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ON FEDELE FENAROLI'S PEDAGOGY: AN UPDATE

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ABSTRACT

Although Fedele Fenaroli's partimento and counterpoint pedagogy has been the subject of a number of recent publications, several aspects of its organization and contents require further research. Thanks to the recent discovery of multiple manuscripts, I am able to elaborate on two of them in this article. First I deal with Fenaroli's partimento curriculum. As several manuscripts illustrate, Fenaroli appears to have maintained a progressive method consisting of four parts (or books) almost throughout his entire career. A partimento student had to work through the first three books successively, which served as Fenaroli's basic partimento course. When these three books had been satisfactorily assimilated, the student could proceed with book 4, which was clearly intended by Fenaroli as his advanced partimento course. Secondly, I engage with Fenaroli's views on dissonance treatment and place them in the broader context of eighteenth-century Neapolitan pedagogy, and thoroughbass and music theory treatises in general.

The impact of Fedele Fenaroli (1730–1818) on the teaching of musical grammar and composition during his long career, and well beyond, can hardly be overstated. Not only did Fenaroli train a vast number of students, but his theoretical output remained the firm basis for music education throughout nineteenth-century Italy. While a number of recent publications have dealt with Fenaroli's partimento and counterpoint pedagogy, they have not aspired to comprehensiveness, leaving certain issues undiscussed or awaiting more extensive study.[1] In this article I hope to expand our understanding of two of those hitherto underexposed aspects. My first aim is to present an accurate outline of Fenaroli's partimento pedagogy. I intend to show that Fenaroli followed a clearly determined order in which his students had to assimilate all the partimento rules, and that he even seems to have imposed a deliberate sequence of keys in which each individual rule needed to be practised – a key sequence that is also to an extent reflected in the organization of the partimenti as a whole. Moreover, it turns out that Fenaroli specifically composed these partimenti to act as keyboard-based applications of individual rules, guidelines, techniques and genres, and therefore included them at the appropriate place in the method, expecting them to be realized at that very point. Secondly, I will assess the way in which the consonance–dissonance distinction was treated in Fenaroli's teaching – in particular the treatment of the perfect and augmented fourth, the diminished fifth, and the minor and diminished seventh. Although the way Fenaroli differentiated between consonances and dissonances might not appear

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1 See amongst others Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Giorgio Sanguinetti, '*Partimento*-Fugue: The Neapolitan Angle', in *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and in Practice*, ed. Dirk Moelants (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010), 71–109; Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Peter van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento – Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2015).

quite coherent,[2] I argue that the opposite is true. Moreover, my research shows that this coherence was not limited to Fenaroli's partimento theory and practice, but that dissonance treatment in Fenaroli's counterpoint class was virtually identical to that of his partimento teaching. Finally, against a brief stylistic outline of Neapolitan music pedagogy in the eighteenth century, I will provide a contextualization of the voice-leading matters dealt with in this article in thoroughbass and music-theory manuals from that period.

When tackling eighteenth-century Neapolitan music pedagogy, one is confronted with the fact that written precepts, explanations and elaborations make only sparse appearances, which is inherent in teaching traditions that are basically orally transmitted. Although Fenaroli published a set of rules – his *Regole Musicali* – which enjoyed at least four reprints during his lifetime,[3] this primer does not represent a method as such and does not include any musical examples or partimenti. Moreover, it only covers the basics of music theory, leaving many questions (and contradictions) unanswered. We may therefore assume that Fenaroli dealt more extensively with topics such as modulation, dissonance treatment and voice leading during his lessons than he did in *Regole Musicali*. This renders all material related to Fenaroli's teaching potentially rewarding as a means of broadening our understanding of his pedagogical method and music-theoretical framework.

In order to gain a better insight into the successive pedagogical steps a partimento student of Fenaroli had to go through, the most relevant sources are arguably the many manuscripts with actual musical examples, to which *Regole Musicali* refers by using letters, and a large number of partimenti by Fenaroli that apply the *regole* musically. Table 1 describes the partimento manuscripts that I have assessed and compared, while Table 2 contains library references for all sources mentioned in this article. These manuscripts, which have hardly received the attention they deserve in recent scholarly work,[4] appear to be direct or indirect, mostly anonymous copies of Fenaroli's own, yet to be discovered, manuscript(s), made by professional copyists and pupils. Notwithstanding the great difficulty of identifying and dating them, let alone establishing a stemmatic relationship between them, these sources do offer consistent enough a content for us to be able to reconstruct quite accurately the partimento curriculum Fenaroli applied for approximately half a century, revealing a distinct pedagogical structure in four books (*libri*). Still, this set-up, as illustrated by I-Bsf M.F. I-8, probably came about only around 1775, while the supposedly older sources or copies of them consist of only the first three books, the last of these containing up to nine partimenti fewer in the very oldest sources. The latter organization occurs, for instance, in *PARTIMENTI FENAROLI* (I-Bsf FN. F. I. 1), arguably the earliest Fenaroli manuscript yet discovered, a manuscript that thus far has not been mentioned or studied; Figure 1 shows its beautiful title-page.

With the aim of enlarging our comprehension of Fenaroli's dissonance treatment, I will deal, in addition to the first five editions of *Regole Musicali* and the partimento manuscripts, with the following sources: the counterpoint notebooks written under Fenaroli by Biagio Muscogiuri from 1781 to 1782 (I-Fc B.505 and I-Baf

2 Sanguinetti even calls this distinction 'one of the most puzzling aspects of partimento theory': Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 103.

3 As far I know, five editions of *Regole Musicali* appeared in Naples during Fenaroli's lifetime. The first two editions, dating from 1775 and 1795, have as their full title *Regole musicali per i principianti di cembalo* (Rules of Music for Beginners at the Harpsichord) and were published by Vincenzo Mazzola-Vocola. The third edition of *Regole Musicali* also came out in 1795, but was published by Domenico Sangiacomo with the title *Regole musicali per li principianti di cembalo*. The fourth and fifth editions, having as their full title *Regole musicali per i principianti di cembalo nel sonar co i numeri, e per i principianti del contropunto* (Rules of Music for Beginners at the Harpsichord for Playing Figured Bass, and for Beginners in Counterpoint), were also published by Domenico Sangiacomo and date from 1802 and 1814 respectively. A sixth edition of *Regole Musicali* was probably published by Sangiacomo as well, since this was the case with the seventh edition, dating from 1832. I have been unable to find the sixth edition and do not know its publication year.

4 Peter van Tour is one of the few scholars who has, to an extent, dealt with some of these partimento manuscripts: van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento*, 162–164.

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Table 1 Partimento manuscripts assessed

Title of partimento manuscript	Library siglum and shelfmark	Remarks
Dell'Accompagnare. Libri quattro del Sig.^e Maestro Fenaroli	I-Bsf M.F. I-8	This source consists of four books (*libri*). While its frontispiece, containing an engraving by Giuseppe Benedetti, bears the date 1774, we cannot be entirely sure that the actual manuscript is from that year. Peter van Tour was the first scholar to mention and describe this source (van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento*, 162–163 and 266).
Dieci Fughe In Toni Cromatici Per Cembalo, o Piano Forte. Composte Dal Sig.^r D. Fedele Fenaroli. Ad uso di me Vincenzo Lavigna 1795.	I-Mc Noseda R 40-5	This source contains the second section of book 4, consisting of the ten preludes and fugues in remote keys.
Fenaroli — Partimenti, e Regole per l'accompagnatura	I-PAc Borb. 1579	This source consists of the first three books, the last of which contains only rules and no partimenti.
Fughe per Cembalo Del Sig.^r D. Fedele Fenaroli — Ad uso di me. Vincenzo Lavigna 1794. 29. 9bre	I-Mc Noseda R 40-8	This source contains realizations of the first five preludes and fugues of the first section of book 4 and five newly composed rondos (for more information see Peter van Tour, website *The Uppsala Partimento Database*, http://www2.musik.uu.se/UUPart/UUPart.php).
Libro De Partimenti Del Sig.^r D. Fedele Fenaroli	E-Mc M 2280	This source consists of the first two books, which are not named as such.
Limbro [sic] *Secondo che tratta delle dissonanze, & dei Partimenti di tutte le regole, Del Sig.^e D. Fedele Fenaroli*	I-Rsc A. Ms. 4527	This source appears to be incomplete, consisting of only the second book.
[No title]	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121	This source consists of the first three books, which are not named as such. In its present state, it is preceded by a short partimento primer by Giovanni Furno with the title *Regole Di Partimento Per imparare a sonare bene il Cembalo,* and followed by six solfeggi, the last of which is by Baldassare La Barbiera (for more information see Peter van Tour, website *The Uppsala Solfeggio Database*, http://www2.musik.uu.se/UUSolf/UUSolf.php).
[No title]	I-PAc F. Ms. 612. a-c	This source consists of the first three books. Although its structure is in itself identical to that of the other manuscripts, the title-pages of books 2 and 3 do not precede but follow the section on the dissonances and the *moti del basso* respectively. The title-page of book 3 bears the inscription *Proprietà di Ant.° Farinelli.*

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Table 1 *continued*

Title of partimento manuscript	Library siglum	Remarks
PARTIMENTI FENAROLI	I-Bsf FN. F. I. 1	This source is arguably the earliest Fenaroli manuscript yet discovered, a manuscript that has not been mentioned or studied thus far (Figure 1 shows its title-page, Figure 2 the final partimento specifically on the suspension of the ninth). It consists of the first three books, the last of which contains nine partimenti fewer than that of the most complete partimento manuscript dealt with in this article, I-Bsf M.F. I-8. The individual books are not named as such.
PARTIMENTI FENAROLI	I-Pl RARI 1/III/49	This source consists of the first three books, the last of which contains nine partimenti fewer than that of the most complete partimento manuscript dealt with in this article, I-Bsf M.F. I-8. The individual books are not named as such.
Partimenti per ben sonare il Cembalo Del Sig.r D. Fedele Fenaroli	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115	This source consists of the first three books, which are not named as such.

Table 2 Locations of sources consulted

Library siglum	Country and city of library	Name of library
E-Mc	Spain, Madrid	Biblioteca del Real Conservatorio Superior de Música
F-Pn	France, Paris	Bibliothèque nationale de France
I-Baf	Italy, Bologna	Accademia Filarmonica (Archivio Biblioteca)
I-Bsf	Italy, Bologna	Archivio Musicale della Biblioteca San Francesco
I-Fc	Italy, Florence	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Luigi Cherubini
I-Mc	Italy, Milan	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi
I-PAc	Italy, Parma	Biblioteca Nazionale Palatina (Sezione Musicale presso il Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito)
I-Pl	Italy, Padua	Biblioteca del Conservatorio statale di musica Cesare Pollini
I-Rsc	Italy, Rome	Biblioteca Musicale Governativa del Conservatorio di Musica Santa Cecilia

MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R)) and Vincenzo Lavigna from 1791 to 1795 (I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117),[5] and a letter from Fenaroli to one of his former students, Marco Santucci, from 1791. Since Muscogiuri's and Lavigna's counterpoint manuscripts, the most extensive yet discovered in their genre, are fair copies, we may assume that Fenaroli, who probably corrected earlier drafts of their constituent exercises, approved of their musical

5 Rosa Cafiero, who pointed out to me the existence of I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), has completed an article on this source that will appear later in 2018 (Rosa Cafiero, 'Muscogiuri! Chi era costui? Apprendistato "secondo la scuola vera di Durante" (febbraio 1781–novembre 1782)', in *Studi Pergolesiani / Pergolesi Studies 11*, ed. Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Marilena Laterza (Bern: Peter Lang, forthcoming).

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Figure 1 Title-page of *PARTIMENTI FENAROLI*, I-Bsf FN. F. I. 1, fol. 1r, arguably the earliest Fenaroli manuscript yet discovered

content, and therefore that these sources represent, to a very large extent, Fenaroli's views on dissonance treatment. As for the partimento manuscripts, they do contain some variants of figures, yet not so much as to contradict the theoretical framework.

In relation to both Fenaroli's pedagogical method and his theoretical frame of reference, I will also refer to the 1813 Italian–French bilingual edition of Fenaroli's *Regole Musicali* and partimenti, which was edited by Emmanuele Imbimbo and published in Paris by Raffaele Carli (henceforth Imbimbo 1813),[6] yet I will not treat it, as certain scholars have done, as a primary source.[7] While Fenaroli was involved in the publication to a certain extent, a number of arguments, some of which will be elaborated below, strongly suggest caution in linking its concept and precepts to him and in understanding it as the ultimate representation of Fenaroli's lifelong teaching. First, Imbimbo 1813 was published only at the very end of Fenaroli's life and teaching career; moreover, it appeared not in Naples (or any other Italian city) but in Paris, far from Fenaroli's pedagogical activities. Secondly, whereas Fenaroli integrated specific (series of) partimenti into the first three books of the partimento manuscripts in order to present musical applications of the *regole*, Imbimbo moved several

6 I have discovered that this publication, with the title *Partimenti Ossia Basso Numerato, Opera Completa Di Fedele Fenaroli*, was actually printed at least twice: F-Pn Vm8–313 represents one edition, F-Pn Vm8–314 and F-Pn Vm8–315 another. Both editions give a different layout for the same text on page 48, and F-Pn Vm8–313 contains one extra paragraph (named 'Risoluzione ommessa nell'Armonia della 9.ª/Résolution omise dans l'harmonie de la 9.e') and illustration.

7 Gjerdingen, for instance, based his own digital edition of Fenaroli's complete partimento corpus on Imbimbo 1813: Robert O. Gjerdingen, website *Monuments of Partimenti*, http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/collections/Fenaroli/index.htm. As for Sanguinetti, he used a considerable number of musical examples from this specific edition in order to illustrate Fenaroli's *Regole Musicali*: Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 114–157.

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of those series to places in the edition where the link with their respective rules is lost. This editorial decision clearly results in a pedagogically questionable order and may represent one of the many mistakes in Imbimbo 1813 to which Fenaroli referred in a letter to Santucci of 30 January 1812.[8] Thirdly, the fact that Imbimbo 1813 contains fifty-five newly composed partimenti does not automatically make this edition more important than the partimento manuscripts. Fenaroli actually seems to have considered this new series of partimenti as an extra book to be added to the established four-book structure that is reflected in the partimento manuscripts. Basically, while Imbimbo rearranged Fenaroli's original four-book structure into a five-book form, and then concluded his edition with a sixth book containing the fifty-five new partimenti, Fenaroli had mentioned to Santucci in another letter, dated 18 January 1811, that he was composing a new, *fifth* book of partimenti specifically for Imbimbo's edition.[9] Finally, Imbimbo 1813 includes a new theoretical introduction which deviates on certain elementary points from *Regole Musicali*, making it seem unlikely that Fenaroli would have instigated or agreed with them. And if that were the case, Fenaroli would surely have adopted these differences in the fifth edition of *Regole Musicali*, which postdates Imbimbo's edition by one year.

FENAROLI'S PARTIMENTO CURRICULUM[10]

When reading the first fifteen-odd pages of any edition of his *Regole Musicali*, one gets the impression that Fenaroli advocated starting partimento training with the study of three basic cadences – the *semplice*, the *composta* and the *doppia*, followed by the practice of the rule of the octave. Yet all the partimento manuscripts I know systematically give the rule of the octave before the three basic cadences, suggesting that Fenaroli made his students study those primary rules in that very order.[11] And while I-Bsf M.F. I-8 does not contain any musical examples of the cadences, the fact that the illustrations of the rule of the octave start on the verso of the title-page confirms that partimento training started with this rule.

Following the rule of the octave and the cadences, the partimento manuscripts present a first series of sixteen figured partimenti that are principally conceived so as to allow the assimilation of these features into a musical context at the keyboard; these partimenti conclude the first *libro*.[12] (Still, since *Regole Musicali*

8 Fenaroli apparently obtained a press proof from Imbimbo, about which he stated the following in the above-mentioned letter: 'La stampa della mia musica in Parigi si era stampata piena di errori, ora si stà rivedendo da un mio discepolo, e spero d'averla purgata, seppure si prenderà la pena di renderla tale'. (The edition of my music in Paris has been printed full of errors, is being corrected right now by one of my pupils, and I hope to have it purged, but only if he makes the effort to do this.) Letter quoted in Rosa Cafiero, '"La musica è di nuova specie, si compone senza regole": Fedele Fenaroli e la tradizione didattica napoletana fra Settecento e Ottocento', in *Il didatta e il compositore*, ed. Gianfranco Miscia (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2011), 206; my translation.

9 The reason Fenaroli composed these partimenti specifically for Imbimbo 1813 remains somewhat puzzling. After all, he intended only a restricted use for them: 'Ora sto facendo il quinto libro di partimenti fugati, e soltanto voi che siete della mia scuola, e che molto capite potete insegnarli'. (Right now, I am composing the fifth book of partimenti fugati, and only you, who belong to my school and are very learned, can teach them.) Letter quoted in Cafiero, 'La musica', 206; translation from van Tour, 'Counterpoint and Partimento', 163, note 92.

10 Fenaroli's partimento curriculum accords to a certain extent with that of his teacher Durante. For more specific information about the latter see Peter van Tour's excellent article 'Partimento Teaching according to Francesco Durante, Investigated through the Earliest Manuscript Sources', in *Studies in Historical Improvisation: From 'Cantare super Librum' to 'Partimenti'*, ed. Massimiliano Guido (London: Routledge, 2017), 131–148.

11 Two of the partimento manuscripts I have examined do propose a slightly different order. I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 is lacking its beginning, that is, the section on the rule of the octave in the commonly used keys, and starts with the cadences, after which the rule of the octave is given in remote keys. As for I-Bsf FN. F. I. 1, the beginning of this manuscript seems hastily written, opening with a mix of the rule of the octave in major and minor, and in common and remote keys, with illustrations of the cadences in the middle of this section. Note, though, that this partimento manuscript also opens with the rule of the octave and not with the cadences.

12 It should be mentioned that the current binding of I-Bsf M.F. I-8 contains a mistake: folios 8 and 9 should be interchanged. In its present form, folio 7v, containing the beginning of the illustrations of the rule of the octave in

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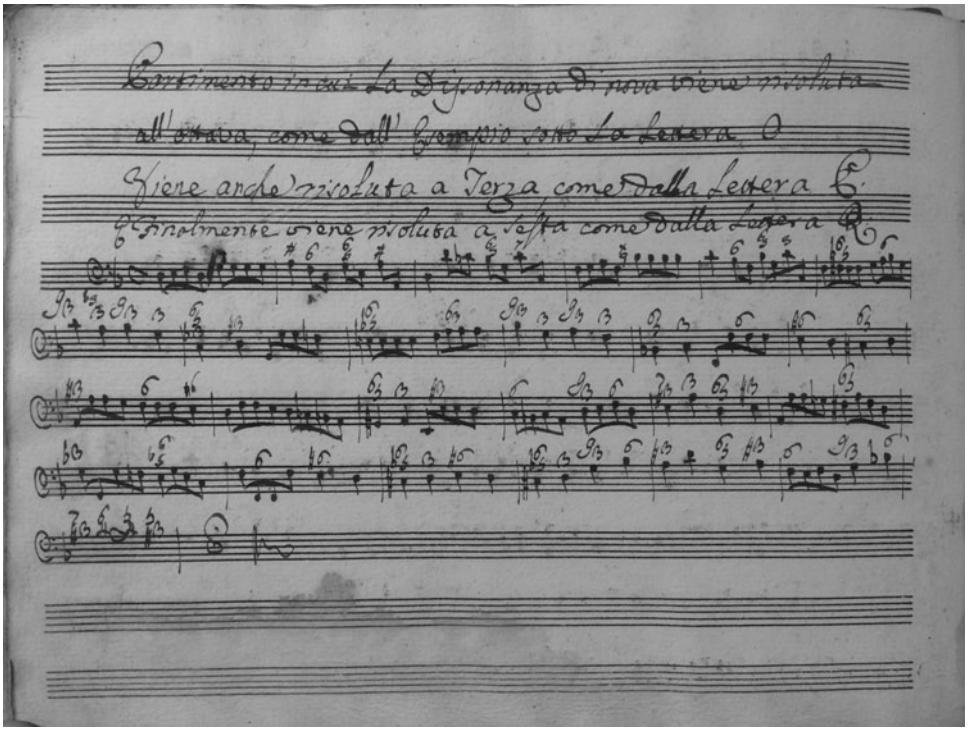

Figure 2 Partimento on the suspension of the ninth, I-Bsf FN. F. I. 1, fol. 15v

hardly mentions them, Fenaroli must have verbally introduced two new matters at the latest at this point: when the rule of the octave should or could not be applied, and how to modulate.)

The next step in the curriculum was the study of suspensions – first in the upper voices, then in the bass – the sole topic of the second book of Fenaroli's method. This book opens with thirteen illustrated rules, each of which is followed by a figured partimento specifically to practise that rule in a more elaborate context, and it concludes with fourteen figured partimenti in which everything that has been learned until then is combined. (Figure 2 shows the final partimento specifically dealing with the suspension of the ninth from I-Bsf FN. F. I. 1. We may assume that, during the lessons on suspensions, dissonance treatment in general was treated more elaborately than in *Regole Musicali*.)

Subsequently, the *moti del basso* (bass motions) were the point of focus, to which the third book, again with two sections, is devoted. In the first section, all *moti del basso* are presented successively, mostly with several options for realization, none of which, however, is followed by an individual partimento. As for the second section, it is a corpus of forty-nine nearly unfigured partimenti in which not only the *moti del basso* and everything learned until then is brought together, but also some idiomatic keyboard textures and the first steps in imitation are introduced.[13]

third position in remote keys, is followed by the partimenti in A major and A minor on folio 8r and by those in B major and B minor on folio 8v. As for the current folio 9, its recto shows the conclusion of the illustrations of the rule of the octave in third position in remote keys, under which *Seguono i Bassetti* (The small basses [partimenti] follow) is written, while its verso gives the partimenti in G major and G minor.

13 One partimento manuscript I have analysed proposes a different superstructure. While all the individual sections are presented in the same order as in the other partimento manuscripts, the explanatory section on the dissonances in I-PAc F. Ms. 612 does not open book 2, but concludes book 1. Similarly, its section on the *moti del basso* occurs at the

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Table 3 Key sequences of the illustrations of each individual rule and of the partimenti in books 1 and 2 of Fedele Fenaroli, *Dell'Accompagnare. Libri quattro del Sig.e Maestro Fenaroli*

Book	Rule/partimenti	Key sequence
1	Rule of the octave	First series: major keys of G, A, B, C, D, E, F, B flat and E flat Second series: minor keys of G, A, B, C, D, E and F Third series: remote major and minor keys of F sharp major, F sharp minor, A flat major, G sharp minor, B flat minor, C sharp major, D flat major, C sharp minor and E flat minor
	Cadences	G major, A minor, B minor, C major, D minor, E minor, F major, B flat major and E flat major
	16 partimenti	G major, G minor, A major, A minor, B major, B minor, C major, C minor, D major, D minor, E major, E minor, F major, F minor, B flat major and E flat major
2	Suspensions	G major, A minor, B minor, C major, D minor, E minor, F major, B flat major and E flat major (identical to the key sequence of the cadences)
	14 partimenti	G major, G minor, A major, A minor, B major, B minor, C major, C minor, D major, D minor, E major, E minor, F major, F minor, B flat major and E flat major (identical to the key sequence of the first 14 partimenti of book 1)

At this point, the partimento student would have gone through all the rules and could start with the study of counterpoint if he was judged capable enough.[14] The fact that six of the eleven partimento manuscripts that I have studied actually contain precisely the first three books underlines that these books indeed form a unity in themselves, constituting what we could call Fenaroli's basic partimento course. As for the fourth, more demanding book – his advanced partimento course – it consisted of twelve partimento preludes and fugues in commonly used keys and ten partimento preludes and fugues in more remote keys, and was dealt with parallel to the final stages of counterpoint training.[15]

Fenaroli's concern for methodological order applied not only to the different steps in partimento teaching but also in large part to the key sequence of the illustrations of each individual rule and of the partimenti in the first two books, which often prove to be similar (see Table 3). The rule of the octave is first given in nine major keys and seven minor keys, to be practised in the three positions. In succession, a selection of scales in more remote major and minor keys (*scale cromatiche*) appear, all to be practised in the three positions as well.[16] As for the three cadences, each of them is shown in a similarly ascending series of common keys, yet combining major and minor modes by always utilizing the key with the least accidentals. The partimenti

end of book 2 instead of at the beginning of book 3 (see also Table 1). As for the number of partimenti in book 3 of the partimento manuscripts, it seems to vary according on the stage of composition (see again also Table 1). The earliest version of book 3, as illustrated in I-Bsf FN. F. I. 1, contains forty partimenti, while its final version, as illustrated in I-Bsf M.F. I-8, features forty-nine. Another difference between the earliest and final stages of book 3 is that, in the former, three of its partimenti are notated as *partimenti diminuiti* – a type of partimento that includes a possible realization for the first bars and was abundantly used by Fenaroli's own *maestro*, Durante – while the final version of book 3 gives an incipit for realization to two more partimenti. (Still, it must be mentioned that these partimenti were not always copied as *diminuiti*. I-PAc F. Ms. 612, for instance, contains all forty-nine partimenti of the final version of book 3, none of which, however, is accompanied with an incipit for realization.)

14 For more information on Fenaroli's counterpoint curriculum see van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento*, 157–168.

15 Lavigna studied counterpoint from 1791 to 1795 and has dated his copy of the first and second sections of the fourth book '1794, 29. 9bre' (29 November 1794) and '1795' respectively (see also Table 1).

16 While some small variations exist regarding the order in which the partimento manuscripts present the remote scales, the most frequently used sequence is given in Table 3.

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that conclude book 1 simply alternate between the common major and minor keys for practising the rule of the octave, again according to an (overall) ascending key sequence. As for book 2, it shows that every type of suspension needed to be practised according to the key sequence used for the cadences. And while Fenaroli composed the partimenti specifically accompanying each rule on suspension in a more limited number of keys, the concluding fourteen partimenti of book 2 occur in the same key sequence as the first fourteen partimenti that conclude book 1 (thus without partimenti in B flat major and E flat major).[17]

If we now compare this pedagogically coherent method with Imbimbo 1813, two structural problems arise – the first more serious than the second – in relation to the latter, problems which are due to the repositioning of partimenti. First, while Imbimbo did present the rule of the octave and the cadences in that order and in a way similar to that found in the partimento manuscripts, he did not include the sixteen partimenti Fenaroli purposely composed to train these partimento rules in book 1. Instead, he printed these partimenti only at the beginning of the second section of book 2, after the explanation of the suspensions with their individual partimenti. This order implies that the series of easiest partimenti is not only separated from its *regole* but also that it appears between two series of more complex partimenti – a doubtful judgment. Secondly, whereas the *partimenti diminuiti* occur in the partimento manuscripts amongst the last eight partimenti of book 3, marking the culmination of 'Fenaroli's basic partimento course', in Imbimbo 1813 they are moved to the beginning of book 5 – the beginning of 'Fenaroli's advanced partimento course', where they are alienated from the other partimenti of that book, all preludes and fugues.[18]

CONSONANCES AND DISSONANCES

One cannot deal with dissonance treatment within Fenaroli's teaching without taking the famous rivalry between the *Leisti* and the *Durantisti* – adepts of the pedagogical methods and theoretical frameworks of Leonardo Leo and Francesco Durante respectively – as a starting-point. This is a subject that has been explored extensively in recent scholarly work,[19] and the main point of interest for this study lies in the different approaches taken by the two eighteenth-century Neapolitan schools to voice leading and counterpoint. Whereas Leo advocated a stricter approach to voice leading – an essential tenet in his teaching of an older-style cantus-firmus counterpoint – Durante adopted a more modern, harmonic perspective on counterpoint, which included, amongst other things, treating the augmented fourth and the diminished fifth and seventh as consonances that required no preparation. In other words, while both schools did actually have the same strict view on how to prepare an on-beat dissonance – the preparation that introduces the dissonance and the dissonance itself had to be the same note – they came to different conclusions as to which intervals were considered dissonant or consonant, conclusions which were mostly based on whether or not these intervals required preparation. From what follows, it will become clear that Fenaroli too, as a devoted student of Durante, had an up-to-date view on dissonance treatment that applied to the practice of both partimento and counterpoint. It will come as no surprise, therefore, that voice leading and chord choice within Fenaroli's pedagogy are far from unique; they largely agree with any eighteenth-century thoroughbass or music-theoretical treatise, a point I will touch upon by drawing from several of them.

With regard to the distinction between and the definition of consonances and dissonances, each of the first five editions of *Regole Musicali* states that there are four consonances – octave, third, fifth and sixth –

17 The reason that book 3 gives each possible realization of the *moti del basso* in only one key, G major or G minor, is probably to limit the number of pages this enumeration takes, the topic of the *moti del basso* already being the most extensive one. As for the partimenti of books 3 and 4, they are no longer presented in a regular key sequence – undeniably a logical choice, both pedagogically and musically, at this stage in the curriculum.

18 In Imbimbo 1813, book 3 contains only the demonstration of the *moti del basso*, while book 4 displays forty-four of the forty-nine partimenti present in the final version of book 3 of the partimento manuscripts.

19 For an in-depth, and the most recent, discussion of this matter see van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento*, 28–69 and 121–200.

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and four dissonances – second, fourth, seventh and ninth – and that the intervals of the latter class always have to be prepared and resolved by those of the former.[20] In itself, this notion would be straightforward enough, were it not for the fact that at other places in *Regole Musicali*, Fenaroli expressed views and gave musical examples that do not respect this initial classification of consonances and dissonances. Consider the beginning of his discussion of the dissonance of the fourth, acting as a momentary strong-beat substitute for the third of a chord. Fenaroli argued that:

> L[a] quarta si può preparare da tutte le quattro Consonanze, cioè, dall' 8. 3. 5., e 6.
>
> The fourth can be prepared by all four consonances, that is, by the octave, third, fifth and sixth.[21]

Subsequently, he illustrated how the dissonance of the fourth can be prepared by each of these consonances. Yet he expanded the list of intervals that could be used to prepare the suspension of the fourth with two other ones, namely the minor seventh, at first thus described as a dissonance, and the diminished fifth, which was not even mentioned in the enumeration of consonances and dissonances:

> Si nota, che la quarta si può anche preparare dalla settima minore, e dalla quinta falza [*sic*].
>
> Note that the fourth can also be prepared by the minor seventh and by the diminished fifth.[22]

Moreover, instead of proposing a voice leading whereby both minor seventh and diminished fifth were prepared as well, as one might perhaps expect, Fenaroli illustrated this guideline with two examples in which both intervals were freely introduced, and hence, according to Fenaroli's definition of consonances and dissonances, should be interpreted as consonances (see Example 1). Fenaroli confirmed the consonant status of the diminished fifth, albeit somewhat casually, in his discussion of the bass suspension of the seventh scale step returning to the first, by mentioning the presence of 'la consonanza di quinta falsa' (the consonance of the diminished fifth) above the seventh scale step.[23] And while it is true that the 1775 edition does not specifically mention the minor seventh as a consonance, the freely introduced minor seventh of Example 1, excerpted from a source from approximately the same year as the first edition of *Regole Musicali*, implies that this was something of an oversight. Indeed, this was then rectified in the third edition of 1795 in a footnote, elucidating the consonant character of the minor seventh and more explicitly confirming this status with regard to the diminished fifth than in the 1775 edition:

20 Fenaroli 1775, 3 and 14. In the paragraph following his enumeration of the dissonances, Fenaroli did nuance the rule that all dissonances have to be prepared, pointing out that this does not account for the second, which makes it different from the ninth (Fenaroli 1775, 14–15). Somewhat further in *Regole Musicali*, in the section *Delle legature del Basso* (Concerning Suspensions of the Bass), he elaborated on the second, explaining that 'sulla nota susseguente del Partimento, la quale scenderà di semitono, dovrà rimanere per terza quella nota dell'accompagnamento, che è stata la seconda della nota del Partimento legato' (above the partimento's subsequent note, which descends a semitone, the note that had been the second above the tied partimento should remain as a third): Fenaroli 1775, 20–21; translation from Gjerdingen, *Monuments of Partimenti* (for this and for all future translations from Gjerdingen, the ordinal numbers have been written in full). It should be noted, however, that the distinction between the second and ninth was not specifically Fenaroli-related, but rather represented a generally accepted view in the eighteenth century, as formulated, for instance, by Francesco Gasparini in his *Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo*: 'in questo caso [la Seconda] non si risolve come l'altre Dissonanze, ma la parte istessa del Basso risolve descendendo di grado in questo modo' (the second does not resolve, as do the other dissonances, but instead the bass itself resolves stepwise downward). Francesco Gasparini, *L'Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo* (Bologna: Silvani, 1713), 41; translation from Francesco Gasparini, *The Practical Harmonist at the Harpsichord*, ed. David L. Burrows and trans. Frank S. Stillings (New Haven: Yale School of Music, 1963), 49.

21 Fenaroli 1775, 15; translation from Gjerdingen, *Monuments of Partimenti*. Note that if I do not refer to a specific edition, the citation occurs more or less identically in each of the five editions that were printed during Fenaroli's lifetime, and that, for reasons of convenience and conciseness, I only give the reference from the first edition.

22 Fenaroli 1775, 16; translation from Gjerdingen, *Monuments of Partimenti*.

23 Fenaroli 1775, 21; my translation.

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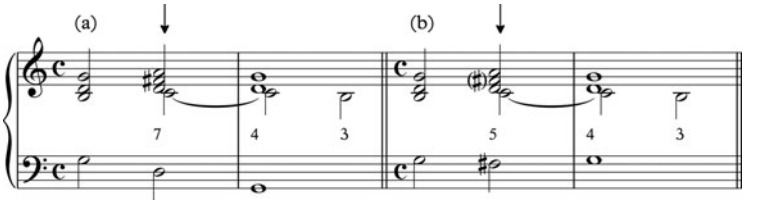

Example 1 Partimento manuscript *Dell'Accompagnare. Libri quattro del Sig.e Maestro Fenaroli*, (a) I-Bsf M.F. I-8, fol. 17v (first example) (b) I-Bsf M.F. I-8, fol. 18r (first example). Used by permission

> La settima minore, e la quinta falsa, sono consonanze; perchè non hanno bisogno di preparazione, ma soltanto di risoluzione calando di grado.
> The minor seventh and diminished fifth are consonances because they do not require preparation, but only resolution by descending step.[24]

The confirmation that Fenaroli considered the minor seventh to be a consonance actually dates from well before 1795; further, it does not occur in a partimento-related source, but in *Libro VI°* (1781) of Biagio Muscogiuri's counterpoint course with Fenaroli (I-Fc B.505). As Peter van Tour has observed, this manuscript includes what seems to be the result of Fenaroli dictating the rules of counterpoint to his pupil, thereby modifying the rule of the suspension of the fourth.[25] At first, Fenaroli formulated this precept as it appears in the first edition of *Regole Musicali*, but then immediately suggested some alterations and had Muscogiuri cross out 'four' and add 'minor seventh and diminished fifth' as possible consonant intervals preparing the suspension of the fourth, resulting in the following version:

> La quarta si può preparare da tutte ~~quattro~~ le consonanze; cioè, dall' 8.; dalla 3; dalla 5.ª; dalla 6.ª; dalla 7.ª minore, e dalla 5.ª falsa.
> The fourth can be prepared by all ~~four~~ consonances, that is by the octave, third, fifth, sixth, minor seventh and diminished fifth.[26]

That both diminished fifth and minor seventh could be treated as consonances within Fenaroli's counterpoint teaching as well as in partimento is a first important indicator of the similar theoretical frameworks adopted for both fields. Indeed, both Muscogiuri's and Lavigna's counterpoint notebooks abundantly display unprepared diminished fifths and minor sevenths, of which Example 2 shows but a few occurrences.[27] Treating these intervals as freely introduced consonances did not imply, however, that their resolution was unbound as well. As the rectification in the third edition of 1795 makes clear, these intervals needed to resolve by means of stepwise descent. And in his 1791 letter to Marco Santucci, Fenaroli added an interesting nuance to the view of the minor seventh as a consonance, which renders it perhaps somewhat

24 Fenaroli 1795, 6; my translation.

25 Van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento*, 65.

26 Muscogiuri 1781, fol. 3r; my translation. In spite of the explicit reference in Muscogiuri's *Libro VI°* to the minor seventh and diminished fifth as consonances, the third, fourth and fifth editions of *Regole Musicali* still give the old version of the rule on how to prepare the fourth (that is, without mentioning the minor seventh and diminished fifth as possible preparations).

27 Muscogiuri and Lavigna were not taught counterpoint exclusively by Fenaroli. More than eighty per cent of Muscogiuri's *Libro III* was written under Fenaroli's assistant Giuseppe Gargano, while Lavigna started his counterpoint instruction under another assistant, Saverio Verde, before being taught by Fenaroli and Gargano. Although I cannot see any difference in dissonance treatment between, on the one hand, the teaching of Verde and Gargano and, on the other hand, that of Fenaroli, all examples in this article were written exclusively under Fenaroli.

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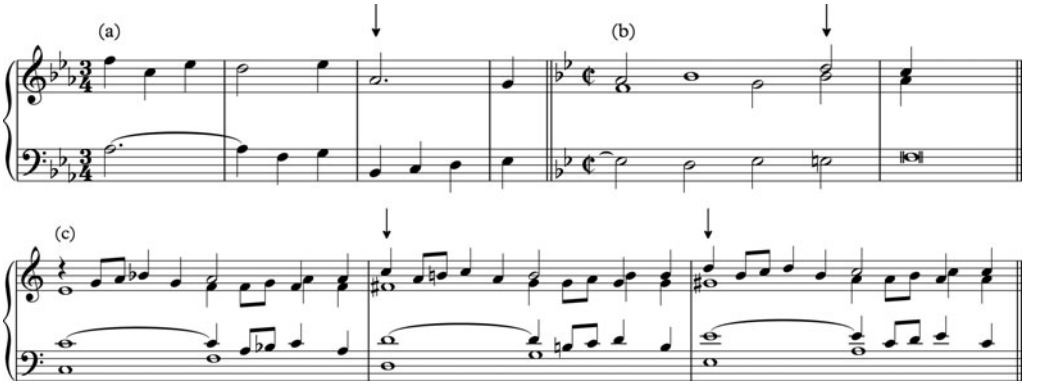
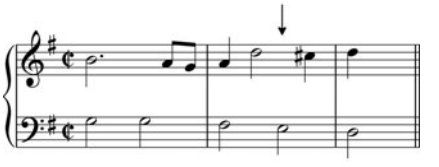


Example 2 (a) Counterpoint notebooks written under Fedele Fenaroli by Biagio Muscogiuri, I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 35r, system 5, bars 13–16[1] (b) Counterpoint notebooks written under Fedele Fenaroli by Biagio Muscogiuri, I-Fc B.505, fol. 74v, system 3, bars 3–4 (c) Counterpoint notebooks written under Fedele Fenaroli by Vincenzo Lavigna, I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 50r, system 2, bars 6–8. Used by permission



Example 3 I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 28r, system 3, bars 3–5[1]. Used by permission

'less consonant' than the normal consonances. He described the minor seventh as 'una consonanza falsa, che hà bisogno di risoluzione' (a false consonance, which needs to resolve).[28]

Summarizing the evidence from the Fenaroli sources on the minor seventh, it can be said with confidence that it could function as a dissonance or as a consonance from at least as early as 1775, and that, in spite of Fenaroli's silence on its precise conditions, this distinction clearly depended on the harmonic context. When the minor seventh – or any kind of seventh, for that matter – functioned as an on-beat temporary replacement for the sixth in a sixth chord, it was treated as a dissonance and therefore prepared (Example 3 gives this standard voice leading). On the other hand, as Examples 1 and 2 illustrate, the minor seventh was treated as a consonance, and so could enter unprepared when it acted as a genuine chordal note, mostly of a dominant-seventh chord, and occasionally of a half-diminished-seventh chord, instead of as a suspension.

The Preface to Imbimbo's 1813 edition, however, describes the dominant-seventh chord – not specifically the minor seventh – as being dissonant:

> Il primo accordo fondamentale consonante datoci dalla natura, per cui si chiama perfetto, è quello di 1.ª 3.ª e 5.ª; se a quest'accordo vi si aggiunge in progressione di terza, la *settima minore*, ne nascerà un secondo accordo pur fondamentale, ma dissonante chiamato di settima dominante.
>
> Le premier accord fondamental consonant qui nous a été donné par la nature se nomme parfait; c'est celui de 1.re 3.e et 5.e; si on y ajoute, en progression de tierces, la *septième* mineure il en sortira un second accord fondamental, mais dissonant, qu'on nomme 7.e dominante.

28 Letter quoted in Cafiero, 'La musica', 196; my translation.

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> The first fundamental consonant chord that was given to us by nature is called perfect, being the one consisting of a prime, a third and a fifth. If one adds, by progression of thirds, the *minor seventh*, this will produce a second purely fundamental but dissonant chord, which is called the dominant seventh.[29]

Although this formulation obviously differs from Fenaroli's and so suggests that Fenaroli did not write or oversee this Preface, Imbimbo did allow this interval – as well as the diminished seventh and the diminished fifth, for that matter – to be introduced without preparation, by drawing, somewhat curiously, from opinions that are not his own:

> La 7.ª minore, la diminuita, e la 5.ª falsa, detta ancora diminuita, godono il privilegio di darsi senza preparazione, la prima sulla *Dominante*, le altre due sulla *Sensibile*, considerandosi da molti teorici come *intervalli mezzani* tra la consonanza e la dissonanza, e consequentemente partecipi dell'una e dell'altra specie.
>
> La 7.e mineure, la diminuée, et la fausse 5.e, qu'on appelle aussi diminuée, jouissent du privilège de se donner sans préparation, la premiere sur la *Dominante*, les deux autres sur la *Sensible*, étant considérées par plusieurs théoriciens comme *intervalles intermédiaires* entre la consonnance et la dissonance, et conséquemment participantes de l'une et de l'autre espece.
>
> The minor seventh, the diminished seventh and the diminished fifth enjoy the privilege of being used without introduction, the first one on the dominant, the two others on the leading note, since they are considered by many theoreticians as intermediate intervals between a consonance and dissonance, and consequently belong to both types.[30]

In themselves, freely introduced diminished fifths and minor sevenths were not features exclusive to the *Durantisti*. After all, while still ranked mostly among the dissonances,[31] the unprepared diminished fifth

29 Imbimbo 1813, 10; my translation.

30 Imbimbo 1813, 15; my translation. The intermediate status of this type of interval becomes particularly apparent, for instance, from the slightly earlier, also Parisian *Principes de Composition des Écoles d'Italie* by Alexandre-Étienne Choron (Paris: Auguste Le Duc & Cie, 1808–1809; both quotations given in this footnote can be found on page 19 of this publication's *Livre Second*, while their translations are mine). On the one hand, paraphrasing what seems to have been Charles-Simon Catel's original notion of natural harmony and artificial harmony (Charles-Simon Catel, *Traité D'Harmonie* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire De Musique, 1802), Preface), Choron stated the following: 'Les dissonances, comme on sait, sont de deux espèces, savoir: les dissonances non soumises à la préparation, et celles qui y sont assujetties. Les 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.' (The dissonances, as one knows, are of two types, being the dissonances which do not require preparation and those which do. The former are those which we have called natural dissonances, of which there are three: the [minor] seventh on the dominant, the seventh on the leading note, which can be minor or diminished, and finally the ninth on the dominant, which can be major or minor.) On the other hand, in the last sentence of the paragraph dealing with the natural dissonances, Choron added even more nuance to this matter by associating the terms consonance and natural dissonance outright: '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.' (Mr Fenaroli thus rightly says that particularly the minor seventh on the dominant is *a genuine consonance* since it can be applied without preparation, an observation which, in my opinion, can be extrapolated to *the other natural dissonances* [my italics].)

31 A theorist who did see the diminished fifth, but not the seventh, as a consonance was Johann Mattheson. See *Das forschende Orchestre* (Hamburg: Johann Christoph Kißner, 1721), 489 and 773–774; *Kleine General-Baß-Schule* (Hamburg: Johann Christoph Kißner, 1735), 180–183; and *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739), 252–253. As for Georg Andreas Sorge, he named diminished fifths *Pseudoconsonanzen* – intervals that 'eher

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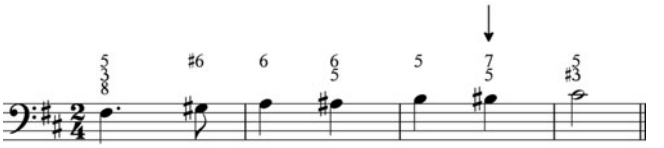

Example 4 I-Bsf M.F. I-8, fol. 27v, system 5, bars 4–7. Used by permission. All the partimento manuscripts that I have examined that contain the partimento from which Example 4 is excerpted figure the b♯ as 7/5, except for I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121, in which that note is unfigured

and minor seventh belonged to the normal voice-leading framework of many eighteenth-century musicians and theorists throughout Europe, as did the prepared version of those intervals, for that matter. Francesco Gasparini, for instance, explained that the diminished fifth 'negl' accompagnamenti può venir legata, e sciolta' (may occur either joined or free in accompaniments).[32] And while the musical examples in *L'Armonico Pratico* mostly imply prepared sevenths of any kind, Gasparini approved of their being unprepared on the fourth and the raised fourth scale steps leading to the dominant.[33] As for Johann David Heinichen, he similarly stated in his *General-Bass in der Composition* that the diminished fifth 'lieget zuweilen vorhero, zuweilen auch nicht' (is sometimes prepared, sometimes not), a directive he repeated with regard to the seventh in general; his examples of the latter category include both unprepared minor and diminished sevenths.[34]

Besides the unprepared minor seventh and diminished fifth, the unprepared diminished seventh also figured amongst the normal voice-leading options within Fenaroli's theoretical framework. In fact, while Fenaroli did not touch upon the latter interval in *Regole Musicali*, it seems to have been used as freely as the minor seventh, also corresponding to the specific concept of *consonanza falsa*. Another similarity with the unprepared minor seventh is that the unprepared diminished seventh occurs in the context of all the partimento and counterpoint sources I have consulted – an observation that further confirms that there was no essential difference in voice-leading approach between partimento and counterpoint teaching. Indeed, the unprepared diminished seventh already occurs on a number of occasions in the partimento manuscripts (Example 4 offers an instance), and remains remarkably present, approached by both conjunct motion and by a leap, in Muscogiuri's and Lavigna's counterpoint notebooks (for a selection of instances in which the minor seventh is approached by leap see Example 5). While these unprepared diminished sevenths do mostly resolve

dissoniren als consoniren' (are rather dissonant than consonant) – but tip over to the side of consonance because of their free treatment: Georg Andreas Sorge, *Compendium harmonicum, oder Kurzer Begrif der Lehre von der Harmonie* (Lobenstein, 1760), 13; my translation. Interestingly, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg had used the same term in the first edition of his *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1757), but to refer to the free treatment of what he considered to be a *dissonant* diminished fifth (78–79). As a matter of fact, the term *Pseudoconsonanz* and the status of the diminished fifth were only two of many things with which Marpurg disagreed, which is the reason he reacted to Sorge's *Compendium* with a full-blown treatise of his own: *Herrn Georg Andreas Sorgens Anleitung zum Generalbaß und zur Composition: Mit Anmerkungen von Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1760). In this publication, Marpurg even urged his readers to cross out the word *Pseudoconsonanz* in the first edition of his *Handbuch* and replace it with *unvollkommene Dissonanz* (imperfect dissonance; 104). Two years later, though, in the second edition of his *Handbuch*, he plainly called the diminished fifth a dissonance (Marpurg, *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition – Zweyte, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1762), 38). For more information on the controversy between Marpurg and Sorge see Jonathan W. Bernard, 'The Marpurg-Sorge Controversy', *Music Theory Spectrum* 11/2 (1989), 164–186.

32 Gasparini, *L'Armonico Pratico*, 44; my translation.

33 Gasparini, *L'Armonico Pratico*, 51.

34 Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden, 1728), 177 and 184; my translation.

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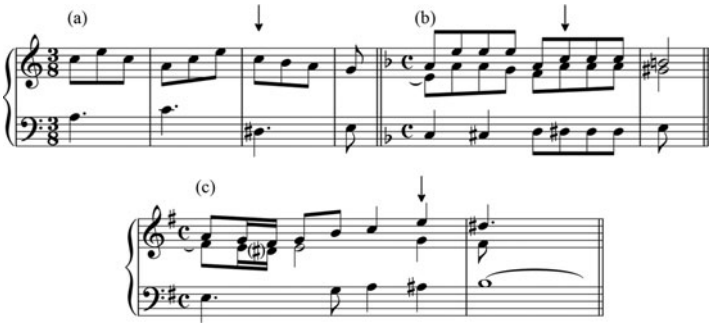
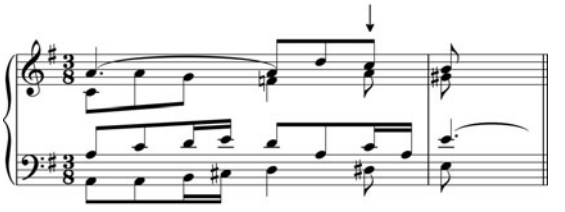


Example 5 (a) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 54r, system 1, bars 6–9[1] (b) I-Fc B.505, fol. 64r, system 3, bars 6–7[2] (c) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 73v, system 3, bars 6–7. Used by permission



Example 6 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 98v, system 1, bars 5–6[3]. Used by permission

correctly, that is, via a stepwise descent, I have come across one type of voice leading in I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117 where the diminished seventh was treated in an even freer way than was the case with the unprepared minor seventh. Not only did Lavigna once write a chord containing a doubled diminished seventh, both unprepared, but he decided upon a faulty resolution of one of them as well, obviously in order to avoid parallel octaves (Example 6).

Apart from the use of the unprepared diminished fifth, minor seventh and diminished seventh as valid vertical intervals on the leading note in themselves, they also functioned as steadfast elements of certain schemata, that is to say, of stock compositional phrase units characterized by a particular voice leading, harmonization, rhythm, metre and/or form.[35] First, an unprepared diminished fifth, accompanied or not by an unprepared minor or diminished seventh, occurs on a number of occasions on the raised fourth scale step, a local leading note, in what Robert O. Gjerdingen would call a Converging Cadence, which 'is so named by virtue of the way its outer voices [or the two upper voices against the bass] move toward each other, converging on the dominant chord' (see Example 7).[36] Note, however, that this chromatically ascending bass did not imply this particular voice leading per se in the Fenaroli circle. As Examples 2b, 5b and 5c have already shown, a diminished fifth, minor seventh or diminished seventh on the raised fourth scale step could also be approached by leap. Secondly, an unprepared diminished seventh accompanied by a diminished fifth occurs a number of times as a neighbouring chord, again on the raised fourth scale step, in between dominant chords, resulting in a variant of what Gjerdingen might call a Ponte, a schema that 'highlight[s] a dominant pedal point and the tones of the dominant triad or seventh chord' (see Example 8).[37] Thirdly, an unprepared diminished fifth also occurs, albeit somewhat less frequently, as the penultimate chord of what Gjerdingen

35 Gjerdingen's influential book *Music in the Galant Style* remains the point of reference with regard to this matter.

36 Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 159–160.

37 Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 215.

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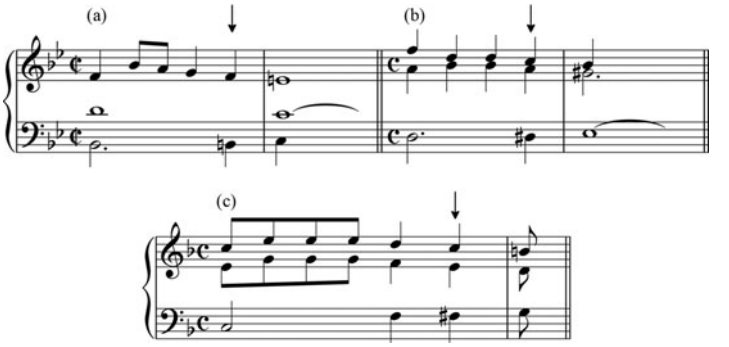
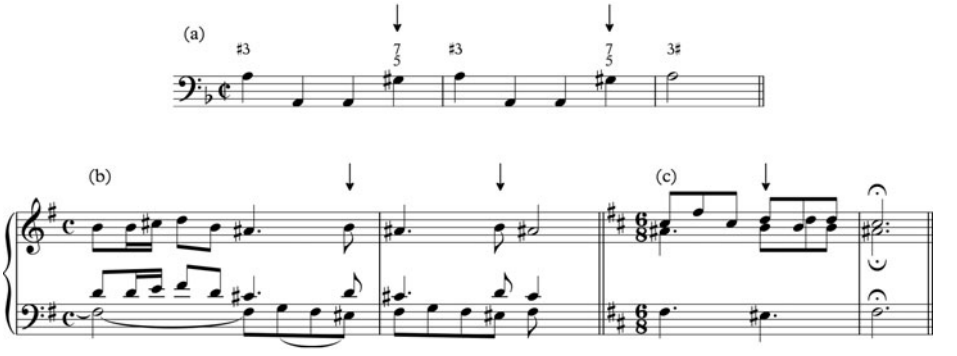


Example 7 (a) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 78r, system 2, bar 10 and system 3, bar 1 (b) I-Fc B.505, fol. 68r, system 4, bar 17 and fol. 68v, system 1, bar 1 (c) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 75v, system 1, bars 7–8[1]. Used by permission



Example 8 (a) I-Bsf M.F. I-8, fol. 29v, system 8, bar 7 and system 9, bars 1–2[1] (b) I-Fc B.505, fol. 58v, system 4, bars 2–3 (c) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 79v, system 4, bars 14–15. Used by permission. All the partimento manuscripts that I examined that contain the partimento from which Example 8a is excerpted figure both g♯s as 7/5

would call a variant of a Fenaroli, a schema in which the upper voice gives the seventh, first, fourth and third scale steps as main notes against the fourth, third, seventh and first scale steps in the bass (Example 9).[38]

Whereas the two-part variant of this pattern occurs in both major and minor keys, as illustrated in Example 9, a three- or four-part version was occasionally written in a minor key, with a third voice moving in sixths below or thirds above the upper voice of the two-part variant of the Fenaroli and with an unprepared diminished seventh as penultimate chord (Example 10). Incidentally, the vertical interval or chord at the beginning of the variant of the Fenaroli demonstrates that the augmented fourth could also be introduced without preparation. The fact that this very voice leading, also left unmentioned by Fenaroli, is abundantly present in the counterpoint notebooks of Muscogiuri and Lavigna (from which Example 11 shows only two excerpts) contributes further to the observation that the rules of counterpoint corresponded to those of partimento.

Contrary to Fenaroli's pedagogical practice and to the diminished fifth on the seventh scale step, however, the augmented fourth on the fourth scale step, where both notes are introduced freely, is mentioned or illustrated less in eighteenth-century thoroughbass and music-theoretical treatises. Still, giving a musical

38 Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 235.

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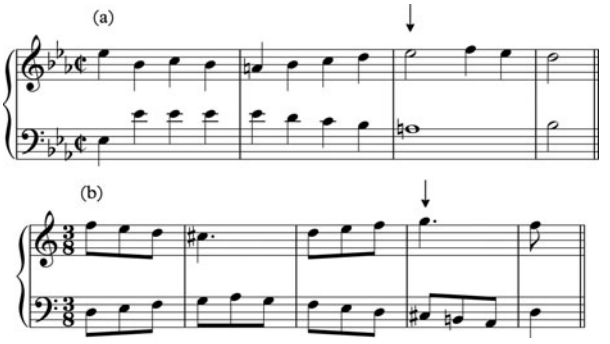
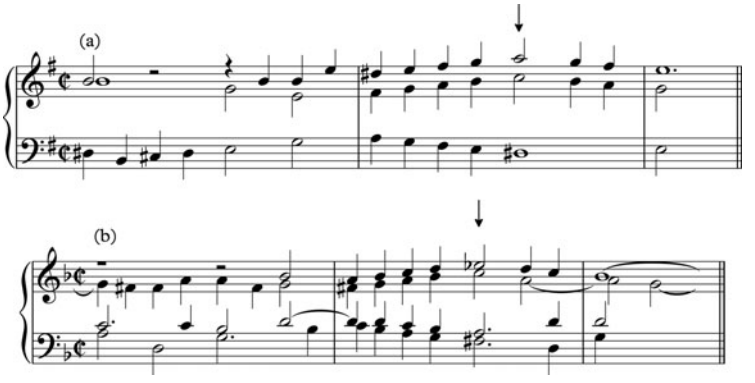
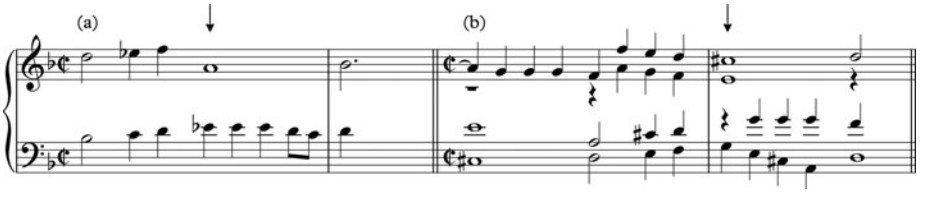


Example 9 (a) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 32r, system 1, bars 9–12[1] (b) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 54v, system 1, bars 8–12[2]. Used by permission



Example 10 (a) I-Fc B.505, fol. 93v, system 1, bars 7–9[3] (b) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 88r, system 2, bars 3–5[2]. Used by permission



Example 11 (a) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 49r, system 4, bars 4–5[2] (b) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 82v, system 1, bars 4–5. Used by permission

example with this very voice leading, Carl Philipp Emanuel stated that 'die verminderte Quarte hat einer Vorbereitung nöthig; die reine und übermäßige nicht allezeit' (the diminished fourth requires preparation; the perfect and augmented fourths, not always).[39]

With regard to the vertical perfect fourth, Fenaroli's *Regole Musicali* provides information just as rudimentary as it does for the diminished fifth and any kind of seventh. Apart from mentioning the need to

39 Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen: Zweyter Theil, in welchem die Lehre von dem Accompagnement und der freyen Fantasie abgehandelt werden* (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1762), 66; my translation.

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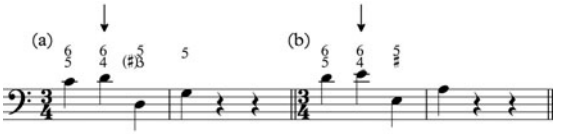
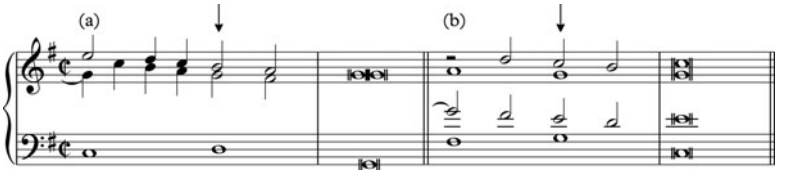


Example 12 (a) I-Bsf M.F. I-8, fol. 10r, system 3, bars 3–4 (b) I-Bsf M.F. I-8, fol. 10r, system 4, bars 1–2. Used by permission. All the partimento manuscripts that I examined that contain this partimento give the same figuring in Examples 12a and b



Example 13 (a) I-Fc B.505, fol. 29r, system 2, bars 5–6 (b) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 59v, system 1, bars 4–5. Used by permission

prepare this interval when, as illustrated by the accompanying examples, it functions as an on-beat, dissonant, temporary replacement for the third of a chord, Fenaroli only gave the following rule indicating which vertical interval should accompany this type of fourth:

> 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.
>
> the dissonance of a fourth should always be accompanied by the consonance of the fifth. That is because the aforementioned dissonance can never have a place above a note that, by its nature, does not take the fifth.[40]

Yet the third partimento in the partimento manuscripts (Example 12) already puts this directive somewhat into perspective, illustrating that, when the fifth would indeed have been a perfect option, the sixth could also accompany the fourth, a chord distribution that is regularly asked for throughout the corpus of figured partimenti. And the counterpoint notebooks of Muscogiuri and Lavigna illustrate that, besides the fifth, the sixth was also abundantly used to accompany the on-beat fourth, in which case the latter was even introduced without preparation on a number of occasions (Example 13) – yet another indication that the dissonance treatment for counterpoint was highly similar to that for partimento. (In spite of the possibility of using an unprepared fourth within the cadential six-four chord, this voice leading apparently did have to comply with the condition that the fourth be introduced via a descending step in contrary motion with the bass.) As a matter of fact, both of these voice-leading options are described in Muscogiuri's *Libro VI*, although the one with the sixth is judged as only a second choice in a three-part setting:

> 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 perche 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.
>
> One should know that the accompaniment of the fourth is the fifth, when one uses it as a dissonance. If one wants to use the fourth on the dominant, and because it is then allowed without preparation, it can have the accompaniment of the sixth [or] the fifth at the composer's pleasure.

40 Fenaroli 1775, 16–17; translation from Gjerdingen, *Monuments of Partimenti*.

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> One should still be warned that, when one writes in three parts, it is better to use the fifth than the sixth.[41]

One could argue, of course, that Fenaroli saw the cadential six-four as a chord in which the (unprepared) fourth functions as a consonance and therefore that the fourth, similar to the seventh, could be dissonant or consonant depending on the context, a view that is actually advocated in Imbimbo 1813:

> VII. La 4.ª è di doppia specie, cioè a dire, consonante accompagnata colla 6.ª, e dissonante colla 2.ª, o colla 5.ª
>
> VII. La 4.e est d'espèce double, c'est à dire, consonnante accompagnée de la 6.e, et dissonante accompagnée de la 2.e ou de la 5.e
>
> VII. The fourth is of two species, that is, consonant when accompanied by the sixth, and dissonant when accompanied by the second or the fifth.[42]

Still, several factors with regard to Muscogiuri's guideline given above seem to favour a dissonant view of the cadential six-four chord within the Fenaroli circle. In the first place, Muscogiuri proposed the sixth as an alternative for the fifth to accompany the (dissonant) fourth. In addition, he did not mention that, when using the sixth, the fourth would become consonant. And finally, he discussed this matter in a section called *Della Dissonanza, o sia Ligatura della Quarta*.

Whether the fourth of a six-four chord should be regarded as a dissonance or as a consonance was actually a heavily debated issue in the eighteenth century, dividing theorists roughly into three camps.[43] Jean-Philippe Rameau, for instance, defined the perfect fourth of a six-four as a consonance, the consequence of viewing a six-four as the second inversion of a (consonant) triad.[44] Georg Andreas Sorge went even a step further and defended all types of fourths that belong to six-four chords as 'würkliche Consonanzen' (genuine consonances) because he considered these fourths to be 'umgekehrte Quinten' (inverted fifths), all of which he considered to be consonant as well.[45] As for C. P. E. Bach, he unambiguously labelled any fourth that belonged to a six-four chord as a dissonance.[46] Nuancing these two opposing standpoints, Johann Philipp Kirnberger argued that depending on harmonic and metric context, a six-four chord could be either consonant or dissonant.[47] When interpreted as the second inversion of a triad, he called the six-four consonant, a chord which could occur on both strong and weak beats. When, however, the fourth and the

41 Muscogiuri 1781, fol. 3v; my translation.

42 Imbimbo 1813, 15; my translation.

43 For more information on the status of the fourth see Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), and Danuka Mirka, 'The Mystery of the Cadential Six-Four', in *What Is A Cadence?: Theoretical and Analytical Perspectives on Cadences in the Classical Repertoire*, ed. Markus Neuwirth and Pieter Bergé (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015), 157–184.

44 When the fourth occurs in a five-four chord, Rameau did consider it a dissonance, but explained that in this case it is wrong to call it such, its correct designation and application being an eleventh: Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Traité De L'Harmonie (*Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, 1722), 77–78. He did, however, change his mind at some point about the cadential six-four chord, stipulating its fourth and sixth as a double suspension of the dominant chord for the first time in the manuscript treatise *L'Art de la Basse Fondamentale* from *c*1737–1743: see Thomas Christensen, 'Rameau's "L'Art de la Basse Fondamentale"', *Music Theory Spectrum* 9 (1987), 30, and Nathan Martin, 'Rameau's Changing Views on Supposition and Suspension', *Journal of Music Theory* 56/2 (2012), 144–146.

45 Sorge, *Compendium*, 20; my translation. Marpurg also disagreed with Sorge on this matter, defining the fourth of a six-four as a 'eine unvollkommene Dissonanz, die zwar mehr Freyheit hat, als eine vollkommene Dissonanz, aber nichtsdesto weniger aufgelöset werden muß' (an imperfect dissonance which, to be sure, has more freedom than a perfect dissonance, but must nevertheless be resolved): Marpurg, *Handbuch: Zweyte Auflage*, 34–35; my translation.

46 Bach, *Versuch: Zweyter Theil*, 66.

47 Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, two volumes, volume 1 (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voß, 1771), 50–51.

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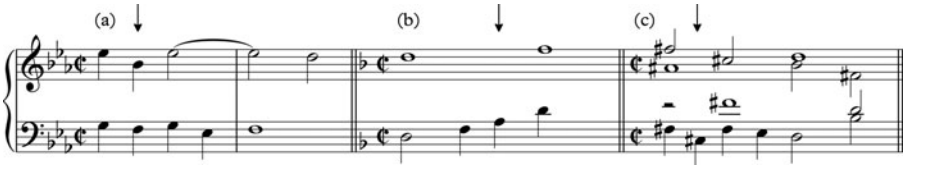
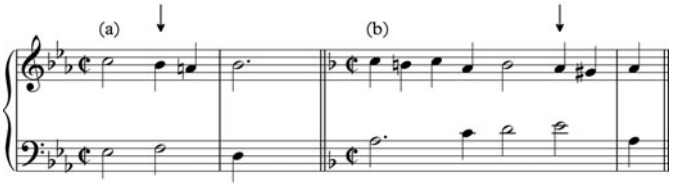


Example 14 (a) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 33v, system 1, bars 7–8 (b) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 45r, system 1, bar 4 (c) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 94v, system 1, bar 3. Used by permission



Example 15 (a) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 32v, system 1, bar 13 and system 2, bar 1 (b) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 46v, system 2, bars 5–6[1]. Used by permission

sixth were viewed as 'zufällige Dissonanzen' (non-essential dissonances) to the third and the fifth of a triad respectively, he called this a dissonant chord that could only occur on strong beats.[48]

Regardless of the theoretical belief, though, the voice-leading principles for a six-four chord in each of the three camps remained remarkably similar, and they are equally similar to those taught by Fenaroli. In the case of a strong-beat six-four chord, the fourth did not always require preparation yet always needed to resolve to the third. In the case of a weak-beat six-four, the fourth could be introduced without preparation, could be doubled and/or did not require resolution, a free treatment also displayed in Muscogiuri's and Lavigna's counterpoint books (see Example 14). These books illustrate two more applications of the dissonant fourth that further nuance *Regoli Musicali* and the guideline found in Muscogiuri's *Libro VI*. In the first place, regardless of whether it was prepared or not, a dissonant fourth as a substitute for a chord's third was frequently used in a two-part setting, which, by its very nature, does not permit the simultaneous presence of the fourth and the fifth or the sixth (Example 15).[49] Secondly, the fourth was not only combined with the fifth or the sixth but also with the ninth, creating a double dissonance, in which case both dissonances are prepared (Example 16) – a typically galant voice leading that was discussed by C. P. E. Bach.[50]

Another type of fourth that is discussed only briefly in *Regole Musicali* is the one accompanying the bass suspension on the first scale step resolving to the seventh scale step, a suspension that, according to Fenaroli, 'richiede seconda maggiore' (requires a major second) as well.[51] Muscogiuri's and Lavigna's counterpoint books, however, show that not only could the second be struck after the fourth on a weak (part of the) beat, but also that the presence of the second did not altogether seem a necessity, not even when this voice leading occurred multiple times within a 'partimento, che scende legato' (partimento that descends in ties) (see Example 17).[52]

48 For more information on Kirnberger's view on essential and non-essential dissonances see Lester, *Compositional Theory*, 242–243, and Ewald Demeyere, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Art of Fugue: Performance Practice Based on German Eighteenth-Century Theory* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), 59–61.

49 While Lavigna wrote unprepared on-beat fourths in a two-part setting as regularly as did Muscogiuri, he was under the tutelage of Verde for this type of counterpoint, the reason why I have not included any excerpt from I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117 in Example 15.

50 Bach, *Versuch: Zweyter Theil*, 162–165.

51 Fenaroli 1775, 20; translation from Gjerdingen, *Monuments of Partimenti*.

52 Fenaroli 1775, 35; translation from Gjerdingen, *Monuments of Partimenti*.

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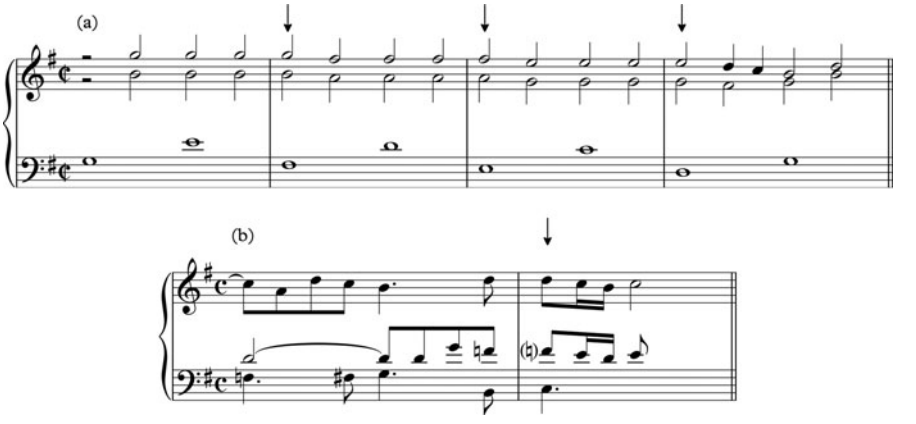

Example 16 (a) I-Fc B.505, fol. 38r, system 4, bars 1–4 (b) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 73v, system 2, bars 7–8[3]. Used by permission

While one might have expected that, in addition to the major second and the fourth, Fenaroli would have suggested adding an optional sixth as well (a standard chord choice in the bulk of eighteenth-century thoroughbass and music-theory treatises), he did not do so; he gave this possibility only when the fourth was augmented instead of perfect. Even in the four-part contrapuntal exercises Lavigna wrote under Fenaroli, settings of this bass suspension with a perfect fourth systematically avoid the inclusion of the sixth (Example 18).[53] Still, in the last two books of those four-part contrapuntal exercises, Lavigna did add another interval – the fifth – to this 4/2 chord on the first scale step on a number of occasions (see Example 19), again resulting in a generally accepted chord in the eighteenth century.[54] In the 1791 letter to Santucci already mentioned, however, Fenaroli disapproved of the addition of the fifth to the fourth and second on the bass suspension on the first scale step, giving the following comment supposedly on a student's work:

> Circa l'esempio mandatomi le dico che molti sul basso legato, cioè su la prima del tono che risolve a settima usano mettere la quinta con la seconda, e quarta, dichiarando la quinta come a basso fondamentale, e la quarta come a settima minore, facendo comparire il basso ligato una dissonanza di quarta; ciò a me non piace, né all'orecchio mi suona, mentre la dissonanza di quarta mai devesi accompagnare con la settima minore essendo una consonanza falsa, che hà bisogno di risoluzione, come la quarta. Io però l'ho veduto usare da più autori, tanto con la quinta da sotto, come da sopra, ma a me mai è piaciuto e mai mi piacerà.
>
> With regard to the example that you have sent me, I say that many are accustomed to adding the fifth to the second and the fourth on the bass suspension, that is, on the tonic that resolves to the leading note, thereby announcing the fifth as a fundamental bass, and the fourth as a minor seventh, and making the bass suspension appear as a dissonance of the fourth. That does not please me, nor does it sound well to my ears, since the dissonance of the fourth must never be

53 I have found only one occurrence in Lavigna's four-part counterpoint exercises which one could interpret as a six-four-two chord, and its sixth only functions as a kind of an *échappée* following the fifth (see Example 19b).

54 For Monsieur de Saint Lambert, for instance, the fifth even formed the ideal combination with a four-two chord: 'Le double chiffre deux & quatre s'accompagne de la Quinte, ou si l'on veut de la Sixième, mais la Quinte est meilleure.' (The double figure two and four is accompanied with the fifth, or, if desired, with the sixth, but the fifth is better.) Monsieur de Saint Lambert, *Nouveau Traité De L'Accompagnement Du Clavecin, De L'Orgue, Et Des Autres Instruments* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1707), 17–18; my translation.

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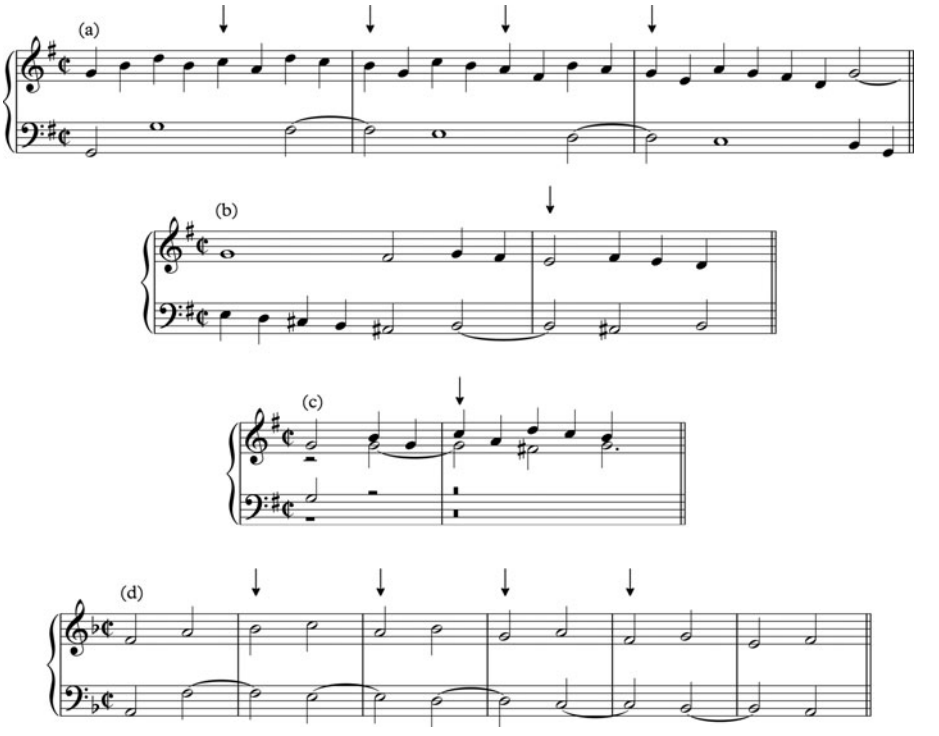
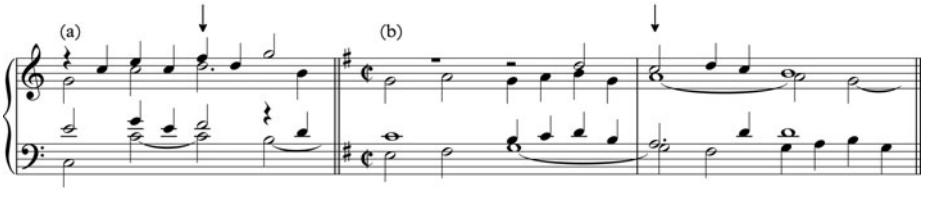
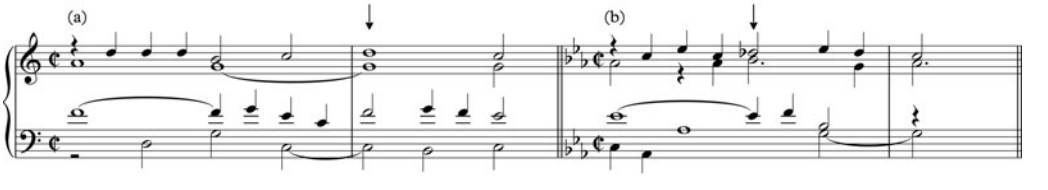


Example 17 (a) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 57v, system 1, bars 7–9 (b) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 57v, system 3, bars 2–3[3] (c) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 101v, system 3, bars 2–3 (d) I-Baf MSGI-MUSC-MUS.1 (C. 1R), fol. 36r, system 6, bars 11–16. Used by permission



Example 18 (a) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 61r, system 2, bar 6 (b) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 90r, system 2, bars 5–6. Used by permission



Example 19 (a) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 95r, system 2, bars 6–7[3] (b) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, fol. 106r, system 2, bars 1–2[2]. Used by permission

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> accompanied by the minor seventh, being a false consonance, which needs to resolve, as does the fourth. I, however, have seen it used by so many authors, both with the fifth above as below, but it has never pleased me and will never please me.[55]

These rather inconsistent views could be interpreted as an indication that Fenaroli went from rejecting to approving (or perhaps at least accepting) the addition of the fifth to a four-two chord somewhere during the three years between the letter to Santucci of 1791 and the penultimate book of four-part counterpoint exercises Lavigna wrote under him in 1794–1795, in spite of his statement that 'it will never please him'. Until further evidence presents itself, however, this remains only speculation.

As for Imbimbo, he simply approved of both the four-two as the five-four-two chords as valid realizations of a bass suspension on the first scale step, yet he also did not give the option with a six-four-two chord.[56]

After a thorough investigation of two aspects of Fenaroli's pedagogy in this article – his partimento curriculum and his treatment of dissonance in partimento and counterpoint training – one particular conclusion imposes itself. Fenaroli must have been a remarkable teacher, manifesting great method, efficiency, pragmatism and consistency. His partimento curriculum, remaining virtually unaltered during his roughly fifty-year teaching career, reveals a carefully constructed, progressive approach in which theory and practice went hand in hand. Starting with elementary rules such as the rule of the octave and the standard cadences, and proceeding with dissonance treatment and the study of the *moti del basso*, a partimento student also had to work, parallel to those rules, through an extensive corpus of top-quality partimenti as their musical applications. And only if he had successfully finished this 'basic partimento course' could he realize more advanced partimenti. This 'hands-on' method is also demonstrated by the fact that Fenaroli's counterpoint teaching, which followed the 'basic partimento course', was actually based on that course and complemented it. Not only did a counterpoint student need to go back to the cadences and the *moti del basso* to explore their contrapuntal possibilities before engaging with more specifically discipline-related assignments,[57] but he also continued to apply the voice-leading tenets and dissonance treatment learned during his partimento training. Since Fenaroli's teaching had as its main purpose to train future professional composers, it actually could not be anything other than coherent, efficient, practical and up-to-date; everything Fenaroli taught accorded with contemporary standards and served a real-life working situation. Today, his method remains a unique tool for deepening our understanding of Italian compositional practice in the second half of the eighteenth century and for acquiring a working knowledge of that language, a method that I hope will find a central place in present-day music education once again.

55 Letter quoted in Cafiero, 'La musica', 196; my translation.

56 Imbimbo 1813, 43.

57 According to I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117, and contrary to the partimento manuscripts, a counterpoint student started his study with handling of the cadences.

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