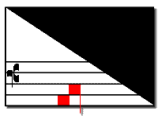

The American Institute of Musicology
Verlag Corpusmusicae GmbH

Mergelberg 84
48161 Münster
GERMANY

Title: "The World According to Anonymous IV"
Author: Rob C. Wegman
Pages: 693–730
Source: *Qui musicam in se habet: Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, edited by Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, & Stanley Boorman
ISBN/ISSN: 978-1-59551-514-8
Published by: American Institute of Musicology, Verlag Corpusmusicae GmbH, 2015

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The World according to Anonymous IV

Rob C. Wegman

Some time towards the end of the thirteenth century, somewhere in England, a man who was evidently very learned, and who by all accounts had seen a lot of the world, wrote a music treatise that is unlike any other we know.[1] His name has not come down to us, yet modern scholarship has coined a new name for him—one that was fashioned originally for reasons of editorial convenience. When the treatise first appeared in a modern edition, now almost 150 years ago, it was printed as the fourth in a series of seven anonymous medieval treatises on music. Its author thus became known as the fourth anonymous.[2] In the absence of a more convenient designation scholars have continued to use that label, and it has persisted to the present day. In the meantime the testimony of this anonymous author has proved so important to music historians, and has been cited so often, that the label has acquired the ring of a *nom de plume*—Anonymous IV. To many scholars today it sounds almost like the name of an old friend.

1. The treatise of Anonymous IV is available in a modern edition in *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, ed. Fritz Reckow, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 2 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1967). In what follows, references will be to pages and line numbers, separated by a colon. English translation by Jeremy Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, MSD 41 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985). This supplants the earlier translation by Luther Dittmer, *Anonymous IV*, Music Theorists in Translation 1 (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), which was based on the problematic edition by Coussemaker (cited below, n. 2). All translations in this essay are my own unless otherwise indicated. In discussions of note values, I will use the abbreviations L for longa and B for brevis. Manuscript sigla in this essay are taken from Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, ed. Luther Dittmer, 3 vols., Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 7, 17, 26 (New York and Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Olms, 1964–78).

2. Charles E. H. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series*, 4 vols. (Paris: Durand, 1864–76), 1:327–65: "Anonymi 4: De mensuris et discantu." In subsequent volumes the series of numbered anonymous treatises would be expanded to twenty. On the later history of the designation, see John Haines, "Anonymous IV as an Informant on the Craft of Music Writing," *JM* 23 (2006): 375–425 at 411–12. Coussemaker's use of the Arabic numeral was adopted by Reckow, but most scholars today prefer the Roman numeral.

Like most medieval music theorists, Anonymous IV liked to treat his subject matter in rigorously methodical fashion.[3] Indeed he seems to have been especially mindful of the virtue of exhaustive treatment. Fortunately for us, however, he also had a tendency to wander off the point, to lose himself in excursions that sometimes go on for pages on end. It is not always easy to tell what prompted him to go off on these tangents, yet we have every reason to be grateful that he did. For it is the excursions that are by far the most interesting parts of his treatise. Here Anonymous IV steps back from his theoretical disquisitions and views the art of music from a broader historical perspective. Here he recalls things that he has seen personally or heard about. In these passages he gives us names, he mentions places, he cites individual works by title, identifies major developments, and sketches the outlines of a chronology that may stretch back as far as a hundred years before his time.

For our knowledge of thirteenth-century music history, the testimony of Anonymous IV is absolutely essential. Without him we would never have heard of Magister Leonin, nor would we have guessed that a musician of his stature might have been active in the late twelfth century.[4] We would not have recognized the central importance of Notre Dame Cathedral at Paris, where Leonin is thought to have been active. Neither would we have heard of the Magnus Liber Organi, a comprehensive collection of polyphony that Leonin was said to have single-handedly put together.[5] It is true that we would have heard of his apparent successor, Magister Perotinus, for he is mentioned briefly in another treatise.[6] Yet there would have been nothing to suggest Perotin's involvement

3. The succession of topics in his treatise basically parallels that in Johannes de Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica* (that is, successively, modes and their notation, rests and their notation, consonances, discant, copula, *organum*). Yet Anonymous IV structured those topics in a seven-fold chapter layout that was uniquely his own, and that he seems to have regarded from the beginning as an emblem of divinely-inspired perfection (*Musiktraktat*, 40: 12; 50: 8–9; 80: 5–6 and 22–23; 82: 25–26; cf. also 85: 18). On the arrangement of topics in thirteenth-century music treatises, see also *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram*, ed. and trans. Jeremy Yudkin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 16–19.

4. The magister Leo or Leoninus mentioned by Anonymous IV has been identified with magister Leonius, *presbyter*, who was associated with Notre Dame Cathedral at Paris until his death in or shortly after 1201. See Craig Wright, "Leoninus: Poet and Musician," *JAMS* 39 (1986): 1–35. Others have been inclined to view him rather as a legendary figure, whose reputation in the late thirteenth century was shaped mostly by the need to claim an authoritative fount and origin for later theoretical traditions. See Hendrik van der Werf, "Anonymous IV as Chronicler," *Musicology Australia* 15 (1992): 3–13, with responses by other scholars on pp. 13–25.

5. Unless it is to be identified with the "Magnum Volumen" mentioned in one version of Johannes de Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica* (see below, n. 6). On the likely contents of Leonin's *magnus liber organi*, see Edward Roesner's general preface to *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 7 vols. (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993–2009), 1:lvii–xcix, esp. lix: "it seems likely both from the testimony of Anonymous IV ... and the surviving manuscript sources that the *liber* was not limited to a single genre of composition, *organum* or anything else, or to works for a certain number of voices, but rather included compositions in all genres cultivated by the musicians of Paris." The implication of Roesner's reading of the evidence is that Leonin fashioned the Great Book as a compiler or editor as well as an *optimus organista*, and that he need not have composed all or even most of the repertory contained therein—not even the *organa dupla*.

6. Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, ed. Erich Reimer, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972), 96: "Yet the aforesaid proper [voice range] is rarely maintained in some [works], as appears throughout the quadrupla of Master Perrotinus at the beginning of the Great Volume, which quadrupla are considered both the best proportioned and best maintained in

in the revision of the Magnus Liber Organi, or his authorship of several significant musical works, let alone his stature as the leading musical figure of his generation. Without Anonymous IV, finally, we could not have begun to guess at the history of Notre Dame polyphony before the 1230s or 1240s, which is when our earliest musical sources turn up. For all this and more, Anonymous IV is our only witness.

The testimony of Anonymous IV continues to be parsed and analyzed by scholars today, for there is much about his words that remains frustratingly ambiguous.[7] Yet my aim in this essay is not to revisit those debates, or to offer new readings of the key passages. Rather, I propose to take a closer look at the author himself, to attempt to enter his mindset, to view the world as he might have viewed it. We may refer to him now as Anonymous IV, but the man we encounter in the treatise is anything but an anonymous face in the crowd. He comes across as a distinctive individual with peculiar habits, odd quirks, curious preoccupations, and a background and personal history to which he has left numerous clues throughout the text. In what follows I propose to weave together those clues into a single canvas, a coherent portrait of the man and the world in which he lived.

The Author in His Study

Let us begin with first impressions. Upon opening the treatise by Anonymous IV, two things are bound to strike the reader. First, those fascinating passages for which the theorist has become so famous, the ones we find quoted time and again in our music history textbooks, are buried in a text that is otherwise a tough read. Large portions of the treatise, especially the first two chapters, are tedious almost beyond description, and it may be difficult at first to warm to the author, who seems capable of droning on forever.

Yet the second impression makes him a little more human. For his text is also uncommonly messy and disorganized. In fact it looks more like a first draft than a finished literary product. Anonymous IV is forgetful, he frequently repeats himself, he is easily distracted by side issues, and is prone to errors and oversights such as we find in few other medieval treatises. Sometimes it is hard to shake the impression that he wrote before remembering clearly what he intended to say, that he kept going without pausing to reflect, or to look back.

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color, as clearly appears in the same place." ("sed proprietas praedicta vix tenetur in aliquibus [operibus], quod patet in quadruplicibus Magistri Perrotini per totum in principio Magni Voluminis, quae quadrupla optima reperiuntur et proportionata et in colore conservata, ut manifeste ibidem patet.") This is not the only indication that collections of *organum* like W_1, F, and W_2 were occasionally referred to in this period as "the great book" or "the great volume." In 1311 a book of polyphony beginning with Perotin's quadruplum *Viderunt* was identified in a papal inventory as a "magnus liber de organo." See Rebecca Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found," *JM* 5 (1987): 380–99 at 387–89.

7. The passages on Leonin, Perotin, and the Magnus Liber Organi, in particular, have repeatedly been scrutizined for nuances and shades of meaning that might previously have been overlooked. For recent close readings, see, for example, Edward Roesner, "Who 'Made' the 'Magnus Liber'?" *EMH* 20 (2001): 227–66 at 227–31; Rudolf Flotzinger, *Von Leonin zu Perotin: Der musikalische Paradigmenwechsel in Paris um 1210* (Bern: Lang, 2007), esp. 37–40, 58–60, 192–98, 210–16, 226–31.

Examples are legion. Anonymous IV frequently promises, for example, that he will discuss something later on, yet in many cases he never gets round to doing so. Consider the following passage in the second chapter, where we catch the author in one of his agreeably reminiscing moods:[8]

> Boni cantores erant in Anglia et valde deliciose canebant sicut magister Iohannes Filius Dei, sicut Makeblite apud Wyncestriam et Blakesmit in curia domini regis H. ultimi. Fuit quidam alius bonus cantor in multiplici genere cantus et organi cum quibusdam aliis, de quibus aliis alias faciemus mentionem et cetera.
>
> (There were good singers in England and they sang very beautifully, such as Magister Johannes Fitzdieu, such as Makebliss at Winchester, and Blacksmith at the court of the late lord King Henry. There was also a certain other good singer in various types of song and *organum* along with certain others, of which others we shall make mention elsewhere, etc.)

Here, at the end of what had already been a fascinating digression, Anonymous IV promises that he will continue "elsewhere" to tell us about certain other famous singers. We would have dearly loved him to do so, but it is a promise he does not keep: in the rest of the treatise he never returns to the topic of contemporary musicians.

More puzzling is what happens in the fifth chapter, in a section devoted to three- and four-part discant.[9] In the opening sentence of that section, Anonymous IV signals that he is about to treat three types of musical settings:

> sequitur de triplicibus et quadruplicibus et copula.
>
> (Here follows a discussion concerning *triplices* and *quadruplices* and *copula*.)[10]

Barely two folios later he abruptly concludes that discussion without having so much as mentioned *copula*. At that point it seems as if he has suddenly become tired of the whole chapter, and wants to be done with it as quickly as possible:

> Reliqua competentia in postpositis declarabuntur. Finis quinti capituli.
>
> (The rest of the things that are appropriate will be explained below. End of fifth chapter.)

It is yet another unfulfilled promise: there is no mention, let alone discussion, of *copula* anywhere in the remainder of the treatise.

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8. *Musiktraktat*, 50: 32.

9. Anonymous IV does not clearly indicate where the fourth chapter begins or ends, nor where the fifth chapter begins. Reckow inserted a new heading for chapter 5 at the beginning of the section on three- and four-part discant (*Musiktraktat*, 77: 8), yet it seems doubtful that this editorial decision reflects the author's own planning. For example, it has the odd consequence that the fourth chapter in Reckow's edition comprises three sections that are thematically unrelated: (i) consonances, (ii) *organum*, and (iii) discant. It would seem more logical for (ii) and (iii) to be joined with Reckow's ch. 5 (i.e. the section on three- and four-part discant), since the three sections are all concerned with compositional process in different genres. Besides, it is apparent from a reference later on that Anonymous IV understood the fourth chapter to be dedicated principally or wholly to consonance: "ut praedictum est in capitulo concordantiarum" (ibid. 85: 34). I propose, therefore, that ch. 5 be taken to begin at 70: 25.

10. For this and the next quotation, see *Musiktraktat*, 77 and 81.

Such authorial oversights, of which one could easily cite more examples,[11] tell us two things about the work habits of Anonymous IV. First, there is a distinct stream-of-consciousness quality to his writing. Although the theorist was vastly knowledgeable about a wide variety of musical issues, and eager to share that knowledge with his readers, he tended to broach many of those issues only as they occurred to him in the course of writing—that is, in unplanned excursions that he would sooner or later break off with the vague promise to say more elsewhere.[12] Even when he was following a predetermined plan, as in the case of *copula*, Anonymous IV was capable of abandoning it seemingly at whim: *copula* belongs in the fifth chapter, yet when that chapter neared its conclusion he decided, apparently at the last minute, to defer it till later.

Second, we can tell from the stream-of-consciousness quality that Anonymous IV never edited his own treatise for tidiness and consistency. For if he had given his draft even a cursory read-through, surely he would have recognized remarks such as "we shall mention elsewhere," or "will be explained below," as loose ends. And if he did, it would have been only too easy to fix them: either he could interpolate the promised discussions at appropriate points later in the treatise, or he could delete the sentences announcing them. Yet Anonymous IV did neither: the references were left in the text, like dead links in an old web page.[13]

Many of these examples appear to come down to cases of forgetfulness, with the theorist either misremembering or not remembering at all. As for misremembering, Anonymous IV sometimes refers back to examples that he evidently thought had been quoted already, yet which are not to be found in the treatise as we have it. Halfway through the first chapter, for example, he refers the reader to an example entitled *Tamquam* which he assures us is "written above."[14]

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11. In addition to the examples discussed in what follows, see also ibid., 23: 5 ("ut inferius plenius demonstrabitur"), and 75: 10–16 ("ut in posteris plenius patebit").

12. However, there are indications that some of the excursions in the first two chapters may have been textual interpolations. One example is the famous passage on the Magnus Liber (*Musiktraktat*, 46: 1–29, up to the word "omnis"), which breaks into the middle of an almost literal quotation from Garlandia's third chapter, but has no logical connection with what precedes it there: the "iste regule" to which its first sentence refers can only apply to ligatures with propriety and perfection, but the rule quoted at that point pertains to ligatures without propriety. (The excursion ibid., 51: 9–15, seems similarly out of place.) Likewise, the brief aside in *Musiktraktat*, 53: 26–31, begins with a reference to "ista regula ultima," yet the preceding discussion makes no mention of any rule at all. From the context it is apparent that the reference must be to 50: 11–13, to which the aside constitutes a logical continuation, but from which it now is quite far removed. On the other hand, a certain degree of editorial care is evident from the fact that most of the excursions end with a concluding sentence that either transitions into the next paragraph or announces further discussion at a later point.

13. See also below, n. 103.

14. *Musiktraktat*, 37: 25–27. The musical example to which Anonymous IV refers must have been an untexted discant setting based on *Tanquam*, the well-known discant/motet tenor derived from the Christmas Responsory *Descendit de celis* (02). In the passage in question, Anonymous IV explains how one can fracture a longa into three breves in the first rhythmic mode by writing a two-note ligature a (B-L) and then appending two *currentes* to make the composite ligature a6 (B-BBB). Fracturing of this kind is not a practice one would expect to encounter in motet tenors, since these tend to leave the original plainchant unornamented. Nor would one expect to find it in the texted upper voices of motets, since *cum littera* notation could only convey the fractured rhythm by notating 1 and 9 separately on two successive syllables, thus

> Et sic percipimus vel ponimus brevem, tres pro longa et cetera, ut de principio primi perfecti in fractione vel collectione trium pro longa, ut in *Tamquam* superius scriptum est.
>
> (And thus we perceive and notate a breve, three for a longa, and so on, just as with the beginning of the first perfect [mode] in the fracturing or gathering together of three for a longa, as written above in *Tamquam*.)

There is no musical example with this title anywhere in the text; in fact, at this early point of the treatise the theorist has not yet provided any musical examples at all.[15] What then did he think he was referring to?

Even more curious is the following example. At the end of his chapter on rests, Anonymous IV mentions three musical examples entitled *Omnes*, *Torium*, and *Aptatur*, and he says explicitly that all three are "notated above," *superius notati*:[16]

> Quae omnia patent superius in supradicto *Omnes* notato. Sic etiam intelligimus suo modo de tertio et quarto perfecto et imperfecto, sic etiam de quinto et sexto suo modo, ut superius patet in *Torium* et *Aptatur* superius notatis.
>
> (Which things are all apparent above in the abovesaid notated *Omnes*. Thus also, from the mode, we may understand about the third and fourth perfect and imperfect and thus also, from its mode, about the fifth and sixth, as is apparent above in *Torium* and *Aptatur* notated above.)

By now it may not occasion surprise that the examples are not actually in the treatise. What does seem surprising is that Anonymous IV made a point of saying that they were *notati*, that is, written down in musical notation. Earlier in the same chapter he had referred to the *Omnes* example as *positus*, from the verb *ponere*, which in his treatise is synonymous with *notare*. (We might translate *ponere* as "to put down" in writing.) Now, it is true that there had been a reference to *Omnes* a few folios earlier, but certainly we were given no example at that point, let alone one in musical notation.[17]

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splitting the ligature in two. It appears, then, that the notation was applied in the top voice of an untexted discant setting. Among surviving first-mode discant settings on *Tanquam*, only Tamquam 2 [L. 3] in its W_1 version (fol. 43r) exhibits the particular notation described by Anonymous IV.

15. However, there is one comment from which one might infer that at least some examples were originally provided at the beginning of the treatise. See *Musiktraktat*, 52: 7, where Anonymous IV assumes the reader to have direct access to those examples: "By which rules you can verify the examples of material signification, which are notated at the beginning, as in *Latus* above, etc." ("Per quas regulas potestis verificare exempla materialis significationis, quae notantur in principio, ut patet supra *Latus* et cetera"). Since the *Latus* in question appears to be quoted from Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica* (33: 7–9), it is possible that Anonymous IV meant his own treatise to serve as a companion to that text, in which case "above" and "at the beginning" must mean "in the preceding treatise."

16. *Musiktraktat*, 63: 6–7.

17. Ibid., 58: 25, and 93 n. 31. The first mention of *Omnes* could conceivably be read as a music example of the kind Anonymous IV was accustomed to give (that is, spelled out in words; see below), if one allows that he might have accidentally omitted to spell out the pitches: "The first example is thus accepted ... as is evident in *Omnes* in the first *ordo* of the first perfect mode, thus: longa, brevis, longa sounding, brevis longa brevis silent, and then longa brevis longa sounding, etc., silent and sounding." The tune of *Omnes* would have been well known to his readers, and is in fact provided by Anonymous IV later on (77: 11). It is also worth raising the possibility that some copies of Garlandia's treatise had been expanded with a series of music examples illustrating rests in different modes, and that this series included

What could explain these apparent loose ends? Is it fair to suggest that they must be due to carelessness or failing memory? Is it indeed plausible that Anonymous IV lacked the opportunity to edit and revise his manuscript? Or should we perhaps consider another possibility—that it is not the author who was responsible for the loose ends, but rather the scribes who transmitted his treatise? In that case, Anonymous IV himself might very well have left a perfectly neat copy of the treatise, complete with the examples that are now lacking. But later scribes would have neglected to copy those examples, and perhaps even omitted portions of the text, thereby leaving a woefully corrupt version that misrepresents the author's intentions.

This alternative possibility receives support from the example of another music treatise—one that Anonymous IV certainly knew very well: Johannes de Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica* (c. 1260). This treatise survives in three manuscript sources that transmit basically the same text, albeit in different states of completeness, yet show uncommon disagreement with regard to the musical examples. One source stops giving any of the examples after the first half of the treatise, even though the scribe did continue to write the text incipits, and to reserve empty staves.[18] The music for those examples was in fact supplied in another source, yet there is good reason to believe that this is not the music that the first scribe had planned.[19] Whatever the truth behind this complicated story, it shows that music examples could sometimes be among the least stable textual elements in the transmission of a music treatise. Now if examples were liable to disappear, as they did in one copy of Garlandia's treatise, then surely they were just as liable to leave behind them such loose ends as we find in the treatise of Anonymous IV.

This is certainly not an impossible scenario. But in the case of Anonymous IV it would explain only part of what is in reality a more complex story. One of the truly baffling things about his treatise is that *none* of the musical examples was ever notated. For some reason that we can only guess at, the theorist avoided using notational symbols of any kind, preferring instead to spell out all musical examples in words. So complete was his avoidance of musical notation that he did not even notate simple note shapes like the longa or the brevis, or ligatures; the reader was expected to visualize all of these on the basis of his verbal descriptions alone.[20] For example, instead of showing us what a ligature like the *scandicus* 

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the examples to which Anonymous IV referred in his own chapter on rests: *Latus*, *Omnes*, *Regnat* (probably the tenor of [439] *Ad solitum vomitum*/REGNAT), *Torium*, and *Aptatur*. This would then parallel the way he refers elsewhere to other examples from other chapters of Garlandia's treatise.

18. I-Rvat, Vat. lat. 5325, copied presumably in the 1260s or 1270s. The copy of Garlandia used by Anonymous IV appears to have contained these examples, since he cited them by their initial letters "a" to "h," reflecting the alphabetically ordered incipits in the Vatican manuscript (*Ave Maria*, *Benedictus dominus*, *Cum nobis*, *Domine deus*, etc.). See *Musiktraktat*, 76: 22; Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, 2:28.

19. F-Pn, lat. 16663, the copy edited by Hieronymus de Moravia. The music examples in this source are musically unrelated to the chants whose incipits are given in the Vatican manuscript. The third source, B-BRs MS 528, does not transmit this part of Garlandia's treatise. Like the Paris manuscript, Anonymous IV's copy of Garlandia must have contained the so-called "nichtauthentische Kapitel" relegated by Reimer to the appendix of his edition (Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, 91–97); cf. below, nn. 52 and 75.

20. The only exception, as pointed out to me by Ross Duffin, is the sign for square b (♭) in the passage quoted in the next paragraph: the scribe of the principal source, GB-Lbl Royal 12 C. VI, fol. 78r, clearly took special pains to give the bowl of the minuscule letter "b" an oblong shape.

looks like, as every other theorist would have done, Anonymous IV leaves his readers with an oddly circumstantial set of instructions on how to write one: "make a quadrangle and another quadrangle, joining angle to angle, or corner to corner, drawing forth sideways, and then joining another quadrangle with it, and putting it straight above ..."[21]

This complete avoidance of musical notation can sometimes make for awkward reading. A good example of this is in chapter 5, in the section on *triplices*, *quadruplices*, and *copula* mentioned above. After the opening sentence quoted earlier, Anonymous IV goes on to give a musical example of three-part discant. Yet instead of notating the score, or writing out the voice parts, he enumerates the pitches of each part in turn—tenor, discantus, and triplum—taking great care to identify rhythmic modes, ligatures, accidentals, and rests wherever necessary:[22]

> Concerning three-part settings, thus: let there be presented or given a discant setting which is in the first mode on the part of the tenor as well as that of the discantus.
>
> The tenor as follows: F G F D F with breve rest, then F f a G F with breve rest, and thus we can understand it as being in the second *ordo* of the first mode, and it is called *Omnes* according to what is excerpted from *Viderunt omnes*, and in this manner, by repeating it three times or more, it will suffice as far as the tenor is concerned, and so on.
>
> The discantus or second song as follows: starting at the same pitch, but proceeding in close proximity, within the fifth, as follows: F E F G F with breve rest and in the *ordo* mentioned before, c b c b a G a with breve rest, and then c b c a a G c c a G a G breve, repeat, and so on.
>
> And thus, having presented two concordant tunes, we add a third tune as follows, and it is called "triplum" by some, just as the second voice is called "duplum" and the tenor "primum." In the triplum as follows: in close proximity, that is, within the octave, a b c b d c with a breve rest and in the same *ordo* mentioned before, c round-b c b a <G F>, three for a long, a c d c d c d c b a <G>, three for a breve, a b c b breve, repeat, and so on.

The result is a text that reads somewhat like the assembly instructions for a futon—unless you have the parts of an actual futon to be assembled there is no point in reading the instructions. In the same way, no reader is going to make much sense of the passage quoted here unless they are armed and ready with pen and parchment, and willing to go to the trouble of writing out the example. I did this, and the result, in Example 31.1, is the beginning of a charming little motet on the tenor *Omnes*.[23]

One may wonder why Anonymous IV would have gone to such lengths to spell out his music examples, when it would have made far more sense to present them in musical

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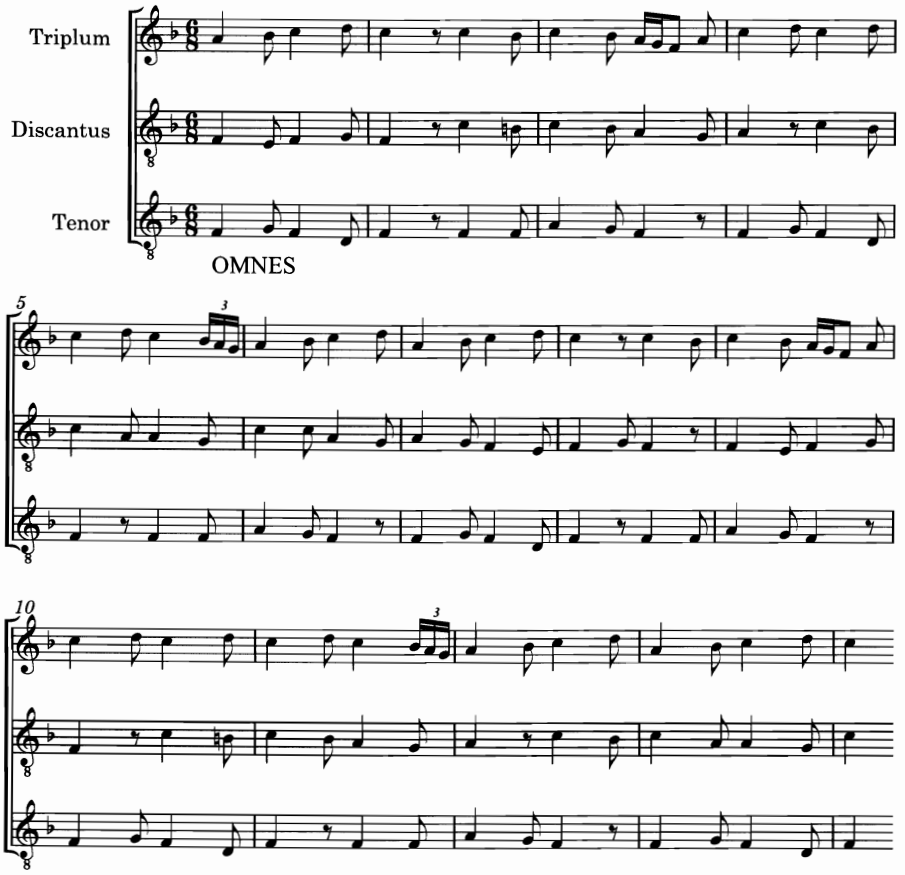
21. *Musiktraktat*, 42: 7. For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of the treatise of Anonymous IV, see Haines, "Anonymous IV as an Informant," esp. 392–96. Haines explores the treatise of Anonymous IV on the hypothesis that it was designed, at least in part, as a manual for music scribes, and that this may account for the extraordinary care with which the theorist describes not just the shapes of notes and ligatures, but the precise strokes by which they are to be drawn. This is a tantalizing hypothesis, though it may not explain why Anonymous IV avoided notation of any kind.

22. *Musiktraktat*, 77: 9–23.

23. Not identified in any known source, though the tenor closely resembles the beginning of the tenor of *Je ne chant pas/Talens m'est pris*/APTATUR/OMNES [41, 42], in D-BAs.

Example 31.1. Textless motet on the tenor *Omnes*, as dictated by Anonymous IV in chapter 5 of his treatise



notation. (In fact, as we have seen from the missing "notated" examples of *Omnes*, *Torium*, and *Aptatur*, this is what he claimed to have done in those three cases.) Perhaps we could still suppose that originally he did notate them, but that later scribes replaced his musical examples with verbal descriptions—even though there is no obvious reason why they would have done so—and that other examples got lost altogether.

Yet on precisely this point the evidence is unambiguous. When he wrote his treatise Anonymous IV *never* presented any of his examples in music notation: from the very beginning they were cast in the form of verbal descriptions. How can we be so sure of this? Let us take a closer look at that three-part *Omnes* in Example 31.1. Anonymous IV supplies this example because he wants to explain how to compose music in three and four parts. One point he underlines in his discussion is that one should always compose the voice parts in the order that he dictates them. That is to say, one should begin with the tenor, then add the discantus, and finally place the triplum on top.

After dictating the whole three-part example, Anonymous IV needs to backtrack for a moment to discuss the intermediate two-voice stage, that is, the joining of discantus

to tenor. One should always make sure, he is careful to note, that the first two voices be properly consonant with one another. This condition is met when all the odd-numbered notes are consonant. For example, in the tenor the first note is an F, the third note is an F, the fifth note is an F, the ninth note is an A, and so on. It is these odd-numbered notes, not the eighth notes in between, against which the discant must sing consonances. Example 31.1 is flawless in this regard, for the odd-numbered notes in tenor and discantus form, respectively, a unison, a unison, a unison, a fifth, a third, a third, and so on. Anonymous IV adds that of these three intervals, the unison is a perfect consonance, the fifth is a middling one, and a third an imperfect consonance. Here is how he manages to compress all this in one sentence:[24]

> Puncta imparia primi modi in duplo se habent in concordantia ad puncta imparia primi modi in primo sive tenore, et hoc secundum concordantiam unisoni vel diapason pro concordantia vel concordantiis perfectis, vel diatesseron diapente pro concordantiis mediis, vel semiditono ditono <pro concordantiis imperfectis>, quamvis ditonus et semiditonus apud aliquos non sic reputantur.
>
> (The odd-numbered notes of the first mode in the [discantus] are consonant with the odd-numbered notes of the first mode in the primum or tenor, and this according to the consonance of the unison or octave (for perfect consonance or consonances), or fifth or fourth (for middling consonances), or major or minor third (for imperfect consonances), although the major and minor third are not so reckoned among some.)

After this explanation, one might expect Anonymous IV to move on to the third voice part and to explain how this part, in its turn, should maintain a consonant relationship with the bottom pair. Yet at precisely this moment he has become distracted. What distracted him is his own parenthetical observation, in the quotation above, that "the major and minor third are not reckoned consonances among some." An interesting observation, the attentive reader might respond, but at this point we are in the middle of a composition lesson; consonances have already been discussed in the previous chapter. No, says Anonymous IV, suddenly warming to the topic, there are other people who happen to take the opposite view: "Yet among the best singers of *organum*," he goes on, "for example in such lands as England in the region which is called the West Country, thirds are said to be the best consonances."[25]

There is no stopping him now. Anonymous IV seems to forget all about his *Omnes* example and embarks on a long excursion, one that strays into several unrelated subjects—*organum purum*, singing practices in Lombardy, the use of parallel sixths in chains—and that will end up occupying nearly half of the fifth chapter. Like most of his excursions, this turns out to be a fantastically informative passage. In fact, the author so likes to talk about thirds and sixths that he even amplifies his excursion with two musical examples, both dictated in words like all the others. No wonder that he never got round to telling us about *copula* in the fifth chapter: this excursion alone must have worn him out.

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24. *Musiktraktat*, 77: 24.

25. Ibid., 78: 1: "Tamen apud organistas optimos et prout in quibusdam terris sicut in Anglia in patria, quae dicitur Westcuntre, optimae concordantiae dicuntur."

After the excursion has run its course, Anonymous IV finally does remember that there was unfinished business to return to. And so he gets ready to continue with the three-part *Omnes* in Example 31.1. But how to pick up the thread of his narrative? Where had he left off? If Anonymous IV had taken a moment to read what he had written already, then of course he would have found the remarks quoted earlier—one spelling out the three-part example, and the other clarifying the consonant relationship between the bottom parts. Yet for some reason he seems not to have gone back, and chose instead to rely on his memory alone. He recalled, correctly, that the last thing he had spoken of was the bottom two parts; and from this he inferred, correctly, that it was now time to discuss the third part. What seems to have slipped his mind, however, is that he had already provided the music for that part. As far as he could remember there had been talk only of two parts, not three. And so he proceeded to dictate the third part once more—albeit with slight melodic variants that suggest, interestingly, that he may have been recalling it from memory:[26]

> The two parts already presented [i.e. tenor and discantus] having been well prepared with respect to the consonances they make with one another, a triplum is added to them, which may go in one mode as follows: a b c d c with breve rest, in the same abovesaid [first] mode, then c b c b a G F, three for a longa, a c d c d c d c b a G, three for a breve, a b c b, repeat as many times as you like, and it shall be nicely consonant with the aforesaid [voice parts].

An almost literal restatement of what had been provided moments before; how to account for such a redundancy?

Perhaps there could still be a simple explanation for this. What if there had been a hiatus between writing sessions—a break, say, of a few days or perhaps even a week? After such a break it would surely have been difficult for any writer to remember where he had left off. Still, even if that had been the case, what could have been easier for Anonymous IV than to turn back one folio and read what he had written already? Are we to assume that this was too much trouble, that the author would sooner repeat the third voice part than refresh his memory?[27] And are we truly to suppose that even while dictating the third voice part a second time, nothing triggered the memory of his having done so already?

Whatever the answer to these questions, one thing seems clear: none of this would have happened if the example had originally been supplied in musical notation. This is because a notated example, by definition, takes up a physical space of its own. It occupies an area of parchment marked off from the narrative flow of the text, because its format (in score or in parts) is not subject to the rules that govern the organization and orientation of a text. If a voice part happens to be missing from a musical example, it cannot be supplied further downstream in the narrative, because it does not belong in that narrative

26. Ibid., 80: 24, and 93 n. 41.

27. One is reminded of the well-known anecdote about Rossini, who according to his contemporaries made a habit of composing in bed, and was allegedly so lazy that whenever a sheet dropped to the floor he would sooner start again on a new sheet than get out of bed and pick up the old one. Cf. Philip Gossett, "Compositional Methods," in *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini*, ed. Emanuele Senici (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 68–84 at 68.

in the first place. It belongs with the other voice parts, and that is where one should go back to supply it. Normally it should not be a problem to do this. If the voice part was indeed missing, chances are that at least the staff for it had already been provided, since the staves were usually drawn at once, as a group, before any of the notes were entered; nothing would be easier than to fill in the missing notes belatedly. Even if there was no empty staff, the logical place to notate the missing part would have been the margin on the same page, in an *ad hoc* extension of the musical space. Yet in the case of Anonymous IV we find nothing hinting at either solution. There is no boundary between musical and textual space in his treatise, for the simple reason that it contains only text. All his examples are embedded in the narrative flow in the form of words. That narrative flow, as we have seen, was accepted as somehow irreversible, like the current of a river. Corrections or additions were never entered where they were needed, but rather downstream in the narrative—if the author remembered the need for them at all.[28]

Anonymous IV, in short, seems to have made up his text as he went along, relying on his memory rather than on direct access to his manuscript. Even after completing the treatise he appears to have had no access to the text. So far as we can tell the manuscript was never edited or revised, and as a result we now have a treatise that reads as if it was written *aus einem Guß*. One is tempted to compare it to the way Jack Kerouac was said to have written his novel *On the Road*—that is, in three weeks of frenzied typing on a thirty-seven meter-long scroll that was fed through his typewriter in one continuous go.

The wonderful thing about unedited drafts is that they allow rare peeks into the minds of those who wrote them. In the case of Anonymous IV those peeks leave the distinct impression that he was a man coping with short-term memory problems, problems that might well suggest that he was a man of advanced years.[29] Somehow, it seems, it was easier for him to recall things that used to be said decades ago—about Leonin and Perotin, for example—than something he himself had said or done only minutes before.[30] Perhaps it is precisely for this reason that the treatise acquired its stream-of-consciousness quality. It is as if Anonymous IV wanted to commit his knowledge to parchment as quickly as he possibly could, without losing time on revision or redaction, lest anything important slip his mind. Whatever he recalled at any one point, no matter how tangential to the main argument, the imperative was that he keep writing, that his train of thought not be interrupted.

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28. The author's reluctance to revisit earlier parts of his text is confirmed by several other passages in the treatise. For example, while explaining the third mode in ch. 1, Anonymous IV suddenly realizes that he had meant to clarify, for each mode, how its rhythm relates to metric feet (*pedes*), but that he has forgotten to do so in the modes discussed up to that point. Rather than going back, he catches up in one sentence, and concludes this sentence with a telling admission: "The foot [of the third mode] is completed in the penultimate [note of the ligature], and the foot of the first mode ends with a breve, and the foot of the second ends with a longa, which indeed we should have said among the abovesaid things" (*Musiktraktat*, 25: 33).

29. For a discussion of the alternative possibility that Anonymous IV was a young scholar, see Haines, "Anonymous IV as an Informant," 418–19.

30. This is also true of those passages where the author explains something that had already been explained a few pages before, for example, double rests in *Musiktraktat*, 58: 18, and 62: 10. He does seem to have caught himself in a near-duplication when he was about to provide a definition of *discantus* for the second time: "Discantus est—et cetera, ut superius dictum est" (*Musiktraktat*, 76: 7; the earlier definition at 74: 2).

There are parts of the treatise that have clearly suffered from the apparent haste of the writing process. The later chapters, for example, have serious problems of coherence, and sound at times like the ramblings of a confused man. Chapter 5 is still relatively well-organized and easy to follow, even if it ends abruptly and quite unexpectedly. Yet the discussion of Greater Tripla in the next chapter is virtually incomprehensible. It may well be that Anonymous IV originally had a clear conception of what he wanted to say here, yet when it came to working out that conception it seems that he could only clutch at thoughts as they occurred to him, and was unable to make their logical connection transparent to the reader.[31] And no one has yet been able to make rhyme or reason of his discussion of the *modi irregulares* in chapter 7. Anonymous IV may well have been articulating something that had once been crystal clear in his own mind, yet, whatever it was, his text has escaped all modern attempts at coherent interpretation.[32]

In all of this we may discern the outlines of a different scenario. Everything we have seen up to now suggests that Anonymous IV composed his treatise, not by writing down the words himself, but by dictating them to a scribe, a secretary who evidently was under strict instruction to record every word exactly as he heard it. In itself, this is not a revolutionary suggestion, of course. It has long been known that medieval authors, as a rule, composed their texts by dictating them to scribes.[33] Only those who could not afford the

31. *Musiktraktat*, 82–84; Anonymous IV notes that there are seven different ways (*diversitates*) by which Greater Tripla may be composed and performed. He arranges these seven ways into three groups that he calls, respectively, "the first threefold variety" (*triplex diversitas*, or *triplicitas*), "the second threefold variety," and "the onefold variety" (*simplex diversitas*). He then goes on to discuss these in order, yet accidentally skips one of them (the first of the *diversitates secundae triplicitatis*, which should have come at 83: 19), and appears to forget about the final *simplex diversitas* altogether. As best as I can determine, the first three ways are: (1) sections with all voices in discant; (2) *copula* sections in regular modal rhythm; (3) *copula* sections in the irregular modes of *organum purum* (*sic*—only moments before, at 82: 20–24, Anonymous IV had stated expressly that the irregular modes could never be used in three-voice polyphony). The second three ways appear to be defined in terms of relative tempo. Anonymous IV identifies three basic speeds or *statūs mensurationis*: *tarde*, *velociter* (or *festinanter*), and *mediocriter* (cf. 23: 8–12; 72: 9–11; 86: 14–17). These speeds can either (5) gradually increase or decrease within sections, or (6) change between sections while remaining stable within them. One can only assume that the missing *simplex diversitas* (7) concerned sections in sustained-note style after the manner of *organum purum*. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Anonymous IV refers to the style of *organum purum* precisely at the point where this *simplex diversitas* should have been discussed (84: 4–8), though he seems to have regarded sections in sustained-note style as purely optional additions at either the beginning or the end of Greater Tripla. See Walter Niemann, *Über die abweichende Bedeutung der Ligaturen in der Mensuraltheorie der Zeit vor Johannes de Garlandia*, Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft: Beihefte 6 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), 96–97; Salvatore Gullo, *Das Tempo in der Musik des XIII. und XIV. Jahrhunderts*, Publikationen der schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, ser. 2, vol. 10 (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1964), 25–29 and 42; Dale Jay Bonge, "The Theory and Practice of Measure in Medieval Polyphony to the Ars Nova" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1975), 76–118.

32. Cf. Niemann, *Über die abweichende Bedeutung*, 90–98; Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 2:23–92; Edward H. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of its Origins and of its Eleventh Fascicle" (PhD diss.; New York University, 1974), 193–97 and 220–24; Jeremy Yudkin, "The Rhythm of Organum Purum," *JM* 2 (1983): 355–76; Sandra Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" (PhD diss.; Columbia University, 1991), 443–44.

33. See, for example, Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896), 420–23 and 457; M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 125–26.

services of a professional *scriptor*, or who had taken monastic vows which forbade such luxury, would have had to stoop to the manual labor of handling pen and ink themselves. Yet for most writers, including Anonymous IV, the default assumption must be that they left the writing of their texts to professionals.

The dictation scenario could explain a number of things. For one thing, it could explain why the theorist was so reluctant to go back to anything he had written already. Editorial revision is bound to be extremely cumbersome in dictation. Even a simple correction might prove quite time-consuming if the author was not in a position to turn back the folio himself, locate the passage, and emend the text as needed. In the process of dictation an author would have had to ask his scribe to read back stretches of text until he would reach the relevant passage, then tell him what to change, and then have the corrected passage read back to him. Everything we know about Anonymous IV tells us that he avoided interruptions of this sort, as being potentially too disruptive to his train of thought.

The dictation scenario also makes sense for the musical examples. If a medieval music theorist was working with a scribe, how could he get this man to write musical examples from dictation alone? The answer can only be: with great difficulty. Needless to say the scribe would have had to be musically literate. In that case at least one could give him instructions like: "four line staff, F clef, D–E in ligature, F–G–F in ligature with downward plica," and so on, and a good scribe would certainly have known what to do with that. Yet Anonymous IV does not appear to have worked with a musically competent scribe: the instructions he dictated were never translated into musical notation but rather copied verbatim, exactly as he uttered them.

If all this points to a scribe who was not particularly knowledgeable in musical matters, then this is only made more plausible by another telling point. Whenever Anonymous IV was unable to recall what musical examples he had provided or not provided, his scribe evidently was not able to remember it either—otherwise the uncertainty would surely not have been allowed to persist. We can only assume that the scribe did not see it as his task to follow or understand the theorist's argument—which in any case can be very hard to comprehend even for the most patient reader. His job was to write down the Latin he heard, without any interference on his own part.

Which is not to say that our scribe was careless. His extraordinary care in taking down dictation is especially apparent in the first two chapters. Here Anonymous IV goes through the laborious exercise of spelling out, in a lengthy disquisition, the notation of every *ordo* for each of the six rhythmic modes.[34] For every *ordo* he is careful to remind us that it may be repeated as many times as we may like—not just by telling us that we can repeat it, but by actually repeating it himself, and then, for good measure, repeating the word "and again" (*et iterato*) also a number times, in verbal fade-outs like *et iterato idem, iterato idem, et cetera . . .*[35] Any author writing down his own thoughts

34. Analyzed in detail in Niemann, *Über die abweichende Bedeutung*, 24–90.

35. Anonymous IV also had a marked tendency, throughout his treatise, to begin sentences with *iterato* (in the same way that other medieval authors tended to begin successive sentences with *idem*, or *unde*, or *ideo*). This, incidentally, is a trait his text has common with the brief treatise *De sinemenis*, which

would have avoided wasting time on such needless fade-outs, which in any case seem to reflect habits of speech rather than of thought. Yet the scribe of Anonymous IV copied it all down, word for word, so scrupulously that we can almost hear the theorist's voice trailing off with his *et ceteras* and *iteratos*:[36]

> Primus ordo tertii perfecti procedit per quatuor cum longa pausatione trium temporum, distinguendo per unum et tria; iterato per quatuor cum longa pausatione, ut praedictum est, distinguendo et cetera, iterato idem et iterato et cetera, prout placuerit.
>
> (The first *ordo* of the third perfect mode proceeds by four with a longa rest of three tempora, distinguishing in one and three; and again by four with a longa rest as was said before, distinguishing and so on, and again the same, and again, and so on, as one shall please.)

This is a verbose sentence, and it may even sound quite learned in its verbosity, yet at bottom it amounts to no more than a circumstantial way of saying what could have been notated once like this:

 *repeat ad libitum*

Still, for two prolix chapters, altogether occupying more than half the treatise, Anonymous IV goes on in exactly this fashion, sentence upon tedious sentence, spinning out in numbingly repetitive prose what could have been summarized, at bottom, in a table of musical examples.[37]

It appears, then, that the treatise of Anonymous IV took the peculiar shape it did because of one extraordinary circumstance: the fact that words were required to do the work of musical notation—and this not just in the examples, but even in the discussions

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follows it in all sources, and which is almost certainly by the same author: almost every sentence here begins with *iterato*. See the edition in Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi, *Brevis summula proportionum quantum ad musicam pertinet*, ed. and trans. Jan Herlinger (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 126–34, and the discussion in Christian Meyer, "Le *De synemmenis* et sa tradition: Contribution à l'étude des mesures du monocorde vers la fin du XIII^{e} siècle," *RM* 76 (1990): 83–95. Other shared traits with *De sinemenis* include the frequent allusions to Ps. 150, esp. vv. 4–5, in enumerations of instruments ("in cordis et organo... in cymbalis bene sonantibus"), and the use of the verb *multiplicare* to denote the musical enhancement of the divine service (on which also below, n. 76).

36. *Musiktraktat*, 26: 9. It is this verbal habit that originally prompted the oft-repeated speculation that the treatise might have had its origin in university lectures. See Niemann, *Über die abweichende Bedeutung*, 5, who was the first to suggest "daß wir es wohl mit einer Aufzeichnung seiner Lehre durch einen seiner Schüler—vielleicht nach dem Diktat des Meisters zu thun haben"; also *The Oxford History of Music*, ed. H. E. Wooldridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901–1905), 1:154: "The '&c.' which occurs so frequently in this MS. is to be accounted for by the apparent fact that the treatise was delivered in the form of lectures; it would seem that at the '&c.' the author abandoned the MS. for a time, and supplied comments and explanations extempore." It should be pointed out, however, that dictation was forbidden in medieval university lectures; the only lecture notes that students could have taken would have been sketchy at best, and would certainly not have involved the meticulous recording of redundant *et ceteras*. Cf. Ann Blair, "Student Manuscripts and the Textbook," in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi et al., Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 447 (Geneva: Droz, 2008), 39–73.

37. For this reason it would defeat the purpose to translate those chapters into modern English: they are as indigestible in English as they are in the original Latin. The most helpful translation would be one into the language of musical notation.

of modes and *ordines* in the first two chapters. This, I suggest, may not have been a matter of choice. Anonymous IV seems to have written his treatise in less than ideal circumstances. He himself was apparently unable or disinclined to write down anything at all, and he depended on a scribe who was able to take down only his words, not the music.[38] To make matters worse, it appears that the entire treatise had to be recorded in one go—either because the author himself could not spare more time and energy, or perhaps because the scribe was available to him only for a limited period of time.

All this may seem plausible enough from our analysis of the textual evidence, yet it presents an obvious conflict with the oft-repeated assumption that Anonymous IV was a monk in the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk.[39] The basis for that assumption lies not in any evidence from the text itself, but rather in the fact that the earliest surviving manuscript copy is known to have been kept in the abbey library by the late fourteenth century.[40] The section of the manuscript that contains our treatise is thought to date from the author's lifetime,[41] and could thus conceivably be a transcript from the original—in which case there might be a direct connection between Anonymous IV and Bury St. Edmunds. On the other hand, it is only fair to point out that many of the other authors in the manuscript cannot be securely linked to the abbey at all. Besides, it would be rash to assume that a book owned by a monastery was necessarily also copied there—especially when that book cannot be otherwise accounted for during the first century of its existence.[42] From the evidence considered here it seems positively unlikely that Anonymous IV had been active in Bury St. Edmunds. It is difficult to imagine, after all, that a monk in one of the wealthiest Benedictine abbeys in thirteenth-century England would have been unable to find competent musicians and scribes who could have assisted him in the compilation of a music treatise.

The same argument would seem to point us away from courtly, civic, or university environments, where musically trained scribes would have been likely to reside in significant numbers as well. If Anonymous IV was indeed an old man when he wrote his trea-

38. Coincidentally, the author of the *Ars notaria* copied elsewhere in GB-Lbl Royal 12 C. VI seems to have worked under conditions very much like these: "For the musician can teach songs even though he himself is unable to sing, being lacking in tunefulness or melodiousness of voice. Why then, when I have art, but lack regular training, which my three-score years and the weakened sharpness of my eyes prohibit, should I not teach the art?" (fol. 5r: "Nam musicus cantanda potest docere que tamen ipse cantare non nouit, deficiente armonia uel melodia uocis. Cur autem cum artem <habeam> et exercicium non habeam, prohibet etas senagenaria [*sic*] et acies oculorum senectute ebetata, <artem non doceam?>") See also Valentin Rose, "Ars notaria: Tironische Noten und Stenographie im 12. Jahrhundert," *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* 8 (1874): 303–26 at 308.

39. Apparently first aired in *The Oxford History of Music*, ed. Percy C. Buck, 8 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1929–38), intr. vol., 126: "Anonymus IV … whom I conjecture to have been a young monk from Bury St. Edmunds who was studying at Paris."

40. Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Henry of Kirkestede, Catalogus de Libris Autenticis et Apocrifis* (London: British Library and British Academy, 2004), 142. The other two sources for Anonymous IV's treatise need not be taken into consideration here, since these were copied directly after GB-Lbl Royal 12 C. VI; cf. Hans Otto Hiekel, "Zur Überlieferung des Anonymus IV," AM 34 (1962): 185–91.

41. *Der Musiktraktat*, 4–5, where it is suggested that the textura hand might date c. 1275.

42. This point has been made compellingly by Edward Roesner, "The Origins of W_1," JAMS 29 (1976): 337–80 at 379 n. 199; see also Haines, "Anonymous IV as an Informant," 413–16.

tise, then perhaps one might envision him as a "retired" secular cleric living on a benefice in a provincial foundation—conceivably even one in England's West Country. If so, then someone, somewhere, must have remembered him as a man of immense musical experience and learning, and may have made arrangements to preserve his knowledge before it would be too late.

Johannes de Garlandia

No discussion of Anonymous IV would be complete without a consideration of the treatise on which he so closely modeled his own: Johannes de Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica*. There are numerous indications that this latter text was directly within reach, perhaps even in the author's hands, when he compiled his treatise.[43] In fact it may well be that Anonymous IV meant his treatise to serve as a companion to Garlandia's text, to be copied directly along with it.[44]

Garlandia's influence is especially apparent in the second chapter, not only in the numerous quotations and references that have been identified long ago, but also in more subtle ways. One of the interesting things about Anonymous IV's treatise is that its first two chapters, or at least their core sections,[45] proceed along parallel paths: each chapter slowly works its way through a detailed discussion of the six modes, their respective *ordines*, and their notation. The difference is that the first chapter describes the six modes as they were notated before Garlandia, whereas the second describes the same modes as they were notated after.[46] As one might expect there is a fair amount of duplication between the two chapters: numerous things are explained twice over. Consider, for example, the discussion of the second mode. In the first chapter, second-mode *ordines* are defined simply in terms of numbers of notes per ligature (*duo*, *duo*, *duo*, etc.). The second chapter repeats that information almost verbatim, but specifies in addition the *proprietas* and *perfectio* of each ligature (shared content printed in bold type):

[Chapter 1]	[Chapter 2]
[P] Sed **principium** eius **secundi** modi perfecti **sic** procedit: **duo, duo, duo et cetera et tres in fine** semper sine pausatione. [1] Et **ordo primus sic**: brevis longa, brevis **cum longa pausatione duorum temporum**, et hoc in suo **primo ordine**. [2] Sed in **secundo**	[P] **Principium secundi sic** figuratur: **duae, duae, duae et cetera** cum proprietate et perfectione **et tres in fine** sine proprietate et cum perfectione. [1] **Primus ordo** eiusdem **sic** figuratur: tres ligatae sine proprietate et cum perfectione **cum** una **longa pausatione duorum temporum** et cetera, quantum placet. [2] **Secundus ordo**

43. Cf. Rudolf Flotzinger, "Johannes de Garlandia und Anonymous IV: Zu ihrem Umfeld ihren Persönlichkeiten und Traktaten," in *Gedenkschrift für Walter Pass*, ed. M. Czernin (Tutzing: Schneider, 2002), 81–98.

44. See also above, n. 15.

45. To be more specific: *Musiktraktat*, 24: 3 to 36: 38 (in ch. 1), and 51: 16 to 57: 6 (in ch. 2).

46. In this regard the first chapter of Anonymous IV parallels Garlandia's first chapter, at least in the Vatican version (above, n. 18), where the examples are also in pre-Garlandian notation. This is confirmed when Anonymous IV cites the examples of *Latus* and *Laqueus* (*Musiktraktat*, 33: 3–10 and 11), which Garlandia quotes in his first chapter, not elsewhere.

ordine sic accipitur ut quinque, quinque, quinque, distinguendo per **duo et tria**. [3] In **tertio per duo, duo** et tria. [4] In **quarto per duo, duo, duo** et tria, et sic **crescendo per duo, non ex parte finis sed ex parte principii** modo opposito **primi supradicti** <modi>.

eiusdem: **duae** ligatae cum proprietate et perfectione **et tres** sine proprietate et cum perfectione cum una longa pausatione duorum temporum et cetera. [3] **Tertius** ordo crescit **per duas** ligatas supra secundum ordinem, et hoc **ante et non post. Sed** in **primo supradicto** <modo> crescit post et non ante, post tres et post duas et cetera. [4] Sic **quartus crescit per duas** ligatas ante supra tertium et cetera.

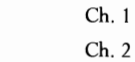
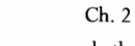
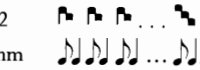
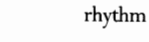
What does the difference between the two chapters come down to in practical terms? Was the difference indeed significant enough to justify twofold discussion, in two separate places of the treatise? Notationally the two expositions of the second mode can be summarized as in Table 31.1.[47]

At first sight the difference seems negligible—even though it is not (as Anonymous IV might say) immaterial. It concerns the notation of the three-note ligatures: in the first chapter these are *cum proprietate* by default (or), whereas the second calls for them to be *sine proprietate* (or). The rhythm is of course same: B–L–B. But in the first chapter we cannot arrive at that reading before we have inferred the mode from the ligature chain, whereas the second chapter unambiguously specifies the rhythm by means of notational shape.

Why should this notational difference have mattered so much to Anonymous IV? Why did he go to such extraordinary lengths to describe two different but closely related ways of notating the same rhythm—not just here but in all modes and all *ordines*—when it was clear in any case that he regarded one as a vast improvement over the other? The answer must be that he was interested in the improvement not just as a theoretical issue, but also as a historical event, one that he himself had witnessed at first hand. Without that historical perspective chapter 1 would have been redundant: it tells us nothing about the notation of any mode or any *ordo* that is not repeated and amplified in chapter 2. Yet to Anonymous IV the first chapter was not redundant at all. It had the unique virtue of demonstrating the earliest type of modal notation, without the admixture of later

47. *Principium* was translated by Yudkin as "beginning" (*The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV*, 16 and elsewhere), but it seems preferable to construe the term in its Aristotelian sense as a fundamental principle (αρχη), which is how Luther Dittmer translated it (*Anonymous IV*, 10 and elsewhere). Anonymous IV borrowed the concepts of *ordo* and *principium* from the so-called "inauthentic" chapters of Garlandia (*De mensurabili musica*, 92: 28–33). Like the author of these chapters he was careful to emphasize that the *principium* never has a rest at the end, meaning that the last note or ligature marks its conclusion. (For this reason alone the *principium* could never constitute the beginning to anything else.) This also explains why he uses the expression *et cetera* not at the end of the second-mode *principium* (where it would have implied open-endedness) but rather in the middle, that is, before the final note or ligature: "duo, duo, duo, et cetera, et tres in fine, semper sine pausatione." The *principium*, in other words, is of indefinite length because the number of internal repetitions is left unspecified. The reason for this is that it must be possible for a general *principium* to be turned into any particular *ordo* by fixing the number of internal repetitions.

Table 31.1. Second mode, as explained in the first two chapters of the treatise of Anonymous IV

	principium	**primus ordo**	**secundus ordo**	**tertius ordo**	**quartus ordo**
Ch. 1					
Ch. 2					
rhythm					

improvements. In the passage cited a moment ago, for example, we learn how second-mode rhythms used to be notated in sources like W_1, F, or W_2 (c. 1235–50).[48] Obviously that early notation had been deficient and confusing by later standards. But to see the full picture it was necessary to read the first chapter in conjunction with the second,[49] where Anonymous IV explained how the same rhythm was to be notated in later motet collections such as Ba (D-BAs lit. 115; c. 1265). It is this comparison that was meant to bring home the historical significance of Garlandia's notational revolution.

Yet there is more to it than this. The first two chapters may have a great deal of material in common, but they are not exactly carved from the same block. There is a marked shift in Latin idiom and vocabulary as one moves from the first chapter to the second—a shift that can be witnessed even in the two parallel passages cited above. This change is indeed so pronounced that it looks as if the two chapters might very well have been written by different authors. Here are some of the most notable differences; they may seem of little consequence by themselves, yet in combination they give each chapter a distinctive idiomatic flavor:

1 In the first chapter, the author typically speaks of ligation as *iungere* or *coniungere*, of ligatures as *iuncture*, and of ligated notes as *iuncta* or *coniuncta*. In the second chapter, terms derived from the verb *iungere* disappear almost completely,[50] and instead we find *ligare*, *ligatura*, and *ligatae*.

48. There are, however, indications that early forms of *sine proprietate* notation may have been copied (or entered later) even in these early sources. See Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 303–307; Thomas B. Payne, "Introduction," *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, VIA, lxxxv–lxxxix. The issue is complicated by the occasional occurrence of *sine proprietate* and imperfect ligature shapes in thirteenth-century chant manuscripts, especially from eastern France; see, for example, the various chants notated in F-Pn f. fr. 4660 (Champagne, c. 1275–1300).

49. Direct comparison is implied in the numerous references to what will be discussed in the second chapter: "prout in secundo capitulo plenius demonstratur," "prout in secundo capitulo plenius patebit," "ut in capitulo secundo et cetera," "prout in secundo capitulo postposito plenius patebit," "cum quibusdam aliis, quae reperiuntur in secundo capitulo postposito" (*Musiktraktat*, 24: 13–14, 25: 24, 26: 22, 27: 1–2, 36: 18–19).

50. Except, significantly, in his discussion of notes and ligatures as used in plainchant notation, that is, without *materialis significatio* (*Musiktraktat*, 41: 17 to 43: 16). As soon as Anonymous IV moves on to notes and ligatures *secundum organistas* (43: 17 to 51: 15), the verb *iungere* and its derivatives disappear. The only forms of *iungere* that are used throughout the treatise are the adverbs *coniunctim* and *disiunctim*. It is worth drawing attention, incidentally, to a curious passage near the end of ch. 2, where Anonymous IV quotes the following rule: "quod possumus coniungere, non disiungatur" (55: 24–55; also 52: 15–16). The particular wording of this rule does not match the author's usage elsewhere in ch. 2, but Anonymous IV himself provides the explanation for this: the rule comes from the theory of *quidam alii*, and must have reached him through an otherwise unknown treatise.

2 In the first chapter, ligated notes are neuter (*iunctum*, pl. *iuncta*) from the implied noun *punctum*—though feminine gender may occasionally be used after implied *brevis* and *longa*. In the second chapter ligated notes are usually feminine (*ligata*), from the implied noun *figura*.

3 Because of the difference in gender, sequences of two-note ligatures are enumerated in the first chapter as *duo, duo, duo*, whereas the second chapter gives *duae, duae, duae*. Similarly, the first chapter typically writes *cum duobus* where the second gives *cum duabus* instead.

4 In the first chapter modes and *ordines* are typically said to proceed *per duo* or *per tria*; neither of these expressions occurs in the second chapter, where the preferred expression is *per duas* or *per tres*.

5 In the first chapter almost every mode and every *ordo* is described in terms of how it *proceeds*, with the third-person *procedit* used again and again: "Primus ordo *procedit* per ..." In the second chapter, the verb *procedere* disappears all but completely, and instead the author either uses no verb at all (in the majority of cases), or sometimes *figurari* or *notari*.[51]

6 The first chapter avoids the terms *proprietas*, *perfectio*, and *significatio* with its associated conceptual pair *materialis* and *intellectualis*—except, significantly, when the author looks ahead to the second chapter, at which points he will also use other terms characteristic of the second chapter, especially *figura* (an example of this will be cited below).

How to account for this shift? A comparison with Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica* provides at least part of the answer: the distinctive usage of the second chapter directly matches that of the fourth and fifth chapters of Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica*.[52] In a

51. Two verbs that both chapters have in common are *augmentare* and *crescere*, for *ordines* that expand on previous *ordines* in the same mode.

52. Anonymous IV used a version of Garlandia that had been expanded with the so-called "nichtauthentische Kapittel" known to us from the Paris manuscript (above, n. 19). For example, his description of the way one may convert a melisma like *Latus* from its original neumes into modal notation (*Musiktraktat*, 24: 3–11) is clearly modeled after a similar discussion in the first Paris chapter (Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, 92), from which Anonymous IV also borrows the term *radix* for pre-existing tenors (*Musiktraktat*, 23: 18). Other distinctive names, terms, and topics that his treatise shares uniquely with the Paris chapters are: Perotin, *magnus liber* or *magnum volumen* (see above, nn. 5 and 6), the existence of an obsolete mode proceeding L–L–B, frequent references to instrumental practice, the concepts of *ordo* and *principium* (see above, n. 47), *habundantia*, *color*, *pulchritudo*, *sinemenon*, *florificatio*. Cf. also Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 244–45 and 297–98. Similar connections with the Paris manuscript have been demonstrated for the little treatise *De synemmenis*, which is almost certainly by Anonymous IV as well; see above, n. 35, and Meyer, "Le *De synemmenis* et sa tradition," 86–91. Since the Paris manuscript is a *pecia*, that is, an exemplar designed for mass copying, it is not impossible that Anonymous IV possessed a copy of the manuscript himself—though this would imply that he had visited Paris as recently as c. 1280. The latter possibility receives some support from his own comment that modal transmutation was a practice "that certain Parisians have done and still do (*adhuc faciunt*) with *In seculum*," assuming, of course, that he was not merely repeating hearsay here (*Musiktraktat*, 61: 10–11).

If Anonymous IV knew the Paris chapters in the same version that we have today, then his text must postdate the treatises by Lambertus (late 1270s) and Franco (after 1279), since these are indirectly referred to in that version ("aliqui volunt quod quintus noster modus sit primus omnium"; Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, 91–92). For direct Franconian influence in the Paris chapters, see Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 518–19. A later date for the Paris chapters is suggested also by another trait shared with Anonymous IV: the awareness of the *antiquitas* of the modal theory tradition, in expressions such as "de

sense this should not come as a surprise, for the second chapter is in any case richly seasoned with quotations from *De mensurabili musica*, whereas the first chapter has hardly any such quotations at all.[53] Once again it is hard to shake the impression that Anonymous IV had a copy of Garlandia's treatise in front of him when he dictated the second chapter.

And yet, if there is such a marked difference in Latin idiom between this chapter and the preceding one, then which of the two chapters is closer to the author's own voice? The best way to answer that question might be to consider his various excursions and asides, since it seems likely that these were dictated *ex improviso* and may thus give us the most reliable indication of what that voice was like. The result turns out to be quite unambiguous: the excursions and asides are much closer in their language to the second chapter than the first.[54] In other words, even when Anonymous IV was not working directly from his copy of Garlandia, he was still thinking along the conceptual vocabulary of that treatise.

This conclusion is perhaps not surprising either, yet it does leave us with an intriguing question: why is the first chapter so markedly different—different not only from the Garlandian second chapter, but even from the author's own voice? It seems logical to assume that this chapter, too, was probably based upon a pre-existing text, one whose distinctive usage and terminology evidently found their way into Anonymous IV's dictation, and all but suppressed his own voice. That voice can still be heard occasionally in the first chapter, for example in the author's excursions, or in remarks pointing ahead to the second chapter. In the following passage, for example, the shift between idioms is so clear-cut that one can draw a sharp line between Anonymous IV (bold type) and the putative pre-existing text. It is not just that our theorist speaks of *proprietas*, *perfectio*, and *materialis* (for which terms he immediately points the reader to the second chapter), but he also, and quite unselfconsciously, slips in his preferred term *figura* for note, in the feminine gender, whereas the other references to notes in this passage are neuter, from the implied noun *punctum*:[55]

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mensuris ... prout *antiqui* tractaverunt," "libri *antiquorum*," and most tellingly, "sex modi *antiqui*"—the latter implying that the six-mode system had already been overtaken by more recent innovations. Similar awareness of chronological distance is apparent in the Anonymous St. Emmeram (*antecessores nostri*; *novitas*, *noviter*), in Jerome of Moravia (*antiqui*, *moderni*), and to a lesser extent in Franco. Lambertus, on the other hand, makes no mention of developments predating his own time, and appears to live entirely in the present. For example, he does not acknowledge that anyone had ever put forward six rhythmic modes, but simply states that there are nine, which he then sets forth "in order to destroy the error of many" (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica*, 1: 279). Lambertus's one possible reference to Garlandia suggests that he thought of the latter as a direct contemporary; note his use of the present indicative *referunt* in the comment: "quidam in artibus suis referunt, perfectam figuram se habere per ultramensuram" (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica*, 1: 271). It would appear from all this that the new historical awareness is likely to have emerged around 1280.

53. The exception is in *Musiktraktat*, 33: 3–10 and 11.

54. In the well-known excursion on Leonin and the Magnus Liber, for example, ligated notes are persistently called *ligatae* (f.), not *iuncta* (n.). Significantly, we find this same usage even in the one historical excursion that appears in the course of the first chapter (*Musiktraktat*, 32: 7–26: *ligatura*, *ligatae*, and *duae* for ligated notes, *notari*, *materialis significatio*). It is also worth noting that the *secunda pars* of the first chapter, which deals with *fractio modi*, is permeated with this usage as well (37: 1 to 40: 16: *ligata*, *per duas*, feminine gender for notes generally, *proprietas*, *perfectio*, *materialis significatio*).

55. *Musiktraktat*, 26: 20 to 27: 2.

> Principium quarti modi perfecti procedit amota prima longa tertii per tres, tres, tres et cetera cum duobus **cum proprietate et imperfectione punctorum figurae materialis, ut in capitulo secundo et cetera. Et sic possumus intelligere, quod duo talia non sunt in genere duorum secundi vel primi imperfecti modi praedictorum, prout et cetera.** Secundus ordo procedit per tres ante cum praedicto ordine, hoc est per tres, tres, duo cum longa pausatione, ut praedictum est; **iterato idem et iterato idem et cetera cum longa pausatione semper.** Tertius eiusdem procedit per tres augendo ante cum proximo ordine praedicto, et sic sunt undecim distinguendo per tres, tres, tres, duo, et sic cum longa pausatione post undecim. Et sic ulterius procedit per undecim, **sed de proprietate et conditione materiali figurarum omnium supradictarum et postpositarum. Cognitio earundem est habenda, prout in secundo capitulo postposito plenius patebit.**

If we were to excise these apparent authorial interjections, we would be left with a unified textual layer lying at the core of the first chapter—a layer whose Latin idiom is appreciably different from that of Garlandia, and not characteristic even of Anonymous IV himself.

One of the few things we can say about this textual layer is that it looks very much like a self-contained treatise: it is nothing if not systematic and comprehensive. The layer is also pre-Garlandian: its author is innocent of the concepts of *proprietas* and *perfectio*, as we have seen, and defines modes purely in terms of numbers of notes in successive ligatures. The nearest to such a treatise we have today is the anonymous *Discantus positio vulgaris*, which is certainly pre-Garlandian.[56] So what we witness in this layer may well be the remnants of a treatise dating back to the middle of the century, if not before. Such a treatise would have been of little use to musicians in the later part of the century, of course, so if it did indeed originate as an independent text, it need not surprise us that no copies of it have survived. What does seem surprising, on the other hand, is that Anonymous IV should still have deemed it relevant enough to use it as the basis for his first chapter.

This brings us to one of the most puzzling things about Anonymous IV in general: the extent to which his treatise appears to dwell on the past. By the 1280s or 1290s, even Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica* was already antiquated, and its teachings superseded. Musicians active at this time needed to know, more than anything else, how to sing and compose motets in Franconian notation, how to deal, in other words, with the most recent repertory in manuscripts like Mo or Tu. Yet in precisely these respects Anonymous IV was of no help to them at all. Although he knew Franco of Cologne as a man who had produced music books and devised new rules of notation,[57] there is no

56. Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*, ed. S. M. Cserba, Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935), 189–94. Fritz Reckow has pointed out that this treatise comprises several different textual layers, some early, and some late; see "Proprietas and perfectio: Zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert," AM 39 (1967): 115–43 at 137 n. 81. The identification of these various layers is an issue to which I hope to return elsewhere.

57. *Musiktraktat*, 46: 22–26: "until the time of Magister Franco the first and the other Magister Franco, of Cologne, who in their books began to notate differently for a part. For which reason they handed down other rules of their own that were specially suited for their books" ("usque in tempus magistri Franconis primi et alterius magistri Franconis de Colonia, qui inceperant in suis libris aliter pro parte notare. Qua de causa alias regulas proprias suis libris apropriatas tradiderunt").

indication that he was well acquainted with those rules, or that he considered it his responsibility to teach them.

This apparent conservatism seems to confirm our earlier impression that Anonymous IV was a musician of advanced age when he set out to write his treatise. Yet it also raises a troubling question: why did he decide to write the treatise at all? How did he think it might be useful to fellow musicians? It is as if somebody today would write a textbook on geology that reflected the state of knowledge of the 1960s, before the theory of plate tectonics had irreversibly changed the field. What could be the purpose of such a textbook today? By the same token, what could have been the purpose of Anonymous IV's treatise in the final years of the thirteenth century?

It might be tempting to think of the author as a figure either too inflexible or too old to have kept up with recent developments in music theory. Yet this explanation fails to persuade. Franco's teachings were widely accepted as authoritative, widely disseminated, widely practiced, and not especially difficult to master. It would have been perverse for a professional musician, even one approaching the end of his career, to refuse to engage with them. On the other hand, and for that very reason, there could have been little point for Anonymous IV to write a treatise setting forth those teachings. Familiarity with Franconian notation may have been one of the few things he could take for granted about his readers. Besides, there was no way to do better what Franco had so masterfuly accomplished already in his *Ars cantus mensurabilis*. Neither did Franco's treatise leave much need for further commentary. In fact contemporary readers were said rather to rejoice in brevity, for which reason they needed digests, not elaborations, of Franco.[58]

On the other hand, what could certainly not be taken for granted was first-hand knowledge and experience with Garlandian and pre-Garlandian notation. The great notational revolution of the mid-thirteenth century was a thing of the past, and now rapidly receding from living memory. It is this problem—if it was a problem—to which Anonymous IV appears to have offered a remedy. Among thirteenth-century textbooks on music theory, his treatise is unique for the consistently *historicizing* approach it takes to its subject matter.[59]

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58. Cf. Heinz Ristory, "Ein Abbreviationstraktat im Umfeld der franconischen und post-franconischen Compendia," AM 59 (1987): 95–110.

59. Anonymous IV's historical awareness is especially evident in his practice of naming distinct historical periods after individuals, as in: "the time of X" or "the time of Y." The precise chronological succession of these periods is indicated by expressions such as "*after* X came Y," "*from* the time of X," or "*until* the time of Y"—as if the periods were cleanly demarcated without overlap of any kind (*Der Musiktraktat*, 32, 46, and 50). The seven musicians who had periods named after them are, in chronological order: (1) magister Leo, (2) magister Perotinus Magnus, (3) magister Robertus de Sabilone, (4) magister Petrus, (5) Johannes *dictus* Primarius, (6) magister Franco *primus*, and (7) magister Franco de Colonia.Anonymous IV's usage is typical of medieval chronicles and legal documents, where historical events or practices are regularly dated in the reigns of kings, popes, or other rulers. Here, for example, is a document from late thirteenth-century England: "eorum antecessores … tempore regis Willelmi Conquestoris, et Willelmi regis filii sui, et eciam tempore regis Henrici primi solebant tenere terras suas …" (1289); see Paul Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England: Essays in English Mediaeval History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), 111 n. 3. That Anonymous IV dated the musical past in terms analogous to a royal or papal succession is indicated by his use of the ordinal number in the name "magister Franco primus," evidently to distinguish this man from his direct successor and namesake magister Franco de Colonia (cf. the "rex Henricus primus" in the example just cited). There is thus a good possibility that we are dealing with seven

We have seen this in its first two chapters, which are purposely set up to highlight the difference between two historical stages in the development of modal notation. In the unlikely event that some readers had failed to pick up, from the first chapter, what pre-Garlandian notation had been like, Anonymous IV was more than happy to remind them, again, and again, and again:[60]

> Those rules are used in many books of the ancients, and this from the time of Perotin the Great, and in his time, but they were unable to expound them along with certain others mentioned below, and similarly from the time of Leo for a part ...
>
> These ligatures ... were at first confused as to their name. But they were used with equivocation ... for in the old books they had notes that were too equivocal, since single notes were materially equal. But they performed by understanding alone, saying: I understand that one to be long, I understand that one to be short. And they labored for an excessively long time before they would know anything well ...
>
> But in the books of certain of the ancients there was no material signification signified in such a way. But they proceeded by understanding alone ...

Comments such as these sound like the words of a man who knew that most of his readers were younger than him—too young, at any rate, to have witnessed these developments in person. There is also something else that Anonymous IV knew about his readers, or at least felt confident to assume about them: that they were interested in the past at all, indeed that they would hang on his lips whenever his mind happened to wander back to mid-century Paris. We can tell this from one of the first points we have remarked upon in this essay: the theorist's habit of promising further discussion at a later point. Whenever Anonymous IV embarks on one of his excursions it might be tempting to think of him as an old man so caught up in the vividness of his memories that he forgets both himself and his readers. Yet when he ends such excursions with the promise to say more, it is clear that this cannot be true: he genuinely expected readers to value the information he shared. If he had to return to the main argument, it was due to lack of time, not lack of historical interest on the part of his readers. The only question that remains for us to answer is this: who were those readers, and why would they have been so interested in the past?

Great Books

To address this question it will be necessary now to consider some of the more famous passages in the treatise of Anonymous IV, those that deal not primarily with technical matters but rather with musical culture in general. One of those passages is quoted in its entirety in the Appendix: it is the opening section of chapter 6, where the theorist itemizes the various different types of polyphony that were in circulation in his time.

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successive office holders, and consequently with seven distinct periods of office. The office in question was most probably the leadership of a *corps de métier*, a confraternity of *magistri* who were active as notators, teachers, and makers of music books. One would not name a period after anyone of lesser authority. This possibility is strengthened by the alias of Johannes "*dictus* Primarius," which would normally indicate the position of rector, or principal, at a university college or faculty, but may also, more intriguingly, refer to the status of the *premier maistre* in a professional guild. See also below, n. 70.

60. After *Musiktraktat*, 46: 1–3, 49: 31 to 50: 3, and 51: 9–10.

Anonymous IV distinguishes these types in terms of *volumes*, speaking of a first volume, a second volume, a third, and so on. What he means by this is apparent from several other remarks elsewhere in the treatise. Polyphony is typically notated in comprehensive collections which the theorist describes as "books of *organum*," *libri organi*.[61] These tend to be organized in "volumes," *volumina*.[62] Those volumes are different not only with regard to genre, style, and technique, but also with regard to musical notation.

What Anonymous IV describes in Appendix 1 looks very much like the table of contents of a typical book of *organum*.[63] There are no known musical sources from this period that match this table of contents precisely, but the central Notre Dame manuscripts, F, W_1, and W_2, are certainly organized along very similar lines.[64] And we know that many more books of the same type must have circulated in the later thirteenth century.[65] In fact it would not be far-fetched to suggest that the discussion in the Appendix was based on an actual book he owned himself. It may not be coincidence, for example, that when Anonymous IV quotes the titles of several works by Master Perotin elsewhere in the treatise, he lists these by genre in exactly the same order as the genres in the Appendix:[66]

> Now this Master Perotin made [1] excellent quadrupla such as *Viderunt*, *Sederunt*, with an abundance of *colores* of the harmonic art; [2] similarly also several most

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61. As Anonymous IV emphasizes (71: 1–5), *organum* is a comprehensive term for polyphony of any kind, and this comprehensiveness is its prima facie meaning in terms like *organista*, or *liber organi*. Whenever Anonymous IV speaks more specifically of sustained-note *organum*, he takes great care to speak of *organum purum*, even if that would have been obvious from the context in any case (as in ch. 7, which is wholly devoted to *organum purum* yet persistently uses the adjective). The theorist is equally careful to speak of *libri puri organi* (44: 18) and *puri organistae* (79: 6) when he needs to distinguish these from *libri organi* and *organistae* in general. Thus, the term *magnus liber organi* (46: 7), which lacks the adjective *purum* but emphasizes the element of comprehensiveness in the word *magnus*, would have been the obvious term for comprehensive anthologies like W_1, F, or W_2; and without additional qualification that is what contemporary readers would ordinarily have taken it to mean. See also above, nn. 5 and 6.

62. *Musiktraktat*, 40: 24: "in books of *organum*, and this according to their different volumes" ("in libris organi, et hoc secundum sua volumina diversa"). Anonymous IV repeatedly stresses that *volumina* are characterized by their diversity: "in multis locis in *diversis* voluminibus organi" (33: 4), "organistae divinum officium multiplicantes in suis voluminibus ... *secundum diversas partes* orbis terrarum" (48: 17), "quidam alii, secundum *diversa* volumina, faciunt semper quinque [regulas]" (60: 28), "*multiplex numerus modorum* voluminum" (82: 2), "plura alia volumina ... *secundum diversitates* ordinationum cantus et melodiae" (82: 26).

63. As noted by Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 58–59, and "The Origins of W_1," 379 n. 201; see also Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), 154–62.

64. In particular, the fact that successive volumes tend to be arranged in order of descending number of voice parts, with quadrupla in the first volume, tripla in the second, three-part conducti in the third, two-part conducti in the fourth, mixed repertory in the fifth (internally organized by descending number of voice parts, 4, 3, 2), two-voice *organa dupla* in the sixth volume, and monophonic conducti in the seventh.

65. More on this below, n. 72.

66. *Musiktraktat*, 46: 12. Significantly, the list of works by Perotin includes no titles in the two most antiquated musical genres: [5] conducti without *caudae* and [6] *organum purum*. It is worth also noting the absence of motets, although Anonymous IV implies elsewhere that these existed *in tempore Perotini Magni* and even before (32: 17–21, describing early motet notation in score, as found in such sources as LoA and Ch).

> noble tripla such as *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*, *Nativitas*, and so on. He also made [3] three-part conducti such as *Salvatoris hodie*, and [4] two-part conducti such as *Dum sigillum summi patris*, and also [7] monophonic conducti along with several others such as *Beata viscera*, and so on.

Nor may it be coincidence that most of the pieces cited here and in the Appendix are the ones he would have been likely to find at beginnings of volumes in any *liber organi*. This is of course self-evident in the case of the quadrupla *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*, which are found at the beginning of every known Notre Dame manuscript. Yet Anonymous IV probably cited the triplum *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus* for the same reason: it is the first of the Mass tripla, in terms of its position in the liturgical year, and indeed it opens one of the tripla sections in W_1. Again, when Anonymous IV cites *Iudea et Iherusalem* as an example of *organum purum*, it stands to reason that the relevant *volumen* in his book began—like the corresponding volumes in W_1, F, and W_2—with Office *organa*, of which *Iudea et Iherusalem* is the first.[67]

As for conducti, it is well known that those three Notre Dame sources all have conductus sections beginning with *Salvatoris hodie* followed directly (or almost directly) by *Relegentur ab area*.[68] Surely it cannot be coincidence that Anonymous IV cites the former among the works by Perotin, and the latter as an example of three-part conducti with *caudae*. The pattern observed here would suggest that the two-part conductus section began with *Ave Maria*, *Pater noster commiserans*, and *Hac in die rege nato*, but unfortunately there is no evidence to support or contradict that assumption.[69]

However this may be, it seems plausible to picture Anonymous IV as holding his own *liber organi* not only while dictating the beginning of chapter 6 (the Appendix), but even while citing selected works by Perotin in the passage quoted just above. And if it is indeed fair to suggest this for the latter passage, then what he writes in the sentence after it need not be the non-sequitur that it might otherwise appear to be. Having cited works by Perotin from his *liber organi*, in the order in which they appear in its various volumes, it seems no more than natural to move on to the book as a whole:[70]

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67. Elsewhere Anonymous IV cites three examples of *organa dupla* (*Musiktraktat*, 70: 26), and all three happen to be Office *organa* from the beginning of the liturgical year: *Iudea et Iherusalem* (01), *Descendit de celis* (02), and *Gaude Maria* (05). Perhaps not coincidentally, the only other *organum duplum* he cites by title (87: 12) is the first of the Mass *organa*, *Viderunt omnes* (M1).

68. The conductus section of LoA also begins with *Salvatoris hodie*, but *Relegentur ab area* is the fourth piece here.

69. Generally speaking there appears to be little rhyme or reason to the order in which two-part conducti were copied in different sources; cf. Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, PA, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981), 67–102. However, Edward Roesner has noted that in fascicle IX of W_1 *Ave Maria* and *Pater noster commiserans* appear "at the beginning of gathering 19, a major point of division within the fascicle," and that the last piece in this same gathering happens to be *Hac in die rege nato* ("The Origins of W_1," 380 n. 201).

70. *Musiktraktat*, 46: 18–29. Magister Robertus de Sabilone is named after the rue de Sablon, or *vicus de sabulo*, a narrow street before the west façade of Notre Dame Cathedral, in what is now the Parvis Notre Dame. This street was densely inhabited by book traders, parchmenters, and scribes; see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), 1:21–23 and 418–19 (map 5). Robertus may (or may not) be identical with the magister Robertus de Hangest who is documented as owning two houses, including a workroom/shopfront,

> Liber vel libri magistri Perotini erant in usu usque ad tempus magistri Roberti de Sabilone et in coro Beatae Virginis maioris ecclesiae Parisiensis et a suo tempore usque in hodiernum diem.
>
> (The book or books of Master Perotin were in use up to the time of Master Robert de Sablon, and in the choir of church of Notre Dame at Paris, and from his time until the present day.)

Earlier, Anonymous IV had told us that Master Perotin made an edition of "the great book of *organum*," an edition that featured new and better *clausulae* or *puncta* composed by himself.[71] We now learn that this edition remained in use, not just until other masters started making different books, but even up to the theorist's own time. He should know, one is tempted to say, for it looks as if he was holding a copy of that very edition in his hands. The sources most likely to reflect the *editio perotini*, after all, must be those that contain, as a rule, all his known works, each placed in as prominent a position as the books' internal arrangement will allow. This is true of W_1, F, and W_2, as we have seen; it was evidently true of the book used by Anonymous IV; and so far as we can

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in the rue de Sablon in 1222–24; see ibid., and *Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (1157–1300)*, ed. Léon Brièle (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1894), 79. By the same token it appears likely that the man "who was named old Thomas de Sancto Juliano at Paris" lived in the parish of St Julien-le-Pauvre at Paris, and that "magister Symon de Sacalia" resided in the rue de Sacalie (today rue Xavier Privas)—both streets, significantly, on the South Bank, just off the Petit Pont, a mere 300 meters from the rue de Sablon. Interestingly, a namesake Symon de Sacalie is mentioned among the master furbishers of Paris in an ordinance of the *mestier des fourbeeurs* dated 1290; see *Réglemens sur les arts et métiers de Paris, rédigés au XIII^e siècle*, ed. Georges-Bernard Depping (Paris: Impr. de Crapelet, 1837), 368. A few comments about notators who had hailed from other parts of France. The family name of magister Petrus Trothun of Orléans is not otherwise attested in documents from this period, and should probably be read as Crochun or Crochu. Magister Theobaldus Gallicus would probably have been called Thibaut le Galois rather than have been known as Theobaldus the Frenchman. The "quidam probus de Picardia" called magister Iohannes le Faukoner must have been a *preud'home* (*probus homo*), a senior figure charged with the responsibility of settling disputes within a professional guild. For this position in a specifically musical context, see the 1321 statutes of the Parisian confraternity of minstrels: "Item, que ou dit mestier seront ordené .ii. ou .iii. preudes hommes de par nous ou de par nos successeurs prevos de Paris ou nom du roy…"; Edmond Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris: H. Champion, 1910), 129–30. This meaning of *probus* is consistent with the point made earlier (above, n. 59) that the Parisian notators mentioned by Anonymous IV are likely to have been fellow members of a *corps de métier*, a confraternity of *magistri* who were active as notators, teachers, and makers of music books.

71. For Anonymous IV, the word *clausula* was synonymous with *punctum*. It had no precise definition, but referred generally to a stretch of notated music, often part of a larger piece, that was marked off either by a bar line extending from the top to bottom line of the staff ("si fuerit tractus secundum longitudinem latitudinis omnium spatiorum, talis tractus finis clausulae vel puncti dicitur"; 61: 1–2), or by a longa rest ("omnis punctus paenultimus ante longam pausationem sicut in fine puncti vel clausulae est longus"; 86: 19–21). On one occasion Anonymous IV uses the terms *clausa vel punctum* to denote a music example that contains two texted excerpts from a two-part motet, fused together as if they were one piece ([152] *Je cuidai mes maus celer*/QUONIAM; 75: 24 to 76: 6). There is no compelling reason to assume, then, that the term *clausula* should have referred exclusively to untexted discant sections in *organa dupla*, or that Perotin's editorial efforts lay chiefly in the creation of such sections. The term could equally well have been Anonymous IV's preferred designation for motets, especially given that he avoided the word *motellus* itself. For example, when the theorist described early motet notation in his first chapter (ibid. 32: 7–26), he pointedly did so without using any genre designation. His only use of the term *motellus*, significantly, is in a borrowing from Garlandia, and even then he takes special care to explain the word to English audiences as a synonym of *discantus*. See 55: 25: "in tenoribus discantuum sive motellorum," after Garlandia's "in tenoribus motellorum" (*De mensurabili musica*, 55).

tell it is true of numerous other manuscripts of the same type, which either have survived as fragments or are known from documentary evidence to have once existed.[72] Hundreds, if not thousands, of such manuscripts must have been produced in northern France between about 1240 and 1260, and found their way to all corners of western Europe. It is hard to think of a more appropriate reason why Master Perotin would have earned the epithet The Great.

By itemizing the contents of a typical *liber organi*, Anonymous IV clearly implies that his readers have access to books of this type as well. This point is central to an understanding of his treatise, as he himself is careful to emphasize. "Now," he writes at the beginning of the passage in the Appendix, "let us move on to the *finale propositum*"—that is, in Aristotelian terms, the final cause, the τέλος, "that for the sake of which a thing is done" (*Met.*, V. ii). Books of *organum* with their diverse volumes: these are the *raison d'être* of the treatise as a whole. So whoever his readers were, and whatever their profession or status in life, there is one thing we can reasonably assume about them: they owned music books—*old* music books. And because the books were old, everything Anonymous IV wrote about the time when they were copied was of interest to them. If his treatise dwells on the past to an otherwise unusual extent, the reason must be that the past was still around, in the form of *libri organi* in private possession. Without the treatise, without the historical background it provided, there might soon be a time when these books would be undecipherable and thus, for all their precious decoration and calligraphy, worthless. Anonymous IV had an urgent task before him.

Who were the readers who still owned such manuscripts in the late thirteenth century? In the first instance one might suppose that they included practical musicians active in monasteries, cathedrals, parish churches, and court chapels—a fair assumption, given that the repertory in these sources is overwhelmingly sacred. Certainly such musicians would have been the principal users of any practical musical sources at this time. Yet it is not self-evident that books of *organum* as described by Anonymous IV were necessarily the kinds of sources they were most interested in owning. Consider once again the Appendix. Some of the volumes here appear to be of antiquarian interest at best. This is true, as Anonymous IV admits, of the fifth volume, with contains conducti without *caudae*. Such conducti, he says, "used to be much in use among minor singers," the unstated implication being that other musicians have meanwhile moved on to newer repertories.[73] And when

72. Among fragmentary sources surviving today, the following appear to have originated in books of the same type as W_1, F, W_2, and Ma: Châlons-sur-Marne (F-CECad 3 J 250; Ch), GB-Lbl Egerton 2615 (LoA), D-Mbs 4775 (MüA), the Oxford fragments GB-Ob Wood 591 (OxWood) and Auct. 6 Q 3.17 (OxAuct—from the same parent source as Sol), as well as various Notre Dame fragments uncovered in libraries and archives in Frankfurt, Münster, New York (Columbia University), Nuremberg, fragments in Inc. 304. 20 (Nu), Silos (E-SI; Si), Solothurn (CH-Sz 5.231; Sol, from the same parent source as OxAuct), and Stary Sącz (PL-STk; StS). Efforts to update the notation of *organa dupla* are evident in the fragments D-B Lat. 4° 523 (BeA), D-HEu 2588 (Heid), and D-DS 3471 (Da). (The *organum* fragments in Da appear to be from the same workshop, and quite possibly from the same parent manuscript, as Heid.) Similar efforts at a still later stage can be witnessed in the Lambertian/Franconian fragments Copenhagen 1810 (DK-Kk).

73. It is unclear what Anonymous IV meant by *minores cantores*, though the most likely interpretation is that these were lay singers as opposed to clerics. See, for example, the sermon preached by Jean de Blois at Paris around 1230–31: "That is, against certain great men who are unwilling to preach to *minores*,

it comes to the sixth volume, *organum purum*, we know for a fact that this repertory was all but obsolete by the 1280s. It is true that Anonymous IV viewed his discussion of *organum purum* as the culmination of his treatise (ch. 7), yet this, if contemporary musical sources are anything to go by, was not because there was still a particular demand for such music. What he writes about *organum purum* notation and performance applies to the repertory as it had been transmitted decades ago; his discussion may have been as difficult to understand for his contemporaries as it still is for us.[74]

But what about the volumes at the beginning of the *liber organi?* What about the great quadrupla and tripla by Perotin? Anonymous IV is full of praise for these settings. He writes about the famous quadrupla, for example, that they contain many *colores et pulcritudines*, many things of beauty and ornament, adding that "for the greater part of this art, you may have those in use together with certain similar ones."[75] The theorist is just as euphoric about the Greater Tripla. These, he says, also contain *colores et pulcritudines* in great abundance, and the volumes containing them could indeed prove of practical use to his readers: "if anyone were to have a divine service, in this way he would have the best volume of this art." Clearly, then, his readers were not just bookish intellectuals: they were people with repertorial needs. Why else they would they have owned, or have access to, old *libri organi?* And why else would they have been interested in learning more about their notation?

Still, does this necessarily mean that they were practical musicians? Anonymous IV uses a curious expression, *habere servicium divinum*, for the context in which the repertorial needs might arise. What is unusual about it is that it does not refer to the act of performing the service. In documents from this period, priests are usually said to *recite* or *say* the divine service, clergy to *sing* it or *celebrate* it, and masters of *organum*, according to Anonymous IV, *multiply* it in their books.[76] But who is the person who "has" a divine service? And why is the

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that is, layfolk, yet who do preach to clerics" ("Hoc est contra quosdam magnos qui nolunt minoribus praedicare, scilicet laicis, sed clericis praedicant"); Marie-Madeleine Davy, *Les Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230–1231: Contribution à l'histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1931), 376.

74. It is typical of late *organum duplum* sources such as Da, K, and I-Rvat, lat. 14179, that the settings consist almost wholly of discant, and that their notation involves extensive use of Lambertian/Franconian principles. (There is also no trace of sustained-note *organum* in the two-voice settings in the eleventh fascicle of W_1 and in F-Pn lat. 15139, StV.) Anonymous IV's discussion of *organum purum* appears to be the last manifestation of a dying tradition. More on this issue in Rebecca Baltzer, "How Long Was Notre-Dame Organum Performed?" in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 118–43.

75. These terms of aesthetic appraisal, along with the criterion of *nobilitas*, come directly from Garlandia, or at least the Paris chapters that Reimer relegated as "nichtauthentisch" in the appendix of his edition (Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, 95–96).

76. As master Leonin did in his great *liber organi* (46: 7–8: "pro servitio divino *multiplicando*"), and other *organistae* throughout the world continued to do in their *volumina* (48: 17: "divinum officium *multiplicantes*"). (See also *De sinemenis*, which is almost certainly by Anonymous IV as well: "omnia supradicta ad sanctissimam gloriam divinam *multiplicanda*.") Curiously, *multiplicare*, in connection with divine services, normally referred not to the activities of musicians but rather—like such synonyms as *ampliare* or *augmentare*—to the intentions of benefactors. Foundation documents, for example, typically cite the ardent wish of benefactors to "augment" or "increase" the worship of God, as in this example from Paris, 1229: "cupientes ... divini cultus *ampliare* servicium operumque pietatis *multiplicare* fructum"; *Chartularium Universitatis parisiensis*, ed. Heinrich Denifle, 5 vols. (Paris: Delalain, 1889–97), 1:118. On this usage and its practical implications, see

remark conditional ("were to have"), as if some readers of the treatise might just as easily not "have" a divine service? Archival records indicate that the expression *habere servicium divinum* applied not so much to musical or clerical staff who performed services, but rather to private individuals or collectives for whose sake they were celebrated—those who were responsible for providing the necessary funding, for maintaining the church or chapel, and for purchasing the requisite items, in short, to private donors and benefactors.[77] As the conditional tense confirms, such benefactors were free to decide whether to "have" the divine service with polyphony or not. And if they did, it was also for them to decide whether or not to pay for a volume of Greater Tripla, along with other items such as vestments, chalices, thurifers, or chandeliers. Anonymous IV recommends that they do, and we may take it that benefactors could easily afford a volume of tripla if not an entire *liber organi*.

What little we know about the owners of *libri organi* in the thirteenth century bears this out: we typically find these books mentioned in the library inventories of kings, popes, bishops, and major cathedrals—the latter usually having received them from private donors, mostly prelates.[78] Many of these private owners may have been active as musicians, though probably not in the sense that we might understand the term today,

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Pamela Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe: Papal Grace and Music Patronage," *EMH* 11 (1992): 223–62 at 238–46. One might reasonably infer from the word *multiplicare* that Anonymous IV viewed the activities of *organistae* as analogous to those of benefactors, in the sense that they freely made their books and volumes available for the increase of the *opus Dei*, as opposed to other labors for which they might have accepted remuneration.

77. The expression is most frequently found in visitation reports of parish communities, yet there is no reason why the expression *habere servicium divinum* could not have applied equally well to other private benefactors. Two examples from England: "Parochiani dicunt … quod non habent servicium divinum" and "non habent servicium divinum cum nota et cantu sicut posset habere"; see Arthur T. Bannister, "Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397," *English Historical Review* 44 (1929): 444–53 at 445 and 449, and 45 (1930), 92–101 at 95, and 444–64 at 448; Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1969), 203. The expression occurs in exactly the same sorts of contexts in French documents: "Dominus injunxit … et ordinavit, ut habeant servicium…"; "injunctum est ut habeant servicium." See *Visites archidiaconales de Josas*, ed. J. M. Alliot (Paris: A. Picard, 1902), 74; Henri Jadart, "Une église rurale du Moyen Âge jusqu'à nos jours: Villers-devant-le-Thour et Juzancourt," *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 7 (1895): 593–617 at 596.

78. Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners." The importance of benefactors to the cultivation of thirteenth-century church polyphony is recognized in the well-known passage on *magistri organicorum* in Robert of Courson's *Summa* of c. 1208–13: "The labors of masters of organum who set minstrelish and effeminate things before young and ignorant people, in order to weaken their minds, are not licit… if a wanton prelate gives benefices to such wanton singers in order that these kinds of minstrelish and wanton things be heard in his church, I believe he becomes contaminated with the disease of simony." See Christopher Page, *The Owl and The Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100–1300* (London: Dent, 1989), 145. A prelate who wished to promote church music by bestowing benefices or gifts on musicians (*dare beneficia*, as Courson puts it) could do so only as a private benefactor, not as the administrator of funds provided by other donors. For another example, see ibid., 136–37: Peter the Chanter, in his *Verbum abbreviatum* of c. 1192, relates the story of a prelate who wished to raise the feast of St. Stephen in his church to *duplex* rank, but was unable to achieve that goal unless he made the appropriate financial arrangements for the clerics and singers, evidently out of his own pocket. Such arrangements would of course be standard practice throughout the later Middle Ages, yet they were apparently a novelty for Peter the Chanter, who cited the *exemplum* with stern disapproval. At Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, private benefactions involving *organum* are well documented in the early thirteenth century; see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 242–43, 265, and 369–70.

that is, as professionals who earned their living by musical performance. The one thing they must all have had in common, and have shared with Anonymous IV himself, was the typical career path for which universities were designed to train young men. They typically were canons, bishops, abbots, councilors, administrators, judges, treasurers, or civil servants. They were *magistri*, men of status and privilege, as likely to own the treasures that were the *libri organi* as to pay for services in which these could be used. In that capacity they kept the musical past alive, thus ensuring the continued relevance of Anonymous IV's treatise well into the fourteenth century.

There are indications that Anonymous IV himself came from this milieu as well. For one thing, he knew some of the most prominent musicians in England, "such as Magister Johannes Fitzdieu, such as Makebliss at Winchester, and Blacksmith at the court of the late lord King Henry."[79] Henry Blacksmith is documented as clerk of the king's chapel in 1261.[80] Makebliss of Winchester has not been identified, but since Winchester was a major royal residence, it is entirely possible that he was connected with the court as well. Magister Johannes Filius Dei, or Fitzdieu, is mentioned in 1295 as the donor of a troper kept in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and must consequently have died before that date.[81] It is hard to imagine that Anonymous IV would have known any of these musicians unless he himself had maintained ties, during at least some phase of his career, with Windsor, Winchester, and/or Westminster—if indeed he had not worked in any of these centers himself.[82] With his uncommon erudition and knowledge in matters of music theory, surely he would have needed no introduction in these circles.

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79. See above, n. 8.

80. As discovered by Ian Bent, "The English Chapel Royal before 1300," *PRMA* 90 (1963–64): 77–95 at 94–95. See *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 5: 41, mentioned here along with fellow clerks John de Middleton and Henry de Westminster.

81. "The troper which Johannes Filius Dei bequeathed is quite fair, in which are appended all the *épîtres farcies*, lacks the Kyrie, begins *Salus eterna*, ends in the *épître farcie* of One Virgin." N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors, and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 229: "Troparium quod Iohannes filius dei legauit satis competens est in quo apponuntur om<ne>s epistole farsite est sine kyrie. Incipit Salus eterna, finit in epistola farsita vnius virginis." *Épîtres farcies* were satirical vernacular texts interpolated, like tropes, in lessons, especially those in the Christmas cycle. They were among the musical practices which Bishop Eudes de Sully of Paris sought to regulate in his well-known ordinance of 1198. The tradition was peculiar to France, which is where Johannes Fitzdieu must have acquired his Troper. Cf. Gérard le Vot, "La Tradition musicale des épîtres farcies de la Saint-Étienne en langues romanes," *RM* 73 (1987): 61–82.

82. I will elsewhere explore the possibility that Anonymous IV might be identical with magister John of Howden (or Houden, Houedene, Henedone), poet, musician, and clerk to Queen Eleanor of Provence (the wife of Henry III) during the 1270s. By the 1280s, Howden was holder of a benefice in the royal foundation of Bridgnorth, Shropshire, in the West Country. Bridgnorth was a major stop on the medieval road between Worcester and Shrewsbury (according to the mid-fourteenth-century Gough map), and was thus directly connected with the principal centers at which the Worcester repertory was compiled. Interestingly, John of Howden was the poet, and perhaps composer, of the conductus *O qui fontem*, found in W_1, F, W_2, and Ma. For the possibility that Anonymous IV was identical with, or strongly influenced by, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (c. 1175–1253), see Nancy van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 57 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

Anonymous IV must have spoken and thought in French—though probably not the French that was current in the Kingdom of France, but rather Anglo-Norman, the dialect used in England in urban, noble, and courtly environments. There is some support for that assumption in the theorist's use of the noun *entitio*, in the first chapter's section on the sixth imperfect mode.[83] *Entitio* is a derivation from the medieval Latin verb *entire*, which Anonymous IV uses as well, and whose meaning is to graft or to inset. *Entitio* is not attested in any Latin text other than the treatise by Anonymous IV,[84] and it does not have a counterpart in Old French. Yet it does have a vernacular counterpart in the Anglo-Norman *entesun* (evidently a spelling variant of *entition*), which was the thirteenth-century translation of Latin *insitio*, ingrafting.[85] *Entesun*, surely, is the word that was in Anonymous IV's mind when he wrote his first chapter, and which he must have back-formed into the neologism *entitio*.

Two final points need to be made about Anonymous IV. First, he appears to have been an expert player on string instruments. There are simply too many references in his treatise to instruments, instrumental performance, books of music for instruments, and professional instrumentalists, for him to have been only superficially acquainted with this world. A background in instrumental performance would explain the theorist's detailed knowledge of *fractio modi*, the breaking up of note values in minute fractions, a

83. "And be not amazed at such an arrangement of notes or at such an *entitio*, for sometimes one finds a disjunction of the *ordo*'s feet, and thus the disjunction becomes a conjunction by means of the *entitio*, and sometimes the other way around" ("et non mireris de tali ordine punctorum sive de tali entitione, quoniam quandoque invenitur disiunctio ordinis pedum, et sic disiunctio mediante entitione fit coniunctio, et quandoque e contrario"; *Musiktraktat*, 36: 3–6). It is apparent from Anonymous IV's discussion that he understands by *entitio* the grafting of one metric foot into another. Apparently this occurs whenever imperfect sixth-mode *ordines* are derived from perfect *ordines* in which the last note before the rest is long (e.g.  or ). However, I am at a loss to determine by what logic he derives any of his imperfect sixth-mode *ordines*, including the ones involving *entitio*. (The corresponding section in the second chapter is lacking—another of the author's apparent oversights.) My best guess is that *entitio* arises when (in modern terms) a sixth-mode rhythm is displaced by an eighth-note rest, as follows:  or . Niemann, in *Über die abweichende Bedeutung*, 76–86, resolves the problem by assuming that the music examples given by Anonymous IV must be erroneous. His conjecturally emended readings are adopted without discussion in Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 435, and Mary Elizabeth Wolinski, "The Montpellier Codex: Its Compilation, Notation, and Implications for the Chronology of the Thirteenth-Century Motet" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1988), 142–44. It would exceed the scope of this essay to demonstrate that Anonymous IV himself understood his examples to be perfectly faultless.

84. Otto Prinz, *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. to date (Munich: Beck, 1967–), 3:1289. Anonymous IV is also the only known medieval author to have used the verb *entire*, but this has a vernacular counterpart in both Old French and Anglo-Norman (*enter*). Other extremely rare terms in his treatise are the adjective *irregulativus* (irregular), the adverbs *permixtive* (thoroughly mixed) and *irrespective* (indifferently), and the verb *melodizare* (to sing sweetly). Other uncommon terms betray his acquaintance with concepts and expressions in medieval logic, for example, *per modum aequivocationis* (by way of equivocation), and especially the adverb *transumptive* (metaphorically). For Anonymous IV's use of the Arabic terms *elmuahim* and *elmuarifa*, see Charles Burnett, "The Use of Geometrical Terms in Medieval Music: elmuahim and elmuarifa and the Anonymous IV," *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 70 (1986): 198–205.

85. Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, 3 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1991), 2:30.

practice which he specifically associates with instrumental performance.[86] It may also suggest that when he quoted two excerpts from the two-part motet *Je cuidai mes maus celer/*QUONIAM, he may have been dictating the relevant passages from memory, perhaps by singing the piece to his own accompaniment.[87]

Still, while Anonymous IV was clearly quite knowledgeable in instrumental musical practice, he did not expect his readers to be especially interested in learning more about it. Each of his various passing references—to *fractio* on string instruments, for example, or to the notation used in books of instrumental music, or the technical terms used by instrumental performers, or the wide pitch range of string instruments[88]—could have served as the springboard for yet another elaborate excursion, and would undoubtedly have prompted reminiscences as interesting and informative as those on Leonin and Perotin and their contemporaries. Yet this would have been outside the scope of his treatise: the *libri organi* of the thirteenth century, for all their comprehensiveness, did not contain *volumina* of instrumental music,[89] and the theorist had enough presence of mind not to spend time on topics that were not germane to his *finale propositum*.

The second important point about Anonymous IV is that he had traveled very widely, since he comments on musical practices in various parts of Europe, and evidently does so from first-hand experience.[90] It is apparent, for example, that he must have heard the singing of two-part *organum* among the *Lumbardi*—an ethnic designation broad enough to comprise most people in northern Italy, but here perhaps referring particularly to Milan or Genoa, two major cities along the roads to Rome and Venice.[91] On two occasions he refers to the *libri organi* used in *Pampilonia*, *Ragonia*, and *Hyspania* (that is, the Kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon, and Castile), and he knows enough about their notational practices

86. Ch. 1, *secunda pars*; analyzed in detail in Niemann, *Über die abweichende Bedeutung*, 98–121.

87. Anonymous IV cites the motetus lyrics in pure Anglo-Norman ("io quiday me maus celer. me io ni puis. kamurs ne mi lesse"), yet it is open to question whether he relied here on a source written in that dialect. There is only sporadic evidence that French motets were copied or used in England at this time, and their lyrics were rewritten in Anglo-Norman; cf. Mark Everist, "Anglo-French Interaction in Music, c1170–c1300," *RBM* 46 (1992): 5–22. Any motet source that Anonymous IV might have brought with him from France would have been written in Parisian French. In W_2, for example, the corresponding lyrics read: "Je cuidai mes maus celer et endurer mes ie ni puis..." (fol. 218bis v), and in N: "Je cuidai mes maus celer et endurer mais ie ni puis... mais amors ne mi laisse" (fol. 182v).

88. For *fractio* on string instruments, see *Musiktraktat*, 22: 24 to 23: 12; 39: 15–19; 45: 7–8; for books of instrumental music, see 40: 26–28 ("Simplicia puncta quaedam accipiuntur ... prout utuntur in libris notarum diversi generis, prout utuntur in quolibet genere omnium instrumentorum et cetera"); for technical terms used by instrumental performers, see 56: 15–17 ("post primam clausulam notarum, quod alii nominant proprie loquendo secundum operatores instrumentorum punctum, et dicerent tunc: post primum punctum"); and for the wide range of instruments, see 86: 8–12.

89. Anonymous IV states specifically that books of instrumental music contained notes of a different type: "There are single notes ... as they are used in books of *organum*, and this according to their different volumes, and also as they are used in books of notes of a different type such as are used in any type of all instruments." (*Musiktraktat* 40: 25–27: "[simplicia puncta] prout utuntur in libris organi, et hoc secundum sua volumina diversa, ac etiam prout utuntur in libris notarum diversi generis, prout utuntur in quolibet genere omnium instrumentorum.")

90. See the list of the geographic names and concepts mentioned by Anonymous IV, in *Musiktraktat*, 118.

91. *Musiktraktat*, 79: 5–11.

to contrast them with the peculiarly Parisian invention of the rhythmic modes.[92] Anonymous IV appears to be especially knowledgeable about Navarre. This is the only country, aside from his native England, for which he is careful to note that certain musical practices were current only in some parts but not others.[93] In both Navarre and England, then, he must have traveled widely enough to be able to observe differences in musical practice between different regions. This would suggest that Anonymous IV had visited not just the city of Pamplona itself, but other major towns in Navarre as well. One city he is perhaps especially likely to have visited, given that he refers to the neighboring Kingdom of Aragon as well, is Tudela, the last Navarrese town on the road from Pamplona to Aragon, and the seat of a university founded in 1259.

It is hard to know what business would have brought Anonymous IV to the northern parts of the Iberian peninsula, yet one could think of several possible scenarios. One scenario is that he had embarked, at some point in his life, on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, taking the French route (*camino francés*) from Paris, which passed through the entire Kingdom of Navarre, including the city of Pamplona, and subsequently through Castile and León.[94] Another possibility is that Anonymous IV had crossed the Pyrenees on official business for the King of England, perhaps as a member of a delegation sent from the neighboring English territories of Gascony and Aquitaine.[95] Still another possibility is that Anonymous IV had been active, early in his career, as a musician in the service of the Count of Champagne—either Count Thibault IV (the famous trouvère who died in 1253) or one of his successors, all of whom were kings of Navarre and resided regularly at their royal court in Pamplona. This latter scenario would have given our theorist the most ample opportunity to observe musical practices in different parts of Navarre.

To explore the world of Anonymous IV is to discover that his very treatise is already a world unto itself. It is a world in which the modern reader can dwell, travel, and explore for endless amounts of time, and of which large parts must inevitably remain *terra incog-*

92. For this and the following sentence, see *Musiktraktat*, 51: 10–15 and 60: 10–13. *Hispania* is a notoriously vague designation, yet English writers at this time understood it to refer to the Crown of Castile. In Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora*, for example, King Alfonso X of Castile (1221–84), the famous poet and musician of the Cantigas de Santa Maria, is consistently referred to as *rex Hispanie*. His subjects, the *Hispani*, were reputed by the English to be "the dregs of humanity, deformed in face, despicable in manners, and detestable in customs" ("[Hispani] sunt hominum peripsima, vultu deformes, cultu despicabiles, moribus detestabiles"). See *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols., Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 57 (London: Longman & Co., 1872–83), 5:450.

93. *Musiktraktat*, 60: 10–12: "Sed tales libri apud organistas in Francia, in Hyspania et Ragonia *et in partibus Pampiloniae et Angliae* et multis aliis locis non utuntur" (my italics); also ibid., 23: 4.

94. However, it is important to note that the French route did not pass through the Kingdom of Aragon; this scenario fails to explain, then, how Anonymous IV could have become familiar with *libri organi* notated in that territory.

95. For example, King Henry III of England concluded a treaty of alliance with King Alfonso X of Castile in 1254. For one of the diplomatic missions undertaken in connection with that treaty, see Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora*, 5:396–97, where we learn, interestingly, that the rights and liberties of English pilgrims passing through Castile on their way to Santiago were among the points of negotiation.

nita. It is also a world that does not yield up its secrets easily. The text has to grow on the reader, and for it to do that, one must be able to leave it aside, return to it only periodically, and be content to resolve only small problems at any one time. In this as in any medieval text, and especially one that has been studied so extensively for so long, it would be idle to hope for sudden breakthroughs or discoveries. The historical picture can only assume firmer shape gradually, in small increments. It is with this awareness that I offer the present essay in tribute of my dear friend Alejandro Planchart, who by his example has taught us all that the most unexpected and transformative insights often come only from the most angelic patience and fiendish persistence.

Appendix

Music Treatise of Anonymous IV, Introductory Section of Chapter 6 (*Der Musiktraktat,* 82: 2–29)

Nunc transeamus ad finale propositum sub tali forma. Sciendum, quod multiplex via et multiplex numerus modorum voluminum, ut supradiximus, contigit in talibus.

Now let us move on to the final cause in the following fashion. One should know that there are manifold roads, and manifold numbers of types of volumes, as we have said above, in such things.

[1] Est quoddam volumen continens quadrupla ut *Viderunt* et *Sederunt*, quae composuit Perotinus Magnus, in quibus continentur colores et pulcritudines. Pro maiori parte totius artis huius habeatis ipsa in usu cum quibusdam similibus et cetera.

[1] There is a certain volume containing quadrupla such as *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*, which Perotin the Great put together, in which are contained things of beauty and ornament. For the greater part of this whole art you would have those [quadrupla] in use with certain similar ones, and so on.

[2] Est et aliud volumen de triplicibus maioribus magnis ut *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus* et cetera, in quo continentur colores et pulcritudines cum habundantia. Et si quis haberet servitium divinum, sub tali forma haberet optimum volumen istius artis, de quo volumine tractabimus in postpositis in capitulo isto.

[2] And there is another volume of large greater tripla, such as *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus*, and so on, in which are contained things of beauty and ornament with abundance. And if anyone were to have a divine service, he would in this way have an excellent volume of this art, about which volume we shall treat in what follows in this chapter.

[3] Tertium volumen est de conductis triplicibus caudas habentibus sicut *Salvatoris hodie* et *Relegentur ab area* et similia, in quibus continentur puncta finalia organi in fine versuum et in quibusdam non, quos bonus organista perfecte scire tenetur.

[3] There is a third volume of three-part conducti having *caudae*, such as *Salvatoris hodie* and *Relegentur ab area* and similar ones, in some of which are contained final *organum* passages at the ends of verses, and in some not, which the good singer of *organum* is held to know perfectly.

[4] Est et aliud volumen de duplicibus conductis habentibus caudas ut *Ave Maria* antiquum in duplo et *Pater noster commiserans*, vel *Hac in die rege nato* in quo continentur nomina plurium conductorum, et similia.

[4] There is also another volume of two-part conducti that have *caudae*, such as the old *Ave Maria* in two parts, and *Pater noster commiserans*, or *Hac in die rege nato* in which are contained the names of several conducti, and similar things.

[5] Est et quintum volumen de quadruplicibus et triplicibus et duplicibus sine caudis, quod solebat esse multum in usu inter minores cantores, et similia.

[5] There is also a fifth volume of settings in four, three, and two parts without *caudae*, which used to be much in use among lay singers,[1] and similar things.

1. See above, n. 73.

[6] Est et sextum volumen de organo in duplo ut *Iudea et Ierusalem* et *Constantes*, quod quidem numquam fit in triplo neque potest fieri propter quendam modum proprium, quem habet extraneum aliis, et quia longae sunt nimis longae et breves nimis breves. Et videtur esse modus irregulativus quoad modos supradictos ipsius discantus, quamvis in se sit regularis et cetera. Quod quidem in septimo capitulo plenius declarabimus.

Et plura alia volumina reperiuntur secundum diversitates ordinationum cantus et melodiae sicut **[7]** simplices conducti lagi et similia alia plura, de quibus omnibus in suis libris vel voluminibus plenius patet.

[6] There is also a sixth volume of *organum* in two parts, such as *Iudea et Ierusalem* and *Constantes*, which indeed is never in three parts nor can be so performed because of a certain mode of its own which it has, different from the others, and because the longas are too long and breves are too short. And it appears to be an irregular mode compared to the abovesaid modes of the same discant, although in itself it is regular, and so on. Which indeed we shall explain more fully in the seventh chapter.

And there are found several other volumes according to the different ways of arranging tunes and consonances, such as **[7]** monophonic *lai* conducti,[2] and several other similar things, about all of which things more is apparent in their respective books or volumes.

2. In medieval Britain the prima facie meaning of the noun *lagus* was *law* (as in Latin *utlagus* or Anglo-Norman *outlage:* outlaw). Secondary meanings are *lake*, *lay/layperson*, and *lai*—that is, a sung poem, usually in the vernacular. The latter reading seems the most plausible in the present context, given that (1) a number of monophonic conducti, including Philip the Chancellor's *Veritas equitas*, are actually in *lai* form or contrafacta of French *lais*, and that (2) according to Johannes de Grocheio, French-texted *cantus coronati* were called *simplices conducti* by some; cf. Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musice*, ed. and trans., Constant J. Mews et al. (Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute, 2011), 68: "cantus coronatus ab aliquibus simplex conductus dictus est."