

# Quill and Graver Bound

Frakturschrift Calligraphy, Devotional Manuscripts, and Penmanship Instruction in German Pennsylvania, 1755–1855

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*Why did German-speaking settlers of southeastern Pennsylvania create ornately written and illuminated religious manuscripts? Using one manuscript form—the Vorschrift, or handwriting sample—this article explores the connections that Pennsylvania’s German speakers forged between reading, handwriting, and spiritualism. A statistical analysis of Vorschrift design and text content demonstrates the manuscripts’ most important purpose: teaching youth how to learn God’s will and live piously. The Vorschrift embodies spiritual literacy education that set students on a course toward faith. The article recasts Pennsylvania German manuscript-making as an authorial process, presenting research that places manuscripts’ design and function in transatlantic context.*

This writing shows me, correctly,  
Which way I should go,  
Which is good for me and eternally sound,  
Through your spirit, Lord, teach me,  
That I may know you genuinely  
At all times in the way I go,  
To that this writing guides me.  
—Handwritten Vorschrift (penmanship sample) by  
schoolteacher Herman Ache for twelve-year-old stu-  
dent Simon Pannebecker, Skippack, Pennsylvania,  
1758 (translated from the original German)

**A** SMALL IMAGE at the bottom of a penmanship sample printed in Nuremberg, Germany, in 1766, honors the symbiotic relationship shared by handwriting, the visual arts, and

print publication in eighteenth-century German-speaking central Europe. The illustration depicts three artist’s tools—the calligrapher’s quill, the engraver’s burin, and a porte de crayon (or pencil holder)—bound by a leafy vine. The quill, pointing downward, writes a Bible verse in a German script known as Frakturschrift (figs. 1 and 2). The three sister arts are united in the quill’s effort to depict and proclaim the word of God.

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Fig. 1. Johann Jacob Brünner, “Die Mühe so die Alten genommen, sagt Plinius, die Künste zuerfinden, und zur Vollkommenheit zu bringen . . . sind lauter Geschencke Gottes” [The trouble that the ancients took, says Pliny, to invent the arts and bring them to perfection . . . are all (actually) gifts from God], 1766. From Johann Jacob Brünner [the Elder], *Vorschrift zu nutzlicher Nachahmung und einer fleissigen Übung zu Gutem . . .* ([Bern]: Gegeben Carl Gottlieb Guttenberger, Nürnberg, 1766), pl. 10. (Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur Library; all Winterthur photos, Jim Schneck.)

Understandably, perhaps, given the importance of the development of moveable type in fifteenth-century Europe and the explosion of print material that followed, the calligraphy and manuscript-making traditions that survived and thrived long after the Middle Ages ended often go unchronicled by scholars.<sup>1</sup> Calligraphy’s status as an art form dur-

ing the early modern era, between circa 1500 and 1800, meant that letters and words conveyed both verbal and visual messages bound up in the time-consuming processes of creating and interpreting decorative manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Symbiotic exchange between handwriting and print shaped early modern text dissemination. The volume containing the image described above is a case in point. Its penman-

<sup>1</sup> The current state of book history and print culture studies has been shaped by questions of the transition from manuscript to print between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Elizabeth Eisenstein put forth the notion of a “printing revolution” that handily ended the long reign of manuscripts, whereas more recent work by scholars including David McKitterick challenges the notion of a sudden shift from manuscript to print, emphasizing the lingering presence of manuscript-making deep into the nineteenth century. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979); David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); An-

thony Grafton, “Introduction,” Elizabeth Eisenstein, “An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited,” and Adrian Johns, “How to Acknowledge a Revolution,” in “AHR Forum: How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (February 2002): 84–86, 87–105, 106–25.

<sup>2</sup> Gebhardi Overheiden, *Vermehrte Teutsche Schreib-Kunst* (Braunschweig: Friedzilliger, 1660); Kaspar Rütlinger, *Neuw zugerichte Schreibkunst: Von Capital vnd sonst aller Hand nützlichen Alphabeten . . .* (Zurich: Rütlinger, 1616). A contemporary German term for penmanship and calligraphy—*Schreibkunst*, or the art of writing—reflects its elevated status during the period.



Fig. 2. Detail of quill, burin, and porte de crayon in figure 1.

ship samples were written on paper by a Swiss calligrapher and copied via engraving so that buyers could use them as penmanship models and thus return the printed text to manuscript.

Handwriting was both an art and a practical skill in the early modern era.<sup>3</sup> It could also be a spiritual enterprise. As late as the 1850s, some residents of southwestern Germany, the Rhineland, Switzerland, and southeastern Pennsylvania cultivated a tradition of making German-language penmanship samples (or *Vorschriften*) that instructed young students in reading and writing while proffering Christian wisdom in the form of scriptural quotations and moral maxims (fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> The tradition of making and presenting a pupil with a single-sheet manuscript *Vorschrift* seems to have been especially prominent in parts of Switzerland and Pennsylvania where descendants of radical Swiss Protestants known as Anabaptists settled between

1683 and 1775.<sup>5</sup> Manuscript *Vorschriften* (the plural form of *Vorschrift*) were standardized in design and content, sharing much with printed versions. As mass-produced texts, however, printed *Vorschriften* were general in nature, whereas many of the Pennsylvania manuscripts were created by sectarian schoolteachers with particular students' spiritual needs in mind. This one-to-one scribe-recipient relationship imbued the manuscripts with a personal quality that underscored their purpose: equipping children with spiritual literacy, defined here as the ability to read, comprehend, and engage meditatively with scriptural and nonscriptural devotional texts. Such skills prepared students for a lifetime of pious reading and writing while setting them on the path toward faith and grace. Associations between reading, writing, and piety were strong in a German Protestant context centered on scripture-based, personal spirituality.

Manuscript *Vorschriften* present an informative case study of the dispersal of aesthetic, literary, and spiritual traditions that resonated from the snow-capped Swiss Alps to the green rolling hills of southeastern Pennsylvania in an early modern German

<sup>3</sup> Johann Michael Schirmer, *Geöffnete Schreib-Schule, oder, Deutsche, Lateinische, und Französische Vorschriften . . .* (Frankfurt am Main, ca. 1760), plates 51–54. Writing manuals often featured both ornate scriptural excerpts as well as examples of letters, receipts, and other practical records and communications. Inclusion of these exemplars became more common in the eighteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Feder, *Vorschrift for Henrich Rosch*, Strasburg Township, Pennsylvania, 1755, FM 2008.3.1, Landis Valley Museum, Lancaster, PA; Henry S. Bower, *Vorschrift*, November 5, 1855, 2006.26.1, Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania, Harleysville, PA. The earliest Pennsylvania manuscript *Vorschrift* encountered in the course of this research was made in 1755 by Michael Feder for Henrich Rosch of Conestoga, Strasburg Township. The piece is the earliest of a number of manuscript *Vorschriften* made by Feder. The latest piece discovered was made on November 5, 1855, by Henry S. Bower.

<sup>5</sup> Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 103. The Anabaptists, who were Pennsylvania's principal cultivators of the *Vorschrift*, were not the only religious group to cultivate the form; members of the small band of mystical Schwenkfelders who settled in Pennsylvania also made the manuscript, although most likely under Anabaptist tutelage. The relationship between the sects is discussed in detail below.



Fig. 3. Herman Ache for Simon Pannebacher, “Wie lieblich Sind Deine Wohnungen Herr Zebaoth” [How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts], ca. 1758. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 21½”, W. 25¼”. (Pennypacker Mills, County of Montgomery, Schwenksville, PA.)

Protestant world fascinated with God’s word. If interpreted simultaneously as art pieces, literary works, and religious artifacts, the documents open a window onto the spiritual life of nonelite German speakers and suggest how they engaged with popular devotional texts, songs, and images. Yet the manuscripts have proven difficult to decipher because of the intellectual distance separating modern viewers from those who made and first used them. Overcoming that distance requires immersion in the world of German Protestant religion, spirituality, aesthetics, and manuscript-making, as well as close consideration of the documents’ visual design, literary composition, and instructional goals. Did *Vorschriften* serve a culturally significant spiritual function? Does an intelligible pedagogical and spiritual logic underlie the form?

The answer to both questions is yes. To create devotional *Vorschriften*, scribes employed standard manuscript practices of their day by grafting together scripture verses, hymns, calligraphic

designs, and imagery from an array of sources. Despite the *Vorschrift*’s disparate source material, its contents coalesced into a literary, visual, haptic, and sometimes even musical experience that resonated with early modern spirituality and baroque artistic principles, given the documents’ emphasis on multisensory and emotional engagement with the divine. Teacher-scribes designed *Vorschriften* for student reading and copying. Contemplating and re-creating ornately presented religious texts promoted student internalization of letter forms, words, pictures, and spiritual sentiments useful in bringing about salvation. As the nature of manuscript culture, spirituality, and literacy education shifted in the nineteenth century, so, too, did the composition of the *Vorschrift*, until the presence of the form declined and eventually disappeared entirely from both Switzerland and Pennsylvania. Early *Vorschriften* emphasized contemplation and veneration of holy texts and ornamental letters. Later pieces focused less on letters and holy texts

as scribes paid greater attention to non-text-based decoration and pictorial illuminations. This stylistic change presaged a decline in the number of *Vorschriften* made as their theological and devotional functions grew more distant.

The fleeting potency of Pennsylvania manuscript *Vorschriften*, and their early emphasis on the veneration of letter forms, holy texts, and the act of writing as a devotional enterprise, hinged on their makers' and users' embrace of an ancient Judeo-Christian tradition: the relationship between text, wisdom acquisition, and pious lifestyle. Pennsylvania *Vorschrift* scribes, who often worked in communities of Anabaptists as well as the closely aligned mystical sectarian Schwenkfelders, used calligraphy to fuse connections between divine knowledge and everyday piety. Manuscripts made between 1750 and 1790 adhered to ideas associated with Old Testament wisdom-teaching. Scribes even included excerpts from Psalms and the "wisdom books" on the manuscripts. This connection between words, penmanship, and acquisition of knowledge fit an era when manuscript-making enjoyed considerable cultural resonance. From 1790 to 1850, Pennsylvania scribes relied less on the notion of wisdom through pious living, turning instead toward contemporary devotional literature that communicated relatable pious messages. A transformation from a focus on well-executed, intricate letter forms to colorful pictures mirrored this shift in text content.

The approach to studying calligraphy, manuscript illumination, and popular piety adopted in this article turns the table on how scholars normally study both early American handwriting practices and Pennsylvania German paper-based arts.<sup>6</sup> Rather than interpreting the hand-copying, decorating, and subsequent reading of others' literary compositions as passive enterprises, the study recasts the process of scribal selection, copying, and ornamentation of religious texts as a creative enterprise on

par with the authorship of original spiritual literature. Such a perspective necessitates that scholars interpret devotional manuscripts as creative products of the head, heart, and hand—that is, as material, intellectual, and cultural goods that possessed spiritual meaning because the documents synthesized the acts of reading, image contemplation, and writing. By shedding transatlantic, intellectual-historical light on the text content of *Vorschriften*, this essay challenges future studies of Pennsylvania German manuscript culture to engage with the complex spiritual beliefs pent up in these early American artifacts.<sup>7</sup>

The argument presented in this essay weaves together several strands of scholarship on European and American history and culture. It begins by establishing the context of manuscript-making in early modern Europe and the origins of German *Frakturschrift* and related scripts. This background prepares the reader for an examination of the aesthetic system that undergirded the *Vorschrift*'s functionality as a spiritual document: the multi-sensory gothic baroque. The study then considers the rise of the *Vorschrift* in German-speaking lands before narrowing its focus to the theological background of religious communities that made greatest use of the *Vorschrift* in Pennsylvania: Anabaptists and Schwenkfelders. Next comes close consideration of the material evidence of *Vorschrift*-making and use. The final section of the essay seeks to draw broad, empirically grounded descriptive and interpretive conclusions about the *Vorschrift* form via a statistical study of the manuscript's visual design and text content. The large number of extant Pennsylvania *Vorschriften* and the complexity of their visual and literary components necessitate such an

<sup>6</sup> For a leading work on the history of handwriting in America based largely on English-language sources, see Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Handwriting in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996). For an expert summary of the historiographical debate over Pennsylvania German manuscripts' spiritual function, see Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 141–44. A work of scholarship that takes religion as its organizing principle in studying Pennsylvania German manuscript art is Michael S. Bird, *O Noble Heart/O Edel Herz: Fraktur and Spirituality in Pennsylvania German Folk Art* (Lancaster, PA: Heritage Center Museum of Lancaster County, 2002). An array of innovative interpretive approaches to spelling, scripts, society, and culture may be found in Alexandra Jaffe, Jannis Androutsopoulos, Mark Sebba, and Sally Johnson, *Orthography as Social Action: Scripts, Spelling, Identity, and Power* (Boston: de Gruyter, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> This study is by no means the first to emphasize European antecedents to Pennsylvania German aesthetics and the value of a transatlantic comparative framework for consideration of the Pennsylvania documents' contents, reception, and change over time. Touchstone works in this regard include Cory M. Amsler, *Bucks County Fraktur*, Pennsylvania German Society 33 (Doylestown: Bucks County Historical Society and Pennsylvania German Society, 1999); Hermann Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadside and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Don Yoder, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide*, Pennsylvania German Society 39 (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania German Society, 2005). Jeff Bach's *Voices of the Turtledoves*, referenced above, is the most prominent recent scholarship to focus intellectual and religious-historical attention on the varied material dimensions of spiritual life. Patrick Erben's book *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) uses the field of hermeneutics to great effect in unlocking the connections between language and spirituality.

approach. The quantitative work undertaken here results in a new model for analysis of *Vorschrift* contents and changes over time that can guide analysis of individual manuscripts and inform future studies of other kinds of Pennsylvania German documents.

Together, these analytical building blocks construct a new understanding of the *Vorschrift* as a devotional manuscript genre and uncover the intentions and method of both scribes and readers in making and using the documents. "It is important, almost indispensable, to bring the composition of the text to light," wrote biblical scholar Roland Meynet on interpretation of scripture. Biblical writers, he asserted, were "genuine authors, who organized their material in intricate compositions."<sup>8</sup> This essay shows that *Vorschrift* scribes and their student-copyists were also genuine authors. Teacher-calligraphers parlayed in pious spirituality and baroque design, instructing young hands to write, young eyes to read, and young hearts to love and fear God. Pupils carried these ideas into their own text-based spiritual lives. As artists and wisdom teachers, *Vorschrift* scribes engaged as deftly in the world of thoughts and ideas as in the world of inks and pigments. During the early modern era of manuscript production, when ideas traveled across the Atlantic as far as people and paper could carry them, those worlds were often one and the same.

### Between Script and Print: Frakturschrift and the Long Era of Manuscripts

Early scholars of Pennsylvania German calligraphy and manuscript illumination connected the American tradition to manuscript-making in the monasteries of medieval Europe.<sup>9</sup> It was an easy link to forge, given the documents' religious content, but it obscured an important point. Manuscript-making remained a vital part of many Europeans'

(and Americans') lives outside of monasteries for centuries after the Middle Ages ended and Gutenberg invented his printing press. Pennsylvania Germans were not the exclusive inheritors of medieval manuscript traditions, nor were their artworks backward in aesthetic or use. Quite the contrary, the documents responded to the changing spiritual, cultural, and textual circumstances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as print publication only slowly enervated the cultural resonance of manuscript-making and reading. If seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century German religious manuscripts are to be understood, they must be situated in the wider world of European manuscript and calligraphy practices of their day—not viewed as leftovers of the Middle Ages.

The boundaries between manuscript and print were fluid in early modern Europe and early America, a cultural reality that undergirded the popularity of the *Vorschrift* form. While print publication played a vital role in several aspects of early modern life, for many, access to print materials was not always abundant. Often, the most viable means of text acquisition and dissemination was copying by hand. In a world dependent on manuscript-making, calligraphy and illumination retained their long-standing resonance as art forms: useful, to be sure, in commercial, civic, and daily life but capable of profound cultural expression in their own right. Families of scripts and printing types derived from historical antecedents became associated with particular social functions and even languages.<sup>10</sup> The quasi-medieval appearance of Pennsylvania German *Vorschriften* and other manuscripts is due in large part to German use of a family of scripts largely unknown to English speakers today.

<sup>8</sup> Roland Meynet, *Rhetorical Analysis: An Introduction to Biblical Rhetoric* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 21.

<sup>9</sup> Henry C. Mercer, "The Survival of the Mediaeval Art of Illuminative Writing among Pennsylvania Germans," in Amsler, *Bucks County Fraktur*, 22; Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Pennypacker's Mills in Story and Song, with the Incidents of the Settlement, the French and Indian War, and the Encampment of Washington's Army September 26th to October 8th, 1777, before and after the Battle of Germantown* (1902; repr., Norristown, PA: Historical Society of Montgomery County, 1980–81), 14; John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania Folk Art: An Interpretation* (Allentown, PA: Schlechter's, 1948), 21–58; Henry S. Borneman, *Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts: A Classification of Fraktur-Schriften and an Inquiry into Their History and Art* (1937; repr., New York: Dover, 1973), 2, 5. Borneman draws on the likes of English medievalists William Morris and John Ruskin to theorize the art of the Pennsylvania Germans.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Shaw and Peter Bain, "Introduction: Blackletter vs. Roman; Type as Ideological Surrogate," in *Blackletter: Type and National Identity*, ed. Paul Shaw and Peter Bain (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural, 1998), 10; Philipp Th. Bertheau, "The German Language and the Two Faces of Its Script: A Genuine Expression of European Culture?" in Shaw and Bain, *Blackletter: Type and National Identity*, 22, 26–28; Johann Merken, *Liber Artificiosus Alphabeti Maioris* (n.p., 1782), 2–3; John Bland, *The Second Part of an Essay in Handwriting . . .* (London: Sayer, ca. 1770s). Printed writing manuals, including Johann Merken's, speak to the cultural associations of various scripts. Noting scriptural knowledge that several tongues emerged at Babel out of one common root language, Merken suggests that scripts associated with written forms of those tongues originated from one root script. As proof, Merken offers in tabular format a visual comparison of letters of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German alphabets, noting similarities among various letter forms across alphabets. Merken's scribal typology reinforces German's aggrandized status as one of four diasystemic languages to emanate from Babel. On the title page of *Second Part of an Essay in Handwriting*, Bland refers to neogothic script as "German text."

The various letter forms commonly employed on German-language European and American *Vorschriften* fall into a category of early modern scripts best called neogothic, which denotes their evolution from medieval scripts. They are headed by *Frakturschrift*, or “broken-letter script,” which developed around 1500. *Frakturschrift* is a “book hand,” meaning that each letter is disconnected from its neighbors. The script’s name refers to the composition of letter forms from “broken,” or separate, strokes of the quill.<sup>11</sup> While inspired by the medieval *Textura* hand, *Frakturschrift* was developed for contemporary purposes in the Holy Roman imperial court. It coalesced in tandem with a *Fraktur* type (*Druckfraktur*) and combined elements of medieval secretary and court hands, suggesting its intended bureaucratic use. Compared to medieval gothic book hands, *Frakturschrift* letters (especially capitals) are characterized by thin, elongated letter forms and curvaceous, playful ornament indicative of the courtly influence of scribes including the famous Benedictine calligrapher Leonhard Wagner, one of the earliest developers of the script (fig. 4).<sup>12</sup> *Fraktur* type stamped German-language print culture during the Protestant Reformation and the flood of religious literature it catalyzed.<sup>13</sup> *Cantzley* (also spelled *Cantzlei* and *Kanzlei*, among other variants) is a “bastarda” script combining elements of book and “current” (or cursive) hands. It resembles *Frakturschrift* but is lighter and simpler in composition. *Currentschrift* is purely a current hand. These scripts contrasted with Graeco-Roman scripts derived from classical sources and used to depict Latin-based languages. Variations of neogothic scripts were not unknown among English

speakers (fig. 5), but they became uncommon in the English-speaking world after the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

A print genre dedicated to penmanship instruction flourished throughout the period of manuscript *Vorschrift*-making. Engraving handwriting samples on metal plates and printing them in large numbers allowed writing masters to propagate standards for penmanship, resulting in bound, multi-page printed *Vorschriften* that often quoted scripture and moral maxims.<sup>15</sup> The visual aesthetic of lines printed from burin-engraved copper plates could closely resemble those drawn with a quill on paper, making the medium ideally suited for mass production of penmanship training materials. Incising a plate at different depths creates fluid lines of varying thickness, the same effect toward which the early modern scribe strove with his or her quill.<sup>16</sup> In turn, distinctive features of engraving inflected handwriting practices. Calligraphic decoration took the form of “short scoops and flicks and dots” and crosshatching, in imitation of engraved samples.<sup>17</sup> Writing masters recognized the relationship between script and print, urging users to treat their texts as sources for proper letter forms.<sup>18</sup>

Printed writing manuals owed their existence to a culture of copying that thrived until the mid-nineteenth century. Manuscript-making only diminished as technological advancements increased the availability and decreased the cost of printed works.<sup>19</sup> As late as 1819–21, Pennsylvania German calligra-

<sup>11</sup> Mercer, “Survival of the Mediaeval Art,” 5–13. *Frakturschrift* has become so identified with German manuscript culture in early Pennsylvania that, among American collectors and scholars, the term “fraktur” (most often with a lowercase “f”) stands in for any illuminated manuscript or illustration of early German-American heritage.

<sup>12</sup> Leonhard Wagner lived from 1453 to 1522. His manuscript is Cod. 412, Stift Göttweig, Lower-Austria. Heinrich Fichtenau, *Die Lehbücher Maximilians I. und die Anfänge der Frakturschrift* (Hamburg: Gesellschaft, 1961), 5–9, 25–30, 38; Werner Doede, *Schön Schreiben, eine Kunst: Johann Neudörffer und die Kalligraphie des Barock* (Munich: Prestel, 1988), 10–12. Lowercase *Frakturschrift* letters often diverge very little from medieval antecedents, especially the *Textura*. As Doede explains, *Fraktur* capitals exhibit the script’s true originality. Other prominent names in the rise of *Fraktur*, according to Fichtenau, include imperial court scribe Vincenz Rockner, whose letter forms served as models for printer Johan Schönsperger the Elder’s types used in Emperor Maximilian’s *Gebetbuch* of 1513 and *Theurdank* of 1517, two of the earliest printed works to appear in *Fraktur*. The *Cantzley* script of court scribe Wolfgang Spitzweig (d. 1472) also exudes qualities of later *Frakturschrift*.

<sup>13</sup> Claus Ahlweige, *Muttersprache—Vaterland: Die deutsche Nation und ihre Sprache* (Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1994), 39–40, 52–53.

<sup>14</sup> Thornton, *Handwriting in America*, 22.

<sup>15</sup> Paul N. Hasluck, ed., *Engraving Metals, with Numerous Engravings and Diagrams* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1910), 11; Conrad Wüst, *Vorschriften* (Zurich: n.p., ca. 1760), title page. Engraved and printed sets of German penmanship samples in the era were also referred to as *Vorschriften*. Penmanship samples across languages taught Christian piety via scripture and moral maxims; English writing manuals frequently featured moral teachings. See, e.g., Enoch Noyes, *A New System and Sure Guide to the Art of Penmanship* (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1821); George Shelley, *The Second Part of Natural Writing* . . . (London: Bowles, ca. 1740–54).

<sup>16</sup> Walter Chamberlain, *Etching and Engraving* (New York: Viking, 1972), 119; Ruth Leaf, *Etching, Engraving, and Other Intaglio Printmaking Techniques* (New York: Dover, 1976), 27.

<sup>17</sup> Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Inkjet*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 9a.

<sup>18</sup> Michael Baurenfeind, “Form einer gelegten und zierlichen *Cantzley-Schrift*,” in *Vollkommene Wieder-Herstellung: Der bisher Fehl in Verfall gekommenen gründlich-u; Ziefsichen Schreib-Kunst/worinnen* . . . (Nuremberg: Weigel, 1716), 4.

<sup>19</sup> Frederick G. Kilgour, *The Evolution of the Book* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 98–113. “Except for the composition of type metal and the way type was set, all of printing technology changed dramatically in the first four decades of the nineteenth century, following three and a half centuries of no significant changes” (*ibid.*, 98).

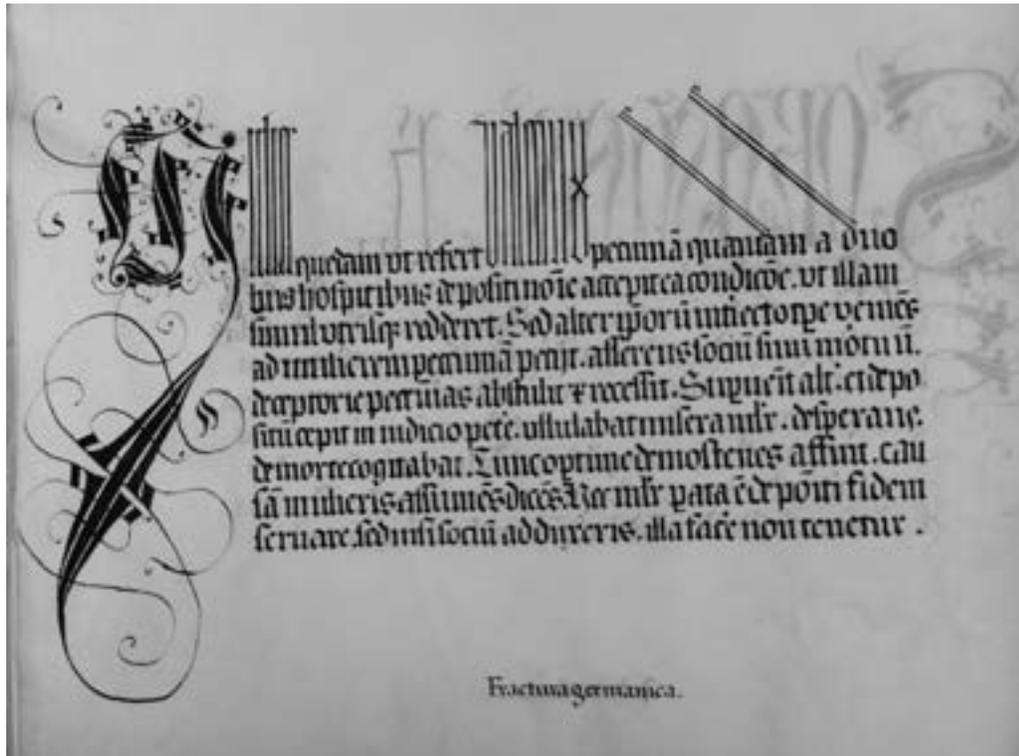


Fig. 4. Leonhard Wagner, “Fractura germanica” [German broken script], *Proba centum scripturarum diversarum* [Demonstration of a hundred different scripts], ca. 1507. Ink on parchment; H. 10", W. 13". (Stift Göttweig, Lower-Austria.)

pher Johannes Bard made copies of writing samples printed in Germany forty years prior, replicating the letter forms but adding personal artistic flourishes (figs. 6 and 7; app. A).<sup>20</sup>

#### “Heart, Speech, and Quill”: Frakturschrift Manuscripts and the Gothic Baroque

The *Vorschrift* form in engraved writing manuals dominated German-language calligraphy and handwriting education in the early modern era. Scribes in both Switzerland and Pennsylvania adapted the general *Vorschrift* form to fill the spiritual and educational needs of their own students, turning it into a ceremonial manuscript certificate imbued with material and spiritual significance. The ornate Frakturschrift letters on Swiss and Pennsylvania manuscript *Vorschriften* resonated with viewers because they appealed to established modes of engagement

with visual, literary, and sometimes even musical stimuli (in the form of hymn texts) that shaped their recipients’ spiritual lives. The avenues of sensory engagement cultivated on *Vorschriften* corresponded to a baroque theory of aesthetics in which various artistic media—words, images, and sounds—worked together as one unit to rouse the senses and emotions to spiritual enlightenment. While not all *Vorschriften* were made during the height of the European baroque, understanding the manuscripts as artifacts imbued with baroque design principles aids in interpreting their spiritual resonance.<sup>21</sup>

Virtually every aspect of German cultural life that influenced the manuscript *Vorschrift* tradition, including theology, philosophy, visual art, music, and literature, underwent redefinition during a period of European design called the baroque, which stretched from the end of the sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup> The term “ba-

<sup>20</sup> The manuscript in fig. 7 is acc. no. 2011.0028.014. See Johannes Bard, portrait of Andrew Jackson, Adams County, PA, 1819–21, private collection and app. A for other examples of engraved prints from Johann Gottfried Weber’s *Allgemeine Anweisung* and Johannes Bard’s manuscript copies.

<sup>21</sup> David E. W. Fenner, “Aesthetic Experience and Aesthetic Analysis,” *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 44–47.

<sup>22</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, trans. Kathrin Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964), 16–17; Angela Ndalanis, *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 8–9.



Fig. 5. George Shelley, “Disdain not your inferior, tho’ poor, since he may be your superior in wisdom,” ca. 1740–54. From George Shelley, *The Second Part of Natural Writing . . .* (London: Bowles, ca. 1740–54), pl. 27. (Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur Library.)

roque” is often associated with fine arts of aristocratic (and Roman Catholic) patronage, although one scholar has noted the applicability of baroque aesthetics to the study of Pennsylvania illuminated manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> Also, German scholarship acknowledges a distinctive “baroque German calligraphy” in printed writing manuals of the period, demonstrating the utility of the category to manuscript *Vorschriften*.<sup>24</sup>

The baroque constituted, in the thinking of literary scholar William Eggington, a “problem of thought” expressed aesthetically as modernizing western European society attempted to systematize

access to knowledge.<sup>25</sup> Theoreticians conceptualized the existence of a universal wisdom, which humans could only obliquely access through the senses. One Pennsylvania *Vorschrift*, for example, called nature “a work completely structured out of your [God’s] wisdom,” a reference to a divinely ordained rational universe.<sup>26</sup> This rationality was distorted and misconstrued by unreliable sense organs, presenting an epistemological dilemma. The senses veiled the very wisdom humans relied on them to unlock. In response, the arts retreated from classical theories of balance and order toward a pragmatism centered on inciting emotional response in receivers that would open their souls to wisdom. As all the arts sought to expose the same

<sup>23</sup> Ulrich Im Hof, *The Enlightenment*, trans. William E. Yuill (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 8; Don Yoder, “The European Background of Pennsylvania’s Fraktur Art,” in Amsler, *Bucks County Fraktur*, 15–37. Im Hof writes of the relationship between the baroque, the Catholic Church, and the Enlightenment: “Enlightenment was a reaction against the baroque, against orthodoxy and the Counter-Reformation.”

<sup>24</sup> Doede, *Schön Schreiben, eine Kunst*, 10, 12, 56, 77.

<sup>25</sup> William Eggington, “The Baroque as a Problem of Thought,” *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 124, no. 1 (January 2009): 143–49.

<sup>26</sup> Abraham Heebner, *Vorschrift*, 1772, 1958.02.106, Henry H. Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsylvania, PA.



Fig. 6. Johann Gottfried Weber, “Groß Frakturbuchstaben Alphabet” [Alphabet of uppercase Frakturschrift letters], 1780. From Johann Gottfried Weber, *Allgemeine Anweisung der neuesten Schönschreibkunst des Hochgräflich Lippischen Bottenmeisters und Aktuaris* (Duisburg am Rhein: Helwingschen Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1780), pl. 24. (Arca Artium Collection, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St. John’s University, Collegeville, MN.)

truth, traditional boundaries separating genres blurred, and artists could wield discrete genres as a single unit toward arousal of affect.<sup>27</sup> One can be made to feel the same way after reading verse, hearing music, or seeing a painting, for example.<sup>28</sup> This multimodality defined baroque art.<sup>29</sup> The baroque appealed to the pleasure of sensory experience, which lent itself to ornament and spectacle. It was “spatially invasive” and “polycentric,” pushing designs beyond rational frames.<sup>30</sup> Disruption

<sup>27</sup> John Hanak Miroslav, “The Emergence of Baroque Mentality and Its Cultural Impact on Western Europe after 1550,” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 28, no. 3 (Spring 1970): 315–16; H. James Jensen, *The Muses’ Concord: Literature, Music, and the Visual Arts in the Baroque Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), xiii, 2, 46–47; Isabella van Elferen, *Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music*, *Contextual Bach Studies* 2 (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2009), xx, xxiii–xxiv, 76, 85, 119.

<sup>28</sup> Jensen, *Muses’ Concord*, 66.

<sup>29</sup> Gunther Kress, *Multimodality: A Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 79, 87.

<sup>30</sup> Quotation from Ndaliansis, *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*, 33, 152; Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of the Ger-*

and disorientation unbalanced receivers’ sensibilities and opened them for reorientation toward truth. “Curvature,” visual “polyphony,” and a “marvelous spectacle of abstract dynamism” undergirded Frakturschrift calligraphy employed on print and manuscript *Vorschriften*.<sup>31</sup>

Spirituality and popular piety of the early modern era paralleled the baroque style’s focus on arousal of the senses and emotions. Religious movements in German-speaking Europe cultivated emotive engagement with scripture as a means to access veiled truth. Pietism, mysticism, Anabaptism, and other movements all emphasized personal, inner, and emotional experience of God’s presence. Just as baroque aesthetics distrusted rational arguments devoid of emotion, many contemporary Prot-

*man Tragic Drama* (London: NLB, 1977), 161–67; José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 12.

<sup>31</sup> Doede, *Schön Schreiben, eine Kunst*, 56.



Fig. 7. Johannes Bard, “Groß Frakturbuchstaben Alphabet” [Alphabet of uppercase Frakturschrift letters], probably Union Township, Adams County, PA, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on paper; 7½" × 7⅞". (Gift of Nick and Jo Wilson, Winterthur.)

estants fought to make religion a more personal and emotive experience.<sup>32</sup> A verse written in ornate Frakturschrift by notary and calligrapher Jacob Hutzli in Bern, Switzerland, in the late seventeenth century articulates the multimodal links between spirituality, speech, and language’s visual representation as text: “Oh God / my help and / dearest treasure, control my heart, speech, and quill, / to use them for your honor.”<sup>33</sup>

This focus on emotional sentiment, faith, language, and written words inflected the literacy education of Swiss youth. Manuscripts made for teaching children reflected the baroque’s multimodal tenets. “Art and understanding are precious gifts,” wrote Jacob Hutzli on a children’s manuscript bound

with handwritten scriptural excerpts (fig. 8). “Strive also to have them. / Especially to ‘eat them up’ in youth, / when everything is easy to learn.”<sup>34</sup> The German verb “fressen,” here conjugated as “frist,” literally means “to eat.” It is typically used to describe animals, not humans, except to indicate a person who is eating quickly (in English, to “devour” a meal). Here it is used metaphorically, to imply children’s ability to consume large amounts of new knowledge quickly. The scribe highlighted this clever metaphor by including, in the historiated majuscule “K” beginning the word “Kunst,” or “art,” a rabbit chomping on a leaf. The scribe’s motivations in including the animal were more than mere

<sup>32</sup> Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, 228.

<sup>33</sup> Jacob Hutzli, *Schreibbuch* (writing book), ca. 1690, 19, Mss.h.h.LI.169, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Switzerland.

<sup>34</sup> Jacob Hutzli, *Schreibvorlagbuch/Das güldene ABC* [Writing sample/the golden ABC], 1693, Mss.h.h.LI.167, f. 12, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Switzerland. “Kunst und verstand sind Edle gaaben / Befleisse dich sie auch zu haben. / Fürnemlich zu der Jugend frist, / da alles leicht zu lernen ist.”



Fig. 8. Jacob Hutzli, “Kunst und Verstand sind Edle gaaben” [Art and understanding are precious gifts], ca. 1600–1700. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ ”, W. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ”. From Jacob Hutzli manuscript, *Neuw gefertigtes grosses guldines ABC . . .* [Newly produced large golden ABC . . .] (Bern: n.p., ca. 1693), 12. (Burgerbibliothek Bern.)

whimsy; the concept of “eating” text has scriptural precedent. “Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart: for I am called by thy name, O Lord God of hosts,” reads Jeremiah 15:16. Similar statements appear in Ezekiel and Revelation.<sup>35</sup> The metaphor of eating texts offers a visceral image of the intake of God’s word. Vorschriften reflected the baroque imperative of stirring the senses and emotions toward wisdom.<sup>36</sup> Given their receptive-

ness to new knowledge, children were perhaps the best candidates for spiritual training rooted in the ornate, polycentric, and multimodal. Just as the rabbit eats the letter “K,” children’s eyes can feast on God’s wisdom when it is presented in Frakturschrift calligraphy.

But, as suggested by Jacob Hutzli’s “heart, speech, and quill” comment, the baroque was about more than the mere intake of sensory stimuli. It also held implications for the cultural resonance of manuscript text production. Calligraphy sat at the nexus of spirituality, aesthetics, and philosophy

<sup>35</sup> Jeremiah 15:16 (King James Version); Ezekiel 3:1 (KJV); Revelation 10:9 (KJV).

<sup>36</sup> “Religious text (Upon God’s grace [An Gottes Gnad]),” ca. 1790, frko115503, Fraktur Digital Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia Rare Book Department, [http://libwww.freelibrary](http://libwww.freelibrary.org/fraktur/detail.cfm?itemID=frko115503)

[.org/fraktur/detail.cfm?itemID=frko115503](http://libwww.freelibrary.org/fraktur/detail.cfm?itemID=frko115503). The same verse appears on this ca. 1790 Pennsylvania manuscript “Guldene ABC” entry for the letter K, although without the rabbit.

of learning. It was an ideal microcosm of divine wisdom bound up in the processes of making and reading decorative letter forms, both of which activities could incite heavenly inspiration. Text on the Swiss *Vorschrift* described in the introduction to this article, on which appeared the image of the quill, graver, and porte de crayon, lays out this theory. “The trouble that the ancients took, says Pliny, to invent the arts and bring them to perfection . . . are all [actually] gifts from God. Man would know the gifts of God in a foul way and repay [God] with ingratitude to think we have man to thank for the perfection of painting, calligraphy, carving, and engraving,” it notes. “We are not so vain as to think that those sciences we invented or expanded are our own work. We have indeed the fundamental principles of all the arts in us, but God, the invisible master, must awaken and teach our spirits through secret and hidden impressions. Let us therefore say with St. Paul: ‘What hast thou, that [thou didst not receive]?’”<sup>37</sup> Artistic process as spiritual exercise was a leitmotif of baroque devotional manuscript text. “Rule my senses, and orient them quite to you,” an American *Vorschrift* asks God, using the art of writing to stir the senses and awaken the interior workings of the spirit’s invisible master.<sup>38</sup>

Long after the Enlightenment and classicism overtook elite western European philosophy and design, elements of early modern piety and baroque style lived on in German-language calligraphy and manuscript practices among Europeans and Americans rooted in earlier spiritual and aesthetic systems.<sup>39</sup> Pennsylvania pieces that postdate the Swiss

<sup>37</sup> Jacob Brünner the Elder, *Vorschrift: Zu nützlicher Nachahmung und einer fleissigen Übung . . .* [Writing copy: Toward useful imitation and diligent exercise . . .] (Bern: Guttenberger, 1766/1767), pl. 10. The full German on the *Vorschrift* reads: “Die Mühe so die Alten genommen, sagt Linius, die Künste zu erfinden, und zur Vollkommenheit zu bringen, Ihre Sorgfalt solche Erfindungen biß, auf unsere Zeiten fortzupflanzen, sind lauter Geschenke Gottes. Man wurde die Gaaben Gottes übel erkennen und mit Undanck bezahlen, so man glauben wolte, daß wir die Vollkommenheit der Mahlerey, der Schreib-Schnitz-und-Stech-Kunst einem Menschen zu danken hästen. Man bilde sich dersalben nicht ein, daß die Wißenschaften, die wir erfinden, oder vermehren, unser eigen Werk seÿen; Wir haben zwar natürlicher Weise die Grundsätze von allen Künsten in uns, aber Gott der unsichtbare Meister, muß unseren Geist durch einen heimlichen und verborgenen Eintrunk aufwerken und lehren. Laßet uns derohalben mit Sankt Paulus sagen: ‘Was hast du aber, daß.’”

<sup>38</sup> *Vorschrift* for Mattheus Schultz, beginning “Meine Augen schließ ich jetzt” (my eyes I close now), January 26, 1788, 999-911, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center. “Regiere mein Gemüth, und richt es ganz zu Dir, / daß keine böse Luft, durch Träume mich berühr; / auch / deinen Engel, mir, zu meiner Seiten setze, / daß mich der Satan nicht, mit seiner List verletzte.”

<sup>39</sup> Richard van Dülmen, *The Society of the Enlightenment: The Rise of the Middle Class and Enlightenment Culture in Germany*, trans. Anthony Williams (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), 5-8; Im Hof, *The En-*

manuscripts by more than a century exemplify baroque multimodality and visual aesthetics. A circa 1780 *Vorschrift* by Anabaptist David Kulp combines Frakturschrift, decorative illuminations, baroque hymn lyrics, and an allusion to aural stimulation with musical notation. The piece achieves its functional purpose of literacy instruction with a model alphabet (fig. 9).<sup>40</sup> A manuscript bookplate in Elisabetha Eÿer’s Lutheran hymnal, made by Johann Adam Eyer in 1821, reads: “Learn how you can by yourself be a singer, book, and temple.”<sup>41</sup> The American deployment of baroque Frakturschrift letter forms toward such an end enjoyed a robust German-speaking European heritage.

Early modern German calligraphy and manuscript illumination reflected baroque polycentrism and the spiritual quest to unlock wisdom using the senses. The *Vorschrift* was a tool for, and ultimately is an artifact of, that quest. European *Vorschrift* scribes carefully selected and presented spiritual texts using calligraphy and manuscript illumination to teach children lessons on faith, pious behav-

*lightenment*, 172-74; Samuel S. B. Taylor, “The Enlightenment in Switzerland,” in *The Enlightenment in National Context*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 78, 84, 88; Joachim Whaley, “The Protestant Enlightenment in Germany,” in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment in National Context*, 106, 110-11, 116. The extent to which German-speaking Europe experienced an Enlightenment, its chief traits, and its social reach have long been debated in scholarship of the period. It is beyond the scope of this article to address the German Enlightenment in depth but worth noting that, in addition to the shift from baroque to classical design that characterized elite artistic production between the early eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, intellectual life shifted. The Enlightenment gradually reshaped theories of learning and Protestant faith practice. The radical Protestant exodus to the New World was well underway by the time the Enlightenment and classicism overtook Germany around 1760. The Schwenkfelders arrived in Pennsylvania in 1734, at the height of the European baroque, and the earliest Anabaptist arrived in Pennsylvania in 1683, with migration continuing for almost a century thereafter. Both religious groups had their origins in the early modern Protestant Reformation, and adherents created manuscript artworks grounded in baroque reconfiguration of gothic letter forms. More attention is paid here to early modern religious history and baroque design than the Enlightenment itself, the origins of which scholars trace to elite academics, cosmopolitan aristocrats, and the nascent urban bourgeoisie—not provincial peasants, although Ulrich Im Hof contends that Protestant pietists and radical dissenters may have shared some common goals. While European Anabaptists and Schwenkfelders occupied an “enlightening” Atlantic world, their daily lives and faith practices seem to have remained grounded in earlier worldviews, as their manuscript designs suggest. Future study will interrogate the extent to which Enlightenment-influenced approaches to education contributed to the demise of the baroque *Vorschrift* form demonstrated by the statistical analysis of *Vorschrift* style described later in the article.

<sup>40</sup> Winterthur Museum, acc. no. 2013.0031.076.

<sup>41</sup> Johann Adam Eyer, Bookplate for Elisabetha Eyer, Hamilton Township, Monroe County, Pennsylvania, 1821, 2012.0027.012, Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library. “Lerne Wie du kanst allein, / Singer, Buch und Tempel seÿn.”



Fig. 9. David Kulp, “Eines Ist Noth: Maria hat Das gute theil Erwehlet” [One thing is needful: And Mary chose the good part], probably Bucks County, PA, ca. 1800–1820. Ink and watercolor on laid paper; H. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ”, W. 12 $\frac{1}{16}$ ”. (Museum purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle, Winterthur.)

ior, and penmanship. Swiss and Pennsylvania manuscript *Vorschriften* share pedagogical foundations and aesthetic traits, perhaps because much of Pennsylvania’s Anabaptist population traced its heritage to persecuted Swiss dissenters. The practice of presenting *Vorschriften* to youths seems grounded in a tradition common in Switzerland in the early modern era, but the evidence does not suggest that the manuscript *Vorschrift* form was specifically Anabaptist. Printed and bound penmanship samples were ubiquitous in Europe at the time, and religious manuscript *Vorschriften* (both single-sheet and small, bound volumes) may have been made in non-Swiss regions. Yet it was in Switzerland that the form reached its aesthetic heights.<sup>42</sup>

Cantons Bern and Zurich in western Switzerland were economic, political, and cultural centers of the Swiss confederation in the early modern era. They also became hotbeds of Switzerland’s

Anabaptist movement.<sup>43</sup> Print publishing, Fraktur-schrift calligraphy, and penmanship instruction flourished in the cantons’ chief cities, also named Bern and Zurich. Print and manuscript writing samples were made in large numbers, and the baroque aesthetic seems to have become an accepted standard for calligraphy there by the seventeenth century.<sup>44</sup> The title page of Jacob Hutzli’s bound manuscript *Vorgeschrift* volume, made in 1696, describes the function of a *Vorschrift*: “Writing Sample and Exemplar Book Containing All Hands of Modern Time, Agreeable and Modern Capital Letters also Decent Fraktur, Cantzlei and universal Cur-

Hymnody,” in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700*, ed. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (Boston: Brill, 2007), 421. More European research is necessary to verify the geographic extent of devotional manuscript *Vorschrift*-making for individual children, but it seems that the tradition was most vibrant in Switzerland. That the form resonated with Anabaptists is unsurprising, as devotional literature that accompanied the manuscripts comprised a central part of Anabaptist spirituality.

<sup>43</sup> Clive H. Church and Randolph C. Head, *A Concise History of Switzerland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 57–58.

<sup>44</sup> *Schreibschule* [Writing school], seventeenth century, DQ 935, Canton Archive of Bern, Switzerland.

<sup>42</sup> *Vorschrift*, ca. 1720–30, attr. to Augsburg, Germany, private collection; John D. Rempel, “Anabaptist Religious Literature and



Fig. 10. Johann Rubin, “Dieses Buch ist ein Eigenthüm, welches Zugehört Mir” [This book is a thing, which belongs to me], 1799. From Johann Rubin, *Der erst und kürzeste Weg zur Glückseligkeit: Für die Jugend zu Stadt und Land . . .* [The first and fastest way to divine bliss for youth of the city and country . . .] (Bern: n.p., 1799), title page. (State Archive of Bern.)

rentschrift.”<sup>45</sup> Hutzli filled his *Vorgeschrift* with calligraphic representations of the Psalms as well as quotations from the apocryphal Old Testament wisdom book of Sirach, which focuses on moral teachings.<sup>46</sup> Although the audience for Hutzli’s *Vorgeschrift* is unclear, the manuscript’s message is not: penmanship instruction and spiritual cultivation go hand in hand.

Printed *Vorschriften* also exuded religious themes. Nearly one hundred years after Hutzli’s time, Johann Rubin left no doubt as to the intended audience for his dual-purpose printed writing manual and devotional text, naming the book *The First and Shortest Way to Bliss for the Youths of City and Country*. Published in Bern in 1799, the piece combines instruction in morality with engraved *Vorschriften* aimed at penmanship training.<sup>47</sup> The

most striking feature of the book is its title page (fig. 10), which depicts two cherubs carrying a copy of scripture opened to verse 10 of Psalm 111: “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Those who follow the Lord’s commands receive understanding.”<sup>48</sup> The cherubs gaze at a verse by German poet Christian Fürchtegott Gellert: “Worship always the writing, which is your good fortune on earth, / And will, just as God truly is, also be your good fortune in Heaven: / Despise the enemy of the Christian Bible; / The teaching that he insults remains yet the teaching of God.”<sup>49</sup> The volume also features an epigram from Sirach, an ancient Jew-

<sup>48</sup> Psalms 111:10 (KJV). “Die Föricht[e] des Herin ist der Weisheit Anfang. Wer die Befehle des Herin thut[h], bekommt einen guten Verstand.”

<sup>49</sup> Rubin, *Der erst und kürzeste Weg zur Glückseligkeit*, title page; Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, *Herrn Professor Gellerts Geistliche Oden und Lieder mit Melodien von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Winter, 1764). “Verehere stets die schrift, sie ist dein Glück auf Erden, / Und wird, so wahr Gott ist, dein Glück im Himmel werden: / Verachte Christlich groß des Bibelfeind es Spott; / Die Lehre die er schwächt bleibt doch die Lehr aus Gott.”

<sup>45</sup> Jacob Hutzli, *Vorgeschrift und Exemplar Buch* [Penmanship sample and exemplar book] (“writing school”/penmanship samples), title page, Mss.h.h.LL.168, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Switzerland.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 7–15.

<sup>47</sup> Johann Rubin, *Der erst und kürzeste Weg zur Glückseligkeit: Für die Jugend zu Stadt und Land . . .* (Bern: n.p., 1799), 5–39, pl. 1–8.

ish wisdom book.<sup>50</sup> The frontispiece of another German writing manual of the period—an image titled “Emblem in Praise of the Art of Writing” that seems to depict God’s own hand penning text—echoes Gellert’s notion of the holy origins of the written word, scriptural text included (fig. 11). “The quill itself raises the hand by means of felicitous wings; and celebrates the work of busy dexterity,” a Latin inscription below the image reads.<sup>51</sup>

Some manuscripts contain equally explicit summations of *Vorschrift* purpose and use. An early eighteenth-century bound volume of manuscript *Vorschriften* features a dedicatory verse that links penmanship education, wisdom acquisition, and piety: “The Lord bestow, that all those who need this *Vorschrift*, learn from it not only how to write correctly, but rather also, using this holy and glorious word, to create a blissful wisdom in the heart, and to regulate life and work after the word’s example.” The *Vorschrift* presents twenty-five plates discussing pious themes, featuring verses drawn from the Gospels, Old Testament, and apocrypha, as well as a model alphabet and number line (fig. 12). Devotional manuscript *Vorschriften* presented by teachers to students thrived during the period in Bern, Zurich, and Canton Graubünden, once a locus of Anabaptist activity.<sup>52</sup> One *Vorschrift* made in 1743 sums up the relationship between calligraphy, manuscript illumination, and Christian spirituality that undergirded the *Vorschrift* form: “All the arts are vain dust if they are not made by one with faith in Christ. He who knows Jesus Christ correctly will learn the best art.” A modified version of the verse appeared on another Swiss *Vorschrift* in 1741 (figs. 13 and 14).

Swiss *Vorschriften* thrived in an educational environment centered on the cultivation of Christian piety. Like clergy, early modern Swiss schoolmasters were “the church’s servants” who taught curriculum grounded in reading and comprehending scripture. School days were organized around study

of the catechism and psalms, training in prayer, literacy instruction, and review of lessons delivered by clerics in recent church sermons.<sup>53</sup> Numerous other manuscripts visually similar to the *Vorschrift* figured into the spiritual literacy teaching imperative that infused the classroom experience. After pupils practiced penmanship with teacher-made *Vorschriften*, they demonstrated their skills by creating samples known as *Examenschriften* (examination writings), *Probesschriften* (writing samples), or *Osterletzen* (Easter/spring term examinations).<sup>54</sup> Given that, in theory, all of these documents modeled the same neogothic scripts and catalyzed participation in the same scripture-based spiritualism, they all feature more or less the same visual design and types of religious texts. Swiss students demonstrated proficiency in ornamental *Frakturschrift* as well as more practical *Cantzlei* and *Currentschrift* on their examination writings. Terms such as *Osterletz* appear on some very early Pennsylvania manuscripts that otherwise resemble *Vorschriften*, suggesting that, at least for a time, the Old World classroom custom of student ornamental manuscript-making lived on in early America.<sup>55</sup> Manuscripts associated with educational activity in Zurich quote Old Testament texts just as Hutzli did in Bern, including excerpts from texts later prominent on Pennsylvania *Vorschriften*.<sup>56</sup>

Between 1800 and 1850, the baroque *Vorschrift* became a less prominent component of Swiss literacy training. Swiss students still received penmanship exemplars, although they emphasized practical penmanship (especially *Currentschrift*)

<sup>53</sup> “Schulordnung” (school order), 1637, doc. no. 70, EI 21.1, “Landschulwesen bis 1798: Allgemeines 1625–1798,” Staatsarchiv des Cantons Zürich, Switzerland.

<sup>54</sup> For examples of the many kinds of manuscripts employed in Swiss schools in the period, see Kunstgewerbe Museum der Stadt Zürich and Museum für Gestaltung, *Schreibkunst, Schulkunst und Volkskunst in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz, 1548–1980* (Zurich: Kunstgewerbe Museum der Stadt Zürich and Museum für Gestaltung, 1981). Other German terms crop up that also reference manuscripts similar to the *Vorschrift*: e.g., *Schreibformularbuch* (lit. writing formula/exemplar book) and *Unterricht* (instruction).

<sup>55</sup> Mary Jane Lederach Hershey, *This Teaching I Present: Fraktur from the Skippack and Salford Mennonite Meetinghouse Schools, 1747–1836* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2003), 68. This project follows the example set by Hershey in *This Teaching I Present*, in which she treats an object labeled an *Osterletz* as a *Vorschrift* in a fluid, evolving American context. The fact that Swiss and Pennsylvania scribes only inconsistently labeled pieces as *Vorschriften*, *Osterletzen*, or some other kind of manuscript makes it futile to infer too much meaning from the terms for the broad analytical purposes of this study.

<sup>56</sup> Writing sample featuring Psalm 119, ca. 1630–50, doc. no. 80; writing sample featuring “Syrach Am 7” and “Sallomon Am 33,” 1641–42, doc. no. 77; writing sample beginning “Tracht ins bösses wider deinen,” doc. no. 75, EI 21.1, “Landschulwesen bis 1798: Allgemeines 1625–1798,” Staatsarchiv des Cantons Zürich.

<sup>50</sup> Rubin, *Der erst und kürzeste Weg zur Glückseligkeit*, 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Kunstrichtige Schreibart Allerhand Versalie oder Anfangs Buchstaben Des Teütschen, Lateinischen und Italiänischen Schrifften aus unterschiedlichen Meistern des Edlen Schreibkunst*. . . [Sundry aesthetically correct initials or beginning letters of the German, Latin and Italian scripts from the diverse masters of precious calligraphy. . .] (Nuremberg: Paulus Fürsten Kunsthändlern, 1655), 16.

<sup>52</sup> “*Vorschrift für Hans Peter Jonal aus Valendas, Schüler in Waltensburg/Vuorz*” (writing sample for Hans Peter Jonal of Valendas, a student in Waltensburg/Vuorz), February 18, 1779, A/N 174, Staatsarchiv Graubünden, Chur, Switzerland; “*Vorschrift für Antonio Tognoni von Beuer, 1796*” (writing sample for Antonio Tognoni from Beuer, 1796), A/N 202, Staatsarchiv Graubünden. The manuscripts appeared in regional native languages and diverse scripts—not just *Frakturschrift*.



Fig. 11. Detail, “Emblema in laudem Artis scriptoriae” [Emblem in praise of the art of writing], 1655. From *Kunstrichtige Schreibart Allerhand Versalie oder Anfangs Buchstaben* (Nuremberg: Fürst, 1655). (Old Imprints Department, Zentralbibliothek Zürich.)

and often appeared as small booklets rather than single handwritten sheets.<sup>57</sup> New publications continued to exude religious themes.<sup>58</sup> Baroque ornament was ill-suited to modern needs, however, and both printed and manuscript *Vorschriften* lacked their antecedents’ splendor. A decline in the number of devotional, baroque-influenced *Vorschriften* surviving in Swiss archives suggests that the manuscript form dwindled in number and died out there around the mid-nineteenth century.

#### Anabaptist and Schwenkfeldian Spiritualism

Pennsylvania German schoolteacher-scribes cultivated the manuscript *Vorschrift* tradition in community educational institutions sponsored by Anabap-

tists (better known as Mennonites) and Schwenkfelders. Both sects were segments of a larger Protestant movement that enveloped Europe during the later stages of the Reformation, centering on interior spirituality and personal interaction with God’s word. Called a Peasant Reformation by some, the radicalization of Protestantism in the German-speaking lands started around Zurich, Switzerland, in the early sixteenth century.<sup>59</sup> While the Anabaptists and Schwenkfelders did not invent the manuscript *Vorschrift*, they most likely carried the form to the colony with their dissenting Protestant religious beliefs. Understanding Anabaptist

<sup>57</sup> “Schreib-Buch für Anna Seyler,” 1820, DQ 131, Staatsarchiv Bern.

<sup>58</sup> H. R. Rüegg, *Erstes Schulbüchlein für die Unterschule* [First little schoolbook for the lower school], 5th ed. (St. Gallen: Scheitlin

und Zollikoser, 1863). Part of archival collection Bibliothek G8: “Schreibschulen, Schreibvorschriften, Schreibkunst, 1680–1899” (writing instructional manuals, writing samples, calligraphy, 1680–1899), Canton Archive of Bern.

<sup>59</sup> Peter Blickle, “Communal Reformation and Peasant Piety: The Peasant Reformation and Its Late Medieval Origins,” *Central European History* 20, nos. 3/4 (September–December 1987): 217–19; John L. Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship: A Narrative Account of Life in the Oldest Mennonite Community in North America* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 1984), 31–34.



Fig. 12. Bound manuscript, entry for letter “A,” “Alles was ihr thut mit Worten oder mit Werken, das thut alles in dem Nannen des Herren” [Everything that you do with words or with works, do it in the name of the Lord], Colossians 3:17, Augsburg, Germany, ca. 1720–30. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 9¼”, W. 11½”. (Private collection; photo © Christie’s Images/Bridgeman Images.)

and Schwenkfelder religious beliefs offers context for their cultivation of the *Vorschrift*. Two characteristics of Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder spiritual practice bear on their relationship with calligraphy and religious texts: the importance they placed on cultivating personal relationships with God and the centrality of lay engagement with scripture and devotional literature to that process.

Between 1683 and 1775, some 80,000 German-speaking Protestants flowed into British America, carrying with them various approaches to the explication of scripture. Of those, between 1,536 and 4,200 were Anabaptists, and 206 were Schwenkfelders. The rest were by and large members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Most Germans who arrived at Philadelphia stayed in the city or settled in the outlying area, in Philadelphia, Montgomery, Chester, Bucks, Northampton, Berks, and

Lancaster counties. While their religious beliefs occupied central places in their sense of identity, Lutherans and Reformed lacked the separatist tendencies of the radicals.<sup>60</sup> Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder settlement in the agrarian counties surrounding Philadelphia was sparse, reinforcing their separatism.<sup>61</sup>

German-speaking Europe was still in the midst of Reformation when settlement of Pennsylvania began, and the century of American *Vorschrift* production should be interpreted within the context of the Reformation’s theological aftershocks. As the dust began to settle on the ecclesiastical reorga-

<sup>60</sup> Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 6, 30, 81, 86–87, 103.

<sup>61</sup> James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man’s Country: Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (1972; repr., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 98–99.



Fig. 13. “Meine Seele ligt im Staub” [My soul lies in dust], canton Graubünden, Switzerland, 1741. Ink on paper; H. 17<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>”, W. 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>” (Rätisches Museum, Chur, Switzerland.)

nizations inspired by Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, and others in the early sixteenth century, questions emerged about the nature of Protestant religious experience. Radical dissenters whose descendants settled Pennsylvania carried Reformation rhetoric further than many conservatives desired. Demarcations between various Protestant groups in the period were tied to methods of scriptural interpretation. “In a manner of speaking, the whole excitement and enterprise of the sixteenth century was aimed at resurrecting the ‘living spirit’ mouldering inside the tomb of a dead or false ‘letter,’” wrote one scholar of the period.<sup>62</sup> Reformers questioned clergy’s authority over scripture and sought new methods to interpret the holy word. For Protestants, personal engagement with scripture opened the door to pure faith experiences, but they enjoyed a spectrum of options for just how radically to depart from Catholic orthodoxy. For mainstream Lutherans, scripture delineated God’s law on earth and could be understood through careful intellectual analysis best conducted by trained clergy. For the

Reformation’s fringe elements including Anabaptists and Schwenkfelders, scripture mediated divine revelation brought about by the Holy Spirit; it was



Fig. 14. Detail of figure 13, “Alle Kunst Ist Eitel Staub Wo Nich An Christum Ist Der glaub” [All art is vain dust where it is made without belief in Christ. He who knows Jesus Christ correctly has employed his day well]. (Rätisches Museum, Chur, Switzerland.)

<sup>62</sup> Andrew Weeks, *German Mysticism from Hildegard of Bingen to Ludwig Wittgenstein: A Literary and Intellectual History* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993), 150.

not revelation itself. They sought methods to encounter Bible texts that would push their faith beyond the holy word through the holy word.

Paralleling these approaches to scriptural interpretation, early modern German Protestants espoused varying degrees of iconoclasm, or the rejection of religious imagery. In keeping with their intent focus on the holy word, radical Protestants eschewed religious iconography such as paintings and statues more passionately than did Lutherans, and iconoclasm was particularly widespread in sixteenth-century Switzerland.<sup>63</sup> This (by no means universal) turn against pictorial art complemented the rise of calligraphy, a theologically safer, word-based art form that enhanced rather than detracted from the communicative power of scripture.

Distinctions between Lutheran and radical Protestant theologies may seem esoteric today, but in early modern German-speaking Europe, many radicals endured considerable oppression because of their nonconformist beliefs. The most persecuted of radical Protestant dissenters were the Anabaptists. The term “Anabaptism,” which means “to baptize again” in Latin, points to the most derided practice adopted by the sect: adult baptism. Anabaptists justified this subversive act with their belief in the exegetical power of the Holy Spirit and the authority of laypeople to interpret God’s word. Drawing on their personal knowledge of scripture, Anabaptists cited the lack of infant baptism in the Bible as justification for adult baptism. Their movement forged a direct link between spirit and letter, in which the Holy Spirit provided access to scriptural meaning by working within the heart of the believer.<sup>64</sup> Anabaptists gave their attention to inner emotion incited by the holy word rather than to traditional academic erudition, and Pennsylvania’s Anabaptists were not renowned for high levels of

learning.<sup>65</sup> Yet they recognized the word of God as a central means of inciting the emotional spirituality they sought. Lay scripture study germinated and sustained the Anabaptist movement, as dissenters solidified their confidence in the ability of those with a basic education to access meaning through the word.<sup>66</sup>

Three Anabaptist groups emerged around the same time in Europe: Swiss, south German/Austrian, and north German/Dutch Anabaptists. Originally followers of the iconoclast Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), the Swiss Anabaptists carried the Zurich Reformation further than their leader or local officials wished.<sup>67</sup> Zwingli and his radical followers parted ways in 1523, the latter to endure much persecution.<sup>68</sup> In 1671 700 Swiss Anabaptists left their hostile homeland and settled in Alsace and the Palatinate. In 1711 500 more sailed down the Rhine.<sup>69</sup> Their political situation in the Palatinate looked uncertain when Englishman William Penn arrived to market his North American colony and its principle of religious toleration to the radicals. Anabaptists soon sailed for Pennsylvania’s more tolerant climes, seemingly carrying the Swiss Vorschrift tradition with them.<sup>70</sup>

The Schwenkfelders of Silesia were a smaller sect and were more spiritual (and certainly more mystical) than the Anabaptists. Mysticism was a radical theory of faith that unhinged the temporal and spiritual worlds from logical coherence and esoteric speculation in favor of a quest toward unity with the divine. Around 1519 Caspar Schwenckfeld experienced a religious epiphany inspired by Martin Luther’s early mystical writings.<sup>71</sup> The former became well known in Protestant circles for his spiritualism, characterized by his belief in the work of the “inner Word,” which facilitated communication between God and man.<sup>72</sup> Schwenckfeld became frustrated by Lutheranism’s doctrinal focus and disinterest in rejuvenating Christian spir-

<sup>63</sup> Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Heritage of Heresy: Preservation and Destruction of Religious Art and Architecture in Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008), 41–46; Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens: Ohio State University Press), 23–35, 54–65; Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 43–59, 83; David Brett, “The Reformation and the Practice of Art,” in “The Religion Issue,” special issue, *Circa* 26 (January–February 1986): 20–24. “The Reformation was not only a religious, but an *aesthetic* revolution, which began with the rejection of the holy picture as an aid to worship,” writes Brett. According to Michalski, “Iconoclasm started in 1521 in the territory of Germany and Switzerland, on the whole . . . in areas which—at least in the initial phase—were connected with the Reformation of the Swiss type and not with the Lutheran one” (Brett, “Reformation and the Practice of Art,” 20).

<sup>64</sup> C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Kitchener: Pandora, 1995), 86–90, 339; Rempel, “Anabaptist Religious Literature and Hymnody,” 391.

<sup>65</sup> Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship*, 210–14.

<sup>66</sup> C. Arnold Snyder, “Swiss Anabaptism: The Beginnings, 1523–1525,” in Roth and Stayer, *Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism*, 49.

<sup>67</sup> Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 25–29, 62, 67; Church and Head, *Concise History of Switzerland*, 81–84.

<sup>68</sup> C. Henry Smith, *Smith’s Story of the Mennonites*, 5th ed., rev. and enl. Cornelius Krahn (Newton, KS: Faith & Life, 1981), 4–5, 81.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 78–79, 100.

<sup>70</sup> Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship*, 26, 45–51, 93.

<sup>71</sup> Horst Weigelt, *The Schwenkfelders in Silesia* (Pennsburg, PA: Schwenkfelder Library, 1985), 24.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–3; Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 35.

itual and moral life. Aspects of Schwenkfeldian thought and practice—primarily adherents’ refusal to attend Lutheran worship services, baptize children, or receive communion—led to persecution. After an interlude on the estate of the Moravian Count von Zinzendorf, 180 men, women, and children left for Philadelphia, where they arrived on September 22, 1734.<sup>73</sup> Schwenkfelders’ connection to the *Vorschrift* was likely a matter of happenstance.<sup>74</sup> Few in number, Pennsylvania Schwenkfelders eventually sent their children to Anabaptist schools, where they received *Vorschriften* along with their classmates. Some Schwenkfelders cultivated the form as well. Like the Anabaptists, Schwenkfeldian beliefs complemented the creative and dynamic use of devotional manuscripts as part of lay spiritual practice. Writing became a tool on the path toward knowledge of, and union with, God. “Inscribe, Lord, your will in my stone heart,” wrote one Schwenkfelder on a circa 1774 *Vorschrift*.<sup>75</sup>

Not all radical Protestant sects that emerged across Europe during the early modern era embraced calligraphy and manuscript illumination as a primary form of spiritual devotion. Nonetheless, the Protestant imperative to engage personally with scripture, combined with long-standing practices of *Frakturschrift* calligraphy and manuscript illumination among early modern German-speaking central Europeans, set the stage for the blossoming of the manuscript *Vorschrift* in Pennsylvania.

#### Spirituality and the Pennsylvania *Vorschrift*: Clues in Context

In a 1971 lecture Pennsylvania German scholar Don Yoder characterized Anabaptist illuminated manuscripts in four ways: first, as folk art; second, as Germanic art; third, as religious art; and fourth, as Protestant art.<sup>76</sup> In the case of *Vorschriften*, a fifth dimension might be added to Yoder’s list: pedagogical art. Pennsylvania Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder schooling between the 1750s and 1850s fostered a culture of calligraphy and manuscript il-

lumination centered on instruction in accessing God’s wisdom and grace. The functional instruction *Vorschriften* offered in reading and writing is made explicit by the model alphabets and number lines on the manuscripts. But the documents’ deeper, spiritual-pedagogical aim evades easy deciphering. *Vorschriften* are closed texts—indecipherable linguistic and artistic artifacts—today because few can fully empathize with the religious beliefs of their makers and original owners or relate to the manuscripts’ pedagogical context.<sup>77</sup> If the world of Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder pedagogy can be reconstructed, the documents resonate as something far greater than the sum of their component parts. “A thing remains ill-defined until we discern what it does, that is, until we grasp its relationship to the milieu in which it exists,” wrote art historian and religious scholar David Morgan.<sup>78</sup> Because Pennsylvania Germans left behind no detailed written account describing the *Vorschrift* tradition, modern observers must piece together the logic of the manuscripts by studying the content of the documents themselves, the learning and worship environments in which the *Vorschriften* were made and used, as well as the people who wrote and read them.<sup>79</sup>

One of the most important contexts for understanding the *Vorschrift* is international in scope: the manuscript thrived in Pennsylvania during a hundred-year period of tremendous flux in European and American penmanship instruction practices, which inflected the style, content, and ultimately the viability of the manuscript form. Baroque penmanship manuals placed emphasis on complex ornate scripts. Often, those who prepared such manuals were in the employ of bureaucratic institutions that valued those hands. As commercial economies grew and new employment opportunities emerged for the literate, emphasis shifted to efficient business handwriting. The United States took a leadership role in developing penmanship instruction that emphasized ease of learning and speed of hand, so much so that a book expounding a “North American rapid writing method” appeared in Germany by 1839. Like other new penmanship methods in Europe and America, the book emphasized step-by-step instruction in simple, utilitarian letter

<sup>73</sup> Weigelt, *Schwenkfelders in Silesia*, 1, 14–16, 53, 102, 130–31; Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship*, 112.

<sup>74</sup> Note that the spelling of the name of Schwenkfeld’s followers—Schwenkfelders—drops the “c” in their leader’s name.

<sup>75</sup> Abraham Heebner, *Vorschrift*, ca. 1774, oo.261.51, Henry H. Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center. “Schreib her got / dem Willen dein / in mein stein / hartin / hertz / hinein.”

<sup>76</sup> Don Yoder, “Fraktur in Mennonite Culture,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 48, no. 3 (July 1974): 306–7.

<sup>77</sup> Meynet, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 15.

<sup>78</sup> David Morgan, “Thing,” in “Key Words in Material Religion,” ed. Birgit Meyer, David Morgan, Crispin Paine, and S. Brent Plate, special issue, *Material Religion* 7, no. 1 (2011): 140–47.

<sup>79</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, “The Problem of Hermeneutics,” in *Essays Philosophical and Theological* (London: SCM, 1955), 237, 252–55.

forms.<sup>80</sup> A German reviewer hailed the book's departure from the increasingly antiquated *Vorschrift* form. "Students are able to learn more writing skill, than by the traditional method where the student submits a *Vorschrift*, which he copied or did not copy, observed or did not observe, and obtains more learning of writing than is collected by the eye."<sup>81</sup> The manuscript *Vorschrift* and associated instructional practices died out on both sides of the Atlantic by the mid-nineteenth century in favor of newer pedagogies.

But the manuscript *Vorschrift* flourished during a brief window before the publication of penmanship manuals in America, meaning the documents filled a functional void while printed German *Vorschriften* were scarce, in addition to their spiritual service. John Jenkins published the first American writing manual, *Art of Writing*, in Boston in 1791, decades after Pennsylvania Anabaptists began producing manuscript *Vorschriften*. The German newspaper editor, copperplate engraver, and publisher Carl Friederick Egelmann, based in Reading, Pennsylvania, printed at least four editions of his dual-language *Deutsche & Englische Vorschriften für die Jugend* (German and English writing samples for children) between 1820 and 1831. Before this publication, no known printed German-language *Vorschrift* had been created in America.<sup>82</sup>

Egelmann's publication held fast to the old German *Vorschrift* tradition, presenting *Frakturschrift* in much the same format that had been common for the previous 200 years, with some notable modifications. He went to pains to make his samples appealing to youth and included instructional elements common to early nineteenth-century English-language manuals, such as model letters arranged

on guidelines. Yet the manual's predominant *Frakturschrift* plates emphasize spiritual instruction common on earlier *Vorschriften*. One plate urges children in German to "educate your soul and mind" with "assiduity and virtue / Through the Creator's loving hand" (fig. 15). An English verse offers similar advice: "From Art and Study true Content must flow / For 'tis a God-like Attribute to know / He most improves who studies with Delight / And learns sound Morals while he learns to write."<sup>83</sup>

The Germans who settled Pennsylvania had to establish educational institutions and practices in their new home, which often required collaboration among various denomination and sects during an era before easy access to printed penmanship instructional materials. Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder communities supported schools for their children via subscription: students' families paid attendance fees. The school's organizers maintained a schoolhouse and contracted a teacher. Itinerant schoolmasters sometimes divided their time between communities across the region, encountering different denominations and sects as they taught. Between 1779 and 1787, Lutheran schoolmaster and manuscript illuminator Johann Adam Eyer taught Anabaptist students in three subscription schools in Bucks County, rotating between them on a quarter system.<sup>84</sup> Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder motivations for the establishment of schools for youth shed light on their pedagogical imperative. In 1764 Schwenkfelder Christopher Schultz outlined the case for community schools. The Protestant Christian life relied on possessing the wherewithal to interpret scripture, Schultz asserted: "Is it not true, or in what manner is it going too far, if one says that just as learning and the science of language cleared and blazed the way for the Reformation, so on the other hand ignorance, lack of judgment, and simple crudeness on the part of our people have cleared and blazed the way that our people have so shamefully fallen away from the truth and have so blindly turned to error? What a pity!"<sup>85</sup>

The Pennsylvania German schoolteacher's task centered on spiritual cultivation. An 1815 subscription schoolteacher contract read: "The above-

<sup>80</sup> Rembrandt Peale, *Graphics: A Manual of Drawing and Writing, for the Use of Schools and Families* (New York: Collins, 1835), 11; G. B. Clauss, *Nordamerikanische Schnell-Schreibmethoda in 84 Vorlegeblättern* (Chemnitz: Expedition des Gewerbeblattes für Sachsen, 1839); H. C. Spencer, *Spencerian Key to Practical Penmanship*, 2nd ed. (New York: Ivison, Phinney, & Blakeman, 1869); A. N. Palmer, *The Palmer Method of Business Writing*, rev. ed. (New York: Palmer, 1927); F. Kersten, "Vortrag," review of *Nordamerikanische Schnell-Schreibmethode*, by G. B. Clauss, *Mitteilungen aus dem Osterlande* 3 (1839): 137-40.

<sup>81</sup> Kersten, "Vortrag," 137-40, 140.

<sup>82</sup> Frank H. Sommer, "German Language Books, Periodicals, and Manuscripts," in *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. Scott T. Swank (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1983), 278; Library Company of Philadelphia and Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Germantown and the Germans: An Exhibition of Books, Manuscripts, Prints, and Photographs from the Collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, October 1983 to January 1984* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia and Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1983), 92. Egelmann released at least four editions of his *Vorschriften* between 1820 and 1821. The edition cited here is the last, printed in 1821.

<sup>83</sup> Carl Friedrich Egelmann, *Deutsche & Englische Vorschriften für die Jugend* (Reading, PA: Egelmann, 1821), pl. 3.

<sup>84</sup> Joel Alderfer, "Kommt Liebe Kinder, Kommt Herbei: Elementary Education in the Mennonite Communities of Southeastern Pennsylvania to 1840" (paper for a "Symposium: The ABCs of German American Education in Pennsylvania," Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, PA, June 30, 2007), 3.

<sup>85</sup> Elmer Schultz Gerhard, "The History of Schwenkfelder Schools and Education," in "Schwenkfelder Schools and Education," special issue, *Schwenkfeldiana* 1, no. 3 (September 1943): 7-8.



Fig. 15. Carl Friederick Egelmann, “Ermahnung an die Jugend” [Admonition to the youth], 1831. From Carl Friederick Egelmann, *Deutsche & Englische Vorschriften für die Jugend* (Reading, PA: Egelmann, 1821), pl. 3. (Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur Library.)

mentioned schoolteacher promises by God’s grace and help . . . to regard the children as precious pledges made to him and to instruct them with untiring diligence in reading, writing, singing and reckoning to the end of each child’s salvation, and further to acquaint them with good and Christian morals.”<sup>86</sup> Another such document, contracting Ja-

cob Oberholtzer for the Hilltown Township school in 1823, adds prayer as an area of instruction. Notably, lessons sometimes took place in both English and German.<sup>87</sup>

The Pennsylvania German classroom experience reflected teachers’ focus on cultivation of student spiritual literacy, or the ability to read, com-

<sup>86</sup> Alderfer, “Kommt Liebe Kinder, Kommt Herbei,” 4–5.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 6–7.

prehend, and engage meditatively with scriptural and nonscriptural devotional text. This goal imbues the most famous source on early education in German Pennsylvania: *A Simple and Thoroughly Prepared School Management*, written by Montgomery County Anabaptist schoolteacher Christopher Dock (ca. 1698–1771) and printed in 1770. Dock grounds his pedagogy in the working of the Holy Spirit in his students' lives. "I see that it is beyond human power to exterminate the root" of human iniquity, Dock admits. "God alone through the power of His Holy Spirit must do this." Teachers, clergy, and parents can only encourage moral and religious rectitude "as by the grace of God is in their power."<sup>88</sup> Scribal training was bound up in a classroom environment centered on the reading, recitation, recall, and interpretation of scripture and other texts meant to catalyze the purifying action of the Holy Spirit.<sup>89</sup>

A typical day in Dock's classroom underscores the primacy that he—and presumably other schoolteacher-scribes—assigned to scripture. In the morning, students "sing a psalm or a morning hymn"—the very kinds of verses Dock wrote on *Vorschriften*—"and I sing and pray with them." After rehearsing the Lord's Prayer, students studied the alphabet, during which Dock quizzed them on letters and spelling. Pupils who advanced beyond the "ABC class" undertook lessons in the New Testament. They ruminated on the New Testament's message and were "allowed to write" passages for Dock using the words and scripts they had learned. After reading from the New Testament and "consider[ing] the teaching therein," students moved on to other scripture passages. "As it is the case that this thought

is also expressed in other passages of Holy Writ, these are found and read, and then a hymn is given containing the same teaching"—just as *Vorschriften* often featured scripture clarified with hymn text. "If time remains, all are given a short passage of Scripture to learn." Writing and spelling concluded the lesson. Students who performed well in their studies might receive a handmade drawing of a flower or bird (figs. 16 and 17).<sup>90</sup> Dock's students engaged in learning grounded in the Protestant imperative for personal engagement with scripture. "Pre-modern scholars thought of remembering as a process of mentally visualizing signs both for sense objects and objects of thought," notes medievalist Mary Carruthers. The same held true in German Pennsylvania. "The shapes of letter forms are memorial cues" to access the wisdom schoolteachers sought to impart.<sup>91</sup>

Dock and other schoolteachers summed up their joy in cultivating student spiritual literacy using pictures and poetry. Dock penned this verse in 1765: "Then quickly come, all children dear, / In Jesus' school enrolling. / Here sit and learn, his judgment fear, / His truth revere, / His wisdom great extolling."<sup>92</sup> An illustration of a Pennsylvania German classroom features handwritten verses asking God to support the educative process (fig. 18). The first lines quote Psalm 71:23: "My lips / and my soul are happy / and sing praise to you," continuing with an excerpt from Psalm 31: "You have saved me, you true God." Next come lines from a contemporary hymn: "Help, God, that the child-rearing, / happens always with utility and / Fruit that out of the children's mouths you / will prepare a praise to the world."<sup>93</sup> The manuscript's last three lines correspond to a hymn included in a 1749 hymnal, designated to be sung before the "Schul-Predigt," or school sermon: "We praise you, we thank / you, with our children for all."<sup>94</sup> The text underscores the richness of the classroom spiritual world.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Christopher Dock, *The Life and Works of Christopher Dock, America's Pioneer Writer on Education, with a Translation of His Works into the English Language*, ed. Martin G. Brumbaugh (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1908), 89, 117.

<sup>89</sup> In *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), E. Jennifer Monaghan warns against assuming that Dock's piety was distinctively German or should be accounted as the causal variable for Frakturschrift calligraphy and manuscript-making in his and other German schoolrooms. She writes: "Dock was an exceptionally devout man, but this characteristic probably did not set his school apart from most other Pennsylvania schools of the time—or, indeed, of schools anywhere. Most intriguing of all is that Dock's literacy instruction in German was virtually indistinguishable, other than linguistically, from that in English" (208). It seems necessary to add, of course, that Dock's literacy instruction was indeed distinguishable in terms of scripts and manuscript practices employed in the classroom. But Monaghan's point stands that religiosity was not unique to Germans of the time. While within Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder communities religious piety was an essential ingredient for the making of *Vorschriften* and other devotional texts, the visual aesthetics, text content, and social use of those documents owe much to cultural circumstances associated with diverse aspects of Pennsylvania Germans' European heritage.

<sup>90</sup> Dock, *Life and Works of Christopher Dock*, 107–9.

<sup>91</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 33–34.

<sup>92</sup> Alderfer, "Kommt Liebe Kinder, Kommt Herbei," 1.

<sup>93</sup> *Evangelische Lieder-Sammlung: Genommen aus der Lieder Sammlung und dem Gemeinschaftlichen Gesangbuch, zum bequemeren Gebrauch in den evangelischen Gemeinen* (Gettysburg, PA: Johnson, 1834), 322.

<sup>94</sup> *Altes und Neues, aus dem Lieder-Schatz, Der Evangelischen Kirchen . . . Zusamt einem angehängten Kirchen-Gebet-Buch: Zum Gebrauch der Gemeinde Gottes zu Kempten* (n.p., 1749), 387–88.

<sup>95</sup> Fraktur, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, ca. 1800, 2013.0031.092A, Winterthur. Lancaster County was a center of Anabaptist settlement, meaning that this piece may well be of Anabaptist provenance.



Fig. 16. Anabaptist classroom reward to member(s) of the Goyman family, Upper Bucks County, PA, ca. 1790–1810. Watercolor on paper; H.  $3\frac{15}{16}$ "', W.  $2\frac{1}{16}$ ". (Collection 320, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library.)

The Vorschrift fit neatly into such a pious, scripture-based pedagogical environment. The manuscript was the ultimate symbol of teacher-scribal achievement, as well as a ceremonial touchstone of the passage of spiritual literacy from master to pupil. Vorschrift production was a systematic process that teachers repeated often. While each manuscript contained unique elements and frequently featured the recipient's name, a teacher-scribe's output was often quite uniform in design, layout, and content.<sup>96</sup> The manuscripts varied in size. One minute example measures just 3 inches high by

<sup>96</sup> Compare, e.g., the works of Christian Strenge (1757–1828), many of which feature similar illustrations. Christian Strenge, Vorschrift for Maria Ruth, oo.262.31, Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center; Christian Strenge, Vorschrift for Christian Hershey, 1808, object 2007.081, Hershey, Christian (1755–1800) Papers, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, PA (hereafter cited as LMHS).

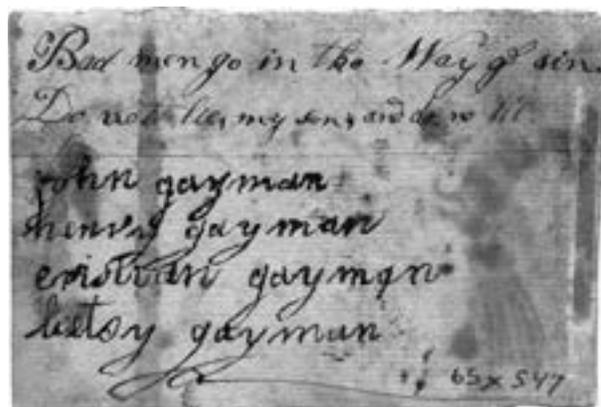


Fig. 17. Detail, verso of manuscript in figure 16, "Bad men go in the way of sin."

$3\frac{7}{8}$  inches wide, whereas a large piece (labeled a Vorschrift by its maker but probably intended for display on a classroom wall) measures 17 inches high by 21 inches wide.<sup>97</sup> Most fell between these extremes at closer to 7 inches high by 11 inches wide, large enough for easy viewing but small enough to be set on a table beside a pupil's books, paper, quill, and inkwell.<sup>98</sup> Schoolteachers often presented children with Vorschriften when they were between nine and twelve years of age, when they were old enough to begin engaging with complex spiritual ideas and reading and writing a variety of letter forms.<sup>99</sup> Scribes intended the manuscripts for care

<sup>97</sup> Miniature Vorschrift, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, March 30, 1816, watercolor and ink on laid paper, 2013.0031.004A, Winterthur; Jacob Otto, fraktur (writing sample), Rapho Township, Pennsylvania, 1795, 2013.0031.069A, Winterthur.

<sup>98</sup> The figures of 7 inches high by 11 inches wide were derived from measurements of the random sample of Vorschriften on which the second half of this article is based. Precise averages were 7.43 inches high and 11.125 inches wide. For more information on the random sample, see app. B.

<sup>99</sup> The approximate age of student receipt of Vorschriften from schoolteachers was determined by tracing the genealogy of several Vorschrift recipients in Lancaster County. Henry Shenk (b. January 2, 1756) received a Vorschrift made on April 2, 1767, when he was eleven years old. Anna Carli received a Vorschrift made by Jacob Botz on March 8, 1775, when she was eight or nine years old. Johannes Carli (March 11, 1781–January 25, 1858) received a Vorschrift made on February 25, 1791, when he was almost ten years old. Christian Hershey (September 30, 1796–April 1, 1836) received a Vorschrift from schoolteacher Christian Strenge made in April, 1808, when the student was eleven years old. Vorschrift by or for Henrich Schenck, Lancaster County, 1767, folder "Fraktur: 'Endlich aber seydt allesamt gleich . . .'" by Henrich Schenck, Schüler in Männer Daunschib, April 2 [one side]–3 [other side], 1767," Shenk Collection 2006.006, LMHS; "Hostetter, Abraham, 1723–1796," genealogy cards, no. 2, "Barbara—m—Henry Shenk, Jan. 2, 1756–Aug. 28, 1853," LMHS; Jacob Botz, Vorschrift for Anna Carli/Charles, Lancaster County, March 8, 1775, David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; Vorschrift for Johannes Carli, Lancaster County, February 25, 1791, folder "Vorschrift: 'Johannes Carli,' Feb. 25,



Fig. 18. Classroom verse and scene, "Meine Lippen und mein Seele sind fröhlich" [My lips and my soul are happy], probably Manor Township, Lancaster County, PA, ca. 1800. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "', W. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". (Museum purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle, Collection of Pastor Frederick S. Weiser, Winterthur.)

and veneration; a *Vorschrift* made in Skippack in 1787 came complete with a cover to protect the

1791," box "Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list," David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; Carolyn L. Charles, "Katie's Family Tree," in "Katie Hess Reminiscences," ed. A. Martha Denlinger, *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 1, no. 4 (October 1978): 8–9; *Vorschrift* for Johannes Carli, Lancaster County, February 25, 1791, folder "Vorschrift: Johannes Carli," Feb. 25, 1791," box "Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list," David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; Christian Strenge, *Vorschrift* for Christian Hershey, 1808, object 2007.081, Christian Hershey (1755–1800) Papers, LMHS; "Hershey, Christian, Oct. 20, 1755 (Bible)," genealogy cards, no. 2, "8. Christian, Sept. 30, 1796–Apr. 1, 1836," LMHS.



Fig. 19. Johann Conrad Gilbert, schoolmaster with Fraktur alphabet, Berks County, PA, ca. 1780–1800. Watercolor on paper; H. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ "', W. 2 $\frac{3}{16}$ ". (Gift of Patrick Bell and Edwin Hild in memory of Pastor Weiser, collection of Pastor Frederick S. Weiser, Winterthur.)

document.<sup>100</sup> Calligraphic proficiency seems to have been a prerequisite for schoolteachers. One depiction of a teacher highlights his mastery of Fraktur-schrift (fig. 19).<sup>101</sup> While focusing literacy instruction on Christian themes was not unique to Germans as compared with other early Americans, the cultivation of Fraktur-schrift calligraphy as a devotional exercise was.<sup>102</sup>

Scholars often regard Christopher Dock as the progenitor of the *Vorschrift* in America, or at least one of its earliest proponents. Under Dock's direct tutelage or indirect influence, other leading *Vorschrift* scribes emerged in the Skippack-Salford

<sup>100</sup> Henry Brachtheiser, *Vorschrift and Vorschrift cover for Philip Markley, Skippack, PA, 1787, 98.8.1, Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania.*

<sup>101</sup> Winterthur Museum, acc. no. 2012.0036.001 A.

<sup>102</sup> On English-language educational norms in early America, see Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America.*

area: Hermann Ache (1724–1815), Huppert Casel (b. 1751), Heinrich Brachtheiser (1762–88), Andreas Kolb (1749–1811), and Jacob Hümmel (d. 1822). Johann Adam Eyer (1755–1837) taught school in Bucks County, influencing future teacher-scribe Jacob Gottschall (1769–1845).<sup>103</sup> Yet the *Vorschrift* thrived beyond the hands of these luminaries. Teachers in other counties—many of whom are anonymous today—made the manuscripts, as did some outside the teaching profession.<sup>104</sup>

How most students used *Vorschriften* is uncertain. Teacher-scribes proffered explicit religious instructions on the documents; pieces featured admonitions to “learn to understand God’s word, and apply yourself to go forth according to it.”<sup>105</sup> Directions for copying seem to have been implicit, although scant survivals of student work do suggest that pupils used the documents as handwriting models.<sup>106</sup> Evidence suggests that Pennsylvania Anabaptists and Schwenkfelders stored *Vorschriften* between the leaves of Bibles and other religious texts.<sup>107</sup> Many of the documents exhibit creases in their centers, suggesting folding. The documents were not simply educational tools intended to be used by students and then tossed away; rather, *Vorschriften* held symbolic value for recipients and their descendants, who sometimes treated pieces as generational heirlooms.<sup>108</sup> Early collectors sep-

arated *Vorschriften* from the books in which they were stored when the manuscripts became valuable on the antiques market as miniature artworks.<sup>109</sup> Spared the initial rush of collector interest, however, some manuscripts found their way to museums still tucked into the books in which early owners had stored them. Those unadulterated assemblages offer insights into how Anabaptists and Schwenkfelders stored and used *Vorschriften*.

A cache of Bibles, manuscripts, and ephemera from the far reaches of early Anabaptist settlement in Pennsylvania offers a window into provincial sectarian spirituality. Making their home in Manor Township, on the banks of the Susquehanna River not far from Harrisburg, the interrelated Carli, Hirschi, and Schenck families all owned large German-language Bibles that enjoyed much household use over several generations in Pennsylvania.<sup>110</sup> The Carli (also known as Charles) family donated their Bible printed by Christoph Froschauer in Zurich in 1536 and the documents housed within it to the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society in 1973, more than 200 years after the family settled in Pennsylvania (fig. 20). Curators found in the Bible a host of printed and manuscript spiritual documents, such as religious poetry, in addition to family records including manuscript *Frakturschrift* birth certificates from the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>111</sup> *Vorschrift*-

<sup>103</sup> Hershey, *This Teaching I Present*, 168–74; “Johann Adam Eyer,” David Wheatcroft Antiques, <http://www.davidwheatcroft.com/johann-adam-eyer/>.

<sup>104</sup> See, e.g., Maria Heebner, *Vorschrift*, 4-58/999 499/28, Henry H. Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

<sup>105</sup> *Vorschrift*, “Die Tugend ist ein Schmuck der Jugend,” 1774, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

<sup>106</sup> Christian Stauffer, religious text, 1767, Henry S. Borneman collection of *fraktur*, number frk00373, Free Library of Philadelphia; Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship*, 129; Elisabetha Grimm [Liessabetha Grimin], *Vorschrift*, Collection 320, 87 × 165, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library; *Vorschrift* and associated manuscript fragments, sl-58-no-a-14 (SL 96-2014.001 A-14), Mercer Museum Library, Doylestown, PA; *Vorschrift*, ca. 1780, sl-58-no-a-33 (96.2033-1 SC-58. No. A-33), Mercer Museum Library. An assignment prepared by a pupil of Christopher Dock survives from 1767; the student modeled his submission on the *Vorschrift* form. One 1772 manuscript shows the *Vorschrift* style embedded within the context of other writing on a larger sheet of paper, and other pieces feature what appear to be student scribbles on teacher-made manuscripts.

<sup>107</sup> See, e.g., T. J. V. Braght, *Der Blutige Schau-Platz, oder Martyrer Spiegel der Taufes-Gesinnten oder wehrlosen Christen . . .* (Lancaster, PA: Ehrenfried, 1814), FM2012.11.1, Reist Family Collection, Landis Valley Museum, Lancaster, PA. Found in the Bible were family genealogy records dating to the early eighteenth century (FM2012.11.2), a musical manuscript (FM2012.11.5), as well as a 1780 *Vorschrift* for Barbara Reist (FM2012.11.4).

<sup>108</sup> *Vorschrift* for Isaac Tyson, Skippack/Salford, PA, ca. 1770–80, 98.21.1, Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania.

<sup>109</sup> Samuel T. Freeman and Co., “Executors’ Sale [of the] Estate of Samuel W. Pennypacker, Deceased: Rare Books and Manuscripts, Autographs, also Two Paintings by Benjamin West and Other Historical Portraits . . .” (Philadelphia: Freeman, 1920), 100–103.

<sup>110</sup> The spellings of old Pennsylvania Anabaptist names changed from the early modern era to the twentieth century, particularly as families Anglicized their surnames. The Carli family eventually changed their surname to Charles, Hirschi to Hershey, and Schenck/Schenk to Shenk. Period spellings are used whenever possible here. In citations, spellings abide by catalog conventions. (Institutional collections are often organized by Anglicized surnames.)

<sup>111</sup> *Die gantze Bibel/das ist alle bücher altes unnd neüwes Testaments . . .* (Zurich: Christoffel Froschouer, 1536), David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; Charles family record, folder “Carle Family record: ‘Gott der Grosse . . .’ [Black/White],” box “Charles, David G., Collection: *Fraktur* (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; Carle family record, folder “Carl/e Family record [Color],” box “Charles, David G., Collection: *Fraktur* (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; Christian verse “In Gottes Namen . . .,” folder “Song or Poetry: ‘In Gottes Namen . . .’ [n.d.],” box “Charles, David G., Collection: *Fraktur* (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; birth certificate for John H. Carle, August 13, 1843, folder “Birth Certificates for John H. Carle (b. Aug. 13, 1843, son of John and Susanna Carle),” box “Charles, David G., Collection: *Fraktur* (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs



Fig. 20. Carli/Charles family Bible donation to the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society showing (left to right) Abram H. Charles, David G. Charles, Carolyn L. Charles, and J. Robert Charles, 1973. (Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society Archives.)

ten also figured in the cache of documents: one made for nine-year-old Anna Carli on March 8,

(1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; Carl F. Seybold, birth certificate for David H. Carle, folder “Birth Certificate for David H. Carle (b. Aug. 2, 1835, Manor Twp., son of John Carle and Susanna Herr), by Carl F. Seybold, May 27, 1837,” box “Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; religious manuscript for Johannes Carli, folder “‘In diesem Lichte . . .,’ for ‘Johannes Carl,’ 1790,” box “Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; religious manuscript for Johannes Carli, March 5, 1792, folder “‘Mein Hertze . . .,’ for ‘Johannes Carli,’ Mar. 5, 1792,” box “Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; religious manuscript for Johannes Carli, March 2, 1791, folder “‘Meine Hoffnung,’ for ‘Johannes Carli,’ Mar. 2, 1791,” box “Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; broadside, folder “Broadside: ‘Abschiedsworte des Ehrw. Johannes Geil an seine Gemeinde,’ by Johannes Geil. Doylestown, Pa: M. Löb, [Nov. 32, 1852 or later],” box “Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS.

1775 (fig. 21), and one for her ten-year-old brother, Johannes Carli, made in 1791.<sup>112</sup> A devotional text inscribed to Johannes Carli found in the Bible is similar to his *Vorschrift*.<sup>113</sup> The Bible’s end papers are also inscribed with genealogical information.<sup>114</sup>

Documents found inside a 1536 Froschauer Bible belonging to the Hirschi/Hershey family (fig. 22) include a marriage certificate from 1836, a genealogical record, a religious broadside, and a Brieflein (“little letter”) closely resembling a *Vorschrift*.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Jacob Botz *Vorschrift* for Anna Carli/Charles March 8, 1775, David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; *Vorschrift* for Johannes Carli, Lancaster County, February 25, 1791, folder “*Vorschrift*: ‘Johannes Carli,’ Feb. 25, 1791,” box “Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS; Charles, “Katie’s Family Tree.”

<sup>113</sup> Religious text for Johannes Carli, Lancaster County, February 25, 1791, folder “‘Herr da sich mein Heyland . . .,’ for ‘Johannes Carli,’ Feb. 25, 1791,” box “Charles, David G., Collection: Fraktur (10) Music scores (2) Broadside by John Geil Songs (1) [Froschauer Bible (1536)—Rare Bk Car.] Rupp ship list,” David G. Charles Collection, LMHS.

<sup>114</sup> *Die gantze Bibel*.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*; marriage certificate, in folder “Marriage Certificate: John Appel and Anna Elizabeth Gorges . . .,” Christian Hershey



Fig. 21. Jacob Botz for Anna Charles, “In allem Thun fürcht dich vor Gott” [In all of your deeds, fear before God], Manor Township, Lancaster County, PA, 1775. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>”, W. 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>”. (Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society Archives.)

Like the Carli Bible, the Hirschi volume housed two *Vorschriften*, including one made in 1808 by well-known schoolteacher and manuscript artist Christian Strenge, when its recipient was twelve years old (fig. 23).<sup>116</sup> The Schenck/Shenk family Bible also housed at least two *Vorschriften*. One, dated 1767, belonged to eleven-year-old Henrich Schenck, whose father John had immigrated to Pennsylvania some years prior.<sup>117</sup> The Bible also held a manuscript copy

of Psalm 150 and *Vorschrift*-like templates that date to the 1760s.<sup>118</sup> Despite the *Vorschrift*’s significance to families like the Carlis, Hirschis, and Schencks, the implementation of Pennsylvania common schools legislation during the 1830s and 1840s unraveled the *Vorschrift* tradition by altering Pennsylvania German community educational systems.<sup>119</sup>

(1755–1800) Papers, Box 002, LMHS; broadside, in folder “Broadside: ‘Ein schön Lied,’” Christian Hershey (1755–1800) Papers, Box 002, LMHS; “*Briefleinn*” by or for Abraham Heebner, March 11, 1804, in folder “Manuscript: ‘Diese Briefleinn . . .,’” Christian Hershey (1755–1800) Papers, Box 002, LMHS.

<sup>116</sup> Christian Strenge *Vorschrift* for Christian Hershey is object 2007.081. *Vorschrift* for Catharina Huber, April 22, 1775, in folder “*Vorschriften* (3),” Christian Hershey (1755–1800) Papers, Box 002, LMHS; “Hershey, Christian, Oct. 20, 1755 (Bible),” genealogy cards, no. 2, “8. Christian, Sept. 30, 1796–Apr. 1, 1836,” LMHS.

<sup>117</sup> *Vorschrift* by or for Henrich Schenck, Lancaster County, 1767, folder “*Fraktur*: ‘Endlich aber seydt allesamt gleich . . .’ by Henrich Schenck, Schüler in Männer Daunschib, April 2 [one side]–3 [other side], 1767,” Shenk Collection 2006.006, LMHS; *Vorschrift* by or for Andreas Hirschi/Hirshi, Lancaster County, ca. 1770s, folder “*Fraktur* *Vorschrift*: ‘Warlich warlich ich sage euch . . .’” Andreas Hirshi, April 13, 177[?] ‘IAC’ Watermark,” Shenk Collection 2006.006, LMHS; “Hostetter, Abraham, 1723–1796,” genealogy cards, no. 2, “Barbara—m—Henry Shenk, Jan. 2,

1756–Aug. 28, 1853,” LMHS; “Shenk, Henry, Jan. 2, 1756–, Immigrant John Shenk” genealogy card, LMHS. See also Joanne K. Hoover, “Michael Shenk of Warwick Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania: His Descendants and Some of Their Lands,” *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 32, no. 4 (October 2009): 16–27.

<sup>118</sup> Hans Jacob Brubacher, *Vorschrift* for John Schenck, Lancaster County, January 19, 1764, box “*Fraktur* by Hans Jacob Brubacher, H. Fred and Frances K. Shenk Estate,” Shenk Collection, 2006.006, LMHS; manuscript copy of Psalm 150, ca. 1760s/1770s, folder “2006.006, Shenk Collection *Fraktur*: Barbara Hostatern, 1780 Andreas Hirschi 177[?] Henry Schenck, Apr. 2–3, 1767 Ps. 150, n.d. (conserved),” Shenk Collection 2006.006, LMHS; religious manuscript for Barbara Hostatern, box “2006.006, Shenk Collection *Fraktur*: Barbara Hostatern, 1780 Andreas Hirschi 177[?] Henry Schenck, Apr. 2–3, 1767 Ps. 150, n.d. (conserved),” Shenk Collection 2006.006, LMHS.

<sup>119</sup> James Pyle Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher: From the Time the Swedes Settled on the Delaware to the Present Day* (Lancaster, PA: Inquirer, 1886), 71.



Fig. 22. Christoph Froschauer, Hershey family Bible, printed in Zurich, Switzerland, 1536. H. 14¼", W. 9¾", D. 4¾" (closed). (Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society Archives.)

But the *Vorschrift* and other devotional manuscripts enjoyed utility and cultural resonance beyond the classroom. The multigenerational manuscript production of one Schwenkfelder family suggests the *Vorschrift*'s popularity and lasting power among those fond of *Frakturschrift* calligraphy. The scion of this family of manuscript-makers was Hans Christopher Hübner/Heebner (1718–1804), a well-known scribe, hymnist, and sermon writer. His children Susanna (1750–1818) and Abraham (1760–1838) produced numerous *Vorschriften* and other manuscripts. Abraham studied under Huppert Cassel, a schoolteacher influenced by Christopher Dock.

Many of Abraham's most sophisticated *Vorschriften* were made between 1772 and 1774, when he was twelve to fourteen years old, apparently for personal fulfillment.<sup>120</sup> He created other devotional texts that resemble the *Vorschrift* form (fig. 24).<sup>121</sup> Later works included birth certificates for his children quite similar to his earlier *Vorschriften*.<sup>122</sup>

Susanna's work drew on her prodigious knowledge of devotional imagery and spiritual literature. Her school years corresponded to Christopher Dock's tenure at Skippack, and she may have stud-

ied under him. She never married and seems to have made manuscripts for her nieces and nephews, with whom she likely lived on the family farm.<sup>123</sup> More so than Abraham, Susanna focused on pictorial illumination.<sup>124</sup> Maria Heebner (1807–68), Abraham's youngest daughter and Susanna's niece, made a *Vorschrift*-like manuscript in 1843, when she was thirty-six years old (fig. 25).<sup>125</sup>

The Heebners' manuscript output underscores their literary expertise, scribal skill, and agency as discerning consumers and producers of devotional text and imagery. While they may not have invented from scratch every pictorial, textual, and decorative element they included in their artworks, the intellectual and haptic acts of artistic and authorial synthesis in which these scribes excelled resulted in original visual and literary compositions. The Heebners' work also presents a continuum of *Vorschrift*-making over the century of the manuscript's production in Pennsylvania, during which time the form evolved considerably. Historical context for the Pennsylvania *Vorschrift* leaves little doubt as to its important religious and cultural function. The perception-oriented aesthetics of the baroque, the spectacle of *Frakturschrift* calligraphy, the roots of the *Vorschrift* in Switzerland, the scripture-based spiritual practices of German Protestants, and the pious Pennsylvania classroom environment all contributed to the document's popularity as a devotional tool. But what of the manuscripts themselves—their design, text, and instructional goals? Close analysis of the documents' style and text content, presented in the next section, confirms what contextual information suggests: that *Vorschriften* were touchstones of students' spiritual awakening on their paths toward wisdom and grace.

#### Vorschrift Design and Text Content: Wisdom Teaching and Scribal Authorship

"Cultural history can be most effective when it not only recovers stories about specific cultural artifacts but also considers their social roles as larger sets beyond the single individual item," wrote Liam Rioridan in a 2013 essay on the Pennsylvania German

<sup>120</sup> Dennis K. Moyer, *Fraktur Writings and Folk Art Drawings of the Schwenkfelder Library Collection* (Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1998), 67–72.

<sup>121</sup> Abraham Heebner text is dated February 27, 1774 [no object no.], Henry H. Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

<sup>122</sup> Moyer, *Fraktur Writings and Folk Art Drawings*, 73; Abraham Heebner, birth certificate for Isaac Heebner, 1791, 6-99/999 737, Henry H. Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

<sup>123</sup> Moyer, *Fraktur Writings and Folk Art Drawings*, 75.

<sup>124</sup> Susanna Heebner, religious text, April 17, 1807, oo.291.35/6-5/999 500/28 419, Henry H. Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

<sup>125</sup> Maria Heebner religious text is object no. 4-58/999 499/28, Henry H. Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.



Fig. 23. Christian Streng for Christian Hershey, “Preiset mit mir den Herrn” [Praise the Lord with me], Lancaster County, PA, 1808. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ”, W. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ ”. (Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society Archives.)

birth and baptismal certificate.<sup>126</sup> The Pennsylvania *Vorschrift* was a conservative art form that maintained its basic aesthetic design and literary structure for almost 100 years. Given such continuity, and in their intense focus on connoisseurship of manuscripts’ individual decorative elements, scholars have overlooked broad changes to *Vorschrift* design and text content that shed light on the function of the document in its social context. These changes can be brought into relief by studying *Vorschriften* in aggregate, as Riordan describes.<sup>127</sup> The

insights presented in this section are drawn from quantitative analysis of a random sample of forty-nine Pennsylvania *Vorschriften* that was used to model trends in document contents (both visual and literary) as well as change over time. The use of a random sample, which (in theory) enhances the generalizability of the study’s empirical conclusions to other data sets, means that the approach is scalable to a larger number of manuscripts.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, the study resulted in a valuable analytical vocabulary list and chronological framework

<sup>126</sup> Liam Riordan, “Pennsylvania German *Taufscheine* and Revolutionary America: Cultural History and Interpreting Identity,” in *A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, ed. Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheiding (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 252.

<sup>127</sup> Riordan’s essay does not itself make use of a quantitative method, but he calls for broader consideration of Pennsylvania German print, manuscript, and material culture in ways that focus less on individual art pieces and more on broad trends. He writes: “The intricate details of individual *taufscheine* and the sophisti-

cated interplay among printers, decorators, scribes, family members, baptismal sponsors, and officiating ministers are all fascinating and important, yet this type of analysis can be drawn too deeply into the explication of specialized local information that risks drowning in minutiae. . . . A critical interpretive transition, then, calls for a shift from the close focus on specific examples and their immediate social context to consider the larger patterns revealed by *taufscheine* in revolutionary America” (ibid., 264–65).

<sup>128</sup> Ronet Bachman and Russell K. Schutt, *The Practice of Research in Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 5th ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014), 110–11.



Fig. 24. Religious text resembling a *Vorschrift*, Abraham Heebner, “Wach auf, und thu nicht schlaffen, rüst dich mit gantzem Fleiß” [Wake up, and do not sleep, prepare with diligence], Skippack or Worcester Township, Montgomery County, PA, 1774. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 8", W. 13". (Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, PA.)

that other scholars can use when considering examples of the *Vorschrift*. Further details of the quantitative method developed to analyze the manuscripts are reported in appendix B.

This section presents and interprets the findings of the quantitative study described above, and its key conclusions are summarized here. Shifts in Pennsylvania scribal practice between circa 1755 and 1855 reflect divergence from both baroque design aesthetics and the early modern Protestant imperative to venerate the word of God as the gateway to knowledge.<sup>129</sup> Early scribes focused their artistic efforts on intricate baroque *Frakturschrift* letter forms that spelled out religious messages. Later scribes paid more attention to decoration and pic-

torial imagery, diverting viewers' eyes from the very texts that once formed the central purpose of the *Vorschrift*. Variations in *Vorschrift* literary content across time mirrors this aesthetic shift. Early manuscripts tend to focus squarely on scripture verses, especially psalms and excerpts from the Old Testament wisdom literature that emphasize a theme of gaining wisdom through pious living. Later manuscripts embrace more general “life advice,” praise, and worship themes using contemporary German devotional texts. These changes may point to the evolving religious and cultural circumstances of Anabaptists and Schwenkfelders in southeastern Pennsylvania, as they gradually lost touch with the early modern mind-sets and spiritual practices that drove their ancestors to American shores years before.

#### *Periods of Design and Style*

Between circa 1755 and 1855, Pennsylvania *Vorschrift* design evolved from baroque calligraphy centered on abstract, dynamic *Frakturschrift* letter

<sup>129</sup> The earliest manuscript included in the random sample on which the statistical analysis is based was assigned a date-made value of 1754, as the scribe did not record the piece's date of production (see app. B). The latest is known to have been made in 1849. The earliest manuscript dated by its scribe that was encountered outside the quantitative study was made in 1755, which is why that value is used here and in the title, instead of the earlier, although approximate, 1754 figure. The latest scribe-dated *Vorschrift* encountered qualitatively was made in 1855.



Fig. 25. Religious text resembling a *Vorschrift*, Maria Heebner, “In Dem Leben Hier auf Erden, ist doch nichts als Eitelkeit” [In life here on earth there is nothing but vanity], 1843. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", W. 13 $\frac{3}{16}$ ". (Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, PA.)

forms to manuscripts that embody a seemingly rustic and simplistic style consisting of brightly colored flowers, birds, and other pictorial images. Early Pennsylvania manuscript *Vorschriften* closely resembled high-baroque printed European penmanship models that had helped set calligraphy standards for centuries. Later pieces almost completely departed from those models' aesthetic traditions. Pennsylvania scribes moved the *Vorschrift* art form in new directions, perhaps out of necessity as printed writing manuals were scarce in early America. The evolution of design occurred in four distinct periods: the First Generation Baroque, circa 1750–79; the Modified Baroque Revival, circa 1780–99; the Transitional Folk, circa 1800–1829; and the Era of Antiquarian Enterprise, circa 1830–49. Seventy-three percent of manuscripts included in the statistical analysis antedated 1800. This decline in manuscript-making after the turn of the nineteenth century parallels the stylistic breakdown of the old *Vorschrift* form.

*Vorschriften* created during the First Generation Baroque embody the principles of baroque calligraphy and the aesthetics of the German-speaking European *Vorschrift* tradition. Examples made during the period featured little pictorial illustration—that is, lifelike drawings—other than flowers, which appear on some early pieces. Scribes generally presented only one continuously flowing, rectilinear block of text per manuscript, rather than small blocks

of text scattered across the paper and bounded by lines and decorative borders, as became more common in later periods. This incisive focus on just one text drew the reader's attention to the carefully planned and executed letter forms that comprised the selection, as few other visual elements existed to clutter the page and distract the eye. A large baroque *Frakturschrift* capital (known as an “initial”) generally began the first word on the manuscript and dominated the entire page. Scribes made initials so large that they stretched down several lines. They embellished the initial and other *Frakturschrift* letters with calligraphic flourishes intended to enhance the visual interest of the form while keeping focus on the letters and words themselves. Text predominates as the central visual element on First Generation Baroque *Vorschriften* (fig. 26).

Manuscripts made during the Modified Baroque Revival maintain the essence of baroque *Vorschrift* style. But during the period, scribes grew more liberal in layout of text and image. While large *Frakturschrift* letters (including spectacular oversized initials) generally dominate manuscripts made during the period, scribes used lines and decorative borders to divide the paper into numerous text blocks, creating spaces for multiple discrete text excerpts. Abstract decoration attached to intricate *Frakturschrift* letters gave way to solid-color pictorial imagery sometimes attached to letter forms, sometimes not. The Modified Baroque Revival coincides



Fig. 26. "Allein Auf Gott setz Dein Vertrauen" [Alone in God put your trust] showing First Generation Baroque style (ca. 1750–79), Pennsylvania, 1769. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ ", W. 13". (Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, PA.)

with the rise of a generation of Pennsylvania-born Anabaptists who would not have been schooled in Europe and who would have been quite unfamiliar with the gothic-baroque calligraphy aesthetics still prevalent in manuscripts and printed writing manuals there.<sup>130</sup> Manuscripts made during the period exhibit a more fanciful, non-text-based aesthetic than their earlier counterparts (fig. 27). Perhaps letter forms lost some of the visual potency earlier generations found in them, necessitating more robust decoration, color, and pictorial imagery.

While manuscripts made during the Modified Baroque Revival retained recognizable connections to their baroque American and European antecedents, those made during the Transitional Folk in the first years of the nineteenth century show considerable alteration to basic design. They maintain few recognizable connections to the high baroque *Vorschriften* of German-speaking Europe. Pictorial imagery became quite common during the period, including nonfloral, solid-color images commonly associated today with Pennsylvania German country

folk art. Opening lines of ornate Frakturschrift letters—and oversized initials in particular—become less prominent, and letters themselves lack their baroque counterparts' abstract, intricate detailing. Highly complex line-based designs undertaken only with pen and black iron gall ink were superseded by multicolor letter forms, geometric decoration, and large areas of solid-colored background. The well-known layout of the *Vorschrift* exhibited in early modern printed writing manuals and manuscripts—large, rectilinear text blocks with ornate initials followed by uninterrupted lines of text in decreasing size—becomes less common as scribes incorporated more nontextual decorative patterns, lines, borders, and pictorial imagery into the manuscripts, removing attention from the calligraphy (fig. 28).<sup>131</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship*, 159.

<sup>131</sup> Johann Adam Eyer (attr.), *Vorschrift for Jacob Hill*, 1797, and Herman Ache (attr.), *Vorschrift for Marthin Däthweihler*, 1765, 6, both Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, PA; Baurenfeind, "Form einer gelegten und zierlichen Cantzley-Schrift," pl. M; Schirmer, *Geöffnete Schreib-Schule, oder, Deutsche, Lateinische, und Französische Vorschriften*, pl. 34; Jean Braun, *Gründliche Anweisung zur Schreib Kunst deutsch u französisch: Exempleire pour apprendre facilement l'écriture françoise et l'allemande* (n.p.: Mülhause, 1784), pl. 22.



Fig. 27. Johann Adam Eyer for Jacob Seitler, “Ich habe Lust abzuschneiden und bei Christo zu seyn, Philipper 1 V. 23” [I desire to depart and be with Christ, Philippians 1:23] showing block-arranged layout, 1782. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>”, W. 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>”. (Museum purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle, Collection of Pastor Frederick S. Weiser, Winterthur.)

The final design period is the most difficult to interpret. By 1840–50, as common schools legislation extinguished German community schools, the dwindling number of *Vorschriften* produced in Pennsylvania exhibit a style out of progression with their immediate antecedents (fig. 29). The manuscripts were likely conscious efforts at cultural revival. While exhibiting layout common to early manuscripts, many such *Vorschriften* reveal their later vintage by the composition of their Fraktur letters, which lack the precision of First Generation Baroque pieces. Early scribes had likely undergone more rigorous calligraphic training than that available to rural early nineteenth-century German Americans.

#### Text Content

*Vorschrift* scribes wielded manuscript design, layout, visual ornament of letter forms, and text selection and arrangement as mutually supportive artistic enterprises. Some of the most statistically significant variables associated with manuscript de-

sign categories are those that bear directly on Fraktur letter forms: existence of large initials, their size, and the presence of quill-made calligraphic flourishes. Aggregate study of *Vorschrift* text content uncovers patterns that parallel those found at work shaping *Vorschrift* style. The general themes of manuscript text content remained constant through the century of *Vorschrift* production—devotion to God, good behavior, and so on. But over time, the manuscripts moved away from an explicitly articulated grounding in the texts and ideas of the Old Testament wisdom tradition to a looser focus on faith, devotion, and spiritual experience. Understanding the manuscripts’ early textual composition and changing focus over time places their stylistic evolution in meaningful perspective.

Some basic characteristics unite *Vorschrift* text content across design periods. Almost all *Vorschriften* feature scriptural and contemporary devotional literature that praised God and offered directives on living piously. Those that do not typically feature little, if any, text at all. Thirty-nine percent of *Vorschriften* in the sample featured scriptural or apocryphal quotations. Fourteen percent quoted psalms, 14 per-



Fig. 28. “Gieb dich zu frieden und sey stille” [Give yourself to peace and be quiet] showing Transitional Folk style (ca. 1800–1829), Pennsylvania, 1805. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ ”, W. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ”. (Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, PA.)

cent quoted the Old Testament wisdom books (discussed at length below), and 10 percent quoted the New Testament. The sparseness of New Testament quotations contrasts with some European *Vorschriften*. One bound set of central European manuscript *Vorschriften* from the period included texts from Colossians, Ephesians, James, and Isaiah, none of which appear in the Pennsylvania sample.<sup>132</sup> Eighty percent of manuscripts feature popular devotional literature—hymns found in printed hymnals of the day, spiritual poetry, and the like. Most *Vorschriften* include *Currentschrift* model alphabet lines, and occasionally number lines, at the bottom of the document, to teach students to read and write the letter forms they encountered in devotional texts. The vast majority of *Vorschriften* (73 percent) feature texts that admonish readers toward pious behavior or offer examples of such a lifestyle. Twenty-seven percent feature prayers. Twelve percent feature praises of God’s glory. Scribes sometimes paired admonishments toward proper behavior with prayers on the

same manuscript, speaking to the documents’ prescriptive and user-centric nature.<sup>133</sup>

All *Vorschriften* that featured both text excerpts and model alphabets embraced the two related skills the manuscript was designed to teach: first, basic literacy and, second, how and why to live a pious life according to God’s word. According to *Vorschrift* texts, keys to piety were meditating on God’s word, submitting to his will, contemplating death, and preparing for judgment. In keeping with the *Vorschrift*’s focus on perception of God’s will, 67 percent of manuscripts in the sample feature language addressing sensory input, such as seeing or hearing. Forty-one percent feature language addressing communication output: speaking, singing, and praising. Despite this preoccupation with the technicalities of communication, not all *Vorschriften* sought to articulate the logical premise on which the linkage of spiritual literacy to divine wisdom was based: the idea that God revealed his knowledge to those

<sup>132</sup> *Vorschrift*, ca. 1720–30, Ursus Books, New York.

<sup>133</sup> Fourteen percent of manuscripts include such arrangements.



Fig. 29. Henry Bower, “Mache dich auf Jerusalem und tritt auf die Hoeh” [Arise, o Jersualem, and stand on the heights] showing *Vorschrift* style of the Era of Antiquarian Enterprise (ca. 1830–59), Pennsylvania, 1853. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 12”, W. 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ ”. (Mennonite Heritage Center, Harleysville, PA.)

who tuned their senses toward his will as revealed in the word, shut out the corrupting influences of the world, and followed his pious dictates in everyday life. Manuscripts that elucidated this point keyed into the early modern Protestant focus on revelation through God’s word, using scriptural and other devotional texts to fuse literacy, faith, and everyday piety.

This notion of acquiring wisdom through scripture-based, meditative spiritual practice seems like a convoluted concept to explain to children, which is perhaps why many *Vorschriften* do not explicitly address it. But some scribes took pains to present the idea in ways relatable to young *Vorschrift* readers. A manuscript attributed to Christopher Dock advises that, just as the ant, swallow, and turtledove collect food during the summer months to sustain themselves through the winter, so, too, must children nourish their spirits during

their youth to prepare for eternal life: “Lord Jesus stirs us, heart and senses, and welcomes us into His wisdom, that we may hold ourselves steady in this fortunate time [of youth] to acquire such nourishment during this time [on earth] that we will also have nourishment for eternity.”<sup>134</sup> Not coincidentally, scribes who embraced this learning model often placed aesthetic emphasis on creating ornate, abstract, dynamic *Frakturschrift* letters to help deliver their messages.

To further instructional ends like those Dock taught with his parable of the ant, swallow, and turtledove, many European and Pennsylvania *Vorschriften* quote ancient holy texts that explicate

<sup>134</sup> Christopher Dock (attr.), *Vorschrift*, ca. 1760–70, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center. “Herr Jesu rühr unß Hertz und sinn und gruß unß diese Weisheit in / das wir in dieser gnaden Zeit, Unß stetig halten so bereit / Zu wircken speis hier in der Zeit, die Unß auch speiß in Ewigkeit.”

the linkages between literacy, piety, and wisdom. Most important were the Psalms and Old Testament scriptural and apocryphal wisdom books. The appearance of psalms on the manuscripts comes as no surprise, as they were (and are) staple devotional pieces. The 150 psalms found in the Bible had diverse origins in the early years of Judaism and were collected as Israel's hymnbook. They apply abstract religious teachings to everyday life, offering practical messages of hope and faith. The psalms often take the form of prayer. They encouraged conversation with the Lord, presenting dialogue in the first- and second-person narrative voices—a trait they shared with almost all *Vorschriften*.<sup>135</sup>

Another important text source was Old Testament wisdom literature. The search for divinely authored wisdom was a fundamental occupation of the early modern era, and Old Testament wisdom books were favorite sources. The definition of Old Testament wisdom—a way of perceiving the world, conducting oneself, and knowing God—possesses an active dimension centered on daily experience.<sup>136</sup> The literature gives meaning to the patterns of life by situating them within the context of the divine order.<sup>137</sup> Wisdom literature, and the ancient sages who wrote it, served as intermediaries between the worldly and divine.<sup>138</sup> Some *Vorschriften* even feature quotations from “Lady Wisdom” herself—a quasi-divine personification of knowledge.<sup>139</sup> Of the five books widely accepted as part of the wisdom tradition (Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon), four (all but Song of Songs) appeared in the random sample.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Ninety-four percent of the manuscripts in the sample feature text in the first- and second-person narrative voices.

<sup>136</sup> Daniel J. Estes, *Handbook on the Wisdom Books and Psalms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 221.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 280; James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Louisville, KY: Knox, 1998), 48, 55.

<sup>138</sup> One of the books describes wisdom as “mistlike,” hovering between the earthly and celestial realms. Roland E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 139; Sirach 24:3 (New Revised Standard Version [NRSV]): “I came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth like a mist.”

<sup>139</sup> *Vorschrift*, 1765, 18/00.263.36, Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center; *Vorschrift*, 1788, 00.265.22, Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

<sup>140</sup> Murphy, *Tree of Life*, 106. Proverbs (Sprüche Salomonis, in German), Ecclesiastes (Der Prediger Salomonis), Job (Das Buch Hiob), Wisdom of Ben Sira (Sirach), and Wisdom of Solomon (Weisheit Salomonis) comprise the core of the genre. Some scholars consider several of the psalms, the Book of Ruth (Das Buch Rut) and Song of Songs (Das Hohelied Salomos) wisdom books, or at least texts open to wisdom interpretations.

The wisdom books all share basic themes, but perhaps more than the others, Sirach, or “Wisdom of Ben Sira,” which was quoted on a small number of manuscripts in the sample, encapsulates the *Vorschrift* imperative in content, authorship, and instructional method.<sup>141</sup> The book was penned by scribe and wisdom teacher Ben Sira, circa 195 BC, to help ancient Jewish youth maintain connections to their spiritual heritage.<sup>142</sup> In Jewish culture a scribe was just the person to offer such lessons. “The scribe’s profession increases wisdom,” Ben Sira wrote.<sup>143</sup> The book praises the task of the “priestly scribe” and wisdom teacher.<sup>144</sup> He who seeks out God’s wisdom and “meditates on his mysteries” will be praised by his fellows, Ben Sira wrote, and his understanding would never be “blotted out”—a metaphorical reference to the process of writing as a step toward wisdom acquisition.<sup>145</sup> That metaphor found frequent expression on *Vorschriften*, such as one that asks God to “inscribe” his will on the calligrapher’s heart.<sup>146</sup>

Sirach was a favorite text for *Vorschrift* scribes and engravers in both German-speaking Europe and America. One 1710-printed German *Vorschrift* that quotes from the book even features an engraved image of God, sitting on clouds ensconced between Frakturschrift letters and calligraphic flourishes (fig. 30). The text on the print reads: “Princes, leaders, and judges are great, but not as great as he who fears the Lord.” A crown, two coronets, and two scepters lay at God’s feet (fig. 31).<sup>147</sup> Not all biblical literature on *Vorschriften* falls into the category of wisdom, nor was use of wisdom literature unique to radical spiritualists.<sup>148</sup> But almost all *Vorschriften* make use of the wisdom books’ linkages between pious living and scriptural revelation. The Jewish

<sup>141</sup> R. H. Malden, *The Apocrypha* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 63. Four percent of manuscripts in the sample quote from Sirach.

<sup>142</sup> Otto Kaiser, *The Old Testament Apocrypha: An Introduction* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 88, 92–96.

<sup>143</sup> Sirach 38:24 (Anchor Bible trans.).

<sup>144</sup> Kaiser, *Old Testament Apocrypha*, 92; Malden, *The Apocrypha*, 59.

<sup>145</sup> Sirach 39:7–9 (NRSV).

<sup>146</sup> Abraham Heebner, *Vorschrift*, ca. 1774, 00.261.51, Henry H. Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center. The book was quoted on 4 percent of manuscripts in the sample.

<sup>147</sup> This *Vorschrift* is Wing folio ZW 747.G45 no. 1, Newberry Library, Chicago.

<sup>148</sup> *Hoch-Deutsches Reformirtes ABC-und Namen-Büchlein für Kinder welche angangen zu lernen: Verbesserte Ausgabe* (Philadelphia: Zentler, 1816), 14–17; *Hoch-Deutsches Lutherisches ABC-und Namen-Büchlein für Kinder welche anfangen zu lernen: Neue und verbesserte Ausgabe* (Philadelphia: Schäfer und Koradi, ca. 1850s).



Fig. 30. Georg Heinrich Paritius, “Fürsten, Herren und Regenten sind in großen Ehren, aber so groß sind sie nicht als der, so Gott fürchtet, Syr. 10. V. 27” [Princes, leaders, and judges are great, but not as great as he who fears the Lord, Sirach 10:27], 1710. From Georg Heinrich Paritius, *Regensburgische Schreib-Schule anweisende die jetziger Zeit üblichsten Schriften: Aufgerichtet von dem in der Kunst-Rechnungs-lieb-u. übende[n] Gesselschaft Practicirenden* (Regensburg: n.p., 1710), pl. 9, 93. (Newberry Library, Chicago.)

scribe and wisdom teacher applied God’s teachings to everyday life, a task not so very different from that of Pennsylvania’s German schoolteacher-scribes.<sup>149</sup>

Emphasis on the nature of wisdom acquisition shifted over the century of Pennsylvania *Vorschrift* production. Forty-five percent of manuscripts made during the First Generation Baroque addressed the nature of wisdom, teaching, and learning. Fifty percent of manuscripts made during the Modified Baroque Revival addressed it. No manuscripts in the sample made during the Transitional Folk or Era of Antiquarian Enterprise focused on the topic.<sup>150</sup> This movement away from the theme may have influenced other aspects of manuscript composition. As

instruction in the nature of wisdom, teaching, and learning lessened in importance, so, too, did the prevalence of scriptural quotations and use of first- and second-person narrative voices. Quotations from scripture are most common during the First Generation Baroque, when they appear on 55 percent of manuscripts, diminishing notably thereafter.<sup>151</sup> Use of scriptural texts directly related to the nature of wisdom, teaching, and learning—namely, the psalms and wisdom books—was closely associated with eighteenth-century, rather than nineteenth-century, *Vorschrift* production.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, first-person narration was most common in the

<sup>149</sup> Malden, *The Apocrypha*, 59–60.

<sup>150</sup> More work is needed to assure that this difference is not the result of a sampling error, although the extent of the decline of instruction in nature of wisdom, teaching, and learning is notable.

<sup>151</sup> Only 25 percent of Modified Baroque Revival *Vorschriften* feature scripture, followed by 36 percent during the Transitional Folk, reflecting scribal embrace of a wider array of text sources.

<sup>152</sup> Fifty-seven percent of *Vorschriften* that feature psalms were made during the First Generation Baroque. Fifty-seven percent of *Vorschriften* featuring wisdom book excerpts were made during the First Generation Baroque or Modified Baroque Revival.



Fig. 31. Detail of figure 30 showing God.

First Generation Baroque but dropped precipitously thereafter, highlighting a decline in the *Vorschrift's* prescriptive, dialogical nature.<sup>153</sup>

Bearing in mind the shifts in aesthetic design outlined above, movement away from instruction in the nature of wisdom, teaching, and learning correlates with the decline of baroque design principles that emphasized the innate beauty and spiritual resonance of Frakturschrift letters. Over time, the manuscripts' incisive focus on wisdom teaching and letter veneration seems to have weakened in tandem. Even some later *Vorschriften* that quote the wisdom books underscore the relationship between wisdom themes and manuscript aesthetic. A piece made in 1807 featuring quotations from Sirach and Ecclesiastes exhibits design traits more in keeping with the First Generation Baroque than with the Transitional Folk common in the period, including greater focus on letter forms than pictorial illuminations. Wisdom books may have lent themselves to more austere text presentation than contemporary design norms favored.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>153</sup> During the First Generation Baroque, 60 percent of manuscripts featured first-person text. The figure dropped to 38 percent during the Modified Baroque Revival and 46 percent during the Transitional Folk.

<sup>154</sup> *Vorschrift* of Abraham Maÿer, Bethel Township, Dauphin (now Lebanon) County, Pennsylvania, March 13, 1807, 1956.0040.4, Winterthur. This manuscript was not a part of the random sample and thus does not figure in the statistics quoted in this section.

#### *Image, Text, and Scribal Authorship*

These changes to manuscript design and text content do not suggest that scribes became less religious, or their manuscripts less skillfully made, as the century of Pennsylvania *Vorschrift*-making wore on. Quite the contrary, many late pieces exude great religious sentiment and feature abundant, beautiful decoration. Earlier pieces simply articulated a way to wisdom and grace that seems to have undergirded the *Vorschrift* from its earliest germination in German-speaking Europe, whereas many later pieces did not actively address the topic. This latter-day omission may help account for the disappearance of the form in Pennsylvania around 1850. The value of the early modern *Vorschrift* rested in its ability to combine the functional—that is, penmanship instruction—with higher-order wisdom acquisition brought about by sensory stimulation, religious piety, and divine revelation. No such need for the devotional *Vorschrift* existed if scribes and readers did not perceive spiritual text, scribal process, and ornate Frakturschrift letters as a unified tool to unlock divine wisdom. By the Era of Antiquarian Enterprise, cultural tradition and historical interest may have been all that remained of the once-potent devotional *Vorschrift*. The document's useful life had ended.

The details of *Vorschrift* aesthetic design and literary construction confirm that the process of devotional manuscript-making constituted a spiritual act that involved active, creative enterprise on the part of the scribe. So, too, did reading those manu-

scripts, viewing their associated illuminations, and following the texts' dicta of wisdom through pious living. By making, sharing, and using devotional manuscripts, Pennsylvania German readers and scribes were agents in shaping their own spiritual lives through the wielding of familiar text and contemplative imagery. Theologian Gordon Kaufman wrote that "Christian theology is the critical analysis and creative development of the language used in apprehending, understanding, and interpreting God's acts, facilitating their communication in word and deed."<sup>155</sup> It is unlikely that Pennsylvania German scribes considered themselves theologians in a formal sense. Yet when analyzing their manuscripts as spiritual artifacts, scholars ought to treat the scribes much as they would theologians who authored new religious texts.<sup>156</sup> Scribes employed layout, illumination, nontextual decoration, letter design, and subtle literary cues to reinforce their devotional manuscripts' messages, which were tailored to the spiritual needs of their youthful recipients.<sup>157</sup>

The artist behind a *Vorschrift* made in 1788 for Martin Dettweiler exemplifies scribal authorship. Not only did the scribe lay out numerous texts on one manuscript in a carefully planned design; he or she may have modified one text to better suit its young Pennsylvania reader. The *Vorschrift* features the hymn "Lord, What Do You Have in Mind?" by German hymnist Paul Gerhardt, who penned the song upon seeing a comet in 1664. "Father, what do you have in mind? After what new trouble should we ask Heaven? . . . What should the new star mean to us poor people? . . . Burning comets are sad prophets."<sup>158</sup> The text on the *Vorschrift* adheres to Gerhardt's original, except for one very important word. Whereas Gerhardt hailed the comet as a sign to awaken "the entire world" to God, the Pennsylvania scribe instead hails it as a sign to awaken "America" to the Lord (fig. 32). The scribe (or some other German American) must have reconfigured Gerhardt's sentiments for New World settlers who watched the

skies for astronomical "prophets" much as Gerhardt had.<sup>159</sup> "Christians are involved in theologizing at every turn," wrote Gordon Kaufman.<sup>160</sup> *Vorschrift* scribes certainly were, as they constructed original compositions out of a shared set of devotional texts and imagery.

### Conclusion: Toward a Material History of Ideas

The study of the past meanings of religious texts is, according to theologian Ernst Fuchs, "a research effort of historical but also philosophical character."<sup>161</sup> Untangling the history and meaning of devotional manuscript *Vorschriften* is just such an effort, relying on both the empirical validity valued by historians and the textual sensitivity of the philosopher and literary critic.<sup>162</sup> *Vorschrift* scholars must conceptualize the manuscripts as material artifacts while situating their style and content within the cultural systems that sustained the form's religious significance. Doing so bridges gaps between empiricism and literary interpretation that prevent systematic exploration of source material such as *Vorschriften*.<sup>163</sup>

The quantitative method used here supports several conclusions about the *Vorschrift* tradition. First, *Vorschriften* existed because of the interaction of print and manuscript in early modern German-speaking Europe and early America and a culture of penmanship that honored text-making as a material, aesthetic, and spiritual process. Second, the German-language European *Vorschrift* tradition was rooted in baroque design associated with *Frakturschrift* calligraphy. Third, once in America, *Vorschriften* created and used in the dissenting Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder communities slowly lost touch with baroque design standards, eventually

<sup>155</sup> Gordon Kaufman, *Systematic Theology: A Historicist Perspective* (New York: Scribner, 1968), 57.

<sup>156</sup> *Vorschrift*, ca. 1775, 999810, Samuel W. Pennypacker Pennsylvania German Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

<sup>157</sup> *Vorschrift*, ca. 1810–20, 4–131/00.264.42, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center. This piece, concerned with the passage of time, begins with a quotation from Sirach in large, colorful *Frakturschrift* boxed off from the rest of the text. Below the apocryphal quotation are smaller *Currentschrift* excerpts from hymns that reinforce Sirach's point.

<sup>158</sup> "Herr, was hast du im Sinn?" Zeno.org, <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Gerhardt,+Paul/Gedichte/Gedichte/Herr,+was+hast+du+im+Sinn>.

<sup>159</sup> Reist family record, FM2012.11.2, Reist family collection, Landis Valley Museum. This piece, a manuscript insert found inside the second American edition of Braght's *Der Blutige Schau-Platz, oder Martyrer Spiegel der Tauff-Gesinnten*, features a manuscript note on its verso describing the sighting of a comet in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania.

<sup>160</sup> Kaufman, *Systematic Theology*, 57.

<sup>161</sup> Ernst Fuchs, "The Hermeneutical Problem," in *The Future of Our Religious Past: Essays in Honour of Rudolf Bultmann*, ed. James M. Robinson (London: Harper & Row, 1964), 270.

<sup>162</sup> Meynet, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 11.

<sup>163</sup> Sydney J. Shep, "Books without Borders: The Transnational Turn in Book History," in *Books without Borders: The Cross-National Dimension in Print Culture*, ed. Robert Fraser and Mary Hammond (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008), 17; Jan R. Veenstra, "The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt: On Poetics of Culture and the Interpretation of Shakespeare," *History and Theory* 34, no. 3 (October 1995): 174–98.



Fig. 32. Vorschrift for Martin Dettweiler, "Ich Habe Keine Größere Freude Den Die das Ich Höre Meine Kinder Ihn Der Wahrheit Wandeln" [I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in the truth], Pennsylvania, 1788. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 8¼", W. 13¼". (Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, PA.)

coming to embody a seemingly simplistic country folk aesthetic commonly associated with rural Pennsylvania German arts and crafts today. Fourth, the form was associated with an ancient concept of wisdom teaching that emphasized attaining divine knowledge through pious living. Fifth, visual design and instructional intent were linked. Early in the manuscript's Pennsylvania history, scribes communicated wisdom teachings by quoting from psalms, wisdom books, and other scriptural texts, letting austere presented texts and neogothic letter forms work on the sensibilities of readers. As time passed, scribes placed new emphasis on whimsical text presentation, pictorial imagery, and contemporary spiritual literature that shared much with scripture in meaning. "The actual purpose of Scripture is . . . not description but proclamation," wrote biblical scholar Grant Osborne.<sup>164</sup> *Vorschriften* were proclamations of spiritual meaning inflected by the documents' changing cultural context.

<sup>164</sup> Grant R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Spiritual Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1991), 12.

These conclusions offer modifications to scholarship on the history of script in America, which, when it pays insufficient attention to the intricacies of spiritual devotion often makes false assumptions about scribal practices. Take, for example, Tamara Plakins Thornton's comments on the early American culture of copying in *Handwriting in America: A Cultural History*. "The practice of copying penmanship models shaded into a generalized habit of copying by hand," she writes. "Copying made practical sense. But the practice of transcription also reinforced the notion of reading as the passive inscription of authoritative texts into one's inner being and of writing as the subsequent copying of those texts."<sup>165</sup> The Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder *Vorschrift* tradition counters Thornton's assertion about copying as "passive inscription." Scribes who made *Vorschriften* assembled text and images from a variety of sources to include in their manuscripts, exercising authorial and artistic agency in linking scriptural and literary excerpts via calligraphy with illumination. The acts of personal spiritual devo-

<sup>165</sup> Thornton, *Handwriting in America*, 18.

tion that composing and reading such works entailed certainly confirm the documents' status as creative literature. What is more, *Vorschriften* often abounded in aesthetic creativity reflective of a high level of visual-artistic skill on the part of the scribe, who followed models but imbued creations with distinctive character. Moreover, scribes did not intend their pupils to read and copy *Vorschriften* simply as an exercise in unthinking obedience. The spiritualistic literature included on the documents and their careful visual composition point to the manuscripts' role in kindling love of God and setting students on interior journeys toward wisdom and grace. For some scribes, such as Christopher Dock and Abraham, Susanna, and Maria Heebner, copying sustained a lifetime of creative spiritual exploration and artistic endeavor. Scholarly interpretations of authorship must address manuscript cultures grounded in epistemological and spiritual expectations different from those of our own time.

Just as the study of *Vorschriften* challenges traditional notions of creative authorship, it also requires reconsideration of the links between the material and spiritual worlds. "Taking seriously materiality does not merely imply paying attention to religious stuff," writes Birgit Meyer. "Above all, it challenges conventional understandings of religion,

according to which spirit is privileged above matter."<sup>166</sup> This study shows that spirit and matter can enjoy a symbiotic relationship. Whether or not scribes in Pennsylvania's Anabaptist and Schwenkfelder communities consciously perceived stirring of religious sensibilities via inks, pigments, calligraphed letter forms, and decorative images on paper as a coherent spiritual system, the appeals to the affects they employed in the quest for meaningful spiritual experience account for the coherence of *Vorschriften* as art objects and spiritual artifacts. The manuscript *Vorschrift* is distinctively early modern in origin. The presence of the form in Switzerland and Pennsylvania until the mid-nineteenth century suggests the relevance of gothic-baroque design there long after the arrival of newer classically inspired styles across the Atlantic world, as well as the survival of devotional sensibilities that rose to prominence in the later stages of the Protestant Reformation. To *Vorschrift* makers and users, words possessed the power not only to draw the reader closer to God but to unlock secret wisdom. Scribes grounded *Vorschriften* in the aesthetic and spiritual tradition of using calligraphic letter forms and manuscript art to stir the senses. For the manuscripts' makers and receivers, such letter forms were testaments to the mystery, wisdom, and glory of God.

<sup>166</sup> Birgit Meyer, "Medium," in Meyer et al., "Key Words in Material Religion," 58.

## Appendix A: A Culture of Copying: The Johann Gottfried Weber and Johannes Bard Penmanship Samples

Johannes Bard (1797–1861) was a blacksmith, Frakturschrift calligrapher, and manuscript illuminator who lived in Union Township, Adams County, Pennsylvania. He made a book of penmanship samples and assorted illustrations, many of which were modeled on engraved prints found in Johann Gottfried Weber's 1780 German publication *Allgemeine Anweisung der neuesten Schönschreibkunst*. Bard's bound manuscript was disassembled in 1995, and the individual leaves were offered for sale. Twenty-six leaves eventually came to the Winterthur Museum, and others remain in private collections. This appendix compares engravings from Weber's penmanship manual with Bard's copies and presents portraits of American heroes, which were also included in the bound volume.<sup>167</sup> The samples emphasize the culture of close copying of original sources that dominated calligraphy and penmanship instruction through the mid-nineteenth century, as well as the considerable artistic freedom open to the calligrapher and manuscript artist in inflecting his or her final product with personal character.

It should be noted that while the Bard manuscripts are *Vorschriften* in the sense that they depict proper handwriting and teach moral lessons, the documents seem not to have been intended to be given as individual leaves to Bard's classroom students, unlike the *Vorschriften* made by Pennsylvania's Anabaptist schoolteachers. The documents thus speak to the diverse uses to which penmanship samples were put in the time period and the rather specific pedagogical program developed around the manuscript *Vorschrift* in Switzerland and carried on in Pennsylvania.

<sup>167</sup> Lisa Minardi, Winterthur Museum catalog entry acc. no. 2011.28.1, June, 2013. Special thanks to Lisa Minardi for sharing the Bard manuscripts in June 2012.

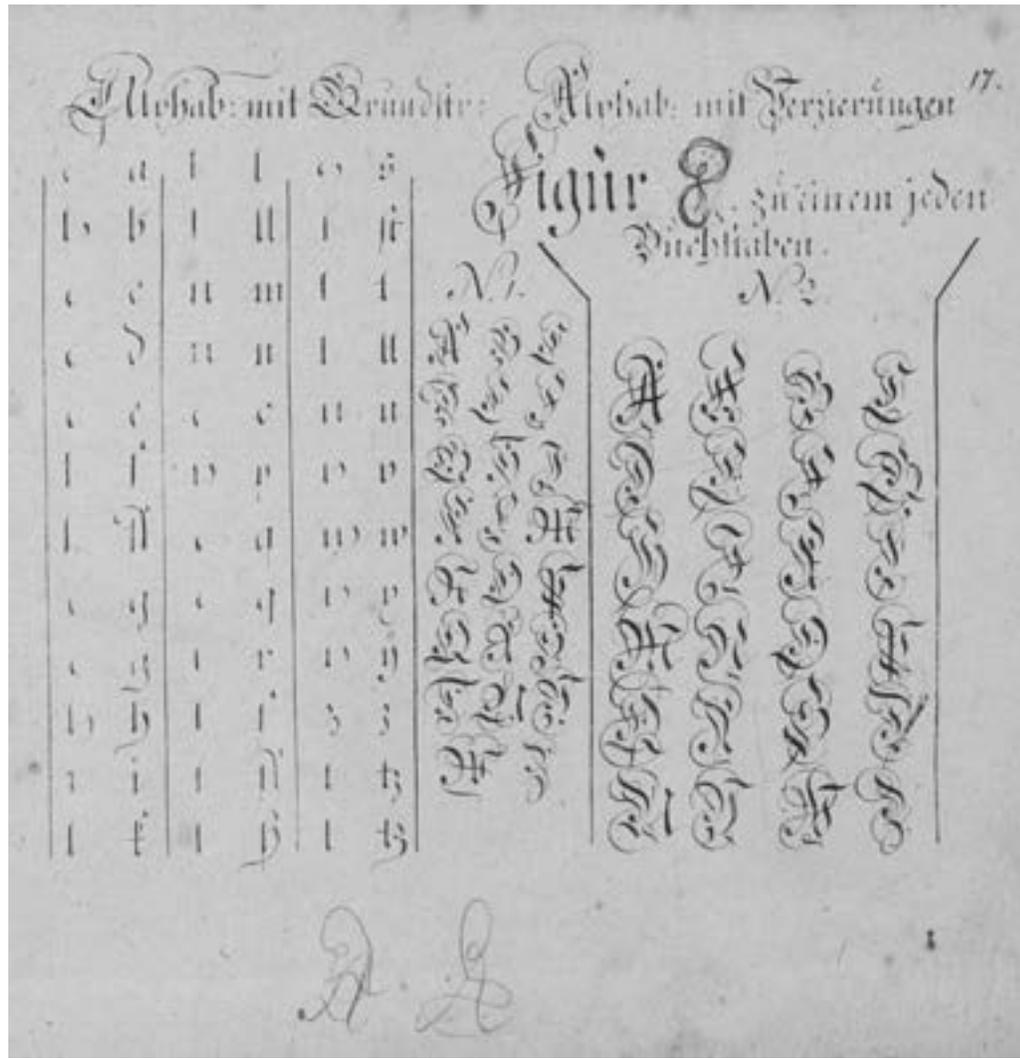


Fig. A1. Johann Gottfried Weber, “Alphab. mit Grundstr. / Alphab. mit Verzierungen Figur zu einem jeden Buchstaben” [alphabet with basic strokes / alphabet with ornamental figure and to every letter] showing the basic strokes of lowercase Frakturschrift letters and two varieties of decorative uppercase Frakturschrift letters, 1780. From Johann Gottfried Weber, *Allgemeine Anweisung der neuesten Schönschreibkunst . . .* [Universal instruction in the newest calligraphy . . .] (Duisburg am Rhein: Helwingschen Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1780), pl. 17. (Arca Artium Collection, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St. John’s University, Collegeville, MN.)



Fig. A2. Johannes Bard, "Alphab. mit Grunstr. / Alphab. mit Verzierungen Figur zu einem jeden Buchstaben" [alphabet with basic strokes / alphabet with ornamental figure and to every letter], probably Union Township, Adams County, PA, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on laid paper; H. 7", W. 7<sup>10</sup>/<sub>16</sub>". (Gift of Nick and Jo Wilson, Winterthur.)



Fig. A3. Johann Gottfried Weber, “Größeres Alphabet” [large alphabet] showing quills cut “for the first line” (right) and “for the other line” (left) and “raven feather for decoration,” 1780. From Johann Gottfried Weber, *Allgemeine Anweisung der neuesten Schönschreibkunst des Hochgräflich Lippischen Bottenmeisters und Aktuaris* (Duisburg am Rhein: Helwingschen Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1780), pl. 25. (Arca Artium Collection, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St. John’s University, Colleagueville, MN.)



Fig. A4. Johannes Bard, "Größeres Alphabet" [large alphabet], probably Union Township, Adams County, PA, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on laid paper; H. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", W. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". (Gift of Nick and Jo Wilson, Winterthur.)



Fig. A5. Johann Gottfried Weber, “Alle Reißkörner auf eurer Tafel sind mit dem Schweiß des Akkermanns befeuchtet” [All rice grains on your table are moistened with the sweat of the farmer], 1780. From Johann Gottfried Weber, *Allgemeine Anweisung der neuesten Schönschreibkunst des Hochgräflich Lippischen Bottenmeisters und Aktuaris* (Duisburg am Rhein: Helwingschen Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1780), pl. 27. (Arca Artium Collection, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St. John’s University, Collegeville, MN.)



Fig. A6. Johannes Bard, "Alle Reißkörner auf eurer Tafel sind mit dem Schweiß des Ackermans befeuchtet" [All rice grains on your table are moistened with the sweat of the farmer], probably Union Township, Adams County, PA, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on laid paper; H. 6¾", W. 7½". (Gift of Nick and Jo Wilson, Winterthur.)

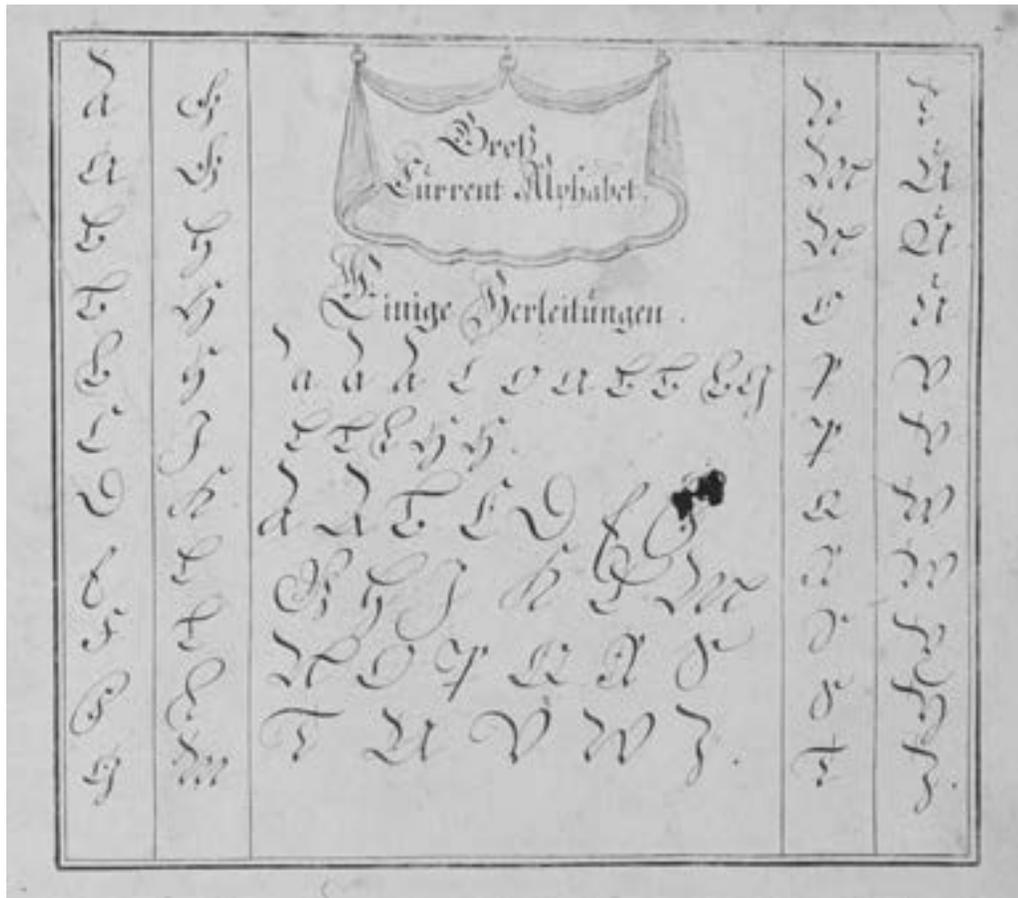


Fig. A7. Johann Gottfried Weber, "Groß Current Alphabet. Einige Herleitungen" [Large cursive (*Currentschrift*) alphabet. Some derivations], 1780. From Johann Gottfried Weber, *Allgemeine Anweisung der neuesten Schönschreibkunst des Hochgräflich Lippischen Bottenmeisters und Actuarius* (Duisburg am Rhein: Helwingschen Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1780), pl. 7. (Arca Artium Collection, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, MN.)



Fig. A8. Johannes Bard, "Groß Current Alphabet. Einige Herleitungen" [Large cursive (*Currentschrift*) alphabet. Some derivations] with watermelon added to Weber's original design, probably Union Township, Adams County, PA, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "', W. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". (Gift of Nick and Jo Wilson, Winterthur.)



Fig. A9. Johann Gottfried Weber, “Jemehr ein Mensch den Tag über gutes gethan hat, desto ruhiger geht er zu Bette” [The more good a person has done through the day, the more restfully he or she will go to bed], 1780. From Johann Gottfried Weber, *Allgemeine Anweisung der neuesten Schönschreibkunst des Hochgräflich Lippischen Bottenmeisters und Aktuaris* (Duisburg am Rhein: Helwingschen Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1780), pl. 28. (Arca Artium Collection, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St. John’s University, Collegeville, MN.)



Fig. A10. Johannes Bard, "Jemehr ein Mensch den Tag über gutes gethan hat, desto ruhiger geht er zu Bette" [The more good a person has done through the day, the more restfully he or she will go to bed], probably Union Township, Adams County, PA, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on laid paper; H. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "', W. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". (Gift of Nick and Jo Wilson, Winterthur.)



Fig. A11. Johann Gottfried Weber, “Kleine Frakturschrift . . .” [lowercase Frakturschrift, which through the following six basic strokes (*Grundstriche*) is quite quick to learn], 1780. From Johann Gottfried Weber, *Allgemeine Anweisung der neuesten Schönschreibkunst des Hochgräflich Lippischen Bottenmeisters und Aktuaris* (Duisburg am Rhein: Helwingschen Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1780), pl. 15. (Arca Artium Collection, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St. John’s University, Collegeville, MN.)



Fig. A12. Johannes Bard, "Kleine Frakturschrift" [lowercase Frakturschrift], probably Union Township, Adams County, PA, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on wove paper; H. 7", W. 7¾". (Gift of Nick and Jo Wilson, Winterthur.)



Fig. A13. Johannes Bard, portrait of George Washington, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. ca. 7", W. ca. 7½". (Private collection; photo, David Wheatcroft Antiques, Westborough, MA.)



Fig. A14. Johannes Bard, portrait of John Adams, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. ca. 7", W. ca. 7½". (Private collection; photo, David Wheatcroft Antiques, Westborough, MA.)



Fig. A15. Johannes Bard, portrait of Thomas Jefferson, 1819–21. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. ca. 7", W. ca. 7½". (Private collection; photo, David Wheatcroft Antiques, Westborough, MA.)

## Appendix B: Statistical Method and Results

The large number, variety, and complexity of *Vorschriften* pose challenges to their analysis. Statistics are a valuable research tool to address these obstacles and may propel future research into the form. The construction of a quantitative framework for aggregate analysis of the manuscripts results in an empirically validated vocabulary for description and interpretation of individual pieces. Moreover, the social-scientific model is scalable. While currently this research relies on a relatively small sample of manuscripts, the project has established an operational definition of key variables to enable inclusion of increased numbers of *Vorschriften* in future iterations of the study.

### Data Collection

This study is based on a random sample of *Vorschriften* to increase the probability that the statistical results will be generalizable to all surviving manuscripts.<sup>168</sup> A *Vorschrift* collection at the Schwenkfelder

<sup>168</sup> Bachman and Schutt, *Practice of Research in Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 110–11. A random sample is a probability sampling method. According to Bachman and Schutt, such methods “randomly select elements and therefore have no systematic bias.” The random sampling method employed in this study is called “simple random sampling,” which Bachman and Schutt define as “a method of sampling in which every sample element is selected only on the basis of chance, through a random process.” The sampling method involved use of a random number table, “a table containing lists of numbers that are ordered solely on the basis of chance,” to guide identification of manuscripts for inclusion in the study. This means that I did not qualitatively select any *Vorschriften* for inclusion in the statistical analysis.

Library and Heritage Center in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, lent itself to random sampling, and a sample was collected there in October 2013.<sup>169</sup> The term *Vorschrift* connoted a variety of historic document types.<sup>170</sup> For inclusion in the random sample, documents had to meet three primary conditions: each had to (1) be handwritten and illuminated, (2) model proper handwriting style, and (3) be contained on one page. In addition, documents had to meet at least two of four secondary conditions: the document must be highly decorative, must have been intended for use by a specific student, must communicate moral or religious lessons, and must hold ceremonial value.<sup>171</sup>

A fixed progression through the institution's manuscript holdings was established under the guidance of Schwenkfelder Library Curator of Collections Candace Perry. Forty-nine *Vorschriften* were selected for inclusion using a random number list.<sup>172</sup> The *Vorschriften* were made within a range of ninety years, from 1754 to 1844, with a median date of 1783. The mean is 1787.8, with a standard deviation of 21.8 years (fig. B1; table B1).

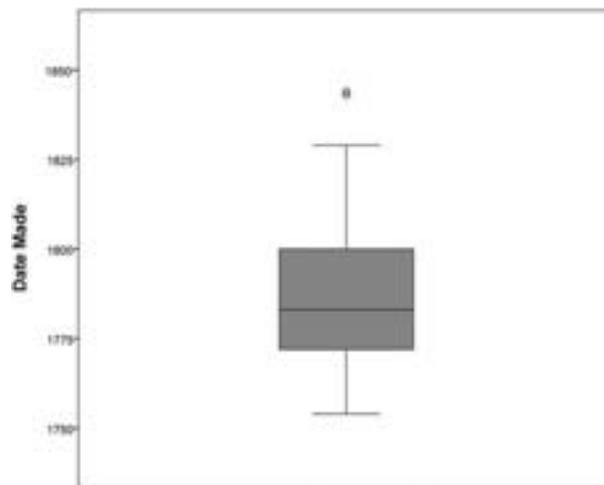


Fig. B1. Boxplot of production dates.

<sup>169</sup> The Schwenkfelder Library collection is, perhaps, the largest publicly held collection of *Vorschriften*. Assembled by eager collectors around the turn of the twentieth century, it reflects the *Vorschrift*'s diversity more accurately than later collections. Moreover, the institution's manuscripts have not been organized by type, meaning that a level of randomness prevails in their storage. For contextual information on a portion of the Schwenkfelder Library collection, see Candace K. Perry, "The Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection at the Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center," *Der Reggeboege* 47, no. 2 (2013): 1–69.

<sup>170</sup> Most important for this study, Pennsylvania *Vorschriften* composed of several leaves (in other words, booklets) were excluded. An example of such a booklet is Johann Adam Eyer, *Vorschriften-Büchlein* for Jacob Arnold, 1816, acc. no. 2012.0027.014A, Winterthur Museum. While the booklets seem to have served similar purposes to single-leaf *Vorschriften*, their presence in the study would have confounded the analytical infrastructure. Moreover, these were relatively rare compared to single-leaf *Vorschriften*.

<sup>171</sup> It was thought prudent to include a wide array of documents that more or less abide by the *Vorschrift* aesthetic or function as literacy tools, in order to avoid selection bias. An example of manuscripts included in this study that might otherwise have been excluded except for the definition laid out here is a piece attributed to Herman Ache and labeled an *Osterletz*, or *Eastertime* (in other words, spring term), examination piece. The piece embodies *Vorschrift* content and aesthetic, and the term *Osterletz* has roots in Swiss educational practice. Thus, the piece was deemed part of the general *Vorschrift* tradition and was included in the sample. Other pieces that presented variations were considered closely in the context of the transatlantic *Vorschrift* tradition before making a final decision about their inclusion in the study. Herman Ache (attr.), *Vorschrift* for Marthin Däthweihler, 1765, 6, Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, PA.

<sup>172</sup> The study was originally designed to encompass fifty randomly selected *Vorschriften*. An error in sampling resulted in the double-counting of one manuscript while proceeding on the fixed progression using the random number list. The sampling error did not affect the randomness of the *Vorschriften* selected after the error, so no effort was made to redo the sample or add a fiftieth *Vorschrift*.

Table B1. Distribution of Production Dates

Box plot values	Date
Low adjacent value	1754
Q1 (25%)	1772
Q2 (50%, median)	1783
Q3 (75%)	1803
High adjacent value	1829
Outliers	1843, 1844

### Modeling Vorschrift Layout, Design, and Style

The first stage of statistical analysis centered on assessing the basic characteristics of, and change to, Pennsylvania Vorschrift design aesthetics between circa 1750 and 1850.

#### *Dependent Variables*

The dependent variable of interest in this study, adherence of Pennsylvania manuscript Vorschriften to baroque European design aesthetics as seen in printed writing manuals, is very abstract. To operationalize the variable required consultation of period printed writing manuals and development of a list of their stylistic characteristics.<sup>173</sup> During October and November 2013, eighteen European writing manuals published between 1615 and 1784 were consulted at Winterthur Library and at Newberry Library, Chicago.<sup>174</sup> Comparison of plates from these writing manuals with Pennsylvania manuscript Vorschriften resulted in a list of twenty stylistic characteristics—or variables—representing baroque design.<sup>175</sup> Table B2 presents those design characteristics.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>173</sup> Bachman and Schutt, *Practice of Research in Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 464.

<sup>174</sup> Printed German samples postdating the baroque period were included because they, like the manuscript Vorschriften, exhibited baroque design into the later eighteenth century.

<sup>175</sup> It should be noted that none of the twenty variables by themselves are distinctively baroque. Rather, together the twenty variables accurately encapsulate the design aesthetic of printed writing manuals published during the baroque period. The analytical value of the twenty variables derives from their nesting as a single measurable unit, as will be demonstrated later in the study.

<sup>176</sup> Most aspects of the use of color on Vorschriften were not included as quantified design variables in this study. Color played a key role in the aesthetic of Swiss and Pennsylvania German manuscripts; indeed, vibrant color combinations are among the Vorschrift's most striking visual qualities. However, engraved and printed writing manuals were, by their material nature, mostly black and white, meaning that presence or absence of color on manuscript Vorschriften could not be given too much weight in measuring deviance from baroque design principles encountered in engraved manuals. Moreover, the presence or absence of color on Pennsylvania manuscripts may have much to do with access to paints. The one variable incorporated into the index that deals with color is scribal incorporation of multiple colors into individual letter forms. For more information on the supplies available to Pennsylvania German calligraphers and manuscript illuminators, see Janice H. Carlson and John Krill, "Pigment Analysis of Early American Watercolors and Fraktur," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 18, no. 1 (Autumn 1978): 19–32.

Table B2. Dichotomous Variables Measuring Adherence to Baroque Design Aesthetics

Variable abbreviation	Variable description (yes response = baroque)
LeftInitial	First letter is positioned to the left of any text that comes below it on the Vorschrift, except presentation/signature lines?
BigMaj	Oversized initial decorative majuscule is present (initial majuscule is bigger than any to follow in the same or subsequent lines)?
DescendMaj	First letter in the first prominent line of book hand is a descending majuscule?
BrokeSquare	Flourishes and other decorative motifs connected to a decorative majuscule break the regular square occupied by that decorative majuscule?
OneBlock	Textual content is concentrated in one discrete central text block, with no lines of text appearing beyond the exterior perimeter of that text block or going in another direction than those in the text block?
CircBlock	Text block is presented within a circular-designed border, in which the text block is centered near the middle of the page?
StrtVertEdge	The largest concentration of text in terms of number of words uninterrupted by linear or figurative borders has approximately vertical edges on its left margin?
OffSetBlock	Left edges of largest concentration of text on the Vorschrift in terms of number of words uninterrupted by linear or figurative borders are to the right of the left edge of the opening majuscule, such that no lines of text in the central text block extend to the left of or align perfectly with the opening majuscule, including its associated connected flourishes?
NoBelow	No text, other than cursory signature lines or portions of the central text block, appears under the first decorative majuscule?
DisFlourish	Presence of nonfigurative calligraphic flourishes that are not connected to or originate in a letter form?
NoFigFloral	No floral imagery?
NoFigFaunal	Any faunal/human imagery made only by pen flourish?
SmallFirst	Space allotted to first line of book hand (excluding initial decorative majuscule but including all flourishes attached to the next-largest letter) does not exceed approximately one-third of the height of the entire text block?
NoLine	No drawn straight horizontal and vertical lines or bars as a design motif to define Vorschrift spatial boundaries?
NoFigDecBorder	No decorative exterior and interior borders that include figured decoration or any decoration other than straight lines, calligraphic flourishes, crosshatching, or one solid filled color?
BiLetter	Presence of discrete or connective stylized figurative letter bifurcation as a book hand decorative motif?
BkHandFl	Book hand letter forms, excluding the first decorative majuscule, are decorated with connective, horizontal nonfigurative calligraphic flourishes?
FigIntDec	Figurative/patterned decoration occurs within book hand letter forms (excluding outlining)?
MultClrIntDec	Book hand letter forms feature more than one color per letter?
SmallFig	Presence of speckles, dots, small curved lines, and other very small figured shapes in the decoration of ornamental book hand letter forms, often although not exclusively majuscule forms, excluding such figures that may appear within letter forms as interior decoration or as integral forms of figurative decoration?

In order to assess the baroque qualities of *Vorschriften* simultaneously through the lens of all these variables, they were transformed into a single index value. An index is “a composite measure based on summing, averaging, or otherwise combining the responses to multiple questions that are intended to measure the same variable.”<sup>177</sup> Each of the variables was dichotomized, that is, given a yes-or-no, 1-or-0 value on the basis of the presence or absence of the baroque characteristic.<sup>178</sup> A yes/1 code means “adheres,” whereas a no/0 code means “deviates.” For example, one variable identified in the printed manuals was “presence of calligraphic flourishes not attached to letter forms.” If such flourishes were pres-

<sup>177</sup> Bachman and Schutt, *Practice of Research in Criminology and Social Justice*, 203–4.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

ent, the variable was coded “yes” with a 1 value, suggesting adherence to baroque design. If flourishes were absent, the variable was coded “no” with a 0 value, associated with deviance from baroque design. Treating variables in this way quantifies the twenty design characteristics and allows manipulation of data for each manuscript holistically, as an index score, which refers to the sum of all the 1 or 0 variable scores. The higher the total score on the index, the more adherent the *Vorschrift* to baroque design standards. The lower the total index value, the more divergent from baroque design. Table B3 presents frequency data for random sample *Vorschriften* by baroque design dichotomous variables comprising the index.<sup>179</sup> The data are displayed visually in figures B2 and B3.

Table B3. Dichotomous Variables’ Adherence to Baroque Design Aesthetics

Variable abbreviation	Brief description	1/adheres		0/deviates	
		N	%	N	%
LeftInitial	First letter to left of other text	33	67	16	33
BigMaj	Oversized opening letter present	45	92	4	8
DescendMaj	First letter descends	31	63	18	37
BrokeSquare	Irregular majuscule decoration	36	73	13	27
OneBlock	Text in central block	33	67	16	33
CircBlock	Text in circular design	49	...	...	...
StrtVertEdge	Text has vertical edges on left	22	45	27	55
OffSetBlock	Left edge of text block to right of first letter	29	59	20	41
NoBelow	No text below first majuscule	38	78	11	22
DisFlourish	Flourishes not connected to letters	22	45	27	55
NoFigFloral	No figurative floral imagery present	22	45	27	55
NoFigFaunal	No figurative human/animal imagery	42	86	14	7
SmallFirst	First line book hand less than 1/3 height	40	82	9	18
NoLine	No drawn straight lines	28	57	21	43
NoFigDecBorder	No decorative border	30	61	19	39
BiLetter	Letters bifurcated	5	10	44	90
BkHandFl	Flourishes decorate book hand	30	61	19	39
FigIntDec	Decoration in letter forms	30	61	19	39
MultChrIntDec	Multiple colors per letter form	33	67	16	33
SmallFig	Small figural shapes used as book hand decoration	26	53	23	47

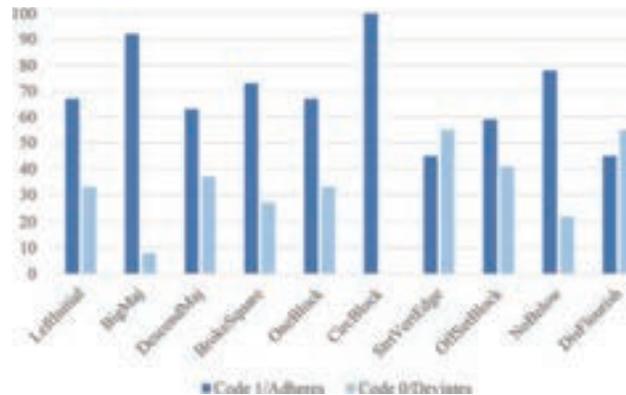


Fig. B2. Percentage of cases adhering to baroque design aesthetics, dichotomous variables 1–10.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 461. According to Bachman and Schutt, a frequency distribution is a “numerical display showing the number of cases, and usually the percentage of cases (the relative frequencies), corresponding to each value or group of values of a variable.”

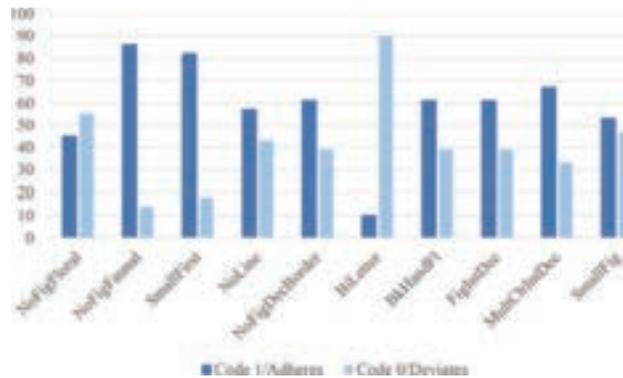


Fig. B3. Percentage of cases adhering to baroque design aesthetics, dichotomous variables 11–20.

### *Independent Variable*

To examine how baroque design evolved over time, one independent variable—year of *Vorschrift* production—was examined in this study. The variable is operationalized in two ways. The independent variable is date, represented by either a specific year or a decade-long range category.

Most *Vorschriften* included in the study were dated by their makers. Sixteen of the forty-nine *Vorschriften*, or 33 percent of the entire sample, were not. To compensate for this absence, Schwenkfelder Library curator Candace Perry used qualitative evidence to offer approximate date ranges for the pieces.<sup>180</sup> A preponderance of *Vorschriften*—44 percent—were made between 1770 and 1789. The number drops off precipitously at the turn of the nineteenth century. Table B4 and figure B4 show frequency of *Vorschrift* production by decade.

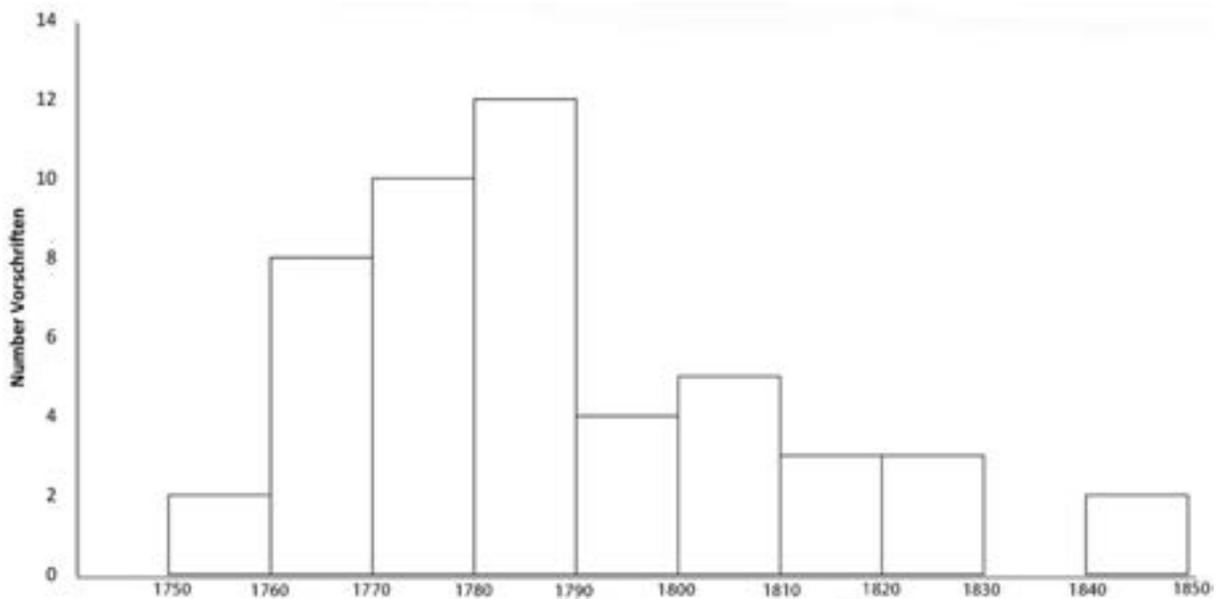


Fig. B4. Histogram of production dates.

<sup>180</sup> Examples of evidence used to date the manuscripts include comparison to similar dated pieces and attributions to known *Vorschrift* makers on the basis of prior scholarship. Most were dated within a range of five years; the maximum range provided for any undated piece was twenty years. After Perry assigned appropriate date ranges, the median of her suggested range (rounded down to the nearest whole year) was adopted as the approximate date of making.

Table B4. Production by Decade

Decade	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
1750-59	2	4	4
1760-69	8	16	20
1770-79	10	20	40
1780-89	12	24	64
1790-99	4	8	72
1800-1809	5	10	82
1810-19	3	6	90
1820-29	3	6	96
1830-39	...	...	96
1840-49	2	4	98
Total	49	98*	

\* The fact that the percentage never reaches a full 100 is a matter of rounding.

*Analysis Strategy*

The study performs three tests on the random sample: a descriptive analysis of the general additive index, a multivariate ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, and a series of binary logistic regressions. Each test builds on the last. The general additive index offers a holistic understanding of *Vorschrift* stylistic change. The OLS regression examines the variables that contribute to the general additive index to quantify the degree of *Vorschrift* style change over time.<sup>181</sup> A series of binary logistic regressions measure the statistical significance of each variable against production date.<sup>182</sup> These figures will guide future refinement of the model.<sup>183</sup>

*Results*

The statistical tests confirm that there is a relationship between the baroque design index and *Vorschrift* aesthetic change between 1754 and 1844.

*General Additive Index* Graphical representation of baroque index scores by production date reveals a definitive negative correlation (fig. B5). Most scores decrease as date increases. This trend is underscored by comparison of mean index scores for different decades. Index scores were highest in the 1760s, mostly decreasing thereafter (tables B5, B6). This illustrates that baroque design adherence was greatest during earlier years of the time period studied but significantly declined later.

<sup>181</sup> John P. Hoffmann, *Generalized Linear Models: An Applied Approach* (Boston: Pearson, 2004), 1. This approach treats date of *Vorschrift*-making as a continuous dependent variable, which can be predicted by the variables that comprise the baroque design index.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 45-48.

<sup>183</sup> All variables identified in the qualitative research—even those deemed insignificant—are included in the baroque design index. As this research is exploratory and the index will be tested on other *Vorschriften*, the decision to remove variables will be reserved for future investigations.

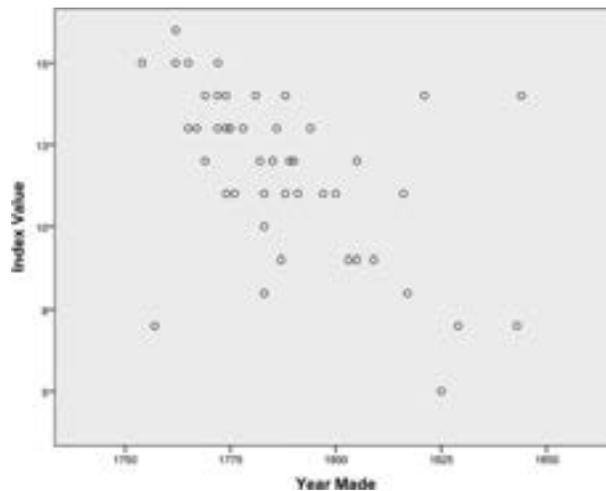


Fig. B5. Scatter plot of baroque design index values by date.

Table B5. Mean Baroque Design Index Score by Decade

Decade	Number of cases	Index score
1750-59	2	11.00
1760-69	8	14.25
1770-79	10	13.10
1780-89	12	11.41
1790-99	4	11.75
1800-1809	5	10.00
1810-19	3	9.00
1820-29	3	8.67
1830-39	...	...
1840-49	2	10.50

Table B6. Mean Baroque Design Index Score by Design Period

Design period	N manuscripts	% of sample	Index score	Average absolute deviation
1st Gen. Baroque	20	40.82	13.35	1.45
Mod. Baroque Revival	16	32.65	11.5	1.25
Trans. Folk	11	22.45	9.34	1.92
Antiquarian Enterprise	2	4.08	10.5	3.5

*Multivariate Ordinary Least Squares Regression* The general additive index illustrates the existence of a negative correlation between date and adherence to baroque design index score within the random sample. Multivariate OLS regression, the next test performed on the data, measures the significance of the relationship between the baroque design index variables and production date. In other words, can we be confident that the change seen in the index over time is not simply a coincidence—that the index is an accurate tool to measure change? A Pearson  $\chi^2$  test performed on the data found the adherence to baroque design index

significant at the .01 level, meaning that, theoretically, the index serves as an accurate predictor of Vorschrift date in 99.9 percent of cases.<sup>184</sup> This is a particularly notable finding given the conservative nature of the Pearson  $\chi^2$  test. The test is very sensitive to sample size (in this case, forty-nine Vorschriften) and degrees of freedom (i.e., the number of independent variable categories included in the study, in this case ten decade categories, which is rather a large number for a sample of forty-nine). That so small a sample size distributed over so many date categories produced such strong findings of significance reveals the strength of the baroque index model. Tables B7 and B8 present percentage breakdowns of code 1/adheres responses by decade, as well as which variables emerged as especially significant in cross-tab analysis of the variable and production date.

Table B7. Percentage Distribution of Adheres/Code 1 Index Scores by Decade, 1750–89

Index variable	1750–59	1760–69	1770–79	1780–89
LeftInitial*	3	18.2	30.3	30.3
BigMaj†	2.2	17.8	22.2	26.7
DescendMaj	3.2	25.8	22.6	22.6
BrokeSquare	2.8	16.7	25	25
OneBlock‡	...	24.2	30.3	18.2
CircBlock	...	...	...	...
StrtVertEdge	9.1	13.6	22.7	22.7
OffSetBlock	3.4	13.8	31	31
NoBelow‡	5.3	21.1	23.7	18.4
DisFlourish	4.5	22.7	18.2	31.8
NoFigFloral‡	9.1	22.7	31.8	13.6
NoFigFaunal	4.8	19	23.8	21.4
SmallFirst*	5	20	25	22.5
NoLine‡	...	25	32.1	14.3
NoFigDecBorder§	3.3	20	30	13.3
BiLetter	...	...	...	40
BkHandFl†	6.7	26.7	10	33.3
FigIntDec	3.3	13.3	13.3	30
MultClrIntDec	3	15.2	12.1	27.3
SmallFig	3.8	26.9	7.7	23.1

\*  $\chi^2 p < .05$ .  
 †  $\chi^2 p < .01$ .  
 ‡  $\chi^2 p < .15$ .  
 §  $\chi^2 p < .10$ .

<sup>184</sup> Bachman and Schutt, *Practice of Research in Criminology and Social Justice*, 110–16, 122–24. Measures of statistical significance assume that the sample on which the test was performed is representative of the wider population from which the sample was drawn. Applied to a “population” of historical manuscripts in library and museum collections, such assumptions are fraught with practical and theoretical obstacles. First and foremost, manuscript collections do not survive randomly. Previous caretakers select what documents to preserve and what to dispose of, and the ravages of time result in unknown losses before public institutions even acquire pieces for long-term preservation. Thus, there is no way to know whether the Schwenkfelder Library collection is truly representative of all the Vorschriften that existed across southeastern Pennsylvania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More practically, the Schwenkfelder Library collection is not necessarily representative even of all surviving Vorschriften today. Each private and public collection is unique unto itself. Despite these challenges, however, a statistical method is relevant to this research because it allows for aggregate consideration of the manuscript form. Even if flawed by the inherently biased nature of the population it seeks to study, the random sampling method is useful because it forces honest consideration of historical evidence without “cherry picking” some manuscripts to reinforce qualitative interpretations while ignoring other, perhaps contradictory, documents. I contend that all historical inquiry is fraught with sample bias and researcher subjectivity; statistics simply force the investigator to deal with these matters honestly and explicitly.

Table B8. Percentage Distribution of Adheres/Code 1 Index Scores by Decade, 1790–1849

Index variable	1790–99	1800–1809	1810–19	1820–29	1840–49
LeftInitial*	6.1	3	3	3	3
BigMaj†	8.9	11.1	6.7	2.2	2.2
DescendMaj	6.5	6.5	6.5	3.2	3.2
BrokeSquare	11.1	5.6	8.3	2.8	2.8
OneBlock†	9.1	12.1	...	3	3
CircBlock	...	...	...	...	...
StrtVertEdge	4.5	13.6	4.5	9.1	...
OffSetBlock	3.4	3.4	6.9	3.4	3.4
NoBelow‡	7.9	13.2	5.3	2.6	2.6
DisFlourish	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
NoFigFloral‡	4.5	4.5	...	9.1	4.5
NoFigFaunal	7.1	7.1	4.8	7.1	2.4
SmallFirst*	10	10	...	5	5
NoLine†	7.1	7.1	...	3.6	7.1
NoFigDecBorder§	10	10	...	6.7	6.7
BiLetter	20	20	...	...	...
BkHandFl†	6.7	6.7	6.7	...	...
FigIntDec	13.3	13.3	10	6.7	3.3
MultClrIntDec	12.1	12.1	9.1	6.1	6.1
SmallFig	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7

\*  $\chi^2 p < .05$ .†  $\chi^2 p < .01$ .‡  $\chi^2 p < .15$ .§  $\chi^2 p < .10$ .

Furthermore, OLS regression offers a model for prediction of Vorschrift index values by date, displayed in figure B6. The line running through the scatter plot represents the average downward path for Vorschrift index scores over time. The line's formula is seen in equation (B1), the linear regression model for baroque design index:

$$y = 131.42 + -0.067(\text{date}). \quad (\text{B1})$$

The formula reveals how index scores ( $y$ ) change over time: the mean score decreases 0.067 every year.

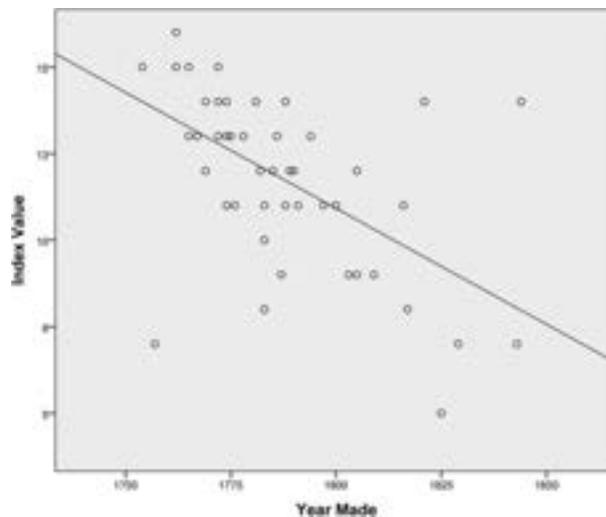


Fig. B6. Linear regression model of baroque design index values by date.

*Binary Logistic Regressions* Binary logistic regression is a better measure than OLS regression to assess the significance of each dichotomous variable as an indicator of *Vorschrift* date.<sup>185</sup> Table B9 suggests which individual variables play the most important roles in contributing to the strength of the index. According to logistic regression, LeftInitial and BkHandFl are significant at the .01 level; BigMaj, OneBlock, NoBelow, NoFigFaunal, and SmallFirst are significant at the .05 level; DescendMaj and MultClrIntDec are significant at the .10 level, and OffSetBlock, NoFigFloral, and NoLine are significant at the .15 level.<sup>186</sup> All variables associated with the decorative initial of the *Vorschrift* are significant. Variables associated with document layout and text alignment are also significant indicators of *Vorschrift* change over time. Thus, the best statistical indicators of *Vorschrift* deviance from baroque design as conceptualized in this study are layout of text and artistic design of Frakturschrift letters.

Table B9. Significance Levels of Baroque Design Index Variables Using Binary Logistic Regression

Variable abbreviation	Variable description	Significance
LeftInitial*	First letter to left of other text	.007
BigMaj†	Oversized opening letter present	.020
DescendMaj‡	First letter descends	.082
BrokeSquare	Irregular majuscule decoration	.176
OneBlock†	Text in one central block	.022
CircBlock	Text in circular design	. . .
StrtVertEdge	Text has vertical edges on left	.425
OffSetBlock§	Left edge of text block to right of first letter	.124
NoBelow†	No text below first majuscule	.030
DisFlourish	Flourishes not connected to letters	.212
NoFigFloral§	No floral imagery of present	.120
NoFigFaunal†	No figurative human/animal imagery	.039
SmallFirst†	First line book hand less than 1/3 height	.029
NoLine§	No drawn straight lines	.146
NoFigDecBorder	No decorative border	.441
BiLetter	Letters bifurcated	.484
BkHandFl*	Flourishes decorate book hand	.003
FigIntDec	Decoration in letter forms	.244
MultClrIntDec‡	Multiple colors per letter form	.062
SmallFig	Small figural shapes used as book hand decoration	.469

\*  $\chi^2 p < .01$ .  
 †  $\chi^2 p < .05$ .  
 ‡  $\chi^2 p < .10$ .  
 §  $\chi^2 p < .15$ .

### Modeling *Vorschrift* Text Content

*Vorschrift* studies have proven reticent to systematic analysis of manuscript text for three reasons: first, the barriers of deciphering script and language; second, the challenge of tracking texts’ original sources; and third, the difficulty of developing a research framework capable of encompassing manuscript variability. Technology eases the latter two challenges. Many German hymnals are searchable online, and database software allows for comparison of manuscript texts with ease. With these advantages in hand, this study establishes a logical structure and vocabulary for *Vorschrift* text content analysis. It is hoped that this research will facilitate future inquiry into the *Vorschrift* and other manuscript forms.

<sup>185</sup> Hoffmann, *Generalized Linear Models*, 45–48.

<sup>186</sup> See table B2 for a key to the abbreviations.

*Dependent and Independent Variables*

Text analysis required development of a list of six dependent variables that allow for easy comparison of Vorschriften in aggregate across time. Each variable—text source type, text genre, instructional theme, rhetorical motif, narrative voice, and script style—features subvariables, summarized in table B10. This section will briefly explain each variable.

Table B10. Text Analysis Dependent Variables

Variable/subvariable	Key word
Text source type:	
Biblical lit.: Psalms	...
Biblical lit.: wisdom books	...
Biblical lit.: other Old Testament	...
Biblical lit.: New Testament	...
Hymns and devotional poetry	...
Unassigned	...
Text genre:	
Prayer or supplication to God	...
Exaltation or devotion	...
Admonishment or exemplar	...
Instructional theme:	
Morals, ethics, and life path	fleißig (diligently), Tugend (virtue)
Contemplation of death and judgment	sterben (to die), sterbend (dead/dying)
Life stages and time	Kind (child), Jugend (youth)
Submission to/comfort in God	ergeben (to yield), weichen (to soften, yield), Jesu-Brust (Jesus's breast)
God's love, atonement, forgiveness, and salvation	Lieb (love), vergeben (to forgive), Buße (penance), gereuen (to repent)
Suffering, conflict, and faith	schmerzen (to hurt), Pein (pain), Quaal (strife), Kampf (struggle), Streit (struggle), Jammerthal (woe)
Nature of wisdom, teaching, and learning	Weisheit (wisdom), verstehen (to understand), lernen (to learn), offenbahren (to make open)
Meditation, reflection, and preparation	bedenken (to reflect), verreden (to abjure), Ruhe (rest)
Mystical union	hineindringen (to penetrate), Wesens (essence)
Praise	ehren (honor), Lob (praise), preisen (to praise)
Rhetorical motif:	
Sensory input	Augen (eyes), betrachten (to observe), erblicken (to behold), scheinen (to shine)
Bliss	Wonne (bliss), Gnade (grace)
God's word	Wort (word), schreiben (to write), Gottes-spricht (God's words)
The heart	Hertz (heart), hertzinniglich (heartfelt)
The soul	Seele (soul), seelig (soulful)
Communication output	stimmen (to induce, favor, persuade), sprechen (to speak), reden (to talk), erzählen (to tell), beten (to pray)
Journey	Fuß (foot), treten (to enter), Weg (way), wandeln (to wander), wenden (to turn), Thür (door), einführen (to burst into, enter)
Heavenly kingdom	Engel (angel), Chor/Engel-chor (choir/choir of angels), Himmel-Saal (heavenly hall), Himmelreich (heavenly kingdom)
Divine perfection versus earthly iniquity	Sünde (sin), Schand (shame), Neid (envy), Schmach (shame), Eitelkeit (vanity), Fleisch (flesh)
Christ's sorrow and passion	Creutz (cross), Tod (death), Pein (pain), Noth (distress), Wunden (wound), vergeußt (to shed, i.e., blood), gelehnt (leaning, hung), schlagen (beat, hit)
Parable	NA
Bride and bridegroom	Braut (bride), Bräutigam (bridegroom)
Breath	Seufzen (breath), Odem (breath)
God's law and righteousness	Gesetz (law), Recht (right), Gebot (command)
Outer and inner lives/selves	innerlich (inner), Wille (will), glühen (to glow)
Narrative voice:	
First person	ich (I), wir (we)
Second person	du (you), ihr (you pl.), Sie (you formal)
Third person	er (he), sie (she), es (it)

*continued on next page*

Table B10. (Continued)

Variable/subvariable	Key word
Script style:	
Frakturschrift	...
Kantzei	...
Currentschrift	...
Graeco-Roman	...
Mixed	...

Much of the text on *Vorschriften* can be traced to known sources. The text source type variable tracks the source of quotations. The text genre variable classifies *Vorschriften* on the basis of the overarching message(s) the documents seek to communicate: prayer or supplication, exaltation or devotion, and admonishment or exemplar. Within these genres, *Vorschriften* teach readers in ten instructional themes, the third variable. Literary quotations on *Vorschriften* employ many rhetorical motifs to instruct readers. For example, scribes use sensory input metaphors to explain the process of wisdom acquisition. Narrative voice—first, second, or third person—sheds light on *Vorschriften* dialogic uses. Finally, this analysis tracks the script style in which text appears.

Independent variables help sort data collected under the six dependent variables (table B11). Decade and design period are the main independent variables employed in the analysis. Text layout describes the visual appearance of texts on the written page (table B12 and app. C). Text type documents how many texts appear on the page and how they connect to and interrelate with one another (table B13).

Table B11. Text Analysis Independent Variables

Independent variable	Categories and values
Decade	1760s, 1770s, 1780s, 1790s, 1800s, 1810s, 1820s, 1830s, 1840s
Design period	First Generation Baroque, Modified Baroque Revival, Transitional Folk, Era of Antiquarian Enterprise
Baroque design index score	17–20, 13–16, 9–12, 5–8, 1–4, 0
Text layout	Free text—one script; free text—script variation; circular centered; bifurcated with borders; block arranged
Text type	Single flow—one text; single flow—multiple texts; scripture—commentary; primary text—devotions; multiple texts (distinct)

Table B12. Text Layout Independent Subvariables (Examples Illustrated in App. C)

Subvariable	Description	Frequency (%)
Free text—one script	The manuscript employs only one script. No borders, decorations, or alternative text arrangements interrupt the flow of the script; it is presented in more-or-less paragraph form.	3 (6.12)
Free text—script variation	The text on the manuscript is presented in more-or-less paragraph form with no decorative or border interruptions, but more than one script is employed.	28 (57.14)
Circular centered*	Manuscript text is presented in a circular arrangement, centered on the page.	...
Bifurcated with borders	The manuscript is divided in two by means of a border. Different scripts may be employed in the two halves.	5 (10.20)
Block arranged	Text is arranged in various discrete blocks located across the page, separated by borders.	13 (26.53)

\* The category is maintained in the sample to further future inquiry. Qualitative research has uncovered the existence of circular-centered *Vorschriften* in Pennsylvania.

Table B13. Text Type Independent Subvariables

Subvariable	Description	Frequency (%)
Single flow—one text	Only one text source is employed on the manuscript.	34 (69.39)
Single flow—multiple texts	More than one text source is employed on the manuscript.	2 (4.08)
Scripture—commentary	Manuscripts present a biblical/apocryphal quotation followed by quotations from contemporary, nonscriptural sources that address similar themes as the holy text.	6 (12.24)
Primary text—devotion	Similar to scripture—commentary, except that no scriptural text is used on the manuscript. One piece of contemporary literature is presented as the most important, followed by excerpts of lesser importance.	2 (4.08)
Multiple texts—distinct	Manuscripts include many texts that bear no immediate relationship to one another.	1 (2.04)
Unassigned	Used when no clear text type is evident.	2 (4.08)
Not applicable	Reserved for manuscripts with no text excerpts.	2 (4.08)

### Analysis Strategy

The analysis reports frequency data but does not employ statistical null hypothesis tests such as linear and logistic regression to assess generalizability of observed trends. Unless stated otherwise, reported figures treat whole manuscripts as the smallest unit of analysis and are for descriptive purposes only. For example, if a manuscript features one text coded an admonishment and another a prayer, the manuscript will count toward the total for both categories in the text genre variable. Attempts were made to minimize double-coding on manuscripts within variables, and the same text excerpts were never double-coded within the same dependent variable. In cases in which selections of text, rather than whole manuscripts, are reported on graphs and tables, the term “coding instances” is employed.

### Results

The most notable results of the text analysis are reported in the main article narrative. Full results are summarized in figure B7 and tables B14–B27.

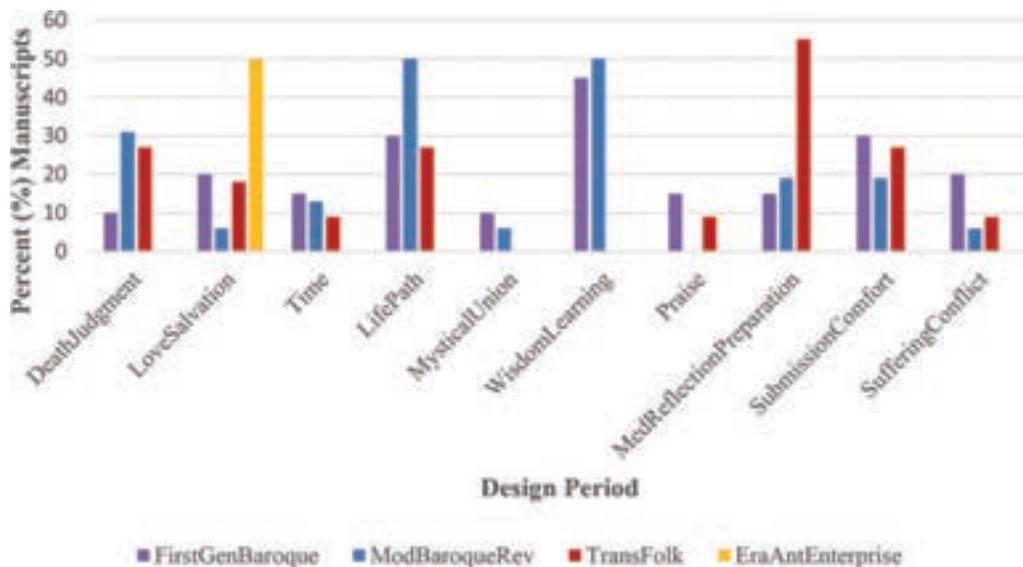


Fig. B7. Percentage of manuscripts featuring instructional theme by design period.

Table B14. Text Source Types

Source type	Manuscripts coded	% total manuscript coding instances
Biblical lit.: Psalms	7	10.94
Biblical lit.: wisdom books	7	10.94
Biblical lit.: other Old Testament	...	...
Biblical lit.: New Testament—Gospels	4	6.25
Biblical lit.: New Testament—non-Gospel	4	6.25
Hymns and devotional poetry	30	46.86
Unassigned	12	18.75
Total	64	100

Note.—The total number of manuscripts coded is greater than 49 because many manuscripts featured more than one text. The same is true for every table where total number of manuscripts exceeds 49.

Table B15. Text Genres

Text genre	Manuscripts coded	% total manuscript coding instances
Prayer or supplication to God	13	23.64
Exaltation or devotion	6	10.91
Admonishment or exemplar	36	65.45
Total	55	100

Table B16. Instructional Themes

Instructional theme	Coding instances	% total manuscript coding instances
Morals, ethics, and life path	17	16.67
Contemplation of death and judgment	12	11.76
Life stages and time	7	6.86
Submission to/comfort in God	12	11.76
God's love, atonement, forgiveness	9	8.82
Suffering, conflict, and faith	6	5.89
Wisdom, teaching, and learning	19	18.63
Meditation, reflection, preparation	13	12.75
Mystical union	3	2.94
Praise	4	3.92
Total	102	100

Table B17. Rhetorical Motifs

Rhetorical motif	Coding instances	% total coding instances
Sensory input	67	20.81
Bliss	20	6.21
God's word	7	2.17
The heart	15	4.66
The soul	12	3.73
Communication output	35	10.87
Journey	37	11.49
Heavenly kingdom	15	4.66
Divine perfection versus earthly reality	52	16.15
Christ's sorrow and passion	8	2.48
Parable	3	.93
Bride and bridegroom	3	.93
Outer/inner lives	16	4.97
God's law and righteousness	32	9.93
Total	322	100

Table B18. Script Type and Opening Line of Text

Script type	Number of manuscripts with first line in script
Frakturschrift	46
Cantzeyschrift	1
Currentschrift	2

Table B19. References to Old Testament Wisdom Books

Book	Description	Source	Text	Example from Vorschrift
Psalms	Hymns of ancient Israel. Not technically part of the genre, although some "wisdom psalms" deal with similar themes.		No psalms classified as "wisdom psalms" appeared in the random sample.	Gunkel, <i>Psalms and Introduction to Psalms</i>
Proverbs	King Solomon's era, ca. 950 BC. Maxims associated with King Solomon, patron of the wisdom genre.	Tarazi, <i>Old Testament</i> , 127	"Hear, ye children, the instruction of your father, and attend to know understanding. For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my law."	Proverbs 4:1–2 (KJV); Vorschrift, 1783, no. 4–119, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center
Song of Songs	Uncertain date and authorship. Sexual love, unity with wisdom.	Tarazi, <i>Old Testament</i> , 140–41	...	
Ecclesiastes	Circa 450 BC. Monologue by "Lady Wisdom" criticizing vanity and attesting to divinity of all knowledge.	Tarazi, <i>Old Testament</i> , 135; Estes, <i>Handbook on the Wisdom Books and Psalms</i> , 280	"Remember your creator in the days of your youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when you shall say, I have no pleasure in them."	Ecclesiastes 12:1 (KJV); Vorschrift, 1765, 18/00.263.36, and Vorschrift, 1788, 00.265.22, both Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center
Wisdom of Sirach	Ben Sira, ca. 195 BC. Wisdom centers on individual piety, which derives from submission to Torah. God's wisdom structures heavens and earth, although wisdom is hidden from human view.	Kaiser, <i>Old Testament Apocrypha</i> , 92, 96, 98	"He who fears the Lord will gladly be drawn toward him, and he who sends to him early will find grace."	Sirach 32:18 (Luther translation); Sirach 32:14 (NRSV); Vorschrift, ca. 1774, 00.269.39/4–122, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center
Wisdom of Solomon	First century BC? Influenced by Hellenistic thought and written long after Solomon's time; portrays the famous king's quest for wisdom.	Kaiser, <i>Old Testament Apocrypha</i> , 97–98, 107–8; Tarazi, <i>Old Testament</i> , 152–53	"I too am a mortal man like all the rest, born from the womb . . . concentered out of man's seed through the pleasure of sexual intercourse. . . . One is the entry into life for all, and in one same way they leave it."	Wisdom of Solomon 7:1–6; Christoph Hübner, Vorschrift/devotional text, 1785, folder no. 1785, "Christoph Hübner Fraktur Vorschriften," box "Religious Text," Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center
Ruth	Prophet Samuel; fifth century BC. Unity with wisdom.	Estes, <i>Handbook on the Wisdom Books and Psalms</i> , 140–41	...	
Job	Sixth century BC. Story of a life lived in accordance with divine wisdom and law.	Estes, <i>Handbook on the Wisdom Books and Psalms</i> , 137–39	...	

Sources.—Daniel J. Estes, *Handbook on the Wisdom Books and Psalms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005); Otto Kaiser, *The Old Testament Apocrypha: An Introduction* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004); Paul Nadim Tarazi, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, vol. 3: *Psalms and Wisdom* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1996); Hermann Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967); Hermann Gunkel (completed by Joachim Begrich), *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998).

Table B20. Matrix of Narrative Voice versus Text Genre: Number of Manuscripts

Narrative voice	Admonishment or exemplar	Exaltation or devotion	Prayer or supplication to God
First person	14	5	6
Second person addressed by the reader (incl. imperative mood)	4	3	11
Second person addressed to the reader (incl. imperative mood)	28	1	1
Third person and nonpersonal	23	2	2

Table B21. Matrix of Text Source Type versus Script Type: Number of Manuscripts

Text source type	Cantzeyschrift	Currentschrift	Frakturschrift
Biblical lit.: New Testament	...	5	4
Biblical lit.: Psalms	...	7	7
Biblical lit.: wisdom books	1	4	8
Hymns and devotional poetry*	5	27	27

\* One manuscript removed because of great variation in scripts.

Table B22. Matrix of Instructional Themes versus Rhetorical Motifs

Instructional theme	Bliss	Bride and bridegroom	Christ's sorrow and passion	Communication output	Perfection versus iniquity		Righteousness	God's Word	Heavenly kingdom	Journey	Outer/inner lives	Parable	Sensory input	Heart	Soul
					iniquity	perfection									
Death and judgment	6	...	...	1	4	3	...	2	...	1	1	...	6	...	3
God's love	1	...	6	...	5	1	1	1	...	2	2	...	4	1	...
Life stages and time	3	...	...	1	3	2	1	2	...	3	1	...	...	1	...
Morals	2	...	...	4	8	7	...	3	...	4	3	3	8	1	1
Mystical union	1	3	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	3	1	2
Wisdom, teaching	1	...	1	4	5	6	3	3	...	4	4	1	8	5	1
Praise	1	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	...	...
Reflection, preparation	5	2	1	3	2	1	1	2	...	3	3	1	9	6	4
Submission to God	2	...	...	3	5	2	1	1	...	2	2	...	5	1	3
Suffering, conflict	...	...	2	1	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	5	...	...

Note.—Each figure represents number of manuscripts.

Table B23. Matrix of Instructional Theme versus Text Source Type: Coding Instances

Instructional theme	New Testament	Psalms	Wisdom books	Hymns, devotional poetry	Unassigned
Death and judgment	...	1	2	6	4
God's love	2	...	...	7	...
Life stages and time	...	...	4	1	5
Morals	2	4	2	8	10
Mystical union	...	...	...	3	...
Wisdom, teaching	1	3	2	10	2
Praise	...	3	...	1	...
Reflection, preparation	1	2	...	7	5
Submission to God	...	2	...	9	2
Suffering, conflict	1	1	...	3	1

Table B24. Matrix of Instructional Theme versus Design Period (%)

Instructional theme	First Generation Baroque	Modified Baroque Revival	Transitional Folk	Era of Antiquarian Enterprise
Death and judgment	10	31	27	...
God's love, atonement	20	6	18	50
Life stages and time	15	13	9	...
Morals	30	50	27	...
Mystical union	10	6	...	...
Wisdom, teaching	45	50	...	...
Praise	15	...	9	...
Reflection, preparation	15	19	55	...
Submission to God	30	19	27	...
Suffering, conflict	20	6	9	...

Note.—Percentages are based on number of coding instances for each theme per design period, rather than on number of manuscripts. Although individual manuscripts are treated as the smallest unit of measurement in the table, manuscripts often featured multiple instructional themes, each counting toward that theme's percentage total. Also, each figure represents percentage of manuscripts within the design period in question, not the entire random sample. For example, 20 manuscripts in the sample date to the First Generation Baroque. Two manuscripts, or 10 percent of First Generation Baroque manuscripts in the random sample, instruct on death and judgment, accounting for the "10" in the first cell.

Table B25. Matrix of Text Layout versus Design Period

Text layout	First Generation Baroque		Modified Baroque Revival		Transitional Folk		Era of Antiquarian Enterprise	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Free text—one script	2	10	1	6.25	...	...	...	...
Free text—script variation	14	70	8	50	4	36.36	2	100
Bifurcated with borders	2	10	...	...	3	27.27	...	...
Block arranged	2	10	7	43.75	4	36.36	...	...
Total manuscripts per period	20		16		11		2	

Note.—Percentages are calculated on each column.

Table B26. Matrix of Text Type versus Design Period

Text type	First Generation Baroque		Modified Baroque Revival		Transitional Folk		Era of Antiquarian Enterprise	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Single flow—one text	18	90	11	68.75	4	36.36	1	50
Single flow—multiple texts	...		...		2	18.18	...	
Scripture—commentary	1	5	2	12.5	3	27.27	...	
Primary text—devotion	1	5	1	6.25	...		...	
Multiple texts (distinct)	...		1	6.25	...		...	
Unassigned	...		1	6.25	1	9.09	...	
Not applicable	...		...		1	9.09	1	50
Total manuscripts per period	20		16		11		2	

Note.—Percentages of manuscripts are calculated on each column.

Table B27. Matrix of Narrative Voice versus Design Period

Narrative voice	First Generation Baroque		Modified Baroque Revival		Transitional Folk		Era of Antiquarian Enterprise	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
First person	12	60	6	37.5	5	45.45	...	
Second person addressed by the reader (incl. imperative mood)	5	25	6	37.5	6	54.54	1	50
Second person addressed to the reader (incl. imperative mood)	13	65	11	68.75	6	54.54	...	
Third person and nonpersonal	12	32.21	9	15.82	6	54.54	...	
Not applicable	...		...		1	9	1	50
Total manuscripts per period	20		16		11		2	

Note.—Frequency figures reported in each column may exceed the total number of manuscripts per period. This is because many manuscripts featured text excerpts coded to different narrative voices. Refer to percentages for comparative ratios within and across design periods.

## Appendix C: Text Layout Examples

For an example of the block-arranged layout, see figure 27.

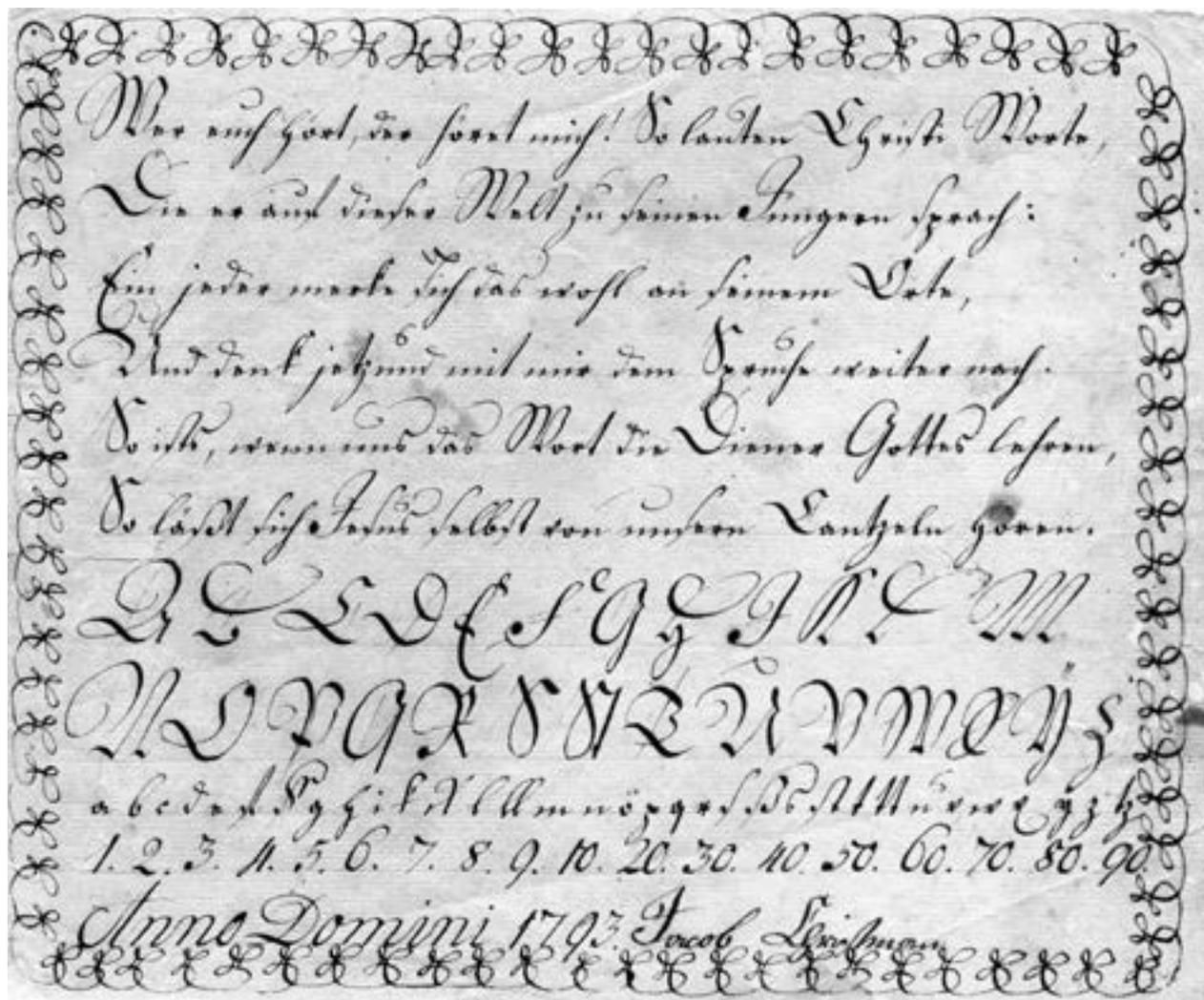


Fig. C1. Vorschrift by/for Jacob Christman, "So ists, wenn uns das Wort die Diener Gottes lehren, So läßt sich Jesus selbst von unseren Cantzeln hören" [So it is, if the servant of God instructs us in the Word, then we hear Jesus himself from our preachers; lines 5 and 6 on Vorschrift] showing free text, one script layout, 1793. (The date and signature line at the bottom of the Vorschrift features Graeco-Roman script, but the text content of the document is entirely in Currentschrift.) Ink on paper; H. 6%", W. 8". (Collection 320, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library.)



Fig. C2. Vorschrift for Catarina Niszle, "Christus Jesus gestern und heute, und derselbige, auch in Ewigkeit. Lasset euch nicht mit fremden Lehren umtreiben" [Jesus Christ yesterday and today, and the same also in eternity. Suffer not yourselves to be carried away by strange doctrines] showing free text, script variation layout, Lancaster County, PA, 1795. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 6 1/8", W. 7 1/8". (Museum purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle, Collection of Pastor Frederick S. Weiser, Winterthur.)



Fig. C3. Vorschrift for Magdalena Staufferin, "Mit einem zugeneigten gemüth, Wünsch ich euch Gottes gnad und gut" [With an inclination toward kindhearted feeling, I wish you all God's grace and goodness] showing circular centered layout, Lancaster County, PA, 1763. Ink and watercolors on paper; H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ "', W. 12 $\frac{5}{16}$ ". (Museum purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle, Collection of Pastor Frederick S. Weiser, Winterthur.)



Fig. C4. “Friede! ach Friede! Ach göttliche Friede, Vom Vater durch Christum im heiligen Geist!” (Peace! Oh Peace! Oh divine peace, from the Father through Christ in the Holy Spirit!) showing bifurcated layout with borders, southeastern PA, possibly Bucks or Montgomery County, 1814. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub>”, W. 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>”. (Bequest of Henry Francis du Pont, Winterthur.)