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Behaving like Print

On the Graphic and Performative Adaptation of Printed Letters
in Early Modern Handwriting

1 After the Revolution? The Early Modern Manuscript as an Understudied Medium

One of the metaphors repeatedly used to describe the transition from manuscript to print is that of revolution. Revolution is understood here not in the early modern Copernican sense of a turnaround, nor in the sense of a restoration of an original (better) state, but as a radical act that irretrievably alters the status quo. For example, Niklas Luhmann writes in his contribution to the problem of epoch formation, ‘Communication technologies have revolutionized the world at least twice: by inventing writing and by inventing printing’.¹ Michael Giesecke also uses the term ‘media revolution’ prominently and explains, ‘Forms of handwritten experience recording and transmission were certain losers in the competition. ‘Being able to read’ now means having a net connection to the new typographic data processing system.’² However, the medievalist Frieder Schanze contradicts this picture, as the concept of revolution on the one hand promotes the ‘idea of a short-term upheaval’ but at the same time postulates a ‘long-term structural change’.³ He argues that even if the letterpress spread rapidly in the second half of the 15th century, it is not possible to say with certainty whether the systemic changes can be attributed solely to the new medium of letterpress printing when looking at its long-term effects. His strongest argument against the concept of revolution, however, is as follows: ‘Revolution knows only a before and after in linear succession; the idea of duration is foreign to its nature. Accordingly, interest is directed toward the new, the old is faded out as the past, but the old of the new and the coexistence of the new and the old do not come into view.’⁴ The concept

1 In the German original: “Kommunikationstechniken haben die Welt mindestens zweimal revolutioniert: durch Erfindung der Schrift und durch Erfindung des Buchdrucks.” Luhmann 2005, 114. A further example of the prominent place of the concept of printing as a revolution is offered in Eisenstein 2005.

2 In the German original: “Formen der handschriftlichen Erfahrungsspeicherung und -weitergabe standen als Verlierer in dem Wettbewerb fest. ‘Lesen können’ meint nun, einen Netzanschluß an die neue typographische Datenverarbeitungsanlage zu besitzen.” Giesecke 1991, 66. Translation by the author.

3 Cf. Schanze 1999, 300.

4 In the German original: “Die Revolution kennt nur ein Vorher und Nachher in linearer Abfolge; die Vorstellung der Dauer ist ihr wesensfremd. Das Interesse richtet sich demgemäß auf das Neue, das Alte wird als Vergangenes ausgeblendet, das Alte aber des Neuen und das Miteinander des Neuen und Alten kommen nicht in den Blick.” (Schanze 1999, 301). Translation by the author. On the coexistence and exchange processes of manuscript and print in the 15th century, see also Schnell 2007.

of revolution thus promotes an image of the early modern period as a purely typographical age, which the extensive manuscript holdings in archives and libraries from the 16th and 17th centuries, however, prove to be incorrect.

The design of the Fraktur and Schwabacher printing types developed from the letterforms of medieval manuscripts, and for many of the early incunabula it is not possible to say with certainty at first glance whether they were created by a printing process or were handwritten.⁵ Consequently, for the early phase of printing, the manuscript becomes the pattern upon which a new medial design is based. This perspective will be reversed in the following: With a view to the tradition of the 17th and 18th centuries, it will be asked to what extent manuscripts, in their aesthetics and pragmatics, follow the printed type and the design of prints. The approach is not so much a media-historical one as a typographical and performative one. It is assumed that by the 17th century, handwriting and printing had diverged to such an extent that they may be regarded as two differentiated writing systems with different functions, reception situations, and design rules.⁶ Two clearly distinguishable systems form the prerequisite for being able to demonstrate an adaptation of features of printed types in handwriting. At the same time, this hypothesis contradicts Marshall McLuhan's radical thesis: "When print was new it stood as a challenge to the old world of manuscript culture. When the manuscript had faded and print was supreme, there was no more interplay or dialogue but there were many 'points of view'."⁷ The idea that manuscripts were insignificant following the introduction of printing has direct consequences for our research and cataloging behavior: While the system of printing, its production, and distribution network are present in contemporary scholarly discourse, manuscripts lead a niche existence in early modern literary studies. Christian Benne as well as Kai Sina and Carlos Spöerhase even go so far as to place the invention of the literary manuscript around the middle of the 18th century.⁸ With a view to the prehistory of the literary manuscript, Benne diagnoses that German literature is unsuitable for studying the first phase in the development of the modern literary field due to the harsh conditions stemming from the religious, political, and cultural late effects of the Thirty Years' War.⁹

⁵ Jürgen Wolf, for example, emphasizes that Gutenberg's main concern was 'to be able to produce a more beautiful handwriting mechanically'. Cf. Wolf 2011, 4.

⁶ An investigation based on texts of the 16th century would also have been conceivable, according to Wolf 2001, 5, who writes: 'Book printing and manuscripts exist side by side for almost half a century now. For decades, printed books differ little or not at all in their appearance, perception and horizon of use from the older or simultaneously produced manuscripts [...].' Translation by the author. On the transitional phase in the late 15th century, cf. also Lüfling 1981.

⁷ McLuhan 1962, 142.

⁸ Cf. Benne 2015; Sina/Spoerhase 2013 and 2017.

⁹ In the German original: "Die deutsche Literatur ist zum Studium der ersten Phase dieser Aufklärung [des modernen literarischen Feldes, JvdL] freilich denkbar ungeeignet, weil sie im 16. Jahrhundert [sic!] aufgrund der religiösen, politischen und kulturellen Spätfolgen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges wenig günstige Voraussetzungen bieten konnte." Benne 2015, 156. Translation by the author.

Compared to the following centuries, there are far fewer handwritten records of literary texts, though they do exist. But compared to manuscripts of the preceding and following centuries, they are currently much more difficult to find. Thanks to the extensive database projects *VD 16* and *VD 17*, printed works can now be easily researched.¹⁰ The *Handschriftenportal*, which aims to index all book manuscripts in German libraries, is the successor project to *Manuscripta Mediaevalia* and, in contrast to the latter, also includes modern textual evidence.¹¹ At present, however, only test records can be accessed here in a beta version.

Several factors can be identified as obstacles to the research and reception of early modern manuscripts beyond the dominant notion of an age of printing and the currently still incomplete indexing in research databases: Early modern cursive script demands a certain amount of practice from its readers, especially those accustomed to manuscripts from the Middle Ages or the period around 1800. In contrast to an illuminated medieval manuscript or the volatile strokes of a Hölderlin, it certainly also offers less aesthetic appeal. The Latinity, which dominated for a long time, is probably another hindrance, as is the non-standardized orthography. The fourth reason is probably found in the connection between handwriting and the author: Early modern authors do not enjoy the same prominence as their colleagues of the ‘Sattelzeit’. Many of the surviving manuscripts are copies without authorship or by authors from the third or fourth row of literary history. Finally, many of the surviving manuscripts are not literary texts in the strict sense of the word, but rather practical texts of varying cultural and scientific historical background. However, just because we do not read them does not mean that no (literary) manuscripts from the early modern period exist, as is the case in the extensive tradition of (school) plays, handwritten songbooks, or the examples cited below from the realm of emblematic or magical writing. As will be shown, these manuscripts deal with the medium of print and react to its aesthetic and performative specifications.

2 The Status of Handwriting in the Early Modern Period

In identifying criteria to analyze the points at which manuscripts behave like print, it is useful to look first at historical definitions. In the early modern period, there is a discourse on handwriting that will be examined in more detail before moving on to three case studies of handwriting that mimic print text, which will ultimately shed light on the relationship between handwriting and print.

The entry on the lemma “manuscript” in Zedler’s *Universal-Lexicon* describes the status of the manuscript in the early modern period in an exemplary manner:

¹⁰ Cf. *VD 16*; *VD 17*.

¹¹ Cf. *Handschriftenportal*.

'Manuscript, *Manuscripta*, *Manuscriptum*, *Manuscrit* a book written by hand. Before the development of printing, one could have no other books than those that were written. Nowadays, the old and well-preserved manuscripts of the old writers are held in high esteem, and it is sought to improve the erroneous or corrupted parts of the printed copies. The so-called word researchers (*Critici*) make a lot of effort with it and have made an art out of the way to recognize, to distinguish, to read, and to use them with benefit, and have composed the same in orderly rules [...]. Other manuscripts are such writings, written in ancient or more recent times, which have never been printed, and are kept as something secret in large libraries or archives of sovereigns. They often contain curious things that concern history and the state, but which it is not proper for anyone to know. The writings of learned men, whether written in formal treatises or still consisting of scattered excerpts and thoughts put down on paper, are, after their authors have acquired a name among the learned world, also highly respected, and especially after their deaths diligently sought out, sometimes also published under the title: *Opera Posthuma*, although there is often a lot included here that has little in common with the other works of the same author, and is rather harmful to his fame.'¹²

Whether the form of material presentation is relevant for the distinction between manuscript and print cannot be decided with certainty based on the *Universal-Lexicon*. With regard to materiality, a loose handwritten sheet is not considered a manuscript in this lemma; a fixed binding context seems to be constitutive. Zedler contradicts this in his lemma on *Schriften* ('Scripts'), which states: 'A writing, if it has merely flowed through the pen, is called a manuscript [...] but if it has been set in print and printed, it is called a book.'¹³ The invention of printing divides the history of transmission into a part of 'ancient writers', i. e., ancient authors whose texts have been passed down in the original Greek and Latin in manuscript alone but then found their way into the printing tradition, and those who developed their writings directly in the typo-

12 Cf. Zedler 1739, vol. 19, column 1142f. *Manuscript, Manuscripta, Manuscriptum, Manuscrit* ein mit der Hand geschriebenes Buch. Ehe die Druckerey aufkommen, konnte man keine andere Bücher haben, als die geschrieben waren. Nun<1143>mehr wird auf alte und wohl erhaltene Manuscripte von den alten Schrift-Stellern viel gehalten, vnd die fehlerhaften oder verderbten Orte der gedruckten Exemplarien daraus zu verbessern getrachtet. Die sogenannten Wort-Forscher (*Critici*) machen sich damit viel zu schaffen, und haben aus der Weise dieselben zu erkennen, zu unterscheiden, mit Nutzen zu lesen und zu gebrauchen, eine Kunst gemacht, und dieselbe in ordentliche Regeln verfasst [...]. Andere Manuscripte sind solche Schriften, so in alten oder neuern Zeiten geschrieben, aber niemals gedruckt worden, und als etwas geheimes in grossen Bibliotheken oder Fürstlichen Archiven verwahret werden. In denselben sind oft curiose Dinge enthalten, so die Historie und den Staat betreffen, die aber iedermann zu wissen nicht geziemet. Die Schriften gelehrter Männer, sie seyn in förmliche Abhandlungen gefasset, oder noch in zerstreuten Auszügen und zu Papier gebrachten Gedancken bestehend, werden, nachdem ihre Urheber bey der gelehrten Welt einen Namen erworben, auch hoch geachtet, und sonderlich nach ihrem Tode fleißig aufgesucht, zuweilen auch unter dem Titel: *Opera Posthuma* in Druck gegeben, wiewol hierunter oft viel mit durchläufft, so mit den übrigen Wercken desselben Verfassers wenig übereinkommt, und seinem Ruhme mehr nachtheilig ist. Translation by the author.

13 Cf. Zedler (1743), vol. 35, column 1188: *Eine Schrift*, sofern sie bloß durch die Feder geflossen, heisset ein Manuscript [...] sofern sie aber in Druckereyen gesetzt und abgedruckt worden, wird sie ein Buch genennt. Translation by the author.

graphical cosmos. Regarding the first group, the manuscripts serve an emancipating discipline of textual criticism as a basis for collations of an erroneous and variant textual tradition. Moreover, since the manuscripts, with their smaller radius of distribution, always seem to have something exclusive inherent to them, they are especially suited in the developing early modern state system to restrict state-relevant information to a small circle of readers.¹⁴ Finally, what Spoerhase and Sina describe with the term ‘Nachlassbewusstsein’ corresponds to the last point described in the lemma.¹⁵ They define this as the growing awareness of authors that not only their printed works but also their private literary estate could be of interest to a later readership. This awareness significantly changes the way authors dealt with their own manuscripts.

Zedler bases his entry on the seventh chapter of Daniel Morhof’s 1688 *Polyhistor sive De Notitia Auctorum Et Rerum Comentariorum*,¹⁶ which examines manuscripts as one of the collection areas of libraries. The chapter provides insight into the early modern handling and valuation of handwritten artifacts: Morhof lists the manuscript catalogues of various libraries that were being created or already existed at his time, including, for example, Peter Lambeck’s efforts to catalogue the holdings of the Vienna Library.¹⁷ Furthermore he commends publishers who had rendered outstanding services to the transfer of ancient manuscripts into print, including Aldus Manutius in Venice, the Giunta family of printers in Florence, and the Parisian printer Robert Estienne. Among the German printers, he singles out the Basel printers Johann Froben and Johannes Oporinus and the Heidelberg printer Hieronymus Commellius.¹⁸ Regarding the status of the manuscripts of contemporary or recently deceased authors, Morhof points out that as they are often not yet completed or finalized for printing, they do not always measure up to the other writings of the authors. Among the scholars who are worthy of having their writings edited posthumously, he names the Hamburg physician Martin Fogel and the history professor Johann Andreas Bose from Jena, since some of their research results were only available in manuscripts and therefore needed to be edited.¹⁹ As a further group of texts worthy of editorial exploration, he identifies correspondences. Thus, already in the early modern period, manuscripts were valued, both with regard to historical sources and to contemporaries, as a treasure that had to be editorially elevated and reproduced. In view of the rich manuscript tradition, however, editors were faced with a ‘Herculean task’²⁰ that would take not only years, but centuries.

¹⁴ Here, among other things, one could think of the clandestine literature and its significance for the early Enlightenment as described by Mulsow 2018.

¹⁵ See note 8.

¹⁶ Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 53–70.

¹⁷ Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 59f.

¹⁸ Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 61.

¹⁹ Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 62–64.

²⁰ Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 70.

Finally, the document written by the author's own hand may be considered a special case of the manuscript, which is valued differently in the 17th and early 18th centuries than in the subsequent period of the 'auratic autograph'. While in the second volume of the *Universal-Lexicon* the lemma "autograph" is only formed by the explanation 'the original of a writing',²¹ Zedler continues in the supplementary volume that an autograph is 'in general and actually that writing', 'which was written with the author's own hand' or 'which was heard by a scribe from the mouth of the author, and recorded under the same direction. What has been written by a scribe and reviewed by the author is as valid as what the author wrote with his own hand'.²² Thus, manuscripts are also authorized if the author dictated them and do not depend on the author's own handwriting of the written document.

A look at Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* as well as Morhof's remarks shows that there was an active early modern discourse on manuscripts, their transmission, and indexing and that the evaluation standards developed in this discourse differed in parts from those we use today.

3 Criteria for the Similarity of Handwriting to Print

In order to determine at which points manuscripts adopt characteristics of print culture, it is useful to first draw up a catalogue of specific characteristics for printed material. On the one hand, these concern macrotypographical characteristics, such as the overall design of the print, the choice of paper, the title page, the overall layout, the arrangement of characters on the surface, and the placement of illustrations. On the other hand, there are microtypographic features, which concern the shape of individual letters and their position in relation to each other. Unaffected by these design criteria are the divergent production conditions of prints and manuscripts.²³ While printing is a mechanized reproduction process, handwriting requires the work of a scribe for each copy, and each copy deviates in detail from the original and is thus unique. In addition, a distinction must be made between design rules that print originally adopted from manuscripts and those that were only developed in the era of print.²⁴

²¹ Cf. Zedler 1732, vol. 2, column 2268–2269.

²² Cf. Zedler 1751, suppl.-vol. 2, column 1051.

²³ Cf. Ernst 2005, 84f.

²⁴ On the characteristic book design of incunables see Goff 1981. Aditi Nafde has addressed the same topic with regard to the early phase of printing in the period before 1500 and was able to show, based on copies of printed books, that the aesthetics of incunables had an impact on the design of manuscripts. She identifies, in addition to a black and white aesthetic of drawings, the design of letters, the more regular use of catchwords and quire marks on each page, the introduction of running titles in capitals, and the introduction of title pages. Cf. Nafde 2020.

3.1 Microtypography

Otto Mazal explains in his contribution to *Palaeography and Palaeotypy in the 15th Century*, ‘The printers of the 15th century found a multitude of type forms. The general striving for faithful imitation of the manuscript originals meant that this variety was also reflected in the letterpress. It was only after a long period of time that the character of the modern book stabilized’.²⁵ As a basis for the design of incunabula types, he mentions the Textura, the Rotunda, and Bastard fonts, the Gotico-Antiqua and the humanist script (Antiqua).²⁶ The Fraktur typeface which was dominant in 17th century German texts developed in the middle of the 15th century as a calligraphically elaborated and stylized Bastarda, which served primarily as a document script and ornamental lettering. Gutenberg based the design of his printing types on this handwriting. While the Bastarda, which dominated in the 15th century, developed into the early modern running script (‘Kurrentschrift’) at the beginning of the 16th century, the printed script fixed this repertoire of characters, which was only used in manuscript for a short time.²⁷ Reverting to Fraktur letterforms in handwriting in the 17th century may therefore be regarded with certainty as a consequence of the print culture.

The arrangement of the individual letters in a line was determined in print, as well as in medieval manuscripts, by the design ideal of the justified typesetting. In order to bring each line to the same length, the typesetters had various means at their disposal: The spacing between words could be made narrower or wider, and abbreviations such as geminate strokes and variant orthography could be used to reduce or increase the number of letters within the line. For the typesetting of his 42-line Bible, Gutenberg also used an expanded repertoire of types that made it possible, among other things, to adjust the spacing between the individual letters by using narrower letterforms. The type repertoire was quickly reduced in the following decades, so that the typesetter often only had letters of the same width at his disposal. The uniform line management is ensured in printing by the constant height of the cones and letters. The letters do not follow an individual shaping but strive for the greatest possible uniformity through the casting process. This has consequences for the general appearance of a print, which creates a uniform impression when the typesetting is done perfectly.

Different types of printing types are available to the typesetter. While the main body in German-language texts was usually printed in Fraktur or Schwabacher, the Antiqua typeface, which developed during the Italian Renaissance around 1400 as part of the study of classical and humanist texts, was used primarily to reproduce foreign-language passages. Thus Antiqua, like Fraktur and Schwabacher, originates

²⁵ Cf. Mazal 1981, 65.

²⁶ Cf. Mazal 1981, 66. On the history of script in the 15th and 16th centuries see also the richly illustrated study by Steinmann 1995, 203–264.

²⁷ Cf. Schneider 2014, 80–81.

from the culture of handwriting. Antiqua's typography includes the comma, while Fraktur fonts use the virgule.

3.2 Macrotypography

The early modern printed page adopts elements of the medieval manuscript. Thus, in addition to the main text, which may be presented in one or two columns, there are marginalia, column titles, and custodes that ensure the correct page sequence during binding. Hans E. Braun points out that in the late Middle Ages, especially at universities, instruments were developed to make the knowledge handed down in manuscripts easier to receive: chapter divisions, structuring page divisions, word and subject indexes, verbal concordances, and special glossaries.²⁸ All these elements can already be found in medieval page design and can therefore not be used as criteria for our question.

Looking at the overall design of an early modern print, however, several features can be identified that represent an innovation of the typographic period. First of all, the elaborately designed title page, which in an era when books were often bound individually after purchase, not only served to classify the expected contents but also pursued advertising purposes that were reflected, for example, in elaborate decoration and rubrication. In addition to the title, these pages contain important information regarding communication within the *res publica literaria*, such as the author's name, often his profession, the place of printing and the print shop, as well as the year of printing. Another specific feature of the printing age was the increasing differentiation of paratexts in the course of the early modern period, which had a direct effect on the structuring of a book and thus on its design. Finally, with the further development of printing techniques, design using decorative borders and illustrations became more common than in texts of the manuscript culture, where images, especially ones covering entire pages, were costly and therefore rare.

Therefore, the following points may be considered as promising parameters for recognizing handwriting that is oriented towards a print aesthetic:

- 1) *Letterform*: The design of the letter follows the forms of Fraktur, Schwabacher, or Antiqua. It also strives for the greatest possible uniformity.
- 2) *Title pages*: If a manuscript in book form includes an elaborately designed title page, this probably borrows from communication structures of the printing age. The same holds true for
- 3) *Paratexts*: Although not strictly speaking part of the typographical design of a work, manuscripts that preface a text with extensive paratexts follow the communication logics of print.

²⁸ Cf. Braun 2006, 226–227.

- 4) *Illustrations*: Pictorial plates illustrating the text may also possibly be considered as characteristics of an imitation of the print, especially if the drawings were not additionally illuminated. The use of elaborately designed decorative elements may also indicate such an adaptation.

These criteria will be illustrated by individual examples in the following.

4 Filling the Gap—Handwriting in 17th Century Artifacts

The first two examples demonstrate, on the one hand, how attempts are made to imitate print work at the level of individual letters, but at the same time show that an aesthetic *imitatio* can only be achieved with great difficulty. Both show handwriting in the direct environment of the print, and specifically in situations where the handwriting has to take over the function of the print because the latter is deficient. The problem with the following examples is that it cannot be said with certainty when the handwritten additions were made; in the second case, it can even be said definitively that it occurred well beyond the period under study. Nevertheless, they constitute handwritten traces in 17th century prints that attempt to emulate the design elements of typography and are therefore relevant to the subject of the study.

The first example is the title page of the Göttingen copy of Martin Opitz's *Schäfferey Von der Nimfen Hercinie*, which was printed in 1630 in Brieg by Augustinus Gründern and published by David Müller in Breslau. The volume entered the library collection in 1744 and originally belonged to the Göttingen jurist Georg Christian Gebauer (1690–1773), whose book collection consisted mainly of Reformation and Baroque literature. How Gebauer acquired the volume cannot be determined.²⁹ The third line of the title and the first two lines of the printer and publisher information are damaged by an oval trim, which was filled by a strip of paper, also oval, pasted on the back of the leaf. The reason for this trim may have been a library stamp improperly applied to the title page. The paper strip is slightly lighter than the paper of the print and on the reverse side it bears the stamp of the Göttingen library. On the front, the letters missing due to the clipping have been added, with the scribe attempting to match the letter distribution as closely as possible to the print—though ultimately failing. Some of the letters are still partly preserved in printed form but must be supplemented by handwriting. In comparison with the undamaged title page of the Wolfenbüttel copy, it is noticeable that the letter ornaments of the capitals have been replaced by a very plain line work. However, the letters are not only more unadorned than the original but also appear clumsy in their execution. The letters do not have the same height, nor do they stand securely on the baseline. Moreover, the last two lines of the supplement

²⁹ I would like to thank Bärbel Mund of the Göttingen State and University Library for this information.

13.

zunehmen gezwungen / widerumb weiß
 zu machen? Solte sie wol vermeinen / sie
 werde die eingewurzelte Kunkeln ihrer
 Lasterhafften Stirn austilgen / und sie
 widerumb in den glatten Stand ihrer
 ersten Unschuld bringen / wann sie der-
 gestalt ihre Bubenstück und begangne
 Laster Berichts weiß daher erzehlet von
 ihrem Herzen zu raumen? solte wol die-
 se alte Bettel jetzt da sie alle beyde Fü-
 ße bereits im Grab hat, wann sie anders
 würdig ist eines Grabs theilhaftig zu
 werden, diese Alte, (werdet ihr sagen,)
 die sich ihr Lebtag in aller hand Schand
 und Laster n umbgeweltzt, und mit meh-
 rern Missethaten als fasten, mit meh-
 rern bösen stücken als Monaten, mit
 mehrern Diebsgriffen als Wochen, mit
 mehrern Tod-Sünden als Tagen / und
 mit mehrern gemeinen Sünden als
 Stunden beladen; die / deren / so alt sie
 auch ist / noch niemals keine Bekehrung
 in Sinn kommen / sich unterstehen mit
 Gott zu versöhnen? Vermeinet sie wol
 anjeko noch zurecht zu kommen / da sie
 A vii allbe-

Fig. 1: Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, *Trutz Simplex* [...], Nürnberg 1670 (UB Tübingen, Dk XI 461 h), 13.

show how difficult it was to calculate with certainty the space a word should occupy in the handwriting. While individual words try to take up more space by using larger spacing or wider letters, elsewhere the characters crowd closely together.

Even more questionable in its execution and clearly more recent in date is the second example: the Tübingen copy of the ‘Simplician’ novel *Trutz Simplex. Oder Ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebensbeschreibung Der Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche* by Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen. The copperplate engraving that precedes the title page and depicts Courasche as a figure riding behind a soldier is missing from the Tübingen copy, which suggests that the damage and repairs described below were the result of improper handling of the volume. The title page shows restored crack marks, which were probably supplemented with high-quality rag paper in the early 19th century; in one case, a letter—the H of “hair powder”—was added to the verso page, as were the last letters of the second-to-last verse. For further repairs inside the book, simple wood rag paper was used on pages 12–16, similar to that used in school notebooks of the 1950s and 1960s.³⁰ Thus, the corrections described below probably date from the 20th century and are not an example of 17th century manuscripts but are also included in this study because they involve handwriting in a 17th century artifact. The chapter outline that follows on the next page shows further handwritten traces: A comparison with the undamaged Munich copy shows that the letter form is not quite matched in the additions, individual words are barely decipherable, as well as that an entire line (*Das I. Capitel*) is lost in the addition.

The most extensive addition is found on pages 13 and 14, where several lines have been replaced by a pasted white paper strip (cf. Fig. 1). In order to keep to the line layout, baselines were drawn in pencil after the paper strip was glued in place, but the space calculation was unsuccessful insofar as the last line had to be squeezed into the remaining free space. The distribution of words on the individual lines and the spelling both correspond to the composition in print, which is why it can be assumed that either the missing lines were still present at the time of copying or that another copy served as a model. The form of the letters is similar to that of Fraktur, but the scribe is obviously untrained in this style. The fact that he uses a comma instead of a virgule also indicates that the repair of the print was carried out very late.

The two examples are accidental finds, but they show the design challenges faced by a scribe—regardless of the century—who wants to adapt his handwriting to the print aesthetic. Not only the letter form and line management but above all the distribution of white space becomes a challenge here in achieving an even justification.

³⁰ I would like to thank Ulrike Mehringer from the Department of Manuscripts and Historical Prints at the University Library of Tübingen for the information on this copy.

5 Title Pages, Paratexts, and Illustrations

Another example of the adoption of paratextual elements from print culture into early modern manuscripts is a manuscript that can already be considered well researched due to its artistry on the one hand and the comparatively high profile of its author on the other: the emblem book of Jacob Balde. Emblems and emblem books emerged in succession to Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg 1531) since the second half of the 16th century and are a popular typographic genre that requires the work of an engraver for the *pictura* in addition to the text in the *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*.³¹ The establishment of the emblem as a pan-European genre is based on the technologies of printing, even though the conception of emblems relies on handwriting.³² Admittedly, this is not a peculiarity of emblem books: Authors did not dictate their texts directly to typesetters but used manuscripts as an intermediate medium. Consequently, the manuscript is the prerequisite for the creation of prints, but these manuscripts are designed specifically for the medium of printing. Unlike other emblem books, which exist in print alone or, in rare cases, in both the handwritten draft version and printed form, Balde's manuscript was not printed. The book was written in 1628 as part of the poetry class taught by Balde at the Jesuit College in Munich: It is therefore the work of students accompanied by their teacher.³³ Claudia Wiener refers as a comparable work to the *Typus Mundi* published in 1627 by Jan Cnobbaert in Antwerp, which was produced by the Jesuit-trained rhetoric class but then put into print and given as a gift to the students for their graduation.³⁴ Consequently, a transfer to print would have been conceivable for Balde's work as well.

The manuscript, which is today in a larger binding context with other writings by Balde, is introduced by a preface to the reader, preceded by a dedication to Jesus Christ. This is designed in a funnel shape, as was common in typographic title design of the period, with the first line in capitals and the following lines mimicking the form of Antiqua type. The dedication concludes with the place of authorship and a date that is reminiscent of dating in prints due to the size of the letters of the prominently placed year. The place and year have been subsequently changed by shaving, with the *Monachii* or *Monacenses* for Munich that was presumably originally there replaced by *Oeniponti* (Innsbruck). The reason for this is probably a reuse of the manuscript by the Innsbruck poetry class in 1675, which inscribed itself in this form in the manuscript.³⁵

The title page is surrounded by an elaborately designed frame consisting of two arches and two arrows, foreshadowing the love of the world and love of God treated in the emblems. The following recto page, in the form of an ink drawing, assumes the function of a title copperplate and shows King Solomon holding a steed, eagle, fish,

³¹ On the form and history of emblem books, cf. still fundamental Schöne 1993 [1964].

³² On the relationship between handwriting and printing in emblem books, see Schilling 2002.

³³ On the genesis of the volume see Wiener 2013, 67–72.

³⁴ Wiener 2013, 73–77.

³⁵ Wiener 2013, 80.

and lion in a quadriga on reins. The architectural framing of the figures, which at the same time serves as the basis for an emblematic inscription, is another parallel to contemporary title plates.

The individual emblem pages are uniformly structured. The *pictura* was designed by the same artist, probably Balde, while the texts were written by different hands, probably by the approximately 60 students of the poetry class. The *subscriptio* is florally framed, and this frame is probably created by the same hand as well. While the *inscriptio* follows the letter form of Antiqua, the *subscriptio* is in cursive, which also follows the form of printed letters.

The comparison with contemporary emblem books shows a formal proximity to Balde's manuscript. Wiener recognizes a similarity between the title page and Michiel Snyder's *Amores divini et humani effectus varii*, published in 1626, which also includes stylized arrows and bows in the framing of the title (but also other weapons, drums and, in the lower page area, a dog and lamb as symbols for the love of the world and God).³⁶ However, a direct printed model for the page design of the single emblems could not be determined.

The emblem book must be evaluated in its educational context. The prerequisite for the design of texts and images is not only the mastery of the Latin language and the ability to use it creatively in poetic form but also knowledge of genre and knowledge of formal design, which is reflected both in the overall layout of the work of art and in the design of the respective pages. This knowledge is based on a typographical tradition, but in this case was not transferred into it, remaining instead a unique handwritten work.

6 Manuscripts Claiming to Have Been Printed

While Balde's emblem book is only oriented to print culture in its design, there are manuscripts that go one step further in imitation of the print. From the late 17th century onward, manuscripts with magical content emerged for the clandestine book market.³⁷ A subgroup here are texts that claim to originate from the pen of Johann Faust and teach how to summon demons and make them subservient. However, this is not the only claim they make: On the title pages there is also a note about when and where the text was printed. *D. J. Fausti practicirter Geister Zwang*, a manuscript from the Leipzig university library declares on the title page *Gedruckt zu Passau 1603*; *Dr. Faustens sogenannter schwartzer Mohren-Stern*, also from Leipzig, gives "London 1510" as the place and year of printing; and the *Miracul und Wunder Buch aus D. Fausts Schrifften genandt der Höllen Zwang* is particularly precise and writes: *Gedruckt zu*

³⁶ Cf. Wiener 2013, 77, 79.

³⁷ Cf. Bellingrad/Otto 2017.

*Lion d. 14. April 1507.*³⁸ All of these texts are manuscripts for which no printed originals can be identified. The so-called *Höllenzwänge* are thus texts that performatively participate in the logics of printed works. One person who dealt more intensively with the *Höllenzwänge* is none other than Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In a letter to Carl Friedrich Zelter dated November 20, 1829, he wrote:

‘In order to illustrate the high dignity of Mephistopheles, an excerpt from a passage of Faust’s Höllenzwang is available. This most peculiar work of reasoned nonsense is said to have been printed in Passau in 1612, after having been circulated in copies for a long time. Neither I nor my friends have seen such an original, but we possess a most pure complete copy, according to the hand and other circumstances from about the last half of the 17th century.’³⁹

Goethe is thus well aware of the manuscript nature of the texts but assumes that older printings must have existed that were copied later.

While Goethe assumed a printed copy of the texts, no such copy is to be found. The texts do not present themselves as copies, and the medium of the manuscript remains deliberately unmentioned; instead, the texts resemble early modern prints in their further structure and have, for example, a preface to the reader and a division into chapters or individual books. Only in a few cases is this logic broken. The title page of *D. Johann Fausten Gauckel Tasch* from the Leipzig Magica collection ends: [*Gedruckt im Jahr Anno 1624*] (cf. Fig. 2). For this text, which was supposedly published by the pupil of Faust’s famulus Wagner, a print actually exists under the same title, which was first published in 1608 by the printer of the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, Johann Spieß. A second edition followed in 1621, while an edition from 1624 could not be found. The printed text and the manuscript are identical in structure and wording, but the manuscript points with some certainty to a date of origin in the last decades of the 17th or early 18th century—it is therefore a copy in the true sense.

One can only speculate about reasons for staging the manuscript as a print or a copy of one. Most of the supposed print dates place the time of origin of the texts to the early 16th century, that is, to the time of the historical Faust; the date is consequently a postulate of authenticity. The claim to be printed (or to have been printed acknowledging that it is potentially a copy) is likely to serve a similar function. Printed knowledge is allowed to claim a different status for itself than that which has been handed down in manuscript alone: It has passed a first stage of canonization, which in the context of magical manuscripts may mean that its effectiveness has been proven.

³⁸ An overview of the exemplars of *Höllenzwänge* is offered by Henning 1966, 430–436.

³⁹ Cf. WA, 4. Abt., vol. 46, S. 159. *Um die hohe Würde des Mephistopheles anschaulich zu machen liegt ein Auszug abschriftlich bey einer Stelle von Fausts Höllenzwang. Dieses höchst merkwürdige Werk des räsonnirtesten Unsinnns soll, nachdem es lange in Abschriften umhergelaufen, Passau 1612 gedruckt worden seyn. Weder ich noch meine Freunde haben ein solches Original gesehen, aber wir besitzen eine höchst reinliche vollständige Abschrift, der Hand und übrigen Umständen nach etwa aus der letzten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Translation by the author.

That Faust could have written this tasteless work, in which the art of citing spirits is taught, is not improbable [...].

Several respectable libraries have the reputation of keeping the original of *Faust's Höllenzwang* as a rare treasure. [...] Now the book is not so rare, but creeps only in the darkness in the most secret circles of magicians, who hardly show it to their trusted friends, least of all to the profane. Certain people, who are less reserved, and who are proliferating with secrets, are doing a very lucrative trade with this work. They make several copies and sell them to wealthy owners of large libraries, especially to the Austrian, Bavarian, and Swabian monasteries. The usual purchase price is 200 Thaler; however, if the seller is a reasonable man, it can also be obtained for 150, or even 100 Thaler.⁴⁰

Consequently, the demand for such scripts was high, and creating them was a lucrative business. While in the previous example it was the handwritten unicum that made up the value of the emblem book, here it is the reference to a supposed print tradition that drives up the price.

7 Conclusion

With the establishment of letterpress printing, manuscript culture did not simply break off. Additionally, there were not two separately existing systems lacking exchange with each other. While printing technology was strongly influenced by aesthetic notions of manuscripts, numerous examples of texts can be found in the 17th and 18th centuries whose facture is based on the design parameters of printing. These case studies should be seen as exploratory examples that could certainly be expanded upon. The indicators of such an adoption of print aesthetics into handwriting developed in the article could also be further explored if the scope of the texts studied were to be broadened. For example, fair copies and printer's copies, which served as a basis for the typesetter's work, are not discussed in the present article. However, these are the ones that, due to their intended use, must be oriented to the rules of printing to a particular degree.

⁴⁰ Cf. Köhler 1791, 158–160. Translation by the author. In the German original: *Von Faust soll auch noch ein Denkmal der höchsten magischen Weisheit vorhanden seyn. Er gab, wie die Legendenschreiber sagen, seinem Famulus den Auftrag, die Geschichte seines Lebens zu entwerfen, und die hinterlassenen magischen Aufsätze in eine Sammlung zu bringen. Dieser soll nun, außer drei Prophezeiungen von zukünftigen Begebenheiten, ein System der höheren Magie gefunden, und unter dem Titel: Fausts Höllen- und Geisterzwang, der Nachwelt aufbewahrt haben./ Daß Faust dieses abgeschmackte Werk, worin die Kunst, Geister zu citiren, gelehrt wird, geschrieben haben kann, ist nicht unglaublich [...]/ Mehrere ansehnliche Bibliotheken stehen in dem Ruf, daß sie das Original des Faustischen Höllenzwangs als einen seltenen Schatz aufbewahren. [...] Jetzt ist das Buch so selten nicht, schleicht aber nur im Finstern in den geheimsten Zirkeln der Magier, die es kaum ihren vertrauten Freunden, am wenigsten den Profanen zeigen. Gewisse Leute, die weniger zurückhaltend sind, und mit Geheimnissen wuchern, treiben einen sehr einträglichen Handel mit diesem Werke. Sie fertigen mehrere Abschriften, und verkaufen sie an vermögende Besitzer großer Bibliotheken, besonders an die österreichischen, bayerischen und schwäbischen Klöster. Der gewöhnliche Kaufpreis ist 200 Thaler; man kann es aber auch, wenn der Verkäufer ein billiger Mann ist, für 150, auch wohl für 100 Thaler erhandeln.*

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bavarian State Library)
SUB	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (State and University Library)
UB	Universitätsbibliothek (University Library)

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Figure Credits

Fig. 1: Grimmelshausen, Hans Jakob Christoffel von, *Trutz Simplex: Oder Ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebensbeschreibung Der Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche*, Utopie [i. e. Nürnberg]: Stratiot [i. e. Felsecker] 1670, p. 13. UB Tübingen, Dk XI 461 h (urn:nbn:de:bsz:21-dt-29701, Public Domain).

Fig. 2: *D. Johann Fausten Gauckel Tasch von allerley unerhörten verborgenen, lustigen Kunststücken, Geheimnüssen und Erfindungen etc. Jetzo erstlich aus seinem D. Fausten mit eigener Hand geschriebenen Original, allen Künstlern zu sonderlichen gefallen an Tag gegeben durch M. Johannes de Luna, Christoph Wagners gewesenen Discipel und den magischen Künsten wohl erfahren.* front page, UB Leipzig, Cod. mag. 62 (https://histbest.ub.uni-leipzig.de/rsc/viewer/UBLHistBestCBU_derivate_00000104/cod_mag_62_003.jpg, CC BY-NC 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/deed.de>).

