

Circular Canon a 4

Florence: Bibl. Naz. Cent.
Banco Rari 229, fol. IIIv.*

BARTOLOMÉ RAMOS DE PAREJA

p = p

* inside the circular staff on which this clefless canon is copied appears the following legend:
*Siue lidi/um in sinemēon | siue ypolidiū diaçe/ugmenon p quatuor | quarta^s duca^s renouādo | dulcem harmoniam |
intra diapason sētis melodiā bene | modulādo*

[Fall, 1956], 195). In this instance he wrote a perpetual canon to illustrate the idea: "Singers all share the vice of never acceding to the request of friends when they are asked to sing and of never stopping when they have not been asked" (*Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus inter amicos ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati, iniussi numquam desistant*). To enforce the "perpetual" idea, Ramos's copyist even makes a circle of the staff and pictures the four winds blowing at the successive entering-notes in the canon *a 4*.⁶⁸

With characteristic lack of modesty he not only praises his Salamanca mass but admires his own Bologna motet, *Tu lumen*, because it can be sung

with the tenor moving chromatically and enharmonically as well as diatonically. Ramos's predilection for such highly intellectualized feats was too much for John Hothby, who reminded him that the time when composers deliberately confused performers had long passed. Gaffurio returned to Ramos's *Tu lumen* motet as late as 1520, criticizing its unsoundness.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Gaffurio, *Apologia*, fol. VIII verso: *dum Bononiae (il-literatus tamen) publice legeret adnotauit tenoris hoc ordine . . .* ("while he was publicly lecturing at Bologna, though he was himself an ignoramus, he notated the tenor of his riddle-canon in the following way . . . [fol. IX verso] but incorrectly, for he was never able to grasp the true meaning of the chromatic and enharmonic genera"). The following additional quotations from the *Apologia* clarify Gaffurio's objections: "Truly the diligence of antiquity overlooked nothing; yet you [Spataro] seem ready to imitate the petulance and ingratitude of that teacher of yours, Ramos, who is just as bad as you. . . . If Ramos,

⁶⁸See plate 61 in Sandra Vagaggini: *La miniature florentine aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Milán-Florence: Electra Editrice, 1952). Gherardo (1445-1497) and Monte (1448-1528) di Giovanni del Fora did the miniatures.



A measured appraisal of Ramos continues difficult to come by. His fame rests on the novelties in *Musica practica*. Yet, some of his views were so traditional as to seem old-fashioned to his contemporaries. He vituperated his enemies while at the same time extravagantly lauding his friends, especially if Spaniards. He condemned Guido as unlearned ("a better monk than musician")⁷⁰ and scoffed at the ignorance of Guidonians in one paragraph but in the next made an embarrassing number of grammatical blunders in his own use of the Latin tongue. The paradoxes revealed in his own disposition explain why equally intelligent theorists such as Aron and Gaffurio have extolled and denounced him.

What can be said of him when both the pros and cons are balanced, however, is that he showed courage bordering on foolhardiness; that his mind was always agile; that he relished controversy; that he never failed to make his own dicta as incisive as possible; that he never soft-pedaled criticism of his foes, however well entrenched; that he indulged in name-calling; and that his attacks on Guido, dead four hundred years, often as not precluded bombardment of his immediate contemporaries. If he showed little of the conventional piety found in other Spanish theorists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is on the other hand probable that only in such a rebellious spirit as his would there have fermented the novel theories that made him famous. Had he been more docile, he would not have been denounced by Gaffurio as an overweening and vulgar upstart. But he also would not have been praised by Aron as "most worthy of the respect of every learned scholar" nor would Fogliano and Zarlino have made his divisions of the scale their own.

Perhaps no one has ever yet better defended him than his compatriot Antonio Eximeno. At one time a professor of mathematics, Eximeno was himself adept enough to understand not only the problems that Ramos undertook to solve but also the argu-

as you claim, borrowed the 5:4 and 6:5 consonances from Ptolemy, then he was a thief since he did not acknowledge his debt. . . . Ramos railed against even Boethius; but that Boethius was a skilled practitioner as well as a theorist was acknowledged by Cassiodorus." For Cassiodorus's testimony on Boethius's ability as a practical musician see his *Epistola 40*, in Migne, *PL*, *LXIX*, 570.

⁷⁰Wolf ed., 11; also pp. 39-40.

ments of his opponents. He wrote thus: "Before Zarlino, the Spaniard Bartolomé Ramos had already foreseen the necessity of sacrificing the perfection of certain fifths and fourths in instruments of fixed tuning. This alteration of fifths and fourths was to be the first step in the direction of modern temperament. . . . Although for his pains he was attacked by both Burzio and Gaffurio . . . still in time the opinions of this Spaniard—this "author of paradoxes," this "prevaricator of the truth"—were to prevail over those of his most embittered foes."⁷¹

What must next be considered is any "new light" shed on this "author of paradoxes" since 1960. Ugo Sesini's *Momenti di teoria musicale tra medioevo e rinascimento* (Bologna: Tamari Editori, 1966), 9-39, amplified details relating to Pope Nicholas V's bull of July 25, 1450, creating Bologna University. The clause establishing a chair of music ("Ad Lecturam Musicae: unum") bore no immediate fruit. The first issue of Ramos's *Musica practica*, with colophon dated May 11, 1482⁷² (A. 20 at the Bologna Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale), bears marginal comments, presumably by Franchino Gaffurio⁷³ and Ercole Bottigari (1531-1612). The sole differences noted by Sesini between May 11 (A. 20) and June 5, 1482 (A. 80), issues of *Musica practica* are the wordings of the colophon and the reprinting of folios 9 and 10. Sesini attached added historical value to Ramos's *Musica practica* because it was the second musical treatise printed anywhere.

After Sesini, the next scholar to touch on Ramos was James Haar in a brilliant article, "Roger Caperton and Ramos de Pareia," *Acta Musicologica*, *XLI*/1-2 (January-June, 1969), 26-36. What news did Haar deliver? Ramos mentioned Roger Caperton

⁷¹Antonio Eximeno, *Dubbio . . . sopra il saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto* (Rome: Michelangelo Barbiellini, 1775), 85. Eximeno was as bold and restless a spirit as Ramos. But he was at the same time enough of a scholar not to call Ramos the inventor of equal temperament.

⁷²The May 11, 1482, issue ends with "explicit feliciter prima pars musicae." However, no *secunda pars* ever appeared. See note 39 above.

⁷³Sesini, p. 36, note 36, quotes a 1531 letter of Spataro saying that he had sent Gaffurio in Milan his one copy of *Musica practica*. Gaffurio had returned it with marginal annotations against Ramos: "io la [Spataro's copy] mandai a Milano a Franchino et lui dopo me la mando tuta sesquitermata et de sua mano apostilata contro lo auctore."



twice (Wolf ed., pp. 15, 59): in part 1, first *tractatus*, chapter 5 (folio b2, line 2), where Ramos called him a Frenchman; and in part 1, third *tractatus*, chapter 3 (= page 46 of facsimile, line 24). However, Roger Caperon—despite his name—was not French but English, according to evidence unearthed by Haar in the sole extant manuscript containing anything attributed to Caperon. MS D39 in the Biblioteche Riunite Civica e A. Ursino Recupero at Catania, Sicily, contains at folios 126–155 a *Comentum magistri Rogerii Caperonii anglici super cantum*.

Caperon's commentary is copied in the same manuscript that contains "some short treatises written, or at least commissioned by one Jacobus de Barbo." In 1444 Jacobus de Barbo = Jaume Borbó was master of the boys in Alfonso V's chapel at Naples. In 1450 he acted as chapelmaster and in 1451 was again master of the boys.⁷⁴ Although not mentioned in Allan W. Atlas's *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Caperon may also have held some sort of royal appointment at Naples. At all events, Caperon professed Guido and "my teacher, the Reverend Johannes de Garlandia,"⁷⁵ as his musical idols. Caperon therefore belongs with Ugolino of Orvieto and other blind adherents of the hexachord system whom Ramos found every possible occasion to attack.

Apart from Roger Caperon, Ramos attacked still another Englishman resident in Italy.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Camilo Minieri Riccio, "Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I. d'Aragona Dal 15 Aprile 1437 al 31 di Maggio 1458," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, vi/2 (1881), 245: "Maestro Giacomo Borbo cantore della reale Cappella di Alfonso e maestro di cinque donzelli cantori della cappella stessa, con que suoi scolari parte dalla citta di Napoli e si porta a Casal del Principe, dove re Alfonso sta alla caccia."

On October 26, 1444, the royal singer Jaume Borbó, who was master of the five singing boys, escorted them to Alfonso's hunting lodge. Alfonso paid for six horses—five at 15 ducats each to carry Borbo's five students, one costing 20 ducats for Borbo—so that they could follow him wherever he journeyed. That same month he bought eleven horses for the other members of his royal chapel, so that they too could accompany him (at least five adult choir members had Spanish surnames).

⁷⁵*Acta Musicologica*, xli/1–2 (January–June 1969), 30: "Et ego Rogerius caperonii anglicus in opere presenti (?) iuxta meum posse sensum et litteratura ipsius Guidonis et dicta nec non magistris mei Reverendi Johannis de garlandia prosequi temptabo."

Master Robert the Englishman, ignoring the geometrical propriety of note-values, said the opposite, which is: when no mensuration is to be found, he considered the time to be perfect. He was thus saying that almost all compositions without mensuration signs are badly composed. For he, ignorant of learning, put art before nature whereas the opposite is clearly the case, that art imitates nature as far as it can.⁷⁷

In this just quoted passage, Ramos identified Robertus Anglicus as someone who "had opinions about mensuration, including the view that if there was no mensuration sign the music should be assumed to be in perfect time." On the strength of Ramos's remarks, David Fallows was able to identify Robertus Anglicus as the "Dominus Robertus de Anglia" who came to Ferrara Cathedral in September 1460 "to instruct the clerics in singing."⁷⁸

Robertus was still there on September 5, 1461, and perhaps remained until 1467, when he took up an appointment nearby at Bologna. On April 1, 1467, the chapter of San Petronio, Bologna, enrolled "Dominum Robertum de Anglia" as *magister cantus*, with the condition that he sing in the choir on all festal days. His regular monthly payments are recorded throughout the years from April 1467 until September 1474, when he left to return to England.

What is still more, Fallows could (on the strength of all this) identify Ramos's Robertus Anglicus as the "Ro. de Anglia" whose songs *a 3* begin and end the collection of 19 songs (17 *a 3*) in Oporto Biblioteca Pública Municipal MS 714.⁷⁹

How large continues to loom Ramos's importance in fifteenth-century music history can be judged not

⁷⁶*Musica practica*, Wolf ed., 88: "Magister vero Robertus Anglicus proprietatem notularum in geometria ignorans contrarium dicebat, hoc est: quando signum temporis non reperitur, perfectum esse tempus arbitrabatur. Omnes fere cantus signis carentes male compositos esse dicebat. Ipse enim inscius doctrinae artem praeponebat naturae, cuius contrarium manifestum est, quia ars imitatur naturam in quantum potest."

⁷⁷Translation by David Fallows in his "Robertus de Anglia and the Oporto Song Collection," *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music, A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), p. 103.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁷⁹The time in the twelve songs at fols. 51v–79 of Oporto MS 714 without mensuration signs is perfect. In the seven with mensuration signs (C) the time is imperfect. See Fallows's inventory (*ibid.*, pp. 120–121).

only from the just cited articles by Haar and Fal-lows, but also from other articles that have appeared in the 1972–1982 decade leading up to the 500th anniversary of *Musica practica*'s publication.

In 1972 Nicolas Meeus synopsised his 1971 Louvain dissertation with an article entitled "Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja et la tessiture de instruments à clavier entre 1450 et 1550," *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain*, v, 148–172. At the outset, Meeus categorized *Musica practica* thus: "This work of the first importance contains original insights on the most diverse subjects; Ramos's ideas on temperament and solmization are those of a precursor." Meeus next quoted Otto Kinkeldey, *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts*, page 62, and George Kinsky, "Kurze Oktaven auf besaiteten Tasteninstrumenten," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, II (1919), 65—both of whom credited Ramos with being the first author to mention the "short octave." Meeus's article contains extensive quotations from Ramos's Latin text. Paralleling the Latin, Meeus provides his French translation of Ramos's text (pages 15, 18, 29, 30, 34, 36–38, and 101 of Wolf edition).

Mark Lindley begins his article on "Fifteenth-century Evidence for Meantone Temperament," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association*, CII (1975–1976), 37–51, thus:

In the year 1496 Franchino Gaffurio referred to the use of tempered fifths on the organ, but he did not specify the amount of the tempering, and Murray Barbour has concluded that "we have no way of knowing what temperament was like" at that time. I believe, however, that a careful reading of contemporary theoretical writings, and particularly of the information given by Ramos de Pareja in his *Musica Practica* of 1482, will show that the kind of tuning in question was almost certainly some form of regular meantone temperament, that is, with the fifths tempered rather more than in equal temperament for the sake of more resonant thirds and sixths.

In 1977 José Luis Moralejo published his Spanish translation of *Musica practica* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 128 pages). Rodrigo de Zayas oversaw the edition. Enrique Sánchez Pedrote wrote the flawed introduction—containing the erroneous assertion that Johannes Wolf translated *Musica practica* into German and giving an impossible year for Ramos de Pareja's

death (copied from *Diccionario de la música Labor*). Marking the 500th anniversary of the 1482 publication of *Musica practica*, Francisco José León Tello published "Contribución de Ramos de Pareja y Francisco Salinas a la formación de la escala musical europea," *Revista de Musicología*, v/2 (1982) 287–296. In 1983 Carlos Romero de Lecea completed the sixteenth and final publication in his *Viejos libros de música* series with a facsimile of the June 5, 1482 issue of *Musica practica* (Madrid: Joyas bibliográficas). In the colophon—dated December 31, 1982—Romero de Lecea promised an analysis of *Musica practica* by Clemente Terni.⁸⁰

Turning to a more specialized research area: Standley Howell in 1985 published a seminal article, "Ramos de Pareja's 'Brief Discussion of Various Instruments'" in *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, XI, 14–37. In it he praised Ramos for providing "some of the most detailed information we have concerning tuning practices of his time"—especially as they pertained to the lute and clavichord. At Howell's pages 17–21 he gave the emended Latin and an English translation of what Ramos had said in book I, treatise 1, chapter 6, of *Musica practica* concerning "various instruments" (*diversorum instrumentorum*). As translated and annotated by Howell, Ramos's preferred tuning of the five-course lute ascended thus: G₁-C-E-A-d (Ramos acknowledged the possibility of other tunings; like Tinctoris, he used the Latin word *lyra* to mean lute).

His *fistula* was a recorder with "presumably seven finger holes and a thumb hole." The player could produce adjacent semitones by half-stopping a hole (*Sed si uniuscuiusque foraminis medietas digito claudatur, semitonium faciat ad totam aperturam*). Ramos's *sambuca* was a three-hole pipe with "only two finger holes and a thumb hole," usually manipulated by the left hand "while the right beat a small drum in the familiar pipe-and-tabor combination." Howell's annotation of the *sambuca* continues thus (*JAMIS*, XI, 36):

⁸⁰Organist, composer, and musicologist, Clemente Terni (b Archidosso, Grosseto, November 12, 1918) in 1974 edited *L'opera musicale* of Juan del Encina. See Robert Stevenson's review, *Revista Musical Chilena*, xxxii/142–144 (April–December 1978), 142–145.



Its tapering bore enabled the player to generate several harmonics above the fundamental of each finger hole by overblowing. As a result it was possible to play a substantial diatonic scale utilizing only three holes, and this exceptional capacity for note production prompted Ramos's fascination with the instrument.

Howell takes Ramos's *calamus* to mean a shawm, and helpfully remarks that Ramos's comment about aperture size "apparently has to do with the practice of fine-tuning woodwind instruments by increasing or decreasing the size of finger holes."

Up to Howell's article, most prior attention to Ramos's remarks on instruments had focused on those listed by him in *capitulum sextum* of his first book, first treatise—*cithara et lyra, polychordo, clavichordo, clavicembalo, & pasalterio*. In his book 3, second treatise, chapter 4, Ramos translated the Latin word *chorda* to mean *tecla* (Spanish). He also observed that B \flat and other accidental keys are distinguished by a different color from natural keys and are "placed somewhat higher than these" [natural keys] on the keyboard. His friend Tristano de Silva wanted another pitch inserted between f and f \sharp on keyboards (presumably for g \flat). Likewise "some people" wished another pitch between a \flat and a \natural (for g \sharp). However, Ramos did not favor such added pitches (*Hoc tamen non laudatur*).

At Bologna, Ramos had encountered a keyboard instrument sounding D $_1$ as its lowest pitch. But only in fifteenth-century Spain did he acknowledge that instruments such as monochords and organs existed with C $_1$ as lowest sounding pitch (*In Hispania vero nostra antiqua monochorda et etiam organa in c gravi reperimus incepisse*).

Contrary to what Nicolas Meeus proposed—in both his 1972 article (see above) and his less than authoritative article in *The New Grove Dictionary* (1980), xvii, 263—Ramos preceded all other writers in describing the "short octave." A pioneer in so many other respects, Ramos does indeed take pride of place as the first to mention a keyboard in which lowest black key (F \sharp) sounded D $_1$, next lowest black (G \sharp) sounded E $_1$, and the lowest white key (=E) sounded C $_1$. Meeus's failure to read the whole of Ramos's *Musica practica*, and his misunderstanding of what he did read, accounts for his misguided effort to deny Ramos priority rights granted him by Kinkeldey and Kinsky.

Guillermus de Podio

Apart from Ramos's *Musica practica*, one other fifteenth-century Spanish theoretical work circulated in Italy. Written by Guillermus de Podio = Guillermo Despuig, *Enchiridion de principiis musice discipline* occupies pages 134–190 of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS A71. The conservative tone of MS A71—a 303-page collection of late fifteenth-century music treatises—is sounded at the outset by a hand copy of Gaffurio's *Theoricum opus musice discipline* (Naples: Francesco di Dino, 1480). Guillermus de Podio = Guillermo Despuig dedicated his *Enchiridion* to Juan de Vera who rose from a mere precentor's dignity in Valencia Cathedral to the episcopate, and eventually the cardinalate after Rodrigo Borja, his fellow townsman, became Pope Alexander VI. The *Enchiridion* may have been designed for use among students in the Spanish college at Bologna.⁸¹

Did Ramos and Guillermus de Podio know each other at Bologna? John Hothby, the already frequently mentioned English Carmelite theorist residing at Lucca 1467 to 1486, denounced Ramos in three treatises edited by Albert Seay (*Tres tractatuli contra Bartholomeum Ramum* [Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 10], 1964). In the first of these, entitled *Excitatio quaedam musicae artis per refutationem*, Hothby quotes Ramos paragraph by paragraph—each time refuting Ramos. However, not all the paragraphs credited to Ramos come from *Musica practica*. On pages 20–22 of Seay's edition turn up several paragraphs in which Ramos refers to a letter that he had received from Guillermus de Podio.⁸²

Despite Ramos's present-day overwhelming superiority, Guillermus de Podio = Guillermo Despuig vastly exceeded Ramos, so far as his influence on his immediate Spanish followers. Apart from Domingo Marcos Durán, no Spanish theorist before Francisco Salinas even so much as mentions Ramos.

⁸¹See Karl-Werner Gumpel: "Das Enchiridion de principiis musice discipline des Guillermus de Podio," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 27. Bd. (Münster/Westfalen, 1973), 360, note 3.

⁸²Seay ed., p. 22: "Guilielmus etiam Podius huius artis non ignarus in quadam sua ad me epistola idem sentiendo affirmat"; "Inventis tamen radicibus quemadmodum etiam ab ipso Guilielmo in eadem epistola ad me plane ostenditur." See also p. 23: "a quo non dissentit idem Guillelmus liquido poni et manifeste collocari vult."

But the list of those who extol Despuig reaches great lengths. Beginning with Francisco Tovar (*Libro de música practica*, Barcelona, 1510), and continuing with Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui (*Arte de canto llano e contrapunto e canto de organo*, Saragossa, 1508), Juan Bermudo (*Declaracion de instrumentos*, Osuna: 1549 and 1555), Luys de Villafranca (*Breue instruccion de canto llano*, Seville, 1565), and the notorious plagiarist Martín de Tapia Numantino (*Vergel de música*, Burgo de Osma, 1570)⁸³—not to proceed still further with such distinctly baroque theorists as Andrés de Monserrate (*Arte breve, y compendiosa*, Valencia, 1614) and Antonio de la Cruz Brocarte (*Medula de la musica theorica*, Salamanca, 1707),⁸⁴ Despuig wins nods of approval from a continuing succession of peninsular authorities. Martínez de Bizcargui in 1528 summarizes their attitude: "he was a scholar expert in every field, but especially in music."⁸⁵

If his influence among Spaniards was so much greater than Ramos's, why is so little known concerning his life? Insofar as biography is concerned, Ramos's is better known because Despuig—not so vainglorious—tells very little about himself in either his *Ars musicorum* (1495) printed at Valencia,⁸⁶ or his *Enchiridion de principiis musice discipline* preserved in manuscript at Bologna. However, the *Ars musicorum* does imply that he was no mere underling but a personal friend of the dedicatee, Alfonso of Aragón (ca. 1440–1514), bishop of Tortosa from 1475–1513 and archbishop of Tarragona during the last year of his life. This bishop was a native of Valencia, and like most other bishops of his epoch was of noble birth, his father having been Duque de Villahermosa. His musical tastes were therefore formed in an aristocratic environment. Despuig in

his last paragraph (fol. LXV verso) seems to expect that the bishop will not only have accepted the dedication but have read all eight books of his magnum opus. That Despuig was a mature scholar when he wrote his *Ars musicorum* is apparent throughout the work. That he studied in Italy cannot be proved but is strongly to be supposed not only because of his *Enchiridion* manuscript at Bologna, but also on account of his letter to Ramos taken note of by Hothby.

From external sources a few further biographical hints can be gleaned. A second copy⁸⁷ of his 1495 *Ars musicorum*, preserved in the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional but overlooked in the 1949 *Catálogo musical*, begins with a marginal notation (probably antedating 1600) which states that de Podio (= Despuig) was descended from a distinguished Tortosa family. Tortosa, on the eastern coast of Spain between Barcelona and Valencia, seems then the likeliest place of his birth. As for ecclesiastical preferment, Jaime Moll Roqueta discovered a notice in the *Liber Collationum*, LXXII (fols. 115v–116) of the Barcelona *obispado* showing that a Guillermo Molins de Podio, priest and prebendary of Barcelona Cathedral, was on June 20, 1474, beneficed in the royal chapel of John II of Aragón.⁸⁸ This assignment probably lasted five years. The discovery of one further proof of ecclesiastical preferment was made by José Ruiz de Lihory and published in his *La música en Valencia* (1903).⁸⁹ His evidence, found at the Valencian Archivo del Reino, showed that a Guillermo Puig held a benefice in the parish church of Santa Catalina at Alcira (25 mi SW of Valencia) sometime between 1473 and 1483. Curial records made him the son of Pedro Puig, who was in 1477 a notary public at Valencia, and showed that be-

⁸³See Anglés-Subirá: *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional*, II (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949), 220, 219, 164, 233.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, II, 128, 243.

⁸⁵"... tan experto hombre en todo y especial en la música. . . ." "Cristóbal de Villalón (*Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente* [Valladolid, N. Tyerri, 1539; repr. Madrid, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1898], 178) was another who extravagantly praised Guillermo.

⁸⁶Jaime de Villa, a "molt pia" local Maecenas of Valencia, paid the expenses of printing; he paid also for the printing of the 1493 *Istoria de la Passió* by Bernat Fenollar and the 1494 *Hores de la Setmana Sancta*—both in the Valencian tongue, but neither relating to music.

⁸⁷The two copies at the Biblioteca Nacional are listed under call numbers I 1947 and I 1518. This latter copy bears on its first leaf the following notation: *Guillermo Despuyg, familia antigua, y noble de Tortosa*.

⁸⁸Anglés, "La notación musical española de la segunda mitad del siglo XV," *Anuario Musical*, II (1947), 158, note 3. On the flourishing state of music at the court of John II of Aragón (1397–1479; ruled 1458–1479) see *Monumentos de la música española* = *MME*, I, 37.

⁸⁹*La música en Valencia: Diccionario Biográfico y Crítico* (Valencia: Est. tip. Domenech, 1903), 378. The anonymous author of the article on Despuig in the *Diccionario de la música Labor* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1954 [I, 714b]) discounts this evidence.



cause he was only in minor orders, he had been temporarily forced out of his benefice in 1479 by a competitor.

Ars musicorum, printed in Gothic, two columns to the page, and reaching 68 leaves, chooses a more learned audience than any other treatise published in Renaissance Spain, excepting that of Salinas. Proof is found in the fact that the 1495 *Ars musicorum* and the 1577 *De musica libri septem* were the only two published in Latin, while all others are in Spanish. Despuig was not a little proud of his own ability to write correct and elegant Latin. Indeed after the usual compliments to his patron and formal bow to the authority of Boethius he next strikes out against "other theorists" who dare write on music but know so little Latin that they assign *diatessarón*, *diapente*, and *diapason* to the feminine gender. This error in gender is of course exactly the mistake that Ramos de Pareja made repeatedly in his *Musica practica* of 1482.⁹⁰ Since on every disputed point Despuig sides with tradition against Ramos, it seems quite probable that he has the latter in mind when he lashes out against ignorant Latinists: especially if Despuig's manuscript *Enchiridion*, conserved at Bologna, be taken as evidence that he travelled in Italy while the fires lit by his compatriot were still raging at full blast.

COMPOSERS

María del Carmen Gómez Muntané—who in 1977 published her doctoral thesis, *La Música en la Casa Real catalano-aragonesa durante los años 1336–1432*, in two volumes at Barcelona—more recently identified the Augustinian friar of Catalonian origin, Steve de Sort (*ca.* 1340–1407?; born at Sort, a village in the Pyrenees of Lleida) as composer of the Credo *a 3* (triplum, contratenor, tenor) in the so-called Mass of Barcelona (Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 971, no. 3) that appears in more *Ars nova* manuscripts than any other portion of the Ordinary of the Mass. In her article, "Quelques remarques sur le répertoire sacré de l'*Ars nova* provenant de l'ancien royaume d'Aragon," *Acta Musicologica*, LVII/2 (July–December 1985), page 168, she signals eight manuscript sources dating from approximately 1365

(Ivrea, no. 60, identified in this source, *de rege*) to about 1417 (Apt 16bis, no. 46) that contain Fray Steve de Sort's Credo. Its identification *de rege* ("of the king") in Ivrea "suggests that it may have been composed for a monarch, such as Charles V of the Valois dynasty (1364–1380), whose liking it contributed to its wide diffusion." However that may be, the likeliest place where Sort received his musical training, in Gómez Muntané's informed opinion, was Avignon.

After distinguishing himself as a performer on the exaquier, rote, harp, and organ, Sort was recommended to Juan I of Aragon (1350–1396) in the most enthusiastic terms by Juan I's ambassador at Avignon, in a letter dated September 16, 1394 (transcribed by Gómez Muntané from Archives of the House of Aragon, reg. 1966, fol. 160–160v in "Quelques remarques," 167). Juan I, who hired him as his royal chapel organist October 18, 1394, died in May 1396. His brother, Martin I, who succeeded him, retained Fray Steve de Sort (as well as hiring the composer Gacian Reyneau, who resided at the Aragonese Court from February 17, 1397 to 1429). On March 26, 1407, Fray Steve de Sort resigned his post as Aragonese royal chapel organist into the hands of his pupil, Anthoni Sánchez.

Gómez Muntané considers the so-called Mass of Barcelona to be a compilation (assembled between 1395 and 1410) of five disparate Ordinary of the Mass movements, drawn from various sources. She prefers believing that the Mass of Toulouse (copied in Bibliothèque Municipale, 94)—which likewise contains Sort's Credo—was its original habitat. The *Missa generalis Sancti Augustini* at folio 327 in Toulouse 94 may mean that this missal containing Sort's Credo originated in the Toulouse monastery of the Augustinian order to which Sort belonged. In any event, its presence in Ivrea (Biblioteca Capitolare) dates Sort's Credo as a youthful work. Even earlier than the Ivrea copy may be the incomplete copy found by her at Solsona (Archivo Diocesano, Ms. frag. 109) in a notarial binding.

Hanna Harder published the Toulouse version of Sort's Credo in "Die Messe von Toulouse," *Musica Disciplina*, VII (1953), 125–128. With kind editorial permission, her 1953 MD transcription is reproduced below (pages 39–42). Leo Schrade, who published his heavily accidentalized transcription in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, I (Monaco:

⁹⁰Wolf ed., 8, 49–50, 100–101.