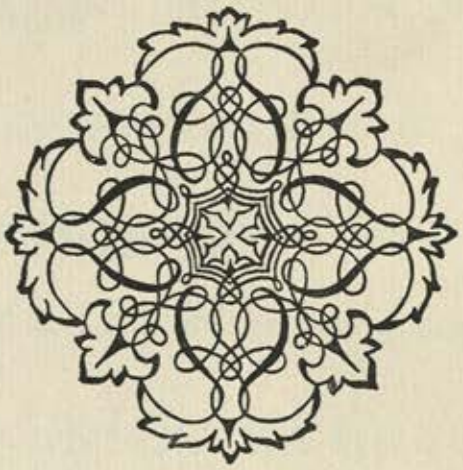
THE FLEURON

A JOURNAL OF TYPOGRAPHY

EDITED BY OLIVER SIMON



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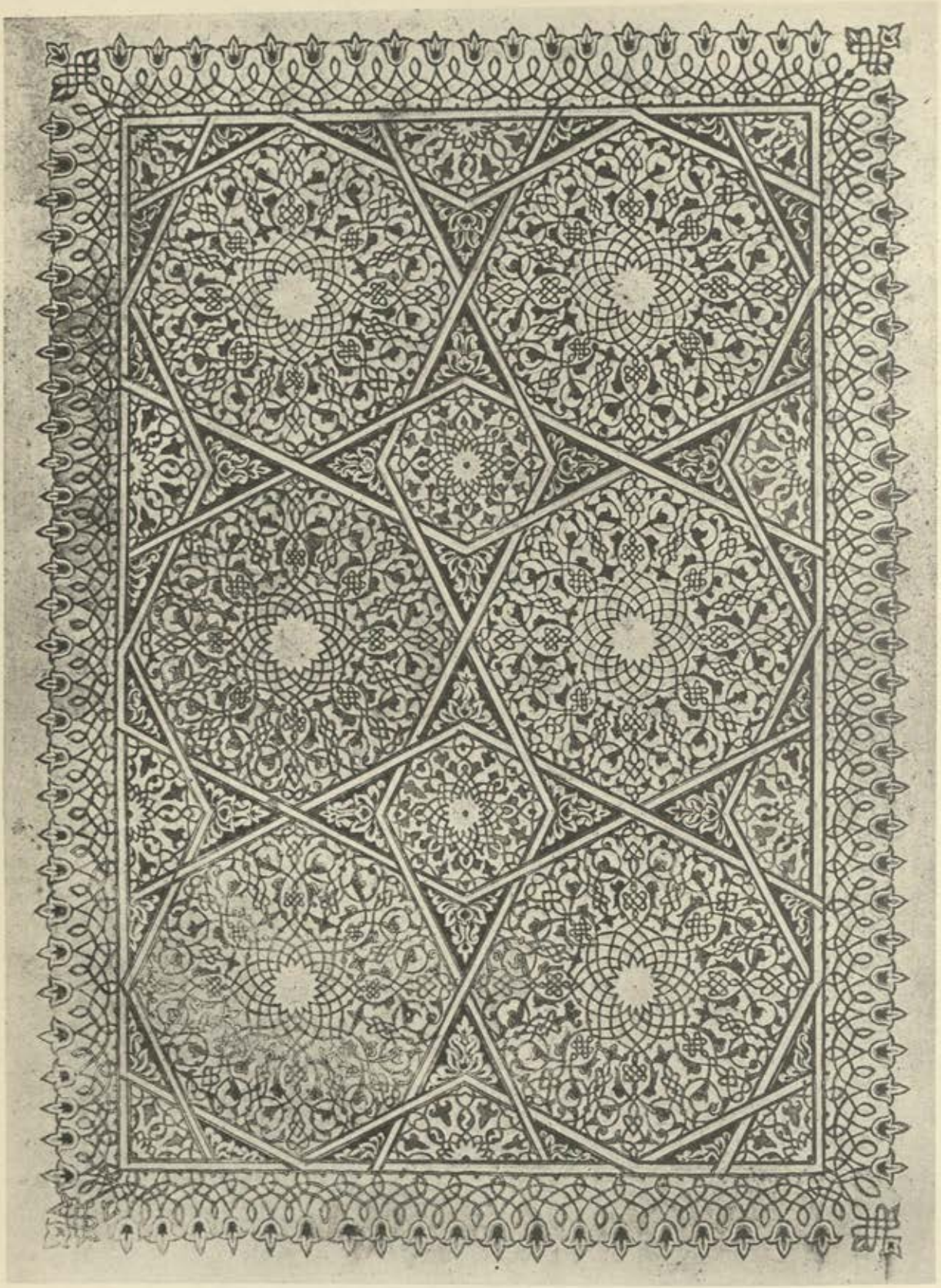
Biblia Sacra (R. Estienne, 1538–40), showing Arms and device of Francois Ier and arabesque decoration. (*The original is in the Bibl. Nat. and is fully described in Marius Michel: 'La Reliure Francaise,' Paris, 1880, p. 30.*)

Printers' Flowers and Arabesques

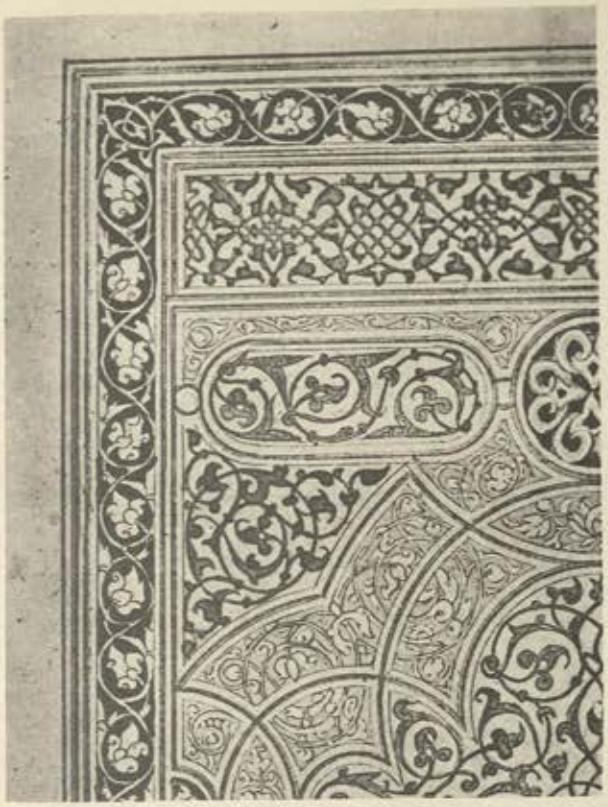
I

THE literature of printing should be extensive and learned. The function of printing has been extensive and learned and if printing is the other brain of man, the brain itself should make its honourable acknowledgement. The superficial observer, indeed, might be pardoned for thinking that the debt has been paid with interest.

But there are curious gaps—many more in the literature of printing than in the printing of literature. Bibliographical scholarship has not yet concerned itself in detail, for instance, with the sixteenth-century Venetian printers. Indeed, if any whole century can be said to be neglected as regards its typographical history, it is the sixteenth. The bibliographical scientists have been wrapped up alike in the open wonders and in the secret problems of the incunables. If the sixteenth century is the century of perfection, the fifteenth is the century of marvel: dealing with the fifteenth they are historians, worshippers of beginnings, rather than calm appraisers of what best serves the needs and interests of 'the art' to-day. Perhaps this is the embracing reason for the neglect of any research into one of the most interesting and charming incidents of typography in the sixteenth century—the period more fruitful in lessons than any before or since, the period which governs modern printing. Those typographical incidents (or, as they quickly became, that typographical scheme) were the decoration of books by means of *printers' flowers, fleurons, vignettes de fonte, roslein,* as they are variously known. The available references to printers' flowers are few and altogether incomprehensive. Luckombe, in his *History of Printing*, London, 1771, gives many specimens, but is altogether unaware of their historical interest. He writes: 'It is to be feared that Head-pieces, Facs., and tail-pieces of Flowers will not long continue either in England, France, or Germany, considering that the contriving and making them up is attended with considerable trouble and loss of time; and as no allowance



Kuran of Oeldjaitu Khan, A.D. 1313. (*From MS. in the Khedivial Library, Cairo, reproduced from Mozitz, 'Arabic Palæography,' Leipzig, Hiersemann, pl. 90.*)



Idem (*Mozitz*, 91).

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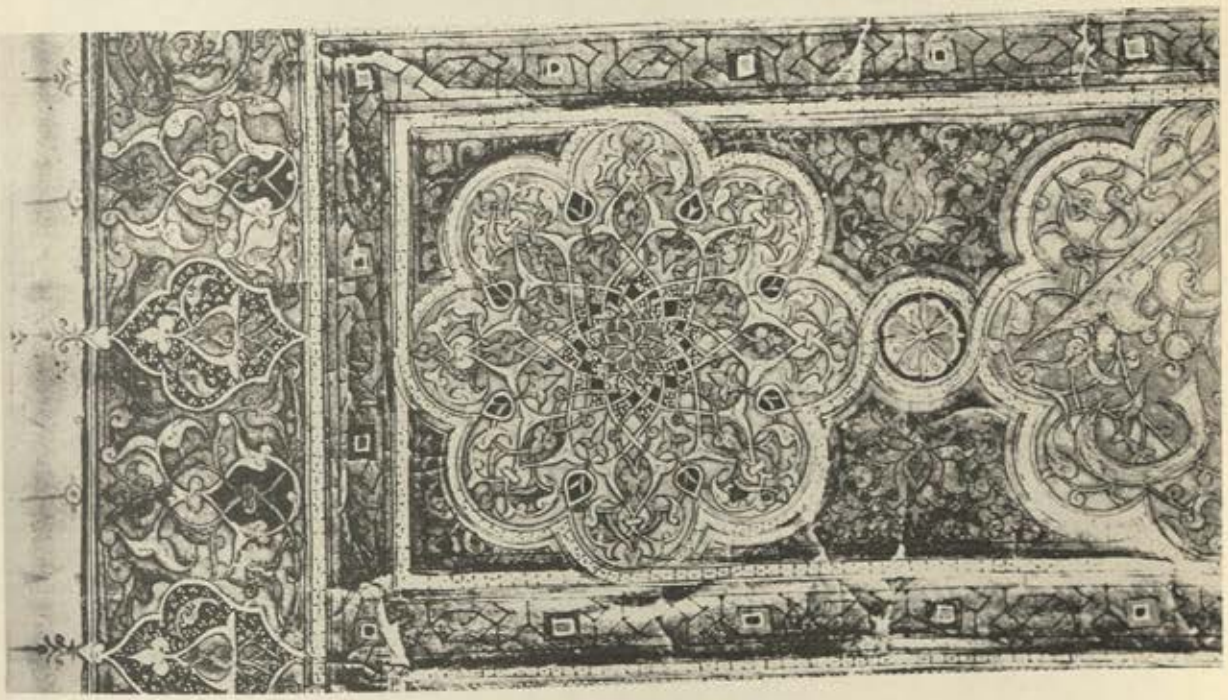


Kuran of Sultan Farag, A.D. 1411 (*Mozitz*, 74).

is made for this it will not be strange if but few shall be found who will give instances of their fancy' (p. 289). Moxon and Johnson, in the *Mechanick Exercises* (§ 2, ¶ 2) and *Typographia* (II, 73) respectively, were also completely unaware of the historical aspect of the flowers used in their day.

Fertel, in his *La Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie* (St. Omer, 1723), gives a chapter to vignettes and fleurons, but is concerned only with their use, and deals chiefly with such as are made in wood and copper. He has one paragraph as to the use of *fleurons de fonte* (p. 55).

Fournier treats of the matter in a precise and scientific fashion. He devotes to them two chapters (pp. 171 to 176 of the first volume of the *Manuel Typographique*, Paris, 1764). But he is concerned with describing the methods of designing and making the flowers, while his history is confined to the statement, 'Les petits ornements mobiles, qu'on nomme vignettes, font une partie de l'art qui a été négligée par nos anciens graveurs : ce qu'ils en ont fait mérite peu de considération, tant pour le nombre que pour la figure. Ce n'est que depuis une trentaine d'années que l'Imprimerie s'est enrichie dans cette partie, premièrement par les graveurs de l'Imprimerie royale, secondement par ce que j'ai fait en ce genre pour les autres imprimeries du royaume.' This 'secondement' is meant humbly enough, but it does not alter one's judgement that it was Fournier's own distinguished part in the designing of new French flowers which blinded him to the facts of the case about the old. (For examples of eighteenth-century French flowers, including Fournier's, see figs. 29–33.) Again, in the second volume of the *Manuel* (1776) Fournier gives thirty-one pages of flower specimens, and himself uses them throughout the book; but has no word as to their origin. And Mr. Updike (to leap 146 years), in his monumental volumes *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use* (Harvard, 1922), gives a rich display of flowers, but contents himself with two quotations concerning them. Of these one is from Rowe Mores's *Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries*[1]

[1] Rowe Mores suggests that a number of printers' flowers have symbolical meanings. What is certain is that the theory elaborated in one whole large volume (*New Light on the Renaissance*, by Harold Bayley) is quite untenable. Mr. Bayley soberly urges that the whole business of flowers and water-marks was a code between persecuted religious sects. He instances the frequency with which a line of flowers in a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century book will be interrupted by an exclamation mark or note of interrogation. Is it to be thought, he argues, that printers, who are precise fellows, would allow such things out of slovenliness?

(London, 1788); the other, a notable passage from Mr. W. A. Dwiggins. The latter of these we shall presently quote; all that needs to be said at the moment is that they are unhistorical, indeed almost *antihistorical.* Thus with the exception of some notes preliminary to this article, and by its authors, published in odd places and times, the history of fleurons and the designs from which they were developed has never even been sketched.

It is not, we believe, necessary to write more than a few words as to the nature and importance of this florid (we use the word with no ill-meaning) system of decoration. There are scores of different flowers ; they can be combined in hundreds of different ways. What is common to them, what makes the system, is the fact that the unit of decoration is itself an ordinary metal type of the varying type-sizes, cast by the typefounder, set as type, and bearing, instead of a letter symbol, a formal design[1] most

Never! he answers ; it must be —ssh!—*a code.* The truth is—as the compositor who set his book could have explained to him—that it constantly happens that a line of flowers cannot be set to exactly the same width as the type they accompany. One more flower, and the width is exceeded—a most troublesome thing from a technical point of view ; one less, and the line of flowers is short, and looks ugly. The compositor was in such a case allowed to fill the line by the introduction into the flowers of any sort (usually he needed only a narrow one, and needed it tall, therefore turning to the punctuation points we have mentioned) from his types to 'bump out' the fleurons to the requisite width.

[1] The asterisk (or asterism, as Luckombe calls it) is to be reckoned a flower. It appears as an ornament in the Aldine *Hypnerotomachia* (Venice, 1499) and in *La Fontaine des Amoureux, Nouvellement imprimée à Paris,* by J. Janot (without date, but about 1510), where it appears in its natural setting amid other flowers. It had beautiful use in the books of Jean de Tournes. It was also employed as a mark for a *lacuna* or corrupt text, within the text itself and of a size equal to a full-faced letter, i.e. body, ascender and descender (*see* the *Lactantius* of Aldus, Venice, 1535). Finally it was used specifically to supply the place of letters in names, when it was considered indiscreet to print them fully, and only much later as a necessary mark of reference when notes were taken from their marginal position and put at the foot of the page. Thereafter regarded as a stock part, for this kind of punctuational work, of every type face, it was, all unconscious of its true first purpose, revived as a flower. Luckombe says, 'In satyrising persons in pamphlets and public papers, the asterism is of great service; for it is but putting the first letter of a person's name, with some asterisms after it, and ill-natured people think they may characterize, and even libel, their betters without restriction. *Asterisms may serve instead of a line of small flowers,* if they are set to stand progressively ; and they perform the same service when they are put alternately, one set the right way and the next inverted.' (*History and Art of Printing,* London, 1771. Our italics.)

letter-like in feeling, in balance, and in ' colour.' These units are letters in the language of decoration. They can be composed by the capable printer into words, into sentences, nay, into poems or proclamations of that mysterious language.

From the point of view of the printer and his customer alike these units of decoration claim a remarkable convenience of use. First, their infinite variety combined with economy of material: they need never grow stale or unprofitable (we use the word deliberately) in their mission of making a man peruse the printed message. Then their flexibility: they can be composed to any space, any height, or depth; the motive of the border on one page can reappear in the headpiece of another, the initial to a third, the tail-piece to a fourth.

Moreover, these flowers were developed, not merely by the greatest of the type designers themselves, but by those very type designers whose types we even now use or reproduce in our best daily work. Thus they provide to the present-day printer that precise harmony of colour between type and ornament which is the essential of good typography.

Mr. Updike quotes Mr. Dwiggins on ' Caslon's ' flowers; his admirable words shall stand here as a manifesto for the better flowers as a class; for, in fact, Caslon did not invent his flowers, as Mr. Dwiggins and many besides him have assumed, but copied them precisely from earlier ones:

' To a designer's eye they have, taken as individual patterns, an inevitable quality, a finality of right construction. Excellent as single spots, the Caslon flowers multiply their beauties when composed in bands or borders as ornamentation for letterpress. They then become a true flowering of the letter forms—as though particular groups of words had been told off for special ornamental duty and had blossomed at command into intricate, but always typographical, patterns. This faculty possessed by the Caslon ornaments of keeping an unmistakable type quality through all their graceful evolutions sets them apart from the innumerable offerings of the typefounders' craft as a unique group. The proportion of printing surface to open paper . . . is excellently adapted for the purpose of clean, sharp impression. Certain ones have elements broken by tint-lines into a clear printing grey, and it will be observed that this tint is not the grey of copper-plate, but has the weight and solidity of a printing surface backed by metal.'

II

This article, while it connects the general history of fleurons with whole civilizations, and with more continents than one, cannot throw much light on their particular personal origins. We can, however, show that the major part of the fleurons comes out of the East. We can throw light on the astonishing course of the great oriental mode in decoration which had here its most enduring result. We can show the absorption of the Renaissance, despite all its fertility, with 'moresques' and 'arabesques.'

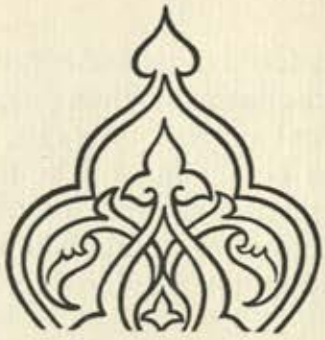
We must depict the most masterful craftsmen of that time, in every art and craft alike, with their eyes and their minds' eyes filled, not with original patterns but with those they found in their lesson-books of arabesques—repeating over and over again, in brilliant variations and extemporaries, the oriental themes of an amazing series of pattern books. We can show the first early pages to bear flowers, and we can illustrate by means of the variations of one flower made in successive centuries, the changing taste and colour of typography. But we cannot do more than surmise as to what designer first made the first flower, or what founder first cast it.

The characteristic foliation and interlacing familiar to students of historic ornament were early established in the Mussulman arts and crafts. We find identical elements in the Lashar Mosque at Cairo (built 969-972), and in the Alhambra at Granada (1120-1400). The Persian, Arabesque, or Mauresque[1] motives as we may term them, were applied to metal-ware, pottery, carpets, garments, mosaics, and as a matter of course to precious manuscripts and to their no less precious bindings. Incredible ingenuity, versatility, and patience went to the making of the arabesques. The essential beauty and grace of the arabic script was a natural assistance, and was beautifully exploited by cunning calligraphers and miniaturists.[2] At

[1] The term *Mauresque* or *Moresque* is properly used only in respect of Moorish use of the convention, e.g. the decorations in the Alhambra. It should be noted that, unlike Arabs and Moors, the Persians were free to introduce animals into their graphic arts.

[2] We must leave the question of the origins of basic elements of Mussulman conventional ornament. The well-known anthropologist and historian of marriage, E. A. Westermarck, writes that 'it seems extremely probable that belief in the evil eye has exercised a very extensive influence in decorative art, though this influence, so far as I know, has largely escaped the attention of students.

1. Diagram of one of the most common forms of Arabian & Persian architectural ornament (tenth century), from Charvet: *Arts Decoratifs*, Paris, s.d., p. 275.



2. A twelfth-century oriental calligrapher's ornament, whose outline has correspondence with that of fig. 1. Redrawn from Moritz: *Arabic Palaeography.*

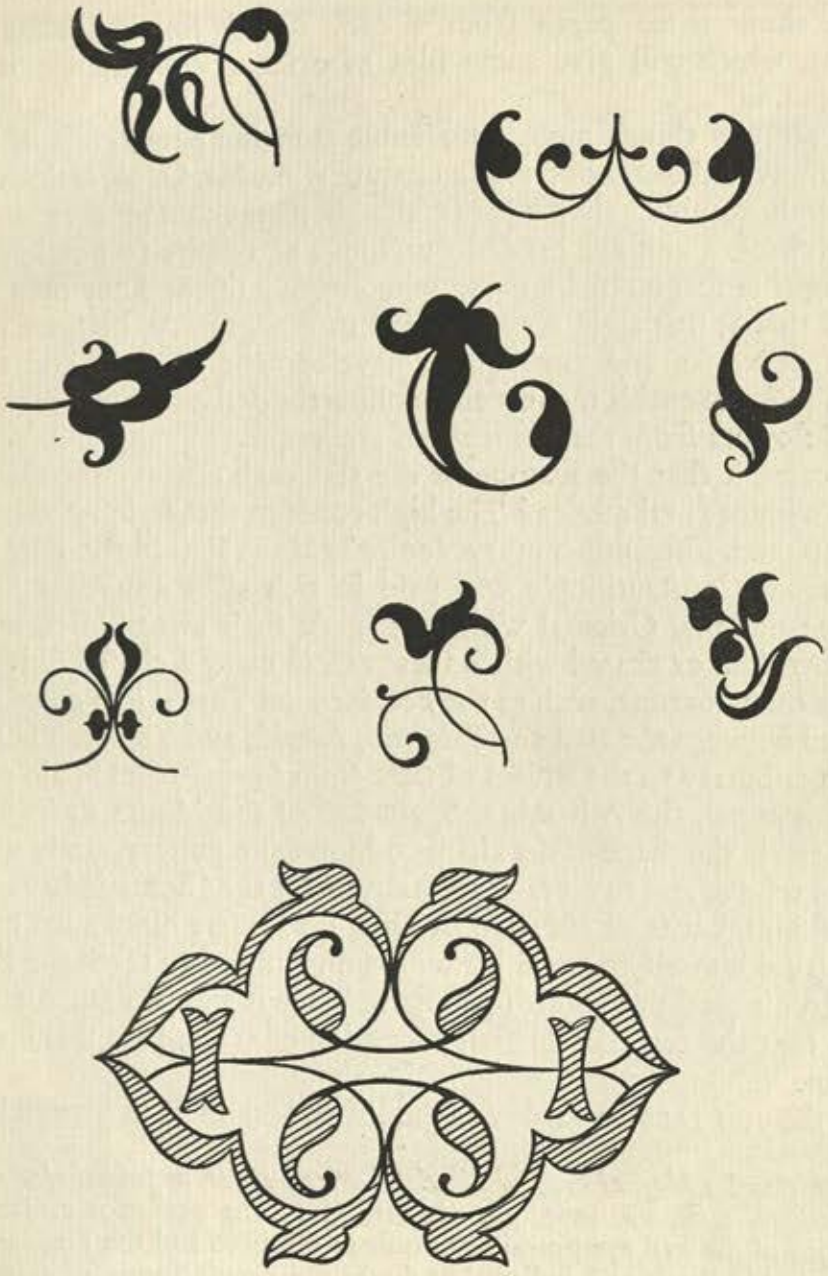
3. Element from a French renaissance woodcut title-page design (de Tournes, Lyons, 1557), perhaps designed by Bernard Salomon.

4 and 5. Enlarged reproductions of the earliest arabesque flowers. Cast on four metal units which combine to produce the outline figure resembling 1 and 2. These two flowers occur not later than 1557, and are probably of Lyons or Antwerp provenance.

6. Another early variety (founded in two pieces). A similar motif is to be found in a woodcut fleuron used by the Trechsels, Lyons, 1540 (*Baudrier,* XII, 280 *bis*).

7. A unit of fig. 5, with an additional leaf (enlarged).

8. A simpler form of fig. 7. This flower is that most frequently to be found in current printing (enlarged).



9. A series of elements redrawn from the arabesque borders used by Jean de Tournes (Lyons, 1557). (Compare with the series described at pages 39–42.)

p. 1 we show three pages from a MS. Koran finished about the year 1313, which will give some idea of oriental competence in this department.

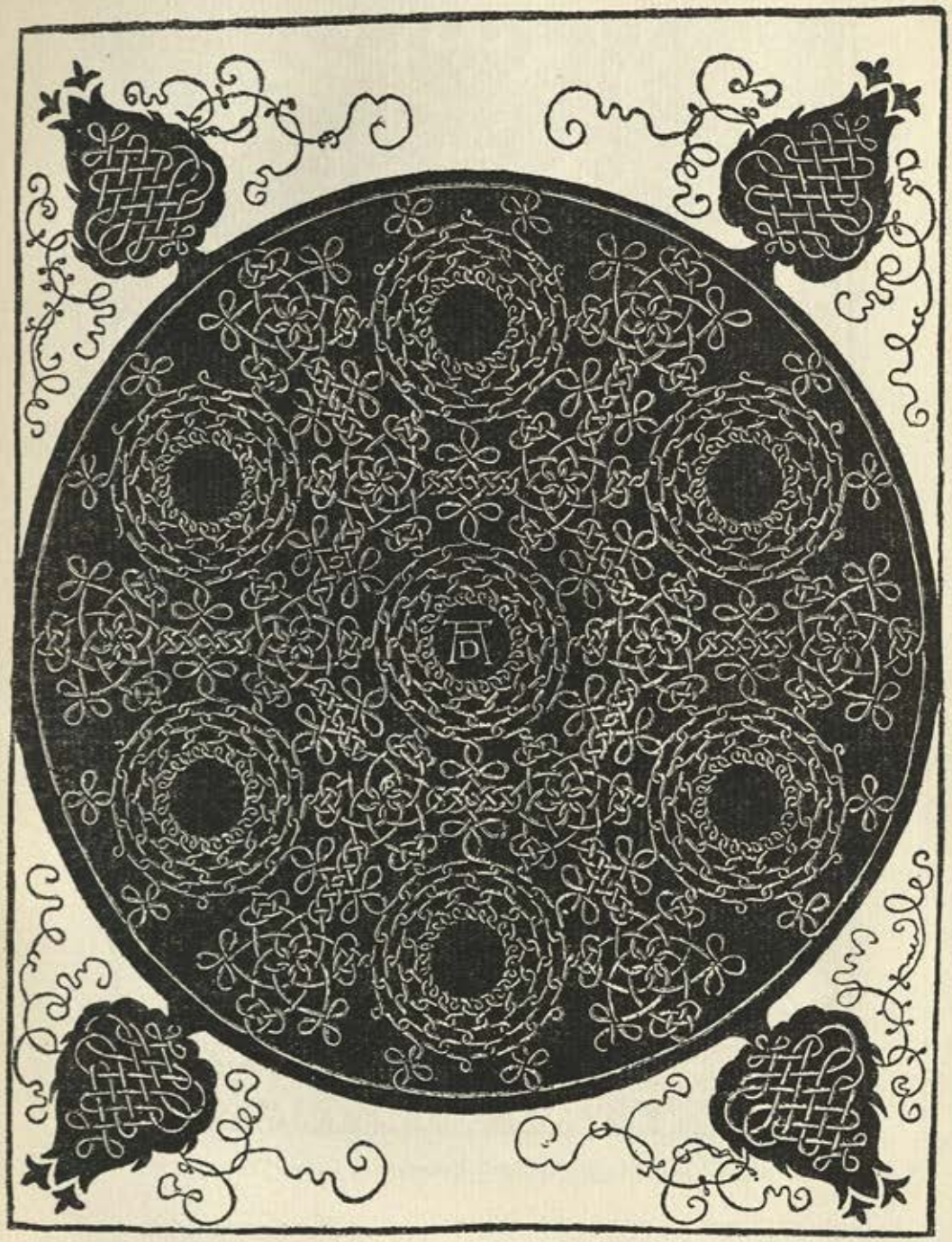
There are few things more remarkable than the persistence of ornamental motives throughout whole centuries. As Mr. O. M. Dalton says, 'Once well planted, they appear almost ineradicable; they survive political changes and are handed on from one empire to another until their origin is forgotten by those who employ them. They may be so modified that at first sight they are hard to recognize.'[1] In spite of the lapse of centuries and consequent development of tools and media, figures 1 to 8 will enable the reader to follow the derivation of well-known printers' flowers from the elements of arabesque.

How came it that the Europe of the sixteenth century should be so familiar with oriental modes? The high-roads to that style are many and clearly marked. Fifteenth-century Venice held the East in fee. Part of her tribute from Constantinople was paid in rich silks doubtless bearing arabesque designs. Oriental workmen made their sword-hilts, marvellously encrusted or chased with arabesques, in many a city of Italy: they had their own quarters, such as the Fondaco dei Turchi in Venice. Caravans plied between the East and Palermo, Amalfi, and Venice. There was besides a tributary to the stream of taste from Spain—from Spain of that great mauresque, the Alhambra, Spain still of the Moors in its artistic tendencies—in the shape of the Hispano-Moresque pottery. Italy was the centre, to receive and to give. From Italy, under the 'home industry' impetus of Marguerite of Navarre and Francis I, were hired such masters as Pellegrino himself, to work his own wonders and to teach the French craftsmen his methods and his patterns. Thus it was in France, and not in Italy, that the remarkable early recension of arabesques was made by an Italian.

From the year 1529 onwards was published that series of pattern books,

(*See* Westermarck: *Magical Basis of Moorish Decorative Art*, in *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, 2 S., vii, 1904, pp. 45, 211, 222. The professor explains that the doctrine of the evil eye prevails not only in Morocco and the Mediterranean countries, but in Persia and India.) No doubt the simple forms of Greek fret design influenced the origins of entrelacs. Strygowski has maintained, as against Riegl, that the leaves of Mussulman arabesques are not derived from the Greek acanthus, but are debased vine forms. We are disposed to agree with Strygowski.

[1] Cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 1911), p. 688.



10. *Entrelac,* by Albrecht Durer.

11. A page from Nicolo Zoppino : *Esemplario di lauoro* (Venice, 1530).

to which we have already referred. In telling the story of the fertile progenitor of the printers' flower it is necessary to give a list of the most important of these.

(Nicolaus Haussmann) : *Eyn neu Modelbuch* (Zwickau, 1525).[1]

Anonymous : *Ein neu Formbuchlein* (? Augsburg, 1528).[2]

Anonymous : *Ein neu getruckt model Buchli* auff aufs nehen und bortten wircken yun der laden annd lanngenn gestell. Ganntz gerecht nach abteilung der feden tzal (? Augsburg, 1529).[3]

Alex Paganino : (1529 probably) : Il Burato, *Libro Primo de Rechami.* Opera noua.[4] Also *Libri Secondo, Terzo, Quarto.*

N. Zoppino : *Esemplario di Lauori* (Venice, 1530).

Francesco Pellegrino: *La Fleur de la Science de Portraicture : Patrons de Broderie façon arabicque et ytalique* (Paris, 1530).[5]

G. A. Vavassore : *Esemplario di Lauori* (Venice, 1530–1531).[6]

Christian Egenolff : *Modelbuch, aller art Nehewerck & Stickens* (Frankfurt a.M., 1533).

[1] Of this oldest known pattern book for needlework one copy is recorded. It exists at the Dresden Kunstgewerbe Schule.

[2] Contains at sig E'z an arabesque band; cf. the facsimile in Fairfax Murray, *Catalogue of Early German Books* (1913), p. 478.

[3] A later edition of *Nicolaus Haussmann* (Zwickau, 1525).

[4] Without date. It was reproduced by F. Ongania, Venice, in 1878, and by him ascribed to 1527. This date is hardly possible, since it contains copies of items in Quentel's 1527 *Neu Kunstlich boich* (Cologne), which, one of the earliest pattern books, does not contain arabesque.

[5] Neither *Portraicture* nor *Broderie* is here confined in meaning to a particular art or craft : they are decorative terms common to all. One of the earliest English books treating of engraving, *The Jewell House of Art,* by Hughe Platt (London, 1594), discusses the ' proportion of letters or other portraiture ' (§ 44).

Pellegrino's book has been reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal, Paris, 1908, with an introduction by M. Gaston Migeon. M. Migeon, in his list of pattern books, says that only one collection of engraved designs seems to have preceded Pellegrino's, namely, that of Peter Quentell in 1527. As a matter of fact, Quentel published another book in 1529; and there are Paganino's (perhaps 1527–9); the anonymous Augsburg books of 1528 and 1529; Vavassore's of 1530–1531; and Zoppino's of 1530. These books do not figure in M. Migeon's list.

[6] Contains three circular arabesques subsequently elaborated by Peter Flötner (*infra,* p. 23), and three or four azured arabesques and one solid pattern taken from Paganino.

Claude Nourry (dit *Le Prince*): *La fleur des patrons de lingerie* (Lyons, 1530).

G. A. Tagliente: *Opera nuova che insegna a le done a raccamare* (Venice, 1530).

Pierre de Ste. Lucie: *Patrons de diverses manières* (Lyons, ? 1530–33).[1]

Tagliente: *Exemplario nuovo che insegna a le donne a cucire* (Venice, 1531).

Antoine Belin: *Sensuyuent les Patrons de messire A.B.* (Lyons, 1535).

Hieronymus Cock. *Formes et diverses protractions lesquelles vulgairement sont nommées marusias ou feuilles de laurier faites à la manière des Perses, Assyriens, Arabes, Agyptiens, Indous et Grecs* (Antwerp, between 1543 and 1550).

Jean Gourmont: *Livre de Moresques* (Lyons, 1546).[2]

Peter Flötner: *Maureskenbuch.* Published by Rudolph Wyssenbach, formschnyder (Zurich, 1549).

Virgilius Solis: *Moriske und Turkicher ein facher und Duppelter art englein durch* (Nuremberg, 1550).

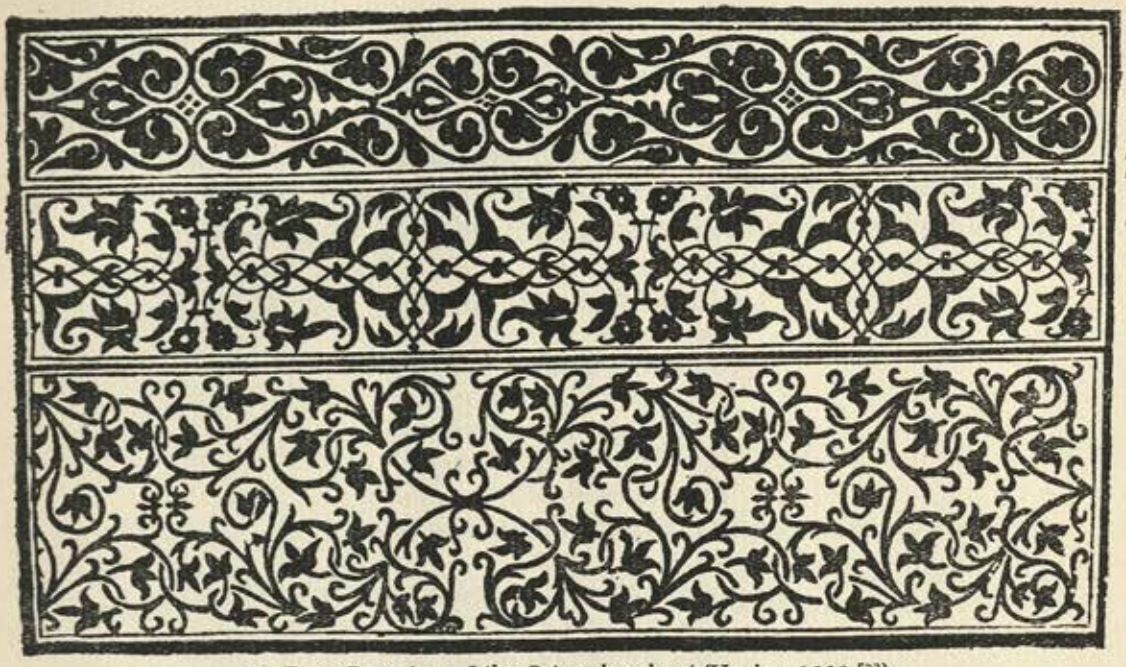
Baltazar Silvius: *Variarum protractionum quas vulgo maurusias vocant . . . libellus* (? Antwerp, 1554).[3]

Not all these books were definitely *raccolta* of arabesques, but a large proportion of them was. Paganino's volume (the fourth of our list) and the anonymous Augsburg 1528 are the first to contain an arabesque, and are thus of great importance. It was, however, in 1530, with Pellegrino's magnificent book (*see* illustration No. 14) that the oriental fashion had its first exclusive and eclectical representation. From that there was no looking back. The patterns were copied and recopied. Editors had little scruple in frankly reproducing designs from the pages of existing manuals. The *patrons* of Ste. Lucie, for instance, include a number identical in treatment and detail with those in Zoppino (Venice, 1530), and at least six of Ste. Lucie's can be found in the Zwickau book of 1525. Book after book appeared, consisting solely of designs in this

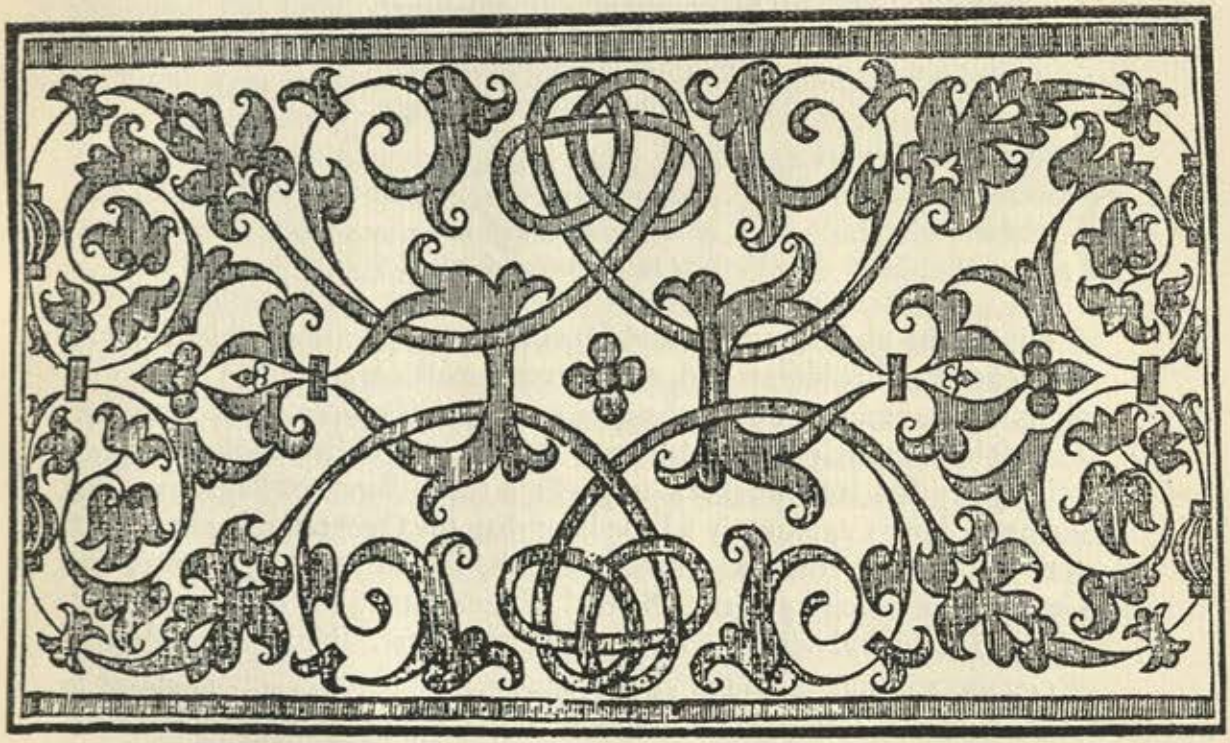
[1] The very early date of 1515 is suggested by Baudrier (*Bibl. Lyonnaise,* vol. 12, p. 92) for Ste. Lucie's book; Jessen, *Ornamentstich* (Berlin, 1917, p. 147), notes that Ste. Lucie prints six plates which occur in the Zwickau, 1525 book.

[2] No copy of this book is known to the authors. Its discovery would be most helpful. Rondot, in his monograph *Bernard Salomon* (Lyons, 1897), dating Gourmont's work as put out in 1545, praises it in terms which must imply that he had seen a copy of the book.

[3] Silvius appears also, *vulgo,* as Bos, Bosch, van den Bosche. He worked in Antwerp 1550–70 and designed for Plantin.



12. From Paganino: *Libro Primo de rechami* (Venice, 1529 [?]).



13. From Andrea Valvassore *vulgo* Guardagnino: *Esemplario di lavoro* (Venice, 1546).

manner, and dedicated to the whole range of craftsmen. Thus the collection of Baltazar Sylvius was for 'painters, goldsmiths, weavers, engravers.' Pierre de Sainte Lucie adds to the list (which had previously included also 'needleworking women') both 'contrepointiers et les tailleurs dymages' in the following delightful title:

Patrons de diverses manieres
Inventez tres subtilement
Duysans a Brodeurs and Lingieres
Et a ceulx lesquels vrayement
Veullent par bon entendement
User Dantique et Roboesque
Frize et Moderne proprement
En comprenant aussi Moresque.

A tous massons, menusiers and verriers
Feront prouffit ces pourtraictz largement
Aux orpheures et gentilz tapissiers
A jeunes gens aussi semblable
Oublier point ne veulx aulcunement
Contrepointiers et les tailleurs dymages
Et tissotiers, lesquelz pareillement
Par ces patrons acqueront heritages.

On les vend a Lyon par
PIERRE DE SAINTE LUCIE
en la maison du deffunct Prince
pres notre dame de Confort.

The books of Haussmann and Quentell were published chiefly in the interests of embroiderers and, as we have remarked, contained little or no signs of arabesque. But arabesque embroideries were to be found in Italy at least as early as 1369.[1] The most ancient of Italian books, designed principally for lace workers, is perhaps the *Il Burato* of Paganino. It is undated, but is apparently a little later than the Quentell of 1527. *Burato* was the first of some 140 such manuals, issued in Italy, France, and Germany between 1527 and the end of the century for the convenience of the 'lovely and virtuous Ladies of Venice,' etc.[2] Nearly a hundred of

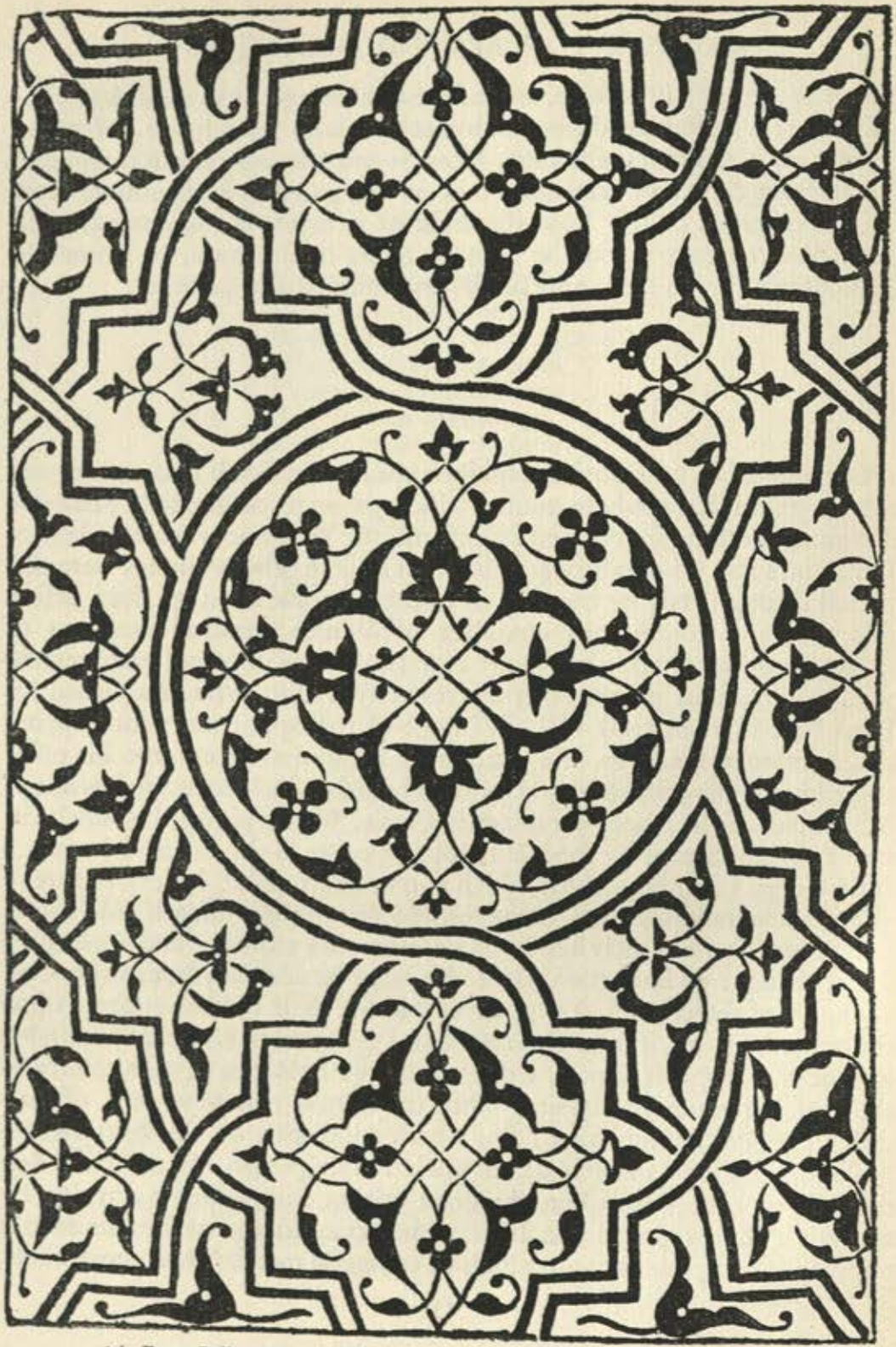
[1] Cf. the bedquilt painted in an altar piece by A. de Bologna, reproduced in E. Ricci: *Italian Lace* (Heinemann, 1908, p. 5).

[2] So Ricci: *Antiche trine Italiane* (Bergamo, 1908, p. 28).

these were printed in Venice, and of the remaining books published elsewhere not a few were designed by Italians who were lured abroad by patrons such as Francis the First. How, it must be asked and answered, did all these classes of craftsmen take to the patterns ? The number of the books shows clearly how the style of ornamentation spread. And these patterns may in fact be seen on stuffs in furniture, in ironwork, in goldsmithery, in lace, and finally in bindings and printing.

III

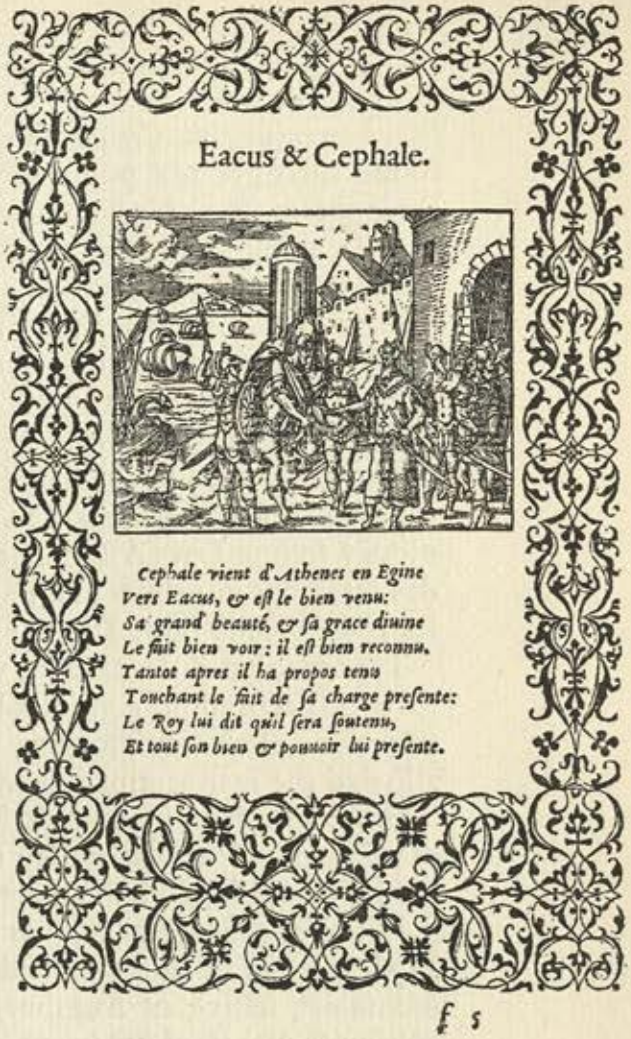
The arabesque convention rapidly appeared in book decoration, and first of all in Italy where tooled bindings were originated. Saracenic design and technique received an enthusiastic welcome when numbers of Levantines and Orientals possessing Persian and other volumes were dispersed through Italy by the sack of Constantinople in 1453. Even before this time the commercial character of Venice attracted numbers of Eastern workmen, and thus many foreign craftsmen found employment with the foremost printers of the great city. Aldus, who established his Press here in 1494, took full advantage of the opportunity for copying choice oriental bindings. He introduced Eastern artificers into his office and imitated the encrusted and painted boards which preserved precious MS. copies of the Koran produced in Persia. We may judge his indebtedness to these sources by the fact that there exists in the British Museum a folio Vergil bound by Aldus which even retains arabic letters as part of the ornamentation. Aldus, however, did not occupy himself solely with the production of costly bindings necessitating painting and tooling by expert hands : an important part of his large business lay in handy pocket volumes of the classics. These depended for their success entirely upon the accuracy of their text. Ornament and decoration, however admirable in works of popular appeal, were considered by Aldus as unnecessary to the text of his octavo classics. Thus the *entrelac* title-page (e.g. of Ratdolt's *Appian,* Venice, 1470) finds no counterpart in the openings of Aldus's library of plain texts. In their bindings also his tendency was towards economy. And here the great printer contributed a novelty. By analysis Aldus reduced the lines and curves of the arabesque into a number of component tools which he cut upon metal. These small tools,



14. From Pellegrino: *La Fleur de la Science de Pourtraicture* (Paris, 1530).


DEus in adiutoriũ meum intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum me feſtina.
Gloria patri,& filio, & ſpiritui ſancto.
Sicut erat. Hallelu ia. Hymnus.
MEmẽto ſalutis author,quòd noſtri quondã corporis:ex illibata virgine,naſcendo formam ſumpſeris.
Maria mater gratiæ,mater miſericordiæ: tu nos ab hoſte protege, & hora mortis ſuſcipe.
Gloria tibi dominẽ,q̃ natus es de virgine:cũ patre & ſancto ſpiritu,in ſempiterna ſecula. Amẽ. ãn In odorẽ. p̃s.
AD te leuaui oculos meos,qui habitas in cælis.
Ecce ſicut oculi ſeruorũ in manibus dominorum ſuorum,

15. From *Heures de la Vierge* (Paris, Simon de Colines, 1543). The original is in quarto. The Arabesque borders, though unsigned, doubtless come from the atelier of Tory. They were also used (says Ph. Renouard) by Colines in 1536. Figure 16 shows the Lyons adaptation of 1557.



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16. From *La Metamorphose d'Ovide figuree* (Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1557). Note the correspondence with figure 15. Exact size.

17. Arabesque band from Pellegrino (*La Science*, pl. xxxv). Cf. head of border in figure 15.

18. Arabesque ornament from Pellegrino (*La Science,* pl. xlvi). Cf. the tail of border in figures 15 and 16.

piccoli ferri (or *petits-fers*, as they came to be known in France, where they found their greatest popularity), form a truly pregnant innovation. By their means the able craftsmen of Aldus were enabled to provide his plain volumes with bindings carrying neat and beautiful arabesque fleurons and corner pieces. The *piccoli ferri* were, like the type and format of the Aldine classics themselves, widely imitated, and not only in Italy: they were counterfeited at Basle, Augsburg, Lyons, Antwerp, Paris, and, in fact, nearly all printing centres possessed themselves of characteristic *fleurons aldes*. At the same time the arabesque fashion was conquering France. About 1538 or 9, for instance, Claude Chappuis, royal binder under François Ier, paid the sum of 15 livres of the king's money to one Loys Alleman, Fleurantin, 'pour envoyer querir à Venise des fers pour imprimer (c'est-à-dire *gaufrer*) aucuns livres italiens, et pour les frais d'icelle impression.'[1]

Typographical decoration was also vitally influenced. The earliest form of decoration, e.g. initials in Schoeffer's *Psalter* (1457), follow the traditions of the scriptorium, and for a generation the average printer allowed the manuscript rubricator to decorate his sheets.

Ornament used in conjunction with type and printed simultaneously, developed more slowly than the crude competence of the xylographic books would lead us to anticipate. The first decorated title-page, indeed the first formal title-page, was printed at Venice by Erhard Ratdolt in 1476. The work was the third edition of a *Kalendar* by Joannes Regiomontanus, native of Augsburg. The original xylographic Nuremberg edition (1473) used ornament, which was evidently the prototype of the Venetian volume. The title to the 1476 edition is decorated with a border composed of a strip at the top end and two sides. The base, which is interrupted by the name of the printer, consists of two pieces of simple knot work design. These cuts, so far as the present writers are aware, represent the earliest use of small pieces of decoration made for use with type.

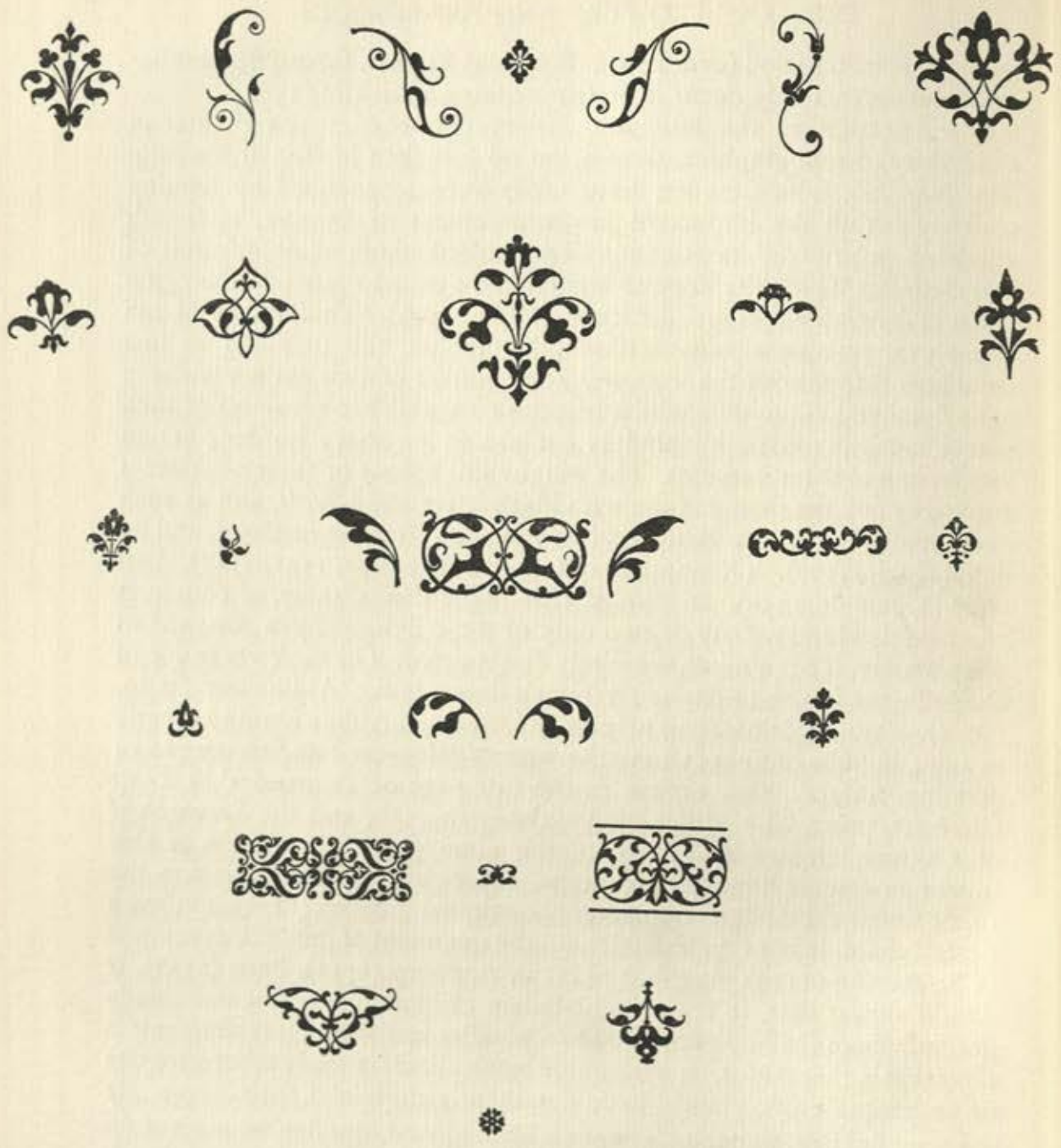
Oddly enough Ratdolt neither repeated their use nor made any other experiment of a similar kind. The magnificent white *entrelac* borders on a black background (e.g. that of his Appian, 1477), like those of most of his colleagues in Italy, are in one piece, and faithful copies of the kind of work fashionable in the workrooms of local rubricators. Manuscript decoration of this character is frequently to be found in the folios, etc., of the

[1] Aug. Bernard, *Geofroy Tory* (Paris, 1865), p. 396.

da Spira-Jenson period (*circa* 1470). Woodcut strips of formal floral ornament, however, rarely occur in Italian printing until after 1504.[1]

The invention of the *petits-fers*, however, opened a new chapter in the history of typographical decoration no less than in that of binding. The *petits-fers,* which, as we have seen, were reproduced by binding craftsmen in all the important printing centres of Europe, at length appeared as printers' ornaments. The earliest usage of decorations of this character which the present writers have noted occurs in the *Quincuplex Psalterium* of Henri Estienne (Paris, 1509). This quarto of 292 pages uses arabesque and entrelac *petits-fers* on the title and as line finishings throughout the volume. They consist of two main varieties : (1) a floral arabesque unit which belongs to a well-known series of such pieces much favoured by binders for use as a cursive border ; (2) an *entrelac* unit in three varieties. The weight and colour of these ornaments obviously best fits them for use with black letter and *bâtarde*, and as such they were ably used by Henri Estienne in the volume mentioned, and by Janot (Paris, 1570). They appear in London (Wynkyn, 1521, 1527), Antwerp (v. Ieseult, 1538). In English title-pages their display, of course, is exceedingly clumsy. One or two only of these designs have persisted to our own day. The *entrelac* has entirely disappeared. The most venerable of the *petits-fers* in use to-day as a printer's flower is the 'Aldine leaf' (p. 39, No. 1). This simple tool was originally used on an Aldine binding as early as 1499, but not until 1515 have the writers discovered its first usage as a printing surface. This occurs in the title-page of Tornandes' *de Rebus Gothorum*, printed by Miller of Augsburg in 1516, and the *Sassenspiegel* of Othmar, also of Augsburg of the same year. The design of this flower is coarser than its prototype, the *petit-fer* of Aldus, but in the other towns the design was nearer the original. Froben (of Basle) used a perfect example in 1517. Variations in the treatment of the stalk developed at Strassburg (1519), Augsburg (1517), Antwerp (1532), Paris (1537). It would appear that, in the view of Italian printers, ornament was chiefly needed where the book appealed to a popular audience. Nevertheless it is remarkable that Aldus, to whose able hands there lay ready other varieties of arabesque units, should have persistently disdained their usage. He

[1] Many fine large white *entrelacs* upon a black ground equalling the merit of the best Ratdolt designs are to be met with in Roumanian liturgical books of the sixteenth century. Cf., for instance, the headpieces in Liturghier Slavonesc, 1508, facsimile in Bianu & Hodo : *Bibliografia Românescâ Veche* (Bucuresci, I. V. Socec, 1902), p. 2.



19. Arabesque tools (*petits-fers, piccoli ferri*) from French and Italian bindings of the first half of the sixteenth century.

may have felt that the weight and colour of the *piccoli ferri* were such as to unfit them for use with his delicate roman and italic types.

Antonio Blado, who practised his art in Rome in 1515, and whose italic gives him very high rank as a craftsman, was among the first Italian printers to be attracted by the *petit-fer*. He used a trefoil as early as 1532 in the *editio princeps* of Machiavelli's *Il Principe*. Thereafter more complex forms derived from the same source began to appear in Italy. Ferrari of Venice used them in his *Decamerone* of 1542, and the enterprising Laurence Torrentino of Florence (who was about to order a set of strikes from Garamond's pupil Guillaume Le Bé, then at Venice) used a beautiful leaf in his *De Doctrina* of Galeotti Martius (1548). Several forms of the arabesque leaf were used in Lyons in conjunction with roman type by Le Maire in his *Promptuarium,* 1533. Nowhere, however, does the leaf appear to have been used in plurality—its position was either that of a pointer, a substitute for the paragraph mark inherited from the calligraphers, or as the terminus to a conical arrangement of type on the title-page. The more complicated *petits-fers*, which appeared from 1550 onwards in the charming volumes from the Press of Gabriel Giolito, had a short life, and that confined to Italy with one or two Lyons exceptions. There appeared in Venice, too, in 1550, a noteworthy variety, i.e. the triple *petit-fer* immediately copied at Lyons (p. 40, No. 5).

It was in France, to be precise in Lyons, that the arabesques were to be put to their richest use in printing. Illustration No. 16 is a woodcut by Bernard Salomon, *le petit Bernard* (executed for the printer, Jean de Tournes). Lyonnese interest in the arabesque was of early growth, if we may trust Guilmard's date of 1530 (i.e. the same year as Pellegrino's epoch-marking volume), for the first Lyons pattern book. This was *La Fleur des patrons de Lingerie* (mentioned at p. 12). This book contains a number of splendid arabesque plates, and was followed by the *Liuvre nouueau dict patrons de lingerie* . . . Yet another arabesque book appeared in *Sensuyuent les patrons*. . . .

The printers of this city have earned a reputation for their unscrupulous imitation of the best Venetian work. Their enterprise, however, went far beyond this. To Lyonnese craftsmen we owe some of the very finest achievements of printing. Mr. A. F. Johnson, of the British Museum, estimated in a paper read before the Bibliographical Society,[1] that the

[1] Cf. Johnson, *Books printed at Lyons in XVIth Century,* in *The Library* (2 series, Vol. III, No. 3. Dec. 1922).

approximate number of books printed at Lyons in the sixteenth century would be some 13,000, divided among some forty printers. Of these Sebastian Gryphius heads the list with an issue of 1,140 volumes spread over thirty-three years. His larger works are often well executed and handsome productions. Guillaume Rouille issued some 800 books. He was an able printer, something of a scholar, and in his young days worked in one of the most successful Venetian offices, that of the Gioliti. We have already remarked that the productions of this office were distinguished by title-pages decorated with small arabesque *petits-fers* of rather intricate design. Rouille introduced an identical use in his own printing. While his work displays considerable care and artistry, he was in every way surpassed by the two Jean de Tournes, father and son. Jean the first was born at Lyons in 1504, and was apprenticed to the Trechsels. Afterwards he became foreman to Sebastian Gryphius, whose work we have already noticed. Sebastian's brother Francis worked for some time with Geofroy Tory, and his example may have inspired Jean de Tournes I to conceive such delightful editions as the *Metamorphoses of Ovid* of 1557. Certainly Jean de Tournes remained on good terms with the Gryphii. Vingtrinier says that he allowed his 'ravissante' edition of Marot (1549) to be copied by them without 'arrière pensée de jalousie.' Jean de Tournes would have been a great printer, even in the sixteenth century, and even in sixteenth-century Lyons, so teeming with craftsmen of unique skill, Rouille, his chief rival, enjoyed the advantage of Pierre Eskrich's co-operation. Eskrich (or Cruche, or P. V. as he variously signs his work) was one of an able band of *tailleurs d'histoire* who worked for the Lyonnese market. There can be no doubt, however, that in manner and in inventive felicity he is greatly inferior to the master who worked exclusively for Jean de Tournes and upon whose ability the latter's editions so greatly depend for their fame. The first book in which we can with certainty trace the hand of Bernard Salomon is the *Triomphes du Petrarque* (1547); but his most characteristic work is to be found in several editions of the Bible, Rabelais, *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Paradin and Marot. These works contain many of his singularly beautiful wood-engraved illustrations. For these we have indeed the greatest admiration, but no present concern. It is our purpose to point out his remarkable mastery of the arabesque.

Bernard Salomon was born in 1508 in Lyons. He studied in Paris, but came back to Lyons when, in 1540, Jean de Tournes I opened his own printing establishment. For Jean de Tournes he seems to have worked

all his life. He was twice married; and his daughter married Robert Granjon,[1] the type-founder, who had moved from Lyons to Paris. Salomon had a son who worked with him. 'Maistre Bernard le peintre' is mentioned in various Lyonnese records. His will of October, 1559, still exists. He ceased work in 1560, and died in 1561 or 1562.

Salomon, as we have said, worked all his life for Jean de Tournes. But he had other activities. To this master of arabesque, Simon Cortières, goldsmith and jeweller, entrusted the making of the design for the 'coffre d'argent doré taillée et neelé garni de medailles faictes a l'antique,' which was sold to Henry III in 1554. He worked for other jewellers as well—and of jewellers there were in the years around 1540 no less than 550 in Lyons. His designs (says Rondot) were evident also in the stuffs and silks as well as in the furniture made in Lyons. Finally, Salomon was art director for city pageants.

The immediate source of *le petit Bernard's* arabesque inspiration is not clear. Rondot hints that he may have been interested in the arabesque patterns of Jean Gourmont, the renowned Lyonnese engraver whose *Livre de Moresques,* to which we have referred at p. 12, was issued in Lyons in 1546. Again, if we compare, as Reimers has done, one or two arabesque headbands shown in the *Maureskenbuch* of Peter Flötner (*d.* 1546) with the chapter heads of Paradin's *Quadrins* (Jean de Tournes, 1547), we shall notice a resemblance so close as almost to reach identity. Rudolph von Wyssenbach, the formschnyder of Zurich, did not publish the *Maureskenbuch* until three years after the master's death (i.e. in 1549). It is probable that specimens of Flötner's work were widely circulated before his death.[2] While our own search has not traced any arabesques to Salomon's hand before 1547, it is more likely that Gourmont and *le petit Bernard* were alike indebted to a common source. One of the fine borders (*see* fig. 16) which appeared in the *Metamorphoses of Ovid* of 1557, is to be found in the 1541 Paris *Horae* of Colines and unmistakably from the atelier of Tory (fig. 15). In this connection it is to be noted that one of the *niellé* borders in the 1557 *Ovid* (de Tournes) bears in the centre of the tail panel a minute white Lorraine cross—the signature first of Tory and later of the atelier to whose direction his widow succeeded on Tory's death in 1533. Aug. Bernard, of course, goes too far when he hazards the guess that Tory, who died in 1533, was employed

[1] *Vide infra,* p. 31.

[2] Cf. Reimers, *Flotner-Studien* (Leipzig, 1892).

20. The work of Peter Flötner (from the *Maureskenbuch*, 1549).

by Tournes; the latter was still foreman to Sebastian Gryphius. Tory's reputation, however, was so considerable and his output so immense that on establishing himself as master printer, Tournes may well have made attempts to buy certain of Tory's borders at second hand.[1] It is worth remarking also that at least three absolute facsimiles of the Ovid borders were used in the office of Fédéric Morel of Paris, *Imprimeur du Roy,* who worked from 1557 to 1583.[2]

Examination of the de Tournes border fig. 16 and the Tory fig. 15 reveals a number of interesting points. No fewer than three important constituents of this design are to be found in Pellegrino,[3] whose book was apparently no less an essential to the office of Tory than to Peter Flötner. The two latter remain the most brilliant, the most versatile and the most creative of sixteenth-century ornamentalists. Geofroy Tory, at once scholar, linguist, artist, printer, and binder, towers above the craftsmen of his day. Alone of the great contemporary binders, Tory was capable of composing the designs as well as tooling them.[4] So far, therefore, as printing is concerned, we must name Tory as the greatest protagonist of arabesque, just as we must name his patron Grolier as the more potent influence in arabesque binding.

Bernard Salomon's work, however, displays a great interest in book decoration both exterior and interior. He handled with perfect ease *rinceaux, fleurs, branchages, mascarons guirlandes de fruits, titres architecturales,* and the arabesque. The last was much used by Tournes. His productions display first a period of comparatively servile imitation of

[1] It may be noted that the decorative borders to Tory's *Horae* (Paris, 1531, Lacombe, no. 392 *bis*) were conterfeited at Lyons by the brothers Huguetan 1538 (Lacombe, no. 505).

[2] Cf. the reproductions in Joseph Dumoulin: *Vie et Oeuvres de Fédéric Morel,* (pp. 60 *et seq.*, Paris, 1901). These borders are positively ascribed to Tory by F. Thibaudeau, *La Lettre d'Imprimerie* (Paris, 1921), vol. 1, p. 206; and in *The Printed Book before the Nineteenth Century* (a catalogue of an exhibition arranged by the American Institute of Graphic Arts, New York, 1923) we read that 'Jean de Tournes commissioned Tory to design his shop-mark and a great many magnificent borders and initials' (? unpaged, but *s.v.* J. de Tournes). These statements need reconciling with the fact that Tory died in 1533 while Jean de Tournes established himself only in 1540.

[3] Compare Pellegrino's plates *La Fleur de la Science,* etc., xxv, xxvi, and xlvi.

[4] Cf. E. Thoinan: *Les Relieurs Français* (Paris, Em. Paul, 1893), p. 126.

Italian models, and secondly a ripe originality. This was joined to an enterprising business spirit. Lyonnese printers were the first to replace handwork in binding by the use of metal stamps. Numbers of these stamped bindings are almost indistinguishable from the best work of the professional *doreurs sur cuir*. Thus the arabesque won for itself a unique and dominating position in all the best of Lyonnese book decoration. The metal arabesque binding plates inevitably reacted upon the founding of typographical metal decorations, and thus in Lyons the *petit-fer* ornaments which had hitherto been used gave place to substantial head-and tail-pieces and large floating fleurons both solid and azured. These fleurons are to be found in most of the Tournes books from 1547. They were carried to Geneva by Jean de Tournes II, and were used by his descendants until the beginning of the eighteenth century, and probably remain in Geneva to this day. They were certainly in the possession of Jules Fick, printer of that city (*circa* 1850).[1]

In sum, the arabesque decoration of Lyonnese books at about the year 1550 included woodcut borders and headpieces, large floating fleurons, and, of course, the *petits-fers* used singly. A new development took place (*circa* 1550) in Venice. Gabriel Giolito cut a small unit of type-ornament whose pattern may be observed in bookbindings of an earlier date, e.g. those of Grolier (cf. p. 40, No. 10).[2] The importance of this development, however, consists in its use rather than in its form.

This ornament is the first, we think, to be employed both singly and in *strips*. We have not so far found this specimen in a Lyons volume, but in view of the numbers of Italian craftsmen at work in Lyons and the friendship subsisting between such men as Rouille and the Gioliti, we entertain a hope that further search may reveal Lyonnese use of this ornament. We can show, however, that the principle of combination was first carried to a fine conclusion in mid-sixteenth-century Lyons. These combinations were made by analysing and submitting the arabesque to the discipline of the type body.

In figures 8 and 9 may be clearly seen the derivation of flowers from

[1] This printer, whose excellent work is to-day completely forgotten, issued a number of handsome volumes in seventeenth-century style. He even used Granjon's '*Civilité*, and in 1864 issued a sumptuous publication entitled *Ancien bois de l'Imprimerie Fick*, containing many cuts by *le petit Bernard*.

[2] Cf. Reproductions in *Bibliografia II*, 66 (Barcelona) and in Lincy, *Jean Grolier* (Eng. tr. New York, Grolier Club), p. 395.

21. From *Opera Nouamente Composta,* printed by Nicolo Zoppino (Venice, 1524).

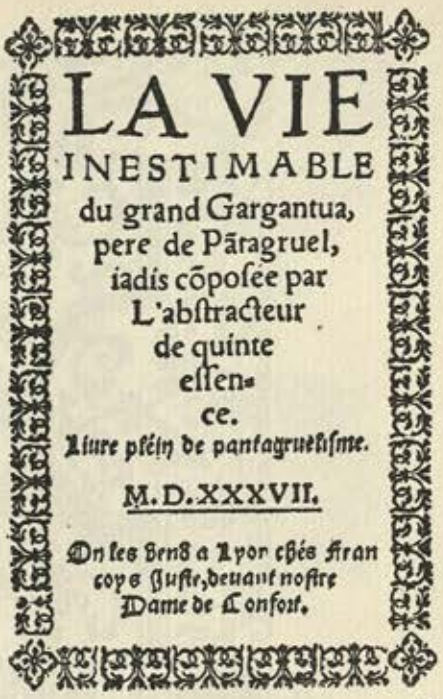


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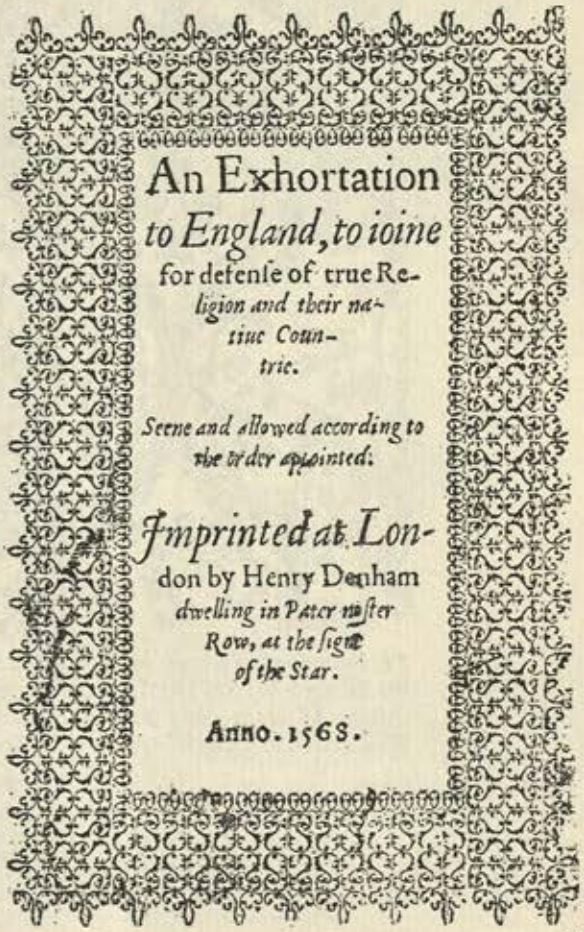
Fig. 21 shows a reproduction from what is probably the first book to bear flowers; that is, repetitive built-up elements of ornament in small units. It is a curious blend of the old fashion of ornament with the new technical discovery of the convenience of the built-up border. The flowers there used are four in number. They are ignorantly, or for such a reason of convenience as a shortage of types, spaced out instead of set solidly, as their design, which would then be cursive, demands. They set no fashion as to pattern, being themselves the relics of a fashion which their technical form was to help to supersede.

Fig. 22 shows an early use of metal flowers as a border (Lyons, François Juste, 1537). These flowers were probably in earlier use as binders' tools.

Fig. 23. The flowers which combine to make this rich border are in all probability the first varieties used in England. They were used originally in Venice *circa* 1550. (Cf. appendix to this article, pp. 39-42.)



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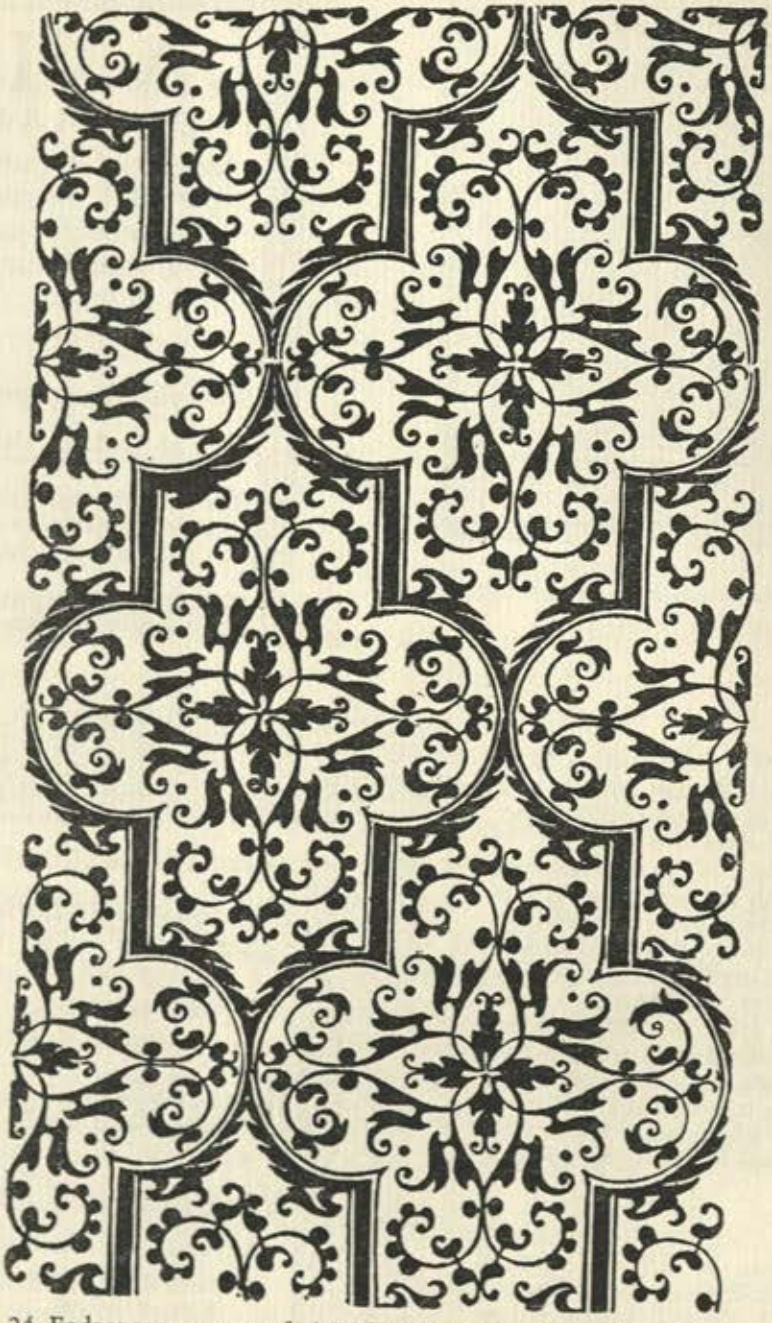
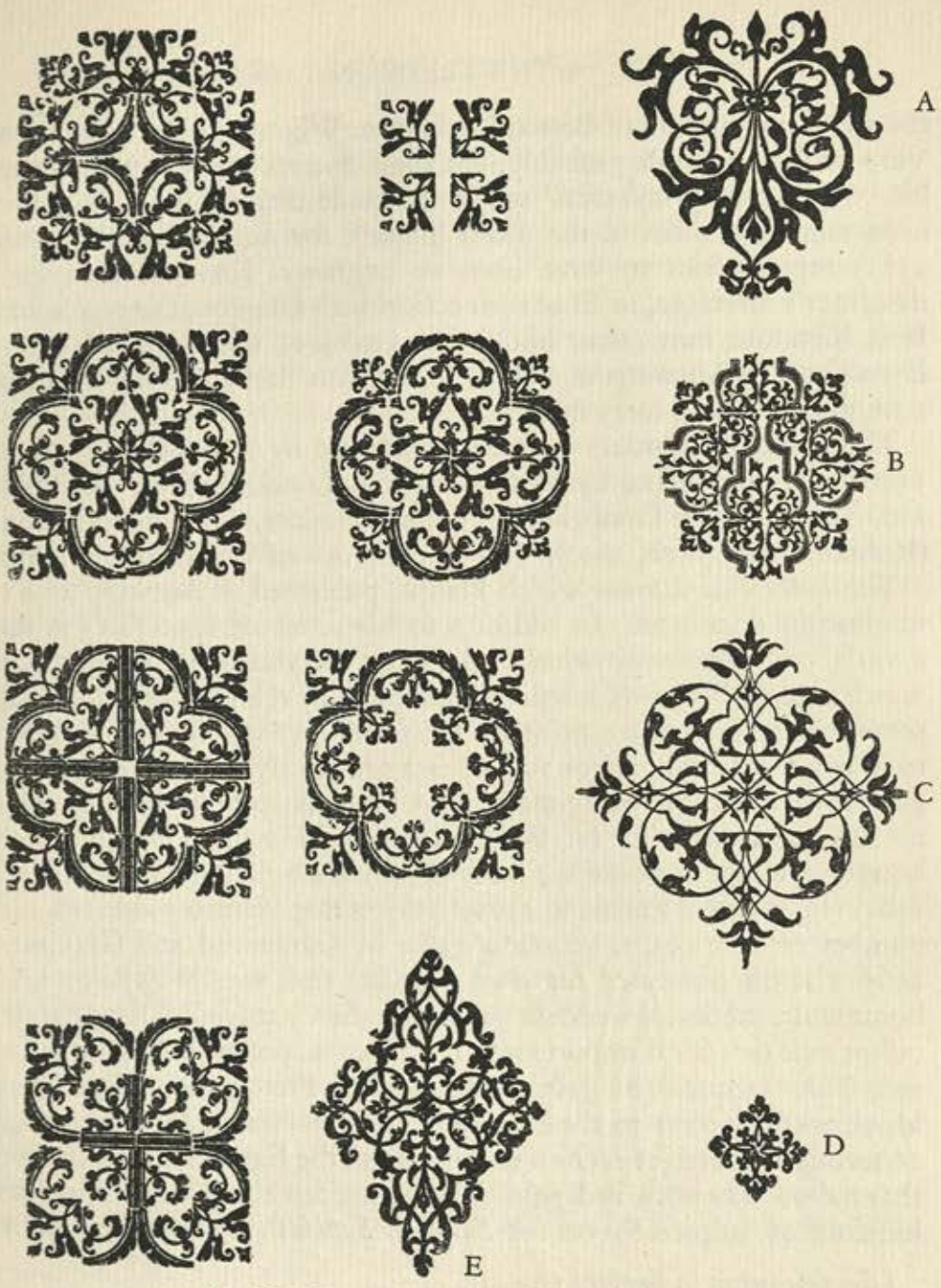


24. Endpaper to a copy of *A Booke of Secrets* (London, Adam Islip for Edward White, 1596), in the library of Mr. H. C. Levis. The British Museum copy lacks this feature. (Cf. Levis, *Descriptive Bibliography of Books relating to the Engraving and Collecting of Prints*, London, Ellis, 1912, p. 9.)



25. ARABESQUE FLEURONS IN USE AT LYONS

The above were employed by Pierre Roussin and Michel Jouve (1551–1580), and Jean Pillehote (1580–1600). B is found in Jean de Tournes' books as early as 1560. C is by Peter Flötner (cf. his *Maureskenbuch,* 1549). D is probably a *petit-fer*. A, C and E are solid fleurons. The remaining seven are composite pieces put together from the elements of the design on the opposite page (fig. 24). It is to be noted that these remarkably beautiful and versatile flowers had a short life compared with that of the series described on p. 39. To-day not a single fragment of fig. 24 is discoverable, though components are to be found in the specimen books of Plantin (1567), Wetstein (1743), Lamesle (1742), Ploos van Amstel (1767), Delacolonge (1773), Imprenta Real (1799). These flowers were much used in Rome from at least 1590 onwards. In this connection it may be recalled that Robert Granjon, of Lyons, was working in Rome (1578-1588).

the woodcut borders of Bernard Salomon. Who made the adaptations? Very probably—most probably, for these flowers are better than any of his contemporary imitators' work—he made them himself. Perhaps he even engraved them in the metal himself, for du Verdier (*Bibliothèque*, 1581) reports him to have been an engraver. He was, through his daughter's marriage, in close connection with Granjon, the typefounder. It is therefore more than likely that Granjon, who supplied types to Lyons and to Antwerp as well as to his own Paris, was the founder of a number of these early flowers.

The arabesque borders were copied abroad by Jean Beller[1] (Antwerp, 1576), and in England by Thomas Adams (London, 1610). The fleurons are to be found in Cambridge (Thomas Thomas, 1587) and Edinburgh (Robert Waldegrave, 1600),[2] and in the work of Christopher Plantin.

The *Index Characterum* which Plantin published at Antwerp is a very interesting document. In addition to his series of type faces it shows a variety of flowers obviously related to the arabesque. The specimen was issued to Plantin's scholarly customers in the year 1567, and represents the earliest known printer's specimen devoted to other than Venetian or German types. For some years previously the eminent Antwerp printer had been gathering material. A Frenchman himself, from the first he showed a partiality for French faces and for French craftsmen. He bought a number of punches from Garamond before the latter's death in 1561. His inventory made in 1563 discloses that Plantin possessed a large number of matrices, roman and italic, by Garamond and Granjon. By 1565 Plantin possessed his own foundry and, says Max Rooses,[3] 'un homme du metier, un certain Jacques Sabon y travailla. Il ne parait pas qu'on y ait rien fait d'important; on y executa specialement des fleurons,' etc. This Jacques (or Jacob) Sabon was a Frenchman. Herr Gustave Mori, whose access to the Frankfort archives has enabled him to make a thorough investigation into the history of the Egenolffs, has discovered that Sabon was born in Lyons.[4] It is conceivable that Jacques was a kinsfolk of Sulpice Sabon (or *Sulpitius Sapidus*), who printed in Lyons

[1] *See* title-pages in Bagford (A 142).

[2] *See* Bowes' *Catalogue of Cambridge Books* (Cambridge, 1896, Vol. I, p. xvi).

[3] Introduction to 1905 reprint of Plantin's *Index*, p. 3.

[4] G. Mori in *Christian Egenolff* (*Archiv für Buchgewerbe* 1907, nn. 8 & 10). Cf. Mori: *Eine Frankfurter Schriftprobe vom Jahre* 1592 (Frankfürt, 1920, printed privately by D. Stempel).

from 1535 to 1549. Baudrier was unable to trace a single document relating to this printer, 'un des meilleurs de Lyon, et nous ne savons rien sur sa vie.'[1] His unrecorded disappearance from Lyons probably means that he, like Tournes II and others, an adherent of the reformation, fled to avoid persecution. A number of such French protestants arrived in Frankfort, and among them Jacques Sabon. He joined the Egenolffs, but later went to Antwerp, where, as we have seen, he entered Plantin's office as a foundry-hand. Plantin's correspondence reveals that he received in 1566 'des poinçons de fleurons' from Granjon. The latter's prolonged absence in Rome and elsewhere forced Plantin to have recourse to local talent for maintenance of his supplies of types and flowers. Accordingly we find Plantin in 1570 receiving fleurons from Henri van den Keere *alias* du Tour. At his death (*circa* 1574) the widow du Tour returned the punches which had been used by her husband, but which had been cut by Garamond, Granjon, and Le Bé, into the hands of Plantin. It seems clear, therefore, that flowers shown in Plantin's *Index* are from the hands of Jacques Sabon and Robert Granjon. Robert was the younger brother of the Paris bookseller, Jean Granjon, who kept shop, 1504-1551, *in Clauso Brunelli: prope scholas decretorum in intersignio sacratissimae Dei genetricis Mariae,* and, later, *sub signo magni iunci appendente.*[2] Robert Granjon was a member of the Paris gild of imprimeurs-libraires from 1523, but removed in 1557 to Lyons and married Antoinette, daughter of Bernard Salomon (*see* p. 23). He made a two-year stay at Paris (1563-1565), and in 1566 visited his perhaps most important customer at that time, Chr. Plantin, at Antwerp. From 1578 to 1588 he gave himself, at the invitation of Gregory XIII, to the establishment of a type-foundry at Rome.[3]

Our inquiry can, however, be pushed a little farther. Jacques Sabon disappeared from Plantin's foundry in 1567, the year of the publication of the *Index Characterum.* It is possible that, before leaving, Sabon purchased a number of strikes from either Plantin or Granjon. Sabon must have met Granjon in Antwerp late in 1566. In 1571 he joined the widow

[1] Baudrier, *Bibl. Lyon.* t. IV.

[2] *See* the *joncs* in his two marks reproduced in *Silvestre,* 13 and 14.

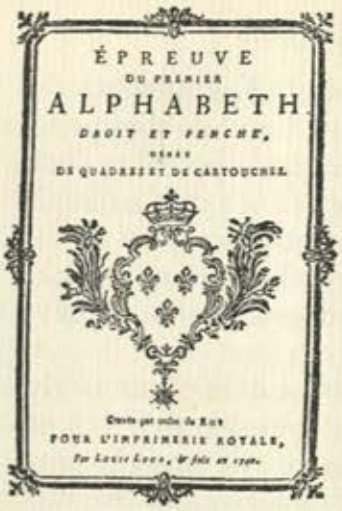
[3] At intervals he printed and published in association with one Michel Fezandat of Lyons and had for a sign a salamander and three *joncs.* See Max Rooses (pref. to reprint of Plantin's *Index,* 1905, p. 5): Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens* (Paris, Claudin, 1898, pp. 161-2).

of Christian Egenolff, whose press at Frankfort-am-Main was one of the most important in Germany. Egenolff's compositors worked entirely with Basel types until, at Sabon's arrival, they were supplanted by those of Garamond and Granjon. A magnificent broadside specimen was issued by Conrad Berner, who directed the press after the death of Jacob Sabon in 1580. The unique copy of this specimen, which has escaped notice by Mr. Updike, exists at Frankfürt. Its title, *Specimen Characterum Typorum Probatissimorum inconditae quidem sed scdm. suas tamen differentias propositum tam ipsis librorum autoribus quam typographis apprime utile et accomodatum,* indicates that the Egenolff house included a foundry which supplied other printers. The specimen, whose type area measures 12 × 19 inches, displays the romans of Garamond from *canon* to *gaillard*, and the eight italics of Granjon. They are acknowledged to their respective cutters, and are recommended as the most beautiful and distinguished types which have ever seen the light. It is recorded that they were collected first by Christian Egenolff and then by his wife, and finally by his heirs, Jacob Sabon and Conrad Berner. The latter printed this specimen *anno* 1592. In spite of the great interest which this specimen has for all typographers it must suffice for our immediate purpose to draw attention to the fact that the sheet displays six varieties of the Aldine leaf and some ten flowers. Most of the latter occur in Plantin's *Index*, while the three indicated on p. 43 are, in our view, originals of Sabon. We have tabulated at pp. 39-42 such flowers as occur in the Antwerp *Index* of 1567 and in the Frankfürt sheet of 1592, and which have survived to our own day. The credit for the founding of at least these varieties is to be shared, it seems to us, between Granjon and Sabon.

The remainder of our story may well be compressed. The treatment of the grotesque convention by Zoan Andrea and others of his school had been exceedingly rich and decorative. This type of ornament remained a considerable competitor of the arabesque, even at the height of the oriental fashion. In the series of borders attributed (*a*) to Geofroy Tory, (*b*) Bernard Salomon, or (*c*) an unknown master of them both, himself (if he existed) a pupil of Pellegrino, there is, besides the pure arabesque, a number of borders, chiefly arabesque, wherein the designer has not been able to resist, as did the disciplined orientals, the introduction of fauns' faces in the more or less accidental association of certain suggestive floral elements. The grotesque was not for long held in a subordinate position. By the end of the sixteenth century the arabesque, except for

its flower derivatives, had gone clean out of fashion. J. Androuet du Cerceau put out in Paris, in 1550, a booklet of sixty-two 'Arabesques,' as he says, *quod grottesche vocant itali.* The name 'arabesque' applied to such designs is a sign of the waning public discrimination. Since du Cerceau's time the word has been used inexactly, and without respect to its derivation, to mean delicate phantasy or tracery, any elaborated embellishment of pattern or even sound in any tradition or mode. So we have arabesques by Watteau, Ranson, and Debussy.

The later years of the sixteenth century witnessed the exhaustion of the Italian Renaissance. Architecture, for instance, was given over to pedantic formalists, and the teaching and example of the great Roman architect Vitruvius were accorded a reverence which had become almost superstitious. This monotonous copying of the antique styles was at length broken by a new demand for freedom. Thus came the Italian Renaissance to yield to the Barock or Rococo style. In Italy the new influence was eagerly welcomed, and in France its appeal was instantaneous. If in Italy the Barock chiefly affected architecture, in France it was the minor decorative arts which felt the new spirit more keenly. The *maîtres ornemanistes,* Watteau, Berain, Eisen and others, eagerly responded to the gaiety and frivolity of the rich and reckless age of Louis XV. Rococo decoration was lavished upon everything, walls and furniture, jewellery and dresses, books and pictures. The masters of the remarkable mixture of etching and engraving which culminated in the 1735 edition of *Molière* and the sumptuous *La Fontaine* (1755) shared Court favour with the *ornemanistes.* The *livre de luxe* swiftly became one of the established extravagances of the age. Mme. de Pompadour herself took lessons in engraving from perhaps its greatest master, Nicolas Cochin. The engravers who supplied the very gallant illustrations, themselves designed title-pages, headbands, and tail-pieces. The foremost Parisian printers of the day strove to fit the printed page to that of the engraver. In this combination they were powerfully helped by Pierre Simon Fournier, the letter founder, who as a young man, on a hint from the work of the royal punch-cutter Louis Luce, enthusiastically applied the Rococo to type design and book ornament. By 1742 he had cut an enormous number of fleurons, vignettes, and borders in the new taste. The *lettres ornées* affected by the engravers were transferred to type bodies, and new types were cast. Under Fournier's influence, therefore, it became possible for the printer to produce books in the new taste with



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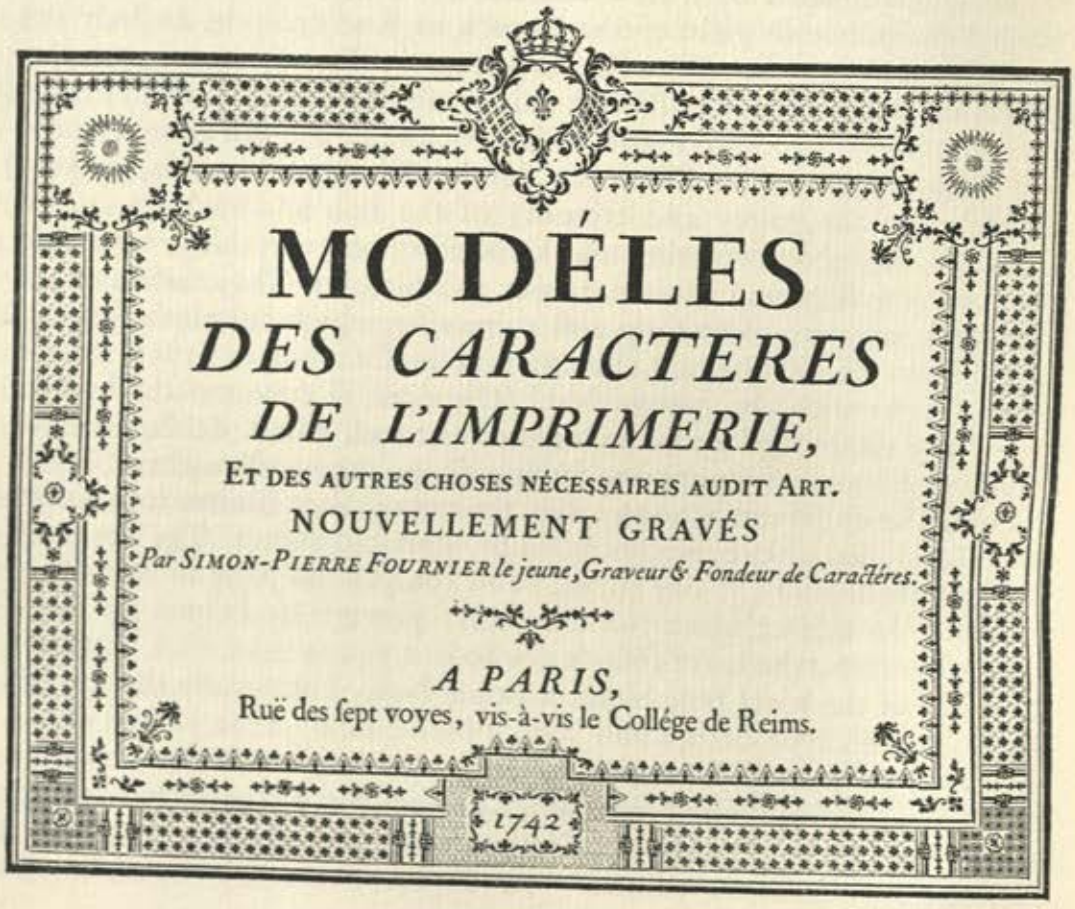

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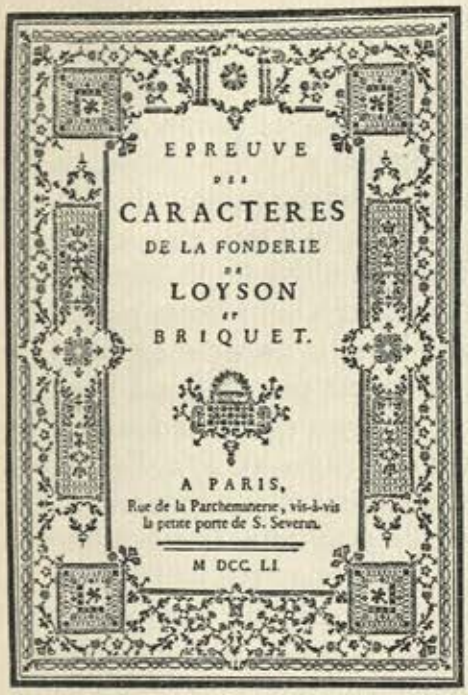
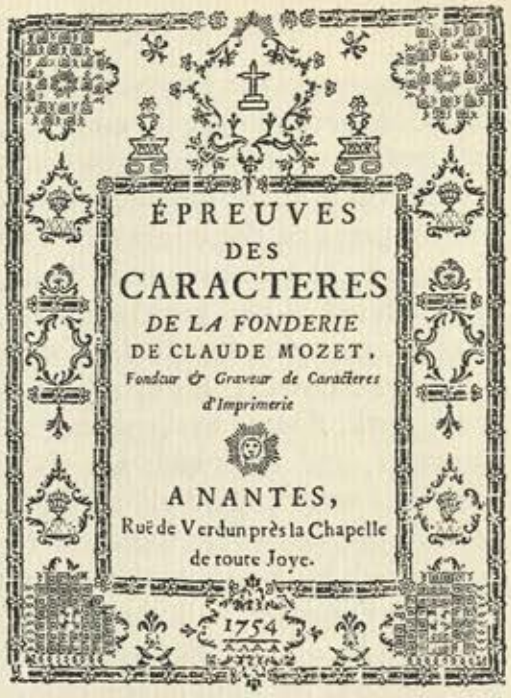
The flowers of Louis Luce (figs. 26-28), punch cutter of the Imprimerie Royale, 1740 (*exact size*), and of S. P. Fournier, trade typefounder, 1742 (*reduced*).



30



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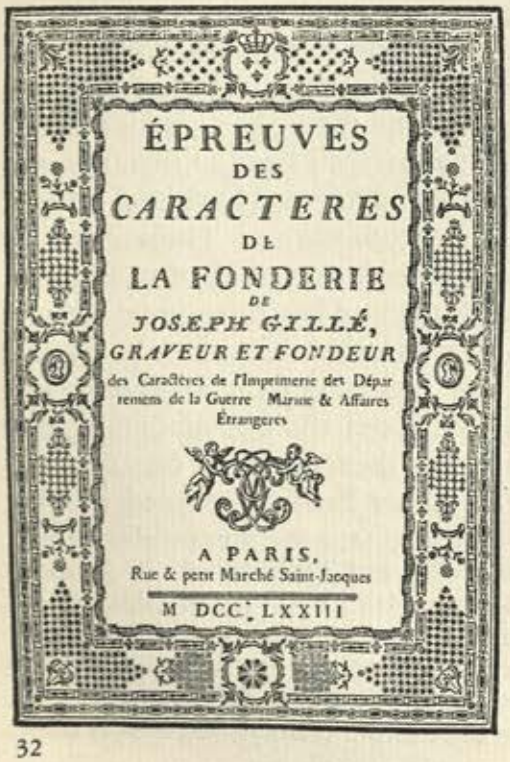

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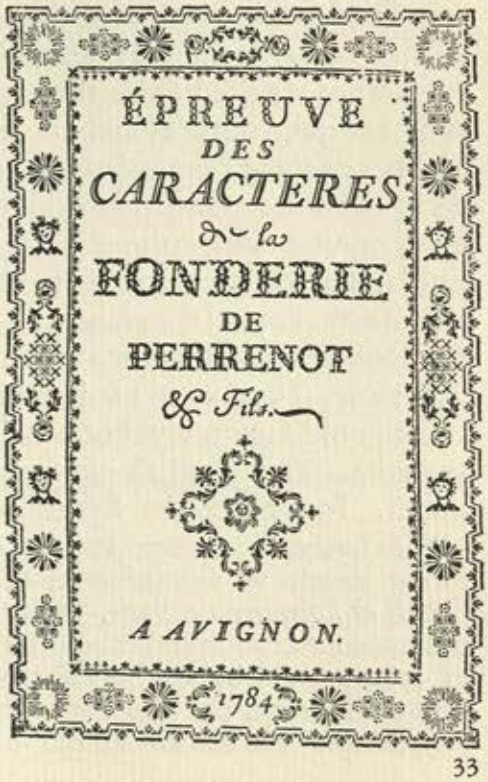


33

Fournier's flowers followed by the foundries of Loyson (1751), Mozet (1754), Joseph Gillé (1773), and Perrenot (1784). (*All reduced.*)

less recourse to the engraver. From 1760 onwards the engraver's part in the book became largely confined to the illustrations proper. Thus the vast output of literature which marked the score of years preceding the revolution is more indebted to the letterpress of the printer than to the rolling-press of the engraver. The dainty series of 12mo classics begun in 1745 by the widow de la Tour, by David, and by C. F. Simon, was remaindered to and greatly extended by Fournier's pet printer-publisher, Barbou, in 1760. Gradually the engraved headpieces were replaced by Fournier's flowers. Flourishes, blown-out corner pieces, florid borders, shell-work, flower baskets, were all built up from elements founded by Fournier, and of which we show specimens (figs. 26, 27). Fournier's creations were copied all over France and the continent generally. The revolution, however, went far to break the tradition. The breach was completed by Bodoni, the great printer of Parma. He had begun by copying Fournier, as Bodoni himself confesses in the preface to his *Fregi e Majuscoli* of 1771, had later turned to the example and carried farther the methods of John Baskerville of Birmingham. Thus is opened a new chapter in the history of the book.

In England, by the end of the eighteenth century, flowers were virtually dead.[1] Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century a kind of second renascence resulted from the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and 'antique' borders and headpieces became the vogue. Bodoni cut a number of these classical ornaments, but apparently tired of their use and preferred rules. Gaspard Gillé of Paris, however, nearly ruined himself in designing and cutting Græco-Roman confections. These came to England in due time, and are to be found in the books of Thorne, Figgins, and others. Few of the arabesque flowers survived Fournier, none escaped the flood of Gillé's modern antiques. The revival of the arabesque flowers was slow. They were used sparingly by Pickering from 1830 onwards, and the old-face revival of 1840 brought about the use of one or two varieties. This English old-face revival awakened echoes on the Continent. In France the Lyons printer, Louis Perrin, designed in 1842

[1] Cf. Luckombe, quoted at p. 1. In France the taste for flowers also passed, owing largely to the influence of Baskerville and Tonson. A. F. Momoro (*Traité de l'Imprimerie*, Paris, 1796, p. 329) complains that 'les anglais nous ont communiqué cette aversion pour les vignettes,' and he refers us to the *Voltaire* of 1780, printed by the Société typographique littéraire in Baskerville's types, 'vous n'y verrez pas une seule vignette, pas un cordon de vignette, pas un filet, excepté ceux dits anglais qui sont de cette sorte.' (*Here follows a metal dash*).

a very fine letter whose capitals were based upon the proportions of the ancient roman inscriptional forms.[1] Perrin used with these types a number of headbands and tailpieces whose motives were composed of conventional renaissance floral and grotesque forms. In this neo-Elzevir style a number of pretty volumes were issued in some mitigation of the corrupt Didot manner which had grown to be all but universal. In the next generation came the arabesque revival at the office of Jules Claye. This Paris printer cut a large number of decorated initials, vignettes and fleurons in the arabesque style of Peter Flötner. Claye's *Types de caractères et ornements anciens* (1875) also includes a number of headbands cut from the Lyons borders referred to at p. 23. Claye's ornaments were reproduced by the Hof Buchdruckerei Weimar, 1880. Daniel, who first used the Fell types in 1876, revived in 1881 the flowers in the Fell Collection at the Oxford University Press, and thus led the way for their more general use by Mr. Horace Hart in Oxford books. Mr. Frank Sidgwick, associated with Mr. A. H. Bullen at the Shakespeare Head Press, also made use of a number of flowers typical of Elizabethan English printing. But this was clearly a very narrow renascence.

In 1890, Will Bradley designed some flowers of his own, and secured the recutting by the American Typefounders' Company of certain old sorts. This recutting was very badly done, and distressingly engrossed the old forms ; but it was an important step in the revival. In 1914 the present writers, then responsible for the typography used by Messrs. Burns & Oates (publishers), decided to embellish some books in the florid fashion ; but (unsure of their ground and lacking any assistance from the typefounders) ignorantly decided that it must be managed by photographing or redrawing items from seventeenth-century books and having *zincos* made therefrom! A well-known typefounder, approached by one of us, explained that he could show us no sixteenth-century examples, because 'the books were then all written out by the monks'! In England the serious revival of the cult was undertaken at the

[1] Perrin issued his specimen (about 13″ × 16″) in 1846. He designed the face and some of his drawings remain in the possession of M. Marius Audin of Lyons. Thibaudeau's statement (*La Lettre d'Imprimerie* II, 376) that Perrin discovered these types amongst some disused plant belonging to the Imprimerie Rey needs modification. Francisque Rey founded these types for Perrin and for Jules Fick of Geneva. Much of Perrin's stock seems, later, to have been purchased by Jules Claye.

inauguration of the Pelican Press in 1916. The typefounders' closets were ransacked, and in the following years the collection of the Press was greatly increased. The Curwen Press, the Westminster Press and others were not slow to follow suit in a movement which has grown until it demonstrates its extent, its variability, and its real or potential charm, in every class of printing from every class of printer. The Lanston Monotype Corporation is now engaged on a most salutary extension of the revival, while both the late Claud Lovat Fraser and Mr. Percy Smith have made new designs to take their due place among the splendid variety of flowers which have never failed to bloom in the Spring of printing, and which have kept their freshness through all the processional seasons.

FRANCIS MEYNELL & STANLEY MORISON

34. London, 1610.

[*Appendix*

Appendix

Here follows a list of sixteenth-century flowers of mainly arabesque design whose use has persisted to our own day. We have added such particulars of date and place of origin as our very scanty opportunities of search have enabled us to trace. The earliest dates refer to their use by printers, and are preceded by their place-name. The later references are to the existence of these flowers in the specimen books and sheets issued by typefounders.

LIST OF TYPEFOUNDERS' AND PRINTERS' SPECIMENS REFERRED TO BELOW

Caslon (*London*)	1734, 1785	Lamesle-Gando (*Paris*)	1760
Claye (*Paris*)	1875	Mozet (*Paris*)	1754
De Groot (*'s Gravenhage*)	1781	Oxford (*University Press*)	1786
Delacolonge (*Lyons*)	1773	Ploos van Amstel (*Amsterdam*)	1796
Egenolff (*Frankfurt*)	1572	Prentzler (*Frankfurt*)	1774
Elzevir (*Leyden*)	1681	Rosart (*Brussels*)	1760
Enschedé (*Haarlem*)	1768	Schmidt-Faibure (*Porrentruy*)	1600
Imprenta Real (*Madrid*)	1797	Wetstein (*Amsterdam*)	1743
Lamesle (*Paris*)	1742	Wilson (*Glasgow*)	1820

¶ Indicates found on a binding. * Indicates recent revival.

1  These and similar forms to be found: *Augsburg,* Miller, 1516; Othmar, 1516; *Basel,* Froben, 1517; *Strasburg,* Knoblauch, 1519; *Wittenberg,* Anonymous, 1520; *Antwerp,* Hellenus, 1532; *Lyons,* Le Maire, 1533; *Paris,* Wechel, 1537; *Colines,* 1543. ¶ Binding, Aldus, 1499.

2 *  Egenolff, 1592; Lamesle, 1742; Delacolonge, 1773; Claye, 1875. *Monotype.

3  *Paris,* Galliot du Pré, 1527; similar forms in *Florence,* Torrentino, 1548; *London,* Chr. Barker, 1599. *Monotype.

4  Egenolff, 1592; Lamesle, 1742; Delacolonge, 1773; Imprenta Real, 1799. *Monotype.

5  *Venice,* Giolito, 1550; *Lyons,* Jean de Tournes, 1550; larger size, 1556; Lamesle, 1742; Wetstein, 1743; Lamesle-Gando, 1760; Ploos van Amstel, 1767; Delacolonge, 1773; Oxford, 1786. *Monotype.

6  Claye, 1875; *Paris,* Peignot, 1923.

7  *Lyons,* Hugues de la Porte, 1547; Rouille, 1558; Granjon, 1558; Prentzler, 1774; Oxford, 1786; *Updike, 1921.

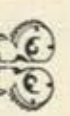
8  *London,* Denham, 1568; *Paris,* Mamert Pattisson, 1598; Mozet, 1754; Lamesle-Gando, 1760; Oxford, 1786.

9  Lamesle-Gando, 1760; Delacolonge, 1773.

10  *Venice,* Giglio, 1552; *Bologna,* Bocchi, 1555; larger size, *Antwerp,* Bellero, 1583; *Paris,* Mamert Pattisson, 1598; Lamesle-Gando, 1760; Delacolonge, 1773. *Monotype.

11  Plantin, 1567; Egenolff, 1592; Oxford, 1786; Imprenta Real, 1799.

12  Plantin, 1567; *Venice,* Junta, 1572; Egenolff, 1592; Schmidt-Faibure, 1600; Lamesle, 1742; Wetstein, 1743; Mozet, 1754; Amstel, 1767; Oxford and Chiswick Presses. *American Typefounders Co.; *Monotype.

13  Egenolff, 1592; Wetstein, 1743; Mozet, 1754; Enschedé, 1768; Prentzler, 1774; De Groot, 1781; Caslon, 1785. *Monotype.

14  Egenolff, 1592; Wetstein, 1743; Mozet, 1754; Rosart, 1768; Delacolonge, 1773; Prentzler, 1774; De Groot, 1781; Wilson, 1820. *Monotype.

15  Egenolff, 1592; Caslon, 1785; Wilson, 1820.

16  *Lyons,* Pierre Chastaing (*dit* Dauphin), 1562–1595; Plantin, 1567; *Venice,* Junta, 1572; Egenolff, 1592; Schmidt-Faibure, 1600; Elzevir, 1681; Wetstein, 1743; Caslon, 1763, 1785; Ploos van Amstel, 1767; Enschedé, 1768; Prentzler, 1774; Imprenta Real, 1799. Exists Oxford. *Linotype.

17  Cut away from above. (Oxford only).

18  *Lyons,* Dauphin, 1562–1595; Lamesle, 1742; Wetstein, 1743; ¶ Occurs on a binding S. Kensington (Rome, second half sixteenth century). Exists Oxford and Chiswick Presses.

19  Plantin, 1567; *London,* R. Newberie & R. Bynneman, 1578, Francis Coldock, 1578; Egenolff, 1592; Lamesle, 1742; Delacolonge, 1773; Caslon, 1785.

20  *Lyons,* Jean de Tournes, 1560; *Antwerp,* Stelsius, 1566, Plantin, 1567; *London,* Henry Denham, 1569; *Venice,* Conretto, 1576; Egenolff, 1592; Schmidt-Faibure, 1600; Lamesle, 1742; Wetstein, 1743; Mozet, 1754; Delacolonge, 1773; Caslon, 1785; Wilson, 1820. ¶ Occurs on a binding (South Kensington, No. 1640–1900, dated first half sixteenth century of Florentine provenance).

21  Cut away from above (Oxford only).

22 

Michel Jouve and Pierre Roussin, 1551–1580; Jean Pillehote, 1580–1600; Lamesle, 1742; Delacolonge, 1773; Ploos van Amstel, 1796; Imprenta Real, 1799. *Monotype.

23 

24 

Derived from No. 22; Caslon, 1734, 1763, 1785; Wilson, 1820.

25 * 

Plantin, 1555; *Venice,* G. A. Vavasore, 1560; *Antwerp,* Bellero, 1583; Lamesle-Gando, 1760; Delacolonge, 1773. ¶ Occurs on a binding, early sixteenth century (cf. catalogue of Wheatley Sale, Sotheby, 1920). Exists Oxford. *Monotype.

NOTE.—The pattern known as the 'fleur-de-lys' is of frequent oriental occurrence. It is to be found in one of the Tory-Salomon-Tournes borders, there appearing by reason of its arabesque provenance and not, of course, as the heraldic emblem of France. Is it possible, it may be asked, that it had come to its official use in France as a result of French participation in the Crusades? The fleur-de-lys has been much used as a printers' flower to this day.

[While any tribute to the richness of his knowledge would be superfluous, we wish to acknowledge here the great kindness shown to us by Dr. Peter Jessen of the Library of the Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum, when we were pursuing the study of this subject in Berlin. Dr. Jessen made special arrangements to place his store of relevant books at our disposal, and helped us with his own wise counsel. Mr. A. W. Pollard, Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum, was also obliging enough to help us on more than one occasion. We must also record the very genial kindness of M. Henri de Terrebasse who, with generous hospitality, opened to F. M. the treasury of his collection of sixteenth-century Lyons books at Roussillon-sur-Anjou. *Prosint!* And may they be moved to add to the history of our subject by corrections of and additions to the matter of this article.]

26. Portions of the Frankfurt specimen sheet of 1592, to which reference is made at page 32. The flowers A, B, and C (see extreme right of top portion) are, in our view, the creations of Jabob Sabon.