The young Garamont: roman types made in Paris from 1530 to 1540

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None.

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This paper investigates the early career of Claude Garamont as a designer of the new form of roman type which appeared in Paris during the 1530s and which came to dominate Western typography for the following two centuries. The materials for the enquiry are, principally, the 3,500 or so books printed and published in Paris in the 1530s. The paper first discusses the available sources, the actors on the scene, such as Colines, Constantin, Augereau, Gryphius and Garamont, the role of Paris as a centre of type design, and the methods used in this inquiry. It attempts to account for the origins of the Paris types, attributing half of them to named punchcutters. It highlights especially the young Garamont's work – starting in the mid 1530s – and corrects some earlier misattributions. It identifies the anonymous 'Estienne Master' as Maitre Constantin. In the second part of this paper the typefaces are described in order of size and date. Two summary tables, arranged respectively by date and punchcutter, conclude the study.

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1. Also known as Renaissance romans or Garaldes.
2. Beaujon, 1926, 135; Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 106; Carter, 1969, 79–86; Barker, 1974. Full citations are given in the list of references at the end of this article.
3. Mosley, 2006.
4. Vervliet, 2000a.
5. Brooker, 1997, 60.

Old-face roman printing types[1] were introduced in Paris about 1530, where they rapidly met success. It is accepted that this form of type design persisted over the following centuries, that it spread all over Europe, and that it withered away in the eighteenth century but was revived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The design derived from a fount based on the best of late fifteenth-century humanist lettering, and originating at the end of the 1490s at the press of Italy's foremost learned printer, Aldus Manutius Pius. Between 1530 and 1560, Paris punchcutters enhanced this roman letter design with a comprehensive range of sizes of outstanding quality. These Parisian typefaces helped forge modern type design. From the second half of sixteenth century onwards, the earliest independent large-scale typefoundries commercialized them, ensuring their permanence and global expansion.

The name of Claude Garamont (d. 1561) is firmly attached to France's ascent to leadership in type design in the sixteenth-century. While this is certainly correct for the master's later romans, one may question whether he was involved from the very beginning of this typographic revolution, which in Paris has been be traced back to the press of Robert I Estienne in the autumn of 1530.[2] Garamont's mythic status has led to the misattribution to him of many later founts.[3] A critical appraisal of his beginnings is therefore needed. This paper attempts to do that and to define more exactly Garamont's role as a type designer in this crucial period before 1540, the year he was contracted to cut the famous royal Greeks.[4] As no contemporary documents are known which would shed some light on the question, the major source of this enquiry will be the 3,500 or so books printed in Paris between 1530 and 1540.

Unlike later times, punchcutters were not then a scarce resource. In Paris, at least, there were many of them. No doubt the interest of Francis I in the new learning movement, and in the related fields of bibliophily and typography, was important.[5] For the period under consideration here, and as far as punchcutting is concerned, one may refer to the Estienne Master (as yet anonymous), Colines, Augereau, Gryphius, Garamont, Picard and a number of unknown cutters, some excellent, others less than remarkable. At the end of the decade, the plethora caused some of these craftsmen to emigrate. That was the case for Michel Du Boys, Calvin's typographer in Geneva, or François Guyot, who went to work for Christopher Plantin and John Day, in Antwerp and London, respectively. Presumably it was also one of the reasons for Garamont's short-lived excursion into the publishing

field in 1545 and the travels of Jean Picard, Guillaume I Le Bé and Robert Granjon around Europe.

The following study lists forty-seven roman typefaces made in Paris between 1530 and 1540. It does not cover the Paris founts belonging to a previous period though still used in the 1530s[6] nor the rare typefaces imported from abroad. Thirteen typefaces, mainly by Colines or the Estienne Master, were described recently[7] and are reproduced here, albeit with somewhat abridged descriptions. While most information on the Colines, Estienne and Augereau types has been published earlier and is only summarized here, the present paper attempts to describe more precisely the origins of the types, attributing half of them to named punchcutters. It highlights the role of Francis Gryphius as a provider of types, and the production of the young Garamont. I propose to identify the Estienne Master as Maitre Constantin.

Sources

The sources for this enquiry are twofold. First, the books printed in the period, some 3,500 titles, listed in Moreau's *Inventaire chronologique*, volumes 4 (1992) and 5 (2004). By inspecting – non-selectively and without preconceived assumptions – as many of them as feasible and thereby trying to distinguish new or unusual typefaces, some hypotheses can be ventured. First occurrences are, if properly grounded, facts; and facts deserve respect. I am aware that this method implies an argument *a silentio* and therefore should be used with some restraint. But as there are no contemporary archival documents available, the evidence gathered from the books, however circumstantial, may be included.

Second, the archival sources. Contemporary records about the making and trading of types abound from the period from 1540 onwards, after the major reorganization of judicial and notarial procedures by the royal edict of Villers-Cotterets (30 August 1539).[8] For Garamont alone, they amount to more than forty, all dating between 1540 and 1564. However, for the period before 1540 notarial or parochial acts bearing on printing are much rarer and the scarce ones (as far as they are known to me) are not relevant for the subject of this paper.

Two later documents mention the making of types in the period considered here. The first was written by Guillaume Postel (1510–81), an excellent but somewhat eccentric Orientalist.[9] Upon his return from his first journey to the East and Venice, he published in 1538 a *Linguarum duodecim characteribus … alphabetum*[10] which contained short introductions to and alphabets of Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic (called *Indica*), Greek, Georgian, Serbian, Albanian (*Illyrica*), Armenian and Latin. All alphabets were woodcut except for the Hebrew, Greek and Latin (7)[11] ones. For his next publication, the *c*. 1538 *Grammatica Arabica*,[12] he had a (nondescript) Arabic cut, the first to be engraved north of the Alps. Both of Postel's works became standard introductions for contemporary students of Oriental languages. His work was valued at court: in 1539 he was appointed royal lecturer in mathematics and 'peregrine' languages. About 1543 he left Paris anew for a wandering life around the East

6. Vervliet, 2005a.
7. Vervliet, 2003a; 2004.
8. Moreau, 5: no. 1333.
9. Menager, 1997.
10. Moreau, 5: no. 1037.
11. Bold numbers within parentheses refer to type descriptions beginning on p. 20 below.
12. Moreau, 5: no. 1036. The date is questionable.

and Europe, returning to Paris for a short stop in 1542/3 and for good in 1562. His mysticism and ecumenism (he found some truths in the Koran and Kabbala) made him suspect to both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. For many years he was jailed in Venice, Rome and Lyons. Upon his return to Paris in 1562, he was declared insane and for the later part of his life was kept secluded in a cloister. In the 1560s he wrote an hagiography of King Francis I.[13] A passage (f. 45) dwells on Robert I Estienne, the *Grecs du Roy* and the roles of Garamont and the calligrapher Angelus Cres (Vergikios). He also mentions Estienne's Hebrew ('as good as Bomberg's') and the Estienne romans which he attributes to Garamont (see the account of Garamont below).

A later but more explicit source is a Memorandum, usually attributed to Guillaume II Le Bé, typefounder in Paris (d. 1645). The manuscript, written in a mid seventeenth-century hand, is preserved in a private collection but has been edited, translated and commented on by Harry Carter (1967). The manuscript, which lacks a title and colophon, contains a dozen short biographies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Parisian typographers. It has two parts, readily distinguishable by their handwriting. The second part starts with notices of Jacques I de Sanlecque, Jean Jannon, Antoine Augereau, and Nicolas Du Chemin, the first two living in the seventeenth century, the others in the sixteenth. The writer of this part is thought to be Jean-Pierre Fournier *l'ainé* (1706–83), the less well-known elder brother of Pierre-Simon Fournier *le jeune*. He succeeded his father, Jean-Claude Fournier, as director of the Le Bé typefoundry in the early eighteenth century and bought the foundry in 1730.[14] This second part of the document, being based on an earlier manuscript of the typefounder Pierre Cot (d. 1708),[15] has no particular value for the present paper.

The Memorandum's first part is of greater interest. It begins with a short introduction mentioning the roles of Gutenberg and Aldus, then sketches the activities of Simon de Colines, Henry I and Robert I Estienne, Garamont, Haultin, Granjon, Guillaume I Le Bé, and Jean Le Sueur, a typefounder whose death is placed in 1595. Briefly it mentions the names of the punchcutters Maitre Constantin (unidentified up to now), Augereau and Jean Arnoul *dit* Picard.

As to the date and author of this first part, two indications are found: first, where the paragraph on Colines notes that his italics were in use 'in Paris even now, in 1643' and second, when Guillaume I Le Bé is described as 'mon père'.[16] This has been interpreted as pointing to Guillaume II Le Bé (*c.* 1565–1645) as its author, but as Guillaume's younger brother André (d. 1650), likewise a professional punchcutter and writing-master, was still living, this interpretation is possible though not obligatory. It may be sufficient here simply to admit that the author was an informed typographer and had a direct connection with Guillaume I Le Bé, who, in 1551, had worked at Garamont's premises and, after the latter's death in 1561, had made the inventory of his estate and purchased some of his punches and matrices.

How far can one trust a report written over a century after the events it describes? Let us accept that its author was Guillaume II Le Bé, the eldest and most prominent of Le Bé's three children. Let us also accept that, being in his seventies and coming to the end of his active life, he

13. London, British Library, MS. Sloane 1413; Secret, 1958; Postel, 1989.

14. Audin, 1933, 8; Fournier, 1995, 3: *43–4.

15. Guérin, 1999, 53–4.

16. Carter, 1967, 28 and 21.

intended to leave to posterity an account of professional history. Apart from what he remembered from the conversations with his father (who had died nearly half a century earlier, in 1598), he had access to some documents of great reliability. Some of them, such as the letters of recommendation in favour of Guillaume I Le Bé that Robert I Estienne addressed to Garamont in 1550, were discarded by Guillaume II Le Bé[17] but two others have been preserved and published.

The first is a scrapbook compiled by Guillaume I Le Bé containing autographic annotations, smoke proofs and printed type specimens broadly arranged in chronological order.[18] The date of the specimens varies: the earliest displays a type dating from the very end of the fifteenth century (a Soncino Hebrew), the latest is dated 1592. The handwritten annotations, ostensibly written at different times, occasionally mention contemporary events, the latest of which is the siege of Paris by Henry IV in 1591. Clearly the scrapbook was finalized between 1592 and 1598, year of the author's death. It was, no doubt, preserved in the archives of the Le Bé foundry as it is cited by P.-S. Fournier *le jeune*,[19] while his elder brother hinted that it was taken away from him 'by someone he trusted'.[20]

It is difficult to overestimate the value of this document. Relating concrete facts without detours and hypotheses, it is a prime and trustworthy source for any historian of sixteenth-century Parisian typography. Omont (1887) published its texts with fragments of some, though not all, of the specimens. An updated and complete edition would benefit scholarship. Alas, concerning Garamont's youth or early career, the scrapbook is silent.

The other source for the 1643 Memorandum is an Inventory of the Le Bé typefoundry, most probably written by the author of the Memorandum, as it describes the typefaces of Guillaume I Le Bé as being cut by 'mon père'. The Inventory mentions some hundred and fifty sets of matrices and punches owned by the typefoundry at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It reports the body size of the sets as well as the numbers of pieces. It mentions the name of their engraver – or, if unknown, their regular user – though these indications must be considered as the personal opinion of the younger Le Bé. In any event, they were not repeated by Philippe Cottin when, after Guillaume III Le Bé's death in 1685, he drew up a second account of the typefoundry.[21]

The compilation of the Inventory has been dated variously to 1598 (the year of Guillaume I Le Bé's death), to 1608 (the year affixed to the entry of a music type[22]) and to 1618 (the year of acquisition of the Du Chemin heritage[23]). It was probably drawn up in 1598 at Guillaume I's death (the 1599 Arabic of the younger Le Bé is missing) and updated in the following years. The original of this Inventory is not preserved though Jean-Pierre Fournier *l'aîné* (1706–83), the author of the second part of the Memorandum described above, says it was in his hands.[24] Judging from Fournier's citations it seems that it was annotated by Guillaume II Le Bé. However, there exists a copy or synopsis (dated 1730 and without Le Bé's notes) in the hand of the elder Fournier, that was published by Morison.[25] It mentions one type by Augereau, three by Colines and twenty-seven sets of matrices or punches of a dozen Garamont types.

17. Carter, 1967, 33.
18. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Res. X 1665; ms. NAF 4528.
19. Fournier, 1756, 74.
20. Fournier, 1757, 91.
21. Paris, Archives nation., MC 70: 182.
22. Morison, 1957, 25.
23. Carter, 1967, 11, n. 6.
24. Fournier, 1756a, 123.
25. Morison, 1957.

The punchcutters

*Simon de Colines, the renowned (*c.*1490–1546)*

Colines is, with Garamont, the best-known of the punchcutters reviewed here. He started working about 1518 and his main production falls before the start date of this article. For his Romans, he was, as a designer, influenced mainly by the Venetian style of the fifteenth-century Jenson romans. In the 1530s he hesitantly adapted some of his types to the new Aldine trend. Colines's life and works have received ample attention. The reader may be referred to Renouard (1894), Amert (1991), Veyrin-Forrer (1995), Schreiber (1995) and Vervliet (2003a).

*'Maitre Constantin', the mysterious 'Estienne master' (*c.*1500–*c.*1533)*

A paragraph in the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum cites, next to Augereau and Simon de Colines, a 'maitre Constantin' as one of the initiators of the new style in Paris.[26] The context implies that Le Bé considered Constantin as a contemporary of Colines and Augereau and thought him famous enough for an explicit reference.

Up to now type historians have tried in vain to pin down his production. A survey of Paris type making from the early sixteenth century to the 1540s yields no indication whatsoever of a gifted punchcutter active in Paris in the 1520s, beside Colines. Moreover, the thesis of this paper – that Garamont did not start before the mid-1530s – allows us to speculate that no one other than Maitre Constantin can have been the punchcutter of five splendid Aldine Romans (**1**, **9**, **21**, **31**, **44**) that appeared at Estienne's press from 1530 to 1533.

I hypothesize the following. First, that the new talent so suddenly arising in 1530 was Constantin. Second, that as a young craftsman, he was recruited by Robert I Estienne about 1528 or 1529, in the wake of the latter's propensity for religious, intellectual and aesthetic innovation. Third, that he died prematurely some five years later. An early disappearance of Constantin might explain the mediocrity of the later Estienne romans[27] and the fact that in 1536 Estienne was not able to procure a decent capital Z to be added to Constantin's Two-line Double Pica in the title-line of Du Baif's *Annotationes*. If these hypotheses prove right, Constantin left no literary record of his excellence other than that single phrase in Le Bé's Memorandum. That he is not mentioned in the *c.* 1618 Le Bé Inventory does not weaken our thesis: Le Bé never owned any Estienne types.

It is assumed that the model lying before Estienne's punchcutter was a Great Primer roman in an Aldus book of 1495, the *De Aetna* of Pietro Bembo.[28] In a few years Constantin rendered its design in five sizes from Two-line Double Pica to Nonpareil. He made it into the first roman in typographic history designed and cut as a coherent type family.

It may appear iconoclastic to shift the paternity of those paramount Estienne romans from Garamont to Constantin and to imply that the latter was more a perfecter than an innovator. However, one should be aware that Renaissance aesthetics emphasized excellence over individuality and fully approved of skilful or superior imitations.

26. Carter, 1967, 15.
27. Vervliet, 2004, 133–5.
28. Johnson, 1959, 41; Barker, 1974, 11.

Antoine Augereau, the teacher of Garamont (c.1500–34)

The name of Antonius Augerellus first occurs in March 1532 in an *Opera Aristotelis Latina*, published by Jean Petit. Its colophon names André Bocard and Augereau as its printers. Augereau is described as Bocard's 'gener', a Latin term meaning either brother-in-law or son-in-law. The Aristoteles was Bocard's last publication and the colophon was probably intended to publicize the succession. However, as one of its types occur in three Bocard impressions of 1531,[29] it seems likely that Augereau had mastered punchcutting about 1530. That also explains why he imitated the new fashion of the lighter romans introduced by Estienne in the autumn of 1530, rather than the earlier, darker romans of Colines. The known activity of Augereau lies between 1531 (the year of the earliest occurrence of his Pica roman) and Christmas Eve 1534 (the day that he was strangled and burned at the stake for heresy). Some forty titles, all published in the years 1532–4 is the known output of his press.[30]

Carter[31] and Renouard[32] date his birth to *c*.1485, but that seems too early. Augereau was, I suggest, the son-in-law of André Bocard (*fl*.1491–1532), rather than his brother-in-law as suggested by Renouard[33] and Veyrin-Forrer.[34] At his trial Augereau was described as a 'clerc',[35] but that does not preclude marriage, if he took only the minor orders, or the competence of the civil judge in such cases.[36] He was reportedly introduced to the book trade by Pierre d'Angicourt, his mother's brother and a relative of the Bouchets and Marnefs of Poitiers. Angicourt was a publisher in Fontenay-le-Comte (Vendée) from 1515 to *c*.1550[37] and that too suggests a birth date of Augereau of later than 1485.

How, where and when Augereau learned the craft of punchcutting is matter for conjecture. Apart from the passage quoted above in the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum, the 1563 Plantin and *c*.1618 Le Bé Inventories ascribe two romans to him, an English and a Pica. On this basis and on occurrences of new typefaces in his own printing, one may attribute three romans (**11, 25, 29**) and one Greek[38] to him.

Augereau never used a typeface attributable to Garamont. But there are some indications that he had connections with Colines. First, Eusebius's *De evangelica praeparatione* of 1534[39] is a joint publication of the two, printed by Augereau. Second, the Colines 1534 Greek Testament[40] was entirely set in Augereau's Greek but its signatures are set in roman, very unlike Colines's practice when setting Greek; and that fount is Augereau's Pica roman. As Colines never used either fount elsewhere, there is little doubt this edition too was composed at Augereau's press. Third, the main text of the 1535 Nyverd-Colines-Du Pré edition of Foresti's *Supplementum*[41] is composed from Augereau's typecases. Fourth, as early as 1531 Augereau had access to Colines's Sophocles Greek[42] for Bocard's 1531 Vergilius, an edition which is known only from a 1582 reissue and is described more amply by Kemp (2006) and below (**2**). As suggested by Barker,[43] Colines may have been Augereau's instructor. There may also be a connection with Gryphius, as both used the 1531 Pica roman, which, however, is usually attributed to Augereau (**29**).

29. Renouard, 1964, 5: nos. 72, 73, 78.
30. Veyrin-Forrer, 1957; 1987, 3–50; Renouard, 1964, 1: 203–4.
31. 1967, 38, n. 3.
32. 1964, 1: 203.
33. 1964, 1: 203.
34. 1987, 8, n. 20.
35. Weiss, 1893.
36. Lot-Fawtier, 1957, 3: 267.
37. Fillon, 1888, 7–8; 23.
38. Vervliet, 2002, 23–4.
39. Moreau, 4: no. 996.
40. Moreau, 4: no. 880.
41. Moreau, 4: no. 1306.
42. Vervliet, 2003a, 165, no. 28.
43. 1974, 17.

*Francis Gryphius, the unexpected (*fl.*1531–45)*

One of the unforeseen (and admittedly speculative) results of this inquiry is the prominent role of Francis Gryphius as a punchcutter. Francis, the younger brother of the well-known Lyons printer, Sebastian Gryphius, was known hitherto as a modest Parisian printer. Moreau enumerates some one hundred titles of Gryphius's press over the period 1531–40. They are mostly unremarkable booklets of only a few quires. They were intended mainly for the students of Barthelemy Latomus, who was first a lecturer at the Collège de Sainte Barbe and later the royal lecturer for Latin. Gryphius was his regular publisher.

In his New Testaments of 1537 and 1539,[44] Gryphius is named as the engraver of the illustrations, a claim which Johnson[45] thought overstated. There are, however, slight indications that he may have been some kind of a graphic artist. In 1545, Robert Granjon's Paris address was: 'In taberna Gryphiana'[46] and there is the reference to a Gryphius (no forename given) as a most excellent punchcutter and printer in the well-known epigram Jean Visagier wrote in 1537 to honour Colines, Estienne and Gryphius.[47] The praise is commonly considered as intended for Sebastian Gryphius, who is cited further on in Visagier's poetry with his forename, though Sebastian seems not to have cut any of the types in use at his press.

A more convincing argument for the craftsmanship of Francis Gryphius is to be found by surveying the new Parisian typefaces of the 1530s. Such an analysis reveals that Francis Gryphius used only types which, as a rule, no other printer used before him. They seem to imitate the style of other known punchcutters such as Colines or the Estienne Master, but add personal features in a consistent and recognizable way.

Gryphius may have had ties with Augereau, for in 1531–2 they used the same Pica roman, which is usually attributed to Augereau and described below (**29**). Gryphius's main customers were Christian Wechel and Claude Chevallon in the first half of the decade and thereafter the Marnefs at Poitiers.

In the following paragraphs I attribute fifteen romans to him. Moreover, he may be responsible for three italics, four Greeks and four Hebrews, all appearing from 1531 onwards. Until now only two of his italics have been described.[48] His romans were well received. In the 1530s and 1540s they were adopted by important Paris printers, such as Chevallon, Guillard, Loys and Bogard, though not by Colines or Estienne. Outside Paris, they found customers in Poitiers, Lyon and Geneva. In the course of the 1540s they were superseded by the Garamont romans. Gryphius's Hebrews were used by Wechel, Chevallon, Guillard, Bogard and Le Jeune. They even appear in a book with a Garamont imprint, the 1545 Cassianus.[49]

Francis Gryphius, who is not mentioned in Le Bé's *c*. 1618 Inventory or 1643 Memorandum, is reported to be the son of the Reutlingen printer Michael Greif (*fl*. 1478–1514). Baudrier[50] suggests that his brother Sebastian started working in Lyons in 1522 or 1523. As to Francis, there is no sign that he was active in Paris before the end of 1520s, his first imprints dating from 1531. His type designs exhibit two styles: one imitates rather crudely the earlier Colines Romans,[51] the other those of the Estienne Master described below

44. Moreau, 5: nos. 372 and 1169.
45. 1935, 190.
46. Renouard, 1965, 182.
47. Baudrier, 8: 20.
48. Vervliet, 1998, 52, no. 28; 2005, nos. 16 and 20.
49. Renouard, 1964, 3: 36, no. 39b.
50. 8: 14–28.
51. Vervliet, 2003a.

(**1, 9, 21, 31, 44**). Though both styles appear simultaneously from 1531 onwards, I am tempted to believe that the cutting of those in the first style antedate September 1530, the date of the appearance of Estienne's earliest 'Aldine' romans.

Claude Garamont, the coming man (c. 1510–61)

From 1540 onwards, Garamont's life is reasonably well documented: on 2 November of that year Pierre Du Chastel, the King's librarian, contracted him to cut the *Grecs du Roy*. The document, now in the Archives nationales at Paris[52] has been published by Parent.[53] More than forty other archival documents on Garamont have been published. They are spread over the following twenty years up to 1564 when his widow married her third husband, and they allow us to sketch the later part of his life with some confidence.

The career of the younger Garamont, however, is much less well known. Apart from the books printed in the years before 1540, the only sources available are two later witnesses. The first is Guillaume Postel, the somewhat extravagant Orientalist (1510–81), who ended his life in seclusion being considered insane.

In the 1560s he wrote a biography or rather hagiography (as the story relates several fictitious events) of King Francis I.[54] The manuscript is described as autograph and has been dated *c*. 1560,[55] but the paragraph on Garamont implies that it was written or finished some time after his death in November 1561.

A passage (f. 45) about Francis I's involvement with learning and typography dwells on Robert I Estienne, the Grecs du Roy, and the roles of Garamont and Angelus Cres (Vergikios). Concerning the latter's role Postel is somewhat confused, naming him first a calligrapher (*literarum peritus*) and a few lines further down a Greek engraver (*graecus sculptor*). He also mentions the outstanding Hebrew of Estienne, which is 'as good as Bomberg's', and then says of Estienne's romans:

> Of the Romans I say nothing because R. Stephanus earlier [before he was Royal typographer] took care to acquire the most elegant ones made by the engraver Garamont worthy indeed to be remembered, as he excelled in every kind of engraving as much as the Greek engraver, named Angelus Cres.[56]

As far as I know, this statement is the earliest attribution of the 1530 Estienne romans to Garamont. It is written some time after Garamont's death and some (though not all) details are correct. Nevertheless, I am tempted to discard the account of Garamont as the engraver of Estienne's roman types because it seems incompatible with the intelligence gathered from the books themselves,[57] and, also, with the opinions expressed by the other witness, which follow below.

The other statement is a passage in the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum. Of the three Le Bé sources, described above, only the Memorandum speaks about Garamont's youth. As noted above, it is the most verbose and the least reliable. I see two reasons for its lesser value: first, because it is not an autograph of Guillaume II Le Bé as surmised by Morison,[58] nor can we be sure that it is a contemporary copy, as Carter suggested.[59] Even accepting that Le Bé may have written or checked the copy, one has to admit that it contains no testimony of a direct

52. MC 8:60.

53. 1973, 57–8.

54. London, British Library, ms. Sloane 1413, f. 23–53; Secret, 1958; Postel, 1989.

55. Postel, 1989, xiv.

56. De Latinis nil dico quia R. Stephanus antea opera Garamontii sculptoris (dignus re vera memoria est qui in omni sculpturae genere ita excelluit, uti et graecus sculptor qui Angelus Cres vocabatur) sibi elegantissimos parari antequam esset regius typographus curaverat (f. 45).

57. Vervliet, 2004, 116.

58. 1957, 15.

59. 1967, 7.

witness, but the opinions of a chronicler writing more than one hundred years after the facts. He should probably not be trusted on his word, especially when citing dates (except for those he may have borrowed from his father's scrapbook) or when he ventures hypotheses.

Therefore some critical reading of the following passage relevant to the period studied here is in order (italics are mine):

> Claude Garamond ayant fait son *apprentissage chéz Augereau vers lan 1510* quil acheua, et se mit à travailler pour compagnon ça et la chez les maistres dalors mesme trauailla *chez Pierre Hautin*, par apres se mit à trauailler pour luy, et fut chez … *Chevallon* ou il commença, Et y graua vn Sainct Augustin et vn Cicero, que nous appellons de la *premiere taille* dudit garamond, cest adire qui nest pas encor si parfait en la proportion comme il se fassona depuis nous en voyons encor des poinsons, et trauailla encor audit lieu depuis le deceds dudit Chevallon, ruë St. Iaques au soleil d'or chez sa veufue, et par apres se mit à trauailler chez Soy Ruë des Carmes en la maison de la boulle, auquel lieu il tailla et graua les poinsons de Cicero, Ital. Cicero, Ital. Cicero, Gros Rom. Petit Texte. et les dernieres lettres furent le Sainct Augustin et le Petit Parangon, et en ces entretemps il graua les poinsons des trois sortes de Grec quil fit pour le Roy durant les années de 1540 jusques en 1548 …[60]

The substance of this paragraph is clear: after his apprenticeship to Augereau, Garamont established himself as 'compagnon' or journeyman working for different masters, such as Haultin and the Chevallons. The typefaces produced in this period are called 'de la premiere taille', being not as perfect as his later ones. In 1540 he also began cutting the Grecs du Roy.

Checking this information against facts supplied by other sources, one may conclude that on the whole the account is correct. No doubt, the author had his information from his father, who must have known Garamont either as an independent punchcutter when the latter worked on the Grecs du Roy for Robert I Estienne while the elder Le Bé himself was apprenticed to Estienne in the early 1540s, or when working at Garamont's house ten years later.

There are two points of doubt. The date of 1510 affixed to Garamont's apprenticeship with Augereau, as well as his work for Haultin, is questionable. Le Bé's assertions have been a fruitful source for later misconstructions of the ages of both Garamont and Haultin. I submit that both were much younger than in their forties or fifties (as is often assumed) when they started to cut the fashionable new type designs.

Garamont briefly alluded to his training in the preface to his 1545 Chambellan edition,[61] where he mentions that he was trained in typecasting and punchcutting as a youth ('a puero'). He probably went through the customary stages of apprentice, journeyman and master but the exact duration and dates are unknown. In the 1540 contract for the Grecs du Roy[62] he is called simply: 'tailleur et fondeur de lettres', in distinction to the titles appended to Du Chastel ('seigneur'), Vergikios ('messire') and Estienne ('maistre imprimeur du Roy'). In the 1541 Du Puys deal he is described as 'marchant fondeur de lettres' and the 1543 Mesvière contract returns to 'tailleur et fondeur de lettres'. But in 1543 he had an apprentice, implying that he was acting as a master.[63]

60. Carter, 1967, 17–18. His translation (1967, 30) is: 'Claude Garamont served his apprenticeship to Augereau, and finished it about 1510. Then went out to work as a journeyman here or there for masters of that day: he even worked for Pierre Haultin. After that he set up for himself and was in the house of … Chevallon, where he began by cutting an English and a Pica which we call 'de la premiere taille' [of the earlier style] of Garamond, meaning that they are not so satisfying in their proportions as those that he cut later. The punches are still to be seen. He was still working in that place, the Golden Sun in the Rue St. Jacques, after Chevallon's death, when the widow was in charge of it. After that he took to working in his own house in the Rue des Carmes at the sign of the Ball, and there he cut the punches for the Pica, Pica Italic, Great Primer, Great Primer Italic, Long Primer, and Brevier; and his last types were the English and the Paragon. During that time, also, he cut the punches for the three typefaces of Greek which he made for the king in the years 1540 to 1548.'

61. Omont, 1888.

62. Parent, 1973, 57.

63. Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 87–8.

The Memorandum relates that Garamont completed his apprenticeship in 1510, leading people to date Garamont's birth to around 1485–90. So early a date is almost certainly erroneous: the known printing activity of Augereau, to whom he was apprenticed, lies between 1531 and 1534. It seems likely that 1510 is either an error by the author or a misreading by the copyist. That Garamont's mother, Isabeau Barbier, although old and incapacitated, was still living in 1564 (when his second wife married for third time), strengthens my point.[64] I therefore suggest that Garamont was born *c.* 1510 and was around the same age as Granjon (1513–90) and Haultin (*c.* 1510–87).

As to Garamont's working for Haultin (who is not mentioned in Le Bé's scrapbooks), we find no support elsewhere – Haultin's documented activities dating from 1546 onwards.[65] If ever there was a connection between them, the reverse would be less surprising.

The Memorandum also errs in Garamont's addresses. In the early 1540s he lived in the rue Saint-Jacques and the rue des Augustins, later moving to the rue des Carmes, the address Le Bé cites.

The Memorandum goes on to suggest that by examining Parisian imprints, especially those of Chevallon, his widow, and 'other masters', one may uncover Garamont's types 'de la premiere taille'. It may seem that here Le Bé treads on safer ground. The passage quoted above mentions two Garamont typefaces 'de la premiere taille' cut in Chevallon's house, a Pica and English, but I failed to find either of them at the Chevallon press.

As for the first, Chevallon did discard his antiquated 1478 Gering Pica[66] for a new, fashionable, roman in 1533 and Barker[67] was beguiled into ascribing it to Garamont. I propose to attribute it to Gryphius, who used it in his own imprints and was Chevallon's regular supplier of types in the early 1530s. This typeface is described below (**30**). Contrarily, Garamont's first Pica occurs, I think, from 1536 onwards at the presses of Loys, Neobar and Mesvière, and in Garamont's own imprints of 1545. See (**34**) below.

Likewise I had no success tracing a Garamont English-bodied roman in Chevallon's printing. Barker[68] attributes the rather substandard 1531 Chevallon English to Garamont but here again I suggest that the typeface was cut by Gryphius (**22**). On the other hand, a 1538 Chevallon Bourgeois (**40**) and a 1537 Long Primer (**39**) may be attributed to Garamont on stylistic grounds. Probably Le Bé mixed up different sizes and presses in his attributions.

It must be thought implausible that in the 1530s Garamont cut just these few typefaces. That would hardly be an acceptable basis for his commission in 1540 to cut the Grecs du Roy. Therefore some of the unattributed typefaces, such as the 1536 Finé Two-line Double Pica Roman (**5**), the 1536 Vascosan Great Primer (**18**), the 1538 Wechel titling (**8**), and 1539 Loys Great Primer (**20**) may be his, as well as the 1540 Neobar Greek,[69] bypassing for the moment the 1535 Loys Great Primer (**16**) and the 1537 Chevallon titling (**6**). On the other hand and as noted above, I failed to find an English or Great Primer roman in a recognizable early Garamont style before the 1540s.

As the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum singles out the Chevallon press for Garamont's early career, the type assortment used by Claude Chevallon (d. 1537) and his widow Charlotte Guillard (d. 1557) needs

64. Guilleminot, 1997, 136, n. 20; 138.
65. Vervliet, 2000, 88.
66. Vervliet, 2005a, no. 2.
67. 1974, 19; pls. 7 (inaccurate caption) and 13.
68. 1974, 18 and pl. 12.
69. Vervliet, 2002, 25.

investigation. Chevallon started as a modest publisher in 1506 with a Burry edition,[70] his sole preserved publication from before 1511. In his early years he was primarily a publisher, contracting with major printers such as Badius, Gourmont and Desprez, and increasing his average publication rate to five titles a year during the 1510s. That number was doubled after 1520 when he married Charlotte Guillard, the widow of Bertold Rembolt (d. 1519). She kept up that rate after Chevallon's death in 1537; for the following twenty years she was in sole charge of the press.

In 1502 she had married Bertold Rembolt, a Sorbonne graduate who worked with the printer Ulrich Gering (d. 1510) from 1494 to 1508 when Gering retired. I suppose that Rembolt was much older than his bride and that she was in her thirties when Rembolt died in 1519. She ran the business for a year or two on her own until she married Chevallon in 1520 or 1521. There is no formal proof but there can be little doubt that she was quite an energetic person and largely responsible for the continuing prosperity of the Chevallon press after 1537 when she was widowed for a second time.[71] A group of young and excellent printers gathered around her: brother-in-law Guillaume Desbois, her niece's husband Sebastien Nivelle and her nephew Jacques Bogard.

The typography of the Chevallon press went through several phases. One may disregard the period before Claude Chevallon's association and marriage with Charlotte Guillard. He probably did not own a press then, earning his livelihood primarily as a publisher and bookseller. The marriage of 1520 brought him access to a press, the most ancient in Paris. In the first instance the new firm continued to use Rembolt's old founts, for the most part the common Parisian texturas, rotundas and uncials. As roman types, Gering, and, from 1520 onwards, the Chevallons used four incunabular types, namely two Gering-Rembolt founts[72] and the two most used Paris founts, the Bergmann Great Primer and the Tholoze Pica.[73] In 1523 the 8.5 mm Paris titling was added, in 1526 a 5 mm titling and a Bourgeois eponymously named after Calvarin.[74] In 1529, an English-bodied Greek appears, namely the Greek Badius imported in 1520 from Germany,[75] and in 1531, the common 8.5 mm Basle titling. Except for the Greek and the Basle titling, that was the antiquated assortment the press owned when it launched two impressive multi-volume series, the *Opera omnia* of saints Ambrosius and Augustinus, in 1529 and 1531.

In the 1531 Augustinus, however, a few passages are set in a new English-bodied roman. As noted, Barker[76] attributed it to Garamont and suggested that it was the fount Le Bé called the 'Augustin de la premiere taille'. That attribution seems problematic. The typeface is stylistically very similar to two Great Primer founts which appear, also in 1531, at the presses of Francis Gryphius (Cicero, *Pro Plancio*[77]) and Christian Wechel (Persius[78]). My candidate for the cutter of this typeface is Gryphius (**22**).

In the next year, 1532, Chevallon introduced two new typefaces: an English-bodied Hebrew (aleph/2.5 mm) and a small-sized Brevier roman (52 mm/20 lines). The Hebrew differs from the contemporary Hebrews of the same size owned by Estienne and Vidoue. In 1533, Chevallon added a big Hebrew of 6 mm that surfaces in Wechel and

70. Moreau, 1: 187, no. 1.
71. Parent, 1999.
72. Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 1, 2.
73. Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 5, 8.
74. Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 16, 36, 38.
75. Vervliet, 2002, 10–12.
76. 1974, 18–19 and pl. 12.
77. Kemp, 1991, 31, fig. 4.
78. Barker, 1974, 14 and pl. 6b.

Gryphius imprints in 1535. The Brevier roman seems proprietary to Chevallon; in my description below (**42**) I suggest an attribution to Gryphius.

In Saint Jerome's *Opera omnia* of 1534, two new romans appear: a titling of 9 mm, and a Pica. The titling is a set of heavy capitals (**3**), differing much from the design of the Estienne romans. The Pica (**30**) is very similar to but not identical with the 1531 Augereau Pica; Gryphius had it too. Finally in the 1536 John Chrysostomus, a new English-bodied roman (**28**) appears, which gradually replaces the 1531 roman of that size. In the descriptions below, I am tempted to ascribe all these founts to Gryphius rather than Garamont.

In the light of the archival records available and the occurrences of new typefaces in Paris from the 1530s onwards, I suggest the following chronology of Garamont's life:[79]

born: **c.* 1510
apprenticeship (typecasting, mouldmaking, justifying, punchcutting): **c.* 1525–34
journeyman: *c.* 1535–8
married Guillemette Gaultier (probably the sister of Pierre, later Garamont's publishing partner): *c.* 1537[80]
master: *c.* 1538–61
romans 'premiere taille', early italics: 1536–48
the royal Greeks: 1540–9[81]
publishing venture: 1545–6[82]
romans 'seconde taille', late italics: 1548–61
married Ysabeau Le Fevre, widow of François Prieur: *c.* 1551[83]
death: between 23 September and 18 November 1561[84]
third marriage of his widow, Ysabeau Le Fevre: 18 June 1564.[85]

Paris in the evolution of roman letterforms

Up to the middle of the 1520s, Paris roman types belong to the Venetian or Jenson class.[86] The model, dating from 1470, was an excellent design and the first good roman to appear in typographic history. The Paris founts are based on this model and thus rather dark in colour and characterized by plain capitals, an oblique cross-stroke in the e, a slab-seriffed (or 'Jenson') M, a stroked i, and lozenge-shaped punctuation signs.[87]

Letterforms closer to the newer designs, fashionable in Italy and Germany from the late 1490s and the mid 1510s respectively, were introduced in Paris early in the 1520s, years before Tory's treatise on the roman capital (*Champfleury*, 1529), by two Paris punchcutters, Colines and the relatively unknown Jean Vatel. From 1524 onwards Colines's types feature the old face, outwards singly-seriffed, wing-like M, but throughout the 1520s he retains the tilt-barred e and the lozenge-shaped punctuation.

The year 1530 brought the 'Aldine revolution' to Paris, aptly described by Beaujon (1926) and Barker (1974). That year three new Estienne romans appeared; they all followed the model of a novel fount used only by Aldus from 1495/6 to 1499, for the first time in Theocritus' *Idyllia* and in Cardinal Bembo's *De Aetna*.[88] The new style retains the general characteristics of the Jenson romans – bracketed serifs and diagonal stress – but has a number of new features: the

79. Unreferenced entries refer to the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum but the dates are mine; starred dates are undocumented.

80. Paris, Archives nation. LL 757: 86ᵛ; Chèvre, 1955, 150, n. 5.

81. Parent, 1973; Vervliet, 2000a.

82. Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 81.

83. Greffe-Brousselle, 1997, 154; Guilleminot, 1997.

84. Renouard, 1901, 105; Guilleminot, 1997, 136.

85. Guilleminot, 1997, 134, n. 10.

86. Johnson, 1959, 38.

87. Vervliet, 2005a.

88. Catalogue BM, 5: 554.

M, top serif details.
(a) M with bracketed top serifs extending outward and inward
(b) one-eared M with no right-hand top serif
(c) single serifs extending outward on 'old face' M

design is lighter in colour, the contrast between thin and thick strokes is more pronounced, its capital line is slightly below the ascender line, the bar of the e is horizontal, the dot of the i and the punctuation signs are round, all features retained in later type designs. The M is one-eared with no right-hand top serif, differing both from the earlier 'slab-seriffed' Jenson M (with bracketed top serifs extending outward and inward) and the normal old face 'winged' M (with top serifs extending on both sides; see figure in margin).

At Aldus's press, the 'Bembo' roman was a short-lived affair, used in only a dozen books printed between 1496 and 1499. But in Paris it became the norm for romans cut between 1530 and, say, 1550. Afterwards it was popularized in Antwerp by punchcutters, such as Guyot and Tavernier. One of their customers was John Day in London.

Except for Badius, Wechel and Morrhy, who kept their Basle Jenson-style romans, and more conservative printers like Buffet, Vidoue, Gromors and Chevallon (the latter at least in his earlier period), most Paris typographers were eager to emulate Estienne's example. Augereau, Francis Gryphius, Colines, Loys and Chevallon cut or used imitations in the following years. Most of these types are quite similar to the Estienne model and it calls for some careful examination to distinguish them.

During the 1530s more than forty new roman faces appeared in Paris – an amazing yearly average of four new type designs for the romans alone. If one adds the new italics, Greeks, Hebrews and Arabic, the Parisian punchcutters of the 1530s produced some six new typefaces a year. That is on the order of three full-time jobs and double the average of the preceding decade, matching the recovery of Parisian publishing from the relative dip in the 1520s. Most punchcutters worked only as part-time punchcutters (Colines, Gryphius, Augereau, for instance, were all active as printers and publishers as well); only a minority specialized in typecasting and punchcutting. One of the latter was Garamont, until in 1545 he stepped falteringly into the publishing trade.

Methodology

In the following descriptions, the founts are identified by the names of their punchcutter (or, if an attribution is impossible or questionable, by the names of a first user, patron or author, or by title; in such cases, the name is presented within inverted commas).

The formula used to indicate the type size is adapted from the Proctor/Haebler convention, as follows:

20 the measurement of 20 unleaded lines, in mm
x the height of a lowercase character without extenders, in mm
: the height of an average capital (preferably an I or H), in mm
  for example **20** 100 **x** 2.2 **:** 3.2 mm

The requirement that the measurement be taken from unleaded lines is essential. If impossible or difficult, multiplying the ph-measure (the 'gauge') by 20 has been suggested.[89] In spite of their precise appearance, however, these measurements are approximate.[90]

Both the values given in Anglo-American and Didot points and the reconstructed ancient size names are, at best, approximate

89. Vervliet, 1968, 18; Carter, 1969, 23.
90. Gaskell, 1974, 15–6.

projections of sixteenth-century type sizes.[91] Size names appear in Parisian contracts from the 1520s onwards, but standardization began (though with notable regional differences) only after the middle of the sixteenth century.[92]

It must also be made clear what is meant by the terms fount, type, or typeface. For the purpose of this article a fount, or type, or typeface is defined as any casting from any set of matrices derived from the same basic set of punches. This definition corresponds with the views expressed by palaeotypographers such as Johnson,[93] Isaac[94] or Shaw.[95] On the one hand it is narrower than that used in present-day typesetting, which equates the term fount/font with a whole typeface family of a uniform design regardless of its size or weight. On the other hand, it is broader than the usual usage of type manufacturers, for it ignores the traditional requirement for unity of time and place of casting. The same unity is also subsumed by the definition incunabulists and bibliographers tend to adopt. Aiming primarily at exhaustive and thorough descriptions of the founts of a given printer, they dwell on idiosyncrasies and minute characteristics observable in the printer's type cases. However, they should be aware that from a methodological point of view the practice of affixing different names to the same typeface if occurring at different presses, or failing to distinguish different typefaces of the same size occurring at the same press, is questionable.[96]

At the risk of disappointing students of particular presses, the definition as used in this paper also disregards minor variations (however important these accidentals may be when studying a specific press) that may occur in the phases of justifying, casting, rubbing, kerning and dressing, or that may be caused by foul sorts or the inclusion or exclusion of peripheral sorts such as small capitals, spaces, ligatures, punctuation or numerals, which in the sixteenth century were not always included in a bill-of-fount.[97]

Because of the importance of dating in attribution, the rubric 'first seen' attempts to find the earliest date of occurrence of a given fount. But as my heuristic is far from complete, the rubric 'early appearances' does not offer completeness, however appropriate exhaustiveness may have been for correctly assessing the networks that ostensibly linked some printers and typefounders. Aiming to provide a broad, but not exhaustive, idea of the spread and lifetime of the typeface, I supply the date (and within braces, the author or title) of the earliest occurrence of a fount that I have noticed at a given press.

In the same rubric the names of printers, publishers, and booksellers are given indiscriminately, the relations between those trade categories requiring more research than I was able to carry out. Some publishers apparently owned type and decorative materials of their own.[98] Consequently the ownership of type materials by a publisher or sponsor rather than by the printer, as well as the lending of materials between printers, deserves further study.

Finally, the illustrations joined to the descriptions are unretouched and show their subjects at actual size.

91. Tarr, 1946; Carter, 1969, 126; Gaskell, 1974, 14; Richardson, 1990.
92. Wolf, 1979, 97–123.
93. 1936, 70.
94. 1938, ix.
95. 1980, 445.
96. Johnson, 1943, 47–8.
97. Davis-Carter, 1958, 19n.
98. Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 80; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 38.

Conspectus of types

Display
1. Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
   or *Gros-canon* (1530)
2. Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
   or *Gros-canon* (1531)
3. Gryphius's titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5]
   or *2 points de Gros-romain* (1533)
4. The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica [R 290]
   or *Gros-canon* (1535)
5. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
   or *Gros-canon* (1536)
6. The 'Chevallon' titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9]
   or *Deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537)
7. The 'Vidoue' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
   or *Gros-canon* (1538)
8. The 'Wechel' titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6]
   or *Deux points de Philosophie* (1538)

Large English and Great Primer (R 104/120)
9. Constantin's Great Primer [R 115]
   or *Gros-romain* (1530)
10. Colines's second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119]
    or *Gros-romain* (1531)
11. Augereau's Great Primer [R 112]
    or *Gros-romain* (1531–2)
12. Gryphius's first Great Primer [R 112]
    or *Gros-romain* (1531)
13. Gryphius's second Great Primer [R 113]
    or *Gros-romain* (1531)
14. Colines's third Great Primer [R 119]
    or *Gros-romain* (1533)
15. Gryphius's third Great Primer [R 114]
    or *Gros-romain* (1533)
16. The first 'Loys' Great Primer [R 110]
    or *Gros-romain* (1535)
17. The 'Girault' Great Primer [R 110]
    or *Gros-romain* (1535)
18. The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114]
    or *Gros-romain* (Paris, 1536)
19. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English [R 104]
    or *Gros-texte* (1536)
20. The second 'Loys's' Great Primer [R 114]
    or *Gros-romain* (1539)

English-bodied (R 89/100)
21. Constantin's English-bodied Roman [R 92]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1530)
22. The first 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-bodied
    Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531–2)
23. Colines's third English-bodied Roman [R 90]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
24. Gryphius's second English-bodied Roman [R 92]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
25. Augereau's English-bodied Roman [R 96]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1534)
26. The 'Loys' English-bodied Roman [R 90]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
27. The 'Girault' English-bodied Roman [R 95]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
28. The third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-bodied
    Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536)

Pica and Small Pica (R 70/85)
29. The Augereau/Gryphius Pica [R 82]
    or *Cicéro* (1531)
30. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica [R 82]
    or *Cicéro* (1533)
31. Constantin's Small Pica [R 72]
    or *Philosophie* (1533)
32. The 'Janot' Pica [R 81]
    or *Cicéro* (1534)
33. The 'Girault' Pica [R 81]
    or *Cicéro* (1535)
34. Garamont's first Pica [R 82]
    or *Cicéro* (1536)
35. Colines's Pica [R 82]
    or *Cicéro* (1536)
36. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79]
    or *Cicéro* (1539)

Long Primer and Bourgeois (R 62/68)
37. Colines's Long Primer [R 65]
    or *Petit-romain* (1536)
38. The 'Janot' Long Primer [R 67]
    or *Petit-romain* (1536)
39. Garamont's first Long Primer [R 67]
    or *Petit-romain* (1537)
40. Garamont's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
    or *Gaillarde* (1538)
41. Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68]
    or *Petit-romain* (1539)

Brevier, Minion and Nonpareil (R 40/55)
42. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier [R 52]
    or *Petit-texte* (1532)
43. Gryphius's second Brevier [R 52]
    or *Petit-texte* (1533)
44. Constantin's Nonpareil [R 42] (1533)
45. Colines's Nonpareil [R 43] (1533)
46. Gryphius's third Brevier [R 52]
    or *Petit-texte* (1537)
47. Gryphius's Minion Roman [R 44]
    or *Mignonne* (1537)

1. Constantin's Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530)

In his earliest years (1526–mid 1530), Robert I Estienne used mainly Colines faces (Vervliet, 2003). Beginning in autumn 1530 his books display a totally new typographic style. This involved three new romans in the sizes Two-line Double Pica, Great Primer and English. Their design has been heralded as a revolution, introducing to transalpine Europe a new 'fashion for lightness and delicacy' (Carter, 1969, 81). Uncommon too is the size of the biggest roman: it is the first roman in typographic history with upper and lower case letters on so large a body.

During the sixteenth century, romans of this size remained relatively scarce. They were largely a speciality of Paris. Here follows a list of the Two-line Double Pica roman types (excluding the titlings which were more common) appearing in the 1530s:

    1530   Constantin, Paris (**1**)
    1531   Francis Gryphius, Paris (**2**)
    1534   Juste, Lyon (Veyrin-Forrer, 1995a, 154)
    1535   'Budé', Paris (**4**)
    1536   'Finé', Paris (**5**)
    1538   'Vidoue', Paris (**7**)

All, except one, originated in Paris. Some of these were improperly associated with the Estienne typeface, which some authorities attribute to Garamont, though only for stylistic reasons. They differ in details, however, albeit minute ones, and clearly derive from different sets of punches. My interpretation of the occurrences of new typefaces in Paris during the 1530s leads me to conclude that Maitre Constantin cut the Estienne Two-line Double Pica Roman.

Size   Two-line Double Pica Roman (*Gros-canon*); 40/37 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 280 x 4.5 : 9.5 mm.

First seen   6 September 1530, **Paris**, Robert I Estienne (Cicero, *Oratoriae partitiones*; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale et interuniversitaire, i-639; Moreau, 3: 539, no. 2027 and Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in elegantiarum libros L. Vallae*; Cambridge, University Library, Aa* 6.15(1)F; Moreau, 3: 552, no. 2084).

Early appearances   **Paris**: 1536, Haer. Badius & J. Loys {Quintilianus}, J. Roigny & J. Loys {Cicero}; 1538, R. Chaudière & R. I Estienne {Imbert}; 1546, C. Badius {Cicero}; 1548, C. Badius & J. Roigny {Guilliaud}; 1551, C. I Estienne {Appianus}; 1563, R. II Estienne {Biblia}; 1580, R. III Estienne {Alphabetum Graecum}; **Geneva**: 1552, R. I Estienne {Calvin/Quatre sermons}, J. Girard {Calvin/Opuscula}; 1557, C. Badius {Satyres}; 1561, H. II Estienne {Xenophon}; 1562, E. Anastase {Bible}; 1563, F. II Estienne {Calvin/Moise}; 1568, J. Bourgeois & L. Cloquemin {Biblia}.

Key letters   Capital A with cupped top; one-eared M; long-tailed Q; S slanting to the right; asymmetrical top serifs of T; large rounded counter of lowercase a; i with dot to the right; s slanting to the right; extended base of v; floating accents {Cordier/De corrupti sermonis emendatione, 1530}.

Literature   Beaujon, 1926, 155, fig. 21; Johnson, 1959, 46–7, fig. 14; Carter, 1969, 85, fig. 63; Vervliet, 1969, 483–7, figs. 2–4; Barker, 1974, 11, pl. 4; Armstrong, 275–6; Kemp, 1991, 28; Vervliet, 2004, 121–4, no. 1; Amert, 2005, 241–3, figs. 1–2.

Figure 1a (below)   Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530) assembled from the *Biblia* [*Latina*], Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532 and the *Hebraea, Chaldaea … nomina* [*in 2°*], ibid., 1537. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Figure 1b (opposite)   Constantin's Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530) as it appears in the *Biblia* [*Latina*], Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532, Index rerum, f. ggg10ᵛ. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

¶IL EST DEFENDV PAR
lettres patētes du Roy noſtre ſire,a tous
Imprimeurs, Libraires,& Marchans,de
non imprimer en ce Royaulme,ou expo
ſer en vente ce preſent liure dedans ſix
ans a venir.Sur les peines contenues au
priuilege ſur ce depeſche. Si ce neſt par
conge & permiſſion de celuy qui a eu la
charge de le faire imprimer de par ledit
Seigneur.

2. Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1531)

At the end of 1531, about one year after the new epochal Estienne romans, François Gryphius had a new Pica and a Two-line Double Pica roman available. The latter has been attributed to Augereau (Kemp, 1991, 33; Amert, 2005, 255–7; corrected in Kemp, 2006) but to my eyes it is unquestionably Gryphius's, occurring as it does at his own press and that of his known customers in Poitiers and Lyons. Its design has characteristics (see the sloping S and e) common to a number of contempory romans which can be linked to Gryphius (**2**, **12**, **13**, **15**, **19**, **22**, **24**, **28**, **30**, **41**, **43**, **46**, **47**).

Were there any ties between Augereau and Gryphius? Was Gryphius Augereau's teacher, rather than Colines as surmised above (p. 10)? There is not much to support such a conjecture. The Gryphius Two-line Double Pica Roman appears in two copies of a Vergilius, whose title-page has Jean Macé's imprint and the date 1582. They are preserved in Oxford and Cambridge and neither has a colophon. The typeface does not appear in the London copy of the Macé Vergilius, the only copy with a colophon, dated 1531 and giving the name of Augereau's father-in-law, Antoine Bocard (*pace* Renouard, 1964, 5: 73, no. 78). There are more differences. The Oxford and Cambridge copies display the Two-line Double Pica Roman but with a different text type, namely the 1533 Chevallon-Gryphius Pica (**30**) while the London copy uses the 1531 Augereau Pica (**29**). The side-notes in the London copy display an old 55 mm rotunda, presumably Bocard's, and Colines's Sophocles Greek (Vervliet, 2003a, 165), neither face present in the Oxford and Cambridge copies (Kemp, 2006). Their side-notes exhibit the Brevier Roman (**43**) that Gryphius used between 1533 and 1538. The Oxford and Cambridge copies must therefore be another edition attributable to Gryphius and datable to between 1533 and 1538 when Gryphius ceased to use that Brevier. Thus this trail seems irrelevant for the relation between Augereau and Gryphius.

There are other indications, though feeble. Augereau regularly used the common Basle 8.5 Roman titling capitals introduced in Paris at the very end of the 1520s. He never used Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica Roman except perhaps for a foul capital S in the title-line of the 1534 Eusebius which was a joint edition by Colines and Augereau. A more substantial indication of a contact between Gryphius and Augereau is the use by Gryphius of a Pica roman in three books of 1531, commonly attributed to Augereau and described below (**29**). But that hardly supports a hypothesis of a steady collaboration or contact.

Size Two-line Double Pica (Gros-canon); 40/37 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20 280 x 5 : 9.5** mm.

First seen 1531, **Paris**, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio … pro Cn. Plancio*; Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, I 802; Moreau, 4: 71, no. 87).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1534, A. Augereau & S. de Colines {Eusebius [first S of title-line only]}, A. Girault & J. I Savetier {Ponte}, J. de Gourmont [& F. Gryphius] {Paradisi}; 1537, J. Loys {Ulmeus}; 1542, N. Buffet {Stella}; 1544, J. de Roigny {Dionysius Carthusiensis}; 1546, A. Jurien {Vivaldi}, G. Merlin {Breviarium}; 1582, J. Macé {Vergilius [Cambridge and Oxford copies]}; **Poitiers**: 1536, J. II & E. II de Marnef {Musius}; **Lyons**: 1538, E. Dolet {Dolet}; 1541, S. Gryphius {Histoire de Leander}; 1543, S. Sabon & A. Constantin {Seneca}; 1544, S. Sabon {Ariosto}; 1545, A. Constantin & G. Rouillé {Gigas}; 1546, J. I de Tournes {Saint-Gelais}; 1553, P. de Portonariis & J. Pidie {Stile}; 1587, A. Harsy {Plutarchus}; **Geneva**: 1563, F. Perrin {Calvin}; 1566, J. Pinereul {Calvin}; 1567, A. Courteau {Calvin}; 1609, J. Stoer {Calvin}.

Key letters Narrow capital H; one-eared M; long-tailed R; slightly sloping S and lowercase e; big top bowl of g.

Literature Kemp, 1991, 33; Amert, 2005, 255–7. fig. 6.

Figure 2a Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1531) as it appears in J. Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, Poitiers, Marnefii, 1545, f. 1. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Figure 2b Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1531) assembled from J. Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, Poitiers, Marnefii, 1545. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

2a

2b
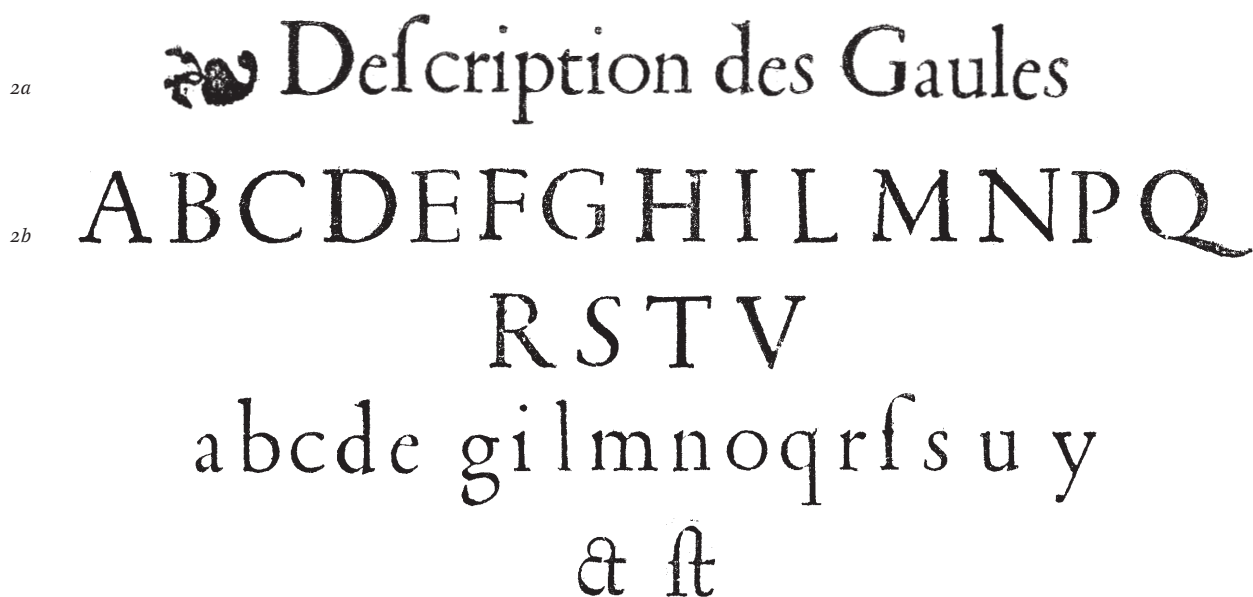
3. Gryphius's Roman titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *Deux points de Gros-romain* (1533)

A new roman titling, intended to replace the 8.5 Basle roman capitals and its awkward Parisian imitation (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 16), can be seen in Chevallon's printing from 1533 onwards. Like other contemporary Parisian roman titling founts, it ignores the prescriptions for correct roman letterforms, as pronounced by Tory (1529) or Dürer (Nuremberg, 1525; Paris, Wechel, 1532). Nor is its design in the style of Augereau or the Estienne Master, though it occurs in a (spurious) Estienne imprint, dated 1537 (Moreau, 5:183, no. 506) whose types rather point to Bogard after 1541.

I tentatively attribute this titling to Gryphius.

Size Two-line English (*Deux points de Saint-augustin*); 26/25 Anglo-American/Didot points; : 9.5 mm.

First seen 1533, **Paris**, C. Chevallon (Hieronymus (s.), *Opera*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, F 3436; Moreau, 4:nos. 721–6; 1031–2).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1537, J. Loys {Tagault}; 1541, J. Bogard {Xenophon}; 1546, J. Barbé & J. Gazeau {Galenus}; 1550, M. Le Jeune {Clenardus}; 1552, Ch. Guillard & G. Desboys {Bible}; 1571, S. Nivelle {Contarini}.

Key letters Broad lower counter of capital B; extended lower terminal of C, wide H and N; outwards singly-seriffed M; two Q's; slightly inclined S. Includes Greek sorts, used by J. Bogard (1541), Ch. Guillard (1542), J. Loys (1543), J. Barbé (1546), G. Gourbin & P. Ramier (1587).

Literature Vervliet, 1969, 491–2, fig. 8.

Figure 3 Gryphius's titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *2 points de Gros-romain* (1533) assembled from Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Christi*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1534 and *Biblia sacra*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1558. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek and Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

4. The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 290] or *Gros-canon* (1535)

An unashamedly close imitation of Constantin's Double Pica Roman (**1**) occurs in 1535 and 1536 on the title-pages of two Budé books by an unknown press working for the main Parisian publishers, Maurice de La Porte, Ambroise Girault, Jean Macé, Jean II Petit and Claude Chevallon. The simultaneous occurrence of a new English-bodied roman, described below in (**27**) leads Moreau (5:72, no. 56) to suggest a link with Pierre Gromors, but I have not yet seen this Two-line Double Pica Roman in the latter's imprints.

Size Two-line Double Pica (Gros-canon); 41/38.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 290 **x** 5.5 : 9.8 mm.

First seen 1535, **Paris**, J. II Petit & M. de La Porte (G. Budé, *Annotationes … in Pandectorum libros*; Glasgow, University Library, P.41239295.JPG; Moreau, 4:368, no. 1224).

Early appearance **Paris**: 1536, C. Chevallon & J. Macé & A. Girault & J. II Petit & M. de La Porte {Budé}.

Key letters Very like Constantin's Double Pica Roman (**1**) but with hypertrophied serifs; it is also a bit bigger and the capital M is slab-seriffed.

Figure 4 The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica [R 290] or *Gros-canon* (1535) as it appears in G. Budé, *Annotationes … in Pandectarum libros*, Paris, J. II Petit & C. Chevallon & A. Girault & J. Macé, 1536. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, Brussels.

5. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1536)

The fourth *Gros-canon* roman to appear in Paris in the early 1530s was introduced by Colines in 1536. Though used by him, I doubt whether this Gros-canon was cut by Colines. Its style differs noticeably from his other typefaces and its later wide distribution does not fit in with Colines's restrictive policy in trading type material.

It has been attributed to Garamont, mainly because it occurs in the 1540s at the presses of known Garamont customers such as Gaultier, Barbé and Mesvière (Johnson, 1936, 74, s.v. Berthelet; Renouard, 1964, 3: 33; 5: 140; Carter, 1969, 86, n. 4; Veyrin-Forrer & Parent, 1974, 82; Veyrin-Forrer, 1978, 68, n. 16).

It is a much weaker design than the 1530 Estienne Two-line Double Pica Roman (**1**) which some also attribute to Garamont. It seems implausible to ascribe both typefaces to the same designer. But if my hypothesis that Constantin cut the Estienne romans is accepted, there is indeed room for thinking that the present typeface was an early work by a young and still inexperienced Garamont. As noted above, Colines had good relations with Augereau and he must have met Garamont as his apprentice. Amert (2005, 253) suggested that Colines recut the punches of Estienne's 1530 Two-line Double Pica Roman (**1**). But it seems unlikely that Estienne would have parted from his punches or that Colines would have refurbished them to an inferior level.

This typeface seems to occur as early as 1535 in Lyons at the press of Denis de Harsy, e.g. in the preliminaries of his 1535 *Tractatus universi iuris* (Gültlingen, 1992, 4: nos. 72–82). My guess is that Harsy reissued older presswork by inserting cancels. But an early use seems quite probable, as e.g. in Clichtove's 1535 *Introductiones* (Gültlingen, 1992, 4: no. 69), Erasmus's 1536 *De conscribendis epistolis* (Gültlingen, 1992, 4: no. 86; DeReuck, 1993, 57, no. 120) or Rabelais's 1537–8 *Pantagruel* (Rawles, 1988; Rawles-Screech, 1989, nos. 10 and 21). More research is needed here.

Size Two-line Double Pica roman (Gros-canon); 40/37 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 280 **x** 5 : 9.5 mm.

First seen 1536, **Paris**, S. de Colines (O. Finé, *In sex priores libros geometricorum elementorum Euclidis*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. V 119; Moreau, 5: 97, no. 163).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1537, P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & [N. Higman] {Thomas Aquinas}; 1538, J. André & D. Janot {Sagon}, Wid. C. Chevallon {Pachymeres}, A. Girault {Pontanus}, A. Girault & Wid. C. Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Loys & J. II Petit & J. de Roigny {Eck}, F. I Estienne [& S. de Colines] {Terentius}, D. Janot {Capella}, J. Loys & Fr. Gryphius {Clenardus}, O. Mallard {Gillot}, [J. Loys] & D. Lescuier {Postel/

quire A}; 1539, Collegium Italorum {Alphabetum Hebraicum}, G. Corrozet & [D. Janot] {Corrozet}, Fr. Gryphius & Wid. C. Chevallon {Agricola}, D. Janot {Ovidius}, D. Janot & G. I Du Pré {Cicero}, D. Janot & A. & C. Langelier {Longueval}, D. Janot & V. Sertenas {San Pedro}, J. Loys & A. Girault {Dionysius Carthusianus}, C. Neobar {De typographia}, M. de Vascosan {Florus}, P. Vidoue {Postel}, C. Wechel {Noviomagus}; 1541, N. Barbou {Marinario}, J. Bogard {Aristoteles}; 1542, P. Attaingnant & H. Jullet {Claudin}, F. Gryphius & J. Loys & G. Richard {Agricola}, J. Gazeau {Sylvius}, M. de La Porte {Alphabetum graecum}; 1543, F. I Estienne {Clenardus}, M. Fezandat {Varennius}, J. de Roigny {Aristoteles}; 1544, J. André {Sagon}, P. Gaultier {Vidius}, P. II Regnault {Bible}; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. Barbé & C. Garamont {Terentius}, P. Gaultier & J. de Roigny {Hugo de Sancto Charo}, V. Gualtherot {Paré}, Jeanne de Marnef, E. Mesvière & A. & C. Langelier {Constantin}; 1546, R. Avril {Gomes}, J. Barbé & J. Gazeau {Galenus}, L. Blaubloom {Colonna}; 1548, E. Groulleau {Amadis}; 1550, M. Le Jeune {Mercier}; 1551, J. Du Puys {Fernel}, M. Fezendat & R. Granjon {Seymour}; 1552, Ch. Guillard & G. Desboys {Bible}, B. Prévost & J. de Roigny {Terentius}, T. Richard {Clenardus}; 1553, Jer. de Gourmont {Postel}; 1555, B. Prévost & G. Corrozet {Belon}; 1558, Haer. M. de La Porte {Thevet}; 1559, R. II Estienne {Laborde}; 1568, J. de Marnef & G. Cavellat {Bullant}; **London**: 1542, R. Wolfe {Leland}; **Lyons**: 1535, D. de Harsy {Clichtove}; 1542, B. Arnoullet {Nouveau Testament}; 1544, J. Ausoult & E. Rufin {Fulgosius}; 1548, J. Frellon {Suetonius}; 1549, G. Rouillé {Scève}; 1555, J. Frellon & M. Du Boys {Biblia}; 1574, A. Blanc {Decretum Gratiani}; **Basle**: 1545, J. Oporin {Postel}; 1547, H. Petri {Glareanus}; 1559, P. Perna {Plotinus}; 1582, E. Episcopius {Aristoteles}; **Rouen**: 1545, R. & J. Dugort {Rabelais}; **Valence**: 1547, C. La Ville {Rabelais}; **Geneva**: 1550, J. Crespin {Calvin/Scandales}; 1563, J. Bonnefoy {Nouveau Testament}; **Avignon**: 1552, J. Daniel & J. Crespin {Bible}.

Key letters Distinguishable from Constantin's Two-line Double Pica (**1**) mainly by its capitals A (sheared vs. cupped top) and R (steeply tailed), its lowercase a (small and angular vs. rounded counter), rather uncouth g (small vs. large upper bowl).

Literature Johnson, 1939, 198, no. 6; Renouard, 1964, 3: 33; 4: 93; 5: 140; Carter, 1969, 86, n. 4; Vervliet, 1969, 488, fig. 5; Veyrin-Forrer & Parent, 1974, 82; Veyrin-Forrer, 1978, 68, n. 16; Vervliet, 2003a, 152–3, no. 20; Amert, 2005, 252–5, fig. 3–4.

Figure 5 (opposite, above). The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1536) as it appears on the title-page of G. Guidi, *Chirurgia*, Paris, P. Gaultier, 1544. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon.

CHIRVRGIA·
è Græco in Latinum conuerſa,
Vido Vidio Florentino in-
terprete, cum nonnullis
eiuſdem Vidij cō-
mentarijs·.

6. The 'Chevallon' Roman titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9] or *Deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537)

This new titling appears at Chevallon's press in the years that he reportedly employed Garamont. Moreover it is not in the style of Francis Gryphius, an earlier provider of new types to Chevallon. Nevertheless one hesitates to attribute this titling to Garamont because it differs in style notably from other typefaces perhaps ascribable to him (**5**, **8**, **18**, **20**). It seems more in the line of the master of Loys's first Great Primer (**16**).

Size Two-line Nonpareil (*Deux lignes de Nonpareille*); 12/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; : 3.9 mm.
First seen 1537, **Paris**, C. Chevallon (Justinianus, *Codicis … libri novem priores*; Brussels, Royal Library, LP 7080 A; Moreau, 5: 170, no. 456).
Early appearance **Paris**: 1538, O. Mallard & G. I Du Pré & J. de Roigny {Clichtove}.
Key letters Longer bottom arm of E; outwards singly-seriffed M; wide S; oblique parallel top serifs of T.
Figure 6 The 'Chevallon' titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9] or *Deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537) assembled from Justinianus, *Codicis libri novem priores*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1537. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

ABCDEFGHILMNOPQ STV

7. The 'Vidoue' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1538)

An inept copy of the 1536 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica Roman (5) occurs at the end of the 1530s at a few Parisian presses such as Vidoue, Gromors and Buffet.

Size Two-line Double Pica (*Gros-canon*); 40/37 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 280 x 5 : 9.5 mm.

First seen 1538, **Paris**, P. Vidoue (G. Postel, *Lingvarum duodecim … alphabetvm*; Oxford, All Souls, SR 17.d.4; Moreau, 5: 312, no. 1037) and 1538, **Paris**, P. Vidoue & D. Lescuier (G. Postel, *De originibus*; quires B–G; Brussels, Royal Library, VH 10.089 A2; Moreau, 5: 311, no. 1035) and 1538, **Paris**, N. Buffet for Gervais Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruel (Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum Libri IIII*; Cambridge, Trinity Hall, E*6.5; Moreau, 5: 307, no. 1019)

Early appearances **Paris**: *c.* 1538, P. Gromors {Postel}; 1540, G. Le Bret {Erasmus}; 1541, A. Langelier {Suetone}; 1542, J. Bignon & A. Girault & G. Le Bret & P. Sergent {Marot}, F. I Estienne {Donatus}.

Key letters Long bottom arm of capital E; one-eared M; obliquely tailed lowercase g.

Figure 7 The 'Vidoue' Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1538) assembled from G. Postel, *Lingvarvm duodecim characteribvs … alphabetvm*, Paris, D. Lescuier & P. Vidoue, 1538, f. I2ᵛ–I3ᵛ. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

ABCDEFGHIKLMNO
PQRSTVXYZ
abcdefghilmnopqrſtu
xyz

8. The 'Wechel' Roman titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6] or *Deux points de Philosophie* (1538)

A new roman and Greek titling appeared from 1538 onwards in Wechel's press and later at those of Fezendat and Loys. In style it is quite different from the titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9] in use at the Chevallon press from 1537 onwards (6) and unlikely to originate from the same source. Possibly it is an early Garamont typeface. In the early 1540s, Jean Loys and Francis Gryphius used two similar, though distinct, titling founts of 5.8 and 7 mm respectively, probably engraved by Gryphius; but from the mid-1540s onwards Loys had the Wechel typeface too.

Size Two-line Long Primer (*Deux points de Petit-romain*); 17/16 Anglo-American/Didot points; : 6 mm.

First seen 1538, **Paris**, C. Wechel (Nicolaus Gerasinus, *Arithmetica*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, G 4802; Moreau, 5: 302, no. 998).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1541, M. Fezendat {Eusebius}; 1544–6, F. II Regnault [& J. Loys] {Bible en francois}; 1545–6, J. Loys {Morel}.

Key letters Low middle arm of capital E; one-eared M; low-ranging N (5.6 mm; probably wrong sort); long-tailed R; with Greek sorts.

Figure 8 The 'Wechel' titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6] or *Deux points de Philosophie* (1538) assembled from J. Noviomagus [Bronkhorst], *De numeris*, Paris, C. Wechel, 1539 and A. Alciati, *Emblemata*, ibid., 1542. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, and Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

ABCDEFGHILMNOPQ
RSTV

9. Constantin's Great Primer Roman [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530)

This Great Primer is a reduction of the Two-line Double Pica Roman, introduced by Robert I Estienne in September 1530 in the same two titles mentioned above (1). Its outstanding design set the standard for roman type in the two centuries to follow. It was quickly imitated, the immediate successors appearing from 1531 onwards. Like the Two-line Double Pica, it has been frequently attributed to Garamont, but looking into the occurrences of new typefaces in Paris during the 1530s, I conjecture that Maitre Constantin was its punchcutter.

Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16.5/15.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 115 x 2.1 : 3.4 mm.

First seen 6 September 1530, **Paris**, Robert I Estienne (Cicero, *Oratoriae partitiones*; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale et interuniversitaire, i-639; Moreau, 3: 539, no. 2027 and Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in elegantiarum libros L. Vallae*; Cambridge University Library, Aa* 6.15(1)F; Moreau, 3: 552, no. 2084).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1538, R. Chaudière & R. I Estienne {Imbert}; 1551, C. I Estienne {Appianus}; 1563, R. II Estienne {Biblia/Ruth}; **Geneva**: 1551, R. I Estienne {Pauli epistolae}; 1554, C. Badius {Nouveau Testament}; 1557, H. II Estienne {Aeschylus}; 1562, E. Anastase {Bible}.

Key letters Capital line below ascender line; narrow capitals F and L; one-eared M; slightly oblique top serifs of T; small counter of lowercase a; i with dot to the right.

Variant letters Narrow capital T (1543); some lowercase variants (1552); broad ampersand (1553).

Literature Beaujon, 1926, fig. 20; Johnson, 1959, 46, fig. 14; Carter, 1969, fig. 63; Barker, 1974, pl. 5a; Vervliet, 2004, 124–6, no. 2.

Figure 9a Constantin's Great Primer [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530) as it appears in Lucianus, *Dialogi*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1530, p. 43. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

Figure 9b Constantin's Great Primer [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530) assembled from *Alphabetum Graecum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1548, f. A2–A8. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

HERCVLES.   43   *9a*

Inualidúfque tibi, & fegnes tardíque
  caballi:
Videlicet eo fcómate pedes meos no-
tans. Verum quoties fenex ille Hercu-
les recurrit animo, ad quiduis adducor
vt faciam: neque me pudet hæc aude-
re, quum fim ipfi æqualis imagini.
Itaque robur, celeritas, forma, & fi qua
funt alia corporis bona, valeant, cúm-
que his tuus ô Teie vates, cupido, vbi
me mento fubcano viderit auro rutilá
tibus alis, fi videbitur, vel aquilas præ-
teruolet: neque laborabit Hippoclides,
imò nunc vel maximè tempeftiuum
fuerit, facundia repubefcere, florere, ni
gere, & quàm licet plurimos ab auri-
bus ducere, ac fæpius arcu ferire: quá-
doquidem periculum non eft, nequá-
do quis præter fpem pharetram inané

ABCDEFGHI LMNOP RSTV X Z   *9b*
a b c d e g i l m n o p q r ſ s t u v x y z
æ ᴄ̈t & fl ſt

10. Colines's second Great Primer 'Terentianus' Roman [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531)

This is the famous roman of Colines, eponymously known as the Terentianus roman after the Terentianus Maurus, *De literis* (Moreau, 4: no. 292; Schreiber, 1995, 72), published by Colines in 1531 and one of his earliest imprints to show this typeface. With the new Estienne romans (which preceded it by a few months), it has been heralded as the best expression of a true Renaissance roman. It is very like Colines's first roman on this size (Vervliet, 2003a, 139, no. 12), but without the latter's most obvious archaisms as the tilt-barred e or the lozenge-shaped full-point and colon. The capitals of both typefaces seem to be identical, but the long letters of the lowercase are a bit longer. The earliest dated occurrence in Colines's printing is in his Basilius edition of 27 May 1531, but it has been noted that the typeface occurs already in March and May 1531, in two leaflets by Guillaume Bochetel on the Entry and Coronation of Queen Eleonora (Moreau, 4: nos. 54–5), both published by Geoffroy Tory but quite certainly printed by Colines (Johnson, 1928, 64–5; Barker, 1974, 13).

In 1533 Colines revised this typeface again, mainly by fitting it with a new and lighter set of capitals. For the sake of convenience, this state is reviewed separately, below (**14**).

Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 17/16 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 119 x 2.1 : 3.7 mm.

First seen 27 May 1531, **Paris**, S. de Colines (Basilius Magnus, *Epistolae*; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, Th. 80 2081; Moreau, 4: 59, no. 37.

Early appearances **Paris**: 1531, L. Blaubloom & S. de Colines {Constitutiones Belvacenses}, G. Tory {Bochetel}.

Key letters Capital line below ascender line; broad E; downwards beaking G; outwards seriffed M; broad R; alternative forms of Q (short/long-tailed); downwards flared T; narrow lowercase c; level-barred e; broad upper and lower counters of g; dotted i (undotted ligatures); alternative forms of z (short/descending); round full-point and colon.

Literature Beaujon, 1926, 150–1, fig. 17; Carter, 1969, 84; Barker, 1974, 13, pl. 6a; Amert, 1991, 29–30, fig. 9; Vervliet, 2003a, 142–3, no. 14.

Figure 10a Colines's second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531) as it appears in Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1531, f. a2. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

Figure 10b Colines's second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531) assembled from Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1531. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

10a

10b

11. Augereau's Great Primer Roman [R 112] or *Gros-romain* (1531–2)

One year after the first appearance of the epochal 1530 Constantin Great Primer (**9**), Augereau had a close copy available. It is the best designed of the three romans attributed to Augereau and hardly inferior to its predecessor. It occurs from 1531 onwards, first in André Bocard's editions and, from 1532, in Augereau's. It is attributed to the latter because it was used at his press. It has not been found elsewhere, except at Janot's press in the years 1537 and 1538 and in the main part of the 1535 Nyverd-Colines-Du Pré edition of Foresti, perhaps printed by Augereau; see also below (**25**).

Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20 112 x 2 : 3.5** mm.

First seen 1531, **Paris**, A. Bocard (Vergilius, *Opera* [quires b sqq.]; capitals only; London, British Library, 687. e.6; Moreau, 4: 127, no. 309; Renouard, 1964, 5: 73,

no. 78) and 15 March/19 April 1532, **Paris**, A. Bocard & A. Augereau for J. II Petit (Aristoteles, *Opera Latina*; Paris, Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, Res. 16e II LEF 13: 3; Moreau, 4: 135, no. 331; Renouard, 1: 205–6, no. 541; 5: 74).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1532, A. Augereau {Sepulveda}, A. Augereau & G. I Du Pré {Plinius}, G. Fiscus [pseud. of Augereau] {Erasmus}; 1534, A. Augereau & S. de Colines {Eusebius}; 1535, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti}; 1537, D. Janot {Cicero}.

Key letters High-barred capital A; downwards-beaking G; one-eared M with slab-seriffed top; narrow N and S; wide T; small-bowled lowercase g; slightly sloping s.

Literature Beaujon, 1926, 157, figs. 22, 23; Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 139, fig. 11; Renouard, 1964, 1: 204, pl. A37; Barker, 1974, 14–15, pl. 8; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 31, figs. 1 and 11.

Figure 11 Augereau's Great Primer [R 112] or *Gros-romain* (1531–2) as it appears in *Nouus orbis regionum*, Paris, A. Augereau, 1532, f. 508. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon.

12. The Gryphius's first Great Primer Roman [R 112] or *Gros-romain* (1531)

Up to the end of 1530, Wechel (or his contract printer) used the common Bergmann Great Primer Roman (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 5) as a large text type. For his own new printing office he had this new Great Primer Roman ready by 1531. All Wechel's imprints of 1531 in which I have seen a Great Primer display this new typeface, excepting Zagarus's 1531 *Lex* (Moreau, 4: no. 316) which appears from its type assortment to have been printed by Blaubloom.

Gryphius, on the other hand, began to use a very similar Great Primer at the end of 1531. This typeface differs only in a few sorts and may be considered a second and modernized state of the Wechel type (**13**). In Poitiers, Gryphius's regular customers, the Marnefs, used the accented letters of the Wechel typeface in their usual Gryphius Great Primer (**13**). On these grounds the Wechel type may be attributed to Gryphius. Both faces imitate (rather poorly) the 1528 Colines Great Primer (Vervliet, 2003a, 139).

The Wechel version may have been cut before the first new-style Estienne romans appeared in Paris at the end of

1530. Its archaisms betray it as one of Gryphius's earliest typefaces. I have not seen it used outside the Wechel press, where it was the usual Great Primer roman up to 1543. Thereafter the press started using Garamont's first Great Primer.

Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20 112 x 2.1 : 3.5** mm.

First seen January 1531, **Paris**, C. I Wechel (Galenus, *De plenitudine*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Med. 280; Moreau, 4: 90, no. 163).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1533, Jer. de Gourmont & C. Wechel {Restauld}; 1537, Collegium Italorum [& C. Wechel] {Guidacerio}.

Key letters Narrow capital H; outwards singly-seriffed M; wide lead-in stroke of lowercase a; protruding link of g; high lead-in stroke of ampersand. Very like Gryphius's Great Primer (**13**), but with differing lowercase a, e, g and ampersand.

Literature Barker, 1974, 14, pl. 6b; Kemp, 1991, 39.

Figure 12 Gryphius's first Great Primer [R 112] or *Gros-romain* (1531) as it appears in Vegetius, *De re militari*, Paris, C. Wechel, 1532, f. A1. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

13. Gryphius's second Great Primer Roman [R 113] or *Gros-romain* (1531)

Clearly a modernized state of Wechel's Great Primer (**12**), only used by Gryphius in the years 1531–2 and later by the Marnefs at Poitiers. Its one-eared M, mentioned by Kemp (1991, 31) is the result of foul casting. Gryphius started using a new Great Primer roman (**15**) from 1533 onwards.
Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 113 x 2.1 : 3.5 mm.
First seen 1531, **Paris**, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio … pro Cn. Plancio*; Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, I 802; Moreau, 4 : 71, no. 87)

Key letters Very like the Wechel Great Primer (**12**) but with updated lowercase a, e, g and ampersand.
Literature Kemp, 1991, 31.
Figure 13 Gryphius's second Great Primer [R 113] or *Gros-romain* (1531) as it appears in Cicero, *Pro Plancio*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1531, f. a3. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Blois.

luntatē honeſtā ſæpè in magnis laudatā fuiſse,
præſertim apud æquos iudices: & huiuſmodi,
quāuis leuioribus, tamen rudimētis quibuſdam,
iis qui ad maiora nondū apti ſunt, ad ea ipſa ta-
men aditum parari.   Vale, ex Gymnaſio Pari-
ſienſi. xiii. calendas Decemb.   M. D. XXXI.

14. Colines's third Great Primer Roman [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1533)

It is unclear whether Colines completely recut his second Great Primer roman (**10**) or merely changed some characters, bringing them more in line with the lighter fashion displayed in the new Estienne romans (1530). In any case, the change occurs gradually from 1533 onwards. Spot letters are the narrow capital E, the non-beaking G, the steep R, the smaller lower case g and the bulbous tail of y. Barker (1974, 17) suggests (mainly on stylistic grounds) that Antoine Augereau was involved in its cutting.
Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 17/16 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 116 x 2.1 : 3.7 mm.
First seen 1533, **Paris**, S. de Colines (Aristotle, *De historia animalium*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, G 5445; Moreau, 4 : 200, no. 570).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1535, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti; prelims only}; 1536, G. I Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom] {Bouchet}, F. I Estienne [& S. de Colines] {Terentius}; 1549, R. Chaudière {Horae}.
Key letters Narrow capital E; non-beaking G; outwards singly-seriffed M; steep R; narrow lowercase g; y with bulbous tail.
Literature Barker, 1974, 17–8, pl. 10; Amert, 1991, 30, fig. 10; Vervliet, 2003a, 147–8, no. 17.
Figure 14a Colines's third Great Primer [R 116] or *Gros-romain* (1533) as it occurs in J. Ruel, *De natura stirpivm*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1536, p. 15. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.
Figure 14b Colines's third Great Primer [R 116] or *Gros-romain* (1533) assembled from Aristoteles, *De natura animalium*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1536, f. Aa2–Aa4ᵛ. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

14a decorem. Cæteris nigricans colos. Cedrus, & larix, iuniperúſq; rubent. Qui fru‑
tices, herbæ, vel arbores reċto neruorum ſtamine coaluerunt, quòd frangentē
magis cæteris violentiam reſpuant, vinculis faſcium dicatæ ſunt. Hinc geniſtæ,
populnei ramuli, vlmei ſanguinei frutices, betula, arundo fiſſa, & folia earundem
vitis, reciſiſque aculeis rubi, atque intorta corylus alligant. Mirúmque contuſo
ligno alicui maiores ad vincula eſſe vires. Hac in re ſalici præcipua dos. Quæ

14b A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q Q R S T V Y
a b c d e f g g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y
æ ċt & ff fi ꝓ ꝗ q̃

15. Gryphius's third Great Primer Roman
[R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1533)

In 1533 Gryphius reorganized his type cases completely. He replaced his old Great Primer with this one and added a new English-bodied roman described below (**24**). The new Great Primer remained his usual type in this size for the rest of his activity. It was adopted by Gryphius's regular customers, such as the Chevallons and, at Poitiers, the Marnefs.

Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/ Didot points; 20 114 x 2.2 : 3.5 mm.

First seen 1533, **Paris**, F. Gryphius & P. Gaudoul (Erasmus, *Familiarivm colloquiorum ... opus*; Ghent, Universiteits-bibliotheek, Acc. 33489; Moreau, 4: 227, no. 673) and 1533–34, **Paris**, F. Gryphius & Jer. de Gourmont (*Sanctvm ... Evangelivm*; Liège, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire; Moreau, 4: 282, no. 881).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1534, F. Gryphius {Terentius}; 1537–40, N. Buffet {Haymo}; 1538, Ch. Guillard & F. Gryphius {Agricola}; 1540, P. II Regnault {Biblia}; 1541, J. Bogard {Xenophon}; 1543, J. Bogard & J. Gazeau & J. de Roigny {Theophylactus}, C. Langelier {Blasons anatomiques}; 1545, F. I Estienne {Donatus}, E. Mesvière {Constantin}; 1546, A. Juriani {Vivaldi}; 1550, V. Gaultherot {Pantheus}; 1552, Ch. Guillard & G. Desboys {Bible}; 1553, Jer. de Gourmont {Postel}; 1556, G. Julien {Roillet}; 1564, G. I Merlin {Biblia}; **Poitiers**: 1545, J. II & E. II de Marnef {Bouchet}; 1554, E. II de Marnef {Solinus}; **Lyons**: 1547, Th. Payen {Cicero}; 1549, G. Rouillé {Magnificence}.

Key letters High-barred capital A; one-eared M with double left top serif; oversized Q; big-bowled R; narrow S; slightly sloped lowercase e; wide z; normal and swash tailed ampersand (1554, Marnef {Solinus}).

Figure 15 Gryphius's third Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1533) as it appears in Augustinus (s.), *Opera*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1541, tomus 8, p. 382. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

INDEX QVATERNIONVM.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r ſ t v x y z

ABCDEFGHIK LMNOPQRSTVXYZ   Aa. Bb.

16. The first 'Loys' Great Primer Roman
[R 110] or *Gros-romain* (1535)

Loys used this rather bold roman from 1535, when he started his own press, to 1539 when he changed over to the typeface described below (**20**). This earlier type is competently cut though somewhat old-fashioned in style. The appearance at Chevallon's press is peculiar: Chevallon reportedly was Garamont's employer in the 1530s. But I have seen it only in one of his books (Justinianus, *Codicis libri novem priores*, 1537; Moreau, 5: no. 456). The 1537 Chevallon titling (**6**) is similar in style.

Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 15.5/14.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 110 x 2 : 3.7 mm.

First seen December 1535, **Paris**, Heirs of Badius [& J. Loys] (Petrus Lombardus, *In omnes D. Pauli ... epistolas*, prelims quires a-b only; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, G. 9637[1]; Moreau, 4: 413, no. 1403; Renouard, 1964, 2: 297, no. 776).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1536, J. Loys & J. de Roigny {Cicero}; 1537, C. Chevallon {Justinianus}; 1538, [J. Loys] & D. Lescuier {Postel/quire A}.

Key letters high-barred capital A; outwards singly-seriffed M; undersized Q; bold-tailed R; oblique parallel top serifs of T; tilt-barred lowercase e; small-bowled g; z with thin diagonal; lozenge-shaped colon and full-point.

Literature Renouard, 1964, S4: 19 (s.v. *Gros-texte*; the reference to an appearance in 1545 is suspect); 46–7 and pl. 4.

Figure 16 The first 'Loys' Great Primer [R 110] or *Gros-romain* (1535) as it appears in Cicero, *Orationes*, Paris, J. de Roigny & J. Loys, 1536, f. E3ᵛ. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

Audio præterea, non hanc ſuſpitionem nunc primum in Capitonem conferri, multas eſſe infameis palmas, hanc primã eſſe tamen lemniſcatam, quæ Romæ deferatur. nullum modum eſſe hominis occidiendi, quo ille non aliquot occiderit: multos ferro, multos veneno. Habeo etiam dicere quem contra morem maiorum, minorem annis LX de ponte in Tyberim deiecerit: qui ſi prodierit, atque adeo cum prodierit, ſcio enim proditurum eſſe, audiet. veniat modo, explicet ſuum volumen illud, quod ei planũ facere poſſum Erucium cõſcripſiſſe,

17. The 'Girault' Great Primer Roman [R 110] or *Gros-romain* (1535)

This rather uneven roman appeared in 1535 and is attributed by Moreau (4: nos. 1348 and 1444) variously to Buffet or Gromors. But it is named here after one of its first users, Ambroise Girault, though he is mainly known as a publisher. It may have been engraved by his brother, Julien. The typeface also occurs in Marguerite de Navarre's *c.* 1535 *Miroir* (s.l, s.n.), attributed to N. Buffet's press by Moreau (4: no. 1367). Other roman types, originating at the same source, are described below (**27**, **33**).

Size   Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 15.5/14.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 110 x 2.3 : 3.5 mm.

First seen   1535, **Paris**, A. Girault & J. Kerver & J. Macé & J. II Petit (F. Josephus, *Antiqvitatvm Iudaicarum libri xx*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Acc. 32452; Moreau, 4: 400, no. 1348) and 1535, **Paris**, A. Girault & P. Gaudoul & P. Le Preux & J. II Petit (Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum … collectanea*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Cl. 258; Moreau, 4: 422, no. 1444) and 1535, **Paris**, J. II Petit & P. Le Preux (R. Goullet, *Tetramonon*; Bibliothèque Mazarine, 23194; Moreau, 4: 395, no. 1328).

Early appearances   **Paris**: *c.* 1535, [N. Buffet ?] {Marguerite}; 1537, C. Chevallon & J. Macé & A. Girault {Petrus Lombardus}; 1538, N. Buffet for Gervais Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruel {Petrus Lombardus}.

Key letters   Sloping capital C; one-eared M; wide N; smallish Q; small-bowled lowercase g.

Figure 17   The 'Girault' Great Primer [R 110] or *Gros-romain* (1535) as it appears in Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum … collectanea*, Paris, A. Girault & P. Gaudoul & P. Le Preux & Jean II Petit, 1535, f. a1. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

18. The 'Vascosan' Great Primer Roman [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (Paris, 1536)

In his earlier years Michel de Vascosan used the 'Capsaca' Great Primer roman his father-in-law Badius had introduced in Paris in 1503 (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 3). He used this new type from 1536 to 1549. The Vascosan typeface has attracted the attention of historians: Beatrice Warde (Beaujon, 1926, 156, fig. 24) considered it as one of the better copies of Estienne's epochal 1530 Great Primer (Vervliet, 2004, 124–6). Carter (1976, 69, no. B 53) suggested that it was engraved by Garamont. The type certainly shows a good understanding of roman letterforms but the uneven height of some capitals points to the work of a beginner. If it is Garamont's, it must be one of his earliest types, cut between the death of Augereau (Christmas Eve, 1534), to whom Le Bé reports he was apprenticed, and his employment by the Chevallons (Carter, 1967, 30) probably from 1537 onwards. However, differences in style with typefaces attributable to Garamont on surer grounds (**34**, **39**, **40**) throw some doubts on the ascription.

Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 114 x 2.2 : 3.5 mm.

First seen 1536, **Paris**, M. de Vascosan (G. Budé, *De stvdio literarvm*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, G. 9641; Moreau, 5: 73, no. 59).

Early appearance **Paris**: 1549, J. Dallier [& M. de Vascosan] {C'est lordre}.

Key letters Small capital L; one-eared M; narrow N; long-tailed R; slightly sloping S; oblique parallel top serifs of T.

Literature Beaujon, 1926, 156, fig. 24; Carter, 1976, 69, no. B 53.

Figure 18a The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1536) as it appears in Lucianus, *Opera*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1546, f. F2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Figure 18b The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1536) assembled from Lucianus, *Opera*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1546, f. 41ᵛ, 42, 179. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

CRATETIS ET DIOGENIS, Erafmo Roterod. inteprete.
CRATES.

Oerichum diuitem nouerás ne Diogenes? illum inquã fupra modum diuitem, illum Corintho profectũ, cui tot erant naues onuftæ mercibus, cuius confobrinus Arifteas quum ipfe quoque dius effet, Homericum illud in ore folebat habere:
Aut me confice tu, aut ego tete. DIOG. Cuius rei gratia fefe captabát inuicem, Crates? CRAT. Hæreditatis caufa, quum effent æquales, uterq; alterũ captabant. Iamq; teftamenta publicauerant ambo, in quibus Mœrichus, fi prior moreretur, Arifteá omnium rerum fuarũ dominum relinquebat: Mœrichum uiciffim Arifteas, fi quidé ipfe prior è uita decederet. Hæc igitur quũ effent in tabulis fcripta, illi inter fefe captabát, & alter alterũ adulationibus obfequiifq; fuperare contédebat. Porrò diuini, haud fcio utrũ ex aftris id quod futurũ fit coniectantes, an fomniis, quemadmodum Chaldæi faciũt, quin & Pythius ipfe, nunc Arifteam uictoré fore pronunciabat, nunc Mœrichum: ac trutina quidem interim ad hunc, interim ad illum propendebat. DIOG. Quid igitur tandem euénit? nam audire eft operæprecium, Crates. CRAT. Eodem die mortui funt ambo: cæterùm hæreditates ad Eunomium ac Thrafyclem deuenerunt, quorum uterque cognatus illis erat: atqui de his nihil prædixerant diuini futurum ut tale quippiam accideret. Etenim quum Sicyone Cirrham uerfus nauigarent, medio in curfu obliquo orto Iapyge euerfa naui perierũt.

ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRST V XYZ
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s f t u x y
æ ct & ff ft

19. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English Roman [R 104] or *Gros-texte* (1536)

Up to the mid 1530s, Chevallon used either the Gering Large English or the 'Bergmann' Great Primer (Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 2 and 5). In 1536 he introduced this new roman which has all characteristics of a Gryphius roman. This typeface has not been seen outside Chevallon's press and seems to be propietary to him.

Its use ends sometime after 1538 when the press changed to Gryphius's third Great Primer described above (**15**).

Size Large English (*Gros-texte*); 15/14 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 104 **x** 2.1 : 3.5 mm.
First seen 1536, **Paris**, C. Chevallon (Johannes Chrysostomus (s.), *Opera*; Valognes, Bibliothèque municipale, A 410; Moreau, 5: 109, no. 209).
Early appearance **Paris**: 1539, Ch. Guillard & J. de Roigny {Alessandri}.
Key letters High-barred capital A; one-eared M; sloped shortish S; small upper bowl of lowercase g; sloped s.
Figure 19 The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English [R 104] or *Gros-texte* (1536) as it appears in G. Pachymeres, *Paraphrasis in decem epistolas B. Dionysii Areopagitae*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, p. 54ᵛ. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Dionyſius Areopagita,
Qui igitur dei ordinatione alijs preſunt:inferioribus atque ſubiectis, que cuiuſq; merito congruũt, tribuant. Demophilus autem ratione moderetur ire & concupiſcentie,eſque ſecũdum merita tribuat:neque ſuũ violet ordinẽ,ſed regat ſubdita ſupereminẽs ratio.Ná ſi cũ fortè in foro aſpicimus famulũ domino,ſeniori adoleſcentulũ,ſiue etiá filiũ patri maledicere,ſimulq; impetu facto plagas inferre:pietatem violare videmur,niſi accurrentes,præſtátioribus opem ferre ſtudeamus,quantãlibet illi fortaſſe priùs perpeſſi iniuriã ſint.Cur,queſo, non erubeſcimus,qui rationem ab ira & concupiſcentia violari,& à tradito ſibi diuinitus principatu deijci vi demus atque negligimus: & inter nos ipſos impiam & iniuſtã temeritatem,ſeditionẽ, cõfuſionémq; excitam⁹?

20. The second 'Loys' Great Primer Roman [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1539)

In 1539 Loys replaced his 1535 Great Primer Roman, described above (**16**) with this Great Primer. The new typeface also appears in the same year at other Parisian presses such as those of C. Neobar, the Collegium Italorum and Denys Janot. It is an excellently designed roman, one of the best to appear in the 1530s and clearly the work of a master with a full understanding of roman letterforms.

Renouard (1964, 5: 92, n. 49; S4: 19, n. 64) attributes it to Claude Garamont with a reference to a Great Primer roman ascribed by Guillaume II Le Bé to Garamont in the *c.* 1598 Le Bé-Moretus specimen (Vervliet-Carter, 1572, 14, no. 15). The reference to Le Bé is unquestionably erroneous but an attribution to Garamont, albeit on the grounds of style and distribution only, certainly makes sense. It is similar though not identical to Garamont's first documented Great Primer (the R, g and c are useful spot letters), which first appears at Gazeau's press in 1542 {Sylvius} and, in the following years, at those of Bogard, Wechel, Gaultier and Mesvière. Pierre Gaultier was Garamont's relative and Etienne Mesvière one of his customers (Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, n. 15, fig. 3; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 68, n. 15, fig. 15).

Size Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 114 x 2 : 3.4 mm.

First seen 1539, **Paris**, J. Loys & J. de Roigny (Cicero, *De officiis*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, G. 9207;

Moreau, 5: 360, no. 1218; Renouard, 1964, S4: 71–2, no. 55) and 1539, **Paris**, C. Neobar [& J. Loys] (Francis I, *De typographia graeca*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Rés. 16029-9; Moreau, 5: 387, no. 1327; Renouard, 1964, 5: 103, no. 82) and 1539, **Paris**, Collegium Italorum (A. Guidacerio, *Grammatica*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 20008-2; Moreau, 5: 398, no. 1372; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 97, no. 95) and December 1539, **Paris**, D. Janot & A. & Ch. Langelier (J. de Longueval, *Nova et facilis declaratio*; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 226 F 31; Moreau, 5: 409; no. 1421).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1539, D. Janot {Ovidius}; A. Girault & Ch. Guillard & J. II Petit & J. de Roigny & J. Loys {Dionysius Carthusiensis}, J. Loys & P. Le Preux {Du Moulin}, D. Janot & G. I Du Pré {Cicero}; *c.* 1539, D. Janot & V. Sertenas {San Pedro}; 1541, M. Fezandat {Eusebius}, E. Toussain {Alexander Aphrodisaeus}; 1542, J. Bogard {Grynaeus}; 1545, Jeanne de Marnef {Petrarca}; 1548, E. Groulleau {Amadis}.

Key letters High-barred capital A; low middle arm of E; one-eared M with a right diagonal ending low; long-tailed R; narrow S; wide T with outwards sloped top serifs; small-bowled lowercase a; straight ear of g; i with dot to the right; two ampersands (short/swash).

Literature Renouard, 1964, 5: 92, n. 49; 140; S4: 19, n. 64.

Figure 20 The second 'Loys' Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1539) as it appears in J. de Longueval, *Nova et facilis declaratio*, Paris, D. Janot, 1539, f. â2. Courtesy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

MO POYETO GALLIARVM CAN-
cellario digniſſimo, Ioannes Longovallius   S.

Vi noſtra hac tempeſtate in legibus imperato-
rum iuriſque prudentum reſponſis clarè & per-
ſpicuè elucidandis, accuratam nauant operam,
vir ampliſſ. ii bifariam impendere labo-
rem ab omnibus exiſtimantur, Nó pauci
etenim atque hi frequentiores gloſſemata commenta-
rioſque antiquorum ad legum vicem obſeruantes, au-
ctioribus eos informant rapſodiis & declarationibus,
verboſoſque centones euulgant, in quíbus nouas mo-
dò rationes moliuntur, modò ex aliis locis ad id quod
adeſt multa tranſferentes, nihil niſi vſitatum, atque
aliubi diſputatum proferunt, ita ex vepretis ſyluas &
ex fonticulis riuos ac prægrandia flumina ſæpenume-
ro conficientes. Alii verò non contenti, per antiquo-
rum tramites ambulare, legum mendoſas plerunque

21. Constantin's English-bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1530)

Less than two months after the appearance of his Two-line Double Pica and Great Primer, Estienne introduced the smallest of his three newly-styled romans. That implied the end of his use the 'Bergmann' Great Primer and the second Colines English-bodied roman. Both typefaces came from Colines's stock (Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 5 and 37). On the other hand, Estienne continued using the smaller Colines typefaces on Small Pica and Bourgeois (Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 31 and 35).

In January 1531, the new English found a splendid showing in Jacques Dubois's *Isagoge* (Moreau, 4: no. 135). Dubois or Sylvius, a young physician with a Montpellier degree, wrote a grammar of the French language (in Latin) while waiting for an accreditation with the Paris faculty. He had it printed by Robert Estienne and addressed it to Eleonore of Austria, sister of Emperor Charles I and the new bride of François I. She was to be crowned, and enjoy a royal entry into Paris, in March and April 1531.

The typography of the *Isagoge* was not simple. A great many new phonetic signs had to be engraved (only the apostrophe, diaeresis and circumflex lived on), and the text type made available in split sizes to allow the numerous diacritics to be set as floating superscripts, two features pointing to substantial typecasting facilities at Estienne's press.

The type may be that which is mentioned in the *c.*1618 Le Bé Inventory as 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline' (Morison, 1957, 18). It is commonly thought that this entry refers to the present typeface. The attribution to Colines is puzzling and the wording of this entry must be an error, one of the very few in the Inventory (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 107–12; 1987, 6–7). Colines never used the Sylvius English

nor any other of the new Estienne typefaces. Conversely, Le Bé owned none of the Estienne types but he had acquired three sets of Colines types. Presumably the entry refers to the latest version of Colines's 1533 English (**14**), which is a close copy of Estienne's.

This English-bodied roman has not been seen outside the presses of the Estienne family. Based on the occurrences of new typefaces in Paris during the 1530s, I think that Maitre Constantin was the engraver of this Estienne type.

Size English (*Saint-augustin*); 12.5/12 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 92 x 1.8 : 3 mm.

First seen December 1530, **Paris**, R. I Estienne (Cicero, *Orator*; Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 74-II-187-40; Moreau, 3: 537, no. 2018.

Early appearances **Paris**: 1552, C. I Estienne {Flaminius}; 1566, R. II Estienne {Alphabetum graecum}; **Geneva**: 1553, R. I Estienne {Bucer}; 1557, H. II Estienne {Aeschylus}.

Key letters Capital line below ascender line; narrow capital L; one-eared M with double left top serif; asymmetrical top serifs of T; small counter of a; i with dot to the right; short stem of p.

Contemporary attribution The *c.* 1618 Le Bé Inventory refers (mootly) to a 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline' (Morison, 1957, 18).

Literature Beaujon, 1926, 150; Johnson, 1959, 46; Barker, 1974, 12, pl. 5b; Vervliet, 2004, 126–9, no. 3.

Figure 21a Constantin's English-bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1530) as it occurs in Vergilius, *Opera*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532, f.*3. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Figure 21b Constantin's English-bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1530) assembled from *Biblia* [*Latina* in 2°], Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1546, f. 4 and a1. Courtesy of the Bibliotheek Godgeleerdheid Leuven.

21a

21b

22. The first 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531–2)

A few lines in Part I and the Index volume of the nine-part Augustinus of 1531–2 exhibit this face, wherein the old Gering Great Primer and Pica are used as text types. The same is true for the 1533 Gregorius, but in the Hieronymus of the that year the old Gering types are absent. The new typeface was used frequently by Chevallon up to 1536, when he began using a new Large English roman (**19**). I have not seen it outside Chevallon's press.

Barker (1974, 18 and pl. 12) considers this an early Garamont face, but its archaism seems more in the style of the other early Gryphius romans. I am tempted to believe that it was cut by Gryphius as a proprietary typeface for Chevallon.

Size English (*Saint-augustin*); 12.5/11.5 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 89 x 2 : 3 mm.
First seen 1531–2, **Paris**, C. Chevallon (Augustinus (s.), *Opera*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Her. 3617; Moreau, 4: 58, no. 32).
Key letters Wide capital E; narrow H; outwards singly-seriffed M; tilt-barred lowercase e; lozenge-shaped period and colon.
Literature Barker, 1974, 18, pl. 12; Kemp, 1991, 46.
Figure 22 The first 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531–2) as it appears on the title-page of Hieronymus (s.), *Opus epistolarum*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1533. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.
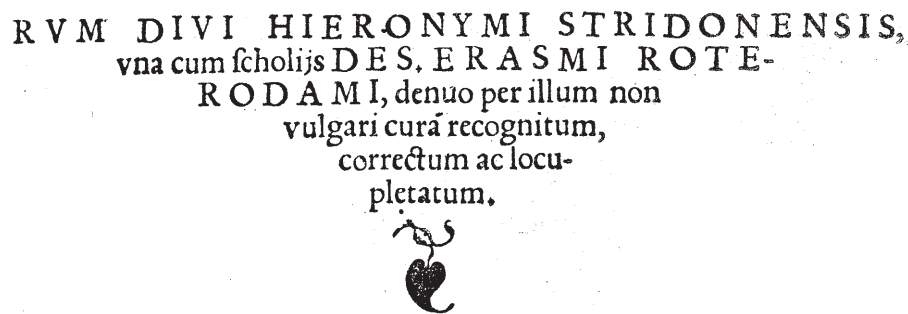
23. Colines's third English-bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533)

Most Paris typographers were eager to emulate Estienne's example, including Colines. In Colines's typeface, some letterforms of his earlier *Saint-augustin*, described by Vervliet (2003a, 137, no. 11), reappear along side the new forms, for example, the outwards singly-seriffed M and the narrow lowercase g. It is not clear whether these were foul sorts or intended by Colines as alternative forms.

The *c*. 1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 18) refers to a 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline'. It is commonly thought that this entry refers to the 1530 *Saint-augustin* roman of Robert I Estienne (**21**) rather than to the present typeface. The reference to Sylvius is puzzling and must be an error – one of the very few in the *c*. 1618 Le Bé Inventory (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 107–12; 1987, 6–7). In fact, neither the Sylvius *Saint-augustin* roman nor any other of the new Estienne typefaces occurs in Colines's printing. Nor did the Le Bé typefoundry own an Estienne typeface.

Size English (Saint-augustin); 12.5/12 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 90 x 1.9 : 2.9 mm.
First seen 9 June 1533, **Paris**, S. de Colines (J. Clichtove, *Improbatio quorundam articulorum Martini Lutheri*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Acc. 12861; Moreau, 4: 217, no. 636).
Early appearances **Paris**: 1533, C. Chevallon [& L. Blaubloom] {Enchiridion psalmorum}; 1535, J. Nyverd & S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti; prelims only}, L. Blaubloom & G. I Du Pré & P. Le Preux {Tiraqueau}; F. I Estienne [& S. de Colines] {Terentius}.
Key letters Narrow capitals E and F; G beaking downwards; two forms of Q; one-eared M; R with large bowl; lowercase e with horizontal bar; two forms of g (narrow/broad-looped); y with bulbous tail; thin diagonal of z.
Variant letter Non-beaking G from 1543 onwards.
Literature Barker, 1974, 18, pl. 11 ('Cicero'); Amert, 1991, 30–1, fig. 7 ('Cicero'); Vervliet, 2003a, 145, no. 16.
Figure 23 Colines's third English-bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533) assembled from f. 2ᵛ–6 of the Index in Galenus, *De cavsis respirationis*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1533. Courtesy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.
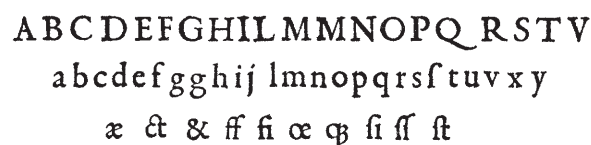
24. Gryphius's second English-bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1533)

This is the first English-bodied roman to appear with a Gryphius imprint. It is wholly in the new 'Aldine' style, introduced by Estienne at the end of 1530 (Barker, 1974). It occurs at Gryphius's press and that of the Marnefs in Poitiers, which apparently became his steady customers. I therefore attribute it to Gryphius rather than to Augereau, as proposed by Kemp (1991, 43). At Loys's press it replaced the earlier English-bodied Roman (**26**) from 1540 onwards, *pace* Renouard (1964, S4: 19). It is the unidentified roman mentioned by Moreau (5: no. 680) in the notice of the 1537 Petrus Lombardus. Chevallon had a slightly reduced copy of this typeface from 1536 onwards. See below (**28**).

Size   English (*Saint-augustin*); 12.5/12 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 92 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

First seen   October 1533 (colophon date; title-page dated 1534), **Paris**, F. Gryphius (L. Valla, *De lingvae latinae elegantia*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, A 10843; Moreau, 4: 351, no. 1163).

Early appearances   **Poitiers**: 1536, J. II & E. II de Marnef {Fabritius}; **Paris**: 1537, P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit {Thomas Aquinas}; 1540, J. Loys & S. de Colines {Plato}, C. Neobar {Canones}, P. II Regnault {Biblia}.

Key letters   Low-barred A; one-eared M with center above baseline; closed-bowl P; big-bowled R; sloping S and X; slightly sloping lowercase c and e; small-bowled g.

Literature   Renouard, 1964, S4: 19 (s.v. Saint-augustin 95/100); Kemp, 1991, 43, pl. 8.

Figure 24   Gryphius's second English-bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1533) as it appears in B. Latomus, *Epitome*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1535, f. b1ᵛ. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

TOTVM ET PARTES.

· Otius & partis nomine genus & species plerunq; significantur: quia simile quiddam inter se obtinent. Nam sicut genus species suas omnes complectitur, ita & totum partes . Sed in re permultum intereft: quia genus in fingularum specierū substantia ineft, & de una qualibet earū uerè prædicatur. Vt animal ineft substantiæ hominis, & de eodem, ité de leone, boue, asino cæterisq; animalibus uerè prædicatur. At totum non item . Nam neque totū corpus singulis ineft membris, nec de iis uerè dici poteft. Itaque de finiendo ista rectè discernuntur à Fabio, ut fit diuisio, plurium rerum in singulas : partitio, fingularum in partes, discretio. ¶ Cæterum ut partium, ita & totius non una eft ratio: fed aliæ quátitatis funt partes, aliæ uirtutis, aliæ subftantiæ. Quantitatis, ut in iis, quæ magnitudine & multitudine conftát. Vt pedale, bipedale : binarius, ternarius. Virtutis, quéadmodū plus roboris A chilli, quá Aiaci fuiffe dicimus: plus luminis soli, quá lunæ. Ité quemadmodū physici animá in uitá, sensum

25. Augereau's English-bodied Roman [R 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1534)

This typeface is attributable to Augereau on the grounds of its appearance at his own press and a reference to punches of this size attributed to him in Plantin's inventory of 1563. The punches were lost or discarded during Plantin's lifetime. He no doubt acquired them at Garamont's executors' sale in 1562 or 1563, together with a group of unfinished Garamont punches. Plantin's reference is the earliest documentation of a relation between Augereau and Garamont (Early inv., 1960, 17 and 21 [LST 5]). It supports the younger Le Bé's statement that Garamont was apprenticed to Augereau (Carter, 1967, 30).

The typeface has not been seen outside Augereau's press, except in the main text part (sign. a–z⁸, A–Gg⁸, Hh¹⁰) of the 1535 Nyverd-Colines-Du Pré edition of Foresti (Moreau, 4: no. 1306), where the preliminaries were wholly set in Colines's types. Probably Nyverd served as a contract printer to Colines and somehow had Augereau's typecases at his disposal. William Kemp's assertion (1991, 43) that Augereau's English-bodied roman was also used by Gryphius as early as 1533 may need correction.

Size   English (*Saint-augustin*); 13.5/13 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20 96 x 1.9 : 3 mm.**

First seen   1534, **Paris**, A. Augereau (Eusebius, *De evangelica praeparatione*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 11990; Moreau, 4: 309, no. 996; Renouard, 1964, 1: 224, no. 577).

Early appearance   **Paris**: 1535, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti}.

Key letters   Outwards singly-seriffed capital M with center above base-line; undersized Q; splayed top serifs of T; tail of lowercase g extending to the right.

Contemporary attribution   Vieux poinçons imparfaicts de lAugustin d'Augereau (Plantin, 1563).

Literature   Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 140, fig. 5; Renouard, 1964, 1: 204, pl. A40; Barker, 1974, 16–17, pl. 9; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 31, fig. 5; Kemp, 1991, 43.

Figure 25   Augereau's English-bodied Roman [R 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1534) as it appears in Eusebius, *De evangelica praeparatione*, A. Augereau & S. de Colines, 1534, f. a3. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyons.

26. The 'Loys' English-bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1535)

A new and passably well-designed roman on an English body occurs from late 1535 onwards at the presses of the heirs of Badius (e.g. in the first quires of the 1535 Petrus Lombardus preliminaries), and later at those of his corrector Loys and son-in-law Vascosan. I do not know who may have cut it, though it has some features, such as the straight-tailed R, in common with the first Loys Great Primer Roman (**16**) and the Janot Pica (**32**). The reference in Renouard (1964, S4: 19) to its occurrence in Neobar's printing as well as the attribution to Garamont (Johnson, 1936, 74; Carter, 1969, 86, n. 4) are dubious.

Size English (*Saint-augustin*); 12.5/12 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 90 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

First seen December 1535, **Paris**, Heirs of Badius [& J. Loys] (Petrus Lombardus, *In omnes D. Pauli … epistolas … collectanea*; prelims quires a–b only; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, G. 9637[1]; Moreau, 4: 413, no. 1403; Renouard, 1964, 2: 297, no. 776).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1536, J. Loys for J. de Roigny & J. II Petit & M. de Vascosan {Asconius Pedianus}; 1537, G. de Bossozel {Libri Salomonis}; 1538, D. Janot {Marot}, [J. Loys &] D. Lescuier {Postel/quire A}, O. Mallard & G. I Du Pré & J. de Roigny {Clichtove}, M. de Vascosan {Appianus}; 1539, G. de Bossozel & G. Le Bret & J. II Petit & Y. Bonhomme {Grant Therence}; 1540, Collegium Italorum {Qimhi}; 1544, P. II Regnault {Bible}; 1549, M. Fezendat {Habert}, J. de Roigny {Thomas a Kempis}; **London**: 1538, T. Petyt {Longland}.

Key letters High-barred capital A; narrow L; one-eared M; wide N; straight-tailed R; T with outwards sloped left top serif; X leaning to the left; small-bowled lowercase a; ampersand leaning to the left.

Figure 26 The 'Loys' English-bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1535) as it appears on the title-page of Petrus Lombardus, *In omnes … Pauli … epistolas collectanea*, Paris, Haeredes Badii, 1535. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

PETRI LONGOBARDI, Magiſtri Sententiarum, Pariſienſ. quondam Epiſcopi, in omnes D. Pauli Apoſt. Epiſtolas COLLECTANEA, ex DD. Auguſtino, Ambroſio, Hieronymo, aliisque nonnullis S. ſcripturæ primariis Interpretibus, ſumma arte diligentiaq; contexta. Opus eximium, & anno M C X L conſcriptum, nunc primum in lucem editum.

27. The 'Girault' English-bodied Roman [R 95] or *Saint-augustin* (1535)

This old fashioned letter is somewhat reminiscent of the first Gryphius-Chevallon English-bodied Roman (**22**). Moreau (4: nos. 1288, 1348, 1444; 5: nos. 56–7, 135–7, 680, 1036) links this typeface to Gromors, whose address occurs on some title-pages. It occurs mostly accompanied by Girault's Great Primer (**17**) and Pica (**33**). See also Janot's Long Primer, below (**38**).

Size English (*Saint-augustin*); 13.5/12.5 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 95 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

First seen 1535, **Paris**, A. Girault & P. Gaudoul & P. Le Preux & J. II Petit (Valerius Maximus, *Dictorvm ac factorum … memorabilia*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Moreau, 4: 423, no. 1444) and 1535, **Paris**, A. Girault & J. Kerver & J. Macé & J. II Petit (F. Josephus, *Antiqvitatvm Iudaicorum libri xx*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Acc. 32452; Moreau, 4: 400, no. 1348) and 1535, **Paris**, J. II Petit &

M. de La Porte (G. Budé, *Annotationes … in Pandectorum libros*; Glasgow, University Library, P.41239295. JPG; Moreau, 4: 368, no. 1224) and April 1535, **Paris**, O. Mallard (Diodorus Siculus, *Les troys premiers livres*; after Mortimer, 1: 212, no. 173; Moreau, 4: 383, no. 1288).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1536, C. Chevallon & J. Macé & A. Girault & J. II Petit & M. de La Porte {Budé}; 1537, C. Chevallon & J. Macé & A. Girault {Petrus Lombardus}; N. Higman & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit {Thomas Aquinas}; *c*. 1538, P. Gromors {Postel}.

Key letters High-barred capital A; overhanging top terminal of G; one-eared M; big-bowled R; outwards sloping top serifs of T; right-leaning X; tilt-barred lowercase e; thin diagonal of z; high lead-in stroke of ampersand.

Figure 27 The 'Girault' English-bodied Roman [R 95] or *Saint-augustin* (1535) as it appears in Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri xx*, Paris, A. Girault & J. Kerver & Jean Macé & Jean II Petit, 1535, f. a1. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

RELIGIONE IVDAEI, HISTORIOGRAPHI GRAECI Viri clariſſ. in. XX. libros antiquitatum iudaicarum, è Græco in Latinum traductos Ruffino Aquileieñ. interprete, præfatio.

28. The third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536)

This is a reduced version of Gryphius's 1533 English-bodied Roman (**24**), apparently proprietary to the Chevallons and their successors. It is wholly in Gryphius's style. Pierre Gaultier, Garamont's printer, acquired a fount, probably via the Chevallon press. It is attributed (wrongly, I think) to Garamont in the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum (Carter, 1967, 30).

Size English (*Saint-augustin*); 12.5/11.5 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 89 x 1.8 : 2.7 mm.

First seen 1536, **Paris**, C. Chevallon (Johannes Chrysostomus, *Opera*; Lyons, Bibliothèque de l'Université catholique, H12.A-1-1; Moreau, 5: 109, 209).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1539, Ch. Guillard & J. de Roigny {Alessandri}; 1542, J. Bogard {Bayard}; 1545, P. Gaultier for J. Barbé & C. Garamont & T. II Kerver & J. de Roigny {Hugo de Sancto Charo}; **Lyons**: 1548, Ph. Rollet {Fuchs}.

Contemporary attribution Vn Sainct Augustin … que nous appellons de la premiere taille dudit garamond (Le Bé, *c*. 1648).

Key letters High-barred capital A; one-eared M with center above base-line; sloping S; T with perpendicular top serifs; slightly sloping lowercase c and e; small-bowled g.

Figure 28a The third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536) as it appears in Galenus, *Methodus medendi*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, f. aa2ᵛ. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Figure 28b The third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536) assembled from A. Lipomanus, *Catena in Genesim*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1546, p. 434. Courtesy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

28a

INVICTISSIMO ILLVSTRIS-
simóq; Henrico octauo Angliæ regi, domino
Hyberniæ, ac Vvalliæ Cornubiæq; principi,
Thomas Linacrus medicus suus S. P. D.

Terû iam maiestaté tuã Henri
ice Regû clarissime cogor exora
re, vt ex inclyti nominis tui præ
fatióe lucubrationib⁹ meis fauo
ris aliquid concilié. Quas enim
ad te nunc affero, tanto profe-
ctò magis quàm priores patrocinium tuum po-
stulant, quãto fuere sicut grauioris operæ, ita ve-
reor ne supra vires meas. Affero enim nunc Ga-
leni opus, in quo ille omné, quæ propriè de me-
dendo instituitur, rationé cóplectitur. Opus pla-
nè arduum, & quod siue id ob subtilitaté suam,
siue prolixitaté, mille iam annis nemo satis La-
tinè, ne dicam ex tanti operis dignitate vertere
(quod íciam) est aggressus: vt mihi planè dolen-
da studiosorum sors videatur, qui hactenus desy
derio eius partim barbaris quibusdam ijsdemq;
malæ fidei inuersionib⁹, partim nudis rerum ca-
pitibus,

28b

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r ſ t v x y z

29. The Augereau/Gryphius Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1531)

This Pica appeared in 1531, both at the press of Antoine Bocard, who was (probably) Augereau's father-in-law, and that of Francis Gryphius. It is the first roman on this body to appear in Paris in the new 'Aldine' style of the 1530 Estienne romans (Vervliet, 2004, 114–6). Gryphius's fount was cast on slightly smaller body (measuring 79 mm/20 lines) but is otherwise identical to that of Augereau.

Both Augereau and Gryphius were letter-engravers but this typeface is plausibly credited to the former on the grounds of its occurrence at his press and the attribution to him of a set matrices in the *c.* 1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 28). The simultaneous occurrence at the two presses points to an early connection between the two craftsmen. Moreover, as the set possibly came to Le Bé among the materials he bought at Garamont's executors' sale, a link between Gryphius, Augereau and Garamont is a trail to investigate.

Augereau used this typeface throughout his career (1532–4). Gryphius had it only up to 1533 when he changed to a second state with slightly diverging capitals (E, M, T) and numerals. See below (30).

The Pica Roman occurring at the press of D. Janot (1534), which is said to be the Augereau Pica (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 142; 1987, 33), is likely a copy, with most sorts (such as M, R, Q, T, g, ligatures ff and long ss) differing from the present typeface. See below (32).

Size Pica (Cicéro); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 82 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

First seen 1531, **Paris**, A. Bocard (Vergilius, *Opera* [quires b sqq.]; London, British Library, 687.e.6; Moreau, 4: 127, no. 309; Renouard, 1964, 5: 73, no. 78) and 1531, **Paris**, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio … pro Cn. Plancio*; Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, I 802; Moreau, 4: 71, no. 87).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1532, A. Bocard & A. Augereau & J. II Petit {Aristoteles}, A. Augereau {Sepulveda}, A. Augereau & G. I Du Pré {Plinius}; G. Fiscus [pseud. of Augereau] {Erasmus}.

Key letters Capital E with three arms of equal length; one-eared M, with center above base-line; old-fashioned numerals.

Variant letters A second state, with diverging capitals E (short middle arm), M (center on base-line), T (short), and numerals appears from 1533 onwards (30). Janot possibly had a third state (32).

Contemporary attribution Un vieux Cicero Romain Augereau (Le Bé, *c.* 1618)

Literature Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 139, pls. 2, 4; Renouard, 1964, 1: 204, pl. 39; 5: 7, pl. 20; Barker, 1974, 14; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 31, figs. 2–4, 12; Kemp, 1991, 30–3, figs. 5–6.

Figure 29 The Augereau/Gryphius Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1531) as it appears in J. de Hangest, *De libero arbitrio*, Paris, J. Petit & A. Bocard, *c.* 1531, f. k8. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leuven.

IN LVTHERVM ARTI.II.

in lege domini ex qua demanarunt matris ecclesiæ
ac orthodoxorú patrum traditiones, voluntas per
maneat, in eisq; humilis & pia meditatio die noctu
q; , ea nanq; ecclesiastica doctrina secus decursus
sacrarum scripturarum plantata est, quæ inde fru-
ctus suos salutares dabit in tempore suo, nequaq̃ve
nenosis huiusmodi hæreticorum flatibus folia eius
defluent;, sed prosperabuntur: non sic impii Lu-
therani, non sic, at tanquam pulueres erunt quos
proiicit ventus a facie terræ: matris nanq; ecclesiæ
viam per quam incesserunt patres nostri in cœlo
beati, nouit dominus, iter autem impiorum Luthe
ranorum tandem deo vindice peribit. Amen.

FINIS.

In Typographia Andreæ Boucard Im-
pensis Ioannis Parui, apud quem venun
dantur Parisii in vico diui Iacobi sub Li
lio Aureo.

30. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1533)

This appears to be a second state of the Augereau/Gryphius Pica (29). It has slightly different capitals (E, M, T) and revised numerals. The lowercase of both states seem indistinguishable. Chevallon and Gryphius used this second state, the former from 1533 (Hieronymus), the latter from 1534 (Terentius) onwards. It has been attributed to Garamont by Barker (1974, 19) but Gryphius may be a more plausible candidate. About 1538 a set of shortened capitals were added.

I noted above (2) a 1531 and an undated (*c.* 1533/7) edition of Vergilius, reissued with the same 1582 cancel title-page. The (undated) Oxford and Cambridge copies of the 1531/82 Vergilius exhibit the present second state, while the London copy displays the first state.

The Pica Roman occurring at the press of D. Janot (1534), which is said to be the Augereau Pica (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 142; 1987, 33) and the Girault Pica are likely either variant states of the present typeface or copies, with many sorts differing. See below (32, 33).

Size Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 82 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

First seen 1533–4, **Paris**, C. Chevallon (Hieronymus (s.), *Opera*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, F 4346; Moreau, 4: 239–40, nos. 721–6; 319, nos. 1031–2) and 1534, **Paris**, F. Gryphius (Terentius; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, A.lat.a 1839; Moreau, 4: 348, no. 1152).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1538, F. Gryphius (with shortened capitals) {Agricola}, 1538, P. II Regnault {Caesarius}; 1539, Ch. Guillard (with shortened capitals) {Erasmus}; 1542, J. Bignon {Marot}, N. Buffet {Stella}; 1543, A. Juriani & J. de Roigny {Augustinus}; **Poitiers**: 1541, J. II & E. II de Marnef (with shortened capitals) {Caviglioli}.

Key letters Capital E with short middle arm, one-eared M with center on baseline, short T.

Variant letters In 1538 Gryphius {Agricola} added shortened capitals (2.2 mm), which Guillard {Erasmus, 1539} and the Marnefs in Poitiers {Caviglioli, 1541} used likewise.

Literature Barker, 1974, 17–19, pls. 7, 13; Kemp, 1991, 33–4; Kemp, 2006.

Figure 30 The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1533) as it appears in Hieronymus (s.), *Opus epistolarum*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1533, p. 72. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

S C H O L I A.

Arentis affectus.) Parentis, refertur ad Paulam 1 Blesillæ matrem:auunculi, ad Heliodorū Nepotiani auunculum:mariti,ad Pammachium Paulinæ maritum. 2 Scholæ memor.) Declamatoriam fcholā intellige.Porrò præcepta iubent in genere laudatorio à maiorū laudibus ordiri. 3 Vnus qui nobis.)Retulit Vergilianum carmen ex libro Aeneidos fexto,quod ille ab Ennio mutuatus traditur. Dictū eft hodie de Quinto Q.Fab. Fabio Maximo, qui contatione fua Hannibalē fregit,remíq; Max. Romanam penè ad extremam defperationem redactam reftituit. Vnde & contator dictus eft. 4 Et quia ftatim in princip.)Hoc ad confiliū pertinet,quod & admonet Quintilianus,vt fi quid fuerit quod ad caufam videatur obftaturum,id amoliamur,nō obferuata ratione communium præceptorum.Id quod fecit M. Tullius in oratione habita pro Milone. 5 Corporis fui infamare partem.) Corporis par E tem maritum vocat,quòd vir & vxor vnum corpus appellet Paulus.Hoc addididit,ne videretur vel fauore tacuiffe, vel metu,fed humanitate.Hoc admonendum putaui,ne quis hîc ineptè argutus,aliquid obfcœnius fomniet,cùm nihil tale fignificet Hieronymus. 6 In bafilica quondam Laterani.) Lateranē- Indicat vnde bafilica Lateranenfis, quæ Romæ fumma fuit, fis bafilica nomē inuenerit. 7 Aaron facrilegiū.)Legis Exodi capite vigefimofecundo.Fraternas preces, Moyfi preces intelligit.

31. Constantin's Small Pica Roman [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1533)

Up to the mid-1530s, Estienne used Colines's Small Pica (Vervliet, 2003a, no. 9), first on its normal 73 mm body, and from 1529 onwards on the next larger body size of Pica (80 mm). Casting it on a larger body gave a lighter weight to the rather bold Colines roman. This change of body may indicate that Estienne and Constantin were envisioning, as early as 1529, the visual revolution that their lighter romans, described above (**1**, **9**, **21**), would initiate a year later.

Size Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 10/9.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 72 x 1.3 : 2.1 mm.

First seen 15 August 1533, **Paris**, R. I Estienne (Lucianus, *Dialogi*; Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale, FA 80 E 1g; Moreau, 4: 249, no. 760).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1538, R. I Estienne & R. Chaudière {Imbert}; 1553, C. I Estienne {Appianus}; 1566, R. II Estienne {Alphabetum graecum}; **Geneva**: 1551, R. I Estienne {Pauli epistolae}; H. II Estienne {Xenophon}.

Key letters One-eared capital M; long-tailed Q; small bowl of R; S slanting to the right; asymmetrical top serifs of T; lowercase g with short link; s slanting to the right; low terminal of v; small capitals (1.4 mm).

Literature Barker, 1974, 8–9.

Figure 31 Constantin's Small Pica [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1533) as it occurs in Joannes Despauterius, *Commentarii grammatici*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1537, f. 69. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

32. The 'Janot' Pica Roman [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1534)

The present Pica Roman occurring at the press of D. Janot from 1534 onwards and said to be the Augereau Pica (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 142; 1987, 33), is either a revised version of Augereau's or possibly a close copy. Several sorts (such as H, M, N, R, Q, T, g, z, and the ff and long ss ligatures) differ from those of Augereau's Pica (**29**). But as Janot used Augereau's Great Primer (**11**) in 1537, more research is needed. The present Pica's relation to Girault's Pica (**33**) and Loys's English (**26**) may also need more scrutiny. Carter (1969, 49) suggested it was engraved by Garamont but his claim that it is identical to a Pica used in Garamont's 1545 Juvencus edition seems erroneous.

Size Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 81 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

First seen 1534, **Paris**, D. Janot (P. Grosnet, *Enchiridion*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 27974; Moreau, 4: 314, no. 1012).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1535, P. Le Preux {Goullet}; 1539, G. Corrozet [& D. Janot] {Corrozet}.

Key letters Low middle arm of capital E; narrow H; one-eared M; N with extending top of diagonal; wide R; two ampersands (short/wide/swash from 1543 onwards).

Figure 32 The 'Janot' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1534) as it appears in S. Champier, *Fondement et origine des tiltres*, Paris, D. Janot, 1535, f. A2. Courtesy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

ephebiam paraclesis.
Siquid in hoc mancum pubes studiosa libello,
　Si natet in multis crassa Minerua locis,
Ne precor authori sit fraudi: si potuisset
　Inuida per plures cernere fata dies, ·
Omnibus hoc numeris opus absoluisset, & idem
　Linxisset, catulos vrsus vt ipse suos.
Omne igitur vitium saeuis transcribito fatis,
　Quae studiis semper sunt inimica bonis.
Addere nil volui, nil demere: nempe alienam
　In messem, falcem mittere nolo meam.
Alea nam cecidit saepe infoeliciter illi,
　Cuius ad alterius addita scripta manus.
Nemo manum Veneri summam est imponere Apellis
　Ausus, Phidiacum fingere nullus ebur.

✶COMMENT ET POVRQVOY
les Heraulx darmes furent anciennemét in-
stituez es cours des princes Et de l'inter
pretation du nom & prerogatilz
dicelluy . Et de l'inuentió
de L'escucon des
Nobles.

Omme ainsi soit que entre les pre-
mieres institutions des offices dan-
ciennete les Heraulx d'armes ayent
eu lieu es cours Royalles & que iay
este mvs en L'ordre de par le tres hault puissant
& tres excellent tres chrestien Roy Francoys a
qui dieu doint bonne vie & longue, Iay bié vou
lu donner a congnoistre a ceulx qui vouldroiét
prendre la payne de eulx enquerir du faict D'ar
marye & du tiltre de Herault & de l'interpreta-
tion dicelluy, quel est cest estat. Et premieremét
ie dis que au temps iadis les Roys & princes les-
quelz se'ntre guerroyoient acause de leurs lymi
tes & frontieres accorderent par commun con-
sentement que affin d'auneffoys moyenner
paix en leur fureur, aussy merquer ceulx qui se-
royent leur debuoir en bataille pour en faire le

33. The 'Girault' Pica Roman [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1535)

Like the Girault Great Primer (17), this Pica has been linked variously to Buffet (Moreau, 4: nos. 1328, 1367, 1444, 1451; 5: 618) or Gromors (4: no. 1348). Was it a type owned by a publisher or available for hire? In 1542 Buffet {Stella} seems to use another face, namely the Chevallon/Gryphius Pica (30). The Girault Pica is very similar to the Janot Pica (32) and may be an adulterated version. Pending further inquiry, it is presented here as a different typeface.

Size Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 81 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

First seen 1535, **Paris**, P. Gaudoul & A. Girault & P. Le Preux & J. II Petit (Valerius Maximus, *Dictorvm ac factorum … Collectanea*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Cl. 258; Moreau, 4: 422, no. 1444).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1535, A. Girault & J. Kerver & J. Macé & J. II Petit {Flavius Josephus}, P. Le Preux {Goullet}, O. Mallard {Diodore}, J. II Petit & M. de La Porte {Budé}, J. II Petit {Vergilius}; 1536, A. Girault & C. Chevallon & J. Macé & J. II Petit & M. de La Porte {Budé}; 1537, N. Buffet & G. Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruelle {Petrus Lombardus}.

Key letters Similar to the Janot Pica (32), but with long-tailed capital R and lowercase z with light diagonal.

Figure 33 The 'Girault' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1535) as it appears in Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum … collectanea*, Paris, P. Gaudoul & A. Girault & P. Le Preux & J. II Petit, 1535, f. a1. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

Iodoci Badii Afcenſii Familiaris Val. Maximi expoſitio, quæ
textum hac ferie femper fequetur.

VRBIS Romæ. More oratorio quo ordine rem profe/
cuturus eſt proponit. Deinde inueterato fui temporis
errore inuocat non deum ipfum patrem luminũ vn/
de omne datum & omnè donum perfeᶜtum eſt defcendens:
fed Tyberium Cæfarem, quem recepto iam tum confenfu in
diuorum numerum afcifcit. Quem quidem errorem Lauren/
tius Valla vt acri vir eſt ingenio acerbe fatis deteſtatur Po⌐
ſtremo loco propofita exequitur vt fuis locis declarabimus.
In propofitione reddit leᶜtorē ex ordine rerũ quo prius do/
meſtica quám extera fe fcripturum dicit docilem, ex difficul/
tate fufcepti negocii attentũ, & ex vtilitate & breuitate be/
niuolũ. fimulq; breuitatē ne vitio detur pũrgat: vt cũ ordine
latius aperiemus quē ab vltima primæ Periodi parte aufpica/
bimur: quia fere in cõſtruendo & refoluēdo cõtrarius eſt or⌐
do: vt quæ hic vltima fuerint: fint illic fere prima. Ordo igi/
tur eſt. Cõſtitui. i. maturo cõfenfu & preuia deliberatione ſta
tui: deligere. i. de multis legere & decerpere faᶜta fimul ac di⌐
ᶜta Vrbis Romæ & gentiũ exterarũ. i. aliarũ nationũ extra ci
uitatēRomaná, digna memoratu. i. quæ memorentur: hoc eſt
recitētur & ad memoriã reducátur. Notum eſt Valla autho⌐
re oēs vrbes oppida poſſe dici preter Romá, quæ tantũ vrbs
dicitur, vſq; adeo vt fi per fe ponatur vrbs Roma intelliga⌐
tur: quocirca poſſit fuperflua videri appofitio: nã fatis eſſet
vrbis exterarũ q; gentium: verũ quia dignitas quædam ex
nobilitate rerum geſtarum accreuit Romæ, noluit id nomē
prætermittere, vnde autem Roma diᶜta fit an ab romulo an
ab Roma an ab ρωμη in aliis authoribus vbi plus fermonis
quàm morum elegantiam venamus difquirendum cenfeo.
Bene autem præponit faᶜta vtpote in quibus plus eſt pon/

34. Garamont's first Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)

A new Pica succeeding in 1536 to the Morrhius's Small Pica at Loys's press, may be the first typeface that can be attributed to Garamont with some certainty. It is documented in the 1541 contract of Garamont with the publisher Mathurin Du Puys by a reference to the 1540 Actuarius edition (Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 78, figs. 1–2). It appears in Du Puys's 1547 Euthymius. It is also documented in the 1543 contract of Garamont with Etienne Mesvière (ibid., 88 and fig. 4). Pierre Gaultier used it in the 1540s during his partnership with Garamont and Barbé.

The typeface can be identified as the 'Cicero romain Garamond premiere taille' mentioned in the *c.* 1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 19) and the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum (Carter, 1967, 19), the 'seconde taille' being the Pica that Garamont engraved about 1550. Le Bé owned the punches for the latter, and Plantin had a set of matrices (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 26; 14, nos. 10, 12–13). The 'seconde taille' is quite similar to the 'premiere taille' but features fractionally smaller capitals. Its spot letters are the M (with sloping left stroke), P (open-bowled), T (with doubly-bracketed bar).

For the 1533 Chevallon Pica, attributed to Garamont by Barker (1974, 19 and pls. 7, 13) and ascribed here to Gryphius, see above (**30**).

Size Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 82 x 1.6 : 2.7 mm.

First seen August 1536, **Paris**, J. Loys for J. de Roigny (Cicero, *Orationes*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, G. 9635; Renouard, 1964, S4: 31, no. 8; Moreau, 5: 80, no. 96).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1536, J. Loys & J. de Roigny & J. II Petit & M. de Vascosan {Gellius}; 1538, N. Buffet for Gervais Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruel {Petrus Lombardus}; 1539, A. Girault & J. Loys {Dionysius Carthusiensis}, C. Wechel {Noviomagus}; 1540, G. Le Bret {Erasmus}, M. Fezendat {Bringerius}, C. Néobar {Actuarius}; 1541, N. Barbou {Marinario}; 1542, J. Gazeau {Sylvius}; 1543, J. Bogard {Ramus}, P. & J. Regnault {Biblia}; 1544, J. Ruel {Phrases}; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. Barbé & C. Garamont {Cassianus}, P. Gaultier for J. Barbé & C. Garamont & Th. II Kerver & J. de Roigny {Hugo de Sancto Charo}; 1546, R. Avril {Gomes}, C. Badius {Epistre de Cicero}, E. Mesvière {Comines}; 1547, J. David for M. Du Puys & J. Foucher {Euthymius Zigabenus}; 1549, L. Begat {Vessodus}, M. Le Jeune {Cinqarbres}.

Key letters High-barred capital A; narrow H; one-eared narrow M; wide N with extending right top serif; tail of R extending below baseline; outwards sloping top serifs of T; X leaning slightly to the right; wide ampersand leaning to the right.

Contemporary attributions Une frappe de matrices … dont est imprime ung livre intitule Actuarius de compositione medicamentorum, complette avec ses petits versales et chiffre (Contract Garamont-Mathurin Du Puys, 1541); Une autre fonte de cicero (Contract Garamont-Mesvière, 1543); Cicero romain Garamond prem^re taille (Le Bé, *c.* 1618); Vn Cicero, que nous appellons de la premiere taille dudit garamond (Le Bé, *c.* 1648).

Literature Beaujon, 1926, 138, figs. 5–8 (retouched); Renouard, 1964, 1: pls. 45, 47; 2: pl. 36; 3: 34 and pls. 6, 19, 26; 5: 93, 97, 140–1; Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 78, figs. 1–2; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 63–5, figs. 13–14.

Figure 34 Garamont's first Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536) as it appears in Cicero, *Orationes*, Paris, J. de Roigny & J. Loys, 1536, f. e3^v. Courtesy of the Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon.

CODICVM ORDO
A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.T.V.X.Y.Z.
AA.BB.CC.DD.EE.FF.GG.HH.II.KK.LL.MM.NN.OO.PP.QQ.RR.SS.
TT.VV.XX.YY.ZZ.&&. Omnes quaterniones præter, A ternionem: B, L, quinterniones.
a.b.c.d.terniones, e duernio.

PARISIIS
EXCVDEBAT IOANNES LODOICVS
IMPENSIS IOANNIS ROIGNY,
ANNO M.D.XXXVI, MEN.
SE AVGVSTO.

35. Colines's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)

In 1536 (or 1535, if the date of Nyverd's *Foresti* is to be followed) there appeared an update of Colines's earlier 1527 Small Pica roman (Vervliet, 2003a, 134–5, no. 9). The new type is slightly larger than the earlier one, but otherwise very similar. The most conspicuous characteristics are noted in 'key letters' below. This could well be the last typeface engraved by Colines himself.

Size Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 82 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

First seen 1536, **Paris**, S. de Colines (J. Ruel, *De natura stirpivm*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar. G 5395; Moreau, 5: 92, no. 142).

Early appearance 1535, *Paris*, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti; prelims only}.

Key letters Outwards singly-seriffed capital M with center on the base-line; narrow N with right stem descending below the baseline; alternative forms of Q (short/long-tailed); short tail of R; level cross-stroke to lowercase e; narrow g; bulbous tail of y.

Literature Amert, 1991, 31; Vervliet, 2003a, 150–1, no. 19.

Figure 35a Colines's Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536) as it appears in Eutropius, *De gestis Romanorum*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1539, f. 32ᵛ–33. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

Figure 35b Colines's Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536) as it assembled from J. Ruel, *De natura stirpivm*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1536, Index, f. A8–G7. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

36. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539)

In 1539, after an interval of some six years, Estienne began to introduce new type designs. Besides the present Pica Roman, three new Hebrews (Vervliet, 2004, nos. 22–4) appeared in 1539. The new roman was rarely used and seems to have been withdrawn after 1541. We do not know who cut it, though it must be noted that two of the three 1539 Hebrews were found insufficient and likewise discarded in 1542. Was the same engraver, perhaps Michel Du Boys, involved?

Size Pica (*Cicéro*); 11/10.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 79 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

First seen 5 December 1539, **Paris**, R. I Estienne (C. Stephanus, *De re hortensi*; Ghent Universiteits-bibliotheek, HN 579; Moreau, 5: 383, no. 1313).

Key letters One-eared capital M; narrow H and S; doubly bracketed top serifs of T; lowercase i with dot to the left.

Variant letters A slightly bigger set of capitals (2.7 mm) appears in Geneva about 1553.

Literature: Vervliet, 2004, 132–3, no. 6.

Figure 36a The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539) as it appears in Charles Estienne, *Seminarium et plantarium*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1540, pp. 58–9. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

Figure 36b The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539) assembled from Charles Estienne, *Seminarium et plantarium*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1540, pp. 58–9 and f. N4ᵛ–O4ᵛ. The capital Z is probably inverted. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

35a

ANno vrbis conditę ſexcēteſimo ſexageſimo ſecundo primū Romæ bellum ciuile cōmotum eſt : Eodē anno etiā Mithridaticū . Cauſam bello ciuili Caius Marius ſexies c o s. dedit. Nam cum Sylla c o s. contra Mithridatem geſturus bellū, qui Aſiam & Achaiam occupauerat, mitteretur, íſque exercitū in Campania pauliſper teneret , vt belli ſocialis, de quo diximus, quod intra Italiam geſtū fuerat,reliquiæ tollerentur : Marius affectauit vt ipſe ad bellum Mithridaticum mitteretur. Qua re Sylla cōmotus , cum exercitu ad vrbem venit . Illic contra Marium & Sulpitium dimicauit.Primus vrbem armatus ingreſſus eſt. Sulpitiū interfecit,Mariū fugauit:atǫ ita c o s s. ordinatis in futurum annum Cn . Octauio, & Cornelio Cinna,ad Aſiā profectus eſt.Mithridates,qui Pōti rex erat, atque Armeniam minorem , & totum Ponticum mare in circuitu

35b

ABC E GHIKLMNPQ RSTVXZ

a b c d e f g h i j l m n o p r ſ ſ t u v x y z

36a

pellauere:quæ ramis,caudice,frondibus,ſylueſtri cupreſſo propemodū ſimilis eſt.De hac videto Theophraſtum lib.4.& 5. cap.5.Cæterum citrus noſtras nihil commune cum cupreſſo habere videtur: cui foliū eſt andrachnes vnedoniſque, ſpinis intercurrentibus,vt in pyro & oxyacantha,ſed læuibus,infeſtis mucrone & validis . Hæc Barbarus . Sed vt ad ipſa mala redeamus, certū eſt ex Athenæo mala citrea Plutarchi auorum memoria nunquam guſtata fuiſſe: ſed neque Plinii & Theophraſti ſeculis magnopere deguſtabantur,tantum odore commēdato: nunc verò(inquit Hermolaus) à Palladii fere temporibus promiſcuum expetimus cœnis: qui & medullas eorū acreis dulcibus mutare docuit.Hæc itaque mala ex inſitione quoties proueniūt, citromela proprie dicuntur ab aliquibus. Ariſtophanes autem grammaticus à Lacedæmoniis oxymala perſica nūcupari prodidit, à ſapore acetoſo,& quòd ex Perſia

36b

ABCDEFGHI LM N O P Q R S T V Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s ſ t u v x y z

æ ct & fi ſſ ſt

37. Colines's Long Primer [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1536)

In 1536 Colines began to use a new small-sized roman, the third in his punchcutting career. It is the successor to his 1523 Bourgeois, the workhorse for his sextodecimo editions (Vervliet, 2003a, 130–1, no. 6). It is more in line with the new trend but retains many characteristics typical of Colines, making it possible to attribute this small typeface to him. It was perhaps his last (with 35). Amert (1991, 25) seems to date its introduction as early as 1531, but I have been unable to confirm that.

Size Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 9/8.5 Anglo-American/ Didot points; 20 65 x 1.3 : 2.1 mm.

First seen 1536, **Paris**, S. de Colines (J. Ruel, *De natura stir- pivm*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar G 5395; Moreau, 5: 92, no. 142).

Early appearance 1538, F. I Estienne [& S. de Colines] {Terentius}.

Key letters Narrow capitals E, G, N, R; outwards singly- seriffed M; broad T; level cross-stroke to the lowercase e; narrow g; bulbous tail of y.

Literature: Amert, 1991, 25 (s.v. Petit-texte); Vervliet, 2003a, 149, no. 18.

Figure 37 Colines's Long Primer [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1536) as it appears in J. Ruel, *De natura stirpivm*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1536, Index, f. H6ᵛ. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp.

ᴀᴇRRATA INSIGNIORA POST IMPRESSIONEM ANIMADVERSA, QVORVM PRIOR NVMERVS, PAGINAM: POSTERIOR, PAGINAE LINEAM DENOTAT.

In epiſtola liminari, linea 30. tranſpoſita literula, diſplicuerint. 16. 35.vim ventorum. 18. 3. characiæ tithymali. 30. 2. gratiſſimum,& 32. radiata. 44. 29.ſpathulis. 66. 8. in aliquibus lege,& ſemis. 73. 42.ſtructili. 94. 2.ebulum chamæacten 95. 4. pandatúrve. 108. 27.credimus,hoc fretus præſtigio.Chamæl, 112. 43.mollis. 128. 2.accipiente. 141. 38.appoſitu 155. 43.ædere fructus. 158. 37. Ita nihil mirum ſi peregrè. 169. 42. Acefinen. 191. 2.cœnis. 234. 30.duritia.236. 43.minus 261. 25.parentem. 268. 23.emicuiſſe. 287. 31.grauari. 293. 7. linteolis. 342. 33.ducantur. 348. 34. quo. 361. 14.demer gente. 366. 33.in aliquot lege,ſetino. 367. 45.cauſa. 387. 40.multiſqᵇ.389. 6. caſas. 22.producente. 467. 43. amaritudi nis. 473. 9.baſis. 479. 27.vua. 514. 30.leuiſſima. 517. 24. glabritie. 532. 40. cicatrices. 544. 5.odore. 557. 22. guſtum. 584. 25. granis. 593. 12. excidat. 594. 34. incanis. 601. 45.adligant. 602. 35.incana. 609. 32.vite. 628. 1.illam,&,adhi bere. 3.teritur. 632. 29.Carpitur Vergiliarum occaſu.vacat. 638. 24.comprehendentem. 641. 14.incana. 29.adpellûtur.

38. The 'Janot' Long Primer Roman [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1536)

This old-fashioned Long Primer occurs only at Janot's press from 1536 to 1539; its letterforms seem somewhat reminiscent of Girault's English-bodied Roman (27).

Size Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 9.5/9 Anglo-American/ Didot points; 20 67 x 1.5 : 2.1 mm.

First seen 1536, **Paris**, D. Janot for J. Longis & P. Sergent (M. d'Amboise, *Les epistres veneriennnes*; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Lm 57; Moreau, 5: 60, no. 14).

Key letters Slab-seriffed capital M, long-tailed R; tilt-barred lowercase e; thin diagonal of z; high lead-in stroke of ampersand.

Figure 38 The 'Janot' Long Primer [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1536) as it appears in M. d'Amboise, *Les epistres ven- eriennnes*, Paris, D. Janot for J. Longis & P. Sergent, 1536, f. A1ᵛ. Courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

Prologue. ✱

✱ Leſclaue fortune a ſes bons amys donne ſalut. MAL VIT QVI NE SAMENDE, (ie le dis mes amys) pource que ees iours re uoyant aucuns Liures quen ma ieuneſſe deſir de bon lotz & amytie acquerir enuers celie à qui ieſtoys re deuable de tout mon pouoir m uoit faict mettre en lumiere par publicque Impreſſion, y trouuay vne a biſme derreurs commiſe par mon inſcience qui na noys encores congneu ſornature Rethoricienne, dont es quadrures auez de couſtume vſer,de laquela le ores plus que lors imbeu par la frequente & conti nuelle lecon (que iay priuſe en voz oeuures) meſme ment es Cretiennes, Marotiennes, & Boucheticques (de noſtre temps pour vray les plus excellentes) me ſuis perſuade, icéulx en plus ſaine & meilleure Re

39. Garamont's first Long Primer Roman [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1537)

At the end of 1537 this face appeared at Loys's press. The attribution to Garamont is confirmed by the 1543 Mesvière contract (Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, 88, fig. 4: Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 69–70, 74–5, fig. 16), the 1545 Godard inventory (Paris, Archives nationales, MC Et. 9: 129, f. 38ᵛ; Parent, 1974, 84) and the occurrence of this typeface at the press of Pierre Gaultier, Garamont's partner in the early 1540s. The reference to a Garamont Long Primer in a 1545 contract between the typefounder Jacques Permentier and the publisher Jacques Regnault (Coyecque, 1: 575, no. 3133) is probably for this typeface but that needs confirmation.

At the end of the 1540s and in the 1550s, similar romans appeared in this size, possibly engraved by Granjon (Vervliet, 1998, 9–10) or Haultin and more research is needed to ascertain which printers used which.

Size Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 9.5/9 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 67 x 1.4 : 2 mm.

First seen October 1537–February 1538, **Paris**, J. Loys for A. Girault, Ch. Guillard, P. Le Preux, J. Petit, J. de Roigny (J. Eck, *Homiliae*; Maredsous, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye; Moreau, 5: 267, no. 848; Renouard, 1964, S4: 57–9, no. 38).

Early appearances **Paris**: 1538, N. Buffet for Gervais Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruel {Petrus Lombardus}, A. Girault {Ponte}; 1539, D. Janot {Ovidius}; 1540, C. Néobar {Theophilus}; 1541, M. Fezendat {Eusebius}, E. Toussaint {Alexander}; 1542, J. Gazeau {Sylvius}; 1543, J. Bogard & J. Gazeau & J. de Roigny {Theophylactus}; 1545, P. Gaultier & C. Garamont {Chambellan}, J. Barbé & J. Gazeau & V. Sertenas {Jacquinot}, E. Mesvière & A. & Ch. Langelier {Constantin}; 1546, E. Mesvière & G. I Du Pré & J. de Roigny {Commines}.

Key letters Capitals below ascender line; middle arm of F protruding; one-eared M; N with extending right top serif; tail of R extending below baseline; outwards sloping top serifs of T.

Contemporary attributions Une paires de matrices petit romain … en possession dudict Garamont (Contract Mesvière-Garamont, 1543); ugne raison de matrices de petit Romain de Claude Garamon (Inv. G. Godard, 1545); lectres d'impression de la taille de Garamont du petit-romain (contract J. Regnault-J. Permentier, 4.2.1545).

Literature Renouard, 1964, 3: 34, pl. 7; 5: 141, pl. 28; Parent, 1974, 84; Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, 88, fig. 4: Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 69–70, 74–5, fig. 16.

Figure 39 Garamont's first Long Primer [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1537) as it appears in Arsitoteles, *De mundo*, Paris, Edmonde Toussaint, 1541, f. a2. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

40. Garamont's Bourgeois Roman [R 64] or *Gaillarde* (1538)

Charlotte Guillard, Chevallon's widow, used this type-face from 1538 onwards and Garamont is said to have worked at her house (Carter, 1967, 30). It also occurs at the press of her nephew, Jacques Bogard, concurrently with Garamont's Long Primer (**39**).

Size Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 9/8.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 64 x 1.4 : 2.1 mm.

First seen 1538, **Paris**, Ch. Guillard (Galenus, *Methodi medendi … libri*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, J 5731; Moreau, 5: 277, no. 891.

Early appearance **Paris**: 1541, J. Bogard {Aristoteles}.

Key letters Very similar to Garamont's Long Primer (**39**), but its capitals are slightly bigger and the ascenders and descenders smaller. Capital F has no protruding middle arm and M and N are slightly narrower.

Literature Renouard, 1964, 5: 141, pl. 28.

Figure 40a Garamont's Bourgeois [R 64] or *Gaillarde* (1538) as it appears in Galenus, *Methodus medendi*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, Index, f. aa3ᵛ–aa4. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Figure 40b Garamont's Bourgeois [R 64] or *Gaillarde* (1538) assembled from G. Pachymeres, *Paraphrasis in decem epistolas B. Dionysii Areopagitae*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, f. m3ᵛ–n4ᵛ. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

41. Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68] or *Petit-romain* (1539)

This Long Primer has been seen only at the press of Gryphius.

Size Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 9.5/9 Anglo-American/ Didot points; **20** 68 x 1.3 : 1.8 mm.

First seen 1537, **Paris**, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio pro… Milone*, Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 364060; Moreau, 5: 163, no. 426).

Key letters One-eared capital M; tilt-barred lowercase e.

Figure 41 Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68] or *Petit-romain* (1539) as it appears in *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1540, f. 438. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes.

40a

40b

42. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier Roman [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1532)

This typeface is tentatively attributed to Gryphius, though it is of a much better design than the Brevier Gryphius himself used (**43**). It is distinguishable from Colines's 1526 Minion (Vervliet, 2003a, 136, no. 10) and Gryphius's 1537 Brevier, described below (**46**). More research is needed to determine whether Olivier Mallard {Gillot} used this Brevier in 1538, or another one.

Size Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 7.5/7 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 52 x 1 : 1.6 mm.

First seen 1532, **Paris**, C. Chevallon (J. Campensis, *Psalmorum … interpretatio*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Theo. 3012; Moreau, 4: 141, no. 359).

Early appearance **Paris**: 1537, J. Loys {Ulmeus}; 1540, D. Janot {Justinus}; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. Barbé {Caesar/ Commentaires}.

Key letters Pointed apex of capital A; wide E; outwards singly-seriffed splayed M; tilt-barred lowercase e.

Figure 42 The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1532) as it appears in [Jodocus of Erfurt], *Vocabularius iuris utriusque*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, f. 8ᵛ–9. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

43. Gryphius's second Brevier Roman [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1533)

Although I have not found this small Roman before 1533, its design suggests an earlier date. It is certainly better than the 1522 Vidoue Brevier (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 27) but less balanced than the 1526 Colines Minion (Vervliet, 2003a, 136) and the 1532 Gryphius-Chevallon Brevier (**42**). The 1532 typeface may be seen as its successor stylistically. I have not seen it outside the publications of Gryphius, who used it up to 1537 when he replaced it with another Brevier (**46**).

Size Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 7.5/7 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 52 x 1.1 : 1.8 mm.

First seen 1533, **Paris**, F. Gryphius & P. Gaudoul (Erasmus, *Familiarivm colloquiorum … opus*; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Acc. 33489; Louvain-la Neuve, 3A 20840; Moreau, 4: 227, no. 673).

Key letters Slab-seriffed capital A; long lower arm of E; outwards singly-seriffed M with center above baseline; tilt-barred lowercase e; protruding link of g; high lead-out stroke of ampersand. Small capitals (1.5 mm).

Figure 43 Gryphius's second Brevier [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1533) as it appears in *Sanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium*, Paris, Jer. de Gourmont & F. Gryphius, 1533/4, f. a1ᵛ–2. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Liège.

44. Constantin's Nonpareil
[R 42] Roman (1533)

A Nonpareil type size was a rarity in early sixteenth-century typography and only owned by the better equiped printers. In Italy, small-sized (though still in the Minion range, 49/45 mm) italics were employed by Paganini in 1515 and Griffo in 1516 (Isaac, 1938, pls. 15 and 22). In France, early users of true Nonpareil romans were Vidoue in 1521/2 (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 28), and those of Estienne (described here) and Colines (**45**), both in 1533. In 1553, Haultin introduced his version, in both italic and roman, which captured the market and retained it far into the seventeenth century (Vervliet, 2000, 96–8).

In 1536 Estiennne used this present Nonpareil Roman for the main text of his pocket edition of Terentius and his octavo Bible (Moreau, 4: nos. 876 and 1151). It later appeared in Estienne's sextodecimo editions of the classics and in the octavo, so-called Nonpareil Bibles published at Paris in 1545 and Geneva in 1555, the latter printed by Conrad Badius. The *litterae minutulae* earned the praise of Jean Dorat, one of the poets of the Pleiade (Demerson, 1989, 17).

Like the preceding Estienne typefaces (**1**, **9**, **21**, **31**), this Nonpareil was not used outside the Estienne family, as far as I know. Like the other early Estienne types, it may have been engraved by the Estienne Master, probably Maitre Constantin.

Size Nonpareil; 5.5/5 Anglo-American/Didot points;
20 42 x 0.8 : 1.1 mm.

First seen 19 November 1533, **Paris**, R. I Estienne (Ph. Melanchton, *Grammatica Latina*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 7475:2; Moreau, 4: 252, no. 771).

Early appearances **Geneva**: 1551, R. I Estienne {Pauli epistolae}; 1554, C. Badius {Nouveau Testament}.

Key letters Narrow capital H; one-eared M; long-tailed Q; small bowl of R; doubly bracketed top serifs of T; lowercase g with small bowl.

Literature Vervliet, 2004, 130–1, no. 5.

Figure 44 Constantin's Nonpareil [R 42] (1533) as it appears in *Hebraea, Chaldaea ... nomina* [*in 8°*], Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1537, p. 419. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

45. Colines's Nonpareil
[R 43] Roman (1533)

A new, tiny roman with a narrow g and horizontal bar to the e appears from 1533 onwards in Colines's books. It is unmistakenly in his style. The reference by Veyrin-Forrer (1995, xxv) to its occurrence in Viexmonts's *Methodus confessionis* of February 1533 (Moreau, 4: 269, no. 836) needs to be checked.

Size Nonpareil; 6/5.5 Anglo-American/Didot points;
20 43 x 0.9 : 1.4 mm.

First seen 1533, **Paris**, S. de Colines (H. Courtois, *Volantillae*; Brussels, Royal Library, VH 11634 A LP; Moreau, 4: 221, no. 649).

Key letters Outwards singly-seriffed capital M; downwards beaking G; narrow N; long-tailed Q and R; lowercase e with horizontal bar; narrow g.

Literature Amert, 1991, 31, fig. 16; Vervliet, 2003a, 144, no. 15.

Figure 45 Colines's Nonpareil [R 43] (1533) as it appears in Cicero, *Officia*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1538, f. L4. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

46. Gryphius's third Brevier Roman [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1537)

This Brevier is distinguishable from Colines's 1526 Minion (Vervliet, 2003a, 136, no. 10), the Chevallon-Gryphius (**42**) and the second Gryphius Brevier, used from 1533 to 1537 (**43**). It has been seen only at the presses of Gryphius and Pierre II Regnault. Both were reputedly woodcutters and their relations deserve more study.

Size Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 7.5/7 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 52 x 1.1 : 1.5 mm.

First seen 1537, **Paris**, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio pro … Milone*, Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 364060; Moreau, 5: 163, no. 426).

Early appearance 1540, **Paris**, P. II Regnault {Biblia}.

Key letters Pointed apex of capital A; one-eared capital M; steep-tailed R; tilt-barred lowercase e.

Figure 46 Gryphius's third Brevier [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1537) as it appears in Erasmus, *In Acta Apostolorum paraphrasis*, Paris, G. I Du Pré & P. II Regnault, 1540, f. Aaa2.

47. Gryphius's Minion Roman [R 44] or *Mignonne* (1537)

I have seen this typeface only at Bossozel's press. It is here ascribed to Gryphius only on stylistical grounds as I failed to find it in his books. Thanks to Lotte Hellinga, London, and David J. Shaw, Canterbury, for checking the 1537 and 1539 Gryphius imprints (Moreau, 5: nos. 370, 372, 1169) at the British Library, which, however, show his slightly larger Brevier (**46**).

Size Minion (*Mignonne*); 6.5/6 Anglo-American/Didot points; **20** 44 x 1 : 1.5 mm.

First seen 1537, **Paris**, G. Bossozel (*Evangelivm secundum Matthaeum*; Liege, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, 1 N 19; Moreau, 5: 150, no. 374).

Key letters Pointed apex of capital A; narrow H; outwards singly-seriffed M; long-tailed R; level-barred lowercase e; high top terminal of ampersand.

Figure 47 Gryphius's Minion [R 44] or *Mignonne* (1537) as it appears in *Evangelivm secundum Matthaeum*, Paris, P. Cousin & G. Bossozel, 1537, f. A1ᵛ–2. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Liège.

Table 1: Types in order of first occurrence

1530

1. Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
   or *Gros-canon* (1530)
9. Constantin's Great Primer [R 115]
   or *Gros-romain* (1530)
21. Constantin's English-bodied Roman [R 92]
   or *Saint-augustin* (1530)

1531

2. Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
   or *Gros-canon* (1531)
10. Colines's second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119]
   or *Gros-romain* (1531)
11. Augereau's Great Primer [R 112]
   or *Gros-romain* (1531–2)
12. Gryphius's first Great Primer [R 112]
   or *Gros-romain* (1531)
13. Gryphius's second Great Primer [R 113]
   or *Gros-romain* (1531)
22. The first 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-bodied
   Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531–2)
29. The Augereau/Gryphius Pica [R 82]
   or *Cicéro* (1531)

1532

42. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier [R 52]
   or *Petit-texte* (1532)

1533

3. Gryphius's titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5]
   or *Deux points de Gros-romain* (1533)
14. Colines's third Great Primer [R 119]
   or *Gros-romain* (1533)
15. Gryphius's third Great Primer [R 114]
   or *Gros-romain* (1533)
23. Colines's third English-bodied Roman [R 90]
   or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
24. Gryphius's second English-bodied Roman [R 92]
   or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
30. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica [R 82]
   or *Cicéro* (1533)
31. Constantin's Small Pica [R 72]
   or *Philosophie* (1533)
43. Gryphius's second Brevier [R 52]
   or *Petit-texte* (1533)
44. Constantin's Nonpareil [R 42] (1533)
45. Colines's Nonpareil [R 43] (1533)

1534

25. Augereau's English-bodied Roman [R 96]
   or *Saint-augustin* (1534)
32. The 'Janot' Pica [R 81]
   or *Cicéro* (1534)

1535

4. The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica [R 290]
   or *Gros-canon* (1535)
16. The first 'Loys' Great Primer [R 110]
   or *Gros-romain* (1535)
17. The 'Girault' Great Primer [R 110]
   or *Gros-romain* (1535)
26. The 'Loys' English-bodied Roman [R 90]
   or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
27. The 'Girault' English-bodied Roman [R 95]
   or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
33. The 'Girault' Pica [R 81]
   or *Cicéro* (1535)

1536

5. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
   or *Gros-canon* (1536)
18. The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114]
   or *Gros-romain* (Paris, 1536)
19. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English [R 104]
   or *Gros-texte* (1536)
28. The third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-bodied
   Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536)
34. Garamont's first Pica [R 82]
   or *Cicéro* (1536)
35. Colines's Pica [R 82]
   or *Cicéro* (1536)
37. Colines's Long Primer [R 65]
   or *Petit-romain* (1536)
38. The 'Janot' Long Primer [R 67]
   or *Petit-romain* (1536)

1537

6. The 'Chevallon' titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9]
   or *Deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537)
39. Garamont's first Long Primer [R 67]
   or *Petit-romain* (1537)
46. Gryphius's third Brevier [R 52]
   or *Petit-texte* (1537)
47. Gryphius's Minion Roman [R 44]
   or *Mignonne* (1537)

1538

7. The 'Vidoue' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
   or *Gros-canon* (1538)
8. The 'Wechel' titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6]
   or *Deux points de Philosophie* (1538)
40. Garamont's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
   or *Gaillarde* (1538)

1539

20. The second 'Loys's' Great Primer [R 114]
   or *Gros-romain* (1539)
36. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79]
   or *Cicéro* (1539)
41. Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68]
   or *Petit-romain* (1539)

Table 2: Types by punchcutter and date

Simon de Colines (*c.* 1490–1546)

10. Colines's second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119]
    or *Gros-romain* (1531)
14. Colines's third Great Primer [R 119]
    or *Gros-romain* (1533)
23. Colines's third English-bodied Roman [R 90]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
45. Colines's Nonpareil [R 43] (1533)
35. Colines's Pica [R 82]
    or *Cicéro* (1536)
37. Colines's Long Primer [R 65]
    or *Petit-romain* (1536)

The 'Etienne Master', probably
Maitre Constantin (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1533)

 1. Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
    or *Gros-canon* (1530)
 9. Constantin's Great Primer [R 115]
    or *Gros-romain* (1530)
21. Constantin's English-bodied Roman [R 92]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1530)
31. Constantin's Small Pica [R 72]
    or *Philosophie* (1533)
44. Constantin's Nonpareil [R 42] (1533)

Antoine Augereau (*c.* 1500–34)
29. The Augereau/Gryphius Pica [R 82]
    or *Cicéro* (1531)
11. Augereau's Great Primer [R 112]
    or *Gros-romain* (1531–2)
25. Augereau's English-bodied Roman [R 96]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1534)

Francis Gryphius (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1545)
 2. Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
    or *Gros-canon* (1531)
 3. Gryphius's titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5]
    or *Deux points de Gros-romain* (1533)
12. Gryphius's first Great Primer [R 112]
    or *Gros-romain* (1531)
13. Gryphius's second Great Primer [R 113]
    or *Gros-romain* (1531)
22. The first 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-bodied
    Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531–2)
42. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier [R 52]
    or *Petit-texte* (1532)
15. Gryphius's third Great Primer [R 114]
    or *Gros-romain* (1533)
24. Gryphius's second English-bodied Roman [R 92]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
30. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica [R 82]
    or *Cicéro* (1533)
43. Gryphius's second Brevier [R 52]
    or *Petit-texte* (1533)
19. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English [R 104]
    or *Gros-texte* (1536)
28. The third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-bodied
    Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536)
46. Gryphius's third Brevier [R 52]
    or *Petit-texte* (1537)
47. Gryphius's Minion Roman [R 44]
    or *Mignonne* (1537)
41. Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68]
    or *Petit-romain* (1539)

Claude Garamont (*c.* 1510–61)
34. Garamont's first Pica [R 82]
    or *Cicéro* (1536)
39. Garamont's first Long Primer [R 67]
    or *Petit-romain* (1537)
40. Garamont's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
    or *Gaillarde* (1538)

Unattributed founts
32. The 'Janot' Pica [R 81]
    or *Cicéro* (1534)
 4. The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica [R 290]
    or *Gros-canon* (1535)
16. The first 'Loys' Great Primer [R 110]
    or *Gros-romain* (1535)
17. The 'Girault' Great Primer [R 110]
    or *Gros-romain* (1535)
26. The 'Loys' English-bodied Roman [R 90]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
27. The 'Girault' English-bodied Roman [R 95]
    or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
33. The 'Girault' Pica [R 81]
    or *Cicéro* (1535)
 5. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
    or *Gros-canon* (1536)
18. The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114]
    or *Gros-romain* (Paris, 1536)
38. The 'Janot' Long Primer [R 67]
    or *Petit-romain* (1536)
 6. The 'Chevallon' titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9]
    or *Deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537)
 7. The 'Vidoue' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
    or *Gros-canon* (1538)
 8. The 'Wechel' titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6]
    or *Deux points de Philosophie* (1538)
20. The second 'Loys's' Great Primer [R 114]
    or *Gros-romain* (1539)
36. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79]
    or *Cicéro* (1539)

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