BEING

AN ESSAY

ON

VARIOUS

SCHEMATA

CHARACTERISTIC OF

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY

MUSIC

FOR COURTLY CHAMBERS,

CHAPELS, AND THEATERS,

INCLUDING TASTEFUL

PASSAGES OF MUSIC

DRAWN FROM

MOST EXCELLENT

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IN THE EMPLOY OF

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Reader's Delectation

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MUSIC *in the* GALANT STYLE

ROBERT O. GJERDINGEN

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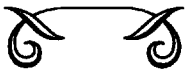
IN THE
GALANT STYLE



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To all who,

like Mary in *Pride and Prejudice*,

have spent an afternoon

"deep in the study of

thoroughbass and human nature."

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Acknowledgments

I HAVE ALWAYS RELIED ON THE KINDNESS OF LIBRARIANS. I send my heartfelt thanks to those who, during my visits and residencies, guided me through the North American university libraries of Berkeley, Chicago, Harvard, Michigan, Northwestern, Pennsylvania, Stanford, and Stony Brook, and the Italian conservatory libraries of Naples, Milan, and Bologna. Within these vast collections I have found not only the many manuscripts by eighteenth-century students and teachers that offer such an instructive glimpse into how this rich musical tradition was conceived and transmitted, but also the thousands of modern editions of eighteenth-century music that testify to the continuing engagement of succeeding generations with this distant courtly art. Those editions were prepared by talented scholars whose erudition and careful historical judgments form the vital foundation for any research in this area, and anyone who studies eighteenth-century music owes them a great debt.

This book began to take physical form while I was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, California. I want to thank Robert Scott (Associate Director), Lynn Gale (Statistician), and other staff members at the center for all their help and support. That year was one of three during my career funded by the Mellon Foundation, and I hope that this small contribution to the understanding of a great music may partially repay their generous investments. The University Research Grants Committee at Northwestern University underwrote my studies in Naples and Milan. They also provided follow-on grants to assemble what is now a microfilm collection of over eight thousand manuscript pages of *partimenti* (instructional basses) and galant *solfeggi* (elegant vocal lines paired with *partimento* basses). Online dissemination of this extensive corpus of eighteenth-century music-pedagogical material is being supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) under the project title *Monuments of Partimenti* (http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/index.htm). A subvention provided by the American Musicological Society through its Dragan Plamenac Publication Endowment Fund has been greatly appreciated, and I extend thanks to its awards committee for their support.

I want to acknowledge the important influence of both the wise teachers who inspired me and the bright students who participated in my seminars on galant music. I have been the beneficiary of the former's indulgence and the latter's forbearance. Many of the best musical examples in this book stem from pieces uncovered by students. And many of my

ideas are but echoes of what I learned from the philological approach of Lewis Rowell, the psychological insight of Leonard B. Meyer, the theoretical rigor of Eugene Narmour, and the historical virtuosity of Eugene K. Wolf. Meyer's books and articles, models of humanistic scholarship informed by contemporary cognitive science, have been particularly influential, as have, perhaps less obviously, Robert Rosenblum's *Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art*, Eric Auerbach's *Mimesis*, Albert Lord's *Singer of Tales*, Robert Darnton's *The Great Cat Massacre*, and E. H. Gombrich's *Art and Illusion*. The encouragement and advice of Christopher van Bayer, Gaston Dufresne, Robert Vernon, Leonard Stein, Ricardo Trimillos, Paul Lyddon, Alan Trubitt, David Slepian, Lewis Lockwood, David Lewin, William Caplin, Fred Lerdahl, Lawrence Bernstein, Thomas Bauman, Lee Rothfarb, Robert Hatten, Diana Deutsch, Carol Krumhansl, Thomas Christensen, Howard Mayer Brown, Carl Dahlhaus, and Albert Lord have been deeply appreciated. It was my great fortune to come into contact with these musicians and scholars, and I only regret, as Samuel Johnson lamented in the preface to his dictionary (1755), that "I have protracted my work till [some] of those whom I wished to please have sunk into the grave." I take consolation in returning to their books or recordings to hear echoes of the wisdom, imagination, and beauty of thought that first inspired me. With respect to the volume at hand, my notions of auditory pattern perception were strongly influenced by the adaptive-systems tradition of Stephen Grossberg and Gail Carpenter, and my interpretation of galant musical society owes a large debt to Pierre Bourdieu and Norbert Elias. Jesse Rosenberg, my colleague at Northwestern, kindly shared with me his extensive collection of printed Italian partimenti, and my research into the eighteenth-century Italian roots of the partimento manuscript tradition was generously assisted by Professors Giorgio Sanguinetti, Rosa Cafiero, and Elisabetta Pasquini. Stefan Eckert shared with me his convincing readings of Riepel's inimitable prose style and his research into the *ars combinatoria*.

The recent appearance of Daniel Heartz's magisterial, thousand-page *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003)—the finest conspectus of eighteenth-century music since the eighteenth century—provides a wealth of historical and biographical detail that complements my own, more modest volume. For example, while I have included complete arias by Leo and Jommelli for comparison, I was able to insert only a word or two about their lives. Heartz provides only brief excerpts from their operas but paints a rich portrait of their musical careers, complete with the telling observation by one of Jommelli's friends, Saverio Mattei, that, "according to those who know, Jommelli made a searching study of Leo's scores, and often reclothed the master's designs in better shades of color" (Heartz, p. 75). In the following chapters it will be possible for the modern reader to make "a searching study" not only of "the master's designs" but also of Jommelli's reclothing of them. Heartz's volume and mine, though produced from quite different points of departure, thus together form, as it were, a "history and theory" of the galant style.

In the course of this book I will describe hundreds of passages from the works of nearly eighty composers. These musical creations, collectively spanning 150 years, originated in the vast area bordered by Lisbon to the west, St. Petersburg to the east, Edinburgh to the north, and, most importantly, Naples to the south. I mention this not to boast but to apologize for the inevitable oversights and errors that accompany any scholarly landscape painted with so broad a brush. Every composer, performer, and patron, every chapel, chamber, and theater, every court, city, and cathedral had a unique location in the cultural web of eighteenth-century society. In focusing on the basic musical tradition shared by all, I risk effacing the details of unique individuals, situations, and locations. I look forward to thanking those experts willing to share with me their better grasp of the particulars so that I might emend any future edition.

This book benefited enormously from the typographical design of Rebecca Dixon, the editorial assistance of Catherine Gjerdingen, and the music-notation software of Keith Hamel (Noteability Pro™).

Lastly, I offer a listener's appreciation of the talented soloists and chamber ensembles whose wonderful performances have breathed new life into this musical world so full of charm, wit, sophistication, and joy. To hear Enrico Gatti play Pugnani, Elizabeth Wallfisch play Tartini, or Gérard Lesne sing Bononcini is like hearing a great actor bring to life one of the best roles of Sheridan, Goldsmith, or Marivaux. Though this book is more about scripts than individual performances, the surviving scripts of eighteenth-century music require interpretation through performance if they are to speak to us today.

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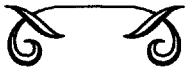

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1

INTRODUCTION

COURTIERS IN THE TIME OF BACH OR MOZART artfully modulated all their social behaviors—their every gesture, word, glance, step, tone, inflection, posture—to optimize their success in the moment-to-moment interactions of society. The Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773) gave the following advice to his son, who in the spring of 1749 had just arrived in that musical country Italy:

> I was very glad to hear, from one whom I think so good a judge, that you wanted [= lacked] nothing but *des manieres* [some manners], which I am convinced you will now soon acquire, in the company which henceforward you are likely to keep. But I must add, too, that if you should not acquire them, all the rest will be of little use to you. By *manieres*, I do not mean bare common civility; everybody must have that who would not be kicked out of company; but I mean engaging, insinuating, shining manners; distinguished politeness, an almost irresistible address; a superior gracefulness in all you say and do. It is this alone that can give all your other talents their full lustre and value; and, consequently, it is this which should now be the principal object of your attention. Observe minutely, wherever you go, the allowed and established models of good-breeding, and form yourself upon them.[1]

The modern sociologist Norbert Elias observed that "court etiquette which, by the values of bourgeois-industrial societies, may well seem something quite unimportant, something merely 'external' and perhaps even ridiculous, proves, if one respects the autonomy of the structure of court society, an extremely sensitive and reliable instrument for measuring the prestige value of an individual within the social network." He goes on to note that "court people develop an extraordinarily sensitive feeling for the status and importance that should be attributed to a person in society on the basis of his bearing,

speech, manner or appearance. . . . These people experience many things that we would be inclined to dismiss as trivial or superficial with an intensity that we have largely lost."[2]

Today, when motion picture directors attempt to re-create a realistic eighteenth-century milieu, the results often fail precisely in the small behaviors that once meant so much. Screenwriters can emulate phrases from eighteenth-century novels, those responsible for the mise-en-scène can copy period paintings or drawings, and costume designers can re-create preserved garments, but the important minutiae of human interactions are likely to be filled in with the habits of our own time. Strong habits in the present easily mask differences in the past. I can imagine few today who, viewing a motion picture set in the eighteenth century, would be shocked if a young nobleman said "hello" to his mother. But in the eighteenth century, *hello* was a very rare word, akin to *ahoy*. In the entire text of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* no one says hello, nor does anyone in *Emma* or in *Sense and Sensibility*.[3] If so basic a habit of speech was quite different in the eighteenth century, could it also be that basic habits of music were different? Could it be that eighteenth-century composers had a different musical vocabulary and applied it toward different aims? Could composers have had, as their "principal object of attention," the acquisition of musical manners—"engaging, insinuating, shining manners"—in order to give their works "full lustre"? Could recognizing the prestige value of a "superior gracefulness" in musical behavior have required that one "observe minutely" differences and "established models" to which, over the intervening centuries, we have become less sensitive?

I believe the answers are yes, and I will present evidence supporting my case in the course of this book. Yet I face a dilemma like that of the manufacturers who, in the 1960s, touted the benefits of color television in commercials received on black-and-white sets. Consumers could see those commercials over and over, and marketers could stress the analogy to color motion pictures, but until people actually experienced a functioning color television set, the message did not fully register. My ensuing exhortations to experience a more colorful picture of eighteenth-century music may likewise be received on "black-and-white sets": our modern habits of listening. In the world of classical music, habits of listening became transformed in the nineteenth century. If I might be permitted to caricature Romantic listening, which still dominates the reception of classical music, I would note that it favors music that affords sonic analogues to a thrill ride, a quest, the supernatural, or a melodrama. By contrast, eighteenth-century courtly listening habits seem to have favored music that provided opportunities for acts of judging, for the making of distinctions, and for the public exercise of discernment and taste. Because modes of listening change only through new experiences of listening, I beseech the reader to take the time to absorb the many musical examples that lie ahead. Savor them, listen to their basses, sing their melodies, evaluate their subordinate and superordinate patterns, compare them to preceding examples, judge them as small works of courtly art. Do not, please, just read about them. In 1765 the diplomat and writer Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm (1723–1807) remarked that one could not really "hear" the higher forms of music "without a delicate sensibility, without a refined and trained ear."[4] Because interest in the

music of Mozart, Haydn, and other galant composers extends well beyond the ranks of professional musicians, every musical example in this volume has been recorded and made available for listening on the World Wide Web.[5] This book describes galant music, of course. But equally important, it presents galant music as a performing art.

Galant was a word much used in the eighteenth century. It referred broadly to a collection of traits, attitudes, and manners associated with the cultured nobility. If we imagine an ideal galant man, he would be witty, attentive to the ladies, comfortable at a princely court, religious in a modest way, wealthy from ancestral land holdings, charming, brave in battle, and trained as an amateur in music and other arts. This perfect courtier, as Baldassare Castiglione described him in 1529, would have the natural grace "to use in every thing a certain *sprezzatura* [nonchalance] that conceals its art and demonstrates what he does and says to be done effortlessly, and, as it were, without concern."[6] His female counterpart[7] would have impeccable manners, clothes of real sophistication, great skill as a hostess, a deep knowledge of etiquette, and training in one or more of the "accomplishments"—music, art, modern languages, literature, and the natural sciences.[8] Courtiers sent to locate a suitable bride for George III echoed Castiglione's recipe for the perfect gentlewoman—a lady with some skill in "letters, music, painting, and who can dance and devise entertainments"[9]—when they described Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz as full of "Youth, Sprightlyness, good Nature, and good Sense, adorned with all the female accomplishments, (amongst which musick, of which the young King being fond, was not forgot)."[10] Female courtiers and courtesans often achieved a high degree of skill in music, and as connoisseurs they played a major role in shaping the kind of music and musicians that prospered in galant society. That same Charlotte, who later married George III and became his queen consort, was to choose no less a figure than J. C. Bach as her master of music. Galant music, then, was music commissioned by galant men and women to entertain themselves as listeners, to educate and amuse themselves as amateur performers, and to bring glory to themselves as patrons of the wittiest, most charming, most sophisticated and fashionable music that money could buy.

Today *Baroque* and *Classical* are the terms most frequently used to describe musical style in the eighteenth century. Yet these terms are hardly more representative of indigenous eighteenth-century concepts than an American real-estate agent's notion that all old houses must be either *Tudor* or *Colonial*. Categorizing San Souci, a palace of Frederick the Great, as Colonial or Tudor, for example, would make little sense. And neither would categorizing the music at his court as Baroque or Classical. "Baroque"—today meaning roughly the style of J. S. Bach—was a word Bach likely never heard in reference to music.[11] Similarly, "Classical"—meaning roughly the style of W. A. Mozart—was a word that Mozart never used in reference to music.[12] These terms were developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for the purposes of those later times, but they obscure rather than illuminate eighteenth-century music. The terms *Rococo* and *pre-Classical* offer little improvement. "Rococo" describes aspects of the visual arts, and to call the music of the great galant musicians pre-Classical is no more enlightening than to call George Gershwin

pre-Rock or Elvis Presley pre-Hip-Hop. By contrast, the term *galant* was actually used in a positive way by the men and women who made and supported eighteenth-century music. Leonard Ratner, author of the book *Classic Music*, wrote that "if we were to rename this period according to late eighteenth-century views, it would be called the *galant* style."[13] And Daniel Heartz subtitled his recent book on European music from 1720 to 1780 "The Galant Style."[14] I agree with those authors. Yet I also acknowledge that other careful scholars have their own, more narrow definitions of the galant style, and that these definitions find support in the divergent ways the term *galant* was used in the eighteenth century.[15] My position, as developed here and in earlier publications, is that a hallmark of the galant style was a particular repertory of stock musical phrases employed in conventional sequences. Local and personal preferences among patrons and musicians resulted in presentations of this repertory that favored different positions along various semantic axes—light/heavy, comic/serious, sensitive/bravura, and so on. But as long as the music is grounded in this repertory of stock musical phrases, I view all its manifestations as *galant*. Even J. S. Bach, whom the general public has long viewed as the paradigmatic Baroque composer, created galant music when it suited his and his patrons' purposes.[16]

I have resisted the temptation to make one type of galant music—say, Italian harpsichord movements intended for aristocratic amateurs—emblematic of the whole style. Such works are indeed characteristic, but they define just one location in a richly varied musical landscape. While many galant works do have a thin texture, a sprightly mood, a clearly defined melody and bass, frequent points of articulation and cadence, and simple schemes of repetition or contrast, many other equally galant works do not. There were tightly woven fugues, sacred masses with full chorus, complex orchestral works, grand scenes of serious opera, tedious pedagogical works, fantastic *bravura* works—everything, in short, to serve the diverse needs of the courts and wealthy homes of galant patrons. My focus is thus on "galant" as a code of conduct, as an eighteenth-century courtly ideal (adaptable to city life), and as a carefully taught set of musical behaviors.

The popular view of the composer—a Romantic view inherited from the nineteenth century—does not fit eighteenth-century reality. The composer of galant music, rather than being a struggling artist alone against the world, was more like a prosperous civil servant. He typically had the title chapel master (Ger., *Kapellmeister*; It., *maestro di capella*) and managed an aristocrat's sacred and secular musical enterprises. He worried less about the meaning of art and more about whether his second violin player would be sober enough to play for Sunday Mass. The galant composer necessarily worked in the here and now. He had to write something this week for an upcoming court ceremony, not tortured masterworks for posterity. Even a conservative musician like Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741), imperial court chapel master in Vienna, had to admit that a court's "eagerness for novelty" resulted in music changing "every five years or so." Comparing music to clothing, he explained that "if a middle-aged man appeared today dressed in the clothes worn fifty or sixty years ago, he would certainly run the risk of ridicule." And so he advises a young composer that "music too must be accommodated to the times."[17] A court com-

poser, rather than expressing his deep personal feelings for all to share, strove to touch his patron's sentiments. The patron, whether a king, an emperor, a countess, or a queen, had little or no interest in the common emotions of his or her musical lackey. The notion that a sad piece by the court composer was about the composer's sadness would have seemed just as strange as the idea that a tart sauce prepared by the court chef was about the chef's tartness. In short, the galant composer lived the life of a musical craftsman, of an artisan who produced a large quantity of music for immediate consumption, managed its performance and performers, and evaluated its reception with a view toward keeping up with fashion.

The art of galant music, like the art of figure skating, is replete with compulsory and free-style "figures." Whereas casual observers of ice-skating competitions may see only a variety of glides, spins, and jumps, a connoisseur sees salchows, axels, lutzes, and camels. Knowledge of the proper execution of each figure is a prerequisite for anyone officially assigned to judge a skater's abilities. Here are the figures used by the young Danish skater Mikkeline Kierkgaard in a recent performance:[18]

Triple salchow/double toe combination
Steps into triple toe loop
Flying camel spin
Double axel
Circular step sequence
Combination spin including:
  Camel spin
  Sit spin
  Layback spin catching her foot
(change of foot)
Sit spin
Upright spin
Spiral sequence including:
  Forward outside spiral
  Backward outside spiral
  Forward outside Chinese spiral
Layback spin

For comparison, here are the musical figures or schemata presented in the second half of a slow movement by the eighteenth-century Venetian composer Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785; see chap. 15):

Quiescenza, diatonic, repeated
Fonte/Monte combination
Ponte, to Passo Indietro

Comma, followed by Cudworth cadence
Clausula Vera
Meyer
Ponte, tonic
Monte/Converging cadence combination
Fonte, repeated
Monte, diatonic
Clausula Vera
Ponte
Cudworth cadence . . . deceptive
Passo Indietro to Mi-Re-Do cadence

This book is for the person who wants to become more knowledgeable about galant music. The names of the musical schemata listed above may now sound as fanciful as the leaps of figure skating, but each schema will be explained in the following chapters. In learning to recognize the schemata of galant music, one becomes better able to appreciate the art of the galant composer. And in learning to judge the manner in which the schemata are presented in a particular composition, one becomes better able to understand the equally important art of the galant listener and patron. As the Earl of Chesterfield remarked, "every ear can and does judge . . . style."[19]

Commedia dell'Arte

Should the art of modern figure skaters seem too remote an analogue to the art of eighteenth-century court musicians, then perhaps the art of eighteenth-century comedians can provide a closer comparison. Like musicians, troupes of comic actors were employed by courts to enliven a variety of festivals, weddings, and evening entertainments. Especially popular was the form of improvised comedy—*commedia all'improviso*—better known since the second half of the eighteenth century as *commedia dell'arte*.[20] Central to the training of an actor in this tradition was a *zibaldone*, a manuscript assemblage of stock speeches (*concetti*), slapstick (*lazzi*), jokes (*burle*), and plots (*scenarii* or *canovacci*) passed down from actor to actor, usually within the same family or troupe. A great deal of this material needed to be committed to memory before an actor could begin to function in one of the stock roles like Pulcinella (the male simpleton), Dottore (the elderly father), Coviello (the cunning suitor), or Fravoletta (the ingenue). Here is the *scenario* for act 1 of *Good Luck Not Recognized* [*La fortuna non conosciuta*], from a collection made in Naples around 1700:[21]

SCENE 1. DOTTORE AND PULCINELLA

[They do] a stock speech, and Dottore exits. Pulcinella [speaks] of his love

for Fravoletta, and knocks at [her door].

SCENE 2. PULCINELLA AND FRAVOLETTA

They do a love scene and depart.

SCENE 3. COVIELLO, ALONE

[He speaks] about his love for Pimpinella, and knocks at [Pimpinella's].

SCENE 4. PIMPINELLA AND [COVIELLO]

[They do a] love scene, and they leave.

SCENE 5. GIANGURGOLO, ALONE

[He speaks] about his love for Pimpinella, and knocks at [Pimpinella's].

SCENE 6. PIMPINELLA AND [GIANGURGOLO]

She refuses him. At that,

SCENE 7. COVIELLO AND THE ABOVE

Coviello, out of jealousy, ties his [ankle], attaching the rope to the side of the stage. Then he beats him and runs away. Giangurgolo tries to run after him and falls down. At that,

SCENE 8. DOTTORE, PIMPINELLA, AND GIANGURGOLO

[Dottore] sees the man with his foot tied, near his house, and asks his daughter why. She says he tried to violate her, and so she tied him up like that. Dottore believes this and beats him. So ends the first act.

The scenario of all three acts would be pinned to the back of the stage curtain so that actors could consult it before their entrances. As you can see, the scenario provided only a bare skeleton of the play. In scene 1, for example, the actors playing the Dottore and Pulcinella are reminded to do a "stock speech" (*scena di memoria*), just as at the beginning of the next act the Dottore and Coviello do their "usual scene" (*scena solita*). The actors would improvise a usual scene by weaving their learned repertories of banter, stunts, soliloquies, jokes, and other types of comic "business" (*lazzi*) into the framework of the scenario. The scenario provided a context, but the moment-to-moment dialogue and action depended on actors knowing when and how to knit small set-pieces into an apparently continuous mode of entertainment. As the great seventeenth-century comedian Niccolò Barbieri noted (1634), improvising actors "study and fortify their memory with a wide variety of things such as sayings, phrases, love-speeches, reprimands, cries of despair, and ravings, in order to have them ready for the proper occasion."[22]

Understanding the way in which the actors of commedia dell'arte fashioned scintillating and seemingly spontaneous theater from presentations of stock characters performing stock "business" can serve as a model for understanding how galant composers made music. The multi-act play becomes the multimovement sonata or multipart aria. The stock characters become the stock moods or "affections." And the stock comic business—the memorized speeches, dialogues, and well-practiced physical comedy—find analogues in the repertory of stock musical phrases or passages: musical schemata. A galant musical score was like a scenario in that it often provided only a bare notation of the sequence of

schemata, with the graces, ornaments, and elegant variation left to the skilled performer. Many musicians could improvise entire pieces as soloists, drawing upon their family's or teacher's musical *zibaldone* for standard phrases and cadences. In one case, the composer and violinist Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739–1799) jointly improvised a sonata with his keyboard accompanist.[23] Like two actors of the commedia dell'arte performing their "usual scene," Dittersdorf and his accompanist must have ably connected a string of well-learned musical schemata to form a seemingly spontaneous and continuous musical performance.

Zibaldone was also the word used to describe a music student's notebook of exercises and rules. Francesco Galeazzi (1758–1819; see chap. 29) recommended that the good maestro fill a student's *zibaldone* with custom-tailored lessons.[24] The collections of lessons that Mozart wrote for Thomas Attwood or Barbara Ployer would be of this type.[25] Because Galeazzi decried the practice of "some maestros" who, "with the aid of a *zibaldone* or notebook of stale lessons, pretend to give the appropriate lessons to any and all students," we can be fairly sure that certain standard *zibaldoni* were in wide use, at least in particular cities or conservatories. As the following chapters will demonstrate, a *zibaldone* of figured and unfigured basses (*partimenti*), along with examples of graceful melodies paired with unfigured basses (*solfeggi*), provided an important repository of stock musical business from which a young composer could later draw.

Defining Schemata

What does it mean to refer to a musical pattern as a schema? The term itself has a long history first in philosophy and then in psychology. "Schema" (Kant) refers to what is broadly called a mental representation or category, and thus shares meanings with terms like "idea" or "form" (Plato), "ideal type" (Weber), "family resemblance" (Wittgenstein), "archetype" (Frye), "prototype" (Posner), "essence" (Putnam), "natural type" (Rosch),[26] and so forth. There is no doubt that humans are very good at rapidly developing useful categorizations from the "blooming, buzzing confusion" of sensations and experiences,[27] but the richness and adaptability of human categorizations suggest that we may derive schemata in various ways. Three contemporary approaches to understanding the formation and employment of schemata focus on *prototypes*, *exemplars*, and *theories*. Many psychologists have noted that we naturally abstract the common features of similar experiences and create from those abstractions a generalized experience termed a *prototype*.[28] We can use a prototype as a point of comparison to evaluate whether a particular instance of something is a good example of its schema. A person who developed a schema for "final cadence" from listening to popular songs of the 1940s might perceive the picardy third at the end of a work by Bach as being highly atypical and unexpected, while another person who listened only to Bach and Handel might perceive the same cadence as a perfect instance of its type. Their very different prior experiences would lead to different schemata

and hence to different judgments. Other psychologists note that we can also base such judgments on references to well-learned individual cases—*exemplars*.[29] A person who grew up loving Beethoven's Ninth Symphony might well use it as a reference point for the schema "symphony," even though the Ninth is historically atypical of the genre. Still other psychologists point to studies showing how children's perceptions change when they begin to form *theories* about their world.[30] A child's naive theory, for example, that the sound of a saxophone is part of the schema "jazz" could strongly affect his or her reception of Maurice Ravel's *Bolero*. The social and ethnic stereotypes held by many adults would be further evidence of theories that, however derived and however inaccurate in individual cases, nonetheless characterize many people's perceptions. *Schema* is thus a shorthand for a packet of knowledge, be it an abstracted prototype, a well-learned exemplar, a theory intuited about the nature of things and their meanings, or just the attunement of a cluster of cortical neurons to some regularity in the environment. Knowing relevant schemata allows one to make useful comparisons or, as the saying goes, to avoid "comparing apples with oranges." Experts in a particular subject may distinguish more relevant schemata than non-experts. Becoming acquainted with a repertory of galant musical schemata can thus lead to a greater awareness of subtle differences in galant music. The music may seem to develop more meaning.

Defining a schema can be difficult. There are both temptations to over-systematize—what Carl Dahlhaus termed *Systemzwang*[31]—and temptations to oversimplify. Our perceptions are far more fluid and richly nuanced than our ability to describe those perceptions in words. To explore more concretely some of the issues that arise in describing a schema, let us turn first to the well-studied repertory of German fairy tales. The brothers Grimm published the first important collection of these tales in 1812, using for their sources elderly informants who had learned the tales in the mid-eighteenth century.[32] These fairy tales contain a great deal of stereotyped material, as revealed by the following seven opening passages:[33]

> Just outside a great forest there lived a woodcutter with his wife; he had but an only child, a little girl of three. [Tale 3]

> Just outside a great forest there dwelled a poor woodcutter with his wife and two children; the little boy was called Hansel and the little girl Gretel. [Tale 15]

> Once upon a time there was a miller who was poor, but he had a beautiful daughter. [Tale 55]

> There once was a poor man and a poor woman who had nothing but a little cottage and fed themselves by catching fish, and they were living hand-to-mouth. [Tale 85]

> Once upon a time there was a poor woodcutter who worked from morning till late at night. [Tale 99]

> Once upon a time there was a man and a wife who had but an only child, and they lived all alone in an out-of-the-way valley. [Tale 166]

> A poor woodcutter lived with his wife and three daughters in a little cottage at the edge of a lonely forest. [Tale 169]

Is there a single schema underlying all these sentences, a learned pattern useful for recognizing or initiating this type of tale? The answer depends very much on how one evaluates similarity. The openings of tales 3 and 15, for example, begin almost word for word, but then tale 15 diverges by introducing a male child, Hansel. The openings of tales 15 and 166, by contrast, use very different words and yet convey a very similar content. Similar story motifs are shared by tales 3, 15, and 169 (a forest), 3 and 166 (an only child), and 15, 55, 85, 99, and 169 (poverty). Indeed, as documented by the history of folktale research, the same repertory of utterances will support many different approaches to defining similarity and thus schemata.[34] Traditional folktale collectors, for example, focused on a protagonist—woodcutter, fisherman, miller—and categorized tales through this central agent: a woodcutter's tale, a fisherman's tale, and so on. The tale *Jack and the Beanstalk* is thus known as a "Jack tale." But what of tales 85 and 166? A "man-and-wife tale" was not a category recognized by folktale collectors. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century researchers surmounted this obstacle by defining more abstract schemata. They distinguished quest tales from joke tales, tales of the supernatural from tales of cunning. And certain later twentieth-century researchers have extended those trends in the newer directions of psychoanalysis and political critique.[35] A continental literary theorist, for instance, might define the schema of the above sentences as the figurative expression of an urban petty bourgeoisie's fascination with a marginalized rural poor. The humble woodcutter (or miller or couple) does, after all, live "just outside" ("hand to mouth," "all alone," "out of the way," "at the edge," "at the foot of the mountain").

These approaches, however interesting they may be, all suffer from the defect of attempting to reduce complex phenomena to single essences. The opening sentence of tale 3 is neither essentially about woodcutters nor fundamentally about the marginalized rural poor. The sentence introduces a woodcutter, to be sure. But it goes on to place that woodcutter in a relationship with his wife, to place the two of them in a parental relationship with their three-year-old daughter, to color that parental relationship with the special phrase "only child," and to place the whole family unit in a setting near a large forest. Such a tabulation of relationships and constituent motifs played a large role in the taxonomic approach of the early twentieth-century Finnish school of folktale study.[36] The resulting mammoth compilations of tale schemata—"tale types," as they are called in folktale research—are based on analyses of constituent motifs and shared complexes of

motifs. Our tale 15 turns out to be tale type 327A, *Hansel and Gretel*, which is a subtype of 327, *The Children and the Ogre*.[37]

The *Hansel and Gretel* schema, like a scenario from the commedia dell'arte, has three main episodes, each with subsidiary episodes in which are embedded various motifs (e.g., bread crumbs, gingerbread house, oven):

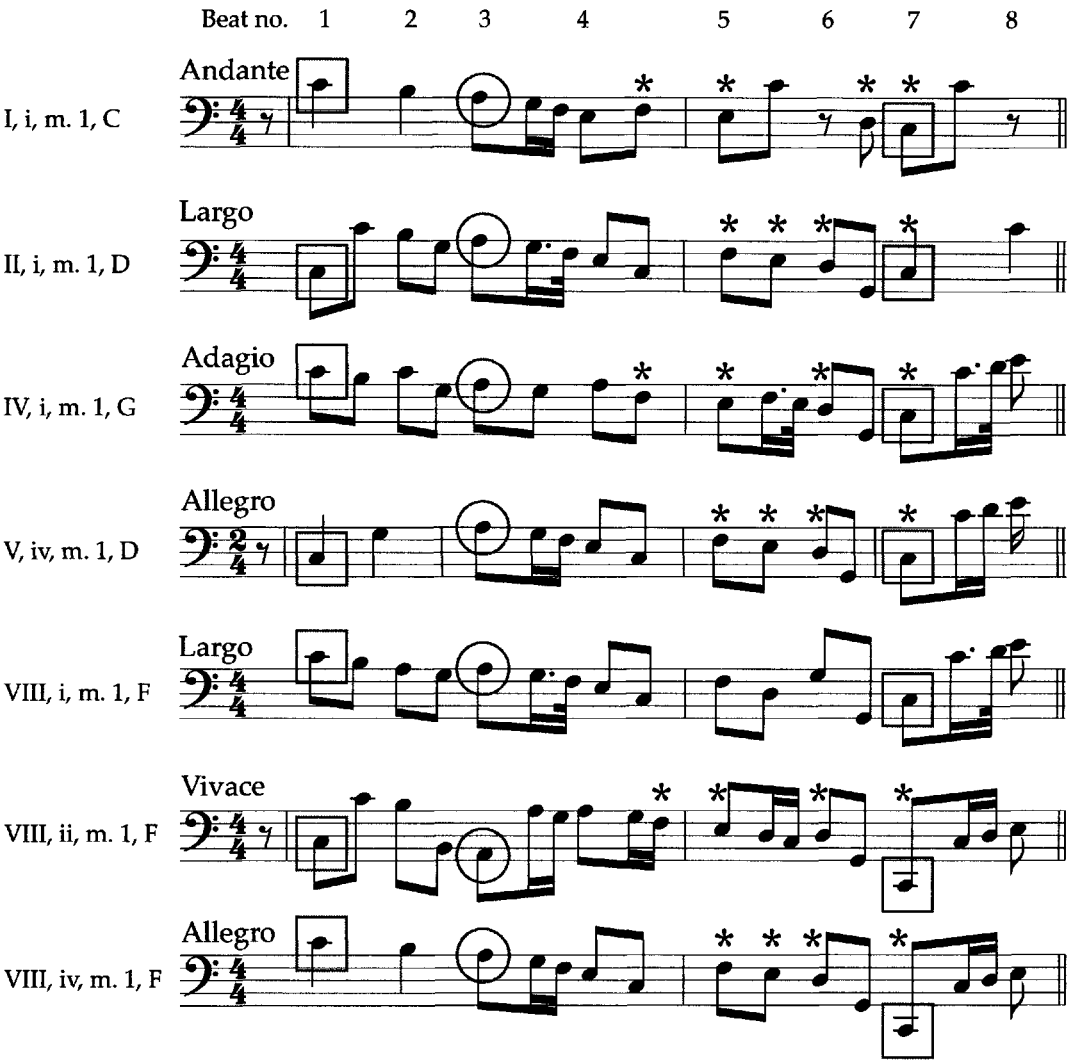
1. Arrival at the Witch's House
   (a) The children are abandoned by poor parents in a wood,
   (b) but they find their way back by cloth shreds or pebbles that they have dropped.
   (c) The third time birds eat their bread crumbs.
   (d) They wander until they come to a gingerbread house that belongs to a witch.
2. The Witch Deceived
   (a) The witch captures the children and begins to fatten Hansel.
   (b) Hansel sticks out a bone instead of his finger for the witch to measure.
   (c) The witch is burned in her own oven.
3. Escape
   (a) The children are carried across the water by ducks.

A tale type has many correspondences to what psychologists today term a "story schema."[38] Both assume different levels of analysis—subordinate narrative episodes each with its own subordinate motifs—and both eschew the single defining essence in favor of complexes of defining features, often hierarchically nested. Yet neither is the last word in defining a schema, especially a schema that unfolds in time. As past generations of philosophers and the present generation of cognitive psychologists have been at pains to point out, a complex mental category is something more than a fixed list of defining features. Take, for example, the case of the three woodcutter's tales (3, 15, and 169). All three omit "Once upon a time." Is the consistent omission of this stock opening phrase thus an integral part of a "woodcutter" schema? If this is true, then knowledge of a broader category, that of fairy tales in general, affects the definition. The point may seem trivial, but it does have significant ramifications. First, it suggests that individual exemplars of a schema may not contain all the features that define the schema. Second, it demonstrates that a schema may have defining features that are not overt, in the sense of articulated words or phrases. Third, it indicates that defining features may specify a temporal location or other relational attributes. And fourth, it leads to the conclusion that the notion of levels of structure is an oversimplification. In particular, "Once upon a time" is both subordinate and superordinate to the sentence in which it may appear—subordinate as part of a particular sentence, but superordinate as an important feature of the entire repertory.

Defining musical schemata is no less complex. Example 1.1 presents seven opening bass lines from the Opus 2 flute sonatas (1732) of Pietro Locatelli (1695–1764), all transposed to the key of C major for purposes of comparison. Though taken from movements

in four different keys and five different tempos, these basses have obvious similarities. For example, on each bass I have marked a square on beat one, a circle on beat three, and a square again on beat seven to show that they all share, at analogous moments, an initial C, a move to A, and then a return to C. At a smaller scale, I have marked asterisks above the stepwise descent through the tones F–E–D–C. Note that in Sonata VIII, *Largo*, the asterisks are missing, suggesting that this stepwise descent was a very common but nonetheless optional continuation of the first half of this type of bass. Looking for still smaller motifs, one can see that Locatelli always writes ascending octave leaps on beat seven, usually adds ascending runs of three notes on the second half of beat seven, and usually includes descending runs on the second half of beat three.

EX. 1.1 Locatelli, Op. 2, various opening basses (Amsterdam, 1732)



Locatelli's basses exhibit numerous other similarities and differences. But more factors would need to be brought into the discussion before one could begin to clarify how these individual basses drew upon the "compulsory figures" known to Locatelli and other galant composers. For Locatelli and his musical colleagues, the frame of reference was the musical experience of their entire lives, not solely the sonatas of Opus 2. Beyond the further consideration of melody, harmony, rhythm, meter, and form, an understanding of how these passages were perceived requires examining the traditions of different genres, the predilections of national styles, and the particular repertories of music then known and performed. I have presented the details of that sort of inquiry in a previous book, *A Classic Turn of Phrase*, which explored the schema of one common musical phrase.[39] In the book at hand I summarize the results of several such inquiries so that the reader can develop a broad view of the repertory of important galant phrase schemata. Many of the following chapters are devoted to individual schemata. They present numerous musical examples—exemplars—that allow the reader to explore variants and stylistic changes typical of different decades and courts. Other chapters introduce whole movements by the great composers of the galant style so that the reader can experience the phrase schemata in their full context. Small, simple movements appear in the early chapters, longer, more complex movements later. The overriding theory behind my presentation of these schemata is that they formed one of the cores of a galant musician's *zibaldone*, his well-learned repertory of musical business, and that in the social setting of a galant court, these schemata formed an aural medium of exchange between aristocratic patrons and their musical artisans.

Chapter 2 will make it clear that Locatelli's basses each begin as variations on an opening schema known since the sixteenth century as the *Romanesca*. And chapter 3 will demonstrate that the asterisks mark the bass voice of a schema used as a standard riposte to an opening Romanesca. These relationships were not a "secret schematic art," to paraphrase Edward Lowinsky.[40] Rather, these schemata were designed to be noticed by anyone who listened to enough of this music. For modern devotees of classical music, every schema in this volume may sound quite familiar.

Around 1709, the North German musician Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729) wrote a treatise in which, among other things, he discussed how to harmonize certain pairs of tones in a bass. He then showed how several such pairs could be combined into a larger pattern that he termed a "schema."[41] His schemata for scalar passages of the major and minor modes were similar to what Italian musicians termed the *regola dell'ottava* ("Rule of the Octave"), yet different enough to seem out of fashion.[42] Heinichen himself recognized his imperfect grasp of the Italian style and so set off for Venice in 1711. There he perfected his knowledge and eventually made a triumphant return as chapel master to the lavish German court at Dresden. Like Heinichen, we will examine various pairings of tones in the following chapters, and we will see how they were combined into the most common schemata. Like Heinichen, we will travel to Italy to perfect our knowledge, studying exemplars by the great maestros. And like Heinichen, we will close by returning

to German-speaking lands, in our case to view the lavish work of Mozart through the lens of the Italian galant style.

An Archaeology of Galant Musical Behaviors

Though this book is primarily about the musical patterns taught to and used by galant composers, the discussions inevitably raise questions about past modes of listening. If, for instance, a galant composer studied a particular repertory of patterns from an early age and employed them in his compositions for decades, would those patterns not resonate for him when he heard them in compositions by others? Would these acts of recognition not affect his experience of the music? If he and his fellow composers shared nearly the same repertory of schemata, would the repeated presentation of those patterns not affect their patrons' experiences too? If these schemata constituted a musical medium of exchange between court artisans and their patrons, did this aesthetic commerce not in some way depend on at least a general recognition of these patterns by many of the courtiers? Did familiarity with the normal presentation of these schemata not determine standards for judging musical propriety, invention, and taste?

Eighteenth-century documents cannot answer those questions directly. Then, as now, most people assumed that other people heard music in much the same way as they did themselves. Music affects listeners so directly, so viscerally, that they can easily mistake it for a natural phenomenon whose meanings should be patent and self-explanatory to any sentient being. Baron von Grimm stated without reservation that music was "a universal language that strikes our sense and our imagination immediately. . . . Its expressions . . . [go] straight to the heart without passing, so to speak, through the mind.[43] Music's meanings do seem to be shared within social groups of similar age, education, ethnicity, and class. But as the social distance between people increases, so can the distance between their modes of listening. A distant musical "language" may then require translation.

For much of the twentieth century it was common to view the automobile, airplane, motion picture, and radio as signs of a "brave new world," to use the Shakespearean phrase that became the title of Aldous Huxley's 1932 novel of modernism run amok.[44] Many composers played up this perceived break with the past, and a by-product of their musical modernism was the retrospective formation of a preceding "common-practice period." In particular, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century musics became lumped together as a pre-Modern style that came in three standard flavors—Romantic, Classical, and Baroque. The appeal and convenience of this construction, with its master narrative of musical growth and progress aided by the invisible hand of tonality and developments in the "science" of harmony, no doubt led to its wide acceptance. Yet as a prime example of Whig history,[45] this construction conceals the very discontinuities and ruptures that, if widely known, would undermine its legitimacy. In practical terms, the broad sweep of this domi-

nant music-historical discourse has placed significant obstacles in the path of an accurate "archaeology" of the craft of musical composition.[46]

The twentieth century did not invent the sense of disquiet and alienation in response to rapid social and technological change. The people who lived through the shift from a courtly to a commercial musical culture were more likely to notice disjunctions than a continuing "common practice." The writer and art historian Henry Adams (1838–1918) described in the third person how the world into which he was born was assaulted by new technologies:

> [Henry Adams] and his eighteenth-century, troglodític Boston were suddenly cut apart,—separated forever,—in act if not in sentiment, by the opening of the Boston and Albany Railroad; the appearance of the first Cunard steamers in the bay; and the telegraphic messages which carried from Baltimore to Washington the news that Henry Clay and James K. Polk were nominated for the Presidency. This was in May, 1844; he was six years old; his new world was ready for use, and only fragments of the old met his eyes.[47]

Adams, privileged grandson and great-grandson of early American presidents, felt all his life that he was culturally an eighteenth-century man lost in a nineteenth-century world of raw power. "One found one's self in a singular frame of mind,—more eighteenth-century than ever,—almost rococo,—and unable to catch anywhere the cog-wheels of evolution."[48] Beethoven and the dynamic world of nineteenth-century music were as foreign to young Adams as the steam locomotive. Only after this "eighteenth-century American boy fresh from Boston"[49] arrived at a nineteenth-century German university did he begin to understand Beethoven, and when that happened "he could not have been more astonished had he suddenly read a new language."[50] Adams would likely have concurred with the thrust of Michel Foucault's contention that,

> on the archeological level, we see that the whole system of positivities was transformed in a wholesale fashion at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Not that reason made any progress: it was simply that the mode of being of things, and of the order that divided them up before presenting them to the understanding, was profoundly altered.[51]

Some nineteenth-century musicians in the post-Beethoven era did have an interest in the musical past and explored the surviving manuscripts and prints. Yet many Romantics, rather like conquistadors who discarded the Incas' finest treasures—cloaks of intricate feather work—in their search for gold, colonized their eighteenth-century musical heritage, looting a few extraordinary items—late Mozart, some works of J. S. Bach—but discarding the works that had been the most highly regarded by the patrons of the ancien régime. Almost like an Old Testament strongly reinterpreted by a New Testament, eighteenth-century music came to be heard through the filter of nineteenth-century music. Meanings changed, and to paraphrase Adams, "only fragments of the old" would

be heard by the new ears. Galant works would become judged by the degree to which they were amenable to Romantic reception. In the words of the French novelist André Gide, "The classical work of art will not be strong and beautiful save by virtue of its subjugated romantisicm [*romantisme dompté*]."[52] Though Gide's dictum can be profitably applied to the neoclassicism of the 1920s and to the early twentieth-century reception of eighteenth-century art, it stands as a very poor guide to the tastes and values of galant society.

In a study of village life in Ireland, the folklorist Henry Glassie described the type of commitment needed to explore the past of a culture different from one's own:

> Serious study of a community's history does not begin with a raid to snatch scraps to add color or flesh or nobility to the history of another community. It begins when the observer adopts the local prospect, then brings the local landmarks into visibility, giving the creations of the community's people—the artifacts in which their past is entombed, the texts in which their past lives—complete presence.[53]

This post-Modern attitude toward recovering the "complete presence" of the cultural past, with its presumption of difference, is not shared by every classical musician. Many performers can recite a lineage that extends from their own principal teacher back through a chain of teachers to the time of Beethoven or beyond. The great Chilean pianist Claudio Arrau (1903–1991), for example, was a proud student of Martin Krause (1853–1918), who was a student of Franz Liszt (1811–1886), who was a student of Carl Czerny (1791–1857), who was a student of Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1826), who was a student of Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), who was a student of Nicola Porpora (1686–1768), who was a student of Gaetano Greco (ca. 1657–1728). Greco taught the first generation of galant composers in Naples, so one might leap to the conclusion that Arrau's performances of eighteenth-century music benefited from this apparently unbroken connection to the roots of the galant musical past. One might even assume that Arrau played Haydn "as it really was."[54]

Wax cylinder recordings from the end of the nineteenth century have made it clear that traditions of performance changed dramatically during the twentieth century. Historical studies of still earlier traditions chronicle the equally dramatic changes that also occurred during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Today numerous soloists and ensembles offer "historically informed" performances of eighteenth-century music. They feature a reversion to eighteenth-century technology (wooden flutes, strings made of cat-gut, horns without valves, timpani covered in calfskin, etc.), a lowering of the pitch, and changes in bowing, tonguing, phrasing, and ornamentation. The attendant claim to authenticity, which has commercial repercussions, has not escaped challenge.[55] Arguments have raged over whether a carefully researched yet still speculative "period" re-creation of the musical past is truer than a living yet mutated tradition passed down from teacher to teacher.

As mentioned earlier, I suspect that traditions of listening have also been slowly transformed. To recover something of the older, galant tradition, I attempt an archaeology of

utterances from that distant musical civilization, one whose courtiers share with us relatively few social structures or modes of thought. As the potsherds from my excavations I present musical phrases—simple musical behaviors from a different time, now given voice in a different social setting. Can we hear them as Voltaire, Jefferson, or Mozart heard them? Perhaps that is an unrealistic question. The scholars of classical archeology have taught us that the temples of ancient Greece and Rome were gaudily painted.[56] Yet we do not rush out to paint the Parthenon.[57] The all-white classical building has become fully integrated into the modern worldview as a symbol of various staid institutions. My studies and those of other scholars show that the late works of Mozart were difficult for galant listeners to understand. Yet I do not expect Mozart to be suddenly dethroned from his current position as child-god of purity, clarity, and rationalism, no matter how mannered and extravagant were his manipulations of the galant style. What *can* be done is to provide an option for the modern listener, a method for developing a historically informed mode of listening to galant music. This other mode, to be sure, is conjectural and not necessarily superior. Like "authentic" performance, it is a modern reconstruction of an imagined past. But this conjectured galant mode of listening is nonetheless intriguing and well supported by the writings and practices of eighteenth-century musicians. It may help to put some of the color back into the experience of galant music.

Arnold Dolmetsch, a pioneer of the early-music revival, titled his 1915 magnum opus *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries Revealed by Contemporary Evidence*.[58] His interpretation was directed at the tangible—at the rebuilding of instruments and the performance of melodic ornaments. My interpretation of eighteenth-century music will focus on the intangible—on the mental constructs used by court musicians to create and perform their art. My "contemporary evidence" will be gleaned not only from the artifacts of musical phrases but also from the traces of how professional musicians learned their craft. Though today Haydn and Mozart are as distant in time as Purcell and Corelli were to Dolmetsch, I believe it is still possible to recover something of a galant musical *mentalité* through a close analysis and comparison of galant musical behaviors. The following chapters document those behaviors in detail.

Notes for the Reader

INTENDED AUDIENCE. While at times the discussion may become quite technical, I avoid hiding behind technical terms. Anyone with a love of classical music and the ability to read musical notation should find most of this tome accessible.

LIMITATIONS. There have been, of course, more than two centuries of critical and scholarly discourse between Mozart's time and our own. During that long period the music of the galant era has meant many different things to many different types of people. Indeed, the Romantic/Modern reinterpretation of galant music has itself become a great

musical tradition with its own authenticity. I cannot attempt to survey or review that important literature in this single volume. Rather, to the extent possible, I seek to engage eighteenth-century writers and musicians through their own terms, concepts, and behaviors. Of course the writings of that time can be difficult to interpret unambiguously. As Dr. Johnson noted (1773), "all works which describe manners require [explanatory] notes in sixty or seventy years or less."[59] Today, at a far greater historical distance, eighteenth-century accounts of galant musical manners may require quite a few "explanatory notes," which I derive in part from my studies of regularities in galant musical behaviors.

The names of all but a few eighteenth-century musicians have, alas, already slipped into obscurity, so I attempt to provide for each a sentence or two that outlines the musician's location in galant society. These outlines are jejune substitutes for real biography, attempting only to highlight for the non-specialist reader the web of personal and professional connections that linked musicians in different courts, chapels, and cities.

NAMES OF SCHEMATA. I follow in the footsteps of Joseph Riepel, the eighteenth-century writer and chapel master at Regensburg who gave names to several important musical schemata. I use Riepel's names and other names known in the eighteenth century where possible, but I do not hesitate to add new names to the canon. For some schemata I will choose a word, often an Italian word, that captures an aspect of their function. That was Riepel's practice in the 1750s. And for other schemata I will choose a name that honors a significant scholar or teacher. It is, of course, possible to have musical knowledge that does not correspond to a name. The musical knowledge of ordinary listeners is of that type. But just as one can hardly imagine a serious inquiry into the characteristics and habits of different species of birds without using the names of birds, so it would be difficult to compare and contrast the species of galant musical phrases without the ability to name them. Naming, of course, has a style of its own. I have avoided the scientistic overtones of music-theoretic discourse, favoring instead the direct, insouciant approach of galant composers themselves. A review of each schema can be found in Appendix A.

NAMES OF PITCHES. When I mention specific tones, I use the forms standardized by the Acoustical Society of America. Middle "C" on the piano is thus C4, the orchestral tuning standard of 440 cycles per second is A4, the "A" an octave higher is A5, an octave lower A3, and so on.

NAMES OF SCALE STEPS. When I refer to the steps of a scale or key from an eighteenth-century perspective, I often use the names favored at that time. In place of the nineteenth-century English syllables doh, ray, me, fah, soh, and lah, the earlier musicians used the Latin forms *ut* (or *do*), *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, and *la*. In referring to the steps of a scale or key as features of a schema, I use numbers within circles. For features of the melody, the circles are black, as in ❶–❷–❸. For features of the bass, the circles are white, as in ①–⑦–①. In passages that modulate between keys, such fixed scale-degree designations poorly repre-

sent the mobile cognition of pitch. I will argue that older forms of note naming may have been superior for those contexts.

NAMES OF CHORDS. In describing the chords chosen by galant composers, I generally avoid the roman numeral system of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (I, IV, V, etc.), favoring instead the normal eighteenth-century shorthand of thoroughbass (6, 6/5, 7, etc.). In those places where I do use roman numerals, they indicate degrees of the scale treated as chordal reference points (Ger., *Stufen*) or local key centers, and I follow the older practice of using only uppercase roman numerals.

LOCAL KEY VERSUS GLOBAL TONALITY. The relationship between local and global meanings of chords and keys was fluid in galant music. Many of the methods of musical analysis in vogue today often overstate the degree to which one can clearly distinguish between local and global significance. Indeed, the craft of the galant composer depends heavily on the ability to modulate between perceived certainty and uncertainty, between, on the one hand, giving the courtly audience a sense of security and groundedness and, on the other hand, taking listeners down dark alleys of strange chords and keys where they may feel utterly lost. The lodestar of galant music was not a tonic chord but rather a listener's experience, which the masters of this art modulated with consummate skill. The nineteenth-century term *tonality*, which was never used by galant composers, was foreign to their more localized preoccupations. I too avoid its use, losing nothing, I would argue, in the process.

FORM. Some musical patterns could be described as having a clearly defined form but a loosely specified content (e.g., a "four-bar theme"). Other patterns could be described as having a loosely specified form but a clearly defined content (e.g., a "dominant pedal point"). Still others fall at some midpoint between those poles. For the midsize schemata that are the subject of much of this book, aspects of this form/content interrelationship are captured by the terms *event* and *stage*. Take, for example, an imaginary music schema with three events occurring in a predictable order, say *A*–*B*–*C* (see fig. 1.1). In a simple presentation each event may constitute its own stage, as when, for example, *A*, *B*, and *C*

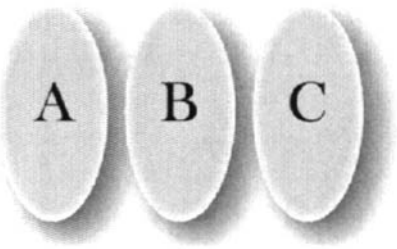


FIGURE 1.1 A schema of three musical events

are each a single chord. But in a more involved presentation, the core events may function as points of reference or as signs of punctuation. In that case, *stage* refers to the longer utterance into which the *event* is embedded. In figure 1.2, these three core events are now presented with three associated stages, where the first two stages are similar and the third is something different. Stages one and two might involve lengthy arpeggios that end with events *A* and *B*. Stage three might feature multiple echoes of event *C*.

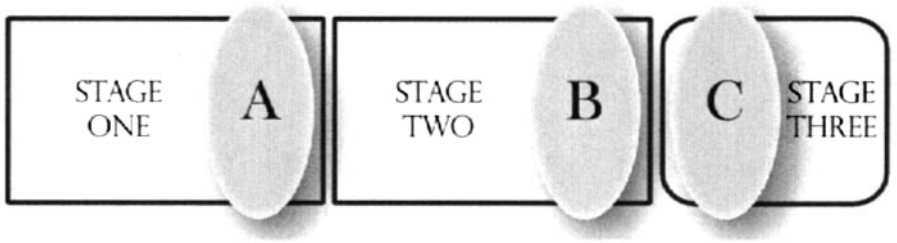


FIGURE 1.2 A schema of three core events embedded in three stages

The schemata presented in this book will be defined with reference to their events, and the important parallels or contrasts of the associated stages should be evident in the many musical examples provided for each schema. These issues and other questions of form will be revisited and given a fuller treatment in chapter 29. There we will see that another term rarely used by galant composers, *sonata form*, is more a hindrance than a help in understanding how galant compositions were made and understood in their own time. To judge by a considerable body of twentieth-century writing on eighteenth-century musical style, one might infer that tonality and sonata form were almost the only topics of any significance. If I declare those topics anachronistic before even beginning to discuss this music, and if I refuse to locate each piece on a Baroque/Classical axis, will there be anything left to say? I hope the reader will allow, at least provisionally, that something of worth might remain for discussion even if one forswears these pillars of a Romantic/Modernist approach to an unromantic art.

REPERTORY. This volume examines music written for the world of eighteenth-century courts. Court culture, of course, extended beyond the ranks of the hereditary nobility to the court-emulating world of the haute bourgeoisie in the growing cities. According to Nolivos de Saint-Cyr (1759), "the town, as they say, apes the court,"[60] and many wealthy financiers and traders established *maisons* complete with smaller versions of courtly entertainments. High churchmen also had courts with musical establishments (the phrase "princes of the church" was more than just a figure of speech, and the patronage of wealthy churchmen was vital for many galant composers). Excluded from this volume are those musics exclusively intended for middle-class home performance, for the congregations of Protestant churches, for "common" commercial concerts, and for popular theatricals, even though such music formed part of the web of eighteenth-century life. Mozart, for

example, began his career almost exclusively devoted to court music. Yet as an adult he ventured into popular theater (*The Magic Flute*), commercial subscription concerts (many of his piano concertos), and music for the Masons (secular hymns), a group that most European courts considered seditious. His gradual shift toward more commercial and urban traditions was paralleled by many musicians in the second half of the eighteenth century. So for some music written after about 1760, my reference to court music may be best understood as indicative of a stylistic orientation and heritage rather than a literal provenance.

Within the courtly, galant style proper, I present hundreds of musical examples from nearly eighty composers. Thus the schemata are, as Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) said of the words in his dictionary (1755), "deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their various significations, by examples from the best writers."[61] Even so, many areas of galant music will be unavoidably underrepresented. The centrality of opera in galant culture cannot be overstated. I nevertheless have selected a large number of examples from small instrumental works. This will be especially apparent in the earlier chapters, where simplicity and comprehensibility are paramount. Later in the book, after a sufficient number of schemata have been introduced, I include whole arias by some of the best Italian masters. The raucous and somewhat different style of opera overtures has been slighted in my treatment. I do not examine recitative or melodrama, nor was it possible to include adequate coverage of schemata favored in the extraordinarily rich tradition of galant sacred music. In particular, I bypass the doleful inventory of chromatic depictions of woe, damnation, and the torments of hell. The schemata presented were chosen on the basis of their importance and prevalence in the central repertories of music for courtly chambers, for court opera theaters, and for the more progressive chapels. Because music in the major mode came to dominate this repertory, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, the examples presented here are overwhelmingly in the major mode. To make musical illustrations of the schemata easier to comprehend aurally, I will often present movements of a slow or moderate tempo.

LABELING OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES. In the main text, musical examples are labeled by chapter, place in the series of examples, composer's name, movement, tempo, and measure number. Thus "EX. 7.14 Locatelli, Opus 4, no. 2, mvt. 3, Allegro, m. 1" indicates that the fourteenth musical example in chapter 7 is an *allegro* excerpt from the start of the third movement of the second sonata of Locatelli's Opus 4. Information about the further provenance of specific musical examples, or references to modern editions, can be found in the index of musical works. Copyists rarely added dates to galant musical manuscripts, and music printers often collected and published works that had been written some years earlier. Where an approximate time frame is all that can be ventured, the reader will find datings like "ca. 1780s," meaning "probably written sometime during the 1780s." In the case of the pedagogical manuscripts known as *partimenti*, which were copied by students

for generations, the dates provided here often represent only vague suppositions based on the lifespans of the relevant maestros.

SHORTCUTS. Some of the following chapters introduce new schemata. Others feature whole movements that contain examples of the previously introduced schemata. Readers who might chafe at the leisurely eighteenth-century pace of this presentation, and who desire a quick overview of the schemata, may wish to refer first to appendix A. There they will find a pictorial representation of each schema prototype, a list of each schema's central features, and short paragraphs concerning each schema's typical functions and historical prevalence. They might then return to one of the "featured works" chapters to hear the schemata in context. Other readers, desiring to encounter this repertory more directly, without any interpretive gloss or theorizing on my part, may wish to bypass the text and listen first to the recorded exemplars. Many other paths through this material are possible, including starting with a featured work and then exploring its constituent schemata in the relevant chapters.

PARTIMENTI. The text makes frequent reference to the large repertory of pedagogical works known as *partimenti*. These works, which progressed from the very simple to the fiendishly difficult, were predominantly bass lines to which the student was expected to add upper voices or chords in order to create a complete keyboard work. The text focuses on partimenti as a means for young composers to, in Barbieri's words, "study and fortify their memory with a wide variety of things" such as galant schemata. Should the reader have an interest in the performative aspects of partimenti, or in learning to realize a partimento, appendix B provides a brief introduction.

2

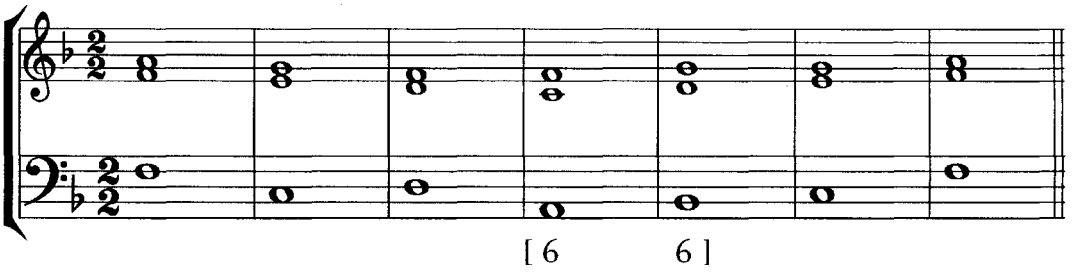
THE ROMANESCA

FOR THE PATRONS OF GALANT MUSIC, making informed judgments about compositions and their performances required familiarity with the important schemata of the style. For the composers, making works worthy of praise required being able to produce exemplars of every schema correct in every detail. The more passive knowledge of patrons could be gleaned from frequent listening to the typical phrases of galant music. The active, operationalized knowledge of composers was carefully taught to them by music masters—maestros. The greatest maestros of the age worked in Italy, and they developed a unique method of instruction centered on the partimento—the instructional bass. A partimento resembled the bass part given to eighteenth-century accompanists, with the difference being the lack of any other players or their parts. The partimento was the bass to a virtual ensemble that played in the mind of the student and became sound through realization at the keyboard. In behavioral terms, the partimento, which often changed clefs temporarily to become any voice in the virtual ensemble, provided a series of stimuli to a series of schemata, and the learned responses of the student resulted in the multivoice fabric of a series of phrases and cadences. From seeing only one feature of a particular schema—any one of its characteristic parts—the student learned to complete the entire pattern, and in doing so committed every aspect of the schema to memory. The result was fluency in the style and the ability to "speak" this courtly language.

Like commedia dell'arte actors memorizing all the scenes and "business" in their troupe's *zibaldone*, so young composers memorized all the schemata in the partimenti of their maestros. As apprentices in the guildlike system of court musicians, students did not learn about the schemata through verbal descriptions or speculative theories, but rather learned them by rote, realizing them in every possible key, meter, tempo, and style. This calculated and concentrated regimen, guided by what Giovanni Maria Bononcini (1642–

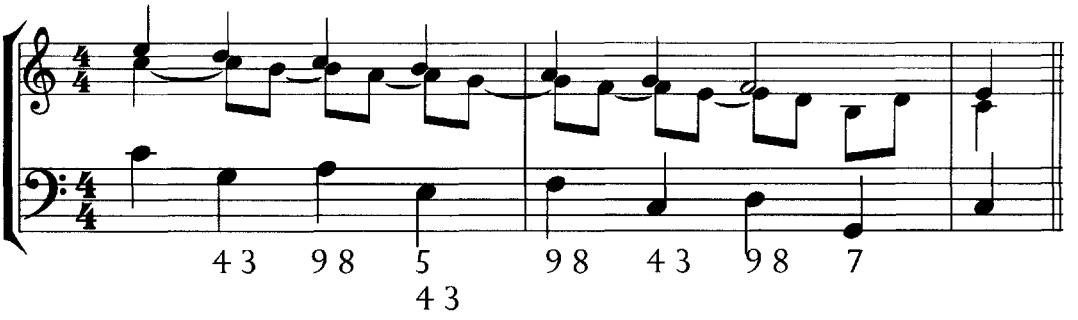
1678) called the "living voice of a well-established maestro,"[1] allowed students to build up a robust knowledge of which variations and exceptions were permissible and which were not. Three such "well-established" maestros were Giacomo Tritto (1733–1824) and Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816), both of Naples, and Stanislao Mattei (1750–1825) of Bologna. Paisiello, of course, was among the most famous opera composers of the eighteenth century, and the students of Tritto and Mattei included giants like Spontini, Donizetti, Bellini, and Rossini, who dominated early nineteenth-century opera. Below I have excerpted a passage from one partimento by each master. From Tritto comes a bass of simple whole notes intended as a beginner's exercise. Above the bass, in smaller notes, I show a likely realization with two additional parts. Below his bass, in measures 4–5, I show the figure "6" in brackets to indicate where the student would have been expected to play a 6/3 chord instead of the default 5/3:[2]

EX. 2.1 Tritto, from a partimento in F major, m. 1 (ca. 1810–20)



From Mattei comes a similar bass. Mattei's own numeric figures—hence a "figured bass"—indicated a chain of dissonances and their resolutions:[3]

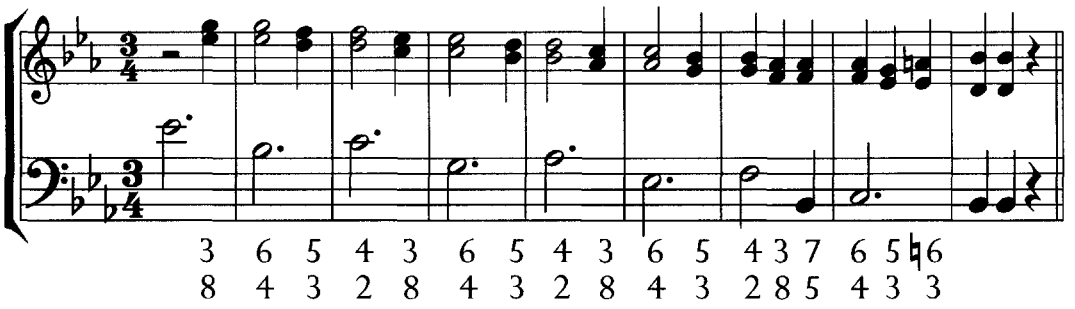
EX. 2.2 Mattei, from a partimento in C major, m. 1 (ca. 1780s)



Notice that, on the last beat of measure 1 (ex. 2.2), Mattei adds the figure "5" to overrule the student's tendency to play a "6" there (C5 instead of B4), as was implied in Tritto's example.

From Paisiello comes another similar bass, also with indicated dissonances. But while Mattei sets the imagined upper voices against each other, Paisiello moves them in concert to make dissonances against the bass:[4]

EX. 2.3 Paisiello, an E♭-major passage from a partimento in C minor, Andante, m. 10 (1782)

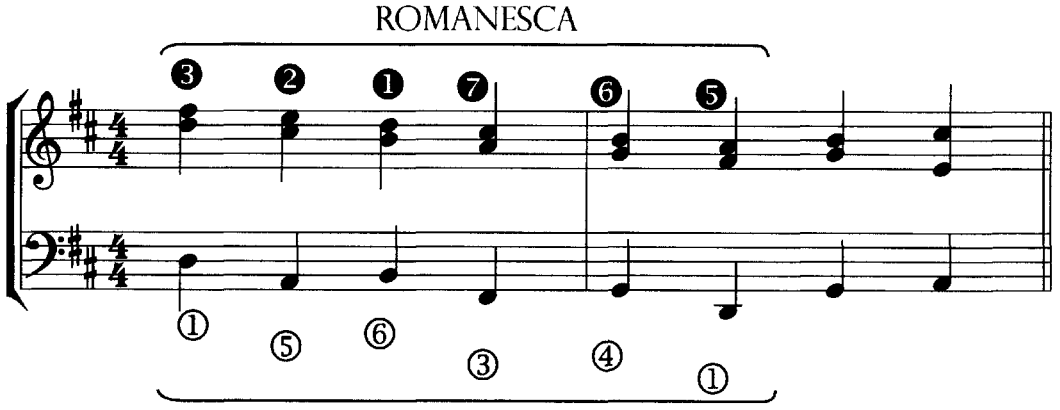


Each of these partimenti is unique, and yet the three excerpts share many features. Their first five bass tones are identical in relation to their local keynotes. Their first three sonorities are the same, again in relation to the keynote. The imagined upper parts begin by descending in parallel thirds, whether by implication (Tritto), complete specification (Paisiello), or abstraction (Mattei, whose dissonances can be viewed as arising from the delay or "suspension" of an alto part that would normally be a third below the soprano). And each example represents, in its larger context, the entry of an important new musical theme or subject. They all, in fact, are common variants of a schema known as the Romanesca.

As its name implies, the Romanesca has an Italian provenance (as do most galant schemata).[5] It was first widely noticed and named by musicians in the sixteenth century, and during the seventeenth century it reigned as one of the most common ground basses. In more recent times, the Romanesca has been described as a common solution to a practical problem in composition: how to add a third voice, without introducing parallel fifths or octaves, to a pair of voices that move in parallel descending thirds.[6] If the added voice is a bass, the solution will closely resemble the music that made a forgotten seventeenth-century composition a household name among late twentieth-century devotees of classical music—Pachelbel's Canon (ca. 1680; see ex. 2.4). Its first three-voice combination, in measure 5, presents an obvious Romanesca where simple quarter notes mark each stage of the schema.

The horizontal braces in example 2.4 serve to highlight the general location of the schema. Again, the black-circled numbers indicate the scale degrees of the melody, and white-circled numbers indicate the scale degrees of the bass. Partimento manuscripts

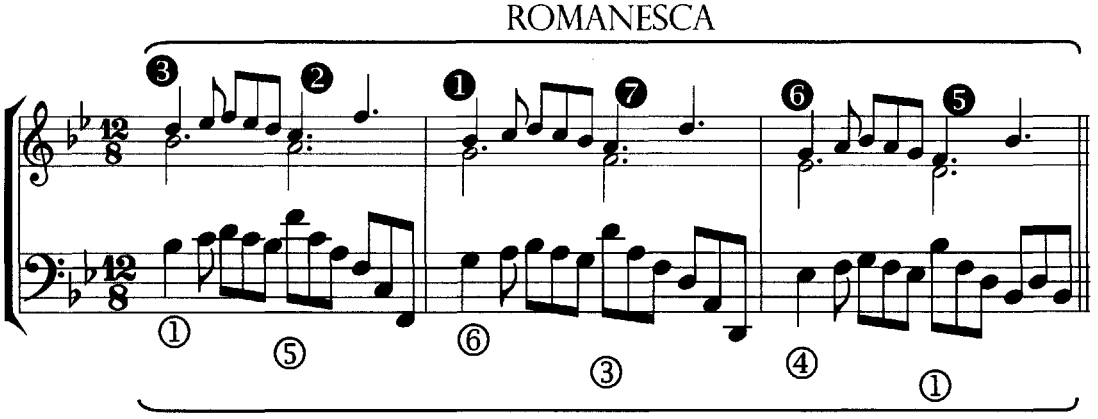
EX. 2.4 Pachelbel, from his Canon in D Major, Andante, m. 5 (ca. 1680s)



in Naples may have been the first texts to treat scale degrees as an organizing principle and point of departure. In the brief rulebooks or *regole* sometimes attached to collections of partimenti, the ①–⑤–⑥ . . . bass of the Romanesca was described as *prima di tono, quinta di tono, sesta di tono,* and so on. Thus my scale-degree markings are less a modern gloss than a graphic depiction of indigenous galant concepts.

In eighteenth-century terms, the above basses represent *partimenti semplici* or basic patterns shorn of ornament. Florid basses, with the underlying longer notes "diminished" into shorter notes, were far more common. Georg Frideric Handel (1685–1759) served as music tutor and hence maestro to Anne, daughter of George II, from 1724 until her marriage in 1734. As a carryover, perhaps, from his previous years in Italy, Handel used partimenti in his teaching. He gave the Princess Royal florid partimenti as assignments, and some of these exercises have been preserved. Handel likely intended the excerpt below to be realized as a Romanesca:

EX. 2.5 Handel, from his exercises for Princess Anne, Allegro, m. 4 (ca. 1724–34)



Because the princess's completed exercise has been lost, I have provided a realization in smaller notes above the partimento. In this florid bass, each stage of the schema lasts for six eighth-notes, with the core events occurring on the first eighth-note of each stage.

All these differing exemplars of the Romanesca imply a more abstract concept of the underlying schema, perhaps something with (a) six stages, (b) a descending stepwise melody, (c) a bass that alternates descending leaps of a fourth with ascending steps of a second, (d) an alternation of metrically strong and weak events, and (e) a series of 5/3 sonorities, as shown in figure 2.1.

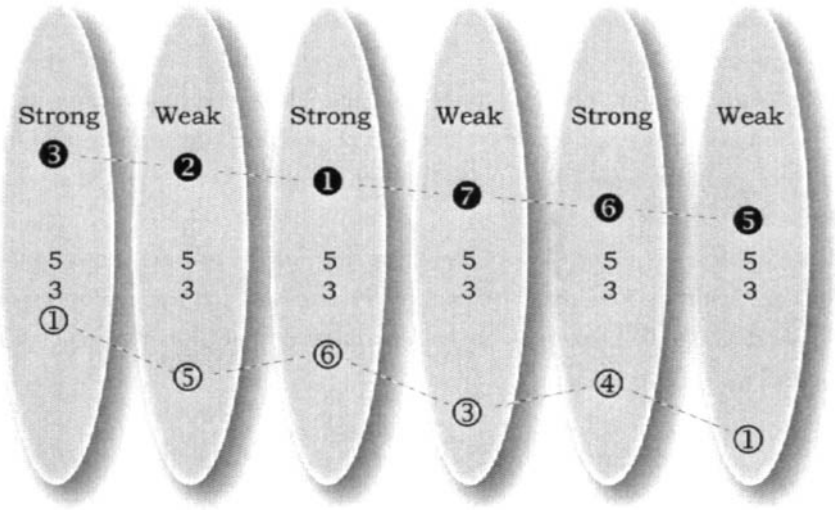
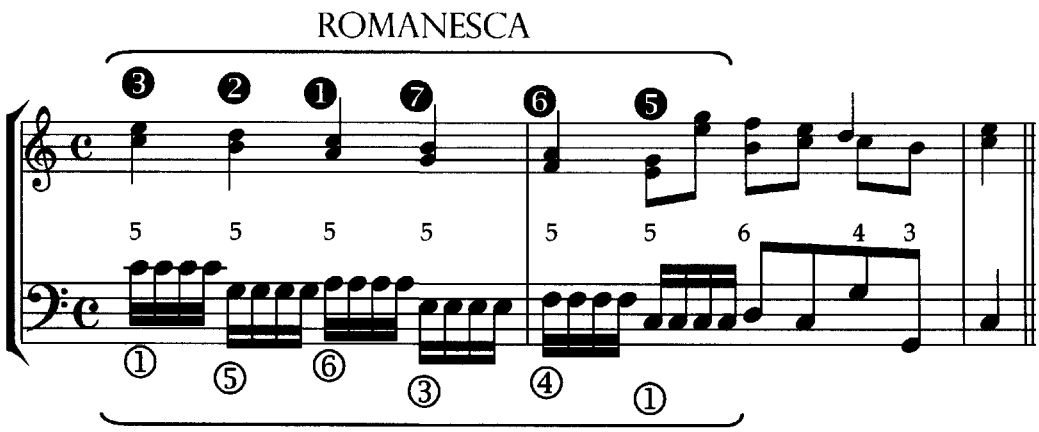


FIGURE 2.1 A schema of the Romanesca with a leaping bass

Even this brief introduction to the Romanesca should enable one to recognize, with some confidence, the same schema in the excerpt below:

EX. 2.6 Cimarosa, from his student notebook (*zibaldone*) of partimenti, m. 1 (Naples, 1762)

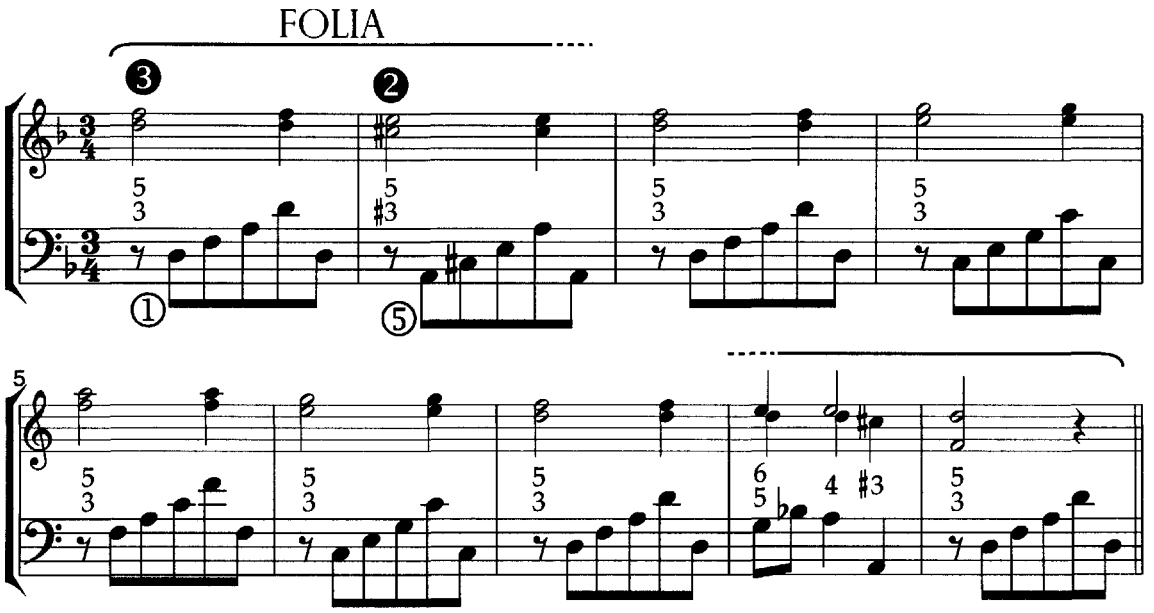


The only thing remarkable about its straightforward presentation of the Romanesca is its provenance. The example comes from a notebook of partimenti used at the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto, Naples, by the thirteen-year-old Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1801), later to become one of the most famous chapel masters in Europe.[7] The conservatory had taken the boy in following the death of his father. The next year, 1762, he dated and signed his name on a *zibaldone* of partimenti, most of which can be attributed to the great Neapolitan maestro Francesco Durante (1684–1755). This is a rare case where detailed biographical information about an indigent boy taken in by one of the great conservatories can be linked to a dated partimento manuscript.

The treble staff of example 2.6, added by me, shows a likely realization of two upper parts. The choice of those tones was highly constrained by the series of "5s" shown above Cimarosa's bass. The "5s" were a shorthand for "every bass tone should carry a 5/3 sonority." The original manscript, probably done by a professional copyist, only used figures at the cadence. A student, possibly Cimirosa himself, added the 5s to specify what was already self-evident to an adult musician.

During this same period Cimarosa was also studying the schema known as the Folia, which shares with the Romanesca a series of 5/3 sonorities and implied upper voices in parallel thirds. Example 2.7 presents the Folia partimento from Cimarosa's notebook, along with added, typical upper voices:

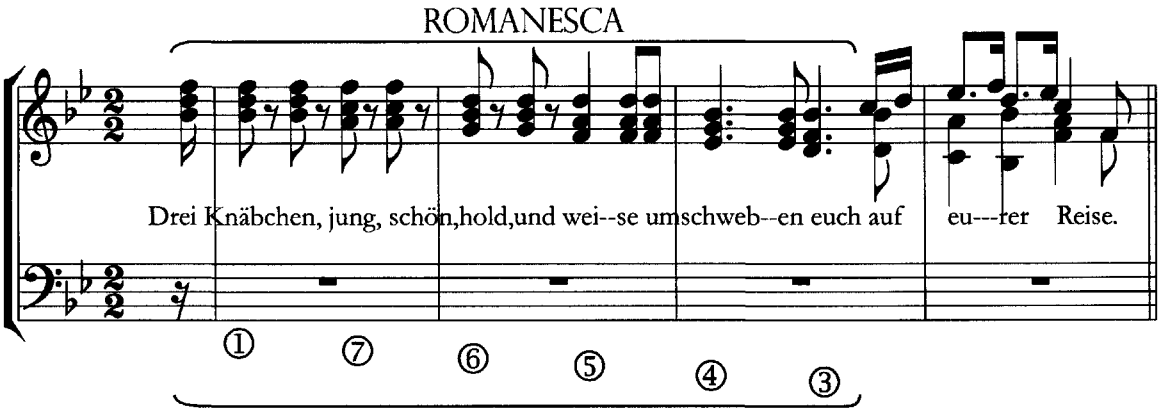
EX. 2.7 Cimarosa, from his student notebook of partimenti, m. 1 (Naples, 1762)



These forms of the Romanesca and Folia, part of the patrimony of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century musicians, were frequently modified as time passed. For the

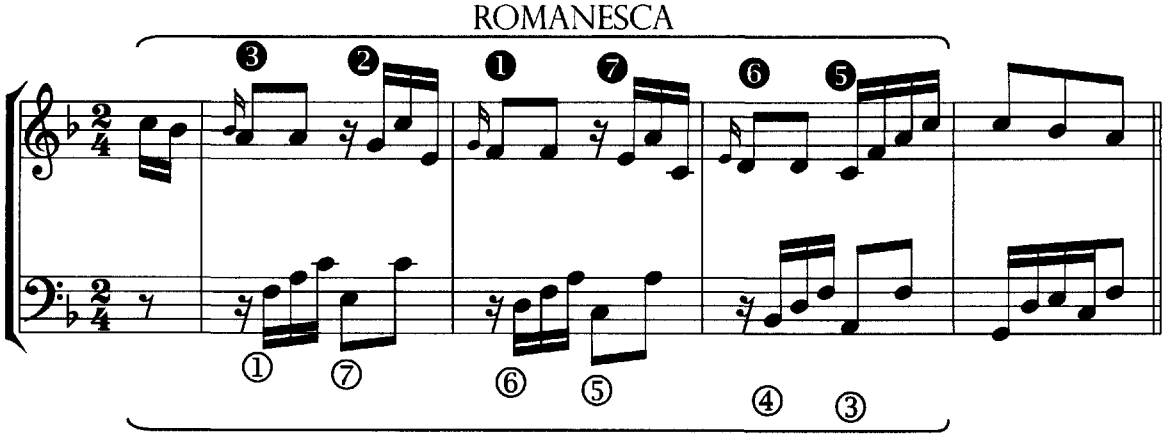
Romanesca, the compositional problem posed earlier, "how to add a third voice, without introducing parallel fifths or octaves, to a pair of voices that move in parallel descending thirds," also has a solution in which the added voice is a treble. The "treble solution" may resemble this passage sung by the Three Ladies in Mozart's *Magic Flute* (KV620), where the parallel thirds are sung by the lower two voices:

EX. 2.8 Mozart, from *The Magic Flute* (KV620), act 1, no. 5, Andante (1791)



Johann Schobert (ca. 1735–1767), a celebrated keyboard player working in Paris and someone whose music the young Mozart studied assiduously, provided a more florid example of this Romanesca variant in the opening of his F-major trio:

EX. 2.9 Schobert, Opus 6, no. 1, mvt. 1, Andante, m. 1 (Paris, ca. 1761–63)



As an abstraction, this variant of the Romanesca features a stepwise descending bass in place of the previous leaping bass, and an alternation of 5/3 and 6/3 chords:

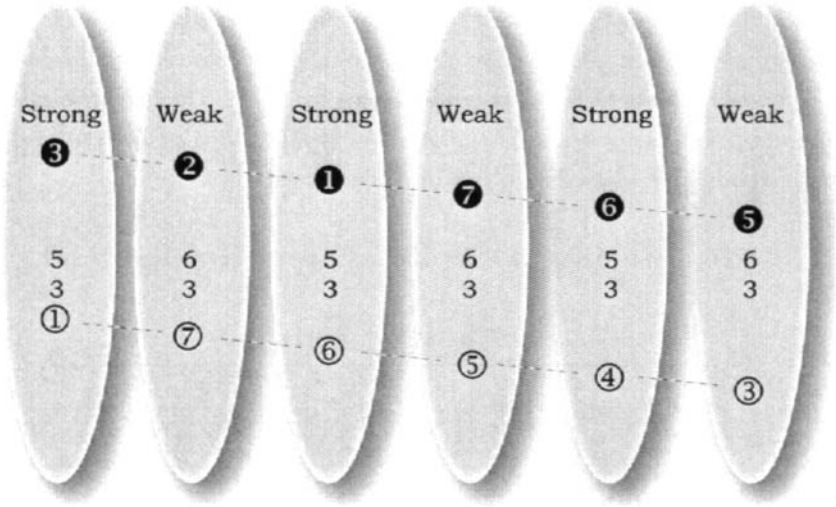


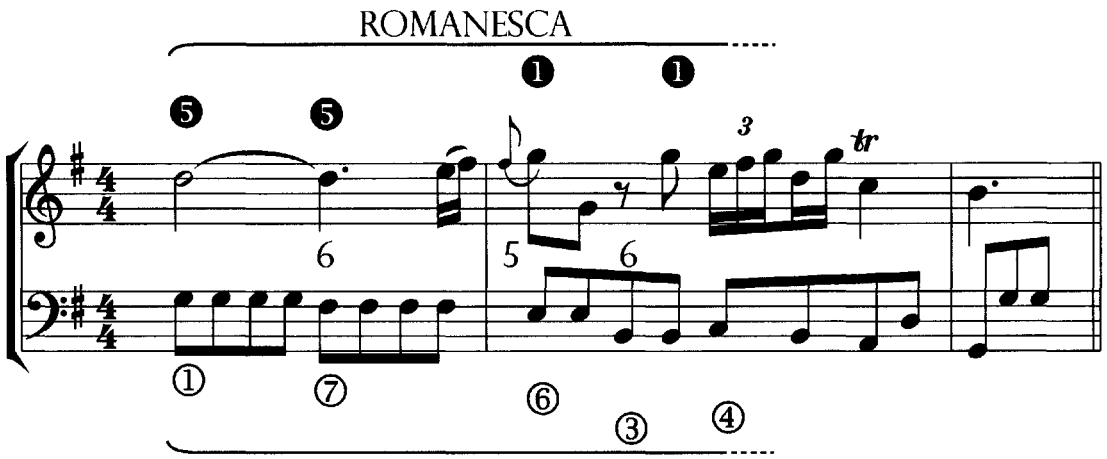
FIGURE 2.2 A schema of the Romanesca with a stepwise bass

While both types of solutions result in the same sequence of sonorities, the leaping variant (Pachelbel and Handel) is more characteristic of the seventeenth and very early eighteenth centuries, while the stepwise variant (Mozart and Schobert) is more characteristic of the later eighteenth century. Neither, however, was the preferred type for most galant musicians.

The Czech musician Wenceslaus Wodiczka (ca. 1715/20–1774) dedicated his Opus 1 violin sonatas (Paris, 1739) to the Duke of Bavaria, in whose orchestra he served as *primo violino*. In the dedication, Wodiczka effusively thanked the duke for having chosen him as a member of the duke's musicians, the *Filarmonici*, and for having arranged for his instruction in Italy under the guidance of "a most wise maestro." In Italy a young musician from the north could apprentice himself to one of the great masters of the galant style, and the diligent student could commit to memory the entire repertory of currently fashionable schemata. An examination of Wodiczka's compositions suggests that he was that sort of student, and I view his Opus 1 as a public presentation of the fruits of his Italian studies. Each page shows, with unusual clarity, the "compulsory figures" of the Italian galant.

The opening slow movement from the third of Wodiczka's sonatas begins with a good example of the preferred galant Romanesca (see ex. 2.10). The dashed lines at the right of the horizontal braces indicate that this type of Romanesca almost always blended into a following schema, often a cadence. Wodiczka's melody features the tonic and fifth of the key, with the descending stepwise melody of the older Romanescas now consigned to an inner voice. The particular contour of the melody—whether, indeed, ❶ preceded ❺ or vice versa—was not an important factor in the galant Romanesca. Wodiczka's first four sonorities alternate between 5/3 and 6/3 chords, somewhat like the stepwise variant (the figures shown between the staves are original). The 6/3 chord at the fourth stage over ③ in the bass, a feature not found in "pure" forms of the leaping or stepwise variants, was

EX. 2.10 Wodiczka, Opus 1, no. 3, mvt. 1, Adagio, m. 1 (1739)



nonetheless very common, and it was implied in the partimento of Tritto shown earlier (ex. 2.1). Thus Wodiczka's bass—one used by countless other court musicians—resembles an abbreviated hybrid of the two main variants:

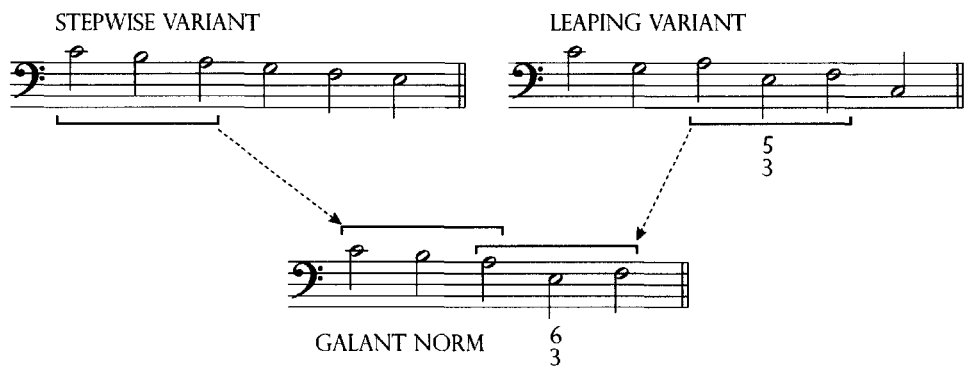


FIGURE 2.3 The galant Romanesca bass as a hybrid

The first three tones of the galant bass match the stepwise variant, while its third through fifth tones match the leaping variant, though with a slightly different sonority. In place of the 5/3 sonority for the fourth event, the galant Romanesca usually has a 6/3 sonority. That is, for the bass shown above (in the key of C major), the galant version would sound a C-major chord at the point where the leaping or stepwise variants sound an E-minor chord. Why?

When I have posed this question to students and colleagues, they generally answer in ways that would have puzzled the musicians who conceived this music. My beginning students' training in "chord grammar" does not help them explain why, in the key of G

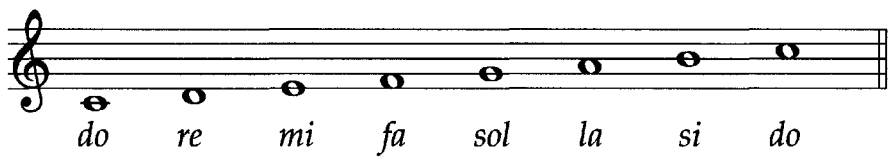
major, Wodiczka would follow an E-minor chord with a G-major chord in first inversion. Even the advanced student who invokes the post–World War I "theories and fantasies" of Heinrich Schenker (1868–1935), with that heavy-handed discourse of "the Will of Tones" and "the Spirit of Voice-Leading," is typically unsure whether training rusty artillery on a galant butterfly does justice to either the butterfly or the artillery.[8] The particular musical choice described above was not based on "chord grammar," the "rise of tonality," the "spirit of voice leading," or other grand abstractions. The proximate cause of that 6/3 sonority was a low-level nexus between the once common, concrete skills of solfège and the realization of unfigured basses (the more advanced type of partimenti), skills that were themselves merely codifications of a living musical praxis.

Creating a proper harmonic accompaniment from a plain bass part required the performer to make educated guesses about the musical context. The more obvious of those educated guesses became codified as rules or "laws." One of many such codifications was published in 1707 by Monsieur de Saint Lambert (fl. Paris, ca. 1700). As his very first law for realizing an unfigured bass, he declared: "A Si, a Mi, & a Sharp are always presumed to be figured with a 6 . . . , provided that the following note ascends by a semitone."[9] That is precisely the circumstance that obtains at the fourth bass tone of the galant Romanesca. Readers with a low tolerance for this sort of technical minutia might now wish to skip ahead to the following chapter, taking it for granted that eighteenth-century musicians played by eighteenth-century rules. For others who would like to understand how "a Si, a Mi, & a Sharp" could each trigger the "*mi*-rule," I provide the following excursus on eighteenth-century solmization.

Doh, a Deer . . . ?

The seven-syllable solfège in use at the Paris Conservatory for generations provides a unique verbal tag for every step of the diatonic scale:

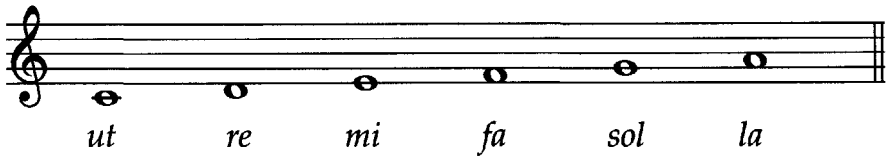
EX. 2.11 A seven-syllable solfège



Whether one treats these syllables as note-names that persist regardless of the key or mode (fixed-*do*, the later Parisian practice) or as position-labels that move as the key center moves (movable-*do*), they can provide a one-to-one mapping between a syllable and a musical location.

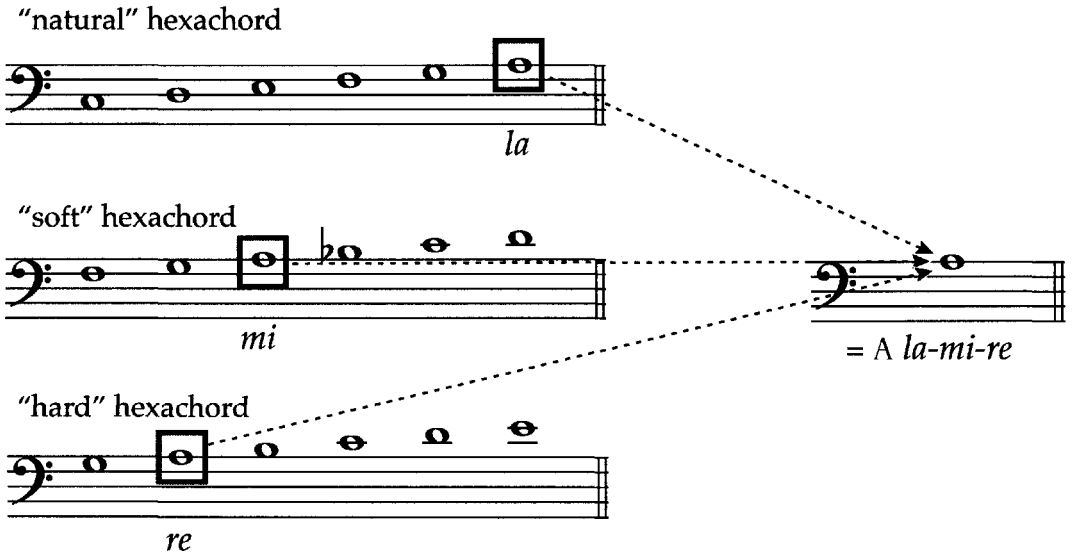
The earlier six-syllable solfège introduced in the eleventh century by Guido of Arezzo also associated syllables with tones:[10]

EX. 2.12 A six-syllable solfège



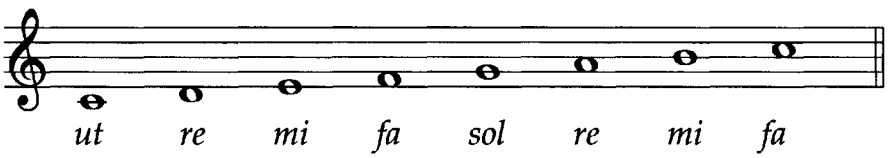
But this hexachordal solfège only defined a local context. The syllable *mi*, for example, could refer to a tone in at least three different hexachords. So to identify an exact global position, the Renaissance musician would resort to a many-to-one mapping, where the intersection of two or three local contexts would fix a global position. The modern A3 would become "A *la-mi-re*" by virtue of its separate locations in three cardinal hexachords (see ex. 2.13). Italian musicians maintained these triangulated names for specific pitches until well into the nineteenth century.

EX. 2.13 Three hexachords used to define one location



Somewhere between these two systems—between the global generality of the seven-syllable solfège and the local particularity of the hexachords—lies the common practice of the eighteenth century. What Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770), the violin maestro of Padua, termed the "usual Italian solfeggio" is neither fully local nor fully global:[11]

EX. 2.14 The "usual Italian solfeggio"

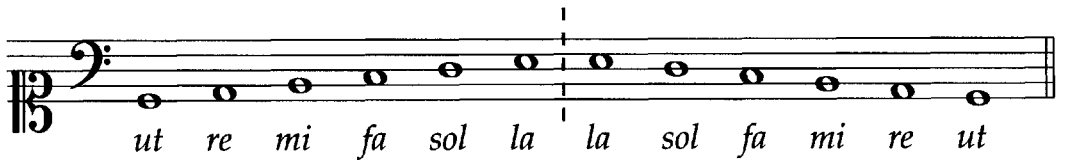


Important intervals like semitones are treated locally, so that both E4–F4 and B4–C5 become *mi–fa*, as though they inhabit separate hexachords. Yet as we shall see, when the scale is extended beyond the range of a single octave, the patterns that emerge repeat after *seven* syllables.

Eighteenth-century practice was far from uniform. In some German texts one finds only the alphabetical note-names—A, B, C, D, E, F, and G. The violin treatise (1756) of Leopold Mozart (1719–1787) falls into that category.[12] Many French musicians were among the first to adopt a seventh syllable. The harmony treatise (1722) of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764), for example, uses *si* for the seventh degree, as Saint Lambert did earlier.[13] The Italian writer Fausto Fritelli noted (1744) how chromatic and widely leaping melodies could confound the old system of hexachordal solfège.[14] Indeed, by midcentury some younger writers like Joseph Riepel and Johann Friedrich Daube had begun to ridicule all solfège systems as the imposition of needless complexity.[15] Nevertheless, the "usual Italian solfeggio" was widely known wherever the Italian style of music was cultivated. And in the eighteenth century, that was nearly everywhere.

A more detailed exposition of Italian practice as it was received abroad in the latter part of the seventeenth century can be found in the *Musicalischer Schlissl* [The Key to Music] (1677) by Johann Jacob Prinner (1624–1694).[16] Prinner begins with the hexachord, ascending and descending:

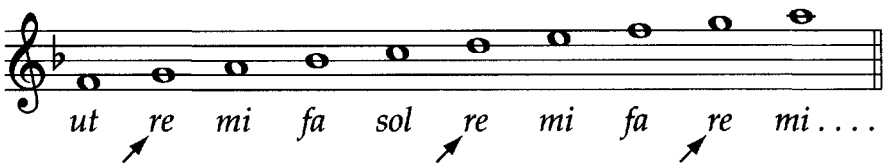
EX. 2.15 Prinner, *Musicalischer Schlissl*, a two-location hexachord



His use of two clefs indicates that the pattern of syllables is the same whether one sings the natural hexachord beginning on C4 (with the soprano clef) or the hard hexachord beginning on G2 (the bass clef). More generally, the point is that such hexachords share the same syllables and hence the same pattern of intervals. Thus the subject and "real" answer of a fugue, or the themes in sonatas that become transposed up or down a fifth, are the "same" by virtue of requiring the same syllables.

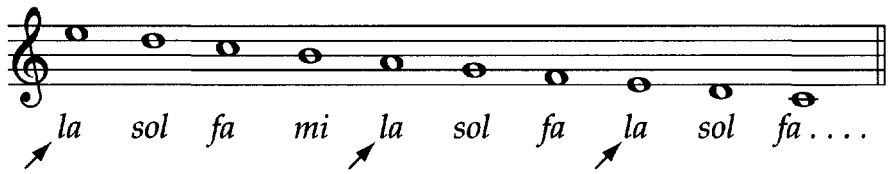
Prinner then shows how to extend the solfège beyond a single hexachord. The ascending pattern of syllables initially matches Tartini's scale, with subsequent alternating three- and four-tone groups that begin on *re*:

EX. 2.16 Prinner, *Musicalischer Schlissl*, the pattern of syllables when ascending



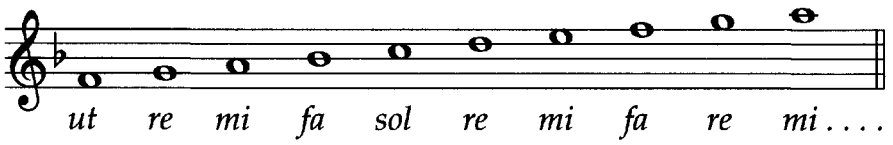
The descending pattern of syllables also alternates three- and four-tone groups that begin with *la*. The descending dyad *fa–la* may seem unusual, but it does conform to the then well-known precept that "a note above *la* should always be sung as *fa*" (*una nota super la / semper est canendum fa*):

EX. 2.17 Prinner, *Musicalischer Schlissl*, the pattern of syllables when descending



Adding a flat sign to the signature, which signals a change to the "soft" or *molle* system, transposes the syllables:

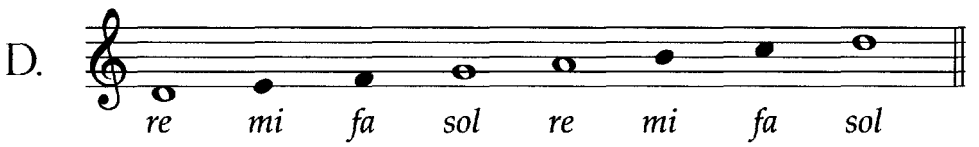
EX. 2.18 Prinner, *Musicalischer Schlissl*, the pattern of syllables in the "soft" system



Thus the "usual Italian solfeggio" was, at least in some respects, "movable-*do*," although as we will see, different modes required different patterns of syllables. For Prinner, one might want to say "movable-*ut*," but for many Italians the syllable *do* was already replacing *ut*. Giovanni Maria Bononcini, in *Musico Prattico* [The Practical Musician] (1673), attributed the change to difficulties in singing the older syllable.[17] Tartini was probably adopting a scholastic stance by using *ut* almost a century later.

In reading Prinner or Bononcini today, a common confusion involves equating a solfège syllable with a scale degree. They are not the same. *Mi*, for example, defined a tone with a half step above it and a whole step below it, regardless of the location in a scale. Prinner, closely following Bononcini's treatise, displays an ascending scale for each mode with the semitones *mi-fa* highlighted as black noteheads. Here is his mode on D:

EX. 2.19 Prinner, *Musicalischer Schlissl*, the D-mode with *mi–fa* highlighted in black noteheads



Some central precepts of the "usual solfeggio" should now be clearer:

One should consider all semitones as *mi–fa* when ascending and as *fa–mi* or *fa–la* when descending, regardless of the mode.

One should change hexachords on a new *re* if ascending and a new *la* if descending, when a passage moves beyond the range of a single hexachord.

One should treat an accidental as a change of syllable. Thus ♭ means "treat as *fa*," and ♯ means "treat as *mi*."

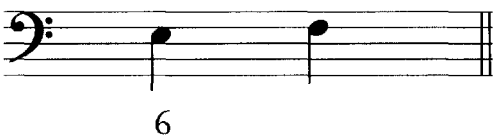
One can fit a short solfeggio fragment—*re, mi, fa*, for example—into multiple tonal contexts even with a single diatonic system: as (1) ❶–❷–❸ of the D or A modes, (2) ❷–❸–❹ of the C or G modes, (3) ❸–❹–❺ of the F mode, (4) ❹–❺–❻ of the E or A modes, (5) ❺–❻–❼ of the D or G modes, (6) ❻–❼–❶ of the F or C modes, and (7) ❼–❶–❷ of the E mode—twelve possibilities in all.

For a "practical musician" like Prinner, Saint Lambert's law about "a Si, a Mi, & a Sharp" would have been a rule about "a Mi, a Mi, & a Mi," since *si* was just another name for a *mi*-degree, and a sharp was an instruction to treat a tone as *mi*. These *mi*-degrees, when in the bass and followed by a *fa*, corresponded with musical contexts in which a locally unstable event preceded a locally stable event. Since the more stable events tended to have 5/3 chords, the *mi*-degrees, to avoid parallel fifths, should not have 5/3 chords (6/3 worked best, or 6/5/3). Hence the *mi*-rule, and hence an important reason why, when the fourth tone of

the Romanesca bass preceded a tone one half-step higher (as *mi* preceding *fa*), galant musicians responded with a 6/3 chord on *mi* and a 5/3 chord on *fa*. To do otherwise would have been a faux pas.

Saint Lambert's observations were fully in line with the doctrine of the Neapolitan conservatories. Francesco Durante, a major figure in Naples who numbered Pergolesi among his many talented students, summed up the rule in his collection of partimenti: "When the partimento ascends a semitone, it takes the 6th":[18]

EX. 2.20 Durante, *Regole*, for an ascending semitone in the partimento (ca. 1740s)



So a musical schema can be a patchwork, the result of interactions between numerous small practices and the larger forces of both historical precedent and contemporary fashion. The musicians who developed the galant Romanesca preserved a number of venerable traits from its sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antecedents. But they also added the melodic focus on ❶ and ❺, shortened its length from six events to four, blended the stepwise bass with the leaping bass, and chose to make the fourth event a 6/3 sonority that would seamlessly connect to a following cadence or other schema:

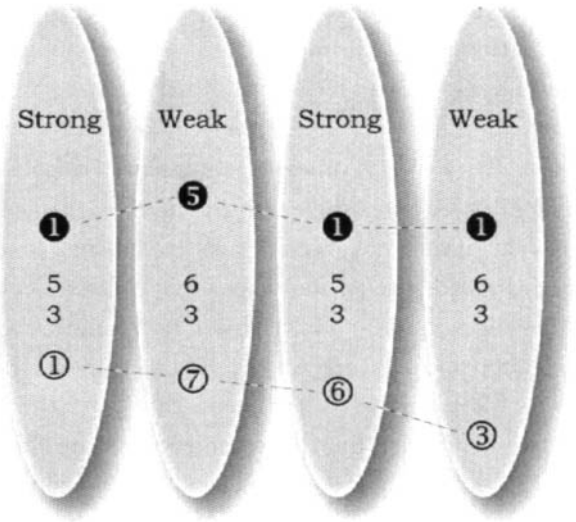
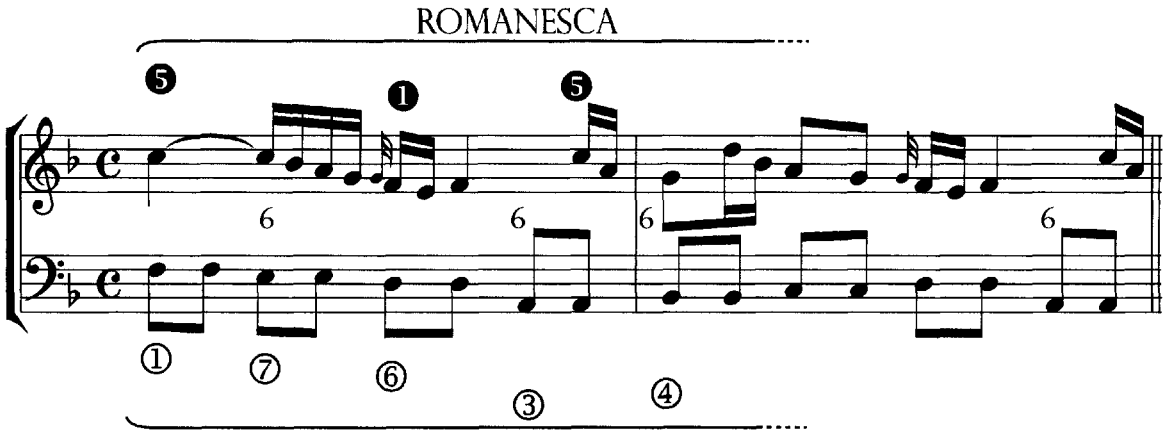


FIGURE 2.4 A schema of the preferred galant Romanesca

This galant Romanesca proved so popular that during the first half of the eighteenth century it became something of a cliché, especially in slow movements like that of the

Wodiczka Adagio shown earlier. It was one of the first patterns one might think of to begin any number of works. When Naples-trained Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783), the famous composer of court operas in Dresden, married the prima donna Faustina Bordoni (1697–1781) and wrote for her a dozen vocal exercises or *solfeggi*, he chose to begin the second one with a Romanesca:

EX. 2.21 Hasse, *12 Solfeggi*, no. 2, Allegro, m. 1 (ca. 1730s)



Note that Hasse's solfeggio includes a lightly figured bass, for which Neapolitan musicians also used the term *partimento*. The melody thus was schematically contextualized by its companion partimento, and the partimento was partially realized by its companion melody. Rather than being a single melodic line intended to teach some aspect of vocal gymnastics, as in the nineteenth century, an eighteenth-century Neapolitan solfeggio was a *two*-voice composition intended to teach melodic elegance and refinement in the context of the particular schemata codified by its companion partimento. Students who worked through these solfeggios would have an advantage when called upon to create keyboard realizations of free-standing partimento basses. That is, they could use solfeggios to "fortify their memory" with appropriate melodies, which could then be recalled when prompted by particular contexts or "occasions" in the partimento bass.

In the manner of a "usual scene" from the commedia dell'arte, the galant Romanesca depended for its effect on the quality of its presentation, not its originality. Yet it was never a completely fixed pattern. Further variation was possible if the overall schema remained recognizable. As a final variant, here is a Romanesca from a motet by the Milanese composer Giovanni Battista Sammartini (1700/01–1775), who was the maestro of Gluck. It conforms in most respects to the schema of figure 2.4, but holds the harmony of the first stage through the second stage, creating a lovely dissonance as the bass descends from ① through ⑦ to ⑥: