that the fourth can be given without preparation for cadences, and can therefore be accompanied by the sixth:

> Sappiasi, che l'accompagnamento della 4.è la 5.ª, quando si usa come dissonanza: quando poi si voglia usare la quarta sù la nota che fà cadenza, allora perché si dà senza preparaz.e, può avere l'accompagnamento della 6.ª e della 5.ª a piacere libero del compositore; avvertendosi ancora che quando si scrive a trè Parti, è meglio usar la quinta invece della sesta.[681]

As mentioned, Imbimbo also follows the traditional concept of the *quarta consonans.* He then differentiates the dissonance of the fourth, which is a suspension:

> La 4ª. dissonante poi è quella che non fà parte dell'armonia perfetta, ma unita or colla 2ª., or colla 5ª., ritarda momentaneamente la consonanza.[682]

In addition to the most frequently used preparations and resolutions of the fourth, Perne adds other options, such as resolutions on a *dissonance appellative,* which include the fourth resolving to a diminished seventh, a tritone or a *fausse quinte* (fig. 4.30).

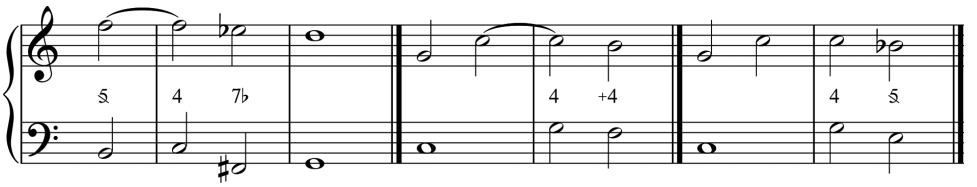

Figure 4.30. Perne [1822], 33.

679 Fenaroli (1813/14), 36–38.
680 Fenaroli (1775), 16–17.
681 Muscogiuri 1781, fol. 3v, in Demeyere (2018), 224–225.
682 Fenaroli (1813/14), 35.

As can be seen, the diminished fifth and seventh were also considered consonances by the Neapolitan school. It is therefore possible to use these intervals as dissonance preparations or resolutions.

Bienaimé demonstrates the application of the dissonance of the fourth in modulating passages. In figure 4.31(a), the dissonant fourth is prolonged on the resolution note of a *fonte* and resolves on a diminished seventh chord on the following seventh degree, thus preparing the next fourth.

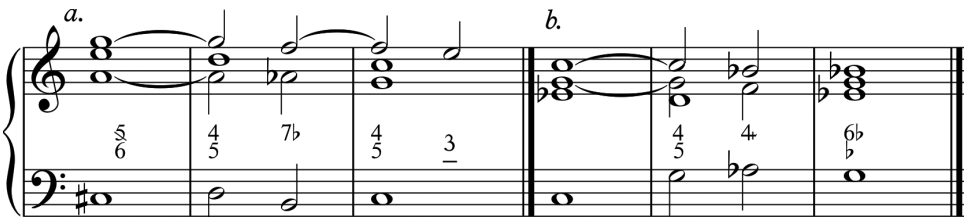

Figure 4.31. Bienaimé (1863), 174.

By contrast, figure 4.31b shows an application of the suspension of the fourth in a modulating passage from C minor to E-flat major. The fourth resolves a whole tone downwards on the fundamental note of the dominant seventh chord (here in 4/2 inversion) of the new tonality.

4.3.2. The seventh

As for other dissonances, according to Fenaroli, the seventh can be prepared by all consonances.

> Se avverte, che la settima si accompagna sempre con la terza, e può risolvere a terza, ed a sesta.[683]

Imbimbo adds the resolution of the seventh in minor to the augmented sixth (fig. 4.32.a) to Fenaroli's rules. Fenaroli himself mentions the *sesta superflua* in the rule of the octave, but not as a resolution of a suspension, as Imbimbo does.[684] Nevertheless, this suspension is not unusual, since it derives from an alteration of a 7–6 suspension on the Phrygian cadence.

683 Fenaroli (1775), 18.
684 Fenaroli (1813/14), 38.

Another variation is the resolution of the seventh above an altered fourth degree in the bass (Gjerdingen's *converging* cadence), here called *quarta di accrescimento al basso* (fig. 4.32b).[685]

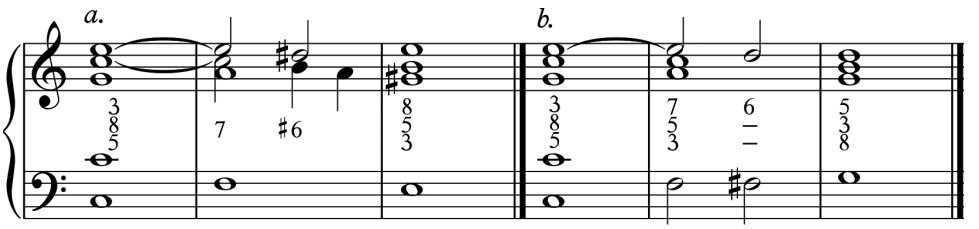

Figure 4.32. Fenaroli (1813–14), 38–39.

Perne gives a series of examples for all possible preparations and resolution of the seventh, in the style of Fenaroli's second book. As in his chapter on the fourth, he adds resolutions on *dissonances appellatives,* such as the dominant seventh and the diminished seventh.

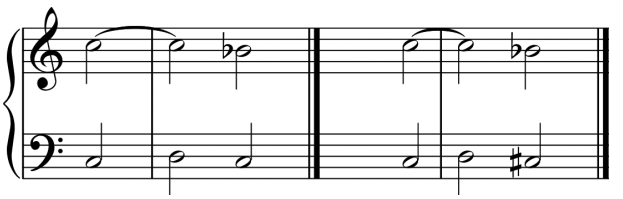

Figure 4.33. Perne [1822], 80.

Bienaimé calls the dissonance of the prepared seventh "septième simple" and identifies this dissonance with a specific bass movement:

> Ces septièmes s'emploient sur tous les degrés de la gamme lorsque la basse procède par quarte ascendante et par quinte descendante.[686]

If the bass leaps by ascending fourth or descending fifth, it is possible to prepare a seventh. This description – limited to a leap in the bass – does not include other possibilities for building a seventh; for example, on the descending sixth or seventh degree in a scale.

685 Fenaroli (1813/14), 39. Gjerdingen (2007a), 159–163.
686 Bienaimé (1863), 194.

4.3.3. The ninth

> Se avverte, che la detta dissonanza de nona si accompagna sempre colla decima, detta terza, e con la quinta, quando non si tratta di un movimento di Basso, che continui con la stessa progressione; e detta dissonanza di nona può risolvere all'ottava, terza, e sesta, secondo i diversi movimenti del Partimento.[687]

Imbimbo adds to the options given by Fenaroli for the ninth, an accompaniment containing a double suspension of the fourth and the seventh *superflua*. This is the chord discussed earlier that Colet and Le Borne called the *onzième tonique*.[688] Here, Imbimbo uses the word *superflua* to describe the major seventh (analogous to the French *accord de la septième superfluë*) and defines the word *superfluo* as *eccedente*, or augmented. In his examples, the seventh is major, but *superfluo* (or the French, *superfluë*) generally describes what Rameau calls the *dissonance majeur*: the scalar dissonance of the *note sensible*, the leading tone.

As with other dissonances, Perne shows different options for preparation and resolution of the ninth. In addition to Fenaroli's options, he once again adds resolutions on the diminished fifth, the diminished seventh, the dominant seventh and other half-dissonances.[689] Bienaimé also adds a few examples for using the ninth in modulating passages.

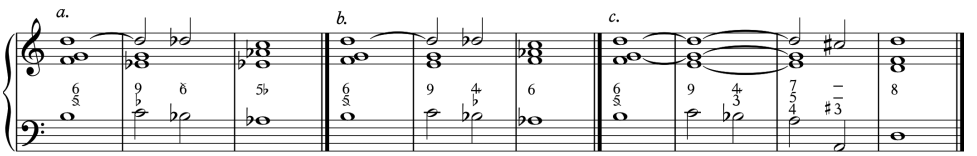

Figure 4.34. Bienaimé (1863), 180.

In figure 4.34a, the ninth appears on the tonic chord of C minor but, instead of resolving on the tonic, it proceeds chromatically downwards to a chord on the second degree of A-flat major. In the next example (fig. 4.34b) the same procedure is applied to a modulation from C major to F minor, where the *penultima* is an inversion of the diminished seventh chord. A more complex example follows (fig. 4.34c): in this instance, the ninth on the tonic C major does not resolve to a consonance, but is held as the third of the half-diminished chord on the second harmonic degree of D minor (in second inversion, or 4/3) that continues as the fourth in the *cadenza composta* in D minor. As with other dissonances, Bienaimé provides examples for the inversion

687 Fenaroli (1775), 20.
688 See Chapters 2 and 3.
689 Perne [1822], 93–95.

of this dissonance, with a warning to maintain the distance of a ninth between the fundamental note and the dissonance.[690]

4.3.4. The second

The dissonance in the bass line is accompanied by the second (4/2) or *accord du triton.* This chord has its *Sitz* on the descending fourth degree and it is often used in sequences. It will therefore be covered in the *moti del basso* section when discussing the *Partimento che scende legato*.

Some points stand out on the use of dissonances in teaching material of the early Conservatoire: first, dissonances are all approached traditionally, with their preparation and resolution. Second, variations through altered notes and options for modulations to remote keys are explored. This difference from Neapolitan sources is most likely caused by the expansion of tonal harmony started during the nineteenth century.[691] Third, the use of inversions of *dissonanze* is notable, as this element is not commonly found in Neapolitan sources, but rather is common practice among French theorists, who were strongly influenced by Rameau's theory of inversions. In the next section, the way in which this principle was similarly applied to certain *moti del basso* will be demonstrated.[692]

4.4. Moti del basso

Rules applied to bass movements are the core of Fenaroli's *Regole.* These are usually a model and then a sequence of repetitions. All *moti* can be harmonized *colle consonanze* and *colle dissonanze* and, as will be seen, with certain chains of dissonances that are characteristic of specific bass motions.

Choron calls these movements *progressions* and defines them as "le mouvement d'une partie qui parcourt les dégrés successifs de l'échelle, en formant sur chacun d'eux le même intervalle."[693]

We shall now follow the order of Fenaroli's *regole*, with the exception of the *partimento che sale di sesta e scende di quinta,* since it is not commonly found in French

690 Bienaimé (1863), 185–188.
691 See Christensen (2019a).
692 For reasons of space, examples of Fenaroli's *regole* will not be included. These can be consulted online at Gjerdingen's *Monuments of partimenti* website: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B1tf9xeI3NRBcklRbjZSM0g4cUE/view?resourcekey=0-xwNQeaPNhiU4Zv7rH8kCXA, last retrieved 30.08.2022.
693 Choron [1804], IX.

sources.[694] For the same reason, the *partimento che sale di sesta e scende di settima* listed among Muscogiuri's *moti* will not be included.[695]

4.4.1. *Partimento che sale di grado*

According to Fenaroli, if not accompanied by the rule of the octave, the ascending scale can be sequentially ornamented by one of the following patterns:

– consecutive 5–6
– consecutive 7–6
– consecutive 9–8.[696]

With the exception of Berton – who limits the accompaniment options for this scale to consecutive 5–6 or 6–6, and Bienaimé – who gives only 6–6 and 7–6, all other authors include Fenaroli's patterns in their books.

Catel and Dourlen add a scale accompanied by consecutive 4–3s to these options. Catel calls this movement "Retard de l'octave de la tièrce, produisant suite de onzièmes." In fact, he considers the fourth to be an eleventh, allowing the third to be included in the accompaniment (proceeding in parallel movement with the bass).

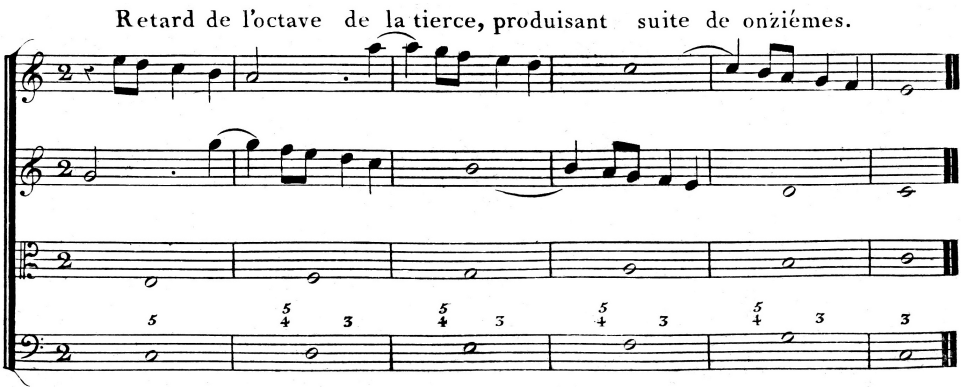

Figure 4.35. Catel (1801), 42. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1163896n/f56.item

694 As said, these rules were not exclusive to the partimento tradition nor to Fenaroli. However, Fenaroli's *Regole* are referred to as *exempla* for their comprehensiveness and wide dissemination in France.
695 See Chapter 3.
696 Fenaroli (1775), 25 et seq.

Dourlen uses the same example, but does not simultaneously insert the third with the fourth, introducing a pause when the dissonance sounds.[697] He also includes the same scale with double dissonances (9/7 – 8/6).[698]

Perne adds an ascending syncopated scale to Fenaroli's examples, harmonized by a chain of successive 5–6s. This pattern also features in Durante's *Regole e partimenti*[699] and results in an inversion of the *partimento che sale di quarta e scende di terza* (the *basse fondamentale* is added in fig. 4.36).

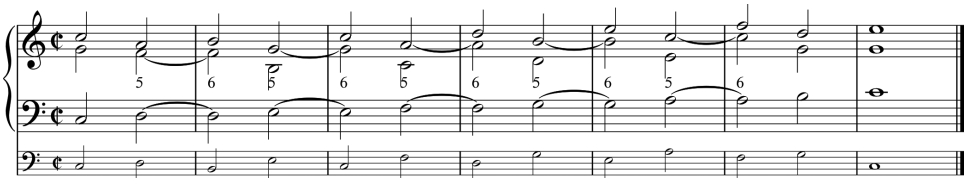

Figure 4.36. Perne [1822], 330.

Colet adds some versions with double dissonances and other options with voices exchanged. Figure 4.37 shows a 9–8 chain in which the voice containing the ninth ascends, though the dissonance is resolved by the second voice in the right hand. In continuo practice, it is common to prepare or resolve a dissonance in a voice other than that containing the dissonance. In written compositions, where rules of counterpoint apply more strictly, this solution would not be allowed.

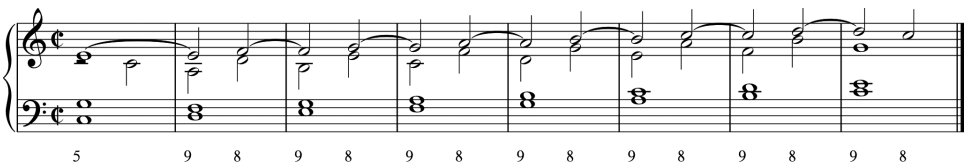

Figure 4.37. Colet (1846), 181.

4.4.2. *Partimento che sale di semitono*

According to Fenaroli, it is important to distinguish major and minor chromatic scales to identify the scale degree in which the chromatic ascent can start. In the major it can begin on the third degree and end on the sixth, while in the minor it can start on the fifth degree and end on the octave.

697 Dourlen [1838], 40.
698 Dourlen [1838], 42. Colet also includes double dissonances among scale accompaniments.
699 I-Nc 34.2.3.

Il Partimento può salire di Semitono in due maniere, secondo le terze del Tono, in cui sarà il Partimento.

I. Se il Partimento sarà in Tono di terza maggiore, la salita di semitono comincerà dalla terza del Tono, e potrà semitonando salire fino alla sesta inclusivamente.
II. Se il Partimento sarà in Tono di terza minore, la salita di semitono comincerà dalla quinta, e potrà procedere semitonando fino all' ottava inclusivamente.[700]

Both major and minor scales can be harmonized by alternating 6 (or, 6/5) chords and 5/3 chords, considering each ascending half tone as a seventh degree moving to the tonic. Other variations include using a 9–8 suspension (adding the ninth to a 5/3 chord) or diminutions with 4–3 suspensions.[701]

Catel and Dourlen maintain a simple succession of 5–6 chords on the scale. Nevertheless, Catel also applies the rule of the octave to the chromatic scale: this is made possible by considering most of the chromatic notes to be passing tones.

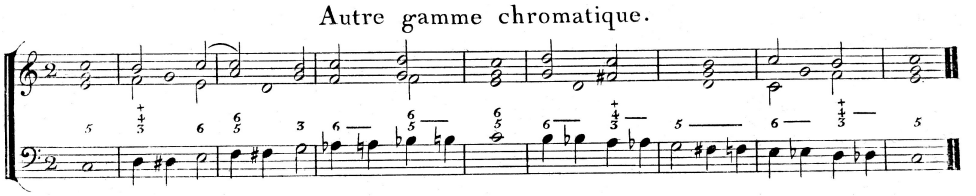

Figure 4.38. Catel (1801), 54. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1163896n/f68.item

Deldevez includes a similar solution in his edition of Fenaroli's *Regole*. While Catel begins the chromatic ascent on the second degree, Deldevez uses the entire chromatic scale, only pausing the harmonic rhythm on the tonic and the dominant.

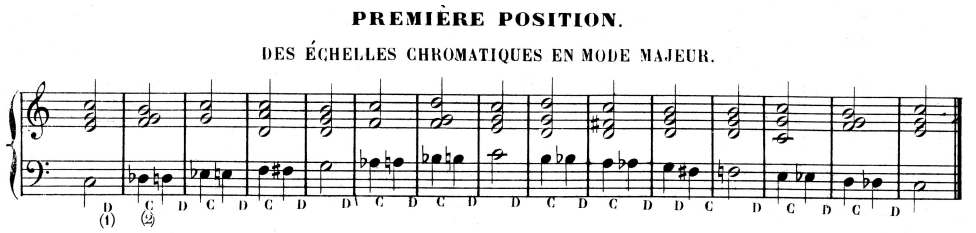

Figure 4.39. Deldevez [1868], 22. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9690498v/f36.item.r=deldevez%20fenaroli

700 Fenaroli (1775), 26.
701 Fenaroli (1775), 73–81.

Berton shows this scale with three voices that chromatically ascend together. The result is a succession of diminished seventh chords creating *cadences interrompues*.

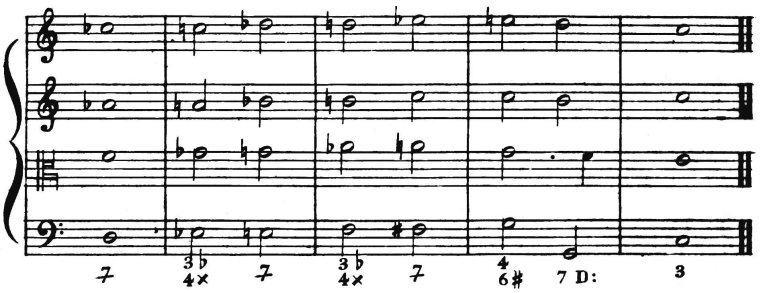

Figure 4.40. Berton (1815a), 138. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f160.item

4.4.3. *Partimento che scende di grado*

Fenaroli gives four options for the descending scale:

1. Alternating 5 and 6 (the descending *Romanesca).*
2. A variation of the above option, created by inserting a passing 4/2 chord on the second half of the first note.
3. Consecutive sixths (*fauxbourdon).*
4. Consecutive 7–6 (on each note).[702]

In Le Borne's *zibaldone* of lessons with Berton, there is a further option for the descending scale, with consecutives 5–6 on each note:

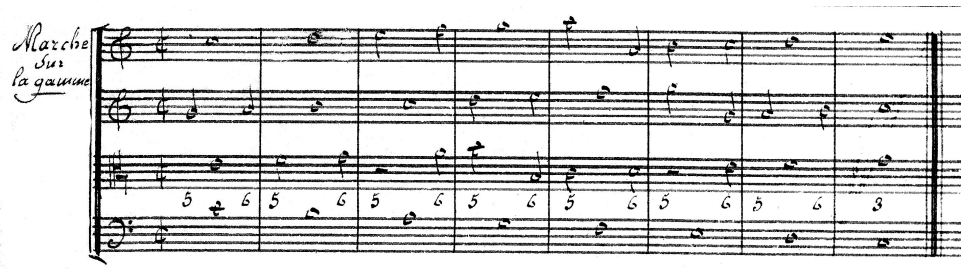

Figure 4.41. Le Borne (1813), 9. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52500605v/f14.item

702 Fenaroli (1775), 82–89.

A three-voice example of the pattern shown above appears in Catel's treatise. Le Borne was certainly following Catel's *Traité* during his studies and therefore might have been given an assignment to create a four-voice version of Catel's example.[703]

Catel and Dourlen also offer another option for the descending scale, this time accompanied by consecutive 4–3s. Neapolitan sources did not include this as a way to avoid parallel fifths, though these are inevitable in three-voice settings. Catel avoids them by using four voices and alternating the fifth and the octave in the voices in which they appear.

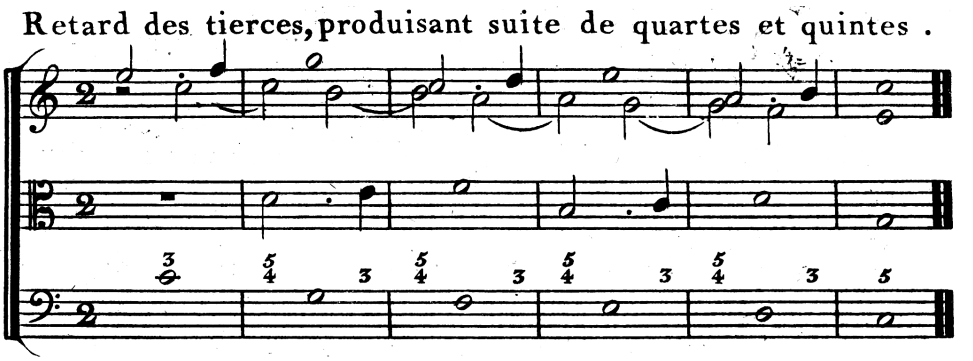

Figure 4.42. Catel (1801), 43. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k315858f/f55.item.r=catel%20trait%C3%A9

In Le Borne's manuscript, there is another option for accompanying a descending scale with a succession of 7 resolving on 4/3 chords.[704] This is also found in both Dourlen's *Traité d'harmonie* and *Traité d'accompagnement* but not in Catel's *Traité*. If we write the *basse fondamentale* (fig. 4.43), it becomes evident that this accompaniment of the scale is the result of an inversion of the *movimento principale*, accompanied by consecutive sevenths.

703 Catel (1801), 41.
704 Le Borne (1813), 39–40.

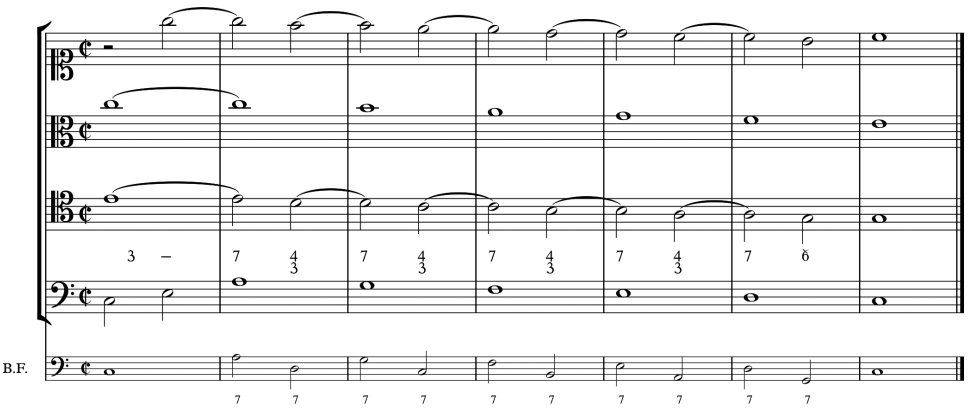

Figure 4.43. Dourlen [1838], 33.

Dourlen claims that this succession is not used on account of its *dureté*, or "hardness." Bienaimé, also includes this option in his *École,* confirming that this inversion is "presque inusité."[705]

4.4.4. *Partimento che scende legato*

The most common accompaniment for this bass movement is the alternation of 4/2 chords (on the downbeat of the syncopated bass) and sixth chords. The fourth can be "maggiore" or "minore," should the composer choose to tonicize (or not) the resolution chord.

> La nota legata di detto Partimento può avere quarta minore, o pure quarta maggiore ad arbitrio del Compositore.[706]

Catel introduces a variation of this pattern, in which a 6/5 chord is substituted for the sixth chord.

705 Bienaimé (1863), 200.
706 Fenaroli (1775), 36.

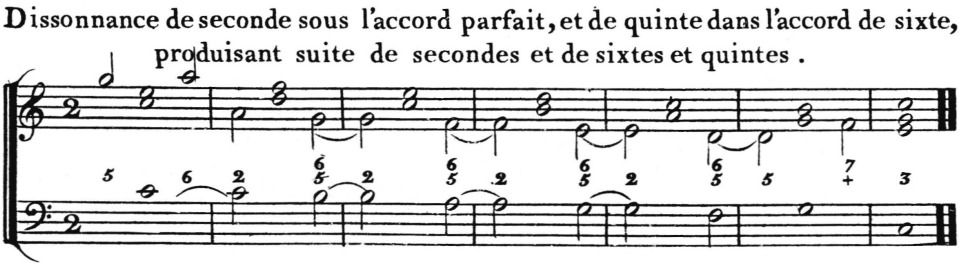

Figure 4.44. Catel (1801), 45. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k315858f/f57.item.r=catel%20trait%C3%A9

The same option is found by Berton, presented as an inversion of the falling fifths-rising fourths with consecutives sevenths.[707] Berton often introduces bass movements together with their inversions; the results of this are an unusual succession of 6/4 and 5/3 chords (fig. 4.45), described as "not a good choice" for a progression, together with the above-mentioned alternation of 4/3 and 5/3 (also modified through a seventh chord). This last inversion is also included in Choron's *Principes d'accompagnement,*[708]and in Perne's *Cours élémentaire.*[709]

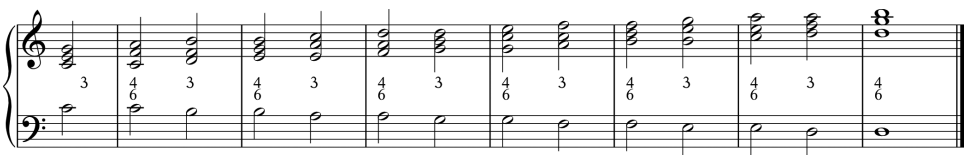

Figure 4.45. Berton (1815a), 115.

4.4.5. *Partimento che scende di semitono*

In Fenaroli's *regole,* the descending chromatic scale usually covers the descent from the first to the fifth and is accompanied by consecutive 7–6 suspensions. A second option adds ascending, chromatic passing tones in the upper voice to create contrary motion with the bass.[710]

Among those examined in this book, the only French author who brings a different perspective to this bass movement is Berton. He explains each progression as a succession of *cadences interrompues,* a succession of dominant seventh chords that do not resolve to the tonic, but often land on a secondary dominant. Once again, the

707 Berton (1815a), 122–126.
708 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 24.
709 Perne [1822], 332.
710 Fenaroli (1775), 95–101.

movement in the *basse fondamentale* resulting from this progression is the *basso che sale di quarta e scende di quinta*, and so the harmonization of the chromatic stepwise motion results in an inversion of this movement.

The first option that Berton shows for the descending chromatic scale is accompanied by a succession of 6/5 and 4/2 chords in which the leading tone of each chord moves chromatically downwards to the seventh of the next chord (fig. 4.46). On account of the chromatic descent, the circle of fifths reaches remote key areas.

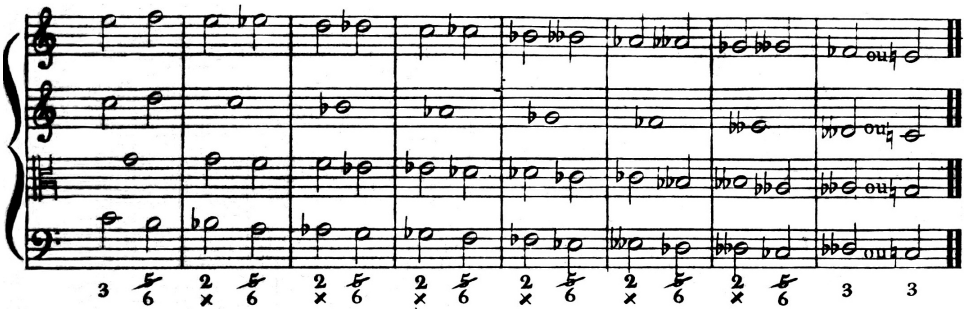

Figure 4.46. Berton (1815a), 135. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f157.item

Another option is to harmonize each descending chromatic note with a diminished seventh chord.

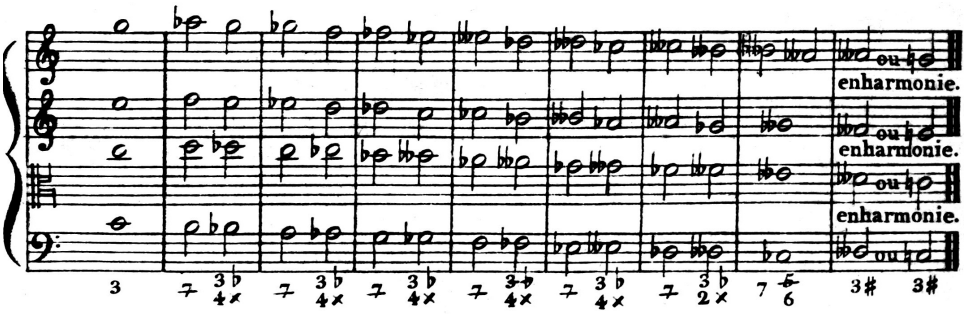

Figure 4.47. Berton (1815a), 136. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f158.item

Similarly, as seen with the ascending chromatic scale, all voices descend chromatically together with the bass. Berton points out that each voice of this harmonization can be used as a bass line to create further inversions.

4.4.6. *Partimento che sale di terza e scende di grado*

Fenaroli provides two realizations for this *moto*. The first applies the rule of the octave, considering each note to be a degree in a scale and the appropriate chord given for it. Every descending step could either be a second degree descending to a first – and therefore harmonized with 4/3 – or a fourth degree, descending to a third (harmonized with 4/2).[711] The second option could be thought of as a variation of the first, with each descending step considered a second degree tonicizing the first degree, through a chromatic ascent of 6 – #6 in the melody. In both harmonizations, the fifth degree does not follow the progression but is harmonized as a descending second degree of the following note.

Catel shows two simple solutions for this movement. The first applies sixth chords to each note, while the second varies this through a 7–6 suspension on every other note.

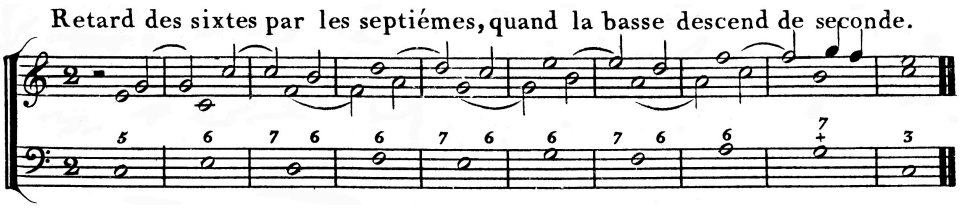

Figure 4.48. Catel (1801), 43. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k315858f/f55.item.r=catel%20trait%C3%A9

Berton describes this movement as a partial inversion of the *basso che sale di quinta e scende di quarta*[712] with partial inversion, meaning that one chord is in root position while every other chord is an inversion. A full inverted pattern is made of chord inversions on each note. This movements results in an alternation of root position chords and first inversions, or 5/3–6/3.[713]

711 Fenaroli (1775), 102–103.
712 The *basse fondamentale is added* in fig. 4.49.
713 Berton (1815a), 139–140.

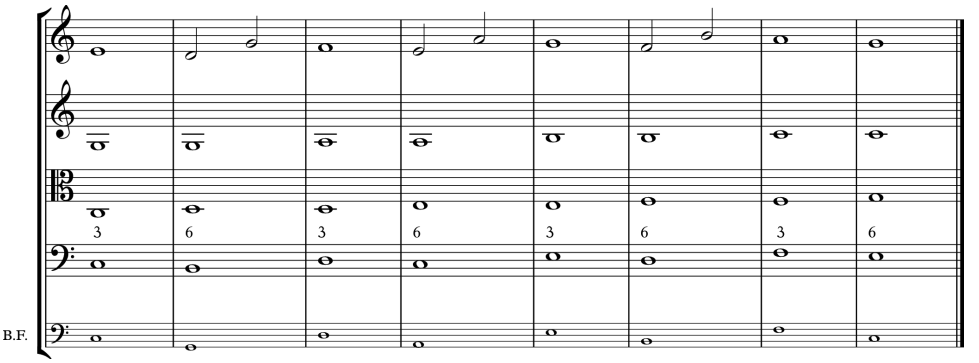

Figure 4.49. Berton (1815a), 140.

Perne adds a realization of this bass movement *selon la règle de l'octave* to Fenaroli's examples, in which the descending note is often harmonized like a fourth degree.

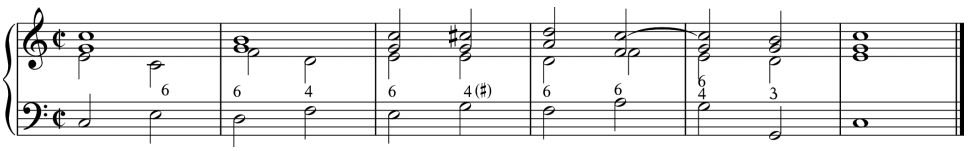

Figure 4.50. Perne [1822], 333.

4.4.7. *Partimento che scende di terza e sale di grado*

This *moto* is a common pattern. Fenaroli gives three options for it: first, an alternation of root position chords and sixth chords; second, a variation of this accompaniment with a 6/5 chord instead of the sixth; and third, one with 7–6 suspensions alternating with 9–8 suspensions.[714] Catel adds a few diminished variations of this pattern.[715] These diminutions were often introduced in French material to help students learn contrapuntal elements of composition, together with harmony.[716] Catel, Dourlen and Bienaimé supplement Fenaroli's accompaniments with two patterns that have a *rétard* of the ninth, resolving on a 5/3 or on a sixth chord. A different accompaniment pattern is offered by Colet, which alternates between sevenths and root position chords.

714 Fenaroli (1775), 106–109.
715 Catel (1801), 44.
716 See Chapter 2.

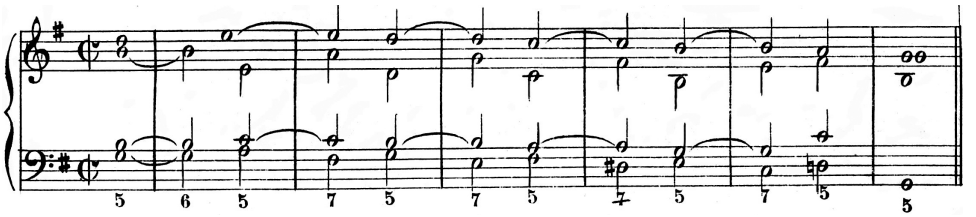

Figure 4.51. Colet (1846), 183. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96391808/f193.item.texteImage

Berton introduces this bass movement (fig. 4.52) as a partial or full inversion of the falling fifths-rising fourths model that originates from a succession of *cadences imparfaites*. This cadential movement is similar to the *cadence parfaite*, because it consists of a fall of a fifth or an upward leap of a fourth in the bass line, but does not necessarily involve a transition from a dominant to a tonic. The first accompaniment option shown derives from a partial inversion of the *movimento principale,* and it results in an alternation of root position and sixth chords. This accompaniment corresponds to the easier version given in Neapolitan partimento sources.

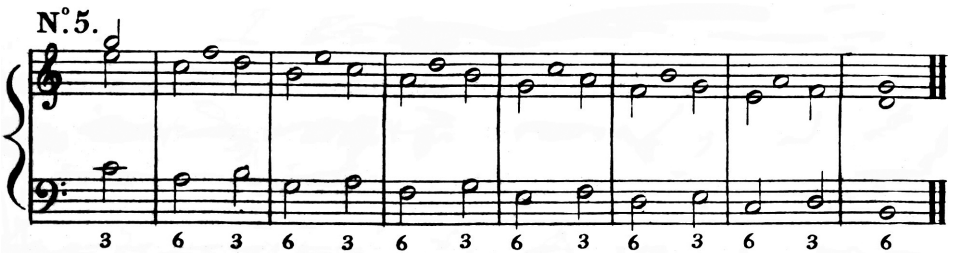

Figure 4.52. Berton (1815a), 113. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f135.item

The complete inversion of this model generates a version alternating 6 and 6/4 chords, which Berton describes as *moins usité* and so he suggests applying the former version instead.

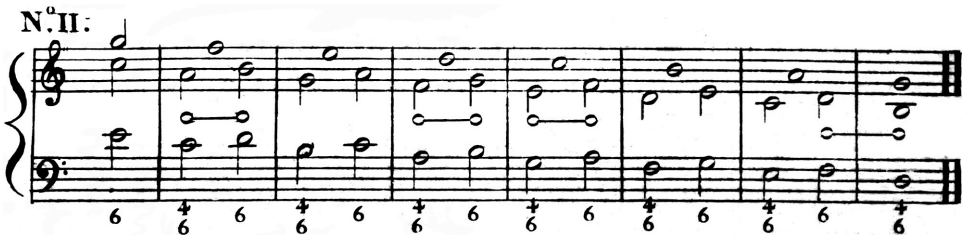

Figure 4.53. Berton (1815a), 116. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f138.item

The traditional 6/5 – 5/3 accompaniment is also presented as a partial inversion of the 7–3, together with its full first inversion 6/5 – 6/3 and second inversion 4/3 – 6/3.

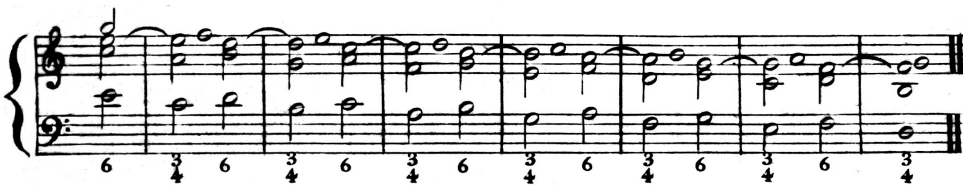

Figure 4.54. Berton (1815a), 123. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f145.item

All the patterns shown here can be applied in major or minor tonalities. The same approach to this bass movement is later found in Bienaimé's *École de l'harmonie moderne*.[717]

4.4.8. *Partimento che sale di quarta e scende di terza*

As with all leaping bass movements, Fenaroli's basic accompaniment for this pattern – which Robert Gjerdingen calls *Monte Principale*[718] – is constructed by a succession of root chords. In other variations *colle dissonanze*, the ascending fourth in the bass becomes a *clausula bassizans*, transforming each movement into a dominant-tonic cadence. In the first "cadential" variation, Fenaroli adds a 9–8 suspension on the tonic; on the second, the passing minor seventh prepares the 4–3 suspension on the first degree.[719]

Perne also introduces a combination of the two options with *dissonanze* that have double dissonances, as given by Fenaroli.

717 Bienaimé (1863), 198–199.
718 Gjerdingen (2007a), 98.
719 Fenaroli (1775), 110–113.

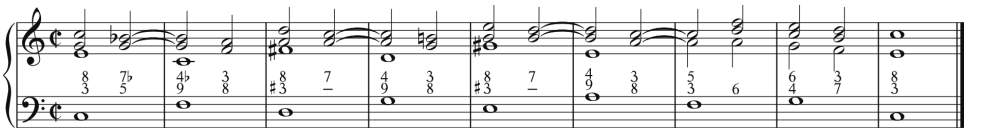

Figure 4.55. Perne [1822], 337.

Dourlen and Catel both use the same patterns as described above, maintaining the diatonic progression and introducing diminished and imitated examples for this pattern.

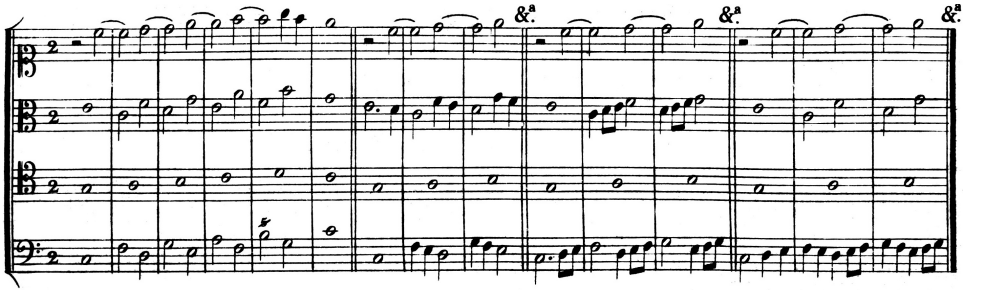

Figure 4.56. Dourlen [1838], 15. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96229899/f25.item.texteImage

Catel, Dourlen and Colet also add a version with a 7–6 suspension in place of 9–8. If we look at this passage from a *renversement* perspective, and therefore consider the seventh as a delay of the tonic (the second chord of each measure is in its first inversion), this variation changes the pattern of the *basse fondamentale* and results in a different musical effect for the entire progression.[720]

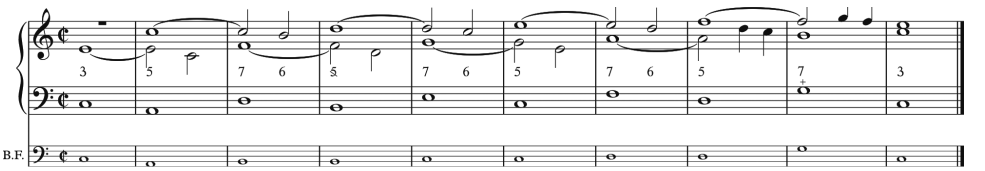

Figure 4.57. Catel (1801), 50.

Catel also shows an example of this variation with diminutions and imitations.

720 In order to demonstrate this statement, the *basse fondamentale* has been added in figure 4.57, without the suspension being taken into consideration.

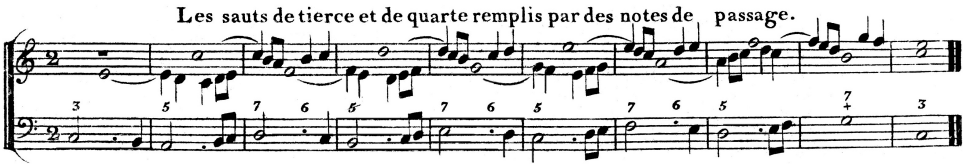

Figure 4.58. Catel (1801), 50. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k315858f/f62.item.r=catel%20trait%C3%A9

Colet includes a version with double suspensions among his *moti*, in which the ninth is combined with the seventh:

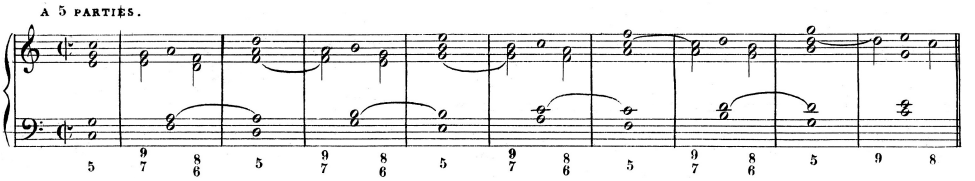

Figure 4.59. Colet (1846), 188. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96391808/f198.item.texteImage

Catel adds a falling fourth-rising thirds sequence to his *marches*. This pattern was usually not used in Neapolitan sources, so as to avoid the problematic *Mi Contra Fa*.[721] Catel was probably aware of this issue and changes the B into B-flat, thus undermining tonal coherence. It then becomes clear why this pattern is not included in partimento *regole,* which all rotate around one scale or modulate to a close related key.

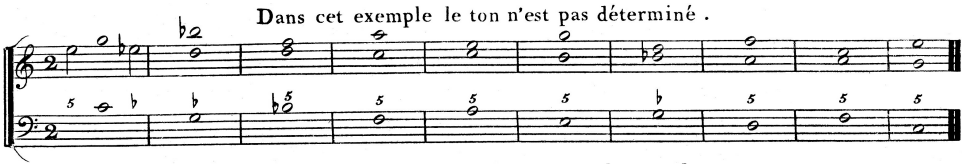

Figure 4.60. Catel (1801), 51. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k315858f/f63.item.r=catel%20trait%C3%A9

Following Catel's example, Colet introduces this rare pattern in his *Partimenti* – both with and without suspensions.[722]

721 See Sanguinetti (2012a), 149. In German *Modelltheorie*, this pattern is known as "Quartfall sekundweise." See, for instance, Holtmeier, Menke, Diergarten (2013).

722 Colet (1846), 190–191.

4.4.9. *Partimento che scende di quarta e sale di grado*

The well-known *Romanesca*[723] is accompanied according to Fenaroli's *Regole*, with root position chords or with alternating 4–3 and 9–8 *dissonanze*.[724] The same accompaniment is included in all the French sources examined. Catel, Dourlen and Colet introduce an alteration of 4–3 and 6–5 and introduce double suspensions.

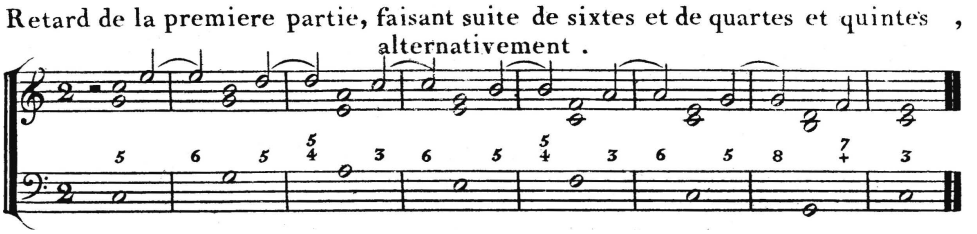

Figure 4.61. Catel (1801), 49. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k315858f/f61.item.r=catel%20trait%C3%A9

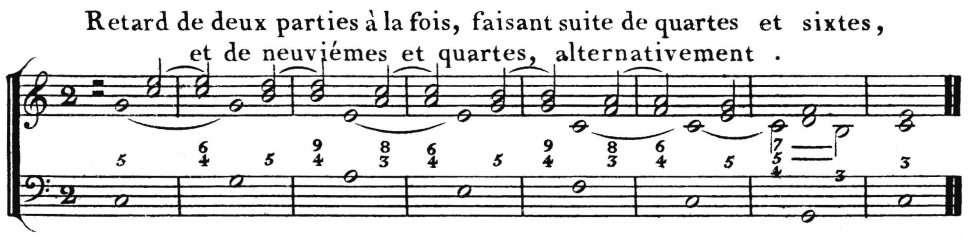

Figure 4.62. Catel (1801), 49. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k315858f/f61.item.r=catel%20trait%C3%A9

Perne also adds the version with double dissonances along with an added seventh (fig. 4.63),[725] creating a succession of *cadences rompues*. The introduction of new alterations (on the dominant seventh chord) interrupts the harmonic flow and tonal coherence, especially between mm. 5 and 6; here the B natural is first heard as a diatonic suspension and then clashes with the B-flat, the seventh of the dominant chord in the next bar.

723 Gjerdingen (2007a), 25–43, Holtmeier (2013), 99–104, 147–155, 176–180.
724 Fenaroli (1775), 114–115.
725 Perne [1822], 341.

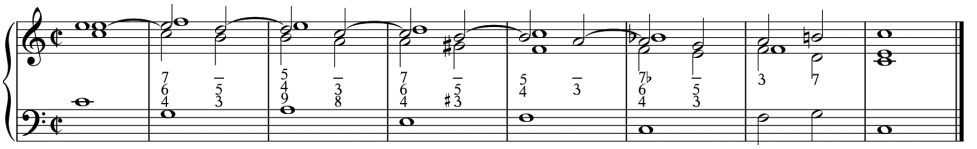

Figure 4.63. Perne [1822], 341.

Both Dourlen and Bienaimé's treatises include a version of the *Romanesca* in which each ascending step becomes a leading tone and is harmonized with a 6 followed by a passing *quinta falsa*.[726] In another example, it is accompanied by a 6/5 chord on the ascending note and a *dissonanza* of the fourth on the leaping note.[727]

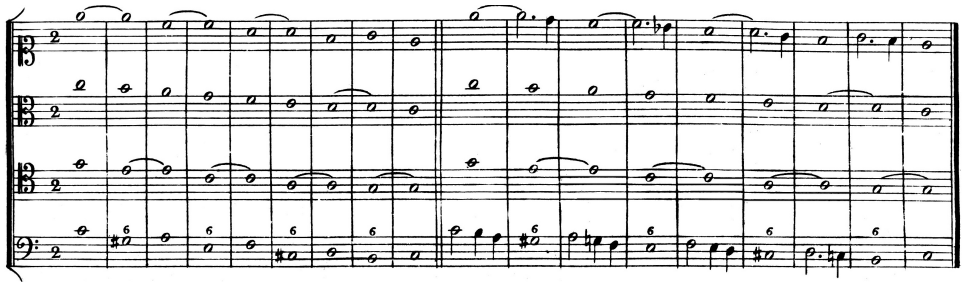

Figure 4.64. Dourlen [1838], 13. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96229899/f23.item .texteImage

Many French authors add a common pattern to their manuals that is not usually found in partimento rules. It consists of an ascending fourth followed by a descending second, which we could describe as a *Romanesca* in retrograde motion.[728] If we add the *basse fondamentale* (fig. 4.65), this results in an ascending scale with root position triads as *basse fondamentale*. Here is the example of this pattern found in Catel's *Traité*.

726 Dourlen [1838], 13. Bienaimé (1863), 65.
727 Dourlen [1838], 43.
728 This pattern is known in German *Modelltheorie* as "Quartstieg terzweise". See e.g., Holtmeier, Menke, Diergarten (2013).

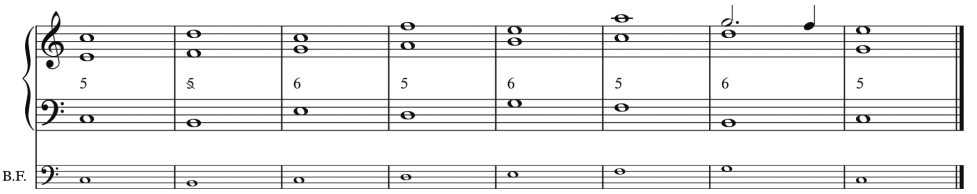

Figure 4.65. Catel (1801), 47.

Catel gives some dissonance options for this pattern, including the same pattern of the *Romanesca* (as if read in retrograde) 9–8 4–3 and consecutive 7–6s.[729] This same model is found in Perne's treatise, together with several options for accompaniment with dissonances of the ninth.[730] Colet adds to Catel's options for this "retrograde *Romanesca*", giving some examples with double dissonances (fig. 4.66) and a variation containing a suspension in the bass line.[731]

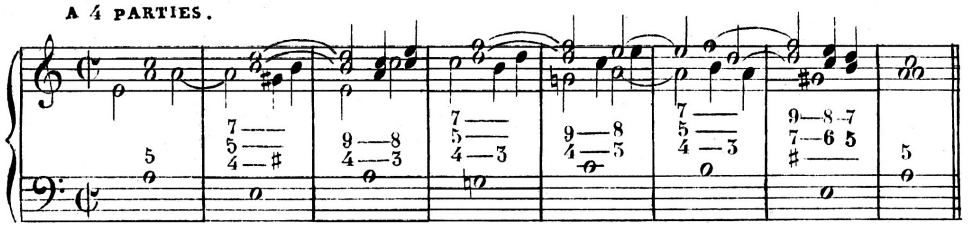

Figure 4.66. Colet (1846), 190. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96391808/f200.item.texteImage

Although this pattern is not readily found in Neapolitan collections of *regole,* Bienaimé shows an application of this model in Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*. As in Colet's example, it appears only once here, without sequential repetitions and accompanied by 4–6 and 9–6 suspensions (fig. 4.67, mm. 2–3).[732]

729 Catel (1801), 47–48.
730 Perne [1822], 334–335.
731 Colet (1846), 189–190.
732 This sequence has been described as "Transgressio" by Spieß. See Spieß (1746), 156–158, and Menke (2017), 127–128. This same pattern is also found in Kalkbrenner (1849), 12 and in Chopin's *Mazurka* op.6 n.1, as Felix Diergarten has shown in his article dedicated to Romantic thoroughbass. See Diergarten (2011b), 23–26.

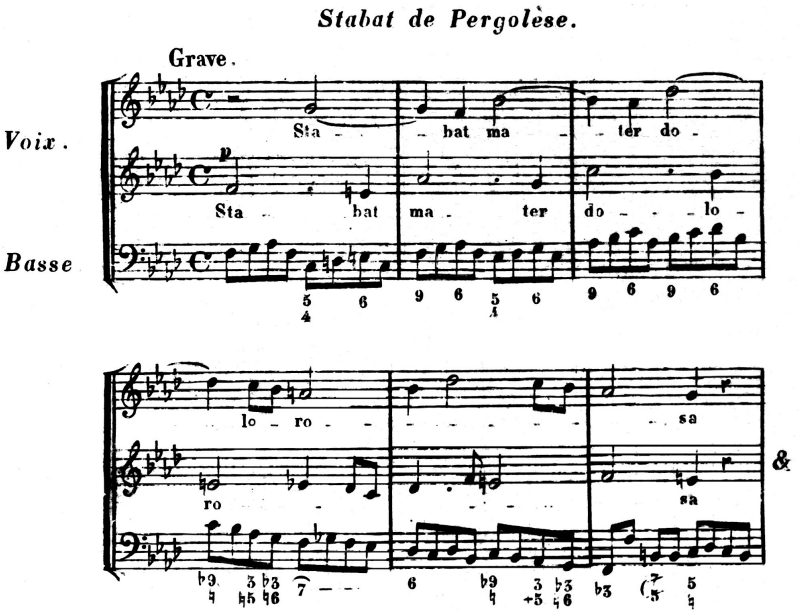

Figure 4.67. Bienaimé (1863), 182. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f186.item.texteImage

4.4.10. *Partimento che sale di quinta e scende di quarta*

This movement, called *Quintanstieg* or *4/3- 4/3-Konsekutive* in the German *Modelltheorie* (Gjerdingen calls it *Monte Romanesca*),[733] is probably one of the most constant in the French sources examined, because of its limited possibilities for using different kinds of dissonances. Fenaroli provides the only possible chain of dissonances, together with the simple consonant root chords, the 4–3.[734] Berton describes this movement as a series of *cadence plagales* (somewhat in the tradition of Rameau's Suite des *cadences irregulières*), each being a IV-I plagal cadence transposed one step higher. For all these progressions, he shows all inversions and harmonization possibilities.[735] Dourlen harmonizes each note through a sixth chord that enables substitution of the suspension with a 9–8 dissonance chain (fig. 4.68).

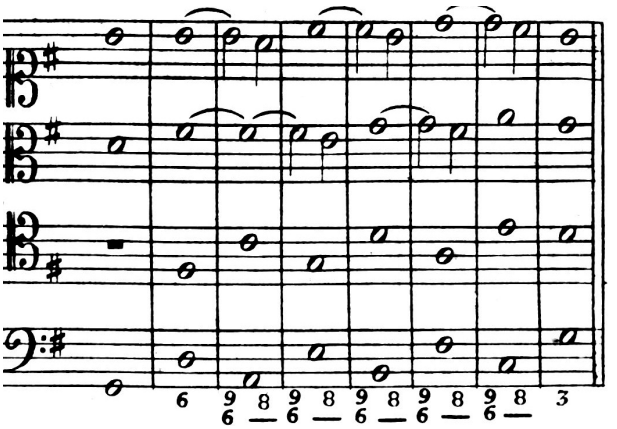

Figure 4.68. Dourlen [1838], 43. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96229899/f53.item.texteImage

Perne adds to Fenaroli's examples an interesting chromatic harmonization in which each dominant loses its function and avoids a cadence by the chromatic descent of the leading tone.[736]

733 Gjerdingen (2007a), 98–99.
734 Fenaroli (1775), 116–117.
735 Berton (1815a), 140–141.
736 This chromatic harmonization is found in the motet *Tolle sponsa* by Giacomo Carissimi (bb. 109–117). See Menke (2017), 143.

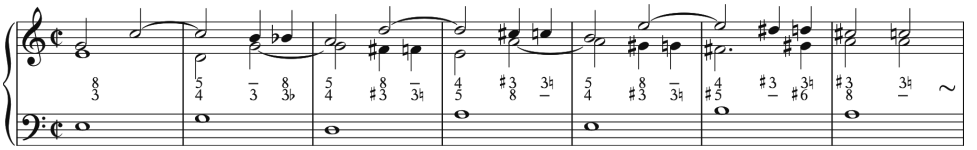

Figure 4.69. Perne [1822], 339, mm. 1–7.

4.4.11. *Partimento che sale di quarta e scende di quinta*

Called *movimento principale* by Fenaroli, this progression is one of the most common in partimento sources (and consequently, in the music of the time). Together with the standard root position chords, the most common accompaniment pattern is the use of consecutive sevenths. It is therefore often called *marche de septièmes* in French sources. Another option given by Fenaroli is the use of 9–8 suspensions.[737] Choron, Catel, Perne and Dourlen add double and triple dissonances (9/7 and 9/7/4) to these accompaniments.[738] Once again, examples of diminutions and imitations applied on this pattern are found in Dourlen's *Traité*.

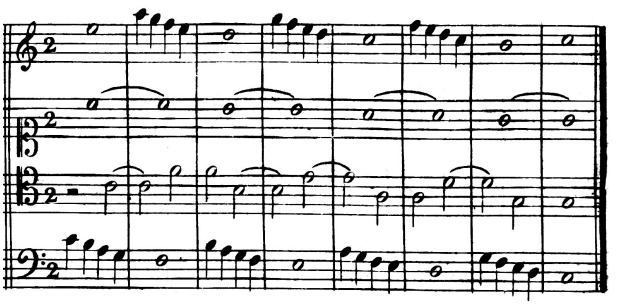

Figure 4.70. Dourlen [1838], 16. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96229899/f26.item.texteImage

Berton explains this bass movement as a succession of *cadence imparfaites*. One critical difference between Berton and Neapolitan sources is that Berton uses the harmonic minor scale in all his examples. This results in augmented fifth chords (fig. 4.71, m. 2) and diminished fourth leaps in the bass line (fig. 4.71, m. 5) and brings to life a rather artificial harmonic sequence. As in many other instances of the French adoption of Italian didactic models, we can see here how the French develop their own

737 Fenaroli (1775), 118–121.
738 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 31–34. Catel (1801), 52. Perne [1822], 344–345. Dourlen [1838], 43.

"speculative" dynamics, leading to new harmonic progressions that could be described as products of a strict, "modern" logic of analogy and *ars combinatoria*.

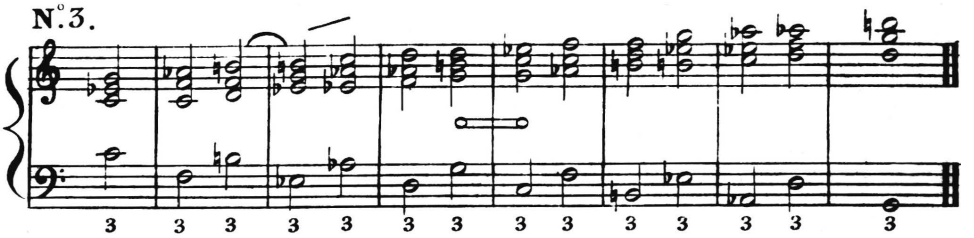

Figure 4.71. Berton (1815a), 112. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f134.item

To these common patterns, Berton adds two further alternatives for accompaniment derived from the first and second inversion of each chord. The results are consecutive sixth chords for the first inversion (fig. 4.72) and consecutive 6/4 chords for the second (fig. 4.73). Berton clarifies that these types of accompaniment are not common; especially the second option, which is described as "intolérable par sa dureté."[739]

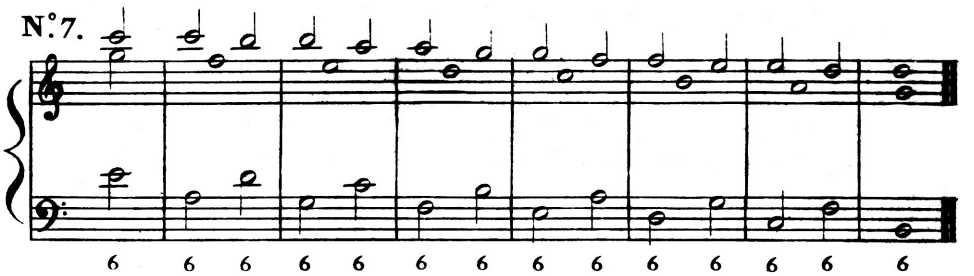

Figure 4.72. Berton (1815a), 114. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f136.item

739 Berton (1815a), 116.

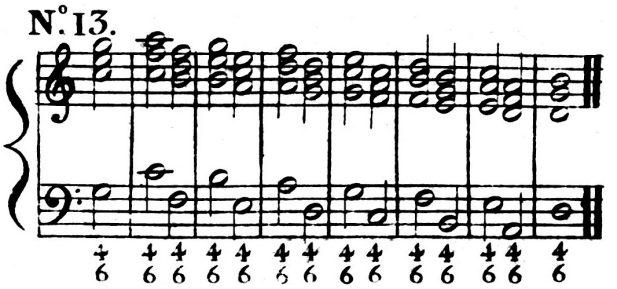

Figure 4.73. Berton (1815a), 116. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f138.item

In fig. 4.72, the sixths and the thirds in the upper voice create a consonant syncopation that confers a *caractère de dissonance* to the movement.[740] According to Berton, the same pattern – accompanied by 7–3 or 7–7 – can also be inverted, with a resulting alternation of 6 and 6/5 chords.

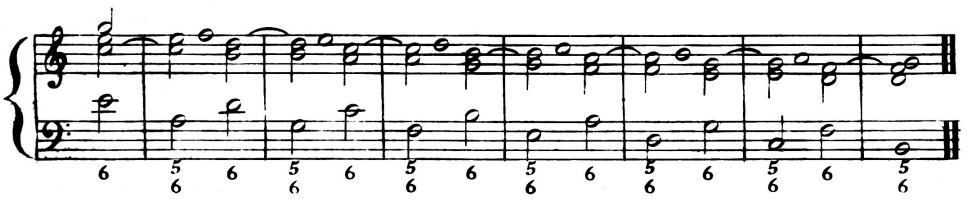

Figure 4.74. Berton (1815a), 121. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9634105r/f143.item

Bienaimé calls this bass movement *marche fondamentale.*[741] He offers an example of accompaniment for this *marche* with ninths, resolving to the fifth of the next chord.

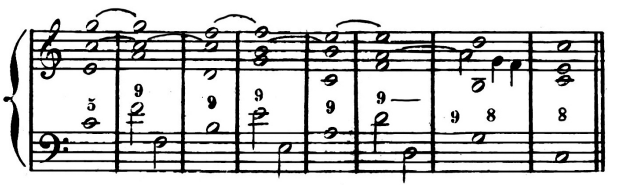

Figure 4.75. Bienaimé (1863), 192. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f196.item.texteImage

740 Berton (1815a), 114.
741 Bienaimé (1863), 202.

It is notable that Bienaimé chose to use an open position for the voices.

The examples presented here show his remoteness from Italian partimento practice, in which these kind of unusual dissonances were not common. Nevertheless, it has a very "French" sound, because the dissonances of the ninth actually arise here from the way that Bienaimé underpins a *7–7-Konsekutive* with a third, i.e. treats it entirely as what Rameau would consider to be *accords de supposition*. By inverting this sequence, the *7–7 Konsekutive* becomes visible, but with the *anticipatio resolutionis* of the dissonances as a sequence of 7/6 chords.

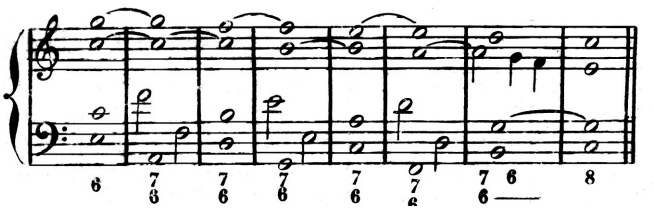

Figure 4.76. Bienaimé (1863), 193. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f197.item.texteImage

In this example, the left hand plays parallel sixths, while the right hand plays the seventh and third. The interval of the ninth is not generated from the bass, although it is maintained between the internal voices. Bienaimé acknowledges that these two accompaniment patterns are not frequently used, and he suggests avoiding the sixths to obtain the more common pattern of 7–7.

> Ces deux progressions sont peu usitées, et surtout la seconde, à cause des renversements de neuvième qui s'emploient rarement. Mais si, dans cette dernière, nous retranchons les sixtes, c'est à dire le son fondamental de chaque neuvième, elle devient une des progressions le plus en usage. C'est une suite de sixtes retardées par des septièmes qui se prolongent et dont la résolution n'a lieu que dans l'accord suivant.[742]

Here we can see how the French tradition of full-voiced accompaniment – so central to Rameau – still thrived, even while a largely Neapolitan didactical repertoire was being introduced.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to collect together all partimento *regole* found in the French sources identified and show the different individual ways in which they were presented and taught at the Conservatoire. All the authors seem to draw the majority of these *regole* from two sources: first, Catel's *Traité* and second, Imbimbo's edition of Fenaroli's partimenti. Using Catel's *Traité,* the official *méthode,* was

742 Bienaimé (1863), 193.

compulsory during *harmonie* lessons and prescribed by the *Règlement.*[743] Imbimbo can be considered to be a mediator between the Neapolitan and the French teaching traditions, adding to Fenaroli's *regole* with ideas originating from traditional French (Ramellian and especially Neo-Ramellian) theories. Imbimbo's edition also appeared among the teaching material officially used during lessons, and it is therefore plausible that other professors' writings were mainly influenced by these two sources.

Perne is a particularly important figure in the French reception of partimento. He inserts his own edition of Fenaroli's *Regole* in his book. Just like his colleagues, he modified some elements through re-arrangements and added theoretical contents, creating his own hybrid version of the method. The rule of the octave, the core of the partimento-tradition, is officially absent in Berton's work, although it is hidden in examples and chapters on topics related to tonality and rules of tonal coherence. All in all, it can be said that the practical method, the fundamental pedagogical basis of the Italian partimento tradition, is appreciatively accepted and copied: however, the idea of harmonic functionality and the Italian concept of the chord, specifically embodied in the rule of the octave, is increasingly rejected in the course of the 19th century. This can be clearly seen in Berton's and Bienaimé's use of the scale of the harmonic minor mode, which could be described as the result of the Italian tradition being transformed by other theoretical principles. The tendency towards systematic consistency and the desire for uniformity coloured the integration of the partimento into French music theory. This striving for completeness sometimes results in a broadening of tonal areas. Although not in line with partimento tonal coherence, it is compatible and better-suited to the broader concept of tonality that was developing in the nineteenth century. Perhaps most significant advocate was Colet, who initially denied the importance of the rule of the octave but finally "converted" to pedagogical effectiveness of partimenti and dedicated his *Traité* to this practice.

Nevertheless, each professor presented his own vision, based on his own theoretical background and the clearest sign of this influence can be seen in the use of terminology. There is no doubt that the labels used to describe intervals, cadences, and progressions are derived from traditional French music theory and are often directly drawn from Rameau's theoretical works. Similarly, the application of inversions and the *basse fondamentale* represent an important difference between the French and the Neapolitan approaches to partimento. French authors combine their *traités* and the theory of the *basse fondamentale* with the "horizontal" *regole.* Imbimbo also used this blend when introducing the *basse fondamentale* into some of his examples. Inversions of *dissonanze* and *moti del basso* allow us to see Neapolitan *regole* from a different perspective, in which they become (in some ways) more flexible and better adapted to compositional requirements. The artificial application of inversions and dissonances to the *regole*, the subordination of the old Italian models to a new *ars combinatoria*, did not always produce satisfying musical results. And here the

743 See Chapter 2.

limitations of a method's historical durability are revealed. This system understands the art of music to be a poetry of rules that can be learned and taught, in keeping with the aesthetic principles of the 18th century. The *antichi maestri,* ancient and wise, continued to use the same rules for many decades; and this consistency was what made the style of the *écoles d'Italie* recognizable and appreciated; the bringing together of partimento, practical accompaniment and composition contributed significantly to their success. French reception of the Italian partimento tradition shows us how this approach slowly evolved during the long 19th century.

Chapter 5
French realizations of Partimenti

This chapter is dedicated to the realization of partimenti in France. This starts with a short introduction on how to realize a partimento, followed by a section devoted to imitations and diminutions, and the *beste Lage*. Finally, some examples of French realizations will be presented.

Realizing a partimento, according to Neapolitan *Maestri,* starts with playing *con le semplici consonanze,* then adding the *dissonanze,* followed by imitations and diminutions.[744] Texture is another element to be taken into consideration when realizing partimenti, and the number of voices may vary within the same piece. Melodic passages might be integrated with chords in cadences, or the number of voices may vary to create different textures.

In his preface to the French edition of Fenaroli's partimenti, Imbimbo provides his French audience with a few of his own technical instructions for the realization of partimenti:

1. The preparation of each dissonance should have a duration that is equal to – or longer than – the sounding dissonance.

> I. Per esattezza di comporre si richiede che la legatura si debba far sempre, o tra due note di egual valore, o tra la nota grande e la picciola, e che giammai la nota picciola debba legar la grande per la ragione che il corpo minore non può attirare a se il maggiore, quantunque vi siano esempj di ottimi maestri in contrario, specialmente nel basso de' recitativi correnti.[745]

2. A piece must end on the downbeat.

> II. Che un componimento qualunque debba terminare sempre al primo tempo della misura, e non mai al terzo tempo, e tanto meno al quarto, per evitare la disparità de' piedi musicali, che renderebbe il ritmo vizioso; sebbene si trovino ancora esempj in contrario.[746]

3. An adequate distance between voices needs to be maintained to achieve a good *cantabile* melody in each voice.

744 See Sanguinetti (2007).
745 Fenaroli (1813/14), 45.
746 Fenaroli (1813/14), 45.

> III. L'armonia successiva essendo determinata dal canto, ossia da più melodie combinate insieme; perchè l'effetto ne sia migliore, si dispongano le parti in maniera che conservino fra esse le giuste distanze secondo la natura delle voci.[747]

4. Unfigured partimenti are an exercise in learning how to find the appropriate chord for each bass movement.

> IV. I *Partimenti* senza numeri sono stati così fatti dall'autore per esercitar lo scolare a ricercare da se gli accordi che il basso in tutti i suoi movimenti richiede.[748]

5. Sometimes there will be one accidental less in the key signature, as in the "ancient style."

> V. Alcuni bassi de' Partimenti si trovano talvolta con un diesis, e talvolta con un bemolle di meno alla chiave, di quello che richiederebbe il modo, impiegandosi accidentalmente i mancanti. Ciò si è fatto per avvezzare lo scolare alla maniera antica.[749]

6. Some melodic notes may differ from the tones of the supporting harmony. These result from diminutions, and must be preceded, or followed, by consonances.

> VI. S'incontrano ne' movimenti delle parti alcune note di passaggio, o alla sfuggita che prendono il nome di note false o cattive, di note cambiate, e di acciaccature, le quali appartengono tutte alla melodia, senza guasto dell'armonia. Tali note però debbono sempre essere precedute o seguite dalle note buone, ossiano consonanti.[750]

These would seem to be words of advice addressed to beginners, especially numbers 1–3 and 6, which carry standard instructions. It is interesting to note how Imbimbo needs to clarify why his edition contains unfigured partimenti, demonstrating – once again – that French accompanists were not used to this practice. To help his reader, he adds footnotes to unfigured partimenti, referring to the chapter where the rules relating to those passages are explained.

In the appendix to the *Principes d'accompagnement,* there is a section edited by Fiocchi entitled "*des progressions de la basse et du chant",* which supplements the previous chapters on accompaniment rules. This chapter, presented as an introduction to counterpoint, contains several melodic patterns that are written in invertible counterpoint applied to bass motions. Figure 5.1. shows an example of the ascending scale accompanied by the 8–7–6 pattern.

747 Fenaroli (1813/14), 46.
748 Fenaroli (1813/14), 46.
749 Fenaroli (1813/14), 46.
750 Fenaroli (1813/14), 46.

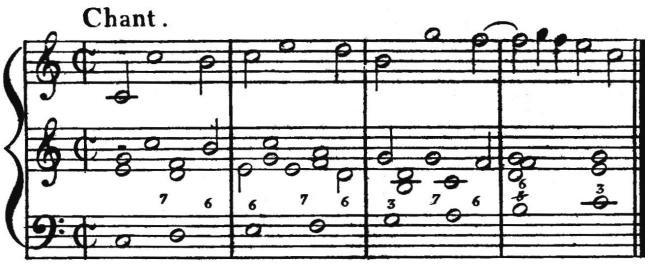

Figure 5.1. Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 166. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1175562q/f204.item

The two outer voices in figure 5.1. are invertible, and the middle staff contains a chordal accompaniment of the scale. The connection between partimento and counterpoint was an essential topic in Neapolitan Conservatori and was taught in both written and aural/practical form.[751]

As we have seen, these subjects were kept separate at the Conservatoire: partimento was relegated to *accompagnement* classes, or sometimes used as *basses donnés* to be realized in a written *disposizione*. Counterpoint was taught along with fugue on a separate course that could only be accessed once the classes in *harmonie* had been successfully completed. It is therefore interesting to find these elements combined in a French source; however, Fiocchi – who wrote this section – was a student of Fenaroli and had very likely been trained to combine these exercises.[752]

5.1. *Diminuzioni* and *imitazioni*

Diminution and imitation were taught extensively in Italy until the 17th century. Many treatises were dedicated to this topic until it was gradually assimilated into counterpoint teaching.[753] This explains why there are only a few elements of these techniques in partimento sources, often as examples for certain passages or *moti*. As seen in the previous chapters, students in Naples learned diminution through the application of counterpoint species to *moti del basso.* This is evident from manuscripts containing exercises, such as those by Lavigna and Muscogiuri which were previously discussed in Chapter 3.

An important source for the study of diminished partimenti is Durante's collection, entitled *Partimenti diminuiti*. Sanguinetti has examined these exercises and identified

751 See Van Tour (2015).

752 Another French source containing an application of counterpoint to harmony is Dourlen [1838], see Chapter 2.

753 See Sanguinetti (2012a), 183–190 and Sanguinetti (2013).

some aspects of diminution that apply to partimenti. These are a) greater rhythmic activity in the right hand when compared to the harmonic rhythm, b) the use of a polyphonic melody (a melody, typically containing two voices, written monodically), c) the use of the left hand to fill in the realization when the right hand is busy with more virtuoso passages, and d) the use of complementary rhythms, which maintain a rhythmic flow that is balanced throughout the piece by alternating, faster notes between both hands.[754]

Another example of partimento sources that contain diminutions is found in Sala. This consists of only four examples showing how to diminish the accompaniment in the right or left hand using eighth or sixteenth notes.[755] These four examples were certainly not sufficient to teach students how to fully use passing or neighbor notes, *cambiata, sfuggita,* and other elements of diminution. These techniques were mainly taught through counterpoint in Naples, together with imitation techniques, such as exact imitation, rhythmic imitation, or inversions.

Partimenti can often present opportunities to introduce imitations. When these are not written out, they might be indicated by figures or the word *imitazione* (or *imit.*), or simply implied by a change of rhythm in the bass line.[756]

One example of the teaching of diminution and imitation in Fenaroli's school is shown in Lavigna's *Studi di contrappunto* manuscripts.[757] The exercises in these manuscripts are often applications of diminution (in different levels, using different note values, from slower to faster) to *moti del basso.*[758]

Imbimbo also discusses diminution in his edition of Fenaroli's partimenti. As mentioned above, he explains how the diminution of the bass line creates a series of notes that are not included in the chord. These notes are called *false* or *cattive* (fake or bad notes), as opposed to consonant tones that are called *buone* (good).

Choron and Fiocchi dedicate a section to diminution in the *Principes d'accompagnement.* Interestingly, they refer to the works of Padre Martini and Zarlino for introducing passing tones.[759]

When discussing diminution, they quote Gasparini and offer examples of possible diminutions for cadences and other bass movements (fig. 5.2.).[760] Together with examples of diminutions of the melody, there is an instruction given on how to play the partimento: when the right hand is playing an ornamented melody, the left hand should fill in the harmony.

754 Sanguinetti (2012a), 185–190.
755 See Sala (2017), 4.
756 See Sanguinetti (2012a), 191–205.
757 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117/a–g. See Chapter 3.
758 The manuscript has been examined in Sanguinetti (2013).
759 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 98–99. Martini (1774), 25. Zarlino (1558), 195–199.
760 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 99–101. Gasparini (1722), 69.

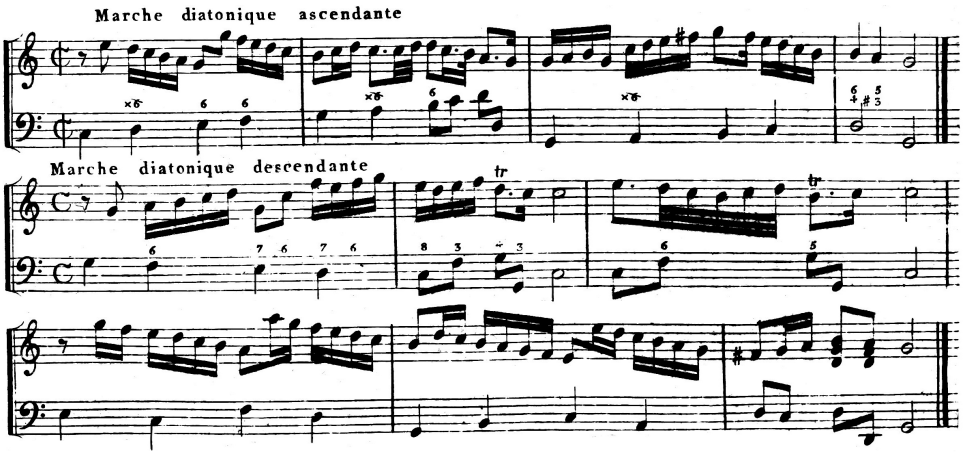

Figure 5.2. Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 99. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1175562q/f137.item

Following this, there is a section dedicated to the diminution of the bass, with an indication to "fill in the harmony", this time with the right hand, when the left hand is active with diminutions.[761] Figure 5.3. shows three different versions of the same bass line: the first with slow values and the other two with two different levels of diminutions.

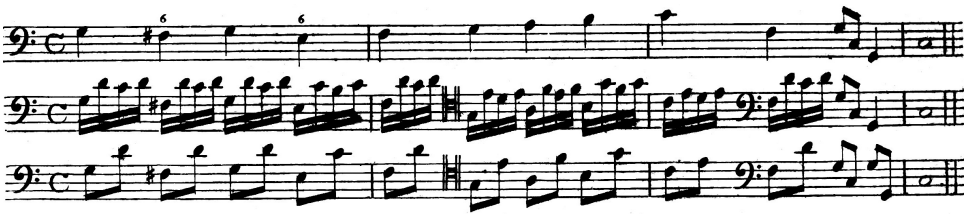

Figure 5.3. Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 101. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1175562q/f139.item

In treatises by teachers at the Conservatoire, it was common to find diminutions introduced together with imitations. Examples of selected bass movements are given with diminutions and imitations by Berton, Catel, and Dourlen. Figure 5.4. shows an example from Dourlen's *Traité d'harmonie* showing imitations and diminutions of two progressions: descending second-rising fourth (mm. 1–7) and falling fifth-rising fourth (mm. 8–11).

761 Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 100.

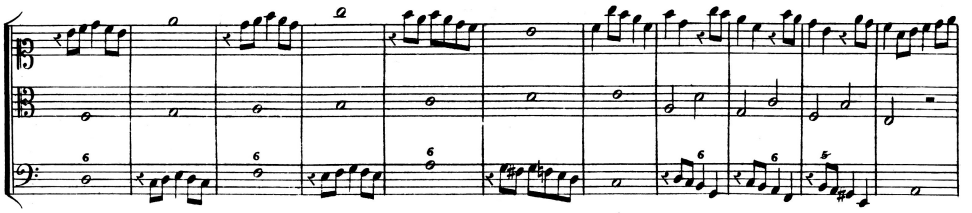

Figure 5.4. Dourlen [1838], 11. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96229899/f21.item.texteImage

Diminutions are achieved through common contrapuntal tools such as passing tones, neighbor notes, *cambiata*, appoggiatura, anticipation, and so on. Compared to the written examples of Neapolitan teaching, French sources seem not to apply the same systematic approach to the study of diminution. For example, in Lavigna's manuscript each *moto* is diminished in different ways, with increasing speed in the surface rhythm. On the other hand, French *traités* do not usually show more than one or two chosen diminished examples for each *marche*.

Fétis explains the principles of a good realization through the concept of *élegance de disposition:*

> Ce que j'appelle *Élégance de disposition* consiste à faire chanter, autant que possible, l'Accompagnement de la main droite, en imitant les traits de la Basse, lorsque l'occasion s'en présente, ou en adoptant quelque forme principale qu'on conserve jusqu'à la fin de l'exercice.[762]

According to Fétis, the imitation of elements found in the bass line is necessary in order to increase the melodic quality and the *cantabilità* of the voices played by the right hand.

In his *Traité d'accompagnement,* Dourlen suggests realizing a bass diminished by passing notes through parallel thirds, creating imitation (fig. 5.5.).

> Quand la basse est figurée au moyen des notes de passage il est plus élégant de l'accompagner de la manière suivante.[763]

762 Fétis (1824), 44.
763 Dourlen [1840], 11.

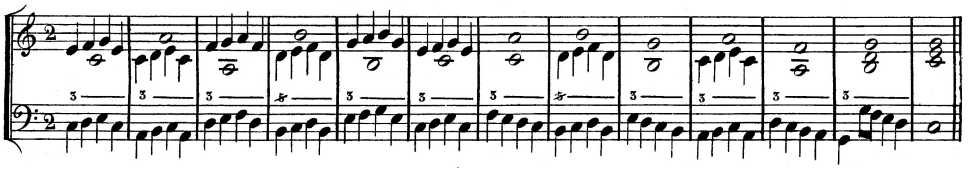

Figure 5.5. Dourlen [1840], 11. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9627250k/f23.item.texteImage

As discussed earlier, Dourlen's *Traité d'accompagnement* contains several Neapolitan partimenti. He uses some passages of a partimento by Sala to provide students with examples of realization with imitation.[764]

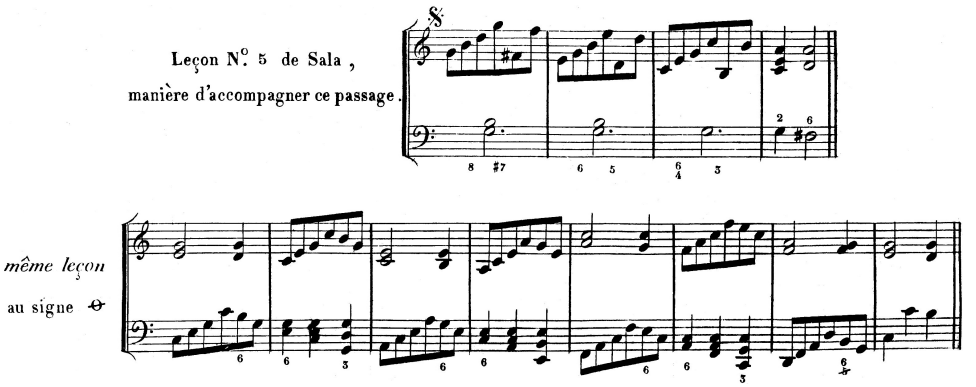

Figure 5.6. Dourlen [1840], 49. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9627250k/f61.item.texteImage

The first line is the realization of mm. 8–11, in which the right hand imitates the motif of the bass in mm. 1–3. The second line shows mm. 57–64 with exact imitation in the right hand, creating a dialogue between the bass and the upper voice. In both examples, the left and the right hands fill in the chords when the other hand is playing the imitations.[765]

> Il faut faire les accords de la main gauche quand on a une imitation à faire de la main droite; ce cas là arrive souvent en accompagnant la partition.[766]

764 It is the partimento in C major, number 26 in the 2017 edition edited by Peter van Tour. Sala (2017), 32–33.

765 These and other examples from Dourlen's *Traité* are also treated in Verwaerde (2015), 339–342.

766 Dourlen [1840], 49.

Colet introduces imitation together with the creation of a *sujet* on a given bass. He demonstrates how it is possible to compose a subject by combining invertible counterpoint – with imitations and diminutions – with a partimento;[767] however, this chapter requires a good understanding of counterpoint in order to be effective. A student beginner would not be able to realize a partimento simply by reading Colet's observations and examples.

Colet calls the accompaniment distributed between left and right hand *accompagnement divisé*.[768] Like other authors, he introduces diminutions and imitations together with the *moti del basso.* Figure 5.7. shows Colet's diminution options for the *Romanesca* using *accords brisés,* passing tones – and neighbor notes – sometimes chromatically altered.

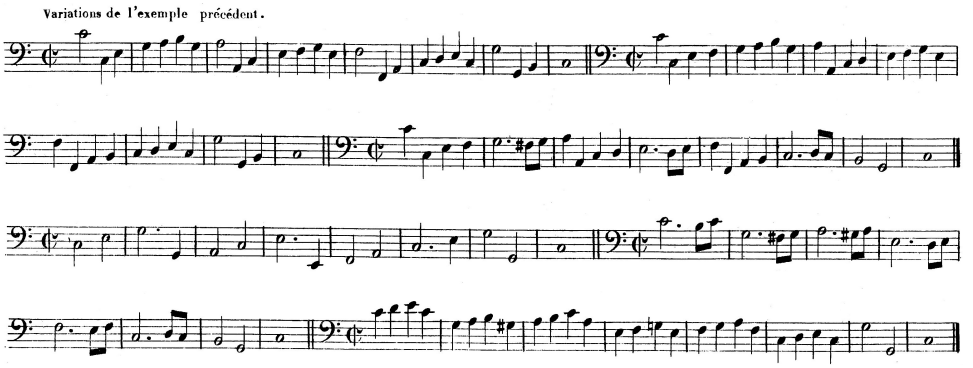

Figure 5.7. Colet (1846), 205. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96391808/f215.item.texteImage

After showing some options for diminution, Colet writes that these principles are *"à peine connus en France"*, yet they are necessary for good accompanist training.[769]

One of Colet's first suggestions for a realization is to be aware of the tonality of the bass in each section and apply the chords given by figures. A sound knowledge of how to use cadences, with and without *dissonanze*, is also required.

> Pour bien réaliser un *Partimento,* il faut d'abord reconnaitre le véritable ton dans lequel on est, et appliquer à chaque note l'accord indiqué dans les gammes sur lesquelles l'élève s'est déjà exercé. Il est aussi très important de connaitre à fond les *Cadences* avec les consonances et les dissonances [...].[770]

767 Colet (1846), 77–83.
768 Colet (1846), 140.
769 Colet (1846), 145.
770 Colet (1846), 165.

> On peut réaliser les Basses que nous venons de donner de plusiers manières soit en *plaquant* les accords, soit en les brisant. L'Harmonie peut être tantôt à deux, à trois, à quatre et à plusieurs autres parties.[771]

Colet also adds some realizations by Imbimbo – transcribed by the *Seguito de' partimenti* – as examples of realization with imitations:

> 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.[772]

Among the sources examined for this study, the most complete treatment of imitations and diminutions can be found in Bienaimé's *École de l'harmonie moderne,* in which the author dedicates two separate chapters to diminution and imitation.[773]

Chapter thirteen of Bienaimé's *École* is dedicated exclusively to *notes de passage.* These include both passing tones and neighbor notes; in general, any nonchordal tone that moves by diatonic or chromatic step. Accented and non-accented variants are explained and examples with up to four consecutive passing tones are given. Figure 5.8. shows accented dissonant passing tones proceeding chromatically upwards and downwards.

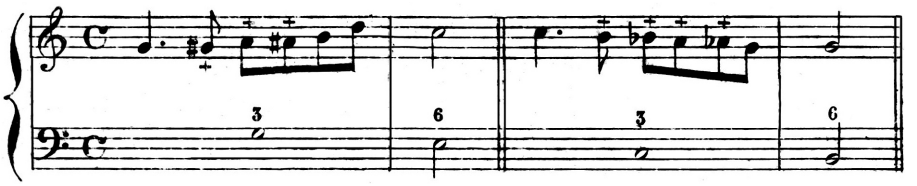

Figure 5.8. Bienaimé (1863), 91. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f95.item.texteImage

These ornamental notes can also be accompanied by thirds or sixths, either in parallel or by contrary motion (fig. 5.9).

771 Colet (1846), 200.
772 Colet (1846), 244–245. The examples are from Imbimbo [1814], 27–28; 30.
773 Bienaimé (1863), 90.

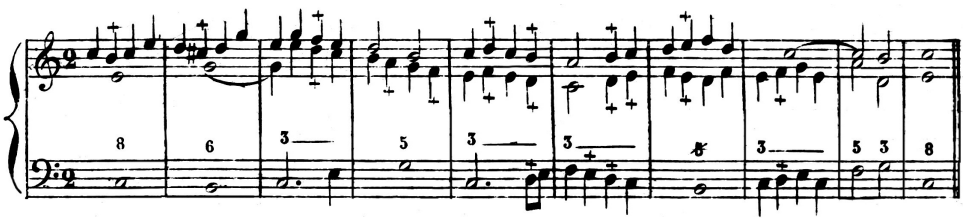

Figure 5.9. Bienaimé (1863), 92. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f96.item.texteImage

Passing and neighbor notes can be further diminished by breaking the parallel thirds/sixths or chords into smaller rhythmic values and forming a polyphonic melody (fig. 5.10.).

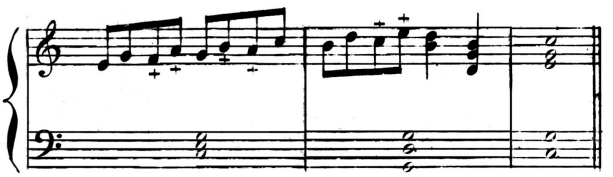

Figure 5.10. Bienaimé (1863), 93. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f97.item.texteImage

Incomplete neighbor notes (in counterpoint commonly called *échappées)* are also discussed and called *note de passage par élision:*

> La note réelle sur laquelle chaque note de passage devrait revenir est suprimée (il y a élision de cette note).[774]

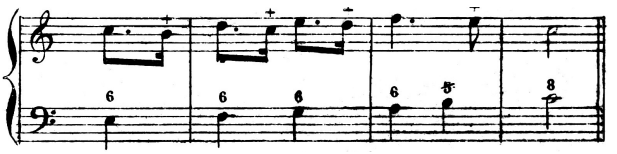

Figure 5.11. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f98.item.texteImage

774 Bienaimé (1863), 94.

In the following example, Bienaimé shows the passing notes suppressed by elision in figure 5.11.:

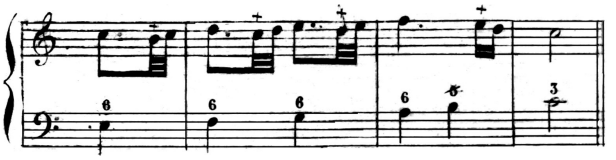

Figure 5.12. Bienaimé (1863), 94. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f98.item.texteImage

Imitation is treated in Chapter 14 of Bienaimé's book.

> L'imitation appartient plus particulièrement au contre-point et à la fugue qu'à l'harmonie, cependant nous croyons nécessaire d'en donner ici quelques notions, car dans l'harmonie écrite pour les voix, on anticipe souvent sur le domaine du contre-point: c'est-à-dire qu'on entre dans l'art de faire marcher, d'agencer les voix.[775]

A short introduction underlines the importance of introducing this feature during the study of harmony, and Bienaimé offers these basic instructions on the use of imitation:

1. An imitation can occur transposed on any interval above and below its model.
2. It should not occur too late in the composition, but at an adequate distance from the model: a maximum of four bars later.
3. Imitations work best in progressions.

Bienaimé provides examples of imitations on each interval. The following example shows an imitation on the fourth above, realized on a falling third-ascending second progression.

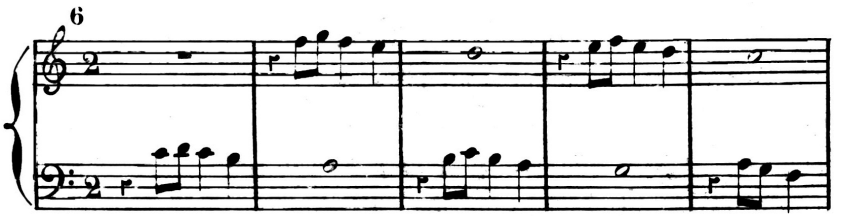

Figure 5.13. Bienaimé (1863), 97. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f101.item.texteImage

775 Bienaimé (1863), 95.

Imitations can be *régulières* when they are an exact transposition of the model, and *irrégulières* when tonal mutations are applied. *Imitations régulières* are also called *imitations canoniques.*[776]Another type of imitation is the *imitation libre, de rhythme ou de quantité*. This imitation is achieved by repeating the same rhythmic pattern of the model without necessarily imitating the melodic contour. The same rhythmic values can, as a matter of fact, also be used with melodies in contrary motion.

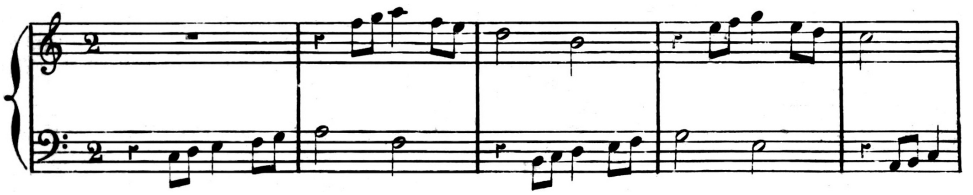

Figure 5.14. Bieniamé (1863), 101. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9621825q/f105.item.texteImage

As has been seen, the teaching of imitation and diminution in Paris was strictly related to the teaching of harmony, especially the *marches d'harmonie*. With the exception of Dourlen, who introduces species counterpoint at the very beginning of his *Traité d'harmonie,* other professors at the Conservatoire limit instruction on these topics to examples in their books, with little or no explanation. Only Bienaimé dedicates two detailed chapters to these subjects, combining elements of counterpoint with harmony. All of these approaches remain some way removed from the systematic Neapolitan teaching of counterpoint, as applied to partimento *regole.*[777] Although some references to the Neapolitan school are present in the French sources examined – such as Sala's partimenti in Dourlen – the application of these techniques is generally limited to the *moti del basso.*

5.2. The *beste Lage*

The concept of *beste Lage* (best position or register in English) was introduced by Ludwig Holtmeier and derives its name from a term used by Förster in his examples for the *Anleitung des Generalbasses.*[778] It is a procedure for creating an "ideal" set of outer voices, one that displays a fine balance between tension and release. Consequently, the two outer voices should work as an independent two-voice composition,

776 Bienaimé (1863), 100.
777 For further information on the teaching of counterpoint in Naples, see Van Tour (2015).
778 Förster (1818), vol. I, I.

while the internal voices fill in the harmony, functioning as accompaniment.[779] Although there are few written instructions for this principle, Holtmeier identified the best position of the dominant seventh chord in all its inversions: these either place the seventh of the chord or the leading tone in the upper voice. These two notes are both *dissonances appellatives,* which create tension in both melodic and harmonic dimensions. Therefore, root position and the first inversion will have the seventh in the upper voice, while the remaining two inversions (4/3 and 4/2) will have the leading tone in the upper voice. Consequently, two of these positions present the tritone between the two outer voices (in the 6/5 and the 4/2 chords).

In the Neapolitan school, this principle was strictly related only to the positions of the right hand. In some cases, the bass figures given with the partimento represented the voicing indicated by the composer. These types of figures might be recognizable when, for example, a smaller number is placed above a bigger. We can find some examples of this practice in Fenaroli or in Paisiello's *Regole*.[780]

Two French sources from the eighteenth century refer to a principle similar to the *beste Lage*:[781] Michel Corrette's *Le Maître de clavecin* and the *Traité theorique et pratique de l'accompagnement* by Claude de La Porte, which underlines the importance of the two outer voices in the *accompagnement*:[782]

> Les parties les plus intéressantes dans l'accompagnement et qui s'entendent le mieux sont, la partie de la basse, et la partie la plus haute de l'accord; on les nomme Parties Supérieures.[783]

In the pages that follow, La Porte shows several examples of *marches* in different positions, the first of which often places the dissonance in the upper voice. Further examples include the *règle de l'octave* combined with other bass motions in all tonalities.[784]

Corrette indicates a best position for each key (among the most commonly used tonalities), both for playing the *règle de l'octave* and for his exercises.

The first position is indicated for C major, C-sharp major, D major, E-flat major (as second choice), B major, B-flat major, C minor, and B minor.

The second position is suggested for G major, A-flat major, A major, G minor, and A minor.

779 Holtmeier (2013) explains the principle on the basis of a *trio sonata*. For the definition, see Holtmeier (2013), 272 and Holtmeier (2017a), 138–141.

780 Paisiello (2008), 12–13.

781 These sources have already been studied by Verwaerde: therefore, mention is only made here of some central points in her research that are relevant to this work. For further details see Verwaerde (2015), 206–217.

782 Corrette (1753) and La Porte (1753).

783 La Porte (1753), 35.

784 Some tonalities, like D-flat major are omitted, yet represented by their enharmonic correspondent. La Porte (1753), 36–49.

The third position is recommended for E-flat major (first choice), E major, F major, F-sharp major, D minor, E minor, F minor, and F-sharp minor.[785]

These two sources are mentioned here on account of their importance in indicating a chosen position in music composition and/or *accompagnement.* This gives us an idea of what kind of instruction an accompanist might have received in 18th century France.[786] Although it is rare to find such written instructions among the teaching material used at the Conservatoire, they nonetheless serve to illustrate the most relevant guidelines for the positioning of notes to be found in the sources examined.

An indication as to the best position to play certain chords can be seen in Choron and Fiocchi's *Principes d'accompagnement:*

> Nous donnons chaque exemple sous toutes les positions; mais il faut remarquer que toutes ne sont pas également bonnes. La meilleure est, pour les accords consonants, celle où les parties supérieures sont en consonances imparfaite, et pour les accords dissonants, celle où ces mêmes parties sont formées par les dissonances.

According to this suggestion, consonant chords should hold an imperfect consonance between the outer voices, while in dissonant chords those voices should form the dissonance.

In Deldevez' collection of partimenti, an instruction appears indicating a *position chantante ou choisie*. This is one of the chosen positions for the realization of partimenti that gives priority to voice leading, rather than maintaining one of the three standard positions throughout the exercise. In his realizations of partimenti, he first shows three versions of the same partimento (one in each of the three positions), although he later provides only one example, either in one chosen position or in a mixed position.[787]

On the same matter, Perne gives instructions on how to interchange the three positions to create a *meilleur effet* with the accompaniment; a change of position, in order to return to the original range or to reach a better one, is called *reprise de position.*

> Il est donc très important que l'accompagnateur sache choisir entre les trois positions, celle qui amène le plus de variété et le moins de monotonie. Il faut aussi qu'il considère que ce n'est pas la quantité de notes qu'on peut employer qui donne le plus d'harmonie, et que très souvent il vaux mieux retrancher une et même deux notes d'un accord, que d'employer toutes celles qu'il donne.[788]

785 Verwaerde (2015), 215.
786 Verwaerde mentions other sources containing a few indications on positions, like Biferi and Dubugrarre. See Verwaerde (2015), 206 et seq.
787 Deldevez [1868], 56 and following pages. See also chapter 4 and Cafiero (2019), 74.
788 Perne [1822], 432.

According to Perne, along with a position that brings variety to the accompaniment, another important element of good realization is the texture, or how many and which notes of the chord should be played. For example, he suggests that the fifth in a seventh chord can be omitted; he also advises that it is preferable to double the sixth in a sixth chord, but in a 6/4 chord it is not possible to omit any note, in order to "cover" the fourth.

As previously mentioned, Perne gives several examples of realized basses. Together with these examples, he writes annotations explaining why he chose to change the position in certain passages.[789] These instructions listed here are Perne's guidelines to partimento realization:

1. It is preferable to start the accompaniment in first position.
2. On a repeated note, the first and second position can be exchanged.
3. In a change of mode, the second position is preferred, since the third in the upper voice (the leading tone) enhances this change.
4. Cadences that confirm a modulation usually end in first position (with a *clausula tenorizans* in the upper voice).
5. A new tonic in a transitory modulation can be reached in second position (and later confirmed by a cadence in first position).
6. A good position in a sequence (harmonized with 5/3 chords) is with the second position (imperfect consonance) on the downbeat and the third or first position (perfect consonances) on the upbeat.
7. In a 6/4 chord, it is preferable to have the fourth or the sixth in the upper voice.

All these indications describe basic principles of composition and counterpoint:

– A piece should usually begin and end with the tonic between the outer voices (n. 1, 4, 5);
– Static and/or repeated notes should be avoided in the melody (n. 2, 7);
– During a modulation, imperfect cadences are often followed by perfect cadences that confirm and establish the new tonality (n. 5);
– Positioning the leading tone in the upper voice highlights a modulation (n. 3, *beste Lage);*
– In sequences, it is best to create a symmetric pattern in the upper voice to imitate, or mirror the bass line (n. 6).

Some insight into symmetry in the *marches* can be gained from Bienaimé's chapter dedicated to progressions, which includes an interesting indication of how to realize these progressions.[790] According to Bienaimé, the upper voice must imitate the movement of the bass in order to create a symmetry that will satisfy the ear.

789 Perne [1822], 407–408.
790 Bienaimé (1863), 60 et seq.

> Lorsqu'une basse est en progression, toutes les parties de l'harmonie sont soumises à une symétrie analogue à celle de la basse, et elles doivent dans leur ensemble, suivre le même mouvement que cette dernière: c'est-à-dire que, si la progression est ascendante, le mouvement général des parties doit être ascendant; et descendant, si la basse est en progression descendante.[791]

In the following example, we can see that the ascending fourth-descending third pattern is imitated through a canon at the octave in the upper voice. Bienaimé also appears to apply Perne's sixth principle regarding alternating imperfect and perfect consonances. Unlike Perne, however, in other examples he uses perfect consonances on the downbeat.[792]

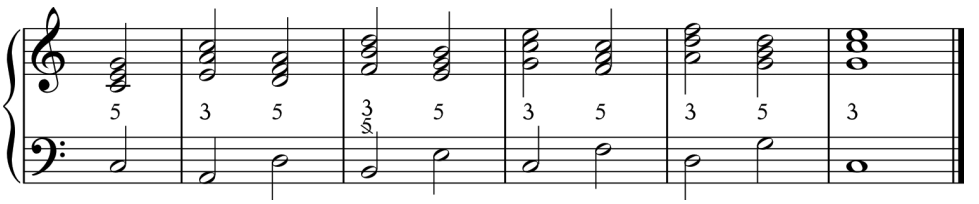

Figure 5.15. Bienaimé (1863), 62.

Symmetry can also be achieved by using other progressions in the upper voice, like an ascending scale (which here is applied to the same bass movement of the previous example).

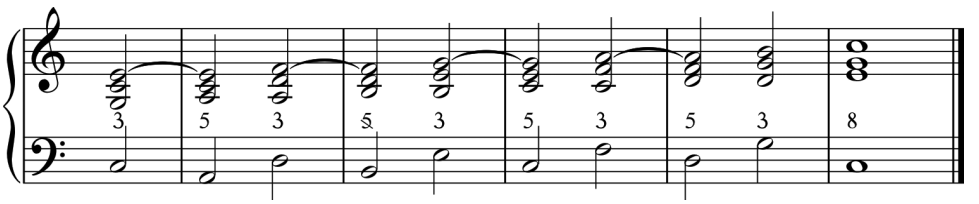

Figure 5.16. Bienaimé (1863), 63.

Another source of interest for deducing principles of the *beste Lage* in *moti del basso* is Le Borne's manuscript, which contains harmony exercises he wrote under Dourlen's supervision, while attending Berton's course.[793]

Analysis of his realizations of exercises containing *moti del basso* show that some melodic patterns recur on certain bass motions. We can therefore assume that he was

791 Bienaimé (1863), 61.
792 See e.g. the falling fifths-rising fourths on page 62 of Bienaimé's *École*.
793 See Chapter 3.

instructed to position the upper voice according to certain principles. As previously mentioned, many examples in Le Borne's manuscript are copied from Catel's *Traité*; nevertheless, not every melodic pattern he uses is contained in Catel's book. However, a number of them are included in Dourlen's *Traité d'harmonie,* so he might have received these suggestions from his *répétiteur*. Berton's *Traité* also contains similar examples but, as mentioned, his approach is different from the one followed by Le Borne, which conforms to the Conservatoire's official *méthode*.[794]

We now move on to some examples from Le Borne's manuscript that contain these patterns. These are mainly focused on sequences accompanied by consonant chords, in order to highlight the melodic patterns. In fact, when dissonances are introduced, they are primarily positioned in the upper voice – as typically found in partimento sources. Patterns that are commonly found in other sources will be omitted: these include the *faux-bourdon*, which typically has parallel sixths between the outer voices; the ascending 5–6 scale, where the *rétard consonante* is usually in the upper voice; and the descending syncopated scale, where the fourth of the 4/2 chord is usually placed in the higher voice.[795]

The first exercise in Le Borne's manuscript begins with an ascending fifth-descending fourth progression (fig. 5.17. mm 1–4) and continues with a descending third-ascending fourth (mm. 5–10). The numbers above the staff represent the intervals between the bass and the upper voice.

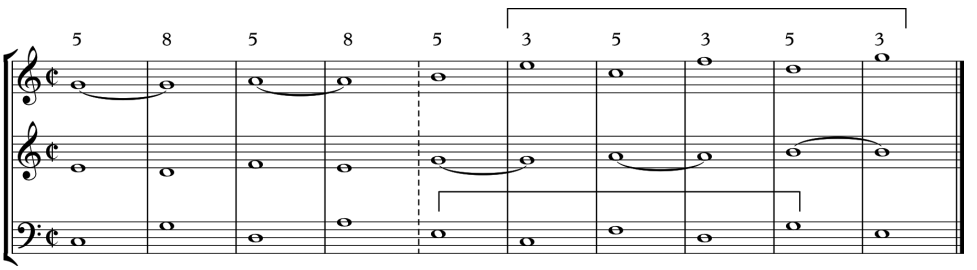

Figure 5.17. Le Borne (1813), 2, mm.1–10.

The two upper voices could be exchanged, but Le Borne does not apply this variation to his realizations. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Le Borne omits the third in the second chord to preserve melodic motion and prepare the octave to avoid forbidden parallels. The melodic pattern for an ascending, fifth-descending fourth (accompanied *con le consonanze)* results in a 5–8 succession.

On the other hand, the descending third-ascending fourth sequence applies the so-called PIP principle (a sequence of perfect and imperfect consonances between the

794 See Chapter 2 and 3.
795 These typical positions are also mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4.

bass and the upper voice).[796] The upper voice contains a canon at the octave that brings coherence and symmetry to the passage.

The second exercise (fig. 5.18) contains descending thirds in the bass line that are again accompanied by a canon at the octave in the upper voice. This results in parallel thirds between the outer voices.

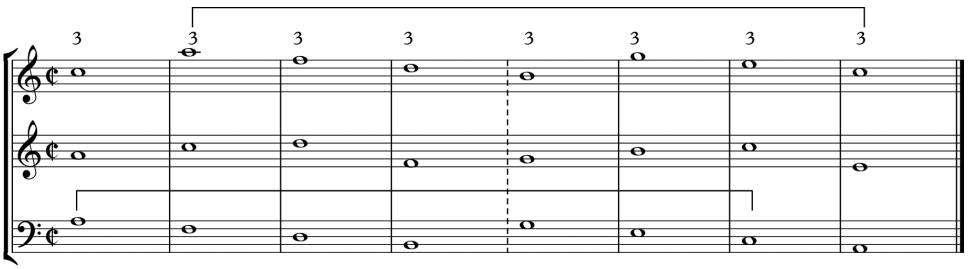

Figure 5.18. Le Borne (1813), 3, mm. 10–17.

The next example contains two *moti* that were often considered at the Conservatoire to be two versions of the same thing: the falling third-rising second and falling fifth-rising fourth. As can be seen, the first was considered to be the inversion of the second. In this exercise (fig. 5.19), one of the two patterns is used in the upper voice when the bass contains the other motion. The resulting consonances between bass and soprano are consecutive 5–3. On the *basso che sale di quarta e scende di quinta,* both upper voices show the same motion, but are so-placed in order to form contrary motion between them.

796 On the PIP principle see, among others, Jans (2007), 129 et seq.

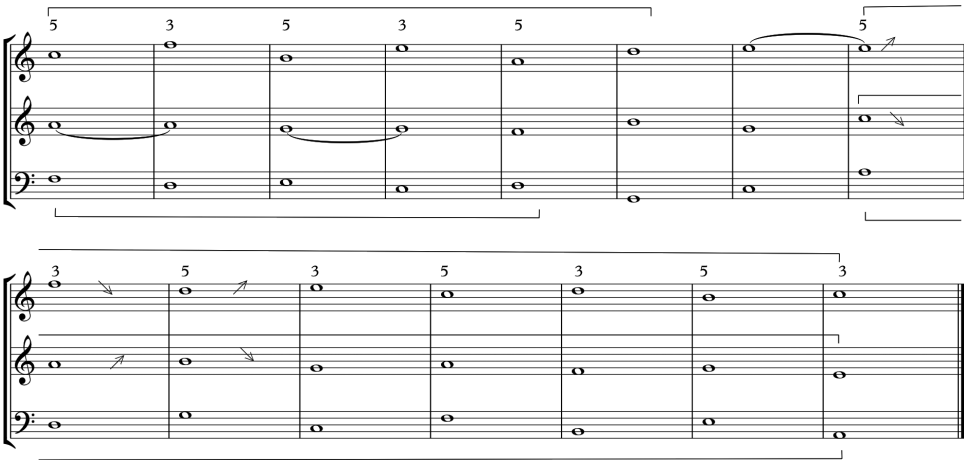

Figure 5.19. Le Borne (1813), 4 n.3, mm. 10–24.

Another version of the falling thirds-rising second progression uses the same sequence in the upper voice, in a sort of canon at the fourth that begins a half note later (fig. 5.20). The middle voice has the falling fifths-rising fourths sequence in contrary motion with the bass.

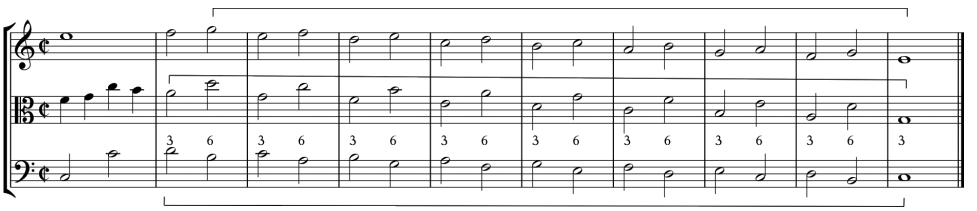

Figure 5.20. Le Borne (1813), 42, n.5.

From this overview, it is clear that the choice of certain melodic patterns was not entirely left up to the composer. Some general rules, most of them transmitted aurally, were applied to certain *moti del basso*. In Naples, these combinations were often assimilated by students during *solfeggio* lessons, where the combination of bass motions with melodic patterns created a sort of catalogue or musical vocabulary to be used during the *ars combinatoria* of composition.

Summarizing the information gathered from the sources examined above, the following principles of voice positioning stand out:

1. Dissonances are best positioned in the higher voice;
2. In the higher voice, *dissonances appellatives* are more effective;
3. Alternation of perfect and imperfect consonances creates a good effect;

4. Symmetry confers balance, and therefore elegance, to a piece. This can be achieved using sequential patterns in the upper voice and/or canons.

In the next section, it will be seen how these principles were employed in French realizations of Neapolitan partimenti.

5.3. French realizations

> A realized partimento was not a succession of chords but a rich and perfectly shaped composition with its texture, themes, generic conventions, motivic play, and so on.[797]

In Neapolitan realizations, chords are mainly used in cadences, while the body of the partimento is usually accompanied by a single-voice melody (that could sometimes be polyphonic). As previously said, the tendency at the Conservatoire was to use partimenti as exercises in *accompagnement*, and realizations would therefore prioritize the use of chords, leaving the melodic function to a soloist. French musicians were aware of the difference in playing style, and sometimes criticized their neighbors' different approach:

> Rien n'est si désagréable que ces traits de chant, ces roulades, ces broderies, que plusieurs accompagnateurs substituent à l'accompagnement. Ils couvrent la voix, gâtent l'harmonie, embrouillent le sujet; & souvent ce n'est que par ignorance qu'ils font les habiles mal à-propos, pour ne savoir pas trouver l'harmonie propre à un passage. Le véritable accompagnateur va toujours au bien de la chose, & accompagne simplement. Ce n'est pas que dans de certains vuides [...] on ne puisse au défaut des instruments placer quelque joli trait de chant : mais il faut que ce soit bien-à-propos, & toujours dans le caractère du sujet.[798]

This difference in approach between the Italian and the French seems to be a misconception. Rousseau's criticism is based on the assumption that partimento and *accompagnement* are the same practice. Clearly, they do have a common basis, but they serve different purposes: partimenti were improvisational exercises that could become whole, autonomous pieces, while *accompagnement* was the art of accompanying a soloist. Naturally, by learning partimento, one could also learn accompaniment; how-

797 Sanguinetti (2012a), 206.
798 Rousseau (1751), 77 also quoted in Verwaerde (2015), 36–37.

ever, partimento takes *basso continuo* exercises to a higher level,[799] where counterpoint is introduced, and compositional skills are refined.[800]

Choron distinguishes the figures of *accompagnateur* and *claveniste*. The *claveniste* is a performer, therefore creative through improvisation. He suggests that a good accompanist should also be a good performer, but his aim should be to highlight the singer by playing simple chords and reserve his creativity for the *intermezzi*.

> Celui qui veut mériter le titre de bon accompagnateur doit pour ainsi dire oublier qu'il est claveciniste; il doit mettre toute son attention, non à briller lui-même, mais à seconder et faire valoir le chanteur. Il touchera donc avec simplicité la basse, telle qu'elle est écrite, sans se permettre d'y faire aucun ornament ni diminution et tant que le chant récitera, il se contentera de remplir l'harmonie, de la main droite, par des accords pleins, ainsi que nous l'avons enseigné dans le cours de cet ouvrage.[801]

Despite this suggestion, there are many instances when realized partimenti of the *Principes d'accompagnement* contain elaborated melodies and are often written in a setting for two (or more) voices; some of these are realized as vocal pieces. Therefore, Fiocchi demonstrated how a realization might go beyond the mere accompaniment skills that were stated aims of the book.

Fétis also emphasised the difference between French *accompagnement* and partimento, highlighting the chordal approach of French (and German) musicians in contrast to the contrapuntal approach of the Italians.

> Ces grands musiciens écrivirent pour leurs élèves beaucoup de basses chiffrées auxquelles on donna le nom de *partimenti* : au lieu d'y faire plaquer des accords suivant l'usage des Français et des Allemands, ces maîtres exigeaient que l'accompagnateur fit chanter de manière élégante toutes les parties de l'accompagnement. Sous ce rapport, les Italiens conservèrent longtemps une incontestable supériorité dans l'art d'accompagner.[802]

Three different versions of two Fenaroli partimenti will now be considered, with Demeyere's critical edition being used as reference for the original source of each.[803]

The first is the partimento in G major, the first of the *partimenti progressivi*.[804] This partimento is based on the rule of the octave and composed to allow students to

799 Holtmeier has stated that Rameau took the *Accompagnement* "für den Gipfelpunkt der Kompositionslehre", in which all disciplines are brought together. (Holtmeier 2017a, 67 et seq.). The comments here, however, refer only to the teaching course *Accompagnement* taught at the Conservatoire.

800 Examples of 18th century Neapolitan realizations can be found in, among others, Sanguinetti (2012a), 226–231 and Paraschivescu (2009). See also Van Tour (2017).

801 Choron-Fiocchi [1804],102–103.

802 Fétis, (1840), 53.

803 Fenaroli (2021b). Other French sources not examined for this research contain realizations. Among these are Fétis (1824) and Lemoine (1835). Further examples are in Verwaerde (2015).

804 Gj1301.

practise this rule in the first key of the *durus* hexachord. All three cadences (*semplice, composta, and doppia)* are also included in the bass. In fact, the bass line contains parts of the ascending and descending *regola dell'ottava,* interrupted by cadences. A modulation to the secondary key (D major) starts in bar 5 and is confirmed by a *cadenza composta* (with a cadential 6/4 chord) in bars 9–10. The piece then retransitions to G major, where the complete scale appears (mm. 12–13). The partimento ends with a *cadenza doppia.* Every time there is a second degree in the partimento, it is figured as 6. This does not necessarily indicate a 6/3 chord, since the fourth of the 6/4/3 chord was considered an embellishment and could have easily been added by the player.[805]

This partimento is realized in three different French sources: Deldevez' edition of Fenaroli's book, Perne's *Cours élémentaire* and Choron-Fiocchi's *Principes d'accompagnement.*

Deldevez uses chordal realizations in his book and in this partimento. The figures correspond to Fenaroli's, except for the fourth degree in bar 1, which here does not use the 6/5 chord (the *grande sixte).* Every time a second degree occurs in the scale, Deldevez applies the *beste Lage,* positioning the leading tone in the upper voice (see brackets in fig. 5.21). The same happens on the descending fourth degree and during modulations (as seen in the *beste Lage* principles identified in French sources). In the *cadenza composta* in bar 9, he also positions the *rétard* of the fourth in the upper voice, treating it as a prepared dissonance. The upper voice of the *cadenza doppia* has the *clausola tenorizans* preceded by a third degree, a typical pattern of this type of cadence.[806]

Deldevez usually chooses one position for his realizations, based on the presence of dissonances or leading tones.[807] In this partimento he frequently changes position to allow parallel imperfect consonances between the outer voices (boxes in fig. 5.21). Therefore, when parallel sixth chords occur, Deldevez follows the typical position of the *faux-bourdon,* with parallel sixths between the outer voices in a three-voice texture. When a 6/5 chord follows a sixth chord, he also positions the sixth in the upper voice. As mentioned, the fifth in a dominant-seventh chord might not be prepared, but the fifth of the 6/5 on the fourth degree should be. In m. 13, the lack of preparation can be tolerated on account of the G from the previous bar, where one voice is missing. One could assume that the first G is doubled and preparing the dissonance. Although Deldevez rigidly applies this position instruction, he does not, unfortunately, adjust the rest of the melody accordingly, creating several leaps that disrupt the overall balance.

805 See Chapter 4.
806 Holtmeier (2017a), 118–119.
807 See e.g. Deldevez [1868], 62 and following pages.

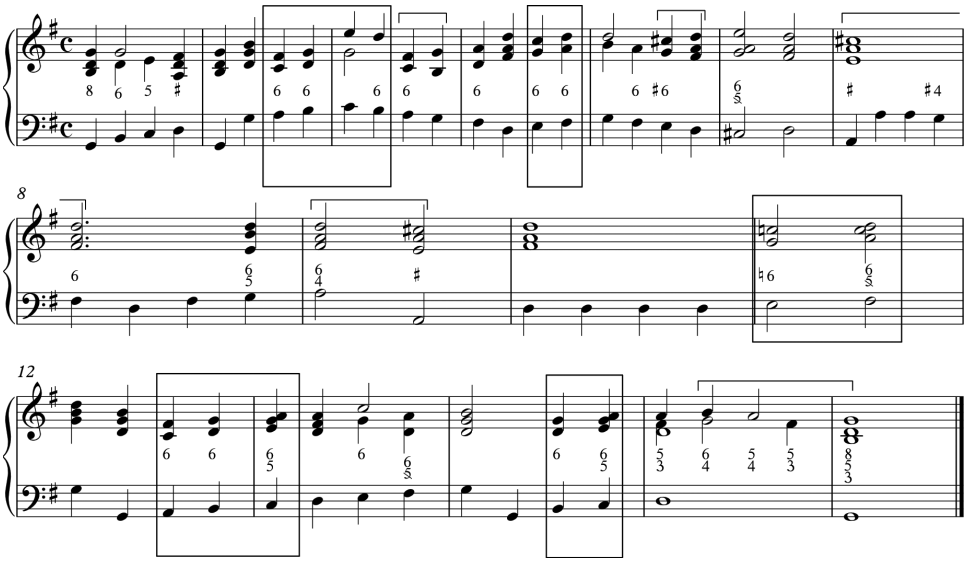

Figure 5.21. Deldevez (1868), 62.

The next example is Perne's realization of Fenaroli's partimento. As said, Perne does not give entire realizations in his *Cours,* but he composes a *chant* for each partimento, instructing students to realize it and then compare their results with the bass line.[808] In figure 5.22. the *chant* and the partimento have been combined to obtain a two-voice realization.

808 See Chapter 2.

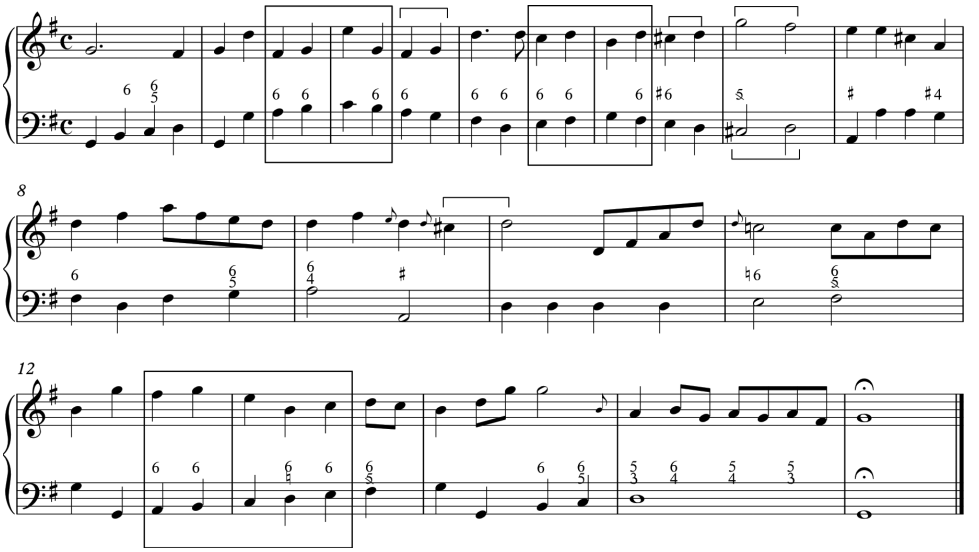

Figure 5.22. Perne [1822], 274–275.

Perne changes some figures, like the sixth chord on the fifth degree in bar 4 or, more interestingly, the passage in bar 13. He adds a transitory modulation in C major, where Fenaroli clearly intended to write the entire rule of the octave in G major. As said, this partimento is specifically composed to practise this rule, and this passage (mm. 12–13) is the only appearance of the full octave. Perne interrupts the flow of the *regola,* transforming the fifth degree into a second of C major. The reason for this choice is not clear, since Perne did teach the *règle de l'octave,* and his book contains an entire edition of Fenaroli's partimenti. It might have been an attempt at variety through a key change, which is something that Perne did earlier in other sections of his book.[809]

Just as Deldevez did, Perne prioritizes imperfect consonances in the upper voice in certain passages (see boxes in figure 5.22), particularly parallel sixths in *faux-bourdon* passages. Elements of the *beste Lage* (in brackets) appear on the second degree and, in bar 6, the outer voices contain the *dissonances appellatives.* The fourth in bar 9 is here treated as a consonance, which is briefly exchanged for the F-sharp (the missing note of the chord) and resolves to the leading tone. Perne also uses some diminutions: he uses the sixth and the fifth as passing tones – especially when 6/5 chords appear – so that both main notes of the chord sound (bars 8, 11, 13). This tendency to use polyphonic melodies in certain passages reaches a high point in the *cadenza doppia,* where the diminution contains the most relevant notes of the harmony.

A notable example of Neapolitan realization is Fiocchi's version, contained in the *Principes d'accompagnement.* Fiocchi is known to have studied with Fenaroli and

809 See Chapter 4.

supposedly learned how to realize partimenti from him. The character of his piece is very different from the previous examples in that it is written in a pure keyboard style, with many embellishments. Some of these are written out, where typically a cembalist would play them without the need of an explicit guide in the score. It is obvious that Fiocchi is keen to show his French audience that a partimento is meant to be transformed into an independent piece, unlike an *accompagnement.*

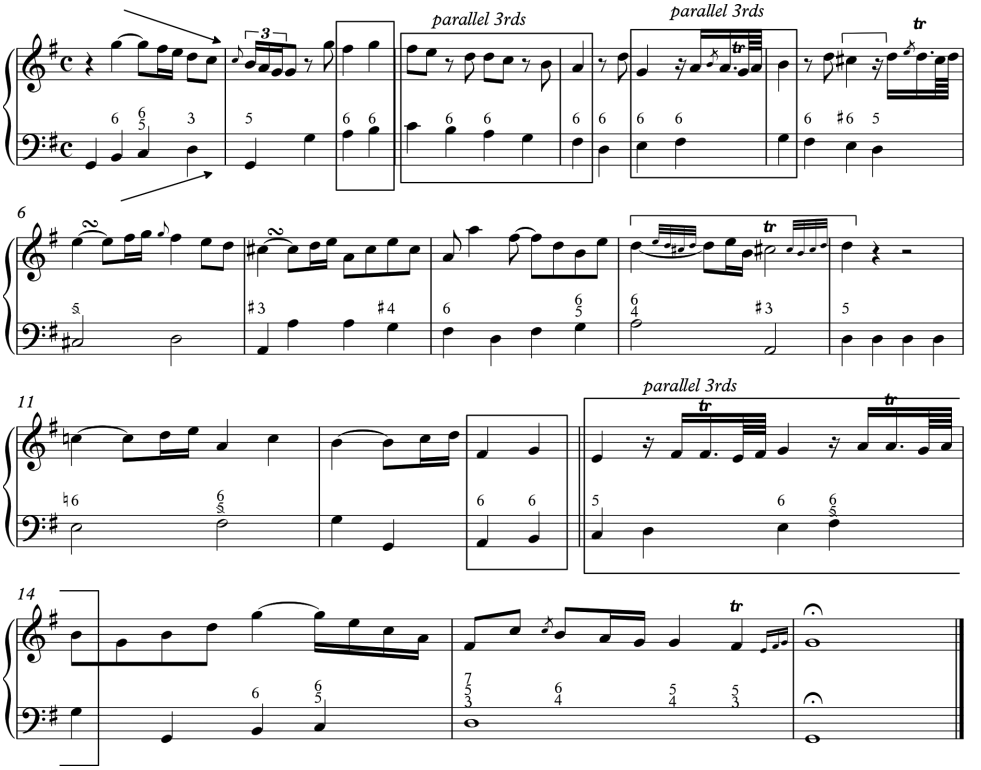

Figure 5.23. Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 104.

In comparing the structure of Fiocchi's melody with those examined earlier, it is interesting to note that Fiocchi uses parallel sixths only on the ascending second degree and the third (bars 2 and 12 in figure 5.23). While the other authors use parallel sixths on other degrees, Fiocchi chooses to adopt parallel thirds on the ascending and descending scales (bars 3, 4, and 13). Through a skillful use of diminutions, these passages become more interesting. He also introduces some elements that are imitated throughout the piece, creating coherence and balance. The opening gesture of this realization should also be highlighted for, while Deldevez and Perne both started with a 1–7–1 movement, Fiocchi introduces the entire descending scale (the "theme" of this

exercise), which contrasts with the ascending motion of the bass in the first bar. The rhythmic variety in the scale also confers melodic dynamism that contrasts with the regular rhythm of the bass line. Some elements of the *beste Lage* are also present, indicated in brackets in figure 5.23. The diminution of the *cadenza doppia* includes the typical descent from the fourth degree to the first. This time the G is not the tonic but the fourth, which then resolves to the leading tone.

The next partimento to be analysed is from Fenaroli's second book, in A minor.[810] This partimento contains several *terminazioni di tono.* After the first two bars in A minor, it modulates to C major. In bar 6, a chromatic alteration introduces D minor. These tonalities are confirmed by a *cadenza composta.* The retransition happens through a *basso che scende di terza e sale di seconda* that ends by tonicizing A minor with a repetition of the first motive.[811] The partimento ends with a *cadenza doppia.*

Figure 5.24 shows Colet's *example réalisé.* The partimento is realized in *accompagnement* style, through a succession of chords that maintain a fluid rhythm. When the rhythm in the bass is slower (bar 6), the right hand compensates to preserve the flow. Colet chooses the third position, which he maintains until bar 17, where he switches to first position for the final *cadenza doppia*. In his realizations he tries different positions, including the *position libre.* He adds no explanation as to why he chooses this position, where a first position or a mixed position would have allowed for a more interesting upper voice. Apart from the *doppia* at the end, the only elements of the *beste Lage* are in the position of the diminished fifths between the outer voices (indicated by brackets in the example).

810 This partimento has no Gj number. In Demeyere's edition it is listed as "D" in the second book in Fenaroli (2021b).

811 In Demeyere's edition, the second half of bar 11 is harmonized with the dominant seventh chord of b-minor (therefore the notes are A#-G#-A#-F#). Demeyere has used I-Bsf-M.F._I-8 as his main source. In other sources, these notes are not altered, and the progression continues diatonically. The second version is preferred for two reasons: 1. This progression is usually found in partimento sources in its diatonic form. Alterations would be used in a *Fonte,* but here the A# interrupts the symmetry of the transposition of the model (typically one whole tone lower); 2. All the French sources examined contain the diatonic version.
Colet (1858), 97 and 148. This realization of Fenaroli's partimento has been examined in Verwaerde (2015), 335–338.

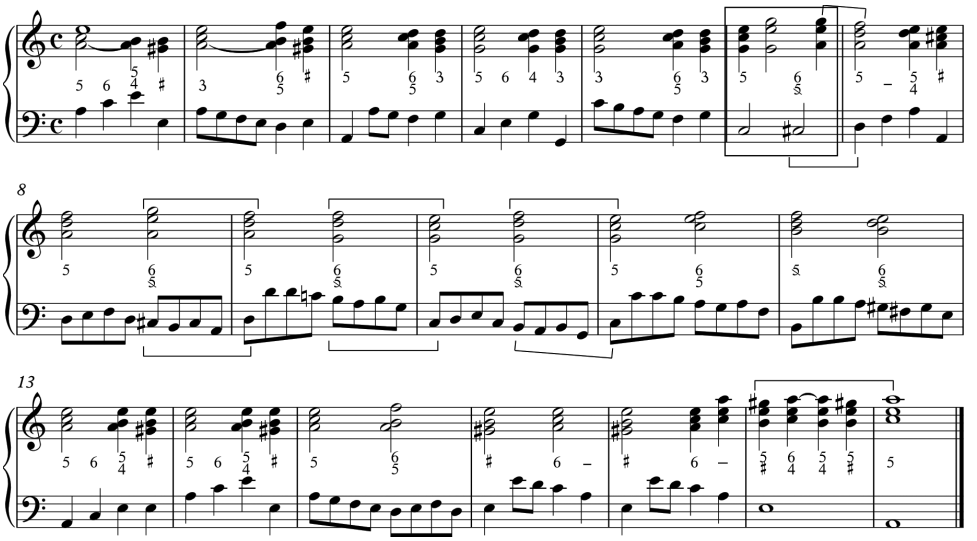

Figure 5.24. Colet (1858), 64.

Although his book contains contrapuntal instructions on diminutions and imitations, Colet hardly ever uses them in his realizations. Rare examples are found in a chordal realization of Fenaroli's first G major partimento in the second book, which includes diminutions and a realization of Durante's *partimento diminuito* in D major, using the *modo* given (fig. 5.25).[812]

The next realization is by Perne. As said, the example in figure 5.26 is a combination of Fenaroli's partimento and the melody Perne composed as *chant donné* to be realized at the piano. It is therefore important to keep in mind that an accompaniment to both voices was implied (and indicated by the figures).

Perne uses a short thematic element in the melody every time the repetition of the motive in the bass occurs (indicated by dashed slurs in the example). In bars 8–9 he uses the inversion of this element, creating a *Do-Re-Mi* schema.[813] When the progression occurs, he uses a motive that is imitated and transposed in the next occurrence (mm. 11–12). He often inserts *dissonances appellattives* (shown by brackets in the example) into the melody, and positions the leading tone in the melody in modulations. At the end of the partimento, Perne realizes the *cadenza doppia* with the descending *clausola tenorizans*, preceeded by the third degree of the scale.

812 Colet (1858), 97 and 148. This realization of Fenaroli's partimento has been examined by Verwaerde in Verwaerde (2015), 335–338.

813 Gjerdingen (2007a), 77–88.

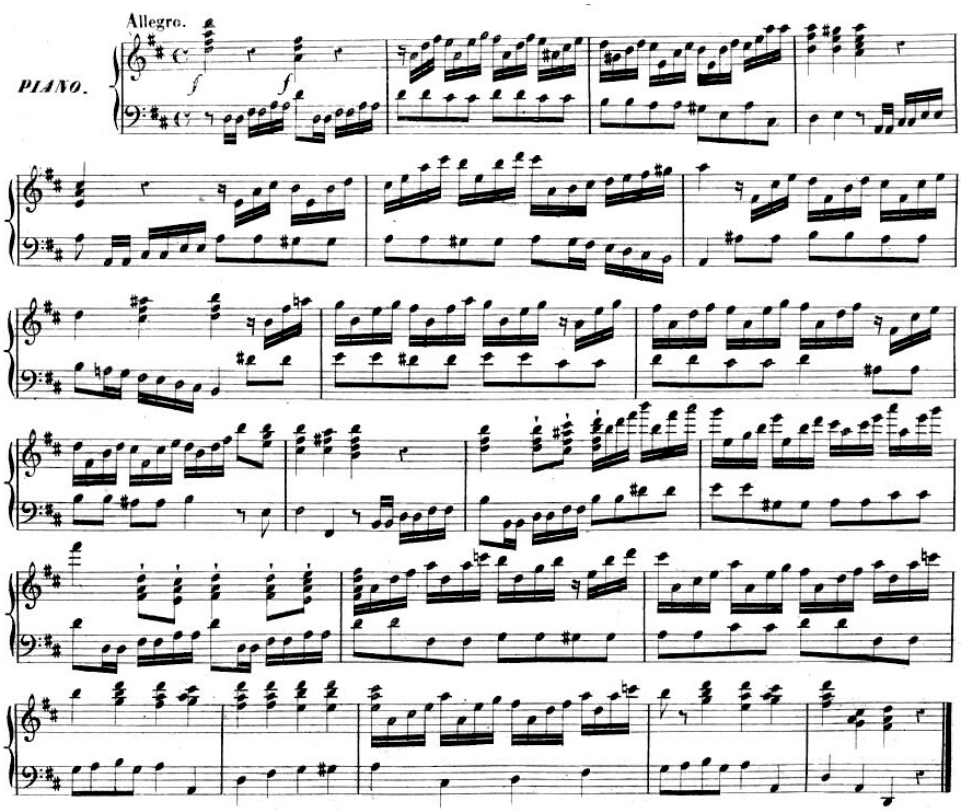

Figure 5.25. Colet (1858), 148. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96904998/f156.item.r=colet%20partimenti

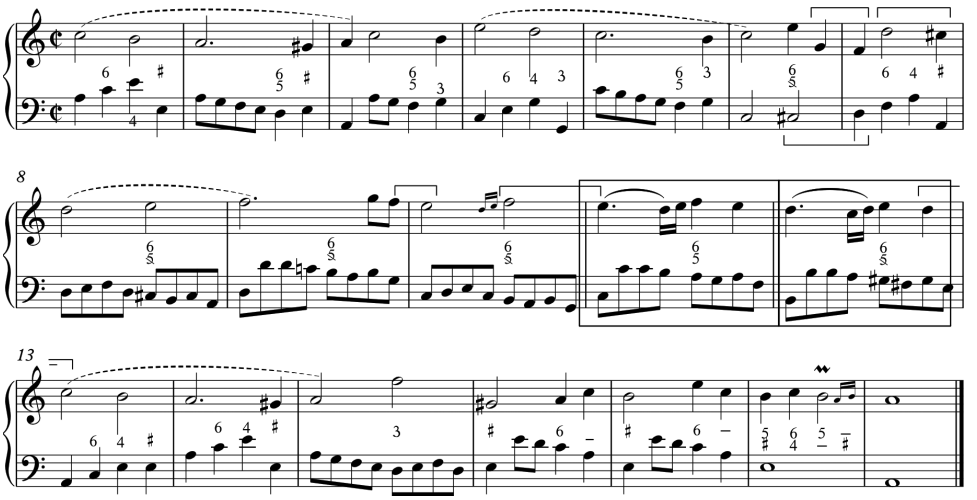

Figure 5.26. Perne [1822], 292–293.

Both Perne and Colet respect Fenaroli's bass line and figures.

In the next example, the original partimento has been expanded into a larger composition.

Figure 5.27 shows Fiocchi's realization (and expansion) of the same partimento. In the *Principes de accompagnement* it is attributed to Leo, but this partimento is included in several sources as part of Fenaroli's second book of partimenti.[814] It is interesting to note that in Choron's *Principes de composition,* the same partimento appears in its original, shorter version and is attributed to Fenaroli.[815] Fiocchi's realization is in a contrapuntal *trio* setting, for two violins and continuo like Corelli's *Sonate da Chiesa*; in fact, Corelli might have been Fiocchi's model when realizing this partimento. Although the second voice uses a soprano clef, the two upper voices proceed in a violinistic style, creating a dynamic flow of tensions and releases, imitative dialogues and overlaps, which are common elements in Corelli's compositions. One of these is evident in Fiocchi's chosen position. When he introduces the suspensions of the ninth, he places the two upper voices at the interval of a second, creating the dissonance typically found in this type of writing. One difference in style is the use of the Italian sixth chord in bar 14, which is not typical of Corelli's *trio sonate*, while the French sixth chord is commonly used in the minor *regola dell'ottava*.[816]

The modifications made by Fiocchi also include changes in figures, especially introducing the suspension of the ninth on each cadence and in the *basso che scende di terza e sale di seconda* progressions. There is a bar missing between mm. 9 and 10

814 See the UUPart website for a complete list of these sources.
815 Choron (1808–9), 6. In bar 11 the last note is an F#.
816 See Chapter 4 for Fenaroli's description of this chord.

and, as mentioned, Fiocchi inserts an entire middle section of nineteen bars (it is the same length of the entire original partimento, mm. 12–30). This section is composed using the same material as Fenaroli's partimento, but in new tonalities: E minor and G major. Another falling thirds-rising seconds progression leads to the end of this section with a half cadence in bar 30. The two voices continue in imitative style, with a subject that varies when repeated in the answer (see brackets in fig. 5.27), and elements of this theme are used throughout the composition. The two progressions employ two quite static melodic lines, with a leap in one of the voices that confers movement to the part.

This chapter has explored the development of realizations in France, highlighting elements of counterpoint such as imitation and diminution found in the sources used by famous teachers at the Conservatoire; this gives us an idea of the amount of information a student would receive. Although some common tendencies can be be applied to the realizations shown, the main differences seem to be between the two schools' approach to partimento and *accompagnement*. As we have seen in the previous chapters, each school had its own history, traditions, and peculiarities that led to different use and interpretation of *basso continuo.*

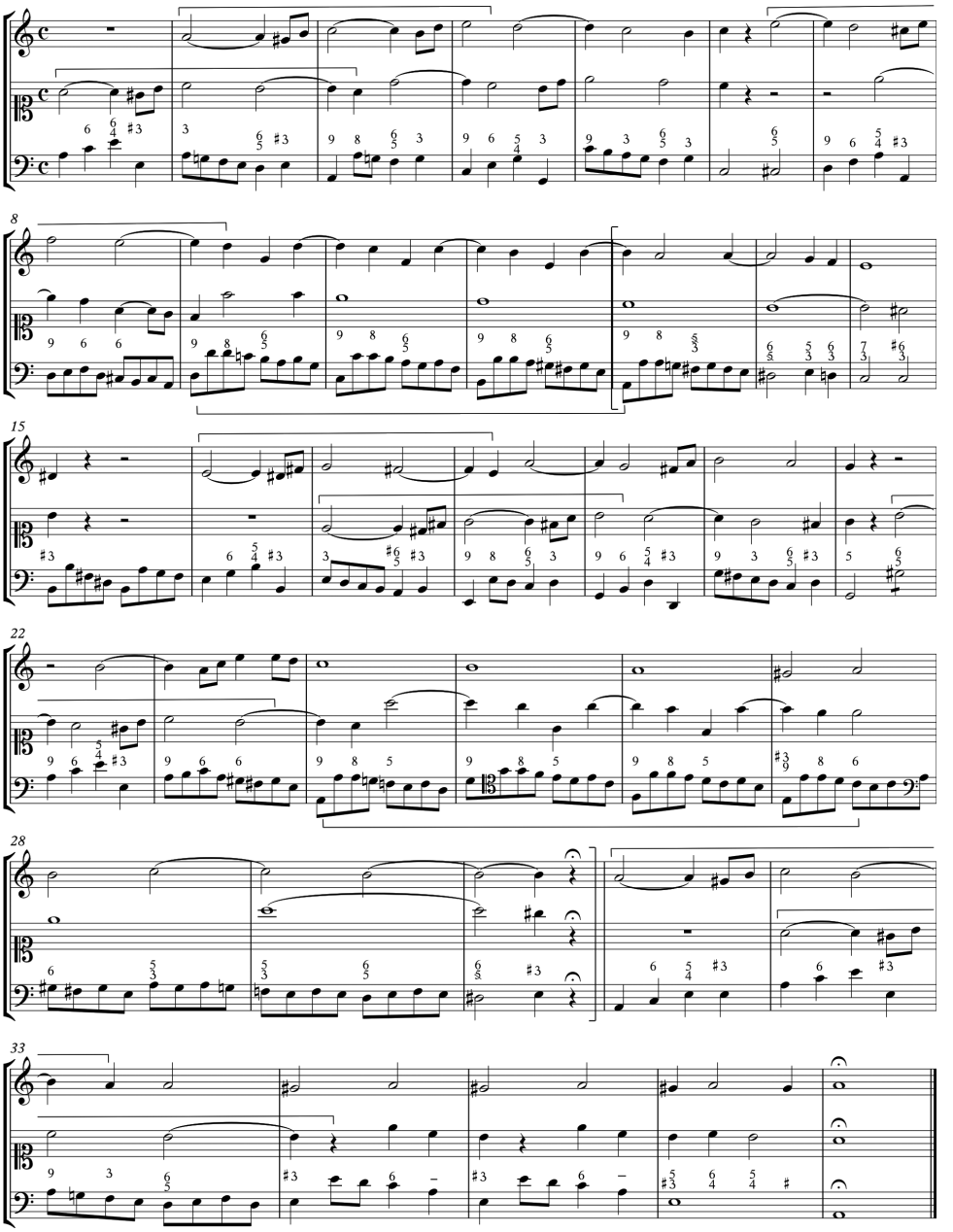

Figure 5.27. Choron-Fiocchi [1804], 116.

Conclusions

The Paris Conservatoire was founded with the aim of educating French musicians who could compete with those from Italy. This declared aim presented a series of issues about musical training, which instigated debate and led to competing proposed solutions during the period examined (1795–1840). One of these debates was catalysed by a confrontion of quite different Italian and French traditions. From an early age, Neapolitan musicians were trained in a practical method; the combination of *solfeggio,* partimento and counterpoint resulted in the development of skills in singing, improvisation, and composition. In the best cases, this created complete musicians, highly sought after in the European job market at the time. However, the Conservatoire could not ignore its own rich, national tradition of music theory. Most French musicians of the time had received instruction based on this tradition and were rather resistant to change. Other musicians, such as Catel – who had been trained by Neapolitan *maestri* – or others that had come into contact with Neapolitan teaching methods, were supportive of the simple, yet effective approach of partimento teaching. Naples-trained musicians also had an impact on this trend, and some of them – like Piccini and Langlé – were employed in France's first national institution of higher musical instruction. An intense debate about which method to employ at the Conservatoire arose among its founders: this culminated in the choice of Catel's *Traité d'harmonie,* supposedly a compromise between the French Neo-Ramellian legacy and practical Neapolitan methods.

However, as Holtmeier describes, Rameau had already lost "die Deutungshoheit über die eigene Theorie" during his lifetime.[817] Through Rameau's public argument with the *philosophes* the "Verbindung zur praktischen Basse fondamentale" was literally cut.[818] At the same time, this rather abstract understanding of music theory was also associated with the spirit of modernity and academic honors. In contrast, the partimento collections of regole, with almost no text, must have seemed like an outdated and "pre-Enlightenment" invention from a bygone era.[819] For this reason, Imbimbo decided to make some additions to Fenaroli's original text, such as an introduction containing elements of scholarly theory, and the inclusion of references to the *basse fondamentale.* This gives us an idea of how partimenti were perceived in France. Theoretical explanations and definitions always preceded practical application. This is evident not only in Imbimbo's edition, but also in all *traités* examined. At the same

817 Holtmeier (2017a), 104.
818 ibid.
819 Holtmeier (2017a), 110.

time, Imbimbo positioned himself as a mediator between the two traditions during the of assimilation of Neapolitan partimento in France.

Manuscripts containing partimenti are usually dense with musical examples and lacking in text. By contrast, the teaching materials examined all contain a theoretical introduction on chord formation and often include detailed descriptions of *marches,* cadences, etc. Partimento practice introduced in the land of reason needed to be adapted in order to be accepted and understood.

Choron had warned that learning *accompagnement* through principles of harmony would not deliver good results, as the practical Neapolitan approach has been proven to be more effective. The method used to teach *accompagnement* is a key factor in the reception of partimenti in France. As seen, *accompagnement* was relegated to accompaniment and often taught starting with theoretical principles of harmony. The use of written-out realizations also had an impact on the efficacy of practical lessons, because partimento was – by contrast – almost entirely practice-based.

Berton was aware of the division between *théoriciens* and *practiciens*, and his own training under the *neo-ramiste* Rey and the Neapolitan Sacchini deeply influenced his vision. Through his works, Berton attempted to reach a middle ground combining the two approaches and simplifying the contents for his students. This scientific approach, together with the circulation of printed texts, became an essential part of the French method of teaching music theory. Lessons on theoretical subjects were slowly separated from practical instruction, a transformation that influences music teaching to this day.

Another reason for the difficulties encountered in Conservatoire training was the separation between *solfège* and singing lessons. Choron's testimony has given us an insight into the Conservatoire's situation and was therefore helpful in understanding this aspect.

Cherubini tried to improve the situation by increasing the practical aspect of harmony teaching. After his nomination as Director in 1822, he intensified lessons in *solfège* for singers, reopened the *pensionnat,* and reunited the classes of *harmonie* and *accompagnement pratique*.

An essential part of this research has been the teaching materials or books written by professors teaching *harmonie* or *accompagnement* used at the Conservatoire between 1795 and 1840. Its results are laid out in Chapter 2. Official guidelines for teaching harmony were given in Catel's *Traité,* the official *méthode* of the Conservatoire. It combines elements of French theories and practical examples, sometimes with short text explanations, leaving space for the teacher's clarifications. The French edition of Fenaroli's partimenti was most certainly used during *accompagnement* lessons.

Perne is one of the most important examples of the French response to partimento. In his *Cours élémentaire* he included his own edition of Fenaroli's partimenti, adding to partimenti some *chants donnés* to help students practise accompanying a melody. Perne taught *harmonie* – where written realizations were the main tool used to prepare

for composition studies – and *accompagnement,* where impromptu realizations of a *basse continue* served as accompaniment.

Dourlen stated that he intended to base his *Traité d'harmonie* on the *écoles d'Italie*, though his book is structured in a similar way to other French works, and includes several passages with "French" theoretical instructions. Nevertheless, he still uses a different approach: harmony is introduced through counterpoint. On the other hand, his *Traité d'accompagnement* gives less space to theory and more to exercises. It has been demonstrated that his weak point was the use of given realizations, and inviting his students to practise these without finding solutions for themselves; consequently, they could not effectively learn how to accompany a *basse*.

Another author crucial to the reception of partimento at the Conservatoire is Colet. Although at the beginning of his career he did not fully embrace Neapolitan methods, in 1846 he published his own textbook *Partimenti, ou traité spécial de l'accompagnement pratique au piano.* He encouraged a double realization – written and played – to help students develop both accompaniment and compositional skills.

The last author examined is Bienaimé, author of a monumental *École de l'harmonie* that containied an extended list of topics. His book was published in 1863, the year of the premiere of Hector Berlioz's *Les Troyens* and almost two generations after Fenaroli's death; thus, emerging in the middle of the Romantic era, it contains elements of the new expanded Romantic harmonic language. He also published a collection of exercises for practising *accompagnement*, inspired by Fenaroli's *basses.*

In Chapter 3, the courses in *harmonie* and *accompagnement* at the Conservatoire were reconstructed. Contents of the *harmonie* curriculum followed Catel's *Traité* and, in addition to this, students had to realize basses (and later *chants)* in three- and/or four-voice settings. Different types of chords were introduced in their inversions quite early in the curriculum, as were elements of diminution and imitation. Suspensions follow, together with some examples of their inversions and the progressions in which they are typically used.

Accompagnement was mostly taught through figured basses. Unfigured partimenti were not typically used in France, perhaps not principally on account of their complexity (which may, of course, have also played a role!) but because this represented a totally different approach. During lessons in *accompagnement,* harmonic terminology was introduced, but in less detail. Chords were taught in their inversions and positions of the right hand, and progressions and the rule of the octave were also an important part of this training. Thanks to these reconstructions, it has been possible to compare teaching methods in Naples and Paris, with the main difference in approach arising from the traditions of both schools. Harmony was taught in Paris through chord formation and chord inversion theories while, in Naples, chords were strictly related to scale degrees in a system governed by the rule of the octave. However, despite its central position in Rameau's music theory, and the generally positive attitude of Choron and Fétis, the rule of the octave was never really accepted in France: this denied it the status of a system from which both the theory of harmonic progression

and chord morphology could take as their starting point. The rule of the octave remained a *gamme* after all, it did not become a *schemata*.

Perhaps it was the *moti del basso* that had the greatest impact on the French reception of partimento. By consistently using chords in inversion and subjecting them to the *ars combinatoria*, there was a sense in which the *marches d'harmonie* formed a tradition in their own right. Their origins could always be traced back to their Italian roots, though they became autonomous and thoroughly French. In Naples, the *moti* were linked to the application of *dissonanze,* which derived from counterpoint and therefore always remained tied to a traditional notion of dissonance. The French "vertical" approach to realization brought a new complexity and a new sonority to the "horizontal" Neapolitan method. This might have caused French students to learn more slowly, and could explain the different results in students' performance between the two schools in a certain historical period.

The teaching of accompaniment and improvisational skills was also very different in the two traditions. While Neapolitan musicians were able to improvise fugues and realize partimenti at a high level, French accompanists seem to have restricted themselves to a mainly chordal realisation. This limitation was due to the different goals of the two courses: partimento courses were part of composers' training, and were a practical application of counterpoint and harmony.

On the other hand, the purpose of *accompagnement* courses was to learn how to accompany a soloist; so the accompanist should not distract the listener with too many embellishments. Consequently, lessons in *accompagnement* were focused on teaching basic elements and did not generally provide students with enough information to develop improvisational skills. In addition, the use of ready-realized basses to teach accompaniment has been shown to be rather ineffective, and many students were not able to accompany *solfège* lessons. The use of *solfeggi* with realized accompaniments is one consequence of this practice.

The fourth chapter brought together the *regole* found in the French sources examined. Starting from the classification of intervals, consonances, and dissonances and going through the *moti del basso,* it was possible to highlight the differences in these areas that are found in French sources. The Ramellian – and, in particular, the Neo-Ramellian – influence is evident, especially in the both the terminology used and the approach to the *regole* through chord inversions. As stated, the rule of the octave, so central to Neapolitan teaching, is presented here as an option – albeit a central one – for scale accompaniment, and does not govern the entire harmonic system as it did in Neapolitan methods. Some French authors did give more space to the *règle de l'octave,* most likely by following the instructions given in Fenaroli's book, but it was rarely presented as an essential rule. The decline of French *basse continue* in favor of written accompaniment parts, and the scarcity of exercises with unfigured basses, might be related to the marginal role that was given to the rule of the octave in music education.

The teaching of harmony was impacted upon by the expansion of tonal harmony that began in the 19th century. In French sources it is common to find variations to the *moti* that introduce modulations into remote key areas. This feature was not included in partimento *regole*, since they followed the standard tonal paths of the 17th and 18th century.[820]

Finally, it was possible to reconstruct some instructions given in Paris for the realization of partimenti. Diminution and imitation were included in harmony lessons and applied to exercises, though instructions were often limited to the use of passing and neighbor notes and few other elements. An interesting point is the concept of the *beste Lage*. Although few sources offer guidelines on this principle, it might have been an instruction given during lessons, especially when the *marches* were taught in their best position. French realizations show the results of the different approaches of the two schools: chordal realizations were often used, and diminutions or interesting melodic lines were rarely applied. Some assignments realized by winners of the *concours* show a deeper understanding of counterpoint; nevertheless, these realizations are not partimenti but written harmony assignments, relegated to the role of *accompagnement*.

When the first national public institution of higher musical instruction in France was founded, the ideal of the Neapolitan *Maestri* influenced the choice of both teachers and didactical materials. Over the years, the librarians at the Conservatoire worked to build a collection that held an extensive selection of Italian and Neapolitan music.[821] The acquisition of the Selvaggi collection, and the trips taken by Kreutzer and Isouard to collect copies of Neapolitan scores and pedagogical material, are evidence of the efforts made to enrich the library of the Conservatoire with music and methods of the *école d'Italie*.

Partimenti and *solfeggi* were the foundation of French music education – even in those instances where they are not explicitly evident – and they became part of the training for all musicians. The process assimilating the pedagogy of the *écoles d'Italie* was inevitably influenced by French theories, which resulted in the application of calculations and inversions to the rules. In this process, the rules that made the Italian style recognizable and valued were modified, and this inevitably changed the musical results. Some changes occurred during this assimilation process, such as the use of French continuo figures or the separation between *solfège* and *harmonie pratique*: *Solfège* became a singing exercise and *accompagnement* a mere accompaniment for singers. The consequences of this separation were significant, since the Conservatoire would become a model for other European Conservatories.[822]

820 Partimenti evolved in the Romantic era in Italy and France, yet it appears that the Conservatoire did not own coeval sources of Neapolitan partimenti. For examples of this evolution, see Stella (2009) and Diergarten (2011b).

821 See Giovani (2021).

822 Sanguinetti (2012b), 504 and Daolmi (2005).

The second half of the 19th century saw the beginning of a new era for partimento in France. Many authors started promoting these exercises, deepening their knowledge of this tradition. Partimenti were still taught at the Conservatoire, but at a higher level and with a clearly French appearance, thanks to the works of Henri Reber, François Bazin, Paul Vidal, and others.[823] This new tradition continued and was exported outside France: the famous teachings of Nadia Boulanger are an example of this heritage.[824]

Partimento teaching is still current at the Paris Conservatoire and was assumed to have been an ongoing process since its foundation. This study attempts to reconstruct the first part of this assimilation process, demonstrating how the path to today's teaching of piano improvisation was not smooth, but rather a "long and winding road". Ideally, the founders of the Conservatoire wanted to recreate the Conservatori in Paris. They did not initially realize how partimento would inevitably conflict with their musical theoretical heritage and mindset. A new method started to develop from this clash and contributed to the creation of a unique French tradition of music teaching.

During the development of the French school, the Neapolitan school began to decline. The four Conservatori were progressively closed and were ultimately consolidated into a single institution. The French Conservatoire embarked on its success story, which continues to this day, and preserved the spirit of the Neapolitan school, assimilating it into a new identity.[825]

Here ends the journey of partimento from Naples to Paris. During this journey there have been some lost and rediscovered traditions. The almost-lost art of Neapolitan partimento was preserved by the myth surrounding its composers and the newly created French National Conservatoire. Visitors to the French capital can glimpse this merging of musical traditions by taking a walk to the Opéra Garnier.

On the façade of the Opéra there are thirty-five busts of composers (boxed names in fig. 6.1 and 6.2) by sculptors Charles Gumery and Louis-Félix Chabaud. Of these composers, eight are German, fourteen French, and fourteen Italian. If we take a closer look at those names, we can recognise nine descendants of the Bolognese school of Padre Martini (fig. 6.1.). Of the remaining composers, thirteen are representative of or connected with the Neapolitan school (fig. 6.2.). Nine were trained at a Neapolitan

823 Reber (1862), Bazin (1875). See Remeš (2021) for partimenti in France in the late Romantic era.
824 See Schubert (2017) for a testimony of her teaching.
825 See Sanguinetti (2005) and Cafiero (2016).

Conservatorio, and four studied with Neapolitan *maestri*: Haydn, who wrote that he learnt the "real art of composition" from Nicola Porpora; Verdi, who studied with Lavigna; Berton, a pupil of Sacchini; and Nicolò Isouard, who studied with Sala. Although a large statue of Rameau was placed in the main vestibule of the theatre, the legacy of the *écoles d'Italie* was still recognised in 1860 when the Opéra was planned, and carved in stone for posterity.

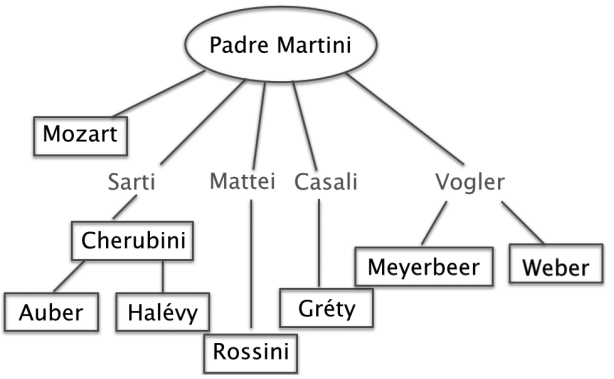

Figure 6.1.

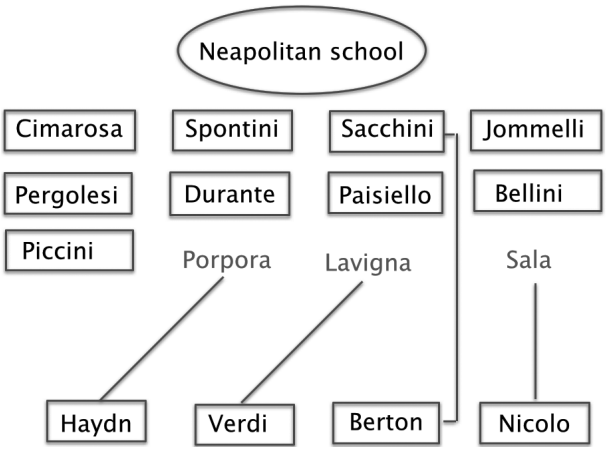

Figure 6.2.[826]

826 The statue representing Isouard is named "Nicolo".

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