

CHAPTER II

THE BIOGRAPHY OF BARTOLOMEO RAMOS DE PAREIA

The musical theories of Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareia became widespread across Spain and Italy with the publication of his *Musica practica* (1482); whatever biographical information that may be surmised about the author, however, must be gleaned primarily from the *Musica practica* itself and from correspondence that ensued between two of Ramos's disciples--Giovanni Spataro and Pietro Aaron.

The colophon of the *Musica practica* (A-80) states that Ramos de Pareia was born in Baeza, a small city in the province of Baetica (currently the diocese of Jaén in southern Spain), itself within the jurisdiction of Gienna; the designation "de Pareia," however, remains a mystery. In the foreword to a recent Latin-Spanish translation of the *Musica practica*, Enrique Sánchez Pedrote suggests that the designation "de Pareia" may stem from a patronymic derivation.¹ Attempts to uncover a record of Ramos's birth in the archives of Baeza and Jaén, however, have been unsuccessful.

¹Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareia, *Musica Practica*, trans. José Luis Moralejo, with an introduction by Enrique Sánchez Pedrote (Madrid: Alpuerto Editorial, 1977), 7.

The exact date of Ramos's birth remains unknown; based upon the events of his life, however, we are able to surmise an approximate date of birth of 1440. The primary basis for this conjecture is a statement in the *Johannis Spadarii musices ac Bartholomei Rami Pareie honesta defensio in Nicolai Burtii Parmensis opusculum* (1491), in which Spataro informs us that Ramos spent ten years in writing the *Musica practica* before its publication in 1482:

Read a little of that profound doctrine of my [teacher] Pareia and you will understand the truth. For ten years had already passed since he had written that book and still he did not wish to publish it. However, the entreaties of his friends have been so enthusiastic that perhaps he will publish the third part.²

Moreover, Ramos himself mentions in the Prologue to the *Musica practica* that, over a lengthy duration, he had extracted information from the primary treatises of the discipline in order to provide a compendium and summary for the student:

After a long period of many sleepless nights and continual nocturnal studies, I have been able to collect [information] from the readings of the most esteemed authors and from the instruction of the most famous teachers. From this [effort]--as if from some overflowing and general source--one will be permitted with extremely quick and easy study to absorb all [these things] and reach the highest pinnacle of music

²"Legi un poco quella piena doctrina del mio Pareia et intenderai la verita, che za erano diece anni che havea facto quel libro: et anchora non lo voleva porre fora: se non che tanto furono li preghi de li amici, che quasi la terza parte divulgò." Spataro, *Honesta defensio*, fol. 14.

by the most tranquil course.³

Having such a familiarity with the theories of both his predecessors and his contemporaries, it is reasonable to assume that Ramos was a mature musician by the publication of the *Musica practica* in 1482 and, consequently, it is reasonable to suggest a birth year of 1440 in the absence of any reliable documentation.

An examination of Ramos's treatise reveals that its author was indeed well-educated. To the credit of the author, much of his knowledge appears to have been self-acquired; he acknowledges only a single teacher--the Spaniard Juan de Monte, "who was the first to instruct me in the rudiments of music . . .,"⁴ and whom Ramos elevates to the status of such musical celebrities as Ockeghem, Busnois, and Dufay.⁵ The exact dates or duration that Ramos was in contact with Juan de Monte is unknown; what is known is that de Monte was highly respected both as a practicing musician-theorist, and that he served as cantor at the pontifical chapel of Nicolas V between 1447-57.

As one might expect, artistic and literary records provide no information about Ramos's physical appearance.

³Ramos de Pareia, *Musica practica*, 1.

⁴"qui fuit primus qui me musices imbuit rudimentis . . ." Ibid., 69.

⁵"Et istud servat Ockeghem, Busnois, Dufai et Johannis de Monte et alii viri in hac facultate famosi." Ibid., 66.

A brief remark by Spataro, however, in response to the sarcastic remarks expressed by Nicolaus Burtius in his *Musices opusculum*,⁶ confirms that Ramos was short of stature (this response also gives us a glimpse of Spataro's loyalty and his determination to defend his teacher against even the most inconsequential of criticisms):

By saying that he is a short man, you [Burtius] actually honor him, since the majority of learned men are short rather than tall, and the reason is this: their head is closer to their heart.⁷

Ramos's Tenure at the University of Salamanca

The first professorship of music acquired by Ramos was at the University of Salamanca, a chair that had been established in the thirteenth century by Alfonso X "el Rey Sabio" as the first chair of music in a European university. University records indicate that Ramos held

⁶"Condoleo patres ac fratres venerandi de huius homuncionis insulsissimi ostentatione et arrogantia omnino deridenda, qui veluti stercus in Hispaniae finibus velit his sanctissimis patribus doctrina, consilio, prudentiamque, nec non et sanctitate praeponi. O insaniam! O verecundiam non ferendam!" Translation: "Venerable fathers and brothers, I feel severe pain on account of the ostentation and complete arrogance of this very silly little man who, as the dung of Spain, desires after death to be placed above these most holy fathers as a result of his teaching, judgment, prudence, and integrity. O how insane! O the unbearable shame [of it all]!" Burtius, *Musices opusculum*, fol. c2v.

⁷"In quello che tu dici lui esser homo piccolo, li fai grande honore, perche li homini piccoli sono la magior parte piu docti che li grandi e la ragione e questa: perche hanno il capo piu appresso al core." Spataro, *Honesta defensio*, fol. 19v.

this position for several years, beginning in 1452. The position was undoubtedly prestigious, given the fact that Salamanca was one of the most important cultural and humanistic centers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Music played a prominent role in the academic affairs and traditions at the university.⁸

A royal decree of 1538 established the duties of the professor of music to include addressing the various topics of *musica speculativa* for half the available lecture allotment, with the remaining class time expended on aspects of *musica practica*: plainsong, mensural music, and the writing of counterpoint exercises. These statutes also reveal that lectures in the discipline of music, along with those in astrology and *gramatica de menores*, were not invariably delivered in Latin, but that lectures in the vernacular were acceptable.⁹ Although these statutes were confirmed in 1538 (somewhat later than Ramos's tenure at the university), they provide insight into the academic atmosphere that Ramos must have enjoyed while residing in Salamanca.

The long history of theoretical disputations between

⁸Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 210.

⁹*Ibid.*, 210-12.

Ramos and his contemporaries begins in Salamanca with Pedro Martínez de Osma, a professor of music and theology residing at the university from 1463-78. It appears that the source of this particular dispute stemmed from Ramos's lectures on the teachings of Boethius, particularly in regard to the *differentia musicae* and the implementation of the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera in modern practice. Evidently, Ramos responded to Pedro de Osma's attacks with his first treatise, written in the vernacular Spanish. This treatise is, unfortunately, no longer extant; proof of its existence, however, stems from a citation in the *Musica practica*, in which Ramos proudly declares himself to be the victor of the dispute:

However, we have already refuted this publicly in his [Pedro de Osma's] presence when we were doing research in Salamanca, and in the treatise that we published in the mother tongue while on the faculty there. We have contradicted him on everything to such a degree that he himself, after viewing and examining my treatise, said: "I am not as familiar with Boethius as he is."¹⁰

¹⁰Ramos de Pareia, *Musica practica*, 32. This treatise is also referenced in Book IV Chapter 4 of Pietro Aaron's *Lucidario in musica*: "Et Bartolomeo Rami in un certo suo compendio composto in lingua materna dice che gli antichi dicevano che il contrapunto overo organizatione non era altro che considerare la consonanza che fanno duoi soni overo due voci o piu una piu acuta o piu grave dell'altra giuntamente profferite." Translation: "And Bartolomeo Ramis in a certain one of his compendiums written in the mother tongue says that the ancients believed that counterpoint--that is, organum--was nothing other than considering the consonance that two sounds or two voices--either one higher or lower than the other--produce when they are sounded at the same time." Pietro Aaron, *Lucidario in musica*, vol. LXVIII, *Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile* (New York: Broude Brothers

In Pedro de Osma we find a scholar with the true humanistic spirit of intellectual honesty. Shortly after this public debate, Pedro de Osma and Ramos became friends and continued to engage in congenial academic dialogue for many years thereafter. It should be noted, however, that the nature of the dispute between Pedro de Osma and Ramos was quite unlike the malicious polemics that were to later ensue between Ramos and his critics at the end of the fifteenth century.

The dispute with Pedro de Osma was not the only academic challenge for Ramos during his tenure at Salamanca. It appears that Ramos engaged in a another debate with Tristan de Silva--a Spanish poet and musician who served at the chapel of the Portuguese king, Alfonso V--regarding the nature of the conjunct and disjunct tetrachord. Despite their disagreement, however, Ramos appears to have a great deal of respect for de Silva, referring to him as "the Spaniard Tristan de Silva--our dearest friend, and a man with the most sagacious talent."¹¹

Further, in his section on counterpoint in the *Musica practica*, Ramos cites Tristan de Silva as an authority in matters of employing the diapente and the semidiapente in

Limited, 1978), fol. 18v.

¹¹Ibid., 12.

succession.¹² Even while noting their points of disagreement, Ramos is careful to maintain that such differing points of view do not affect their long-standing friendship. Such is the case in the passage where Ramos discusses Tristan's endorsement of Johannes de Muris's view of perfect and imperfect prolation, an opinion that Ramos perceives as faulty in light of the doctrine of ancient authorities:

And it is not known by all the singers how the perfection or imperfection is distinguished in the *prolatio maior*, nor [is it known] by some musicians, such as our friend Tristan de Silva, who affirms the vulgar opinion of Johannes de Muris [by] saying: "The *prolatio perfecta* is major and the [*prolatio imperfecta*] is minor." We wish to reject this, first with the authority of the ancients and [then] with an example and mathematical demonstration of the progressive moderns.¹³

As in the case of the debate with de Osma, the dispute between Ramos and de Silva was relatively mild compared to the later attacks that would be made by Burtius, Hothby, and Gaffurius.¹⁴

¹²"Tristanus vero de Silva in quinta, ut ait, non prohibetur taliter, quoniam potest fieri quinta post quintam, dum tamen una sit semidiapente, alia vero diapente, sicut reperimus in cantilena *Sois emprantis* et in aliis antiquioribus." Translation: "For as Tristan de Silva says, 'It is not prohibited in such a manner on the fifth, since a fifth after a fifth can be made as long as one is a semidiapente and the other is a diapente, as we find in the song *Sois emprantis* and in other more ancient [songs].'" Ibid., 51.

¹³Ibid., 68.

¹⁴The only other musician of whom Ramos speaks with

In the epilogue of the *Musica practica*, Ramos refers to a second treatise that he had written in the vernacular during the Salamanca period--the *Introductorium* or *Isagogicon*. Our only knowledge of this document comes from remarks that Ramos himself provides in the *Musica practica*, in which he recommends this treatise to the musician who seeks an easier path in an attempt to avoid the tedious arguments of *musica speculativa*:

But whoever desires to take the true and easy path of this discipline without the obscurity of arguments [and] without the long digressions of demonstrations and disapprobations, let him seek our little music book which we have entitled *Introductorium* or *Isagogicon*. There you will find in abundance the most vital issues of theory [stated] briefly and clearly. And when you wish to fortify those things which you will see there with reasons and consider them in more depth, you will return to this work which [acts] as a refuge and a bulwark for that [other work].¹⁵

Ramos's growth as a scholar is clearly demonstrated by his authorship of two treatises while residing in Salamanca. His compositions of this period include various canons, a requiem, a mass, and a *Magnificat*; however, only one of these works--a four-voice circle canon--remains

such fondness is Johannes de Urrede, a Flemish composer active in Spain during the second half of the fifteenth century who served as Kapellmeister for Ferdinand V. Ramos expresses his high esteem for de Urrede, referring to him as "carissimus noster regis Hispaniae capellae magister." *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁵Ramos de Pareia, *Musica practica*, 82.

extant for examination.¹⁶

Speculations on Ramos's Place of Residence (1472-82)

Ramos eventually left Salamanca for Italy, although the specific reasons for this departure and his location of immediate resettlement are unknown. It is possible that Ramos may have been asked to leave the faculty at the University of Salamanca because of his unpopular theories and the heated debates that were fueled by such theories. Clemente Terni, historian of theory and author of a Spanish translation of the *Musica practica*, suggests that Ramos may have immediately settled in Naples. Terni bases this argument on the polemics that were directed towards Johannes Tinctoris in the *Musica practica*; polemics which address the specific theories that were held by Tinctoris and which may have been the result of Ramos's provocative discussions with Tinctoris during his residence in Naples. Terni acknowledges, however, that his evidence is tenuous at best, and speculates that Ramos may have alternatively visited the northern Italian cities of Orvieto, Perugia, and possibly Arezzo--the home of his predecessor and academic adversary, Guido d'Arezzo.¹⁷

¹⁶See Chapter IX of this commentary for a discussion, facsimile, and transcription of this canon.

¹⁷Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja, *Música Práctica*, trans. Clemente Terni, vol. 2, *Estudio Preliminar, Edición Y Comentarios* (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1983), 21.

Different locales have been proposed for Ramos's place of residency in the period 1472-82. Some historians believe that Ramos was in Bologna as early as 1472, delivering public lectures and completing the first volume of the *Musica practica*; others argue that Ramos spent the Salamanca-Bologna interim in Florence. The latter theory is based upon: (1) the testimony of Ramos's student, Giovanni Spataro, who relates that Ramos visited Florence to review the choral books at the Church of the SS. Annunziata;¹⁸ (2) the appearance of Ramos's four-voice canon *Sive lidium in synemmenon* in a Florentine codex,¹⁹ which includes illuminations from the Florentine artists Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni del Flora who were active in Florence during the latter portion of the fifteenth century;²⁰ and (3) John Hothby's reference to "ipsi quoque Florentini" [Ramos and his Florentine associates] in the first section of the *Dialogus Johannis Ottobi Anglici in arte musica*.²¹

¹⁸See Spataro, *Honesta defensio*, fol. 15v.

¹⁹Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 229, fol. 3v. See Howard Mayer Brown, ed., *A Florentine Chansonnier From the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229*, vol. VII, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 16-22 and plate II.

²⁰See Albert Seay, "Florence: The City of Hothby and Ramos," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* IX (1956): 193-95.

²¹See Seay, "The Dialogus Johannis Ottobi Anglici in arte musica," 91-92.

Previously discussed is the comment by Spataro that Ramos spent the ten years 1472-82 in writing and editing the *Musica practica*. Albert Seay proposes that, because Spataro does not identify the specific city in which Ramos completed the *Musica practica*, it is possible that Ramos finished and circulated the treatise in Florence before his departure for Bologna. The fact that Hothby indirectly (and derogatorily) refers to Ramos and his followers as "these Florentines" is offered as support for this argument. As further evidence, Seay refers to a letter by Hothby that was addressed to a Florentine priest;²² here Hothby complains about Ramos's disrespect toward him personally, and claims that Ramos's radical theories are accepted by neither the Florentine musical community nor by the rest of the world.

Claude Palisca takes issue with Seay's conclusions in his article on Ramos in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, proposing that Ramos spent time in Florence after, but not before, his residence in Bologna. Palisca argues that the canon *Sive lidium in synemmenon* was written after the *Musica practica*, and dismisses Hothby's letter to the Florentine priest as inconsequential evidence, viewing this letter as merely a request that the priest pass along Hothby's reaction to the attacks that were directed against

²²Magliabecchiana XIX, 36, fol. 74. Ibid.

him by Ramos in the *Musica practica*. Palisca believes that the *Musica practica* was, in fact, written in Bologna. He supports this opinion by reference to a remark by Nicolaus Burtius in the *Musices opusculum* in which Burtius states that he lent his copy of a Guidonian manuscript to Ramos in Bologna.²³ It is suspected that the specific work loaned by Burtius was Guido's *Micrologus*--a work that Ramos later criticized in his *Musica practica*.

Ramos in Bologna

It is possible that Ramos arrived in Bologna prior to 1482. The colophon to the *Musica practica* states that Ramos had been presenting public readings about music--for an unspecified period--prior to the publication of the treatise.²⁴ There is little doubt, however, that Ramos was living in Bologna by 1482; for this was the year that the *Musica practica* was published and its colophon clearly

²³"Legisti aliquando private guidonis opusculum: Dum esses bononie: a me prestitum: et a te non intellectum." Translation: "While you were in Bologna you read Guido's little book in private that you borrowed from me, and you did not understand [it]." Burtius, *Musices opusculum*, fol. a2v.

²⁴The A-80 edition of the *Musica practica* states: ". . . almae urbis Bononiae, dum eam ibidem publice legeret impressa . . ." Translation: "[For] it was published in the nourishing town of Bologna while he lectured publicly there . . ." The A-81 edition states: ". . . cum publice musicam Bononiae legeret . . ." Translation: ". . . [published] while he lectured publicly on music in Bologna. . . ." See Ramos de Pareia, *Musica practica*, 82.

identifies Bologna as the city of publication.

The Archivio di Stato di Modena holds a letter from the Bolognese nobleman Floriano Malvezzi to the Duke of Ferrara--Hercules I of Este--that confirms Ramos's lectures on music in 1482. In this letter, Malvezzi refers to Ramos as "that Spaniard who publicly lectures on music in Bologna."²⁵ Gaffurius also substantiates Ramos's public readings in Bologna with a comment regarding Ramos's motet *Tu lumen tu splendor patris*:

But your teacher's song *Tu lumen tu splendor patris* (which the illiterate wrote while lecturing publicly in Bologna), enlightened [us] to his practice of the enigmatic canon with an arrangement of the tenor in this succession of the third with the fourth.²⁶

Ramos himself affirms his public lectures in Bologna and the composition of his work, *Tu lumen tu splendor patris*, with a brief remark in the *Musica practica*:

But in the motet *Tu lumen* where we have established *In perfectione minimorum per tria genera canitur melorum* (which we composed while we lectured publicly in Bologna), we recommended that any note be worth six measurements by means of syllables designated on lines

²⁵" . . . quello Spagnolo, che lege publice a Bologna musica." See Oscar Mischiati, "Un'inedita testimonianza su Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia," *Fontes Artis Musicae*, XIII/I (1966): 84-86.

²⁶"At cantici ipsius praeceptoris tui *Tu lumen tu splendor patris*, quod, dum Bononiae illitteratus tamen publice legeret, adnotavit, tenoris hoc ordine descripti quarto tertii practicae suae enigmatis canonem sic elucidavit." Gaffurius, *Apologia*, fol. 8v. Note that Gaffurius does not miss any chance to demonstrate his disdain for Ramos, here referring to him as "an illiterate."

and spaces²⁷

Ramos was evidently quite satisfied with this motet due to the fact that it could be performed by implementing all three of the genera; not only could it be sung with the tenor moving diatonically, but chromatically and enharmonically as well. Gaffurius was less impressed, however, submitting his opinion that Ramos was "never able to grasp the true meaning of the chromatic and enharmonic genera."²⁸

Spataro asserts that Ramos was drawn to the city of Bologna in the hope of receiving the chair in music at the University of Bologna. In anticipation of being offered such a position, Ramos had written the *Musica practica* with plans for two additional volumes. In the *Musica practica*, Ramos promises the reader a more thorough explanation of various topics--topics that were discussed only superficially in the *Musica practica*. Ramos pledges to address the more difficult speculative topics in a forthcoming *Musica theorica* and *Musica semimathematica*;

²⁷"Sed in moteto *Tu lumen* ubi posuimus: *In perfectione minimorum per tria genera canitur melorum*, quod Bononiae, dum publice legeremus, composuimus, insinuavimus quamlibet voculam per syllabas in lineis et spatiis denotatas 6 mensuras valere" Ramos de Pareia, *Musica practica*, 71.

²⁸"Inde enigma et canonem ipsum Bartholomaeus praeceptor tuus, quem imitaris non sane disposuit neque ipsorum generum spissorum formalem naturam intellexit." Gaffurius, *Apologia*, fol. 9v.

unfortunately, this tripartite structure was never realized.

The University of Bologna was a logical career advancement for Ramos. As in other universities of the time, music at the University of Bologna had previously been taught by private teachers who collected payment directly from their students; at the beginning of 1450, however, Nicholas V established an endowed position in music at the university. Unfortunately for Ramos, this position was soon abolished due to the opposition of the mathematics faculty, who felt that the traditional connection between mathematics and music should not be severed. Realizing that the dream of a salaried position in Bologna would not be realized, and distraught over the mounting controversy created by his *Musica practica*, Ramos prepared to leave the city.

It has been proposed that the date of Ramos's departure from Bologna was after 1484; this date is based upon Spataro's testimony that he possessed a "small treatise" given to him by Ramos in 1484 that was written in his teacher's own handwriting:

That doctrine is not my own; however, I have extracted it from a small treatise that was given to me by my teacher in the year 1484, and that treatise was written by his own hand.²⁹

²⁹"Tale doctrina non e mia; ma io l'ho havuta da un piculo tractato, el quale me fu donato dal mio preceptore

The date of the post 1484 departure, however, is based upon the assumption that Ramos was actually in Bologna when he gave the treatise to Spataro. It is quite possible that Ramos had already left Bologna by 1484, and that he sent the treatise to Spataro from Rome; it is equally plausible that Spataro may have visited Ramos in Rome and received the treatise at that time.

One can speculate that this "small treatise" may have been an unfinished manuscript of Ramos's proposed *Musica theorica*. Spataro was, in fact, later accused of possessing unpublished works of his master and of using them to strengthen his arguments against his teacher's detractors-- an accusation that Spataro strongly denied in a letter to Pietro Aaron dated 13 March 1532:

There have been many who believed that I have his complete treatise, and that I have kept it hidden in order to keep my thefts from being discovered, but I assure you that they are gravely mistaken.³⁰

Ramos in Rome

Little is known about Ramos after his departure from

de l'ano 1484, el quale tractato tengo scripto de sua propria mano." See Gaetano Gaspari, *Ricerche Documenti e Memorie risguardanti la storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna* (Bologna, 1867), 6.

³⁰"Son stati multi, li quali hano creduto che Io habia tale suo tractato complecto et che Io el tenga oculto, aciochè li mei furti non restino scupertti; ma certamente sono in grande errore." See Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS 5318, ff. 236r-v or Bologna, Liceo Musicale MS B107-3, 399-401.

Bologna; what little information is known comes from the *Honesta defensio* (1491) in which Spataro relates that Ramos was living in Rome and was enjoying success as a well-respected member of the musical community:

. . . after he departed from us, appreciation for him grew dramatically . . . and you know that he is in Rome now where his merits are recognized more than they were here among us, since very learned men in each and every doctrine come together there. He is esteemed there as master of masters just as, among us, he is well-known by the wisest men of this art whom you ignore.³¹

The exact date of Ramos's death is unknown. In a letter to Aaron dated 13 March 1532, Spataro provides information regarding the possible reasons that Ramos left Bologna as well as his own theory regarding the cause of his teacher's death:

As far as the work of my teacher is concerned (which you desired to have [in its] entirety and complete), I can tell you for sure that he never finished it, and [even] the one that is available is incomplete. This is due to the fact that he had part of it printed in Bologna, because he believed that he was going to read it in public [for which he would receive] a stipend. Then, because of various reasons, it happened that he did not obtain the public lectureship and he went off to Rome rather angry, taking with him all the printed parts with the intention of delivering them in Rome. However, he never delivered them [there]; for he devoted himself to a lecherous lifestyle, which was the

³¹" . . . da poi che lui si parti da nui senza proportione sonno le laude sue cresciute . . . e adesso perchè tu sai che lui e a Roma, dove assai piu sonno le virtu sue cognosciute che qui fra nui, perche ivi concorreno homini in ciascuna faculta doctissimi: et e tenuto per maestro delli maestri come fra nui e noto da homini sapientissimi in questa da te ignorata arte." Spataro, *Honesta defensio*, fol. 23r.

cause of his death.³²

François Joseph Fétis, in his *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique*, proposes that Ramos was still alive as late as 1521. Fétis based this assumption upon the premise that Spataro, having published the *Errori* in that same year, would have mentioned the death of his teacher had such a tragedy occurred.³³ Spanish historians Higinio Anglés and Enrique Sánchez Pedrote support Fétis in this assumption.³⁴ Conversely, Stevenson notes that Gaffurius, in his *Apologia* (1521), writes that Ramos has "long been dead".³⁵ Whether

³²"In quanto a l'opera del mio preceptore, la quale desiderati de haver tuta et complecta, Ve dico certamente che lui ma non dete complemento a tale opera, et quella che se trova non e complecta, perche lui fece stampare a Bologna tale particole, perche el se credeva de legerla con stipendio in publico. Ma in quello tempo acade che per certe cause lui non hebe la lectura publica, et lui quasi sdegnato ando a Roma et porto con lui tute quelle particule impresse con intentione de fornirle a Roma. Ma lui non la fornite mai, ma lui attendeva a certo suo modo de vivere lascivo, el quale fu causa della sua morte." See Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS 5318, ff. 236r-236v or Bologna, Liceo Musicale MS B107-3, 399-401.

³³François Joseph Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Ramis ou Ramos de Pareja ou Pereja," (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1870-75), VII: 176-79.

³⁴See Higinio Anglés's *Diccionario de la Música Labor*, s.v. "Ramos de Pareja," and Enrique Sánchez Pedrote's introduction to the Latin-Spanish translation of the *Musica practica* by José Luis Moralejo, 5.

³⁵". . . quanquam culpae mortuos leue sit non responsuros" Gaffurius, *Apologia*, fol. a5r. See also Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, 56.

Gaffurius is speaking in the literal or figurative sense cannot, of course, be known with certainty.

Conclusion

The *Musica practica* is the only extant treatise written by the controversial Spanish theorist, Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareia. Although biographical information about Ramos must be gleaned primarily from private correspondence between Pietro Aaron and Giovanni Spataro, and the on-going controversy between the latter and Franchinus Gaffurius, the treatise itself is rich in content and includes comments upon the teachings of other fifteenth-century theorists.

In the *Musica practica*, Ramos claims to have written a Spanish treatise concerning his teachings on Boethius at the University of Salamanca as well as a Latin treatise on the fundamentals of music; however, neither treatise is extant. In the *Musica practica*, Ramos discusses several of his own musical compositions; unfortunately, only the four-voice canon *Sive lidium in synemmenon* has survived. Further evidence of his compositional style would perhaps provide a clearer understanding of his theoretical propositions as well as recognition of his talent as a musician. Perhaps, these lost treatises and compositions may one day be rediscovered to shed further light on this most colorful figure in the history of music theory.