



## Iberian Musical Outreach Before Encounter with the New World

### OUTREACH BEFORE AND AFTER 1492

**D**URING THE SIXTEENTH and seventeenth centuries, Spanish and Portuguese musical instruments, concepts, usages, and compositions penetrated everywhere in the New World that explorers and missionaries trod the soil. Not only did Cuzco Cathedral obtain Cristóbal de Morales's printed masses as early as 1553 (the year of his death) and did strains of his funerary music resound through the largest church in Mexico City during the commemoration November 30 and December 1, 1559, of Charles V's death (Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Tymvlo imperial* [Mexico City: Antonio de Espinosa, 1560], fols. 23v-26), but also works by Pedro de Escobar, Francisco de Peñalosa, Martín de Rivafranca, Mateo Flecha the Elder, Juan Vásquez, and many other European celebrities became prized possessions of sixteenth-century Indian villagers in hamlets so remote from political capitals as San Juan Ixcoi, San Miguel Acatán, San Mateo Ixtatán, and Santa Eulalia in northwestern Guatemala. An Indiana University 1985 Ph.D. dissertation by Paul Borg, "The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library," inventories and annotates the polyphonic riches circulating in these villages (news of these riches was first advertised in Robert Stevenson's "European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala," *Musical Quarterly*, L/3 [July 1964], 341-352).

So far as Spanish composers with superior educational background are concerned: Hernando Franco,

trained in Segovia Cathedral, emigrated to Guatemala around 1560, and thereafter to Mexico City, where during his decade as director of cathedral music, 1575-1585, he was authoritatively reported to Philip II as being the equal of the best *maestros de capilla* in Spain (*Inter-American Music Review*, 1/2 [Spring-Summer 1979], 154). While Hernando Franco served Mexico City cathedral, equally well-prepared Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo emigrated to South America. There he successively served Bogotá (1584-1586), Quito (1588), Cuzco (1591-1597), and La Plata [= Sucre] (1597-1620) cathedrals as music director.

Data concerning the transplanting to the New World of peninsular instrumental music and musicians are similarly rife. Not only did Juan Bermudo in his *Declaración de instrumentos* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1555) publish for the specific use of New World organists, the first organ music printed in Spain (Robert Stevenson, *Juan Bermudo* [The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960], 77) but also so excellent an organist of Portuguese birth as Manuel Rodrigues, brother of Gregorio Silvestre, emigrated first to Santo Domingo, then to Puebla and Mexico City, where he was cathedral organist from January 1567 to his death in 1594 or 1595 (*Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* [University of California Press, 1968], 199).

Moreover, beyond music and musicians themselves, instruments introduced by early Spanish and Portuguese immigrants won the immediate and lengthy loyalty of New World indigenes. So lasting



hold on the affections of one group of indigenes did a now antiquated instrument such as the *rabel* gain, that in 1986 Gerardo V. Huseby, president of the Asociación Argentina de Musicología, in cooperation with Irma Ruiz, could publish an article entitled "El rabel *mbiá*," *Temas de Etnomusicología*, 2 (Instituto Nacional de Musicología "Carlos Vega"), 68-97. In it, they showed that: "mbiá communities in the province of Misiones (Argentina) currently play a three-stringed bowed chordophone that these *guarani* indigenes call in their own language *ravé*" (= *rabel* [Sp.])—their *ravé* being a survival of the European *rebec*.

The overwhelming and lasting influence of instruments, concepts, usages, and compositions brought to the Americas from Spain and Portugal during the earliest centuries of New World contact has now indeed become so much a universally accepted truism that the Columbus Quincentennial is being anticipated March 10-13, 1988, by the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D.C., with a conference dedicated to the theme "Musical repercussions of 1492." During this conference, papers subsequently to be published by the Smithsonian Institution Press (after being edited by Carol Robertson and staff of the Smithsonian Press) will focus on topics such as "Music of Christian Courts in Spain in 1492" (Alejandro Planchart), "Musical Exploration and Innovations in Europe, 15th and 16th centuries" (Leo Treitler), "Impact of Spanish Musical Diversity on the Americas" (Samuel Claro-Valdés), and "Andean Cofradías" (Ercilla Moreno Chá).

However, the purpose of the present article is to go back still further in time. Valuable as are the insights to be gained from the Smithsonian conference dealing with "Musical repercussions of 1492," what about preceding centuries? Much less discussed (and much less recognized) than the outreach of Spanish and Portuguese music and musicians during the quarter millenium after first New World encounters, is the impact that peninsular music and musicians had outside the Iberian peninsula during the quarter millenium preceding first New World contacts.

The substance of what follows was discussed at Salamanca October 1, 1985, during the Año Europeo de la Música celebration. The important fresh information then for the first time brought forward included: (1) news that after being rescued from near disaster during his visit to Spain in 1248, Franciscan minister general John of Parma instituted through-

out Franciscan houses a special act of thanksgiving; (2) confirmation that Juan Gil of Zamora was commissioned to write his influential treatise, *Ars musica*, by John of Parma before 1257 (rather than by another Franciscan minister general after 1296); (3) identification of the Petrus Hispanus who, according to Claude Palisca (in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [1980], xviii, 752a), provided Ugolino of Orvieto with some of the "many new insights" in Ugolino's *Declaratio musice discipline* (ca. 1430) as having been Lisbon-born John XXI, elected Pope September 15, 1276; (4) news that Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja corresponded with the only other Spanish-born theorist who published his writings in Latin during the fifteenth century, Guillermo Despuig = Guillelmus de Podio; (5) news of the musical sensation created at Paris by Fernando of Córdoba during his visit there in December of 1445; (6) news of Johannes Cornago's having obtained a bachelor's degree from the University of Paris in 1449; and (7) of Pope Callistus III's having on April 20, 1455, confirmed Cornago's exemption from his Franciscan vow of poverty by a papal bull drafted June 19, 1453.

Fortunately, the Salamanca congress was by no means the sole forum in 1985 for the announcement of new findings relevant to our topic. That year Standley Howell published in the *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* the first comprehensive analysis of what Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja had to say concerning instruments (pitches and tunings). Along the way, he restored to Ramos the distinction of having been the first to mention the "short octave" on keyboard instruments.

In 1985, during the same Año Europeo de la Música, Allan W. Atlas published his extremely valuable *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, xix + 260 pp.). Relevant new data in his book included: (1) positive identification of Bernard Icart (= Ycart) as a Spaniard, not a Fleming (he was a native of the diocese of Tortosa); (2) news of Cornago's having been a very well-paid appointee at Alfonso the Magnanimous's court as early as April 6, 1453; (3) news that Pere Oriola's (= Orihuela's) period of Aragonese court service extending from as early as November 21, 1441, to October 26, 1470, and possibly later, "is approximately twice as long as that of any other composer" active at the Aragonese court in fifteenth-century Naples.



The publication in 1984 of the "complete works" of Cornago (edited by Rebecca L. Gerber for A-R Editions at Madison, Wisconsin) made at last available so crucial a work as Cornago's *Missa de la mappamundi* (Trent 88, fols. 276v-284). Icart's *Magnificat Toni sexti* and a textless piece by Oriola (Perugia 431, fols. 76v-77) were published in Atlas's musical appendix. Thanks to these welcome additions to the published repertory of music by fifteenth-century Spaniards who resided in Italy, what follows below crucially expands the article published with the title "Spanish Musical Impact Beyond the Pyrenees, 1250-1500" in the proceedings of the 1985 Salamanca Año Europeo de la Música Congress (*España en la Música de Occidente. Actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en Salamanca 29 de octubre-5 de noviembre de 1985 "Año Europeo de la Música,"* ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, and José López-Calo [Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, Ministerio de Cultura, Plaza del Rey, 1, 28004 Madrid, 1987], I, 115-164).

as well as Persian, Greek, and Byzantine musicians who came to Spain during the Middle Ages.

Ten years later, Anglés in *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María, del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, III, segunda parte (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1958), 455-456, listed among instruments shown in the miniatures that accompany Escorial *sign. j.b.2: rebāb* (Cantiga 110), *guitarra morisca* (Cantigas 150 and 20), *añafil* > *nafir* ("long, straight trumpet with cylindrical bore") (Cantiga 320), *axabeba* > *shab-bāba* ("end-blown transverse flute, seven or eight fingerholes") (Cantiga 240), and *albugue* > *al-būq* = *aulos* (Cantiga 220). Continuing in the same vein, Anglés confirmed what other prior scholars had observed: namely, that at the court of Alfonso X (ruled 1252-1284) Arabian musicians outnumbered Christian and Jewish musicians.

In 1231—shortly before the fall of Seville November 2, 1248, to Ferdinand III (Alfonso X's father)—the Sevillian al Shaqandī enumerated among twenty instruments in common use there the *'ūd* = lute, *kaithāra* = guitar, and *rabāb* = rebec.<sup>1</sup>

## INSTRUMENTS

Spain's musical outreach during the later Middle Ages can be documented in three realms: (1) the organological, (2) the theoretical, and (3) the compositional.

In *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London: William Reeves, 1930) and in his article "Moorish Music," *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th edition (1954), v, 872-873, Henry George Farmer bolstered the long held tenet "that it was chiefly on the instrumental side that Europe benefited by the Moorish cultural impact." Although Higinio Anglés countered Farmer's exaggerated claims for other types of Moorish musical influence, Anglés did agree with general opinion on the matter of instruments. He summarized his views in his closing address to the Eighth Plenary Session of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Publishing his address with the title *Gloriosa Contribución de España a la Historia de la Música Universal* (Madrid: CSIC, 1948), he decreed (at page 49):

The Arabian influence on Spanish music has been much exaggerated. Nonetheless it cannot be denied that certain instruments were introduced to the rest of Europe from Spain, where they had been brought by Arabs as

<sup>1</sup>Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari [d 1632], *The History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain*, transl. by Pascual de Gayangos (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840), I, 59. Corrections by H. G. Farmer in *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed., v, 872 b.

So far as the qualities of Moorish instruments are concerned: Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita (?1283-?1351), called the *rabé*, with its high note, a piercing instrument ("El *rabé* gritador con la nota alta," *Libro de buen amor* [1330/1343], verse 1229a). According to Juan del Encina (1469-?1529), the *rabé* was by no means an instrument with which to woo his lady love ("E tú, mi *rabé*, pues nunca podiste / Un punto mover aquella enemiga," *Cancionero* [1496], 219).

Nonetheless, numerous late medieval writers give lists proving that by their time instruments brought in by the Moors had become as much the property of Spanish commonfolk as those known before the Moorish invasion. The following five citations can be dated in chronological order: 1348, 1438, 1445, 1482, and 1514: (1) "La viuuela tanniendo / El *rabé* con el salterio," *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* [*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LVII], estrofa 407; (2) "los estrumentos, laudes, guitarras, farpas [= harpas] . . . *rabé*," Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Arcipreste de Talavera, *El Corvacho*, ed. C. Pérez Pastor [*Biblioteca Española*, xxxv, 1901], 94; (3) "Laud, rrabé nin vyhuela," *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, ed. P. J. Pidal [1851], 158; (4) "mas lleua tú el caramiello / los albugues y el *rabé*," Iñigo de Mendoza, *Vita Christi fecho por coplas* [*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XIX], 20a; (5) "Ya no quiero churumbella, los albugues ni el *rabé*," Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y églogas*, facs. ed. [1929], fol. C recto, lines 61-62.

According to Lois Ibsen al Faruqi, *An Annotated Glossary of Arabic Musical Terms* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981), 377, the *ūd* remains “unfretted today, and probably always was.” With a separately constructed neck, the four-string *ūd* reached Spain in the eighth century. Ziryāb (*d* at Córdoba, Spain, ca. 850) reputedly added a fifth course.

In Spain the *kaithāra* (al Faruqi, 265, lists thirteen variant transliterated spellings) was “from the tenth century a flat-chested [plucked] instrument, with four strings, two of silk and two of metal.”

The *rabāb* (= *rebāb*, *rbāb*, *rebeb*, *rebāb*, *rebec* [al Faruqi, 271]) was a “bowed unfretted chordophone” that by 950 “could have one, two, or four strings.” Tunings varied. “If four strings were used, they were tuned in pairs a fourth apart; with instruments of two strings, the most usual tuning put the strings a minor third apart.”

Two years after the fall of Granada, Fray Vicente de Burgos paid tribute to the *laud* as an instrument of “Egyptian origin” transmitted by the Moors. In *El libro de las propiedades de las cosas trasladado de latín en romançe* (Toulouse: Heinrich Meyer, 1494), Fray Vicente exceeded the translator’s role when he called the lute “an Egyptian instrument imported into Spain at the time of the Moslem invasion.” From Fray Vicente to *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (London: Macmillan, 1984), II, 554, all lexicographers have agreed that the “Arab lute was introduced into Europe by the Moors during the conquest and occupation of Spain.”

As for al Shaqandī’s *kaithāra*<sup>2</sup> = guitar, James Tyler begins *The Early Guitar, A History and Handbook* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 15, with the flat assertion: “Writers, early and modern, unanimously agree that the guitar originated in the Iberian peninsula.” Even guitar tablature was a Moorish invention, according to *Ars de pulsatione lambuti*, a 1496/1497 manuscript in a Gerona *convento* first published in Jaime Villanueva’s *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, XIV [Gerona] (Madrid: Imp. de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1850), 176–178.

Among more recent authors in the peninsula who have studied medieval Spanish and Catalanian

instruments from every vantage point—including literary allusions, iconography, and playing technique—José María Lamaña counts as perhaps the most thorough investigator. Although not himself primarily concerned with transmission of instruments beyond the Pyrenees, his useful bibliography (abounding in relevant references) proceeds in the following chronological order: (1) “Los instrumentos musicales en los últimos tiempos de la dinastía de la Casa de Barcelona,” *Miscellanea Barcinonensia*, XXI and XXII (Barcelona: 1970); (2) “Los instrumentos musicales en la España medieval,” *Miscellanea Barcinonensia*, XXXIII and XXXV (Barcelona: 1973); (3) “Los instrumentos musicales en los códices escurialenses,” liner notes for *Las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X el Sabio*, an album in the series *Monumentos históricos de la Música española* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1979); and (4) “Els instruments musicals en un tríptic aragonès de l’any 1390,” *Recerca musicològica*, I (Barcelona: Institut de Musicologia “Josep Ricart i Matas,” 1981), 11–71.

The latter article is adorned with excellent reproductions of instruments—especially those pictured in a triptych that can be precisely dated 1390. The triptych, painted for the Cistercian monastery of Piedra (SW of Calatayud), possibly by Jewish Guillem Leví (*fl.* 1378–1407), is now preserved at the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Figures 7 (*medio canón*), 8 (*laúd*), 9 (*rabāb* = *rabé morisco* = Moorish rebec), 10 (*sinfonía*), and 11 (*mandora*), accompanying this 1981 article, rank among the clearest and most detailed presently available of medieval Spanish instruments; and are especially valuable because the angels playing these stringed instruments show exactly how they were held, which instruments were bowed, which plucked. Figures 5 and 6 show the bowed *vihuela* and double harp being played by other angels portrayed in the same triptych. Figure 12 (detail from a retablo painted about 1370, Pollensa, Mallorca) shows angels playing the *axabeba* (transverse flute) and *rabé morisco*. Figure 14, from a ca. 1375 retablo attributed to Lorenzo of Saragossa (*b ca.* 1340), shows an angel playing a *vinhuela de arco*.

The table of Catalanian, Castilian, and French medieval names for instruments at pages 53–55 of Lamaña’s 1981 article itemizes 57 instruments that were played in both Spain and France before 1400. Nor does Lamaña remain content with mere chrono-

<sup>2</sup>H. G. Farmer, “The Music of Islam,” *New Oxford History of Music*, I (1957), 446: “From the tenth century the *kaitāra* was used in Muslim Spain, perhaps a borrowing from the Mozárabes.”



small portable  
organ

small  
bowed vihuela



small double  
harp

medio canón  
(psaltery)

logical generalizations. At his page 51 he assigns to the ninth and tenth centuries the diffusion of the rabāb = rabé morisco and mandora within the Spanish peninsula. But he delays the spread of lutes and guitars throughout the rest of Europe until the fourteenth century.

### Performance Methods and Performers

The bowed boat-shaped rabāb pictured in the miniature accompanying Cantiga 110 in Escorial *sign j.b.2*<sup>3</sup> has two strings. Two players sit side by side bowing it. On the other hand, a bowed instrument shaped more like a modern viola was during the thirteenth century played standing up—according to pictorial evidence in the Portuguese *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (three miniatures are reproduced in Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos*

<sup>3</sup>Higinio Anglés, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María, del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, III, segunda parte (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1958), p. 455.

*musicais populares portuguesas* [Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Guibenkian, 1966], plates 179, 180, 181). In one of the three Ajuda miniatures, the bowing player is accompanied by a harpist sitting at his left side. On his right sits the troubadour who wrote the song. In another Ajuda miniature (*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* = MGG, x, 1484 = Veiga, plate 180) the player of the bowed viola-like instrument is accompanied by a tambourine. (The words *tambourine*, *tambourin*, and *tambour* all derive through French and Provençal from the Arabian *ṭanbūr*.)

Jerome of Moravia—a Dominican friar who wrote his treatise at Paris sometime between 1272 and 1304—described a thirteenth-century offshoot of the rabāb, the *rubeba*, as a “musical instrument having only two strings standing a fifth apart, played with a bow, just as the viella.”<sup>4</sup> On the authority of

<sup>4</sup>Christopher Page, “Jerome of Moravia on the *Rubeba* and *Viella*,” *Galpin Society Journal*, xxxii (May 1979), 89.



laúd  
(lute)

rabāb = rabé  
morisco (Moorish rebec)



sinfonia  
(organistrum)

mandora

book 4 in Tinctoris's *De Inventione et Usu Musicae* printed at Naples ca. 1487, and reprinted in Karl Weinmann's *Johannes Tinctoris (1445-1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat* (Regensburg; Heinrich Schiele, 1917), 42, "the *guiterra* or *ghiterne* was invented by the Catalans."<sup>5</sup> Obviously, this plucked instrument was no favorite of Tinctoris. He claims that "the *ghiterra* is used only rarely because of the thinness of its sound; when I heard it in Catalonia, it was being used much more often by women, to accompany lovesongs, than by men."<sup>6</sup>

Tinctoris's favorite instrument was the bowed rebec. However, despite his disliking the *ghiterra* =

*gitarra*, invented by the Catalonians and plucked mostly by women, it did continue having its partisans. Shaped like the mandora,<sup>7</sup> it boasted four courses tuned fourth-third-fourth. Already by the time of Chaucer (1343-1400), who called it the *giterne*,<sup>8</sup> it had circulated far beyond the borders of Catalonia. Henry VIII's 1549 inventory of instruments itemizes "Foure Gitterons with cases to them; they are called Spanishe Vialles." Charles V in 1530 employed a *Gyterneur suivant la mode espagnole*.<sup>9</sup>

Apart from Moorish and Catalonian instruments that were transmitted beyond the Pyrenees, Spanish

<sup>5</sup>Anthony Baines translated the relevant Latin in "Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*," *Galpin Society Journal*, III (March 1950), 23: "Quinetiam instrumentum illud a Catalanis inventum: quod ab aliis *ghiterra*: ab aliis *ghiterna* vocatur."

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 25: "Ghiterre autem usus: propter tenuem ejus sonum: rarissimus est. Ad eamque multo sepius Catalanas mulieres carmina quaedam amatoriam audiui concinere: quam viros quicquam ea personare."

<sup>7</sup>Laurence Wright, "The Medieval Gittern and Citole: A case of mistaken identity," *Galpin Society Journal*, xxx (May 1977), 18; "The conclusion which must be drawn from the pictorial and literary evidence is that in the period down to the early 16th century the instrument known as the gittern had the outward form of a mandora."

<sup>8</sup>Clare C. Olson, "Chaucer and the Music of the Fourteenth century," *Speculum*, xvi (1941), 91.

<sup>9</sup>Wright, p. 19, quoting Edmond vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, II, 372.



axabebe (transverse flute) and rabé morisco



vihuela de arco (bowed viol)

virtuoso performers on various idiomatically Spanish instruments carried the art of playing them abroad. In 1375 and again in 1378 Henry II of Castile (reigned 1369–1379) sent minstrels to Bruges, where they entertained Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419, A Documentary History* (Henryville/Ottawa/Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), 182–183, copied the pay vouchers dated at Bruges April 13, 1375. He found these in the Archives départementales de la Côte-d’Or (B1444, fol. 78v) at Dijon and transcribed the pertinent lines thus: *A menestriers qui avoient chanté devant monseigneur à Bruges pour don fait á eulx, VI frans . . . Aus menestriers du Roy Henry d’Espaignne pour semblable, XX franz* (“To the minstrels who sang before my Lord at Bruges, as a gift to them, vi francs . . . To the minstrels of King Henry of Spain, for the same, xx francs”). Wright also documented Philip the Bold’s gifts to minstrels sent by Peter IV of Aragon in 1368 and 1371 and by his son, the future Juan I, in 1373.

According to Higinio Anglés’s already cited *Gloriosa Contribución* (1948), 38: *los músicos instrumentistas de la corte del rey Pedro IV (III) y Juan I procedían de Alemania, Flandes, Francia e incluso de Italia e Inglaterra* (“The instrumentalists at the court of Peter IV and of John I came from Germany, Flanders, France, and also Italy and England”). However, Wright’s archival discoveries at Dijon prove that in 1948 Anglés made too broad a generalization. Two decades later, in his posthumous *Historia de la música medieval en Navarra* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1970), 349, Anglés himself recorded the names of two jongleurs in the service of Henry = Enrique II of Castile’s half-brother Peter the Cruel, who preceded him on the throne (reigned 1350–1369)—Sancho Lópiz and Anton Fernández. On January 6, 1361, and again on January 8, 1362, both Lópiz and Fernández received substantial money gifts for performances at Tudela (50 mi = 80 km south of Pamplona). Anglés was again himself the first to concede that Isabel of Portugal’s marriage to Philip the Good of Burgundy



resulted in an important influx of Iberian performers to Flanders after 1430 (see below, pages 95–96).

Italy benefited especially from an influx of Iberians during the reign of Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396–1458), ruler of Sicily from 1416 and of Naples from its capture June 6, 1442—as Anglés documented on more than one occasion. In “La música en la Corte real de Aragón y de Nápoles durante el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo,” (*Scripta Musicologica*, II [Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1975], 978), Anglés published Alfonso V’s letter dated at Naples August 26, 1421, appointing his court instrumentalist Rodrigo de la guitarra *Cònsol dels castellans de la ciutat de Palerm* (Castilian consul at Palermo, with the right to collect imposts from Castilian vessels touching that Sicilian port).

Rodrigo, identified also as a lute virtuoso in Alfonso V’s payment vouchers, was but one among fifteen instrumentalists in Alfonso’s employ at the time of his first Sicilian expedition (1420–1423) (*Scripta*, II, 971). Among other distinctions, Rodrigo de la guitarra may well be the earliest Castilian composer represented by an extant work in an Italian fifteenth-century manuscript. A two-voice ballade at folio 48v in Chantilly manuscript, Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047) ascribed to “S. Uciredor”—an obvious inversion of Rodericus—is discussed below and shown in transcription at pages 43 and 46–50.

Alfonso V’s other instrumentalists included at least one Black African drummer. On August 18, 1416, Alfonso wrote a letter from Barcelona to his frontier guards directing them to capture and place in the custody of the Abbot of Poblet a fugitive Black drummer named Anthoni, who had served Alfonso’s father, Ferdinand I (“sia fugit un sclau negre, appellat Anthoni, qui solia esser tabaler del dit senyor” [*Scripta*, II, 930]). As data for Black music history, the name of a drummer active at the Aragonese court as early as 1416 should stimulate further search for other Black musicians in fifteenth-century Spanish documents.

During the reign from 1458 to 1494 of Alfonso V’s illegitimate son, Don Ferrante (1423–1494), the Neapolitan court boasted as one of its bright ornaments the clavichordist Lorenzo of Córdoba = Laurentius Cordubensis. On May 24, 1476, Lorenzo received 96 ducats from the royal treasury at Naples for musical services (*Musica e Cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo* [1983], 56–57). On March 9, 1484,

Don Ferrante recommended him to Lorenzo de’ Medici as “peritissimo in musica” (*Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, n.s., xxvi [1940], 333). In Book 2 of *De cardinalatu liber tres* (Castel Cortesiano, 1510), fol. lxxx, Paolo Cortese (1465–1510; appointed *scriptor apostolicus* in 1481; served as papal secretary from 1498 to 1503) identified Lorenzo of Córdoba as the most renowned player alive of the *gravecordium* = clavichord. According to Cortese, Lorenzo of Córdoba particularly excelled in *facilitas interpuncta*—a phrase translated by Nino Pirrotta in “Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xix/2 (Summer 1966), 153, to mean “precise agility” (but which might also mean “interpolated runs”).

## THEORISTS

Spanish musical impact on the rest of medieval Europe can be documented not only in the realm of instruments and instrumentalists. Also, peninsular musical influence continued until at least 1586 making itself strongly felt on the many writers who quoted Isidore of Seville (ca. 570–636), or built on him. In England, even after Reform, Isidore continued being cited as a prime authority in such a book as John Case’s *The Praise of Musicke*—the earliest Oxford imprint (1586) to deal specifically with music. This book, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, was written by a fellow of St. John’s College who was simultaneously canon of Salisbury. Case cites Isidore first among the church fathers in his central chapter: “The necessitie of Musicke.” His Isidorean catena links passages from both the *Etymologiae* and the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.

The custome of singing in the church, was instituted for the carnall, not the spirituall, that they whome the wordes do not pierce might be moued with sweetness of the note [*The Praise of Musicke*, p. 70] . . . Of the auncient custome of singers in the old church of the Jewes, the primitiue church tooke example, to noorish singers, by whose songs the minds of the hearers might be stirred up to god [p. 93] . . . Isidorus Archbishop of Hispalis in Spaine . . . maketh a difference betweene Anthems and Responsories . . . Responsories hee sheweth . . . were used in the Churches of Italy, and were so called because when one sang, the quiere answered him singing also [p. 108].



At the end, as at the beginning, Case appeals to one authority: "For conclusion of this point, my last proof shall be out of Isidore" (p. 116).

Twelfth- and thirteenth-century theorists in the Low Countries, France, and England who quoted Isidore at lesser or greater length ranged from John of Affligem (*fl* 1110–1121) to Jerome of Moravia (*fl* 1272–1304) to Walter Odington (*fl* 1298–1316).<sup>10</sup> In Heinrich Hüschen's dense ten-page article—"Der Einfluss Isidors von Sevilla auf die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters," *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958–1961), I, 397–406—Hüschen studied in much greater detail than is here appropriate, Isidore's influence on some dozen other medieval theorists.

As Hüschen furthermore demonstrated, Isidore remained consistently a favorite authority among medieval encyclopedists who included chapters on music. Vincent of Beauvais (*b ca.* 1194; *d* 1264) relied on only two mainstays for the 26 chapters in his *Speculum doctrinale*, book xvii, 10–35, that deal with music. Chapters 11 (lines 4–20), 31 (2–5, 20–24), 32 (2–30), 33 (1–20), and 34 (1–24), copy Isidore outright.<sup>11</sup> Boethius served as Vincent's other chief authority. In chapters 10 and 15 he quotes from al Fārābī's *De scientiis*, in chapter 10 and 17 from Richard of St. Victor's *Liber excerptionum allegoricarum*, and in chapter 25 from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. But these latter three cited authorities pale in comparison with Boethius and Isidore.

Equally reliant on Isidore—directly or indirectly—for the musical information found in another thirteenth-century encyclopedia was the English Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus. His *De proprietatibus rebus* (mid-thirteenth century) immediately took first rank among late medieval encyclopedias. As proof of its popularity, it was

translated into six languages before 1400 (French, English, Spanish, Dutch, Provençal, and Italian) and appeared in at least fifteen printed editions before 1500.

Gerald E. Se Boyar, who exhaustively studied sources in "Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his encyclopedia," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xix/2 (1920), 168–189, counted approximately 660 chapters in which Isidore served as Bartholomaeus's source. Aristotle—known to Bartholomaeus solely in translations from the Arabic—came in as his distant second most quoted non-Biblical authority. According to Se Boyar, the lists of quoted authorities prefacing printed editions of Bartholomaeus's encyclopedia are never accurate or complete.

Music comes last in printed editions. As an example, *musica que modulationis in sono et in cantu est pericia* occupies Book xix, chapters 132–146, in the edition printed at Nuremberg by Anton Koburger in 1483.

#### Juan Gil de Zamora = Johannes Aegidius Zamorensis

Hermann Müller revealed, in "Der Musiktraktat in dem Werke des Bartholomaeus Anglicus *De proprietatibus rerum*," *Riemann-Festschrift* (1909), 244, that what Bartholomaeus quoted from Isidore contains insertions that exactly agree with insertions into Isidore's text made by the Spanish thirteenth-century Franciscan Johannes Aegidius Zamorensis = Juan Gil de Zamora. To cite insertions into Isidore that are common to both Aegidius and Bartholomaeus:

Because of the abuse of other instruments by theatrical performers, the church uses only this instrument [the organ] in proses, sequences, and chants.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>*De proprietatibus rerum* (Nuremberg, 1483), Liber xix, capitulum cxxxii: "Et hoc solo musico instrumento utitur iam ecclesia in prosis, in sequentijs et hymnis. propter abusum histrionum eiectis alijs instrumentis." How exactly this insertion into Isidore's Etymologies, bk. iii, ch. 20.2 agrees with the insertion made at the same spot in Juan Gil de Zamora's *Ars Musica*, ed. Michel Robert-Tissot (*Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 20) (American Institute of Musicology, 1974), p. 108, can also be seen in Martin Gerbert's edition of Juan Gil's *Ars Musica* (*Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica*, II, 388b): "Et hoc solo musico instrumento utitur ecclesia in diversis cantibus, & in prosis, in sequentijs, & in hymnis, propter abusum histrionum, eiectis alijs communiter instrumentis."

<sup>10</sup>Johannes Affligemensis, *De Musica cum Tonario* (*Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*) [CSM], I (1950), 161; Jerome of Moravia = *Hieronymus de Moravia O.P.: Tractatus de Musica*, ed. Simon M. Cserba (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1935), pp. 6, 9, 11–12, 16–22, 26, 41; Walter Odington: *Summa de speculatione musicae* [CSM, xiv] (1970), 46–47, 60–63, 71.

<sup>11</sup>Gottfried Göller, *Vincenz von Beauvais O.P. (um 1194–1264) und sein Musiktraktat im Speculum Doctrinale* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1959), pp. 86–118, republished Vincent's chapters on music. Göller's footnotes identify the sources of Vincent's borrowings. Isidore's Etymologies, book III, chapters 15–22, provided material copied verbatim by Vincent.



The Hebrews used an instrument made of animal horn, especially at calends, in memory of Isaac's deliverance when a ram was sacrificed in his stead. Thus says the commentary on Genesis.<sup>13</sup>

The tibia [= pipe or flute] was formerly an instrument of mourning played at exequies. Thus attests the commentary on Matthew 9, [23]: "And when he saw the flute players" (that is to say, the musicians performing a funeral dirge, [he said, "Depart"]).<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, the word symphony also designates "concordant union of sounds," just as the word chorus designates "concordant union of voices." Thus states the commentary on Luke 15,25 ("as he came and drew near to the house [he heard music]").<sup>15</sup>

The tympanum [= side drum] makes sweeter melody if played together with a flute.<sup>16</sup>

The best small strings of the psaltery are made of latten, or even of silver.<sup>17</sup>

The insertions and rearrangements common to both Aegidius = Gil of Zamora and Bartholomaeus raise the question: did Bartholomaeus appropriate Juan Gil de Zamora's insertions, or vice versa?

Juan Gil of Zamora dedicated his *Ars Musica* to "Brother John," whom he identifies as Franciscan minister-general. The John in question had commissioned him to write "a succinct and easily understood introduction to music—omitting already familiar musical examples."<sup>18</sup> Two ministers-general

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Etymologies, bk. III, ch. 20.4 with Gil of Zamora, *CSM*, 20, p. 112, and *Riemann-Festschrift*, p. 249 (capitulum 134). Robert-Tissot, identified the ninth-century German exegete and theologian, Walafrid Strabo (*d* Reichenau, 849) as author of the *Glossa ordinaria* (J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, cXIII–cXIV) quoted in this and other insertions into Isidore's text.

<sup>14</sup>Same set of references. Commenting on Matt. 9.23 ("et vidisset tibicines") Walafrid Strabo wrote (*Patrologia latina*, cXIV, 118, vs. 23): "Tibicines sunt carmen lugubre canentes."

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Etymologies, bk. III, ch. 21.14 with *CSM*, 20, p. 114, and *Riemann-Festschrift*, p. 251. Walafrid Strabo (*PL*, cXIV, 314, vs. 25) gave Luke's language, "audivit symphoniam, et chorum" an allegorical meaning.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Etymologies, bk. III, ch. 21.10 with *CSM*, 20, p. 116, and *Riemann-Festschrift*, p. 252 (Bartholomaeus follows Gil of Zamora's rearrangement of the order in which Isidore listed instruments).

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Etymologies, bk. III, ch. 21.7 with *CSM*, 20, p. 118 ("Fiunt autem optimae eius chordulae de aurichalco et etiam de argento"), and *Riemann-Festschrift*, p. 253 ("Fiunt autem optime eius chordulae de aurichalco et etiam de argento"). Müller consulted Strassburg 1491 and Nuremberg 1492 editions of *De proprietatibus rerum* for his text.

<sup>18</sup>Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores*, II, 370 (= *CSM*, 20, p. 30): "Reverendo & in bono Iesu patri sibi carissimo domino &

named John governed the Franciscans between 1250 and 1300: Giovanni Buralli of Parma,<sup>19</sup> later declared Blessed (ruled 1247–1257), and Giovanni Mincio de Murrovalle (ruled<sup>20</sup> 1296–1304), whom Boniface VIII created cardinal December 15, 1302.

Giambattista Martini identified Juan Gil of Zamora's dedicatee as John of Parma.<sup>21</sup> Such an identification would, of course, date the commissioning of *Ars Musica* no later than 1257. Aged perhaps 25 when he wrote it, Juan Gil would then have been born not much later than 1230. Like another foreign student at the University of Paris, Alexander of Hales (*ca.* 1186–1245; became a Franciscan in 1222), who went to Paris when about fifteen years old, Gil of Zamora may also have begun his studies at Paris, aged about fifteen (*ca.* 1245). If born in 1230, Gil, on returning from Paris, could well have been a secretary to Ferdinand III (*d* 1252)—as he was reported to have been in Gil González Dávila's *Teatro eclesiástico de las iglesias*

amico, domino fratri Iohanni, ordinis fratrum Minorum generali ministro: suus frater Iohannes Aegidius, lector insufficiens Zamorensis, quidquid obedientiae, reverentiae ac honoris, salutis & pacis, commodi & amoris. Musicam absque demonstrationibus, quas melius novistis, iuxta mandatum vestrum brevius & pueriliter, ut potui, ex dictis philosophorum praesentibus scribo vobis.

Incipit prologus in librum artis musicae, ordinatum a fratre Iohanne Aegidii, doctore Zamorensi, ob reverentiam venerandi patris sui fratris Iohannis Ordinis fratrum Minorum generalis ministri."

<sup>19</sup>Born *ca.* 1209, Giovanni Buralli of Parma died at Camerino (Italy) March 19, 1289. After attending the First Council of Lyons (1245) he studied at Paris. He was elected seventh Franciscan minister-general in July of 1247 and desisted February 2, 1257.

<sup>20</sup>"Chronica xxiv Generalium Ordinis Minorum," *Analecta Franciscana*, III (1897), 432, note 3. His name in his native Italian is Giovanni Mincio de Murrovalle in Piceno, according to this note. Boniface VIII created him cardinal after his executing several effective diplomatic missions. He died at Avignon in 1312.

<sup>21</sup>Martini learned of the existence of Gil's *Ars Musica* from Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia, who wrote him from Rome September 29, 1761, announcing that the manuscript had been found "in the library of the basilica of St. Peter." See *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna* indexed by Anne Schnobelen (New York: Pendragon Press, 1979), p. 586, item 4971. On obtaining a copy (Bologna A 31; *olim* Cod. 51) of the Archives of St. Peter manuscript (Vatican H.29), Martini wrote on the unnumbered flyleaf that Gil had dedicated it to John of Parma (Robert-Tissot, p. 14).



*metropolitanas, y catedrales de los reynos de las dos Castillas*, II (Madrid: F. Martínez, 1647).<sup>22</sup>

According to Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII* (Madrid: Juan Pérez Torres, 1913), 71, and *Itinerario de Alfonso X, rey de Castilla* (Madrid: Tip. de Archivos, 1936), II, 50, Juan Gil of Zamora accompanied the royal court to Seville in 1260. In the dedicatory epistle to his versified *Officium Almi fluae Virginis*, Gil called himself *scriptor suus* (referring to Alfonso X). No later than 1278 Gil of Zamora wrote *De praeconiis Hispaniae*, dedicating it to Alfonso X's son and heir, Sancho IV. In the dedication, Gil again cited himself as *scriptor suus* (secretary to Sancho). In 1282 he finished *De viris illustribus*. According to Jacobo de Castro's *Arbol chronologico de la Santa Provincia de Santiago, Parte Primera* (Salamanca: Francisco García Onorato y San Miguel, 1722), lib. III, cap. 3 (page 102), Gil not only served as Sancho IV's secretary but also as his confessor. According to the same *Arbol*, 71–72, Gil became Vicario Provincial in 1295 and Ministro Provincial of Santiago Province in 1300. Or, at least documentation supporting Gil's having obtained these offices in 1295 and 1300 was seen by Jacobo de Castro in the Archivo de Santa Clara at Allariz (13 mi SE of Orense).

The 1931 edition of Lucas Wadding's classic *Anales Minorum*, VI, 7, does not confirm these provincial offices. Antonio de Melisano's supplement to Wadding does state that in the year 1301 Joannes Aegidius = Gil continued enjoying excellent health. Only later on, in extreme old age, did his memory fail him to the extent that he could not recognize his own writings.

None of these details concerning Juan Gil's life enters *The New Grove*, VI, 67–68. Nor is any of the information to follow concerning John of Parma to be found in Michel Robert-Tissot's edition of Gil's *Ars Musica*:

John of Parma visited Spain in 1248. (Recalled to France in September of that year, he was next sent by Pope Innocent IV as a legate to Constantinople.) While in Spain, he "one stormy evening got lost in

<sup>22</sup>Ursicino Alvarez Martínez: *Historia General, Civil y Eclesiástica de la Provincia de Zamora* (Zamora, 1889), p. 216, follows suit in identifying the youthful Juan Gil as Fernando III's secretary around 1250.

the mountains." Eventually, however, he found his way to a grotto. In thanksgiving, he instituted throughout houses of the Franciscan order "the singing after compline of the first nocturn of Our Lady's Office, which begins with the so-called *Benedicta* antiphon."<sup>23</sup> The first nocturn having been sung, he requested all houses to sing Psalm 66, concluding with a prayer for the safety of prelates.

In 1255 "on the request of singers at Paris," papal permission was granted the Franciscans to sing the Gloria in excelsis and appropriate sequences during votive Masses of the Holy Ghost and of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>24</sup> On the whole, however, John of Parma wished Franciscans to sing only what had been approved by general chapter.<sup>25</sup> His concern with singing, as such, would give ample cause for his commissioning a music manual. His Spanish journey early in his generalate may well have had something to do with his choosing a Spaniard to write a music isagoge.

Countering the supposition that John of Parma commissioned Gil of Zamora's *Ars Musica*, Manuel de Castro y Castro, editor of Gil's *De praeconiis [= praeconiis] Hispanie* (Madrid: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1955), liv, proposed that a certain Johannes Diaconus—who while residing at Madrid in 1266

<sup>23</sup>Damián Cornejo, *Chronica Seraphica . . . Parte Segvnda* (Madrid: Juan García Infançon, 1684), p. 513: "Desde entonces el General despacho patente, para que en todos los días, que se rezasse de feria, después de las Completas, se cantasse en los Conventos el primer Nocturno del Oficio de nuestra Señora, que por la primera Antiphona llamamos la Benedicta: y después se cantasse el Psalmo: *Deus misereatur nobis, & benedicat nobis*, con Oracion, por el acierto, y seguridad de los Prelados. Prevalecio, y prevalece esta loable costumbre en la Orden Seráfica."

<sup>24</sup>*Analecta Franciscana*, III, 279: "Anno vero Domini MCCLV ad supplicationem cantorum Parisiensium dominus Papa concessit fratribus, ut in Missis votivis de sancto Spiritu et de beata Virgine hymnum angelicum et Sequentias competentes tam in solemnibus cantare quam dicere in privatis valeant, non obstante statuto facto Metis in capitulo generali."

<sup>25</sup>At the general chapter meeting in Metz (1249) John of Parma forbade singing or saying anything not approved by general chapter, except the office and psalm after Compline mentioned above in note 23. Cf. *Analecta Franciscana*, III, 275: "Hic Generalis frater Iohannes in capitulo generali Metis celebrato prohibuit, in choro legi vel cantari, quidquid in Ordinario Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae, quod habemus ex regula, non esset contentum vel generale capitulum approbatum, exceptis quibusdam antiphonis beatae Mariae post Completorium decantandis."



wrote a *Vita Sti. Isidori agricolae*<sup>26</sup>—was the same person as Johannes Aegidius Zamorensis. If so, Gil of Zamora (already a lector at Zamora with a doctorate from Paris when he wrote *Ars Musica*) wrote it on the behest of the John who was elected Franciscan minister-general in 1296 and was created a cardinal December 15, 1302. According to Alfonso Chacón's unconfirmed report, Giovanni Mincio de Murrovalle was responsible for Giotto's painting thirty pictures of events in St. Francis's life for Assisi.<sup>27</sup> But he took no documented interest in music, nor did he have any of John of Parma's Spanish connections.

The Jesuit scholar Fidel Fita y Colomé, who published Johannes Diaconus's *Vita Sti. Isidori agricolae* in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, ix (1886), 97-152, accompanied it with an introduction and notes. According to him, a translated version had appeared 264 years earlier with the title *Vida y milagros del glorioso S. Isidro el Labrador, hijo abogado y patrón de la Real Villa de Madrid, por Juan diácono, Arcediano de la misma Villa* (Madrid: Tomás Junti, 1622). The manuscript published by Fita belonged to San Andrés Church, Madrid. In 1261 one of the clergy at San Andrés was a Juan Domínguez. "However, who knows his style of writing or his peculiar talent?" (*mas ¿quién conoce su estilo, ni su peculiar talento?*) asked Fita (*BRAH*, ix, 156). Fita—who had already published excerpts from Juan Gil de Zamora's authentic *Liber Mariae* in *BRAH*, vii (1885), 54-144, giving them the title "Cincuenta leyendas por Gil de Zamora combinadas con las cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio," and who was to follow it with "Treinta leyendas de Gil de Zamora" in *BRAH*, xiii (1888), 187-225—certainly had every right to know Gil de Zamora's Latin style. Moreover, he had during the previous

biennium already edited the following authentic works by Gil de Zamora:

De preconiiis civitatis Numantine, *BRAH*, v (1884), 131-200.

Biografías de San Fernando y de Alfonso el Sabio, *BRAH*, v (1884), 308-328.

Traslación e invención del cuerpo de San Ildefonso, *BRAH*, vi (1885), 60-71.

Poesías inéditas, *BRAH*, vi (1885), 379-409.

Variantes de tres leyendas, *BRAH*, vi (1885), 418-429.

With such lengthy editorial experience, who better than Fita knew Gil of Zamora's Latin style?

In addition, the *Vita Sti. Isidori agricolae* manuscript edited by him in *BRAH*, ix (1886), 97-152, contained six hymns. Opposite page 138, Fita inserted a facsimile of the sixth hymn, *Letificati precio*, to show the musical notation (staffless puncta) that accompanies it. Johannes Diaconus's hymns and their musical notation fattened Fita's maggot that Johannes Diaconus and Johannes Aegidius Zamorensis, writer of an *Ars Musica*, were the same person. However, against such a confusion of the two Johannes's as the same person, Fita himself supplied evidence when he pointed out that at least one miracle recounted in the *Vita Sti. Isidori agricolae* (paragraph 67 of Fita's edition) occurred so late as 1275 (*BRAH*, ix, 157).

Because of such an inconsistency in dates, as well as other inconsistencies, Anglés summarily rejected any notion that the Johannes Diaconus who became *Arcediano* of Madrid was the same person as Johannes Aegidius Zamorensis, Franciscan. Nor did anyone subscribe to Fita's mere guesswork until Castro y Castro. Unfortunately for musical scholarship, Robert-Tissot uncritically parroted Castro y Castro in his now widely distributed edition of Gil de Zamora's *Ars Musica* (*CSM*, 20 [1974]). As a result, historical musicology is presently infected with an error of identification that forces Juan Gil's epoch of studying at the University of Paris to be dated ca. 1272-1273 (Castro y Castro, p. LXIII) and makes *Ars Musica* the swan song of a septuagenarian.

Lucas Wadding had it that Gil of Zamora already belonged to the Franciscan order as early as 1260—by which year he had under way a *Historia naturalis, ecclesiastica et civilis* in six tomes. Gil of Zamora cites as his own this very *Historia naturalis* at the close of the longest chapter in his *Ars Musica*—chapter 2—in which he discusses such topics as bird

<sup>26</sup>Although Anglés was quite well aware that Fidel Fita had proposed Johannes Aegidius Zamorensis as author of the *Vita Sti. Isidori agricolae* in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, ix (1886), 156-157, he rejected the confusion of Johannes Diaconus with Johannes Aegidius Zamorensis out of hand. See *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María*, iii, primera parte, p. 127: "En la corte del rey sabio figuraban dos poetas—Fray Juan Gil de Zamora y Johannes Diaconus."

<sup>27</sup>Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vi (1301-1322) (Quaracchi, 1931), p. 10. However, modern art historians strongly debate whether any of the frescoes in the Upper or Lower Church of San Francisco in Assisi are truly Giotto's.



music and the effect of song on dolphins and on other denizens of the sea. After telling how dolphins kill crocodiles, he adds: "We have sufficiently discussed the nature of these animals in our *Historia naturalis* and in the book describing attributes of certain fish."<sup>28</sup>

Throughout *Ars Musica*, Gil meticulously cited sources, whether his own writings or those of another. As Robert-Tissot himself admitted: "Gil de Zamora almost always cites his sources, the one exception being St. Bernard's Tonary."<sup>29</sup> However, that tonary was no doubt so widely known and used by countless ecclesiastics that there was no need to name it as an authority.<sup>30</sup>

On every count, therefore, John of Parma must resume the honor of having commissioned Gil's *Ars Musica* before 1257; and Bartholomaeus Anglicus, or the writer of the musical appendix to his encyclopedia, must be acknowledged to have copied Gil of Zamora—not vice versa. Bartholomaeus's biography, although not yet securely bounded by dates, does include these facts: after studying at Oxford, he entered the Franciscan order in 1224/1225<sup>30</sup> and lectured at Paris until 1231. In that year his superiors sent him and another English friar to teach at Magdeburg. Book xvii of *De proprietatibus rerum* was still being compiled around 1250.<sup>31</sup> Only in the appendix to Book xix does Bartholomaeus finally reach music (Chapters 132–146). Even granting that Bartholomaeus himself wrote the appendix, nothing prevented the section on music from having been tacked on to Book xix after Gil's *Ars Musica* began circulating through Franciscan circles.<sup>32</sup>

If it now be conceded that Bartholomaeus (or the appendix-writer) did indeed copy his fellow Francis-

<sup>28</sup>Gerbert, II, 376 = CSM, 20, 52: "De quorum natura satis dictum fuit in libro nostro de *Historia naturali*, et in libro de *proprietatibus cuiuslibet piscis in speciali*."

<sup>29</sup>Gerbert, II, 265–277, printed the *Tonale S. Bernardi*. The master's opening replies do duplicate much of what Gil includes in his *Ars Musica*, chapter 10. However, "the so-called *Tonale Sancti Bernardi* and the two chant treatises connected with the reformed antiphoner and gradual are of doubtful authorship," according to *The New Grove* article on Bernard of Clairvaux (II, 619).

<sup>30</sup>Thomas Plassmann: "Bartholomaeus Anglicus," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XII (1919), 96.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 94; 105.

<sup>32</sup>Whether commissioned during the generalate of John of Parma (1247–1257) or that of the later John who became cardi-

can's insertions into their common source Isidore, and not vice versa, then Gil's unacknowledged influence beyond the Pyrenees spread far and wide. In 1398 John of Trevisa translated *De proprietatibus rerum* into English. This translation, annotated by Stephen Batman, was published at London by Wynkyn de Worde ca. 1495. Reputedly the first book printed on English paper, the ca. 1495 imprint was the first in English to give any systematized music information. Not until 1562 was it replaced by an English imprint (Sternhold and Hopkins's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*) containing any musical lore other than Isidore's and Juan Gil's as transmitted by Bartholomaeus.

Nor did the ca. 1495 incunabulum end the Bartholomaeus connection. The translated portion on instruments entered Sir John Hawkins's *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776). In the latest reprint of Hawkins's *General History* (Dover Publications, 1963), the material on instruments (I, 268–270) carries notes separating Stephen Batman's glosses from Bartholomaeus's text.

Not everything that Gil wrote concerning instruments was copied into *De proprietatibus rerum*. What Bartholomaeus omitted were the first three sentences in Gil's chapter 17. The third sentence reads: "The canon, guitar, and rabé were later inventions."<sup>33</sup> Among other specifically Spanish touches in Gil's *Ars Musica*, Karl-Werner Gumpel noted Gil's using the Latin word *regula* to mean a line. In his chapter 6, Gil writes that gamma ut occupies a line, A-re a space, B-mi a line, C-fa-ut a space—always using *regula* as the word for line.<sup>34</sup>

nal in 1302, Gil's *Ars Musica* cannot be dated "about 1270,"—as does Andrew Hughes in his very unsatisfactory article, "Egidius de Zamora," *The New Grove Dictionary* [1980], VI, 67. Almost every sentence in this article can be impugned.

<sup>33</sup>CSM, 20, 108: "Canon et medius canon, et guitarra, et rabe, fuerunt postremo inventa." According to al-Faruqi: "The qanun [= canon] has a history that goes back to at least the tenth century, although it was not generally used until later." A psaltery-type chordophone, it was depicted in the tenth century with ten strings. "By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Spain the instrument had 64 strings" and was "held vertically, one hand carrying it and the other plucking the strings."

<sup>34</sup>Zur Frühgeschichte der vulgärsprachlichen spanischen und katalanischen Musiktheorie," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 24. Band (Münster/Westfalen: Aschen-dorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), 264 (note 33).



Gil also adhered to peculiarly Spanish tradition when discussing mutations in his Chapter 8 (Gümpel, "Zur Frühgeschichte," 269).

The most recent translations (Italian and English) of excerpts from Gil's *Ars Musica* conclude the section of "Lecture" and "Readings" added to Giulio Cattin's *Il Medioevo I* (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1983), 210–213, and *Music of the Middle Ages, I* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 186–189. Unfortunately, however, Cattin falls prey to Robert-Tissot's misdating of Gil's *Ars Musica*.

### *Petrus Hispanus*

According to Claude Palisca (*New Grove Dictionary* [1980], XIII, 572a): "Ugolino of Orvieto, author of the *Declaratio musice discipline* (ca. 1430; CSM, 7) . . . was in step with his age also in reviving the Quadrivial aspect of music, for the Boethian curriculum of arithmetical proportions of intervals and the metaphysics and physics of music are thoroughly explained in the fourth and fifth books, with many new insights drawn from the works of Aristotle and an otherwise unknown author cited as Petrus Hispanus."

Was the "Petrus Hispanus" who provided Ugolino (*b ca.* 1380; *d* Ferrara 1457) with "many new insights" indeed "an otherwise unknown author"? By no means. Born at Lisbon before 1205, the "Petrus Hispanus" quoted by Ugolino was elected pope John XXI September 15, 1276, and died at Viterbo May 20, 1277. Proof that the Petrus Hispanus cited by Ugolino (CSM, 7, III, 91) was no "unknown author" but instead the solitary pope born in Portugal, is easily come by. Ugolino's citation reads thus: *item notandum est pro declaratione quaestionis quod sonus potest consideravit multipliciter, primo pro omni eo quod est obiectum auditus, et isto modo consideravit Petrus Hispanus auctor summularum logicalium cum dixit: Sonus igitur est quicquid proprie auditu percipitur.*

The quotation comes from the second paragraph in the introduction to Tractatus I of Petrus Hispanus's *Summule logicales*, where it reads: "*Sonus igitur est quicquid auditu proprie percipitur.*"<sup>35</sup> The biography of Petrus Hispanus = Pope John XXI,

<sup>35</sup>See *Peter of Spain (Petrus Hispanus Portugalsensis) Tractatus called afterwards Summule logicales*, first critical edition by L. M. de Rijk (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1972), p. 1. The *Summule logicales* were printed at least five times before 1500 and another

as summarized in L. M. de Rijk's critical edition (xli–xlii), includes these data: born at Lisbon before 1205, he was the son of one Julianus; from 1220 to 1229 he studied at the University of Paris; he visited the north of Spain ca. 1231; after a stay at Toulouse and Montpellier, he taught medicine at Siena, Italy, 1245–1250; in 1250 he became Dean of Lisbon and in 1273 was elected Archbishop of Braga; from 1272 to 1276 he was court physician of Pope Gregory X at Viterbo; he attended the General Council at Lyons in 1273–1274.

### *Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja*

If Petrus Hispanus cannot be claimed as a theorist, even though Ugolino drew "many new insights from his works," the next native of the Peninsula to be discussed does certainly rate as a theorist who imparted "many new insights"—Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja. Claude Palisca, the author of his article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, x (1962), 1909–1912, rated Ramos as "the first Renaissance theorist to break away from the speculations of the Boethian school and to attack the solmization system attributed to Guido of Arezzo." Because of Ramos's innovations, he inspired a copious literature in his own time, and has continued doing so, up to the present.

The fullest discussion of his work in English still remains, a quarter-century later, the section in *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 55–63. Before summarizing post-1960 periodical literature, the section on him in that book will therefore best serve the reader's interest.

Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja<sup>36</sup> not only made his reputation in Italy, but also stayed there long enough to gather about him a coterie of admiring disciples—headed by Giovanni Spataro (*b* Bologna ca.

five times before 1600 (*National Union Catalog.*, cclxxxI, 112–113).

<sup>36</sup>Variants: *Ramis* is the form Giovanni Spataro adopted in his *Tractato di musica* (Venice: Bernardino de Vitali, 1531), chapters VI, XIV, XVI, XIX. In ch. XIV, for instance, he alluded to *mio ottimo preceptore B. Ramis*. *Ramus* is the form he used, however, in his *Honesta defensio in Nicolai Burtii parmensis opusculum* (Bologna: Plato de Benedictis, 1491). In this *Honesta defensio* Spataro was, moreover, consistent in spelling the name *Ramus* (*il fonte delli musici il mio Ramus*, fol. CII). Domingo Marcos Durán, the only fifteenth-century Spanish

1458; *d* there January 17, 1541)<sup>37</sup>—who upheld his reputation during the protracted controversy inspired by his novel doctrines.

That Ramos de Pareja was from Baeza in the diocese of Jaén,<sup>38</sup> and therefore an Andalusian like so many of the other principal Spaniards of his century, is known from the colophons to the two issues of his *Musica practica*<sup>39</sup>—both of which appeared in 1482.<sup>40</sup> His first teacher *qui me musices imbuir*

theorist who refers to Ramos, called him simply Bartholomé de Pareja. Ramos (= “Boughs”) is adopted in the present text because it is nowadays the preferred Spanish spelling. “Ramis” does not occur in Castilian.

<sup>37</sup>Spataro’s jousting with Burzio and Gaffurio in behalf of his *optimo preceptore* lasted almost thirty years. For chronology of his dispute with Gaffurio see Knud Jeppesen’s article, “Eine musiktheoretische Korrespondenz des früheren cinquecento,” *Acta Musicologica*, xiii (1941), p. 21.

<sup>38</sup>For a history of Baeza see Fernando de Cózar Martínez: *Noticias y documentos para la historia de Baeza* (Jaén: Est. tip. de los Sres. Rubio, 1884). Of special interest will be found the information at pp. 154–156 and 481. Ramos was evidently proud of his Baeza origin. Spataro (*Honesta defensio* [1491], fol. d. Vr.) alludes to Ramos’s birth in Biatia (= Baeza), “two days’ journey distant from the ancient Roman settlement of Italica.”

<sup>39</sup>For a discussion of the two issues see Albano Sorbelli: “Le due Edizioni della ‘Musica practica’ di Bartolomé Ramis de Pareja,” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1930, 104–114. The colophon of the “original edition” begins thus: *Explicit feliciter prima pars musice egregii et famosi musici domini bartolomei pareia . . .*; of the “second edition” thus: *Explicit musica practica Bartolomei Rami de Pareia*. The facsimiles made available in 1969 (Bologna: Forni Editore [Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis, Sezione II N. 3]) and 1982 (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas [Viejos Libros de Música]) both reproduce the June 5, 1482, issue credited to “Baltasar de Hiriberia.” However, the Madrid facsimile includes marginalia lost from the Bologna facsimile.

The June 5, 1482, issue served Johannes Wolf for his classic edition of *Musica Practica* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901 [Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft. Beihefte. Heft II]).

<sup>40</sup>Ramos originally intended to publish his musical theories in three parts: (1) *Musica practica*, (2) *Musica theorica*, (3) *Musica semimathematica* (Sorbelli, p. 109). When he discovered that he would not be appointed Bolognese music professor he abandoned such an ambitious scheme: as the difference in colophons testifies. That his disappointment was intense may be inferred from Spataro’s testimony (*Honesta defensio*), who said he had spent a decade preparing *Musica practica*. Ramos preferred to dictate to his students and then to discuss his theories in class sessions before resorting to the printed word, according to Spataro. See Federico Ghisi, “Un terzo esemplare della ‘Musica Practica’ di Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia alla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze,” *Note d’archivio*, xii, 3–5 (May–October, 1935), 226.

*rudimentis*<sup>41</sup> was the Spaniard, Juan de Monte (papal singer, 1447–1457),<sup>42</sup> whom he dared cite as the equal of such celebrities as Ockeghem, Busnois, and Dufay.<sup>43</sup> That he lectured at Salamanca and there disputed with the celebrated Pedro [Martínez] de Osma<sup>44</sup> on the meaning of the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic *genera* as defined by Boethius can also be learned from his own testimony (Pars I, Tract. II. cap. vi).<sup>45</sup> Before leaving Spain he wrote a now-lost music treatise in the vernacular.<sup>46</sup> In Spain or in Italy he became intimately acquainted

<sup>41</sup>*Musica practica*, ed. Johannes Wolf, p. 88.

<sup>42</sup>Fr. X. Haberl, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, III (*Die römische “schola cantorum” und die päpstlichen Kappelsänger* [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888]), 37, 39.

<sup>43</sup>*Musica practica*, Wolf ed., 84.

<sup>44</sup>Pedro de Osma, cited as a musical authority in Domingo Marcos Durán’s *Comento sobre Lux bella* (Salamanca, 1498), enjoyed considerable academic distinction if he was the Pedro Martínez de Osma who was a member of San Bartolomé College from 1444, morning professor of theology (*catadrático de Prima de teología*) in Salamanca University for fifteen years (1463–1478 [ceased March 16, 1478]), and author a commentary on Aristotle’s *Ethics* (*Liber Ethicorum*, published at Salamanca in 1496). Concerning Pedro de Osma’s publications, see Antonio Palau y Dulcet: *Manual del Librero Hispano Americano*, XII (Barcelona: Librería Palau, 1959), 410–411 (items 216238–216241). Among his devoted disciples was so famous a scholar as Antonio de Nebrija, who in his *Apologia earum rerum* called Pedro de Osma “next to [Alonso] Tostado [*d* 1455] the brightest mind of the age” (*Quanto ingenio et eruditione fuerit Magister Petrus Uxomensis nemo est qui ignoret, cum post Tostatium illum, omnium iudicio apud nos fuerit nostra aetate in omni genere doctrinae facile princeps*).

At Salamanca the cathedral chapter chose Pedro de Osma to correct the chapter’s liturgical books. See Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, I (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1956), 638. Because of “errors” in his book on confession he was required to retire from his professorship to Alba de Tormes, where he died in 1480.

<sup>45</sup>Wolf ed., 42–43.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, 42. Ramos left Salamanca before 1465. Martín González de Cantalapiedra competed for the Salamanca professorship of music January 18, 1465. See Florencio Marcos Rodríguez, *Extractos de los libros de Claustro de la Universidad de Salamanca Siglo XV (1464–1481)* (Salamanca: 1964 [Historia de la Universidad, VI/3, p. 70 (item 101)]). His brother, Juan Martínez de Cantalapiedra, entered the competition February 16, 1465. For a minutely detailed record of Martín González de Cantalapiedra’s decade-and-a-half as Salamanca music professor, see the entries indexed in *Extractos*, 330. Martín González died in 1479 between August 14 and October 14 (items 1243 and 1251). On June 30, 1468, he named Diego de Feroselle and Fernando de Torrijos as his substitutes (item 1122). Diego de Feroselle entered his candidacy to succeed deceased Martín González de Cantalapiedra November 18, 1479 (item 1273).



with Tristano de Silva,<sup>47</sup> who wrote a treatise mentioned in João IV's *Defensa de la música moderna* (Lisboa, 1649),<sup>48</sup> and who served for a time as *maestro* in the chapel of the Portuguese king, Affonso V (1432–1481). Ramos also knew Urrede, Ferdinand V's *maestro*, and called him *carissimus . . . magister* ("dearly beloved master").

Ramos journeyed to Italy before 1465, perhaps first settling in Florence.<sup>49</sup> *Musica practica*, on the authority of Spataro, took ten years to write. Sometime before 1480 he removed to Bologna. There he lectured publicly without however actually occupying the chair which Pope Nicholas V (*d* 1455) had sought to create.<sup>50</sup> He found the mathematical faculty—which was jealously opposed to the very existence of such a chair—ranged against him. While *Musica practica* was still in the press (or shortly after publication) he departed for Rome where he was still residing during 1491,<sup>51</sup> a year when Spaniards rode high in the saddle and Castilian was a fashionable language among the upper classes. Spataro says that he was highly regarded in Rome, and that learned men in every faculty resorted to him, esteem-

ing him *maestro delli maestri*. His date of death cannot be ascertained but probably belongs around 1498. Gaffurio in his 1520 *Apologia* referred to him as long dead.<sup>52</sup> His doctrines remained a focus of controversy as late as Salinas's *De musica libri septem* (1577).

Ramos opposed tradition in the following several aspects:

I. He rejected the method of tuning the diatonic scale which plainsong theorists since Odo of Cluny (*Enchiridion musices*, ca. 935) had taught.<sup>53</sup> This older method enjoyed the advantage of uniformly tuning all fourths (G–c, A–d, B–e, c–f, d–g, e–a, f–bb, etc.) in the stringlength-ratio 4:3, and all fifths in the stringlength-ratio 3:2. In order to achieve these uniform ratios, earlier theorists were, however, constrained to sacrifice the 5:4 ratio for the major third in favor of 81:64, and the 6:5 ratio for the minor third in favor of 288:243. All whole steps vibrated meantime in the 9:8 ratio, but the sung semitone in the 256:243 ratio.

Ramos altered the older method in order to tune the major thirds c–e, f–a, g–b, and their octaves in the 5:4 ratio. He also managed to work out his tuning system in such fashion that the minor thirds A–c, d–f, e–g, and their octaves, conformed with the 6:5 vibration-ratio. What is more, he arranged his scale so that the semitones e–f, a–bb, and bb–c' would vibrate in the 16:15 ratio rather than the Pythagorean 256:243 ratio.

In order to make these improvements, he was, however, himself forced to sacrifice certain advantages inherent in the older system, taught by conser-

<sup>47</sup>Wolf ed., 86. Silva is falsely identified as Portuguese (Tristão da Silva) in Joaquim de Vasconcellos's *Os músicos portugueses* (Oporto: Imp. Portuguesa, 1870), II, 177. Ramos (Wolf ed., p. 14) distinctly says that Silva was a Spaniard: *Tristano de Silva Hispano familiarissimo nostro et acerrimi ingenii viro disputatione*. If the evidence of Fernando del Pulgar's letter *Para el maestre de la capilla del rey de Portugal* (*Epistolario Español*, I, 58 [Letter 27]) be applied to Silva he was a restless spirit who had roamed from royal chapel to chapel throughout Europe while his mother remained in Spain. He had written Pulgar several times without getting a reply. Though Pulgar addressed him as "Dearest Sir," he advised him to remain in Portugal, and to quit hankering after a still better place.

<sup>48</sup>Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de músicos portugueses* (Lisbon: Mattos Moreira & Pinheiro, 1900), II, 326. Silva's *Amables de musica*—commissioned by Affonso V—was in João IV's Lisbon library, according to Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, III (Lisbon: Ignacio Rodrigues, 1752), 765, col. 1. Nonetheless, it fails to enter the *Primeira parte do index da livreria de musica do muyto alto, e poderoso Rey Dom Ioão o IV* (Lisbon: Paulo Craesbeek, 1649). Pedro Cerone, *El Melopeo y Maestro* (Naples: J. B. Gargano & L. Nucci, 1613), p. 336, identified Tristano de Silva as a native of Tarazona.

<sup>49</sup>Albert Seay, "The *Dialogus Johannis Ottobi Anglici in arte musica*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, VIII/2 (Summer, 1955), 91–92.

<sup>50</sup>Sorbelli, 106–107.

<sup>51</sup>Spataro, *Honesta defensio* (1491), fol. CVII: "tu sai che lui e a Roma doue assai piu sonno. . . ."

<sup>52</sup>*Apologia* (Turin: Agostino de Vitomercato, 1520), fol. Av recto [lines 22–23]: ". . . quanquam culpae mortuos leue sit non responsuros. . . ." The *Diccionario de la música Labor* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1954 [II, 1831b]), states that Ramos was still alive in 1521, but Gaffurio's *Apologia* bears the colophon date, April 20, 1520. In a letter to Pietro Aron written in 1532, Spataro said that when Ramos moved to Rome he fully intended to finish the theoretical portions of his treatise but that instead he gave himself up to wanton habits that brought on his death before he could ever finish: "andò a Roma et portò con lui tute quelle particole impresse con intentione de fornirla a Roma; ma lui non la fornite mai; ma lui ateneva a certo suo modo de vivere lascivo il quale fu causa de la sua morte" (quoted in Sorbelli, 107).

<sup>53</sup>For a description of Odo's method, see Oliver Strunk: *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), 106.





vatives from Guido to Gaffurio. In the first place, he was obliged to vary the size of his "perfect" fifths and fourths. While A-e, c-g, d-a, e-b $\sharp$ , f-c', and their octaves all conformed in his system with the 3:2 stringlength-ratio required in classic theory, he, on the other hand, tuned the remaining fifth in the diatonic scale, g-d', slightly flat (40:27). As for fourths, he tuned all of them in 4:3 ratio except d-g—which in his system became a trifle larger (27:20) than a mathematically perfect fourth.

Secondly, he was forced to vary the size of his major seconds. In his new system A-B, d-e, f-g, and their octaves still conformed with the 9:8 ratio prescribed by the Pythagorean tuning theory and accepted by Guido. But not c-d, g-a, and their octaves. These two major seconds were tuned in the 10:9 ratio, and were therefore smaller seconds.

Thirdly, he was not quite successful in making all his minor thirds conform with the 6:5 ratio. Though A-c, d-f, and e-g did fit the 6:5 ratio in his new system, B-d and g-b $\flat$  were a trifle smaller (tuned in the ratio 32:27).

Lastly, though his semitones e-f, a-b $\flat$ , and b $\sharp$ -c' were tuned in the very desirable ratio 16:15, his b $\flat$ -b $\sharp$  semitone could not escape being tuned smaller (in the ratio 135:128). According to the overtone series, b $\flat$ -b $\sharp$  ought, however, to be slightly *larger* (15:14) than the b $\sharp$ -c semitone (16:15).

In summary: Ramos, in order to obtain three 5:4 major thirds and a like number of 6:5 minor thirds, abandoned the centuries-old symmetry of the Guidonian hexachord system. In his system the two major triads, c-e-g and f-a-c', reached mathematical perfection (though not the g-b-d' triad). Likewise the three minor triads, A-c-e, d-f-a, and e-g-b $\sharp$  (though not g-b $\flat$ -d'). Excellent as he felt his new system to be, an adventurous singer tuning to his monochord, instead of Odo's or Guido's, would necessarily have formed a small major second followed by a large major second when singing *ut-re-mi* of the natural hexachord built on C; and exactly vice versa when singing *ut-re-mi* of the soft hexachord built on F.

II. Ramos himself realized that his novel tuning of the monochord<sup>54</sup>—which he professed to have devised for the benefit of the unlearned, but accord-

ing to principles set down by Boethius—laid the axe at the root of the Guidonian system. His second assault against classic plainsong theory followed inevitably. He proposed (Pars I, Tract. I, cap. vii) that the time had now come to do away with the whole tiresomely intricate solmization system, and to devise new syllables. These should cover not the hexachord but the octave instead. They should begin with C<sub>1</sub> (second ledger-line below the bass clef). From this C<sub>1</sub>, the lowest note on keyboard instruments, they should rise to c' (middle space on the treble clef). The syllables suggested, and which were to be repeated from octave to octave, included these eight: *psal-li-tur per vo-ces is-tas*. The notes C or c would, according to his new system, be sung with either *psal* or *tas*, depending on whether the melody ascended or descended afterwards.

The "Guidonian" hand (Pars I, Tract. II, cap. vii), as revised by Ramos, still served to denote pitches; but the bottom of the index finger stood for C, the bottom of middle and ring fingers for c (Middle C), and the bottom of the little finger for c'. Both sides of the thumb served for the seven notes in the lowest octave.

In the older system *mi* always signaled that a semitone came next if the melody ascended, and *fa* a semitone if it descended. In his new solmization system, no such pair of syllables as *mi-fa* existed to herald the semitone. John Hothby (ca. 1415-1487), the English Carmelite theorist who impugned Ramos's theories before returning from Lucca to the service of Henry VII (1486), dictated his *Excitatio quaedam musicae artis per refutationem* in order to show the dangers of such a newfangled solmization system and to expose Ramos's "errors." He objected to *psallitur per voces istas* on the grounds that the semitone is sung the first time in the octave with *tur-per* (E-F) but the second time with *is-tas* (B $\sharp$ -c).<sup>55</sup>

Ramos, perhaps anticipating such an objection, claimed for his system a compensating advantage. Those two places in the octave where at the singer's discretion a semitone might, or might not, occur (A-B $\flat$  and B $\sharp$ -c) were each signaled by syllables ending in "s" (A = *ces*, B = *is*).<sup>56</sup> He also liked his system because the singer changed from one octave into another on syllables with the same vowel (the

<sup>54</sup>Ramos's method: Strunk, 201-204.

<sup>55</sup>Wolf ed., 109.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 20.



note C = *psal* or *tas*).<sup>57</sup> As for the number of syllables—the Guidonian system calling for six and his for eight—he thought eight numerologically just as “good” as, if not “better” than, six.

Ramos, however, was not so sanguine as to fancy that solmization through the whole octave would catch on quickly. Meanwhile he suggested that students ease their task by singing A–c#–d with the syllables re-fa-sol rather than the proper syllables belonging to the *A-conjuncta*: ut-mi-fa.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, he recommended singing g–f#–g with the syllables sol-fa-sol, even though a semitone was involved.<sup>59</sup> He invoked the authority of Johannes Gallus (or Gallicus), a Carthusian residing at Mantua, for the suggestion that singers abandon overt mutation from one hexachord to a “conjunct” when sharpening at cadences—the *semitonium subintellectum* being secretly understood instead.<sup>60</sup>

III. As if the *lèse-majesté* of opposing both the Pythagorean tuning system and the Guidonian solmization system were not enough, Ramos was so daring as to challenge still other established musical doctrines. He, for instance, decreed that tritones were not necessarily improper. In order to lend weight to so airy a dictum he again appealed to the same Johannes Gallicus of Mantua mentioned above—this Carthusian being the only Renaissance theorist in Italy whom he seems to have respected. Even so, he found it necessary to wrest Gallicus’s “corroborating” statement from its proper context when he wrote as follows: “To make a tritone, as Brother John the Carthusian observed, is not the mortal sin that many believe it to be”<sup>61</sup> (*Tritonum facere, ut frater Johannes Carthusinus dicit* [Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, iv, 372a] *non est peccatum mortale, ut multi credunt*).

Another statement that similarly showed his daring because of its radical novelty was the dictum that

consecutive fifths can be tolerated if one be a diminished fifth and the other perfect: examples can be found in the song, *Sois emprantis* [by Tristano de Silva] and in other old songs; such consecutives are permitted when the parts move swiftly though not when the motion is slow.”<sup>62</sup> The music of Tristano de Silva, like that of such other fifteenth-century Spanish polyphonists mentioned by Ramos as Juan de Monte and Luis Sánchez, is lost. The extant music of Pedro de Escobar, Martín de Rivafranca, and Juan de Anchieta, all of whom flourished in the immediately succeeding generation (1500–1510) shows, however, that he breasted current practice in permitting fifths, even when only two parts were sounding. But no other contemporary theorist dared put such licenses as those for tritones and fifths in print.

Ramos’s sturdy originality must not, however, be so stressed that simultaneously one loses sight of the more conventional teachings in his treatise. Indeed he would not have drawn about him a group of devoted disciples headed by Spataro, nor would he have won Aron’s accolade of having been “a most estimable musician, truly worthy of veneration by every learned person” (*Bartholomeo rami musico dignissimo, ueramente da ogni dotto uenerato*)<sup>63</sup> had he been merely a rebel against convention. *Musica practica* even contains such formal bows to convention as the following: “But since we do not wish to depart from ordinary practice, we do not allow the counterpoint to remain static, even though it con-cords with the *cantus firmus*” (*Sed quia ab usu communi discedere nolumus* [Wolf edn., p. 67]).

As good a proof as any of his effectiveness when teaching conventional doctrine can be seen in his *Secunda pars idest contrapunctus*. He begins (Tract. I, cap. 1) with six rules for writing note-against-note counterpoint. He cites these rules—which he ascribes to the “ancients”—just as succinctly and precisely

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.* Even Gaffurio later admitted that in solmization many articulated “sol” below “la” when singing a semitone (*Practica musicae* [Milán, 1496], fol. ee iij).

<sup>60</sup>Wolf ed., 44; see also p. 31. According to Albert Seay, ed., *Johannis Octobi Tres tractatuli contra Bartholomeum Ramum* (CSM, 10), p. 12, Johannes Carthusiensis Gallus’s full name was Johannes Legrense (Legrenses) and “he and John Hothby were at one time fellow students at Pavia.”

<sup>61</sup>Wolf ed., 50–51.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, 65. Pietro Aron in his *Lucidario in musica* (Venice: Girolano Scotto, 1545), Libro secondo, opp. VIII (fol. 7v) quotes Ramos’s dictum concerning fifths and cites Tristano de Silva’s *antico canto chiamato Soys emprantis*. However, it is not clear that Aron quotes Silva’s *canto* in the accompanying music example. The example would, in fact, seem to be an excerpt from Verdelot’s *Infirmitem nostram*.

<sup>63</sup>Pietro Aron, *Toscanello in musica* (Venice: Marchio Sessa, 1539), fol I (= 33) verso (lines 25–26). In the context Aron is discussing the use of the sharp-sign. He quotes Ramos as having called it *b quadro*.



as does his archenemy, Franchino Gaffurio. Here are Ramos's rules<sup>64</sup>: (1) begin and end with an octave, perfect fifth, or unison; (2) avoid parallel octaves, perfect fifths, and unisons; (3) two, or even more, successive thirds or sixths are acceptable; (4) if the *cantus firmus* repeats a note, the counterpoint moves; (5) a major sixth should resolve to an octave, minor sixth to a fifth; major third to a fifth, minor third to a unison; (6) insofar as possible the voices should move in contrary motion.

Gaffurio in his *Practica Musicae* (Milan, 1496, fol. dd i) extends the rules slightly: (1) begin with a perfect interval; (2) if both voices are moving in the same direction, two perfect intervals of the same kind cannot succeed each other; (3) up to four successive thirds or successive sixths may be used; (4) perfect intervals, when not of the same kind, may succeed each other: for instance an octave followed by a fifth; (5) two perfect intervals of the same kind may succeed each other, if the voices cross; (6) regardless of the type of intervals, contrary motion should be preferred to constant similar motion; (7) perfect intervals are best approached in contrary motion, especially at cadences; (8) an exercise should not only end with a perfect interval, but—if the Venetian school of composition be followed—in a unison.

Comparison of the two theorists, one a progressive, the other a conservative, redounds to Ramos's advantage when any problem so thorny as the use of *musica ficta* in counterpoint arises for discussion.<sup>65</sup> The forthright Spaniard never hesitates to pull the bud off the prickly bush even if he must get scratched while doing so. The cautious Italian usually waits until he can find a pair of gloves. But when nothing of a controversial nature is under discussion, Ramos willingly enough echoes the past.

Though Johannes Wolf, who ably edited *Musica practica*, did not call attention to the borrowing, Ramos in Pars I, Tract. III, cap. iii,<sup>66</sup> echoed word-for-word everything that Juan Gil of Zamora had more than two centuries earlier written on the emotional connotations of the eight church modes (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, II, 386–388). For his source in this particular instance, Ramos named Luis Sánchez. But

obviously Sánchez was only a link in a long transmission chain. Swept away by his enthusiasm for astrology, Ramos argued a little later in the same chapter that the stars actually settle the character of each of the eight modes. In his opinion the dorian received its character from the sun, the hypodorian from the moon, the phrygian from Mars, the hypophrygian from Mercury, the lydian from Jupiter, the hypolydian from Venus, and the mixolydian from Saturn.<sup>67</sup> Their astral influences accounted, he thought, for such diverse emotional effects as anger (phrygian), punctilious tears (hypolydian), joy (lydian), and melancholy (mixolydian).

Neither can he be accounted very original in what he wrote concerning *musica mundana*, the authorities which he cited in discussing the music of the spheres being Cicero, Martianus Capella, and Macrobius. As for numerology, he was heir to the fancies of his time when he argued the relative merits of 8 and 6. Even his division of *Musica practica* into three parts, the first part into three tractates, the first two tractates into eight chapters and the third tractate into three chapters, shows a highly schematic mind laboring to make the formal plan reflect his theory of “good” and “bad” numbers.

He also reveals an old-fashioned streak when he delights in puzzle canons and volubly lauds musical enigmas. Dufay's only achievement singled out for praise is his *Missa Se la face ay pale*—because it contains the enigmatic direction: *Crescit in triplo in duplo et ut iacet*. He admires Busnois for having written a canon that can be sung backwards as well as forwards. When he himself composes a canon he takes pride in having illustrated a literary programme. He remembers canons of just such sort which he had inserted both in a mass composed while he was lecturing at Salamanca and in a *Magnificat* (in one verse of which he had constructed a three-in-one “programmatic” canon).

Although *Musica practica* does not contain such a programmatic canon, Albert Seay found one bearing the legend, *Mundus et musica et totus concentus Bartholomeus Rami*, and published it in his article, “Florence: The City of Hothby and Ramos” (*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IX/3

<sup>64</sup>Wolf ed., 65.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, 66–67.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, 56–57.

<sup>67</sup>For a translation of Ramos's remarks on the lydian and hypolydian modes see Edward E. Lowinsky: “The Goddess Fortuna in Music,” *Musical Quarterly*, xxix/1 (January 1943), 72.

## 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<sup>s</sup> duca<sup>s</sup> renouādo | dulcem harmoniam |  
intra diapason sētīes 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.<sup>68</sup>

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.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup>Gaffurio, *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,

<sup>68</sup>See plate 61 in Sandra Vagaggini: *La miniature florentine aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> 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")<sup>70</sup> 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.

<sup>70</sup>Wolf 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."<sup>71</sup>

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, 1482<sup>72</sup> (A. 20 at the Bologna Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale), bears marginal comments, presumably by Franchino Gaffurio<sup>73</sup> 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 Caperon and Ramos de Pareia," *Acta Musicologica*, *XLI*/1-2 (January-June, 1969), 26-36. What news did Haar deliver? Ramos mentioned Roger Caperon

<sup>71</sup>Antonio 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.

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

<sup>73</sup>Sesini, 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.<sup>74</sup> 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,"<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup>Camilo 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).

<sup>75</sup>*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 magistri 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.<sup>77</sup>

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."<sup>78</sup>

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.<sup>79</sup>

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

<sup>76</sup>*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."

<sup>77</sup>Translation 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.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>79</sup>The 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 synopsisized 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.<sup>80</sup>

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: G<sub>1</sub>-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):

<sup>80</sup>Organist, 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.<sup>81</sup>

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.<sup>82</sup>

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.

<sup>81</sup>See 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.

<sup>82</sup>Seay 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)<sup>83</sup>—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),<sup>84</sup> 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."<sup>85</sup>

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,<sup>86</sup> 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 copy<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup> 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).<sup>89</sup> 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-

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

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 128, 243.

<sup>85</sup>"... 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.

<sup>86</sup>Jaime 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.

<sup>87</sup>The 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*.

<sup>88</sup>Anglés, "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.

<sup>89</sup>*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.<sup>90</sup> 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:

<sup>90</sup>Wolf ed., 8, 49–50, 100–101.