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University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 436: a description and analysis of contents

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MS CODEX 436:
A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Music

in

The School of Music

by

Jeannette D. Jones
B.A., Covenant College, 2001
May 2007

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I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my advisor, Jan Herlinger, who has supported me wholeheartedly during my entire program. I will always hold before me his example of an insightful, careful scholar who loves his work. He has always been available to share ideas, to answer questions, or to offer advice. And I especially appreciate his patience and willingness to work with me on this project long-distance, largely over email. I thank him for his detailed criticism and suggestions, for his help with translations, and for his navigation into this world of manuscript studies into which I venture for the first time. I am grateful, too, to the other members of my committee, Andreas Giger and Christine Kooi, who have always supported and encouraged my work and who have offered valuable and helpful advice.

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ABSTRACT

The University of Pennsylvania Ms. Codex 436, an Italian manuscript dated 1682, is a handbook containing alphabets, linguistic treatises, calendars, mathematical tables, and rules for music theory. The manuscript's contents make it possible to identify the compiler as a student; the contents, along with their mode of presentation and the manuscript's general appearance, make it possible to situate him within the culture of humanism and more specifically within book culture in the transition from manuscript to print.

The contents indicate who the compiler is in terms of his social identity, that is, a student in an ecclesiastical vocation, but the physical features of the manuscript also tell us something about how the compiler saw his identity in relation to the book, namely, that of author. The compiler's effort to present a document with many print-like features demonstrates the confrontation of print and manuscript culture in Penn 436. Print and manuscript exist in tandem. The compiler drew upon both simultaneously to achieve a final product onto which he put his name, designating it as his work.

CHAPTER 1

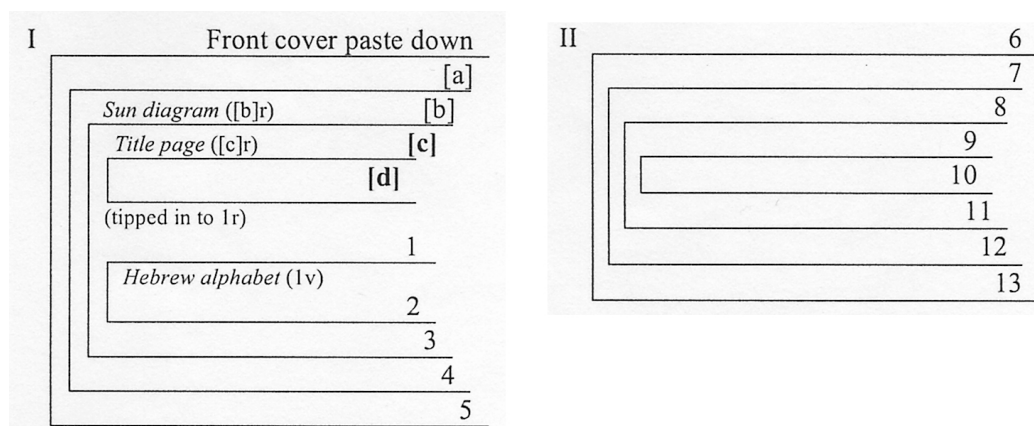
THE CONTENTS OF UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MS CODEX 436

The University of Pennsylvania Ms. Codex 436 (hereafter “Penn 436”), an Italian manuscript dated 1682, is a handbook containing alphabets, linguistic treatises, calendars, mathematical tables, and rules for music theory. The title page gives the name (in Latin letters) BLASIUS (and in Egyptian letters) BELLUNENSIS, presumably that of the compiler, about whom nothing specific is known, and the date (in Hebrew letters) 1682. Included in Penn 436 are Hebrew, Greek, and other ancient and Eastern alphabets, a treatise on Italian orthography by Giovanni Andrea Salici, *Osservationi nella lingua volgare*, a treatise on Latin orthography by Hieronymus Capharus, *Orthographia*, a series of calendars and rules for the calculation of the date of Easter in the liturgical calendar, also known as a computus, and two short sections on music theory. The first of these sections deals with rules for measured music, *Regola per imparare il canto figurato*, and the second with rules for learning Gregorian chant, *Regola per imparare gregoriano*. The manuscript's contents make it possible to identify the compiler as an ecclesiastic. The contents, along with their mode of presentation and the manuscript's general appearance make it possible to situate him within the culture of humanism and, more specifically, within book culture in the transition from manuscript to print.

Penn 436 is of Italian origin, but no information is on record regarding its history before its accession to the University of Pennsylvania Annenberg Rare Books and Manuscript Library in 1964. The binding, which is slightly wormed, is seventeenth-

century, blind-stamped pigskin on boards with two metal clasps on the fore-edge. It measures 172 mm high x 103 mm wide, the size of a small handbook.

The book's 120 folios are gathered into fifteen fascicles of four bifolios. Foliation begins on the fifth folio of the first fascicle in Arabic numbers in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. I refer to the first four unnumbered folios by the letters a, b, c, and d in brackets. Folios 21 and 87–94 have been cut out, and bifolio [c]–[d] has been tipped in. Ff. [a], [d], and 98[b] are blank and unnumbered. F. 111 has been skipped in the numbering sequence due to scribal error, thus f. 112 immediately follows f. 110. Ff. 107–116 are blank and numbered. The first folio of the first fascicle and the last folio of the last fascicle are pasted down onto the inside of the binding in the front and back respectively. In the following collation diagram, fascicle numbers are given in Roman numerals; pasted in folios are in bold; and folios that have been cut out are represented by a dotted line.



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The entire manuscript appears to have been written in one hand, using a humanistic, roman-style lettering. Several distinctive features of the scribe's hand are consistent throughout the whole manuscript: the number 5 looks like an "s"; the "et" symbol is formed as a decorative, elegant ampersand; the second "s" in a double "s" is long; and "e" with cedilla stands in for the classical digraph æ. Often the scribe uses "u"

for “v” and, less frequently, “j” for “i” or the Arabic numeral “1.” The lettering style is uniform through the entire manuscript.

Following a survey of Penn 436’s contents, I will examine in greater detail some of the contents, and explore further the identity of the compiler both in terms of the book’s contents and physical features. In the content summary below, I have tried to maintain as much as possible the original presentation of the text; for example, I have left “u” for “v” and “j” for “i.” I have expanded the abbreviations and use æ for the manuscript’s e with cedilla. Text written in red ink is underlined. Initials and large title capitals are in bold. Descriptions (and book titles) are given in italics. Captions and illustrations are labeled and abbreviated “cap.” and “illus.” respectively. I have identified all the sources that are indicated.

I. Front Matter, Front pastedown–1r.

- A. Cap.: “Leges Sicut Araneorum Tela,” Front pastedown.
Illus.: a stack of books, three spiders, and a spider’s web.
- B. Diagram of sun. [b]r.
- C. Title page. [c]r. Cap.: “**BLASIVS** | BELLUNENSIS [Egyptian] | 1682 [Hebrew]”
Illus.: person in long robes, scroll, uroborus, nativity scene, the resurrected Christ, and hand holding quill

II. 1v–34r Charts of ancient and Eastern alphabets and orthography.

- A. Charts of the Hebrew alphabet and orthography. 1v–14r
 - 1. Cap.: “Aldus Studiosis.” | “**Q**uoniam Hebraicam linguam necessariam esse existimamus ad Sacrae scripturae cognitionem: nunc Alphabetum & literarum combinationes, & alia quaedam damus, quo legere hebraice condiscatis. ... [2r] Cap.: Alphabetum Hebraicum.” 1v–2r.
Sources: Aldo Manuzio, *Alphabetum Hebraicum* (Venice, 1501), facsimile edition (Munich: Taeuber & Weil, 1925), n.p.; Aldo Manuzio, *Alphabetum Hebraicum* (Venice, 1536), n.p.
 - 2. Table of Hebrew alphabet in a decorative style. 2v–3r.
Source: Giovanbattista Palatino, *Libro...nelqual s’insegna à Scriuer ogni sorte lettera, Antica, & Moderna* (Rome, 1540), facsimile edition in Oscar Ogg, *Three Classics of Italian Calligraphy: An*

Unabridged Reissue of the Writing Books of Arrighi, Tagliente, and Palatino (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1953), 220.

3. Table of Hebrew alphabet in a decorative style. 3v–4r.
Source: Giovanniantonio Tagliente, *Lo presente libro* (Venice, 1530), facsimile edition in Oscar Ogg, *Three Classics of Italian Calligraphy*, 94–95.
4. Inscription placed on Christ's cross in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.¹
Cap.: "Titulus Græce, Latine et Hebraice in Cruce Domini." 3v (bottom).
Source: Manuzio, 1501, 1536, n.p.
5. Basic information for the pronunciation of Hebrew. [10r] Psalm 50.17 in Latin and Hebrew. "Domine labia mea..." 4v–10r.
Source: Manuzio, 1501, 1536, n.p.
6. More information for the pronunciation of Hebrew. 10v–13r.
Source unidentified.
7. Psalm 116 in Latin and Hebrew. "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes..." 13v.
Source: Manuzio, 1501, 1536, n.p.
8. Chart of Hebrew letters and their numerical value. Cap.: *Aritmetica Hebreorum*. 14r.
Source unidentified.

- B. Charts of the Greek alphabet and orthography. 14v–23r.
Cap.: "Alphabetum Grecorum." | "Græci habent vigintiquatuor literas ... [22v] Notæ Arithmeticæ Græcorum."
Source unidentified.
- C. Charts of several ancient and Eastern alphabets. 23v–33r.
Caps.: "Alphabetum Italicorum, [23v–25r]. Alphabetum Hebraicum ante Esdram, [25v]. Alphabetum Caldeum antiquum, [26r]. Alphabetum Arabum, [26v]. Alphabetum Egiptiorum, [27r]. Alphabetum Indicum, [27v]. Alphabetum Siriorum, [28r]. Alphabetum Saracenorum, [28v]. Alphabetum Illiricum Domini Hieronomi, [29r–29v (top)]. Item aliud auctore Cyrillo, [29v (bottom)–30v (top)]. Alphabetum Persarum, Harabum, Turcum, Affricum, & Tartum, [30v (bottom)–31r]. Modus numerandi apud Caldeos, [31v–32r]. Alphabetum Francorum, [32v–33r]."
Source for all alphabets except "Alphabetum Persarum, Harabum, Turcum...": Palatino, 1540, 153–68, 187, 192–93, 221, 223–29, 231–32.
Source for "Alphabetum Persarum, Harabum, Turcum...": Tagliente, 1530.
- D. Two untitled alphabets in an unknown script keyed to the Latin alphabet. 33v–34r.
Source: Palatino, 1540, 221, 223; Giovanbattista Palatino, *Delle cifre and Cifre quadrate, et sonetto figurato* (Rome, 1540). Photostat, University of Pennsylvania Annenberg Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, n.p.

III. 34v–62r

Giovanni Andrea Salici, treatise on Italian orthography. Cap.: "OSSERVATIONI | Nella | Ljngua Volgare | Dj | **GIO. ANDREA | SALICI** | Dj | Como. | j682."

¹ See John 19.19.

"A. UOcale. detta da Romani. fu [?] lettera salutare significando assolutione &c. ... [37v] B. CONsonante, da Grammatici detta mutola per non hauer da se suono alcuno ... [39r] C. Consonante mutola, appresso Romani detta era lettera di mestitia, dinotando condennatione. ..." etc.

Source: Giovanni Andrea Salici, *Compendio d'utilissime osservazioni nella lingua volgare* (Venice, 1607).²

IV. 62v–68r Hieronymus Capharus, treatise on Latin orthography. Cap.:
"ORTHOGRAPHIA | HIERONYMJ | Capharj."

"N. ORthographia est syllabarum, ac Dictionum recta scriptura, per litterarum potestate ab auctoribus. ... Q. Requirit post se duas uocales. ... [63r] **De, Ab, Ob, Sub.** SJ componantur cum dictionibus incipientibus ... [63v] **De, Ad.** AD quoties componitur cum jncipientibus ..." etc.

Source: Hieronymus Capharus, *De conscribendis epistolis deque orthographia opus utile, et necessarium* (Cortona, 1546).

V. 68v–86v Texts dealing with the computus concerning the date of Easter.
 Sources unidentified.

"Del Cyclo SOLARE Perpetuo. [*diag. in red and black*] Il Cjclo Solare altro non è che un numero, che ognj 28. annj il sole si troua al suo principio dellj giornj della Settimana ..." 68v–69r.

"DEL CJCLO SOLARE ET LETTERA DOMINICALE. [*diagrams in red and black*] PEr intendere queste do Rote fa bisogno sapere, che nel Cjrculo j.o di queste sono li numeri del Cjclo Solare j.⁰ di queste sono li numeri del Cjclo Solare, nel 2.⁰ et 3.⁰ la lettera Domjnica dale qualj caueraj con detto Cjclo la lettera Dominicale..." 69v–70v.

"DeL CJCLO AVReo. [*diag. in black*] L'Aureo numero detto Cjclo lunare, ò decemnouennale è un spatio d'annj j9..." 71r–71v.

"MODO DI TROVAR La EPATTA. [*diag. in black*] Il dito Police di questa mano t'insegnerà perpetuamente con l'Aureo numero quanto d'Epatta d'anno in anno habbiamo. ..." 72r–73r.

"REGOLA PER SAPere quando sono j3 LVNE. DAl ciclo lunare i9 l'anno E<m>bolismale, cioè dj i3 Lune sj può conoscere, et ciò s'intende da una Pasqua all'altra..." 73v.

"REGOLA PER Sapere qual mese è dj 30 & qual dj 3j. [*diag. in red and black*] FOrmata la mano come la presente figura jncomincjando da Marzo al dito Police poj all'indice dicendo Aprile etc..." 74r–74v.

"MODO DI TROVare l'Anno Bisfesto. Ognj uolta, che sj può partire gl'Anni in do parti paro, et non sparo sarà Bisfesto come il presente anno j682..." 74v–75r.

"MARTYROLOGIJ Litterarum Cyclus respondentus Cyclo Epactus perpetuus. [*diag. in red and black*] Sj uerò Aureus numerus currens accjderjt in celula Epacte 25 cum duo sint una nigra..." 75v.

² I have not been able to consult copies or films of this book; it is held at the Huntington Library, the Newberry Library, the Special Collections Libraries at Stanford University and at Northwestern University.

“**MODO DI SAPER** L’Inditione. [*diag. in black*] L’Inditione non è altro, che un numero di j5 anni, che finiti sj torna al principio...” 76r–76v.

“**REGOLA PER** Sapere quando sono le Quatro Tempora. Post Pen, Cru, Lu, Ci, fiunt jeunia 3^a Cjoè dopo la Pentecoste...” 76v.

“**MODO DI SAPER** Quante settimane sijno In un Anno. Partiraj li giornj 365 per 8 [*sic*] e ueniranno 52 settimane et auanzerà j giorno hore 6 minuti 46 et secondi 16.” 77r.

“**FIGURA** Per trouar con la littera Dominicale in che giorno entra ogni Mese. [*diag. in red and black*] UOlendo sapere di che giorno entra Marzo nel j682 piglia la lettera Dominicale...” 77v–78r.

“**REGOLA PER TROUARE** perpetuamente la Settuagesima. [*diag. in red and black*] Et ciò con la lettera Dominicale & l’Aureo numero. Auerti, che li numeri Rossi significano li giorni del Mese di Genaro, et li neri di Febraro...” 78v–80r.

“**REGOLA PER** Trouare perpetuamente la Quadagesima osservando come nell’antecedente. [*diag. in red, blue, and black*] Lj numeri rossi sono giorni di Febraro & li neri per Marzo in questa Rota.” 80v.

“**RVOTA** Per trouare la **PASCHA**. [*diag. in red and black; letters in blue and black*] Dalla sopra posta Ruota puoj sapere ogni anno quando sij la Pasqua di Resurrectione et ciò con la littera Dominicale, et l’Aureo numero...” 81r–81v.

“La Segueute **RVOTA** Serue per trouar la Pasqua di Resurrectione in perpetuo con l’Aureo numero & lettera Dominicale. [*diag. in red, blue, and black*] Il presente anno j682 l’aureo numero si è il ij et la lettera Dominicale la D trouato l’aureo numero...” 82r–82v.

“Dalla Segueute **FIGVRA** hauraj la Pasqua di Resurrectione per semper come in essa. [*diag. in red, blue, and black*] Post nonas Martis ubi sjt noua luna require, Tertja lux Domjn j proxjma Pasqua tenet.” 82v–83r.

Unlabeled circular calendar. [*diag. in red, blue, and black*] 83v.

Unlabeled circular calendar. [*diag. in red, blue, and black*] 84r.

Unlabeled circular calendar. [*diag. in red and black*] 84v.

“**TABVLA PASCHALIS ANTIQVA** Reformata. [*diag. in red, blue, green, and black*]” 85v–86r.

Circular solar calendar pasted onto folio. [*diag. in red and black*] 86v.

VI. 95v–98v Texts dealing with elements of measured music. Cap.: “Regola per jmparare il Canto Fjgurato.”
Source unidentified.

- A. Table listing note shapes and values with corresponding rests, examples of round and square b, and G, C, and F clefs. “Maxjma 8. batude, Longa 4. batude, Breue 2. batude [95v]... Chjaue dj G. Sol re ut, Chiaue dj C. Sol fa ut, Chjaue dj F. Fa ut. [96v]” [*ex. for each list entry on black five-line staff*] 95v–96v (top).
- B. Scalar passages intended to show mutation. “Scalla per ascender, et discender... Chjaue dj C. Sol fa ut... Chjaue dj C. Sol fa ut per b molle...” [*ex. on black five-line staves; the last six scales unlabeled; the last two staves blank*] 96v (bottom)–98r.
- C. Diagram of Guidonian hand. 98v.

1. F, C, and G clef signs have been added on the hand next to the appropriate syllable (i.e., F fa ut, C re sol fa ut, and G sol re ut). The designation “Graue” at the lowest pitch indicated on hand.
2. Example: the gamut divided into registers labeled “Graue,” “Acute,” and “Sopraacute.” 98v (bottom).

- VII. 99r–106r Rules for learning Gregorian chant. Cap.: “Regola per jmparare il Canto Gregorjano.”
Source unidentified.
- A. List of seven note names. “A.La.mi.re. B. Fa.b mj. ... F.fa.ut. G.Sol.re.ut.” 99r, left column.
 - B. List of intervals between final and reciting tone, mode by mode. “Re.la. primus. Re.fa. 2^{us}. ... Vt.sol. 7. Vt.fa. 8.” 99r, right column.
 - C. Example: ascending and descending hexachord built on G (red four-line staff), with syllables labeled. 99r (bottom).
 - D. Rules for mutation. 99v–100r (top).
 1. “Nella Chjave si C. sol fa ut sj fa la mutatjone nella Riga soto la Chjaue Re per ascender, ... [ex. with caption Chjaue dj C. Sol.fa.ut.]”
 2. “Nella Chjaue dj F.fa.ut sj fa la mutatjone nel spatjo sub.^o [sic] sotto la rjga della Chjaue La per discender, ...” [ex. with caption Chjaue dj F.fa.ut.]”
 - E. Mnemonics for psalm tone intonations.
 1. “Prjmus cum 6^o. Fa.sol.la. semper habeto ... Fa.mi.fa.sol. Septjmus sic omnes bene recordor.”
 2. “Primo, & 3.^o una 3.^a piú alta. ... 2.^o una uoce piu bassa.”
 - F. Eight examples of psalm tone intonations and a variety of terminations for each. Cap.: Intonatio Psallito. [exs. with caption Djxjt Domjnus Domino meo, written on red four-line staves] 101r–104v.
 - G. Eight examples of neumatic Magnificat intonations listed in two columns of four. [red four-line staves] 105r.
 - H. Eight examples of syllabic Magnificat intonations listed in two columns of four. [red four-line staves] 105v.
 - I. Plainchant antiphon. Cap.: Antiphona
“HYmnus omnjbus Sanctijs ejus filjis Israel populo approqinquantj [sic] sibj glorja hæc est omnjbus sanctjs ejus.” [red four-line staff] 106r.

- VIII. [x]r Chart for finding the first Sunday of Advent. Cap.: “Modo facile per trouare in questa Rota la prima Domenica dell’Aduento.”
Source unidentified.

“La prima Domenica dell’Aduento del Sig.^e e sempre la Domenica piu uicina alla festa di Santo Andrea...”

The manuscript opens with a series of illustrations. The first folio is pasted into the front cover and is decorated by the phrase “Leges Sjcut Aranearum Tela” (“you will

read as if in a spider's web") with accompanying images of a stack of books with the caption "Leges," three spiders with the caption "Sjcut Araneorum," and a spider's web with the caption "Tela," Each image with its text is on its own square of paper, and the three pieces of paper are lined up and pasted onto the folio, forming the phrase.

The fourth and fifth folios are a separate bifolio, written on different paper, and pasted into the first fascicle (folios [c] and [d]). The title page is written on f. [c]v. Because the title page contains several illustrations, it is likely that the compiler wrote this page at a separate time in order to create a final product with which he was most satisfied (which was probably also the case for the illustrations pasted on in the front cover). A border frames the page around the contents, which begin at the top with the name "Blasius" printed boldly and flanked by two illustrations. The image on the upper left is of a man wearing long, flowing robes and a headpiece. His hands are proportionally large for his body, his right hand at his side with the palm open and the left hand pointing upwards to his left. The image to the right of "Blasius" is of a scroll, slightly unfurled at the end with the tie hanging down. Underneath the name "Blasius" is the designation "Bellunensis," spelled out in Egyptian letters, as given on folio 27r. Beneath the name is a series of illustrations—an uroboros, that is, a circular symbol depicting a snake swallowing its tail, connected to a nativity scene by the letter "À", followed by the resurrected Christ. The date 1682 is written below in Hebrew numbers, as given on folio 14r. At the bottom of the page is an illustration of a poised right hand holding a quill. The title page appears to be in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript.

The first part of the book is devoted to several alphabets, the first of which is a Hebrew alphabet with an explanation of vowel points and a method for reading, along with a few brief translations into Latin. The opening of f. 1r begins with the caption “Aldus Studiosis” (“from Aldo to students”) and the explanation, “Quoniam Hebraicam linguam necessariam esse existimamus ad sacræ scripturæ cognitionem: nunc Alphabetum & literarum combinationes, & alia quædam damus, quo legere hebraicem condiscatis” (“Because we judge that the Hebrew language is necessary to understand holy scripture, we give now the alphabet, letter combinations, and certain other things you should learn well in order to read Hebrew.”)

This section on the Hebrew alphabet is the longest among the alphabets, filling more than thirteen folios and outlining a basic method for reading Hebrew. The section opens with a table of the Hebrew alphabet (f. 2r), containing the twenty-two letters with vowel points and their approximate Latin equivalent.

Following this standard alphabet are two alphabets written in a large, decorative style, each across an opening (ff. 2v-3r and 3v-4r). Each of these alphabets seems to be written out only to showcase a certain lettering style. The first, captioned *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, is in a bordered table like the first standard Hebrew alphabet on f. 2r. The compiler copied this alphabet directly from a collection of alphabets by the accomplished scribe of Rome Giovanbattista Palatino, who published an edition of woodcut engraving alphabets in 1540.³

³ Giovanbattista Palatino, *Libro...nelqual s'insegna à Scriuer ogni sorte lettera, Antica, & Moderna*, 1540. Facsimile edition in Oscar Ogg, *Three Classics of Italian Calligraphy: An Unabridged Reissue of the Writing Books of Arrighi, Tagliente, and Palatino* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1953), 123–248.

The second of these stylized Hebrew alphabets has a border around the outside of the whole alphabet (i.e., framing the whole opening) and one border at the gutter. The title *Alphabetum Hebraicum* is included underneath the letters on f. 3v. This alphabet is copied from another collection of alphabets by the scribe Giovanniantonio Tagliente, in his work, *Lo presente libro insegna*, published in 1530.⁴ At the bottom of f. 3v, set off in its own border, is the caption John 19.19 reports was placed on Christ's cross in three of the languages of the original inscription, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews," identified with the caption, "Titulus Græce, Latine et Hebraice in Cruce Domini."

The next few folios (ff. 4v-6v) contain basic information for the pronunciation of Hebrew, followed by detailed charts of each of the letters of the alphabet along with the vowel points, individually and in combinations (ff. 7r-13r). Between the charts of individual vowel points and combined points is half a folio (f. 10r) with Psalm 50.17: "Domine labia mea aperies & os meum annunciabit laudem tuam" ("O Lord, you will open my lips: and my mouth shall declare your praise") in Latin and Hebrew. The bottom half of this folio is blank. Sample words written in Latin and Hebrew are also included in each section. The final Hebrew example is a copy of Psalm 116 (f. 13v) in Latin and Hebrew, "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes laudate eum omnes populi quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia eius et veritas Domini manet in eternum. Laudate Deum." ("Praise the Lord, all you nations: praise him all you people. For his mercy is confirmed upon us: and the truth of the Lord remains forever. Praise God.") The Hebrew

⁴ Giovanniantonio Tagliente, *Lo presente libro Insegna*, 1530. Facsimile edition in Oscar Ogg, *Three Classics of Italian Calligraphy*, 65–119.

section closes with a chart of Hebrew letters and their numerical value, often called gematria.⁵

As the caption to this section, “Aldus Studiosis,” indicates, it is largely based on the *Alphabetum Hebraicum* of Aldo Manuzio, the sixteenth-century Venetian printer.⁶ With the exception of the two stylized alphabets on folios 2v-3r and 3v-4r, the material on folios 10v-13r, and the gematria on 14r, the information on the pronunciation of Hebrew matches Aldo Manuzio’s *Alphabetum* almost verbatim.⁷ After folio 10r and the section on consonant combinations, Penn 436 departs from Manuzio with more consonant combinations for six pages, through folio 13r; Manuzio has two more pages that contain in Latin and Hebrew the *Pater noster*, the *Sanctus*, and a list of biblical names. The two sources both contain Psalm 116, “Laudate Dominum omnes gentes,” as noted above on Penn 436’s f. 13v. And Manuzio concludes with the inscription on Christ’s cross, which Penn 436 copies exactly at the bottom of folio 3v.

Another notable divergence between the two sources is the opening paragraph. The caption and the opening paragraph are the same in both, but Penn 436 omits the last sentence, “Deinceps institutiones Grammaticas dictionarium, & sacro libros, si haec placuisse cognouero, Deo volente, dabimus. Valet.” (Then we will provide grammar, instructions, a dictionary, and sacred books, God willing, if I have seen that these things have pleased you. Farewell.)

⁵ Jerome Friedman, “Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica: Scripture and the Renaissance Myth of the Past,” *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 11, 4 (1980): 67-85.

⁶ On Aldo Manuzio see Martin Davies, *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (London: The British Library, 1995).

⁷ Aldo Manuzio, *Alphabetum Hebraicum* (Munich: Taeuber & Weil, 1925), facsimile of the 1501 print, and Aldo Manuzio, *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, 1536.

This section on the Hebrew alphabet does not provide any information concerning the grammar or vocabulary of the language. Rather, it is devoted to the letters and their sounds and combinations, a solely orthographical approach to the language. Thus, unlike Manuzio, this treatise presents only a small step toward learning Hebrew.

The following section on the Greek alphabet (ff. 14v-23r) is also focused on orthography. It begins with a chart (ff. 14v-15r), with a pencil grid as the only border, of the upper- and lower-case Greek letters, their names in Greek and Latin, and the corresponding Latin letters. Another chart follows, spread across the opening (ff. 15v-16r), enclosed in a pencil grid, with the letters of the Greek alphabet, the sound each letter makes (for example, “delta” says “d”), and examples of Greek words along with a Latin transliteration of each. The rest of the Greek section (ff. 17v-22r) provides information on the spelling and pronunciation of Greek, written in prose, rather than presented in charts and tables, as was the case with the section on Hebrew. The section is divided into seven subheadings, including explanations of different types of diphthongs, vowels, divisions of consonants, accents, pauses, and breaths. Examples are given in Greek and transliterated into Latin. The Greek section ends with a chart on how to form Greek numbers (ff. 22v-23r).

After the Hebrew and Greek sections, there is a shift in the compiler’s method of presenting the alphabets. He no longer includes orthographical information in addition to examples of the alphabet, rather, he merely gives charts of different kinds of alphabet, with no information regarding how they are used in language. The bulk of this section is copied directly from the same source as the first Hebrew stylized alphabet on f. 2v, the

Libro...nelqual s'insegna à Scriver ogni sorte lettera, Antica, & Moderna (1540) of Giovanbattista Palatino.

The first examples of these alphabets are loosely based on Palatino's edition. These four pages contain letters of the Latin alphabet. On folio 23v, the compiler has included what looks like a handwritten imitation of a twenty-three letter printed alphabet (omitting J, U, and W), including examples of an upper-case Roman alphabet, lower-case Roman, and a lower-case Italic alphabet, separated by borders. The next three pages contain what appears to be a collection of examples of letters and abbreviations that a scribe employing a formal cursive script would use; this type of collection is sometimes called a secretary's alphabet.⁸ Not all the letters are directly from Palatino, but many are.

The next seven folios (ff. 24–30) are drawn more consistently from Palatino's work. The compiler has been careful to represent each letter exactly as it is formed in the printed source. On the title page of his work, Palatino stated his desire to teach writing of "every sort of letter, ancient and modern, and of any nation" (*ogni sorte lettera, antica, & moderna, di qualunque nazione*). Most of these alphabets are of either ancient or Eastern origin. The *Alphabetum Hebraicum ante Esdram* (Hebrew Alphabet before Ezra) (25v), *Alphabetum Caldeum antiquum* (26r), and *Alphabetum Siriorum* (28r) are ancient Semitic languages, which also appear in many Renaissance sources.⁹ A Chaldaic numbering system, *Modus numerandi apud Caldeos* (31v-32r), is also included, copied directly from Palatino. A few alphabets of Arabic origins are also included: *Alphabetum Arabum* (26v), *Alphabetum Indicum* (27v), and *Alphabetum Saracenorum* (28v). The compiler also

⁸ E.g., by Samuel Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), ii, reproduced in D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), 248.

⁹ Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "The Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic," *Studies in the Renaissance* 2 (1955): 96–117.

included the *Alphabetum Persarum, Harabum, Turcum, Affricum, & Tartam* (30v-31r) from Tagliente. Other alphabets of Eastern origin copied from Palatino are Cyrillic based: *Alphabetum Illiricum* (29r), *Alphabetum Illiricum Domini Hieronomi* (29)¹⁰ and *Item aliud auctore Cyrillo* (29v-30r). An Egyptian alphabet is included, *Alphabetum Egiptiorum* on f. 27r, as is the *Alphabetum Francorum* (32v-33r), spread across the opening and resembling the Gothic font of printed alphabet, all of which are directly copied from Palatino.¹¹ On the last two folios of this section, 33v and 34r, are two unlabeled alphabets, which are copied from the section in Palatino on codes and ciphers, *Un breve, et util discorso de le cifre*.

Following the sections on alphabets are two treatises focused on the orthography of Italian and Latin, respectively. The first treatise on Italian orthography (ff. 34v–62r) opens with the title page, *Osservationi nella Ljngua Volgare* by Giovanni Andrea Salici of Como, and is dated 1682.¹² Salici goes through each of the twenty-three letters (Salici’s alphabet does not include J, U, W), explaining the properties of each letter, for example, whether it is a vowel or consonant and what type of vowel or consonant (e.g. long or short, hard or soft,); and he gives rules for spelling with each letter.

The second linguistic treatise (ff. 62v–68r), *Orthographia* by Hieronymus Capharus, is on the Latin language. Capharus begins the treatise with this definition of

¹⁰ The *Oxford English Dictionary* explains that the *Alphabetum Illiricum Domini Hieronomi* is also called the Glagolitic alphabet, an ancient Slavonic alphabet still retained in the service-books of the Roman Catholics of the Slavonic rite in Dalmatia and other places.

¹¹ Karl H. Dannenfeldt describes the study of ancient and Eastern languages as motivated by concerns of biblical scholarship. Learning Hebrew and ancient Semitic languages would offer additional exegetical insight to the study of Scriptures. According to Dannenfeldt, the study of Arabic was also stimulated by humanists eager to read Arabic sources, by merchants interested in Middle Eastern trade, and by religious people desirous of proselytization to the Muslim “infidel.” See Dannenfeldt, “The Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic,” 117. Dannenfeldt comments that Renaissance appeal to the Egyptian alphabets was likely out of interest in the hieroglyphics as items of exotic curiosity. See Karl H. Dannenfeldt, “Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in the Renaissance,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959): 7–27.

¹² I have not been able to find any biographical information on Salici.

orthography (62v): “Orthographia est syllabarum, ac Dictionum recta scriptura, pro litterarum potestate ab auctoribus obseruata.” (Orthography is right writing of syllables and speech, by which the rule of the letters is observed from the authors.) Capharus examines various letters and their properties, including rules for spelling, as well as rules for combining words with prepositions, including *de*, *ob*, *ab*, and *sub*.

The *Orthographia* was first published as a printed book in 1546 at Cortona and was part of the larger work, *De conscribendis epistolis deque orthographia opus utile, et necessarium*.¹³ Capharus’s *Orthographia* as it appears in Penn 436 differs slightly from the printed source. For the most part the two sources are identical, but Penn 436 occasionally omits a sentence or part of an example. For example, when a new letter or morpheme, such as a prefix or suffix, is introduced, the printed version follows the caption with a line of examples and the heading *Declaratio* introducing the main body of discussion. The line of examples and heading *Declaratio* are omitted in Penn 436. Inconsistencies in the examples in the main body are minor.

Folios 68v–85v present a series of calendars with accompanying descriptions and diagrams in Italian, amounting essentially to a computus, that is, a calculation of time, especially for the determination of Easter, through an intricate coordination of the lunar and solar calendars. Many of the diagrams are circular, drawn with a compass, the pinhole easily visible in many instances, and are often multi-colored. Many explanations include the use of the Sunday letters (also called dominical letters), that is, a cycle of letters from A to G that mark off each day of the seven-day week and indicate which day is Sunday. The letter cycle begins with A on January 1. If, for example, the first Sunday

¹³ G. Parenti, “Girolamo Cafaro,” *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 16 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1973), 240–41.

of the year was on January 5 (the E day), then the Sunday letter for that year would be E. The series of diagrams in Penn 436 also includes explanations for figuring solar and lunar calendars; the Golden number, that is, the number indicating the place of the year in the nineteen-year lunar cycle used by the Western Church to calculate Easter; the epact, the age of the moon on a given day of the solar year; and other information that is typically included in a computus.¹⁴

Many of the diagrams and explanations involve formulas for mathematical computation of dates and time, but the compiler did not always figure correctly. For example, in the section discussing how to find how many weeks are in the year (f. 77r), he instructs that one must divide 365 by 8 in order to get 52 weeks and part of a day remaining, which is solved with a leap year (“Partiraj li giornj 365 per 8 e ueniranno 52 Settimane et auanzerà j giorno hore 6 minuti 46 et secondi j6.” Divide 365 days by 8 and there will be 52 weeks; and there will remain 1 day, 6 hours, 46 minutes, and 16 seconds.). However, to achieve the quotient of 52 and some remainder, one must divide 365 by 7, not 8.

Penn 436 closes with the two sections on music, *Regola per jmparare il Canto Fjgurato* and *Regola per jmparare jl Canto Gregorjano*, rules for measured music and for Gregorian chant. Both of these sections present musical information found in basic music treatises and manuals from the seventeenth century, but without the prose discussions that are often included in such instructional books. The music section is so full of basic mistakes as to make it apparent that the compiler had very little musical knowledge.

¹⁴ James J. John, “Computus,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 509. See also Bonnie Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 801-28.

The *Regola...Canto Ffigurato* (ff. 95v–98v) begins with a table depicting the name and value of each note, along with the shape of the note on the staff: *Maxjma 8 batude* (beats), *Longa 4 batude*, *Breue 2 bat.*, *Semibreue j batuda*, *Mjnima 2 alla batude*, *Semjmnima 4 alla bat.*, *Croma 8 alla bat.*, *Semjcroma 16 alla bat.*, and *Bjscroma 32 alla bat.* Likewise, the notes' respective rests are given and illustrated on a staff: *8 Batude*, *4 Batude*, *2 Batude*, *j Batuda*, *Meza* (sic) *Batuda*, *un Sospiro*, *Mezo* (sic) *sospiro*, and *Mezo dj mezo sospiro*, without a rest corresponding to the biscroma. Only imperfect values are given. In a 1611 treatise on musical beats by Agostino Pisa (*Battuta della musica dichiarata*), the same notes are listed except for the biscroma, and only imperfect values are given.¹⁵ However, in his elementary music manual of 1614 (*Cartella musicale nel canto figurato, fermo, & contrapunto*), Adriano Banchieri does give perfect and imperfect values but does not include the biscroma, a note value often used for embellishments.¹⁶ That Banchieri did include perfect note values and Pisa and Penn 436 did not may be indicative of the change in music theory in which the doctrine of perfect meters disappeared in the course of the seventeenth century.

More examples of musical symbols are given after the note names and rests, including round b and square b (*B Molle* and *B Quadro*) and the G, C, and F clef signs notated on a staff with and without round b (*Chjaue dj G So re ut*, *Chiaue dj C Sol fa ut*, *Chjaue dj F Fa ut*). The C clef, however, is written below the staff rather than on it, and the round b is in the wrong place.

Following the diagrams of musical symbols are several examples of musical scales evidently intended to show mutation, though there is no label or explanation

¹⁵ Agostino Pisa, *Battuta della musica dichiarata* (Rome, 1611), 20.

¹⁶ Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella musicale nel canto figurato, fermo, & contrapunto* (Venice, 1614), 37.

indicating them as such. (Figure 1) Only the first seven of the thirteen scales have any kind of label. The first scale is a standard hexachord, ascending and descending, *Scalla per ascender, et discender*, with each note labeled ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, but mislabeled in descent: la, sol, mi, fa, ut. Corrective carets indicate that fa should be on the other side of mi, but re is not even mentioned (96v); the syllables are also misaligned with the notes. The next six scales are examples of the C, G, and F clefs with and without round b (*Chjaue dj C Sol fa ut*, *Chjaue dj C Sol fa ut per b molle*, etc.). Such scales are also found in Banchieri's *Cartella musicale*.¹⁷



Figure 1. Penn 436 96v97r

Some of the compiler's formatting decisions in these scales intended to show mutation are rather unconventional and appear to have no musical reason. He has drawn vertical lines downward from the middle of the note on several of the notes in each scale.

¹⁷ See Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 1017.

In the opening hexachord, each note received a stem-like line. In the scale labeled *Chjaue dj C Sol fa ut*, the downward stem-like lines are given to the last note of the ascending scale and the first and second notes of the descending scale, which are on the same pitch. The highest notes also have lines drawn from them in the *Chjaue dj G Sol re ut* and *Chjaue dj G Sol re ut per b molle* scales; the last note of the descending scale of both of these also has a line. There is no apparent musical reason for stem-like lines to be assigned to these particular notes.

In addition to the seemingly arbitrary lines, the compiler also darkened some of the notes in the scales. Banchieri darkened re in ascent and la in descent for scales illustrating mutation, explaining his purposes for darkening the notes.¹⁸ The three scales after the opening hexachord (the C, C round b, and G scales) each have the mutated re ascending and mutated la descending darkened and each is labeled as such, re or la.

But in the subsequent scales notes are darkened seemingly at will. The G round b scale has two hexachords (a twelve-note scale), ascending from d' to a'' (f. 97r). The fa and second re are darkened in ascent, and la and the second ut are darkened in descent, so even though notes are darkened to indicate mutation, there is actually no mutation taking place. By comparison, Banchieri's illustration of this scale ascends from f' to a'' with the mutated re and la darkened. In Penn 436, the F round b scale has ten notes, with re and la darkened in ascent and la darkened in descent. The subsequent six unlabeled scales contain several instances of the stem-like vertical lines, darkened notes, and in one case, two round b signs on the wrong spaces. Instead of the b space, one is on the c space

¹⁸ "Prima Cartella con le mutationi alla Chiaue di b molle, auuisando in tutti i Canti che le Semibreui negre vagliono per bianche, significano le mutationi." (In the first chart with the mutation in the round b clef, we see in each of the melodies that the black semibreve set apart from the white signifies mutation.) Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 12.

and the other on the d space (f. 97v). Such blatant musical mistakes and meaningless musical notation suggest that the compiler is musically nearly illiterate.

Between the two music sections, there is a diagram of the Guidonian hand (98v). Clef signs have been included at relevant points on the hand, and the labels *Bassus*, *Tenore*, and *Sopra* assigned to each respective clef. The designation *Graue* is at the lowest pitch indicated on the hand. Beneath the diagram of the hand is an example of the gamut on a staff, divided into registers of *Graue*, *Acute*, and *Sopraacute*.

The *Regola...Canto Gregorjano* (ff. 99v–106r) seems to be modeled after a *cantorinus*, a small practical book of music theory popular in the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries. The basic function of a *cantorinus* was to teach the clergy to sing the liturgy; thus, it contained rudimentary information about modes, the principles of solmization, basic formulas for mutation, and a manual of chants and recitation formulas.¹⁹ Two well-known *cantorini*, Adriano Banchieri's *Cantorino* of 1622 and the anonymous *Compendium musices* of 1513 published by Giunta, contain much lengthier collections of various proper chants, tones, and recitation formulas than what is found in Penn 436.²⁰ Though the quantity of information in Penn 436 is significantly abbreviated by comparison to other *cantorini*, it contains the same fundamental musical information, that is, the gamut, the Guidonian hand, the modes, mutation, and basic chants.

The *Regola...Canto Gregorjano* does not fare much better in terms of the compiler's musical aptitude. It begins with a list of note names A through G (i.e., A la mi re, B fa [round] b mi, C sol fa ut, etc.) and a list of the intervals between final and reciting

¹⁹ Cristle Collins Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives," in *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 368.

²⁰ Adriano Banchieri, *Cantorino utile a novizzi e chierici secolari e regolari principianti del canto fermo alla romana* (Bologna, 1622) and Anonymous, *Compendium musices* (Florence, 1513).

tone, mode by mode (i.e., Re la primus, Re fa secundus, etc.). The next few pages (ff. 99v100v) give rules for mutation followed by mnemonics for remembering the opening intervals of psalm tone intonations for each mode. At the bottom of f. 100r is the well-known mnemonic, “Prjmus cum sexto, Fa sol la, semper habeto | Tertjus, et 8, Vt re fa, atque Secundus | La so la. Quartus ut mj sol, sit tjbj [Quintus]| Fa mi fa sol, Septjmus sic omnes bene recordor.” (You must always remember the first together with the sixth, Fa sol la; the third, and the eighth, Ut re fa, as well as the second; La so la the fourth; Ut mi sol would be the fifth to you; the seventh fa mi fa sol. Thus do I remember all of them well.) Though “bene recordor” is grammatically correct, many sources have “esse recordor” (thus do I remember all of them to be) at the end.²¹ “Quintus,” which should come after “tjbj,” has been erroneously omitted. This mnemonic as found in Banchieri’s *Cantorino* is slightly different, “Primus cum sexto, fa sol la semper habeto, Tertius, & Octauus, Vt re fa sit, atque Secundus, La sol la Quartus, Fa re fa, sit tibi Quintus, Septimus, fa mi fa sol, & sic omnes habes.” (You must always remember the first together with the sixth, Fa sol la; the third, and the eighth would be, Ut re fa, as well as the second; La so la the fourth; Fa re fa would be the fifth to you; the seventh fa mi fa sol, and thus you have them all.)²²

Ff. 101r105v contain psalm tone intonations and terminations through all eight modes for the Vespers Psalm 109 *Dixit Dominus Domino meo* and two sets of intonations on *Magnificat*, each through all eight modes. In each case of *Dixit Dominus*, the final of the mode precedes the clef sign. In the case of the fourth mode, there is a smudge where the final typically is located, making it unclear whether the final was indicated or not; and

²¹ Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires: inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1971), 414.

²² Banchieri, *Cantorino*, 25.

in the case of the sixth, the final is given as C rather than F. There are few terminations, from one to as many as four, in each example of *Dixit Dominus*, which may not be unusual: in both his *Cantorino* and *Cartella musicale*, Banchieri provides only one termination for each set of psalm tone examples.²³

The final item in the music section (f. 106r) is a “Hymnus omnibus Sanctis ejus,” an antiphon—according to its caption—based on Ps. 148.14. Compared to the antiphon of the same title used in Second Vespers on All Saint’s Day (November 1), the antiphon in Penn 436 contains much of the same text, but bears no resemblance to the melody. The melody in Penn 436 is musical nonsense in terms of plainchant style. Irregularities include leaps of sixths and sevenths and very little stepwise motion.

²³ Ibid., 35. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 7071.

CHAPTER 2

AN ANALYSIS OF PENN 436

Examining the individual sections within the whole manuscript, a few conclusions can be drawn about the compiler's education and social context. First, the compiler had an interest in studying languages. The attention devoted to the Hebrew and Greek languages suggests desire to learn these languages for the sake of reading sacred scripture, confirmed by the paragraph stating as much on folio 1v ("Quoniam Hebraicam linguam necessariam esse existimamus ad Sacrae scripturae cognitionem..." "Because we judge that the Hebrew language is necessary to understand holy scripture..."). The appeal to Latin and Italian may have been included out of the compiler's desire to improve his grammar. Second, the compiler had interest in the liturgical calendar. The calendar section is a computus, a method for reckoning Easter, which is an integral part of liturgical calendar. Finally, the compiler included rules for singing the liturgy. The last music section, labeled *Regola per imparare il Canto Gregorjano*, is much like a cantorinus, a small practical book to teach the clergy to sing the liturgy. The attention to Scripture and liturgy in Penn 436 suggests a kind of miscellany most appropriate to someone with an ecclesiastical occupation.

That the compiler made some mistakes in his entries—the arithmetical mistake in the computus and the several egregious musical mistakes—testifies that he is not an expert on the material he has assembled. Yet he clearly does have some grasp on a variety of material suitable for his occupation, which suggests that he is likely still a student, perhaps training for the clergy.

It is reasonable to place Penn 436 in the context of late seventeenth-century interest in improved clerical education. The Council of Trent initiated reform in clerical education. Though some seminaries were begun immediately following Trent, many soon folded. However, renewed effort and enthusiasm for reform in the late seventeenth century led to more established institutions.²⁴

The Council of Trent created a number of institutions specifically to improve the clergy through the instrument of the diocese, whose job it was to reform, to discipline, and to educate the clergy. The diocesan seminaries were central to this endeavor.²⁵ In 1568, a seminary was begun in Belluno, where Penn 436's compiler is presumably from, with its first diocesan synod in 1629. Thus, it was one of the few seminaries that remained through the waning interest immediately following early Tridentine reforms.²⁶

A sampling of the curriculum of the diocesan seminaries is represented in Penn 436. Those admitted to the seminaries, usually boys at least twelve years old, would study "grammar, singing, ecclesiastical computation,...Sacred Scripture, ecclesiastical books, the homilies of the saints, the manner of administering the sacraments,...and the rites and ceremonies."²⁷ Some knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Italian was necessary to read texts in those languages, and such study was a significant part of humanist endeavors, present in clerical education at the time.²⁸ Thus, it is possible that this compendium could have come out of this kind of instructional undertaking.

²⁴ R. Po-chia Husia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 116–17.

²⁵ Kathleen M. Comerford, "Italian Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries: A Historiographical Study," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, 4 (Winter 1998): 999.

²⁶ Comerford, "Italian Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries," 1012.

²⁷ H. J. Schroeder, ed., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis: Herder, 1941) Session 23, Chap. 18, 175–78; quoted in Comerford, "Italian Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries," 1000.

²⁸ Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 54. Deutscher, "From Cicero to Tasso," 1005–1027.

In order to supervise this educational endeavor, some dioceses required their priests to keep lists or inventories of their personal libraries. Such lists typically included spiritual and devotional works, collections of sermons, the decrees of Trent, catechisms, lives of saints, and other items devoted to their development as priests. The lists also revealed secular items, including grammars of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Italian.²⁹ Hieronymus Capharus's Latin grammar, *Grammatices epitome*, appears in libraries of priests educated during the post-Tridentine movement for clerical education during the early to mid-seventeenth century.³⁰ *Grammatices epitome* was published in 1545, *De conscribendis*, the work copied into Penn 436, at the beginning of 1546. It is likely that Capharus, himself an ecclesiastic and a highly regarded master of Latin, was a familiar figure in clerical education.³¹

The contents indicate who the compiler is in terms of his social identity, that is, an ecclesiastic student, but I would argue that the physical features of the manuscript also tell us something about how the compiler saw his identity in relation to the book, namely, that of author. This identity is understood by placing the compiler at a particular point in book history at the end of the seventeenth century, which was beginning to be dominated by print culture but also a time in which manuscript culture was still pervasive. The compiler makes use of key features from each culture to shape his identity in connection with the book.

²⁹ Deutscher, "From Cicero to Tasso," 1013-14. See also Kathleen M. Comerford, "Italian Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries," 999-1022.

³⁰ Thomas B. Deutscher, "From Cicero to Tasso," 1011-1014.

³¹ In addition to teaching and preaching, Hieronymus Capharuss published Latin grammatical works in Cortona and later in Rome. He spent the rest of his career from around 1560 in Venice, where he also began publishing didactic works on Italian orthography, epistolary style, metrics, and grammar in addition to continued work in Latin. The date of his death is unknown, probably near the end of the sixteenth century. G. Parenti, "Girolamo Cafaro," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 240-41. See also Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 192.

Penn 436 shows characteristics of both manuscript and print culture. Early in the history of the printed book, much effort was devoted to making the print look as much like the result of a scribe's work as possible.³² During its first centuries, the technical advantages of printing fine-tuned the appearance of the printed book to more or less what it looks like today. Like any change in history, this development was gradual, as aspects of manuscript culture were phased out in favor of what would become print culture.

Manuscript and print culture can be distinguished in terms of their different modes of production and transmission. For centuries, the production of literary culture was the responsibility of the scribe. In order for books to be read, they had to be copied. On occasion, the scribe may have left a brief colophon at the end of the manuscript including his name, date, or provenance, or other brief personal comments.³³ However, the scribe bore no creative relationship to the book other than copyist.

The production of manuscripts was a costly endeavor, and many manuscript features result from the need to minimize expense.³⁴ Economizing on space, the script was highly abbreviated, leaving no space between paragraphs or chapters, and including no headings. Given the great deal of effort both of time and of resources, manuscripts, as books, were valued commodities, the text and decoration often coming together to form a work of art.³⁵

With the introduction of print culture, the book that was once a unique and cherished object became a tradeable commodity. Increased demand for books was

³² D.C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1994) 225–26.

³³ David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 50–51.

³⁴ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800*, trans. by David Gerard, ed. by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton (London: NLB, 1976), 8487.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

largely due to the greater capabilities in reproducing texts and to a rise in literacy influenced by the spread of the ideals of humanism.³⁶ Several features of production were developed largely to increase the marketability of the books. Greater attention was paid to the individuals who were part of the production process, from the author to the publisher. The title page, introduced in the sixteenth century, conveyed information about the author, title, place of publication, publisher, and date.³⁷ Because they were catering to a wide market of readers, the producers developed ways to make the books easier to read, reducing their sizes to portable formats, using fewer abbreviations, developing readable fonts, allowing the text to take more space on the page, and creating clear headings and paragraph distinctions.³⁸

The compiler of Penn 436 drew upon features of manuscript culture, paying careful attention to detail, plotting first, in pencil, writing lines, diagrams, and tables. Penn 436 is part of manuscript culture in that it also belongs to a particular manuscript genre, the miscellany. Penn 436 is a compendium of a variety of sources, many of which were originally printed. This kind of book is particularly suited to the manuscript form, because it is tailored to a single person's needs, thus not appropriate to be mass-produced in print. Miscellanies were created by a variety of people for a variety of reasons. Students compiled books of crucial works studied in their university courses; others collected a variety of works, including poetry, devotional works, and technical documents.³⁹ As already discussed, it seems that the miscellaneous contents in Penn 436 seem most appropriate to someone with an ecclesiastical vocation, likely a student

³⁶ Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 46.

³⁷ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 84.

³⁸ Ibid., 87–88.

³⁹ McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, 47; Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 56.

himself. Perhaps the compiler could not afford to own the books from which he copied, or perhaps he collected the sources into a personal handbook for his studies.

The compiler also drew upon many features of print culture, in addition to the compiler's having drawn upon printed books. The most distinct features of print books included in Penn 436 are title pages, headings, and borders. Since the sixteenth century, a title page has been a definitive aspect of a printed book and seldom occurs in manuscripts.⁴⁰ By the seventeenth century, standard elements of a title page included the author's name, an illustration, borders or frames, the printer's stamp, and the title of the work.⁴¹ The design of the physical space in a title page draws the eye immediately to the author's name, which is usually at the top of the page and in capital letters that are slightly larger than the letters of the rest of the page. The title immediately follows the author's name, and the rest of the title page is devoted to other information, including facts of publication, the name of the patron, dedication material, or decorative features (such as illustrations or borders).

Two examples of title pages come from printed books that were sources for Penn 436. In the case of the title pages from Palatino's *Libro...nelqual s'insegna à Scriuer*, 1540, and Manuzio's *Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri Quatuor*, 1536, which contains the Hebrew alphabet, we find many features of a typical title page. They both begin with the author's name in capital letters: M. GIOVAMBATTISTA | PALATINO CITTADINO ROMANO and ALDI PII | MANVTII. The title of each book follows: *Nelqual s'insegna à Scriver ogni sorte lettera...* and *Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri Quatuor*. Palatino also has some information about the publisher, the Venetian printer

⁴⁰ Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, 157.

⁴¹ Bernard Cerguiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 9–10. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, 159.

Giunta: CON LA GIVNTA DI QVINDICI TAVOLE BELLISSIME, followed by a portrait of Palatino. And Manuzio has a decorative frame with detailed illustrations (Figure 2).

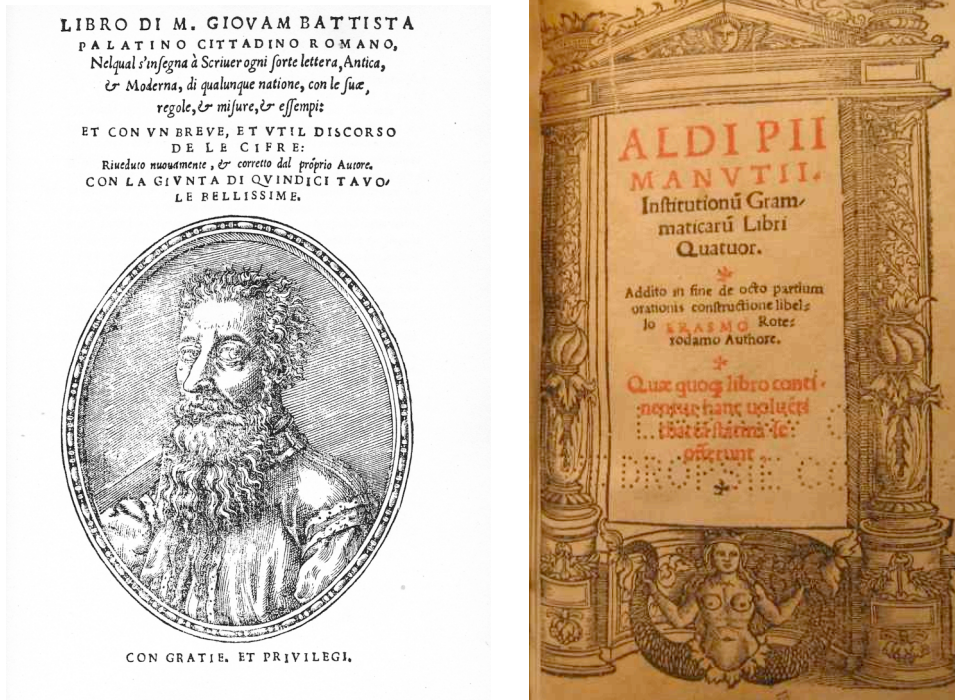


Figure 2: Palatino, 1540, title page, and Manuzio, 1536, title page

Penn 436 has two full title pages, f. [c]r and f. 34v, in which the physical space is organized similarly to the printed title page. They both have the author's name in capital letters at the top of the page: BLASIVS | BELLUNENSIS (f. [c]r) and GIO. ANDREA | SALICI | Dj | Como (f. 34v) (Figure 3). The manuscript's title page on f. [c]r has a single line border on the sides, and a double border on the top and bottom; a series of illustrations and the date in Hebrew numbers are inside the border. Folio 34v does not have a border, but contains the title of the piece, "OSSERVATIONI | Nella | Ljngua Volgare," beneath the author's name. The date 1682 is located at the bottom of both pages.

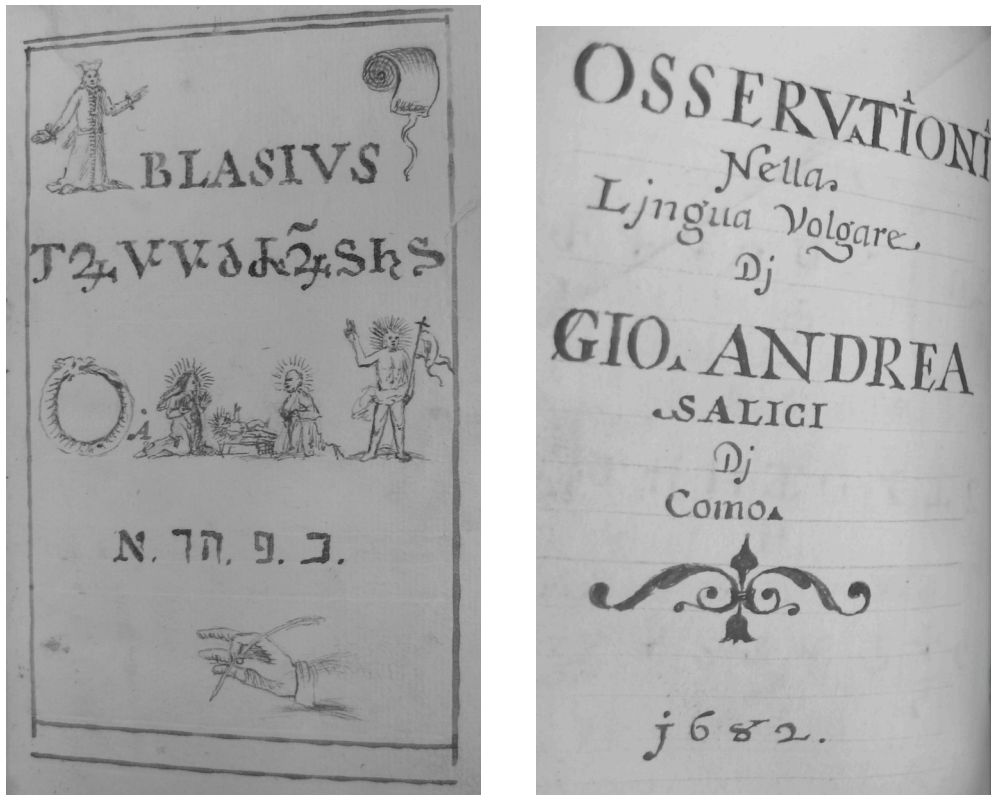


Figure 3: Penn 436. title page [c]r and title page to Salici, 34v

The second feature in which Penn 436 is similar to a printed book is its use of headings. Often sections in a print book are demarcated by a heading that gives the title for the section in capital letters and then begins the new paragraph with a large initial. The section of Palatino's book that deals with ciphers provides a print example: CIFRE QVADRATE, ET | SONETTO FIGVRATO, as well as the *Orthographia* section of Capharus's book, which begins with a simple DE ORTHOGRAPHIA and capital O (Figure 4).

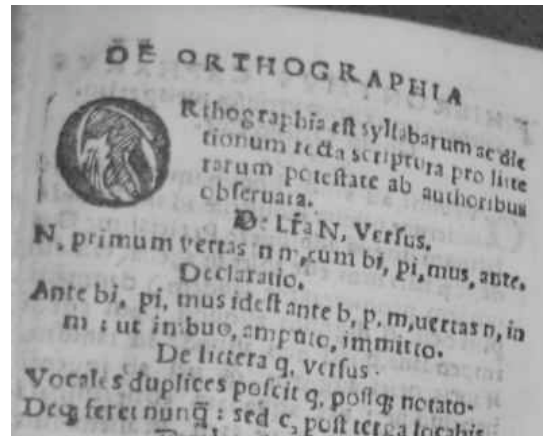


Figure 4: Headings in Palatino and Cafaro

Many sections in Penn 436 are introduced by the print-like heading. Capharus's *Orthographia* begins ORTHOGRAPHIA | HIERONYMJ Capharj (f. 62v). And the calendar that begins the computus section is headed "Del Cjclo | SOLARE | Perpetuo" (f. 68v) (Figure 5).

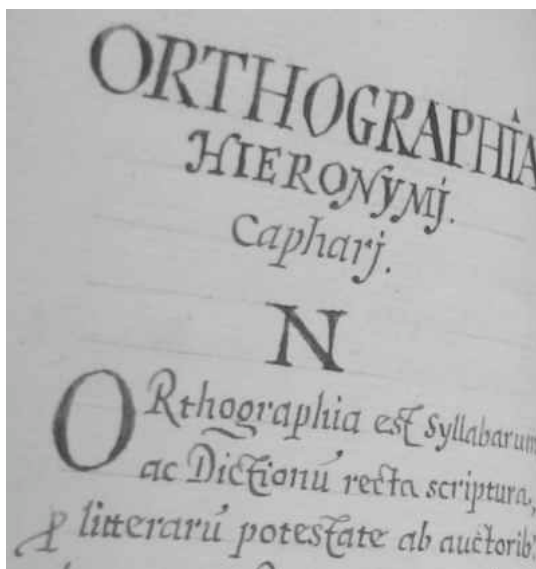


Figure 5: Headings in Penn 436. 62v and 68v

In each case, the heading is clearly marked by the capital letters and separation from the following text. The heading differs from a title page in that it fills only a part of the page and may not carry all of the information a title page includes. The heading serves a different purpose within the anatomy of the book. The title page sets apart the book as a work; the heading functions to introduce a new section or division within the work, making use of distinctive physical features of print culture to do so.

The most notable aspect of Penn 436's print-like features is the first title page, because its function is to carry the compiler's name in a prominent position. By assigning his name to the book, the compiler designated his compilation as his work. Giving unity to the disparate parts of the collection, he conferred on the document the status of a book. It is more than just a personal miscellany scrawled together for individual reference; it is also presented as the compiler's work, demarcated as such by his name.⁴²

Print culture signaled a change in authorial interest and activity. In manuscript culture the authority lay in the truth of the text itself, a kind of "collective authority," rather than the particular creative genius of an individual.⁴³ By contrast, print culture ushered in writing as an individualized activity. Attaching an author's name to a work gave recognition and sometimes even enhanced reputation, which ultimately proved advantageously marketable.⁴⁴

⁴² Michel Foucault states that the author's name defines the text as having a certain status in the process of classifying texts. He states, "The [author's] name seems always to be present, marking off the edges of the text, revealing, or at least characterizing, its mode of being. The author's name manifests the appearance of a certain discursive set and indicates the status of this discourse within a society and a culture." Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 107.

⁴³ Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 6970.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

Using the vehicle of the title page, the compiler drew upon the apparatus that was contemporary to his literary culture to relay authorial information.⁴⁵ Creating the manuscript in the image of a printed book, the compiler of Penn 436 invoked the status of print in his society. By the late seventeenth century, there was a strong association between authorship and print publication.⁴⁶ To print a book ensured durability, wider circulation, and a certain degree of authority.⁴⁷ Thus, using the features of the print culture, the compiler in effect assumed the role of author in relation to his manuscript.

The contents of Penn 436 comprise a variety of topics, from ancient languages, to calendars, to music theory. What unites this miscellany is the compiler as demonstrated by what he chose to include and how he chose to present it. Given the nature of the contents—attention to Scripture along with interest in particularly liturgical topics—along with some significant errors, it is likely that the compiler is an ecclesiastical student, focused on content that would be of use to someone with an clerical occupation, though clearly not a master of the information.

However, focusing the study of Penn 436 only on the contents of the manuscript gives us an incomplete picture. The material aspect of the book—the pages, the borders, the script, the layout—gives us additional information about the compiler. The compiler used these physical details to shape his identity with respect to the book, making use of characteristics from manuscript and print culture. In particular, he used the features of print culture that convey authorship, namely the title page, in his manuscript, and in

⁴⁵ In giving characteristics of “author function,” that is, a set of circumstances that determine the classification of a text, Foucault states that a text has certain rules about its existence and use as prescribed by the literary culture in which it lives. It is this sense of “author function” that we can say that the compiler of Penn 436 is assuming the role of author, in that he appeals to the rules of the literary culture around him, namely the status of print. “What is an Author?,” 113.

⁴⁶ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 39–41.

⁴⁷ McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, 26–27. See also Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 70.

doing so imbued to himself a degree of authority. The compiler's effort to present a document with many print-like features demonstrates the elision of print and manuscript culture in Penn 436. The compiler drew upon both simultaneously to achieve a final product onto which he put his name, designating it as his work.

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