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The Partimento Tradition in the Shadow of Enlightenment Thought

Abstract

How did Enlightenment ideals influence seventeenth-century music theory and composition pedagogy? This article investigates the relationship between partimento pedagogy and Rameau's music theories as influenced by Enlightenment thought. Current research on partimento has revealed its importance in Neapolitan music schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Along with counterpoint, partimento was a core subject in the study of composition in the Neapolitan schools; however, as pedagogy and theory began to be influenced by Enlightenment ideals such as the scientific method or a preference for clear systemization, the partimento tradition began to wane. Juxtaposing the Enlightenment ideals of Rameau's music theory with the ideals of partimento pedagogy, the author suggests that Enlightenment thought hastened the decline of partimento study. Both the method of partimento pedagogy and Rameau's theory of the fundamental bass stemmed in part from the practice of thoroughbass, and both were viewed as effective ways to teach musicians composition and improvisation. However, Rameau's theory sought to improve on existing pedagogies by condensing eclectic rules and extended study into a few fundamental principles—an example of Enlightenment thought applied to music theory. In the light of Rameau's understandable, widely applicable theory of harmony based on Enlightenment assumptions, the long years of practice-based partimento study under a maestro gradually became obsolete.

Keywords

Partimento, Enlightenment, music, music theory, music history, Naples, Italy, France

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Introduction

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thoroughbass, musical shorthand used to notate chords, served as a foundational component of musical practice, theory, and pedagogy. In the Neapolitan music conservatories, music composition pedagogy was intertwined with the process of realizing figured or unfigured basses. Eighteenth-century music theory across Europe often arose from the behavior of thoroughbass in practice. However, as the Enlightenment progressed throughout Europe, some theoretical and pedagogical approaches gained popularity while others declined. Such was the case for the pedagogical method of teaching music composition through partimento, in which practice held first importance and theory remained implicit. Because the Enlightenment called for clear systematization and knowledge equally attainable by all, the pedagocial method was soon overshadowed by the rise of Rameau's explicitly presented harmonic theory.

The Neapolitan Conservatories and Partimento

The sixteenth century saw the emergence of Italian music conservatories, which were originally charity schools for orphans. Port cities such as Naples contained more orphanages because of the higher populations of prostitutes and illegitimate children. In addition, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, some of these orphanages decided to specialize in teaching music to provide the orphans with a viable skill. Music lessons also provided orphanages with extra income earned from the childrens' performances.[1,2] Not all students at the conservatories were orphans, however; in the early seventeenth century, the conservatories began to accept paying students as well.[3] In the conservatories,

1. Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 31-32.
2. Rosa Cafiero, "Conservatories and the Neapolitan School: A European Model at the End of the Eighteenth Century?" in *Music Education in Europe (1770-1914): Compositional, Institutional and Political Challenges*, vol. 1, ed. M. Fend and M. Noiray (Berlin: BWV Berlin Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 16-17.
3. Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 38.

instructors graded the all-male students (according to the costume of the Neapolitan conservatories[4]) by a hierarchy of levels. During their ten years of instruction, the students progressed from young junior to older junior to senior. The young junior students (aged 10 to 14) studied solfeggio until their voices broke. The older juniors took singing class, instrumental class, and partimento and theory class while the seniors added counterpoint to these last three subjects.[5] At the top of the hierarchy was the primo maestro who oversaw all the other maestri. The maestri taught only senior students and selected the most talented of them to be maestricielli, students who taught the junior students who, likewise, taught the less advanced students.[6] Unfortunately, not all the students progressed to the senior level of the hierarchy. Yearly examinations determined if students could remain in the conservatory.[7]

The Neapolitan schools were known across Europe for the quality of their teaching of composition, which was built on the study of counterpoint and partimento. Although counterpoint was important in the Neapolitan schools and its various teaching methods distinguished the conservatories from each other, partimento was a distinctively Neapolitan pedagogical method. The method was related to the concept of thoroughbass, which originated and flourished in the Neapolitan conservatories' unique environment.[8] One of the first uses of the term *partimento* occurred in 1634 within Giovanni Filippo Cavalliere's *Il scolaro principiante de musica*. In his work, Cavalliere refers to the bass of a composition as partimento, using the term as a synonym. Likewise, in other sources from the early seventeenth century, partimento refers to the basso continuo part of a composition. At this point, it was essentially another word for thoroughbass, although some writers defined it more particularly as an unfigured bass intended for the player to realize. However, near the turn of the eighteenth century, the word *partimento* began to acquire a narrower, more focused definition than simply "unfigured bass". Many partimenti written at that time were not exclusively composed of a bass part but included other clefs or even other parts as well. Composers wrote these partimenti students as practice in contrapuntal realizations of accompaniments.

Interestingly, this usage of partimento bears several similarities to basso seguente, an Italian practice of the time. A basso seguente is a summary of a piece of music, often a choral fugue,[9] and consists of one staff that contains the lowest voice played. The bass is often the lowest voice played; however, in compositions such as fugues, this is not the case. Even this seems to be an accurate description of partimento itself, there is a major difference between basso seguente and partimento that highlights an important feature of partimento. The basso seguente is written with reference to an existing composition, while the partimento is written as a seed from which the composition will be developed through

4. Ibid., 32.
5. Peter Van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento: Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Usaliensis, 2015), 89.
6. Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 42-43.
7. Van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento*, 89.
8. Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 45-46.
9. Van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento*, 214-215.

improvisation (see Ex. 1) .[10] Sanguinetti gives a thorough and concise definition in his book *The Art of Partimento*, "A partimento is a sketch, written on a single staff, whose main purpose is to be a guide for improvisation of a composition at the keyboard."[11] Complementing the study of counterpoint, partimento's pedagogical taught Neapolitan students composition through structured improvisation.

EXAMPLE 1 Partimento No. 3, Book 5 (F. Fenaroli, collected by R. Gjerdingen. http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/collections/Fenaroli/Book5/03FenBk5/03FenBk5.htm.)

Partimento as Tradition

It is necessary to distinguish between partimento as compositional exercise and partimento as pedagogical tradition. Partimenti, the literal exercises existing as notated sketches on paper to be realized on the keyboard, were used in teaching composition well after the golden age of the Neapolitan schools.[12] But in the environment of the Neapolitan schools, partimento was more than just an advanced exercise in realization. In the absence of explicit theory instruction, partimento provided a plethora of contextual examples of seventeenth and eighteenth-century theory worked out in real compositions. As Ludwig Holtmeier notes, "If one takes partimenti as a didactic tradition. . . in which the accompaniment of unfigured basses is of fundamental importance, then 'partimento' also contains a theoretical approach that is inseparably tied to the principles of the Rule of the

10. Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 10-11.
11. Ibid., 14.
12. Ludwig Holtmeier, "Heinichen, Rameau, and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition: Concepts of Tonality and Chord in the Rule of the Octave," *Journal of Music Theory* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 25.

Octave and the compositional models."[13] It is this definition of partimento as a theoretical approach that describes the unique system of pedagogy in the Neapolitan schools.

Partimento's distinctive form and use was molded by the oral, hierarchical teaching methods of the Neapolitan schools. As Sanguinetti states, "Partimento tradition was essentially a practical, teacher-to-student way of transmitting musical knowledge" that worked very well in the generational system of the Neapolitan schools.[14] As such, there was no need within the Neapolitan school for written theoretical treatises since musical knowledge and theory were transmitted orally through the teacher-student relationship.[15] Though some written rules of partimento survive, they tend to be notes compiled by teachers or students as a reminder of the concepts taught through partimento, not a complete presentation of the theory on paper.[16] Instead, extant partimento sources tend to consist mostly of partimenti examples in musical notation. For example, in *The Langloz Manuscript*, a collection of partimento fugues used by J. S. Bach, no words of explanation are included with the partimento fugues.[17] In addition, teachers did not teach generative system of theory in the Neapolitan schools. Rather, because of the close relationship between keyboard improvisation and written composition, theory tended to exist latently in the form of useful rules of thoroughbass and partimento realization. One such rule was the *règle de l'octave* (or Rule of the Octave as mentioned above), a harmonization of the ascending and descending scale (see Ex. 2). Not only did teachers us the rule as a utilitarian tool to make the task of harmonization easier, but the *règle de l'octave* also contained tonal implications and relationships between chords (i.e. theoretical concepts).[18] Thus, instead of being taught first with abstract theory and then applying the theory to examples, students worked with practical examples and assorted rules such as the *règle de l'octave*, memorizing and internalizing them at the keyboard. In the process of working their way through partimento and counterpoint, students better understood the underlying theoretical concepts. These concepts automatically increased the students' proficiency at partimento improvisation and thoroughbass accompaniment.[19] The committed teachers, the master-apprentice relationship between teachers and students, and a culture of oral transmission created the ideal environment for students to learn this organic and eminently applicable theory within the Italian schools.

13. Ibid., 25.
14. Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 47.
15. Ibid., 96.
16. Ibid., 47.
17. Renwick, William, ed. *The Langloz Manuscript: Fugal Improvisation through Figured Bass* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 113-187.
18. Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 113.
19. Ibid., 7.

EXAMPLE 2 *Règle de l'octave* according to François Campion (Thomas Christensen, "The *Règle de l'Octave* in Thorough-Bass Theory and Practice," *Acta musicologica* 64, fasc. 2 (July–December 1992), 91, http://www.jstor.org/stable/932911.)

Despite the benefits of this system of partimento pedagogy, it had a few shortcomings, such as the extended amount of time and effort required to learn composition through this method. Michele Ruta who wrote about Italian partimento tradition in the late nineteenth, wondered why the great Italian teachers, who thoroughly understood theory, declined to teach theory explicitly to their students. Instead, the teachers relied on partimento, which was governed by "rules not connected by any logical thread" and took "the tireless work of many years to master."[20] He suggests that the masters may not have deemed their students capable of understanding the theory of harmony "through a more rational method" or that they could not articulate a consistent theory "owing to insufficient literary studies."[21] Finally, and tellingly, Ruta "[suspects] too that those masters of harmony would attribute such an importance to the figured bass, without explaining those principles, in order to be, for as long as possible, the only oracles able to interpret those enigmatic figures."[22] Though the reason is not entirely certain, it could be that Neapolitan teachers, perhaps out of adherence to tradition or love for a "secret knowledge", intentionally withheld from their students certain concepts of theory found in the figured bass. It also seems that if Neapolitan teachers did not themselves have any deficiency in theoretical understanding, they did seem to have very dim views of their students' capabilities of theoretical understanding. For example, Fenaroli recommended that instructors teach and demonstrate voice-leading principles or else "a long and boring discussion would result, that would be inevitably too confusing for the beginners' mind."[23] Proficiency with partimento seemed to be viewed as a somewhat esoteric treasure handed down through generations and only attainable after years of grueling study in the conservatories, culminating in private lessons with one of the elite Neapolitan masters, possessors of this great partimento tradition.

20. Michele Ruta, *Storia Critica*, 135-40, quoted in Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 97.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Fenaroli, *Regole* (1775), 10-11, quoted in Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 116.

Rameau's Theory of the Fundamental Bass

In the early seventeenth century, to the northwest of Naples, a different pedagogical process with a new, more flexible philosophical background arose. In France, Jean-Philippe Rameau formulated a new system of theory centered upon chordal harmony, bringing Enlightenment ideals and influences into the world of music theory and pedagogy. Rameau's main theoretical principle was that of the fundamental bass, a note from which a chord is generated whether the note is physically included in the chord when it is played or not included at all.[24] This theory "reduces all harmonies to but two basic building blocks: the consonant triad and the dissonant seventh."[25] It gave musicians a radical new perspective on harmony in the eighteenth century and influenced thoroughbass pedagogy, which had previously relied on chordal rules such as the *règle de l'octave*. As mentioned before, the *règle de l'octave* posited a pattern of chords connected with the degrees of the scale. When memorized and applied to thoroughbass or partimento, it acted as a convenient heuristic for adding chords, in which sonority and function were appropriate to the given bass line. However, to gain useful knowledge of the *règle de l'octave* applied to thoroughbass practice, one must memorize a vast number of chords in different keys and hand positions, not to mention all the exceptions to the rule.[26] Initially, Rameau's theory of the fundamental bass sought to simplify thoroughbass pedagogy by explicating the theoretical concepts behind harmonic motion in the *règle de l'octave.* Example 3 shows Rameau's explanation of the *règle de l'octave* through the motion of the fundamental bass with its characteristic leaps from the fifth degree of the scale to the first degree of the scale. However, as Rameau's fundamental bass grew in importance in his theory, the theory separated itself from the *règle de l'octave*, turning toward the "abstract and formalistic."[27]

24. Ibid., 5.
25. Ibid., 57.
26. Ibid., 57.
27. Holtmeier, "Heinichen, Rameau, and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition," 12.

EXAMPLE 3 Rameau's conception of the *règle de l'octave* (Ludwig Holtmeier, "Heinichen, Rameau, and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition: Concepts of Tonality and Chord in the Rule of the Octave," *Journal of Music Theory* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2007), 20, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40283107.)

In 1729, Rameau and Michel-Pignolet de Montéclair contested whether the fundamental bass was a better alternative to teaching thoroughbass than the *règle de l'octave*. They each claimed the other's approach was too cumbersome and required too many exceptions to the rule. Montéclair's criticisms of Rameau's pedagogical system prompted Rameau to develop it more thoroughly, resulting in *Dissertation sur les différentes métodes d'accompagnement pour le clavecin*, a "treatise of accompaniment" published in 1732.[28] In his *Dissertation*, Rameau outlined a completely new way of teaching thoroughbass

28. Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought*, 57-58.

accompaniment apart from musical notation.[29] The details of this system are beyond the scope of this discussion, but Rameau's view of the benefits of his new system is indicative of Enlightenment ideals. Though Rameau's new system of thoroughbass pedagogy still contained numerous and self-admitted flaws, such as excessive simplicity of notation, according to Christensen. He claims, "with Rameau's new method, continuo playing was purely a mechanical process of chord placement and finger movement, or, as he proudly noted, just a 'méchanique des doigts.' By vastly reducing the plethora of chord signatures, and further by prescribing a few simple rules of chordal connection, Rameau had ostensibly distilled one of the most daunting and time-consuming tasks of musical practice into a process accessible to everyone. What had previously taken years of practice to perfect could now be accomplished in only a few months' time."[30]

Conclusion: Rameau vs. the Partimento Tradition

The Enlightenment era progressed and principles such as systematic presentation of ideas or the accessibility of reason regardless of social standing characterized European thought. As a result, the partimento pedagogym with its heuristics, such as the *règle de l'octave,* seemed ungainly, out-of-date, and undesirable. In contrast, Rameau's theory of the fundamental bass, despite its numerous internal contradictions and revisions, seemed much more attractive. Allegedly, Rameau supported his theory with scientific experiments and elegantly explained a knotty topic, much like Isaac Newton reduced the galaxy's workings to a few simple laws.[31] Rameau combined this strand of Newtonian, empiricist thought with Cartesian epistemology, seeking to derive principles from theory first before practice. Consequently, he turned to mathematics as the foundation of his theory rather than laws derived from his observations of music.[32] These philosophical influences illustrate one reason that Rameau succeeded in his reception where partimento started to fail. Rameau capitalized on the ideas in vogue at the time. His presentation of his theory evolved to match prevailing philosophies even within the Enlightenment era. In Thomas Christensen's words, "[Rameau] showed an uncanny genius for casting his theory in a rich assortment of intellectual metaphors and models that enjoyed high prestige among his readers."[33] Unlike the more rigid, tradition-focused operating methods of the Neapolitan schools that provided the specific environment for partimento to flourish, teachers could present Rameau's theories in the rhetorical and cultural garments of different philosophies as the currents of the Enlightenment changed and developed.

Another factor contributing to the rise of Rameau's theory is succinctly explained by Holtmeier: "The singular and indeed puzzling success of Ramellian theory can substantially be attributed to the fact that Rameau never fledged a real theoretical opponent, someone

29. Ibid., 58.
30. Ibid., 60.
31. Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 7.
32. Ibid., 11-12.
33. Ibid., 304.

who could have confronted his *basse fondamentale* with a competing concept."[34] Rameau's theory lacked an opponent partly because the Neapolitan schools never explicitly posited the theory found in partimento pedagogy. The pedagogy was contrary to their modus operandi.

Although the maestri of the Neapolitan schools never attempted a treatise describing partimento theory, Johann David Heinichen, a German, did. In the Baroque era, German music was heavily influenced by Italian music; many German musicians would travel to Italy in order to learn the Italian musical styles. Heinichen himself wrote, "Why do we go through effort, danger, and expense to travel around from nation to nation. . . ? Simply and solely to develop our good taste."[35] After studying with Kuhnau in Leipzig, Heinichen worked for various patrons and finally traveled to Italy around 1710. People highly acclaimed his operas acclaimed in Venice for Heinichen adopted the Italian musical style in a very effective manner.[36] In 1728, Heinichen revised his previous treatise on thoroughbass and published the second edition of *Der General-Bass in der Composition*. The second half of this edition ("On the Complete Science of Thoroughbass") collects and explicates Italian partimento theory. In his treatise, Heinichen basis his theory on the *règle de l'octave* and the concept of chord without abandoning the emphasis on contrapuntal linearity. In the words of Holtmeier, the strength of Heinichen's presentation of partimento theory is "that it does not seek to deduce harmony and melody, line and sonority (*Klang*), chord and counterpoint from a single coherent principle, as Rameau does, but permanently works through the tension between those poles in a dialectical way."[37] Heinichen's conception of the *règle de l'octave* (the linearity of the bass line remains stepwise with no leaping fundamental bass beneath it) shows the dialectical treatment of verticality and linearity. The chords remain diatonic throughout his conception, unlike both Rameau's and the traditional *règle de l'octave*, which contain the leading tone of the fifth degree (see Ex. 2, 3, 4). Despite the flexible strength that characterized the partimento theory, Heinichen's treatise could not compete with Rameau's much simpler theory.[38] Heinchen's treatise often left theoretical frameworks implicit and forewent systematic presentation in favor of preserving complexity. In an Enlightenment environment where clarity and systematization prevailed, Rameau's theory gained influence while partimento pedagogy declined.

34. Holtmeier, "Heinichen, Rameau, and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition," 26.
35. George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 2.
36. Ibid., 4-11.
37. Holtmeier, "Heinichen, Rameau, and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition," 43.
38. Ibid., 42.

EXAMPLE 4 Heinichen's conception of the *règle de l'octave* (Ludwig Holtmeier, "Heinichen, Rameau, and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition: Concepts of Tonality and Chord in the Rule of the Octave," *Journal of Music Theory* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2007), 28, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40283107.)

The partimenti as exercises did not cease but, rather, continued in Italy through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Likewise, in the twentieth century, partimenti spread to France and Parisian conservatory pedagogues, such as Nadia Boulanger, used partimenti as exercises. As seen in Example 1, Federe Fenaroli originally wrote a partimento exercise and, later, Boulanger's student, Walter Piston, realized it into a fugue.[39] However, though partimento exercises themselves are useful compositional tools no matter what theoretical background accompanies them, their full import was lost with the ascendance of Rameau's theory of harmony. As Rosa Cafiero says, "Today, we can see that the Neapolitan tradition, when fully functioning in its world of close-knit teachers and students, was indeed a highly systematized process for developing skills in improvisation and composition. But when taken out of its native context and reduced to 'treatises' read by students unaware of the tradition, it began to transform into part of the nineteenth-century study of harmony. . . .We can detect subtle shifts of concepts as partimenti leave their homeland of an essentially oral tradition and are subsumed into a foreign, more literary tradition of printed harmony books."[40] Thus, the forces of history soon laid the system of partimento pedagogy to rest.

Rameau built his approach to pedagogy on a few explicitly stated theoretical rules. On the other hand, the Neapolitan schools subtly wound their theory around the preponderance of assorted exercises, culminating in implicit knowledge at the end of training. Though the individual partimenti themselves survived,[41] partimento's role as an interactive exporter of implicitly stated music theory soon became obsolete, eclipsed by the burgeoning popularity of Rameau's theory of fundamental bass.

39. Robert O. Gjerdingen, "Partimento, que me veux-tu?" *Journal of Music Theory* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 127-128.
40. Rosa Cafiero, "The Early Reception of Neapolitan Partimento Theory in France: A Survey," *Journal of Music Theory* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 154-155.
41. Gjerdingen, "Partimento, que me veux-tu?" 128.

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