

THE FLEURON

*

A JOURNAL OF TYPOGRAPHY

EDITED BY OLIVER SIMON

*

*

No. 3

*

LONDON

AT THE OFFICE OF THE FLEURON

101, GREAT RUSSELL ST., W.C.1

1924

THE CHANCERY TYPES OF ITALY AND FRANCE

BY

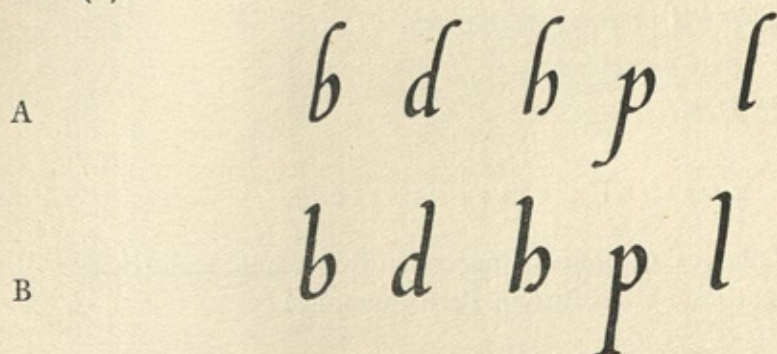
A. F. JOHNSON & STANLEY MORISON

*

IN the article entitled 'Towards an Ideal Type,' which appeared in the second number of *THE FLEURON*, the briefest incidental reference was made to certain sloping varieties of the neo-caroline script which developed during the early decades of the fifteenth century. It was explained that this hand was adopted during the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1451) for the exclusive use of that department of the Vatican chancery which was concerned with the engrossing of papal briefs.

Upon the model of this papal script, or as it became known throughout Italy, the *cancelleresca* or *chancery*, a number of printing types were cut; and it is proposed in this article to offer some account of these and of the printers who used them.

Analysis of the chancery type yields a number of interesting characteristics. First: the upper case is upright as becomes a rigid and somewhat static form. Secondly, the more dynamic lower case, though it generally slopes as becomes a cursive character, is also found upright.¹ The terminations to the lower case ascenders and descenders vary. They occur as either round kerns (A) or pointed serifs (B).



¹ This is important when it is realised that in England and U.S.A. the tendency is to regard *italic* as essentially a sloping character.

Corytius voto reddidit ista suo
 Haussit enim illius mentem Deus , et dedit arti
 Quod non humanus est , fingeret artis , opus .
 A delon

Virgo parens , nec virgo parens , natusq; , neposq;
 Idem qui cunctis est pater hic residet
 Esse potest quicq; manus , te iudice , rerum ?
 Sunt hæc de cælo mystica missa tibi .

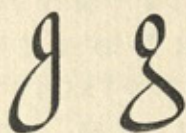
Philippus Beroaldus Junior
 Vobis Corycius maxima numina
 Has ponit statuas , non sibi flagitans
 Ampli arbitria regni ,
 Maiorem aut titulum ambiens ,
 Nam quæ vestra homini sancta dedit manus
 Sat letum faciunt . Vos rogat vt diu
 His quæ possidet , vt
 Et vita incolumi queat ,
 Audi sacra cohors cœlitum , et accipe
 Quas fert Corycius suppliciter preces
 Si cum puriter egit ,
 Et si vos coluit pie .

ARRIGHI'S FIRST ITALIC

Fig. 1. Blodius Palladius' *Coryciana* (Impressum Romę apud Ludovicum
 Vicentinum et Lautitium Perusinum, 1524)

(This is the printers' first book)

There are generally two varieties in



There can be little doubt that for all its beauty the chancery letter, originally at least, was accounted as the poor relation in the family of letters. As script, it was used for correspondence and for documents of lesser importance; and as type, it was first used for the cheapest class of classical text, and that at the lapse of thirty or more years after the introduction of printing into Italy.

Its debut in typography cannot be rated higher than as a partial success. It is much less elegant than serviceable, and its utility is seriously compromised by the presence of an enormous number of ligatures—Updike has counted no fewer than sixty-five tied letters in the Aldine *Virgil*, 1501, and *Dante*, 1502.

But when the author of *Printing Types* proceeds: 'This Aldine character became the model for all subsequent italic types' (Vol. I, p. 129), we think we detect room for qualification. More exactly, perhaps, the Aldine type may be claimed to have suggested or to have made possible the general use of the chancery type in typography. It is the fact, of course, that more or less close reproductions of Aldus's chancery type were made immediately by many printers in various centres; but it remains the case that the passage of a few years witnessed the development of another chancery series—founded quite independently of the Aldine design. This second school of chancery types (we will not at the moment call them italics, since at least one of them is not inclined) is intimately connected with the city of Rome, with the Vatican chancery and in particular with the work of the scribe Lodovico degli Arrighi of Vicenza, whose typography has been passed over in silence, although he not only produced some of the most beautiful books printed in this, or indeed in any, period, but was also a source of inspiration to other better-known printers. In the second number of *THE FLEURON* it was pointed out that Blado's larger italic is practically the same as Arrighi's, and reproductions were given from two pages of his books. In Fumagalli's Dictionary there is a mere reference to Arrighi in connection with Janicolo at Vicenza, while under the heading *Rome* there is no mention of him at all. The only considerable account of him is in Giacomo Manzoni's *Studi di Bibliografia Analitica* (Studio secondo, 1882), where, however, he is considered as the author of the earliest writing book and little is said of his career as a printer. Arrighi's writing book was probably engraved by Ugo da Carpi (the well-known woodcutter who later issued an edition of the book with a privilege granted to himself and not to

PAULI IOVII NOVOCOMENSIS
MEDICI
DE ROMANIS PISCIBUS LIBELLVS
AD LVDOVICVM BORBONIVM
CARDINALEM AMPLISSIMVM.

SVades Reuerendissime ac Illustrissime Domine, qui etiam iure optimo compellere potes, ut ea literis tradam, quæ de Romanis piscibus erudite atq; subtiliter fuisse disputata, quum te, et Ioannem Lotharingum præclarissimi ingenij Cardinalem Clemens Pontifex, familiari conuiuio, ueluti animum remissurus, hylariter excepsisset. Res est cognitu, tractatuq; difficilis, cum propter infinitam fere naturæ piscium uarietatem, quæ me et plerosq; alios admodum curiosos hactenus irritò labore fatigauit, tum propter incredibilem scriptorum discrepantiam, qui ex multiplici linguarum uarietate perpetuas huiusmodi studiis tenebras offuderunt. Quibus de causis necesse est, ut animus rei difficultate permotus totum hoc munus, quod maioribus doctrinæ, exactionisq; iudicij neruis esset extendendum, haud mediocriter reformidet. Sed ea est dignitas, amplitudoq; tua et morum suauitas cum singulari optimarum literarum cupiditate coniuncta, ut honoris mei uel gloriolæ, siqua ingenuis studiis parta est, iacturam plane facere, quæ honestissimo desyderio tuo penitus deesse malim. Verum tu postea iudicaueris, an ego qui rem tam difficilis argumenti et maiorem omnino ingenij facultatem postulatis, impudentiæ culpa uacauerim, quum eius nominis ueniam iam deprecer, ut officiosus et perhumanus appaream. Proinde hunc libellum ab acrioribus censoribus minus seuerè iudicari uelim, quando eum festina quadam hylaritate ueluti ludibundus, dum multi per hæc Saturnalia, aleæ, cæterisq; uoluptatibus uacarent, antiquis meis earum rerum obseruationibus

A ij

EARLY USE OF LEADING

Fig. 2. Paolo Giovio, *De romanis piscibus* (Rome, Minitius Calvus 1527)

Arrighi) and printed at Rome in 1522. In this book Arrighi describes himself as 'scrittore de' brevi apostolici'—an interesting fact, since all cursive types were based on the chancery hand of these 'scrittori de' brevi,' and here we find one of them actually turning printer. In this writing book will be found many of the characteristics of Arrighi's types, although as the book is printed from blocks, flourishes are possible with which printing from cast type could not compete. Apart from this calligraphic book and its continuation, *Il modo di temperare le penne*, also engraved and printed at Venice in 1523, no books appear to have been printed or written by Arrighi before 1524. The earliest book in that year bearing the date of a month is the *Coryciana*, a collection of Latin poems in honour of Janus Corycius and edited by Blossius Palladius, one of the Papal secretaries. The colophon reads 'Impressum Romę apud Ludovicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Perusinum, Mense Julio MDXXIII.' As to this second printer, Lautitius Perusinus, whose name appears with Arrighi's on many of the books printed in 1524 and 1525, and not afterwards, he is in one imprint styled 'intagliatore,' and therefore Manzoni conjectures that he was the actual engraver of the new types. Probably he may be identified with the medallist, whose full name appears to have been Lautizio de Bartolomeo dei Rotelli. He has the distinction of being referred to by Benvenuto Cellini, who praises him for his work as an engraver of seals. The *Coryciana* is a quarto, like all Arrighi's books, and printed throughout in one size of a most beautiful cursive.

The aim which Aldus set before himself of producing cheap editions of the classics was not shared by Arrighi. His object was the fine book, and he certainly achieved his end. Most of his works were editions of contemporary Latin and Italian poems, where he was under no necessity to restrict himself as to space. His first fount is interesting because of its similarity to the writing books and the chancery hand, and also because, in addition to the upright capitals, we find for the first time what are known to the printer as 'swash' capitals. Such capitals add distinction to the cursive type of Francesco Marcolini produced at Venice some ten years later, but here they are found at Rome some time before Marcoloni began to print.

Also in 1524, but with no date of month, appeared *Baptistae Casalii in legem agrariam . . . oratio*; and a book with the imprint *Romae* but without name of printer, *G. Sauromanus . . . de religione ac communi concordia*, the work of a German lawyer who studied in Rome and became a Roman citizen. Both books are in the same fount as the *Coryciana*. They are both prose works and show that the type was almost as suitable for a speech as for a poem. But Arrighi's best known work during this year was the printing of several of the books of Gian Giorgio Trissino, author of the tragedy *Sophonisba* and of the unreadable epic *Italia liberata dai Goti*. Trissino, a wealthy nobleman from Arrighi's native town Vicenza, had recently

MARCI HIERONYMI VIDAE
CREMONENSIS
SCACCHIA
LVDVS.

l V dimus effigiem belli, simulataque
 ueris
 Prælia, buxo acies fictas, et ludicra
 regna .

V t gemini inter se reges albusque, nigerque
P ro laude oppositi certent bicoloribus armis.
D icite Seria des Nymphæ certamina tanta
C arminibus prorsus uatum illibata priorum.
N ulla uia est. tamen ire iuuat, quo me rapit ardor,
I nuique audaci propero tentare iuuenta.
V os per inaccessas rupes, et inhospita cuntem
S axa Deæ regite, ac secretum ostendite callem .
V os huius ludi imprimis meminisse necesse est.
V os primæ studia hæc Italæ monstrastis in oris

K

ARRIGHI'S SECOND ITALIC

Fig. 3. H. Vida (Rome, Arrighi, 1527)

come to Rome. The first work of his printed by Arrighi appeared in the spring of this year, according to Morsolin's biography of Trissino (p. 123), and was a *Canzone* addressed to the Pope, Clement VII. The poem bears no imprint, but is printed in Arrighi's cursive, with the addition of the Greek letters devised by Trissino for the improvement of Italian spelling. Trissino's scheme was to distinguish the two sounds of the Italian *o*, *e*, and *z* by using the corresponding Greek letters for one of the sounds, to differentiate the vowel and consonant *i* and *u*, by using *j* and *v*, with other minor reforms. Although some of Trissino's suggestions have been generally adopted, and others have been forgotten, from the point of view of the typographer it may be said that the introduction of the Greek letters in no way spoilt the effect of the italic. The letters harmonised quite well. In this Trissino was more fortunate than some other spelling reformers.

The *Canzone* was followed in July by the first edition of Trissino's tragedy, *Sophonisba*, which had been completed some ten years before. There appear to have been two issues of the tragedy since some copies have the date September in the colophon. In October appeared two other books by Trissino, the *Oratione . . . al serenissimo Principe di Venetia* and the *Ritratti*; also, still in 1524, the *Epistola de la vita che dee tenere una donna vedova*, and finally the *Epistola de le lettere nuovamente aggiunte ne la lingua italiana*, without imprint. In this letter, addressed to Clement VII, Trissino pays a handsome tribute to Arrighi.

After expounding his theories on spelling reform he continues: 'Now these new letters have been made (*messe in opera*) here in Rome by Lodovico Vicentino, who, as in calligraphy he has surpassed all other men of our age, so, having recently invented this most beautiful method of doing in print all that was formerly done with the pen, in his beautiful types he has gone beyond all other printers.' This is, perhaps, a little unfair to Aldus and Francesco Griffo, as Arrighi was not the first to cast italic types, but it is surely true that his italics surpass all others in beauty of form. In our view, Arrighi produced the finest italic of his day and, at any rate at Rome, was unrivalled as a printer. Minitius Calvus was by this time printing with italic types of the Aldine school, but his books are only remarkable for the fact that his pages are well leaded. As to the other Roman printers they, including Blado, were so far content with uninteresting roman types. Trissino certainly found the right man for his purpose, and we may fairly concur that the compliment to his printer is thoroughly deserved.

Soon afterwards Trissino left Rome and in 1529 he reprinted these and others of his works in his native town of Vicenza at the press of Tolomeo Janicolo of Brescia. Fumagalli gives some account of Janicolo, and that printer has elsewhere received considerable praise for these beautiful editions of Trissino's works; and not unde-

DELLE FICHE.

53

re à quelli Romaccioni la necessità di quella guerra; la potenza, & la infidelità d' Cartaginesi; e'l pericolo della Republica Romana. Laqual sua oppenione, hauendo qualche controuerfia.

(Però che Scipiaua Consiglione

Che si douesse cartar Conseruagine)

imaginatui, che subito, che egli scoperse il Fico uenuto da quelle parti in poche hore, per mostrar loro la uicinità de' nimici; per la bontà, & per la dignità di quel frutto, s'accendessero quelli Scipioni, quei Fabii, quei Marcelli, & tutti quei Barbassori al conquisto delle Fiche Africane, come già i Franciosi delle Fiche d'Italia: & che unitamente acconsentissero al parere del Vecchio Catone. La qual deliberatione fu la sicurezza, la gloria, & la grandezza della Città di Roma. & se fu lo Sterminio di Cartagine; douete sapere; che io truono nelle Storie di Iuba; che fra le Fiche, e i Cartaginesi erano occulte nimicitie. & che'l Fico di Catone era uenuto per mare in poste Imbasciadore de gli altri Fichi à far Lega co i Romani. La qual Lega trouo; che durò poi fino al tempo di Scaetinio: il quale fece la lege contra à quelli, che cominciavano à tener pratica con le Mele. & però il Fico in questo caso s'ha da scusare, se fu cagione della routina di Cartagine: la quale gli era piu tosto nimica, che Patria. & dall'altro canto si dee lodare: che facesse quell'opera: & fosse collegato alla Monarchia dell' Imperio Romano.

Troppo faccenda haurei, & troppi affanni,

A narrar cio, ch'io n'ho trouato altroue.

Nessun di quel ch'io passo mi condanni.

Ch'io saprei dirui mille cose nuoue:

Ma perche penso, chesia detto assai;

Sarà ben, ch'l parlar modo ritrone.

Io non credetti quando dentro entrai,

Che douesse l'Istoria esser sì lunga:

Onde sen'za biscotto m'imbarcai.

THE ITALICS OF BLADO


Fig. 4. Agresto, da Ficaruolo (Rome, Blado, 1539)

servedly, but for the fact that it is not mentioned that they are a fairly close copy of Arrighi's editions. A few letters of Janicolo's type are different and more of the Greek letters are introduced, but otherwise everything is a repetition of Arrighi's work.

The first book which Janicolo issued in these types, in January 1529, was Trissino's Italian translation of Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*. The fact that this was the first appearance in print of any version of this famous book has especially directed attention to Janicolo. Some of these books printed in this year are in folio, whereas Arrighi's were in quarto. Also Janicolo adopted a handsome printer's device, using it sometimes on the title-page and sometimes in the colophon. Although the device bears Janicolo's initials—T. JA.—and although he used it on books other than those of Trissino, e.g. in the colophon of the *Praeservator sanitatis*, a Latin poem by Franciscus Bernardinus—it was actually Trissino's device. It represents Jason's Golden Fleece guarded by the dragon and is surrounded by a Greek quotation from Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*—τὸ ζητούμενον ἀλωτόν 'what is sought can be caught.' Janicolo used another variety of the device when he later moved to Venice; there, in 1548, he printed Trissino's comedy *I Simillimi*, with the Greek letters, but in another and less interesting italic. Also he issued the continuation of the *Italia liberata*, of which the first part had been printed at Rome in 1547 by the Dorici.

Trissino's spelling reforms led to much controversy, and a number of pamphlets on both sides were published, of which at least two were printed by Arrighi. These are: *Discacciamento de le nuoue lettere inutilmente aggiunte ne la lingua toscana* by Agnolo Firenzuola, dated December 1524 in the colophon, and *De le lettere nuouamente aggiunte, Libro di Adriano Franci intitolato . . . il Polito*, undated, but belonging to the same period. Adriano Franci is a pseudonym of Claudio Tolomei. Both these books are printed in the same italic as the Trissinos, but naturally without the Greek letters or even the distinction of *u* and *v*.

Presumably also of the year 1524 is the one example we have seen of a papal bull printed by Arrighi; though there is no date in the colophon the bull is dated 'prid. Idib. Junii 1524,' and is a proclamation 'contra homocidas.' It is singular that the great majority of papal bulls, briefs and edicts should continue to be printed in the somewhat uninteresting roman type of the period used by the Roman printers, when chancery types actually based on the chancery hand were available, the authorities having, in addition, this beautiful example from Arrighi's press to serve as a model. The only other bull printed in cursive at about this period which we have seen was printed by Minitius Calvus and is hardly to be compared with Arrighi's. Roman types appear to have become traditional for this class of printing, and

 I come a chi uuol saper sonare e bisogno per
 molte cose, che' ponno interuenire' sapere'
 anchora accordare' lo Instrumeto, cosi a chi dee' sa-
 per scriuere, e necessario per molti rispetti saper tem-
 perare le penne, E pero io, che intendo a mio potere in
 questa mia operetta insegnare l'arte' del scriuere',
 non ho uoluto lasciare questa parte adietro. Adongue
 la penna si elegera, che' sia rotunda, lucida, e dura, e'
 che non sia molto grossa, e communemente di occa sono
 le migliori. E similmente si pigliera un coltellino di
 buon acciaio, e ben tagliente, la cui lama sia dritta, e
 stretta, e non incauata, come qui ti ho
 notato, percio che la
 pianza, la largeza,
 e la incaua
 tura
 del coltello non lasciano,
 che la mano il possa
 gouernare a suo
 modo

•

Fig. 5. Arrighi, *Il modo di temperare le penne* (Venice, 1523)

even Blado, when he became 'Tipografo Camerale,' still issued many edicts in roman type.

After this very busy year we find only three books of Arrighi's dated 1525. They are: (1) *Zachariae Ferrerii . . . Hymni novi ecclesiastici*, dated 'Kal. Feb. 1525,' a very good example of his work except for the crowding of capitals on the title-page (or half-title; none of Arrighi's books has a fully-developed title-page). Bishop Ferrerius, it may be recorded, was another native of Vicenza. (2) *Petri Cursii poema de civitate Castellana faliscorum*, dated 29 March, 1525, another volume of renaissance Latin poetry. (3) *C. Mar(celli) . . . in Psalmum usque quo Domine obli-visceris me*, dated 12 April 1525, a commentary on Psalm 12 by Christopher Marcellus, Archbishop of Corfu. This is the last book we have discovered printed in the small italic and the last also to contain the name of Lautitio Perugino.

The four books which appeared in 1526, together with a fifth undated, are printed in a new and larger fount (fig. 3); this type is less exuberant, more sober than the earlier one; the swash capitals and exaggerated ascenders and descenders have gone. While the first italic was eminently suitable for a volume of lyrics, perhaps the new type is better adapted for everyday printing. The five books are: (1) *Specchio di Esopo*, a dialogue of Pandolfo Collenuccio edited by his son. So far all Arrighi's books have been printed throughout in one fount of type; but in this book the imprint is in a smaller Aldine italic. (2) Further dialogues of Collenuccio entitled *Apologi IIII*. (3) *Panegirico di Francesco (Cattani) de Diacceto*. (4) *Ioannis Mariae Archiepiscopi (Pope Julius II) . . . Oratio de pace*. In this book there is actually a preface in an Aldine cursive with a woodcut initial in the contemporary Roman style, and another small initial at the beginning of the text. These are the only two initials we have met in the books printed by Arrighi. The undated book is the *Itinerarium Philippi Bellucii*, a Latin poem.

The cursive in which these five books are printed is especially interesting because it appears to be the model on which Blado based his larger type. Several of the letters in Blado's type differ in detail, but the two are so nearly akin that it is impossible that they should be independent. From the dates it appears to be certain that Blado copied Arrighi and not vice versa. There is a Blado of 1526, a work by Jacobus Sylvester, printed in a smaller italic not unlike the type cut by Francesco Griffo for Soncino. But this larger italic was not used much before 1530 (a good example may be seen in the edition of Sannazaro's *Sonetti* of 1530). Neither Blado nor any other printer at Rome appears to have copied Arrighi's smaller italic. The italic type in which the first editions of Machiavelli were printed is again different and more Aldine in cut.

The second book on calligraphy was issued at Venice in 1524 by Giovanni

SONETTI ET CANZONI⁹
 DI MESSER FRANCESCO
 PETRARCHA DIVENUTO
 THEOLOGO ET SPIRI-
 TVALE PER GRATIA DI
 DIO ET STUDIO DI FRATE
 HIERONIMO MARIPETRO
 MINORITANO.

SONETTO PRIMO.

Oi, ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
 De miei noui sospir; ch'èscor dal core
 v Per la memoria di quel cieco errore;
 Che mi fe in parte altr'huom da quel,
 Poi che del uario stil piu non ragiono, (ch'i sono;
 Ma piango il fallo mio pien di dolore,
 Il uan desir, e'l fuggitiuo amore,
 Pieta, prego ui moua a mio perdono.
 Conosco ben, si come al popol tutto
 Materia fui d'error: onde souente
 Di me medesimo meco mi uergogno.
 Hora, drizzato al ciel, spero far frutto
 Di uero ben; ch'io ueggio chiaramente,
 Che quanto piace al Mondo è breue sogno.

C

Fig. 6. Petrarch (Venice, Marcolini, 1536)

Antonio Tagliente. The calligraphic part of the book, like Arrighi's, was engraved, but there is a certain amount of text printed in a fount not unlike Arrighi's larger type. The same was used on the title-page and in the colophon of another book of Tagliente's: *Luminario di arithmetica*, issued in 1525. Both these books, therefore, are contemporary with Arrighi's experiments with this style of type, and one can hardly imagine that they were not known to Arrighi, who must have been keenly interested in Tagliente as a calligrapher.

There is still an earlier example of a similar style of type in Arrighi's own book, *Il modo di temperare le penne* (fig. 5), which was engraved by Eustachio Celebrino and printed at Venice in 1523. Part of the book is printed from type, an italic of the school of Arrighi's second italic (fig. 3), but which resembles Tagliente's type more closely than Arrighi's in some details; for instance, the kerns of the *d*, *h*, and *l* are inclined to the right, whereas in Arrighi's type these letters have a serif to the left, although in his first face he had used ascenders turning over to the right.

But at Venice the most distinguished printer whose books are almost all in italic was Francesco Marcolini da Forlì. Some of his types were in the Aldine tradition, and what excellent results he could obtain with them may be seen in his folio edition of the Letters of Pietro Aretino (1538) or the Dante (1544). Aretino speaks with great approbation of Marcolini as a printer, and, whatever else he was, Aretino was at any rate an artist. A larger italic used by Marcolini belongs definitely to the same family as those of Arrighi, Blado and Tagliente. In this type was printed one of his most beautiful books, *Il Petrarca spirituale* of 1536, in quarto. On the title-page is a woodcut portrait of Petrarch and on the verso of the title-page another fine woodcut attributed to Niccolò Boldrini. Again we have an abundance of swash capitals, which Marcolini also used at times with his Aldine italics (see fig. 6). Many of Marcolini's books are well known both for their woodcuts and for the beauty of their typography. Until he came, towards the end of his career, under the influence of Giolito and fell a victim to the fashion for woodcut initials, he was a model of restraint and allowed his types to speak for themselves. A reproduction of a page of one of his books was given in S. M.'s article (FLEURON, No. 2). The beautiful italic there shown appears to be of the Aldine school, though it is so much less condensed that at first sight it seems to be of a different class. The exuberant capitals also are a contrast to the monotonous sobriety of those of Aldus.

According to Brunet, Arrighi was printing until 1528, but he does not say what books he printed in that year. We know of only one book printed in 1527, in May, and nothing later. The mercenary armies who sacked Rome so thoroughly in 1527 entered the city on the 6th of May, and it seems likely that Arrighi was one of the many who either perished or was ruined in that catastrophe. The book printed in

Allo Illustre Signore , & prò Caualiere , il Signor
 Don Alvaro de Luna Cesareo Capitano delli
 continoui , & del consiglio di sua Mae-
 stà , & Castellano di Melano ,
 Padron osseruandissimo .

E costume si come antico , così anchora lodeuole , & dagli huomini
 della nostra età quasi tutti osseruato , che hauendo gran parte della
 vita loro in studi di buone lettere ispesa , & volendo alcun frutto
 delle loro fatiche con libri composti ripigliare , sogliono ò ad ami-
 ci , ò à qualche huomo singolare quelli dedicare , auisando tal cosa
 douer essere testimonianza grande & perpetua dell' amicitia , ò ve-
 ro dell' osseruanza grande verso quelli . Hauendo adunque dilibe-
 rato di mandar in publico il presente Dialogo , & di la già detta
 vsanza seguire , sonomi in questo fermato . che non sia persona ,
 sotto il cui nome esso venga alla luce , piu conuenueuole , che quello di
 vostra Eccell. si perche quando egli da me fu composto , essendo
 io Segretario nel Monferrato mio paese natio , quella all' hora dal
 gran Cesare colà mandata quel stato pertorbato per la morte del suo
 Signore vltimo della casa Paleologa con somma prudenza gouer-
 naua , & hauea me tra' suoi fedeli ministri & seruidori . si perche
 Cesare mi ha recata la occasione del Dialogo . A cui può adunque
 egli meglio essere dedicato , che ad vno Cesareo Capitano delli con-
 tinoui , & del consiglio di . S . Maestà , & Governatore di quel
 Castello , al quale niuno è nel mondo hoggi di , che si possa apparg-
 giare? Oltre acciò è iscritto da me in lingua Italiana alla prefata

Fig. 7. O. Lupano, *Torricella* (Milan, Minitius Calvus, 1540)

May 1527 was an edition of the Latin poems of Hieronymus Vida and is in the larger italic (fig. B). The copy in the British Museum is on vellum, and on the first page of the text an illuminated initial and border have been added. With the exception of the one book referred to above, Arrighi used no woodcut initials, but, in the fifteenth-century fashion, left blanks, with a lower-case guide letter, to be filled up by the illuminator. Actually very few copies can have been so illuminated, but the practice of leaving the blank persisted for many years, as, for example, in the books from the Aldine Press. For the most part Arrighi's books are severely undecorated, and so good was his typography that he could well dispense with other decoration.

It is difficult indeed to understand why this remarkable printer should not be better known and why his earlier italic should have been unable to compete with the Aldine cursive types and with types derived from France. An increased interest in Arrighi will probably bring to light many more books than the twenty-one here enumerated.

His first italic found one imitator other than Janicolo at Vicenza: the printer, F. Minitius Calvus, whom we have already mentioned as working at Rome. He was printing in that city certainly in 1531, but by 1540 he is found at Milan. In that year appeared a book entitled *Torricella, Dialogo di Otho Lupano*, In Milano, dal Caluo. MDXXXX (fig. 7). The title is surrounded by a woodcut border which had already appeared at Rome, while the text of the speech is printed in an italic which is a close copy of Arrighi's first italic. Swash capitals are numerous and are used in the headings with roman type also. In 1541 appeared a speech entitled *Antonii Comitis pro decreto illustrissimi principis Alphonsi Avali . . . in aleatores oratio*. There is no printer's name, but the preface, printed in an Aldine italic, is by F. Minicius Calvus, the same woodcut border is used on the title-page and the text is again in Arrighi's italic. Other books printed by Calvus in this same italic are: in 1540, *De sacris diebus Carmelitae opus aureum*, a Latin poem by Baptista Spagnuoli (in 8vo); in 1541, *Institutioni di Mario Equicola* (in 4to), with another woodcut border on the title-page which also had been used at Rome. In 1542 he appears to have been succeeded by Andrea Calvo, presumably a son, and in that year was issued an edition of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, with the imprint 'stampato in Milano nelle case di Andrea Caluo.' The text of the poem is printed in double columns in Aldine italic like that of scores of other editions of Boiardo, Ariosto and their imitators published in the sixteenth century. The preface of our edition is in the Arrighi cursive, while the imprint on the title-page and some preliminary verses are in a curious upright chancery. This type, by several of its characteristics, belongs to the series of types we have been considering, and seems to have been derived from another Milanese printer, Giovanni Antonio Castiglione.

Ioannes Antonius Castillioneus Mediolanensis.
 Typographus Candido Lectori, S.D.

Bicbam Humanissime Lector Bonauenturam Castil-
 lioneum in Templo Scalæ Mediolani Canonicum;
 omnem Insubrum Regionem tot sæculis ab omnibus ferè
 Historicis cum Græcistum maximè Latinis silentio ferè
 præteritam veluti è Tenebris nunc ereptam; in Lu-
 cem reuocasse: Alpes et colles ad Insubriam spectantes
 primum mox totam planitiem quæ inter Ticinum et Ab-
 duam alpesq; ad padum vsq; cõtinetur; urbem demum
 ipsam antiquam olim Symetriadem referentem treis in li-
 bros digessisse; Adiecta Insuper Tabella quam mappam
 vocant; in qua omnia hæc continentur. Gratulabar igitur
 tam citeriori Galliæ omni; quàm Urbi nostræ Insub-
 rum originem quorum Authoritas inter Gallos fuit
 maxima; et eorum priscas sedes à Viro docto et diligen-
 tissimo Ciue nostro nouissime redemptas. Verum; postea-
 quam virum Ipsum totum sacris literarum studiis ad-
 dictum perspexi; Laborésq; hosce suos et Vigiliis pro-
 nugamentis habere; neq; Anticorum precibus posse addu-
 ci vt in Lucem ederentur; non posséq; non pænitere

Fig. 8. B. Castillioneus, *Gallorum Insubrum Sedes*. (Milan, G. A. Castiglione, 1541)

In the annals of printing at Milan the name of Castiglione or Castellione occurs several times. There was a Pier Antonio Castellione in the fifteenth century and a Giovanni Castellione early in the sixteenth century. Giovanni Antonio was printing from about 1535. In 1546 he issued a fine folio volume in gothic letter and in Spanish, the *Cronica* of Alvaro de Luna. He was also a printer of liturgical works, in some of which for the preliminary matter he employed the upright chancery to which we have referred, e.g. in the *Sacramentarium Patriarchale secundum morem Comensis ecclesiae*, a quarto of 1557. Of books printed throughout in the upright chancery are the *Gallorum Insubrum antiquae sedes* 1541 (4to), by Bonaventura Castillioneus, presumably a relative of the printer (fig. 8), and *Manifesti del signor Don Rodrigo di Benavides*, undated, but about 1558 (4to). Again we find the swash capitals and other characteristics which connect this type with Arrighi's, but the peculiarity consists in the uprightness of the letter. Until this type had been seen one might have been inclined to say that an essential feature of a cursive type is that it should slope, but Castiglione's finally settles that question. It must definitely be classed with chancery types. This brings out the fact that while their common characteristic is their cursive nature, it does not follow that a slope is essential. It is worthy of note that Castiglione uses very small upper case cursive with this type in 1541—and that in the later book of 1558 he has introduced capitals all but as high as the ascenders.

On page 47 of Fumagalli's Dictionary will be seen another example of upright cursive, again with very small capitals, used in a book by Gaudentius Merula, printed at Borgo Lavezzaro, near Novara 1543. This is the earliest book printed at that place and the type must have been derived from Castiglione. It may be noted that Bonaventura's book of 1541 contains some verses by Merula, and they were both humanists interested in the Gallic history of Lombardy.

In addition to this upright chancery, Castiglione had another cursive of the school of Blado, of which we give an example from an undated book showing his device (fig. 9). In this book Castiglione makes the mistake of employing larger capitals. A similar letter, used by another printer of Milan, Giovanni Antonio Borgia, of the same period, will be seen in the sonnets of Antonfrancesco Rainerio, printed in 1553 (fig. 10).

Probably the majority of Italian books of the sixteenth century were printed in cursive, and of those again the majority, in types which are descended from those cut by Francesco Griffo. But the examples we have given in this article will show that there were other kinds of italic, and among them some of the most successful experiments in typography.

The story of the supersession of the chancery types of the Aldus and Arrighi

FIG. 9

COMPENDIOLO

DI MOLTI DVBBI, SEGRETI

ET SENTENZE INTORNO AL CANTO

FERMO, ET FIGVRATO, DA MOLTI ECCELLENTI

& consumati Musici dichiarate. Raccolte dallo Eccellente

& scienzato Autore frate Pietro Aron

del ordine de Crosachieri

& della Inclita Città

di Firenze.



In memoria eterna erit Aron, Et nomen eius nunquam destruetur.

In Milano per Io. Antonio da Castellione stampatore.

[c. 1550.]

categories and their derivatives by the cursives of Garamond, Le Bé and Granjon is not material to the present article. It may be stated, however, that by 1550 Italy was to a great extent employing French romans and cursives. These cursives were descended from a branch of the family of types of which Arrighi's was the head. When Simon de Colines (Paris, 1520-46) elected to provide his office with cursive founts, he based his designs upon the existing Italian models. These, as we have seen, were in two series and, as we should expect, both were copied by Colines. He produced three italics between the years 1528 and 1536. Of these A (fig. 11) (used first in such books as the *Martial* of 1533) recalls the Aldine; B (fig. 12) and C (fig. 13) derive immediately from the letters of Arrighi. A approaches the Aldine prototype so nearly as to deserve little description here. It differs from the 1501 letter only in that it makes comparatively sparing use of ligatures and includes *v* in addition to *u*; and it may be pointed out that this variety does not appear to have been used by Colines before 1533. No swash capitals are included in this fount.

Fount B, while resembling the general colour of the Aldine italic, makes several notable departures from it. First in importance is the change in the lower case ascenders from a bracketed serif to a rounded kern. The most obvious difference in the lower case will be found in the *g*. An important new factor in the upper case is the presence of the swash letters *U* *N*. This fount was first used in 1528 for the *De Virginitate* of Paulus Cerratus.

All these characteristics are to be found in the *Coryciana* (fig. 1), printed and published by Arrighi in 1524. If, in addition, attention is directed to the fact that the conspicuous Aldine circular ampersand *&* followed by Colines is deserted in Fount B for the severer *E* shape, one cannot resist the deduction that the cutter of Colines B had before him one of Arrighi's books. The case is even stronger in respect to Fount C which Colines was employing *circa* 1536. Here we have a letter which has no relation in colour, set, or line with the Aldine. Fig. 13 is a reproduction from the *Raison d'architecture antique extraicte de Vitruve*, 1539, and should be looked at with fig. 3. Comparison will suggest, if indeed it does not demonstrate, the relation of Colines C to Arrighi's second italic. It is interesting to observe that while Arrighi A and Colines B are identical in their possession of the kerned ascender, Arrighi II and Colines C have each returned to the bracketed serif. The *h* remains constant. The *g* has reverted to the Aldine form, the *v* form is employed to begin all such words as *ut*, *usus*, *utilitas*, and the upper case is still upright. This last remained the characteristic of italic founts in Italy until about 1550, and in France until the advent of the later types of Garamond and Granjon.

Tradition has it that these two were master and pupil respectively. There is 'hearsay' (but not evidence) to the effect that Garamond was associated with Colines

S E S T I N A . I .

Già diffatto ha le neui intorno il Sole ,
 Et si distilla giù dai monti il Ghiaccio ;
 Destansi i fiori al vaneggiar de l' Aure ;
 E'n grembo al mar s'intepidiscon l'Onde ;
 Ridon le Piaggie è i Colli , ogni bell' Alma
 Piegar si sente à l'amorose Note .

Esser non può , ch' al suon de le mie Note ,
 Hor non si volga il mio lucente Sole ;
 Et non si scalde quell' Angelic' Alma ,
 Che porta in seno ognihor le neui e'l Ghiaccio ,
 Mentre versando l' vo da gliocchi l'Onde ;
 Et fuor dal petto mio trahendo l'Aure .

I non hebbi giamai seconde l'Aure
 A' i miei desiri , à le m' ardenti Note :
 Si ch' lo potessi vn giorno vscir da l'Onde ;
 Et vagheggiar nel porto il mio bel Sole ,
 Priuo di cui , passar mi sento vn Ghiaccio
 Per entro il cor , che mi distringe l' Alma .

E iiii

and Tory, and it is known that in 1530 the trade of type-founding was separated from that of printing and organized as an independent guild. Garamond therefore may well have had a hand in the Colines italics B and C, the first of which appeared in 1528. The A fount, which is more exclusively Aldine in cut, dates from 1533, and may or may not be from the hand of Garamond. It may well be pointed out here that ascriptions of type to the latter should be received with caution.

Lottin says that Garamond was active as early as 1510. M. Dumoulin¹ says, with more definition than seems advisable, that Garamond 'grava aussi de la gothique; puis enthousiasmé par les types de Nicolas Jenson, il les reproduisit vers l'année 1515, sans toutefois dépasser les merites de son modèle.' Of course, there is nothing intrinsically improbable in either of the dates mentioned. In 1510 Garamond might be thirty years of age, and in the one piece of irrefragable evidence which we possess, he claims to have been interested in typefounding from his youth. This passage occurs in the preface addressed 'Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino Mathaeo de Longejoue Suessionensi Episcopo, *Claudius Garamondus* typographus salutem,' which forms part of the preliminary matter of the *Pia et religiosa meditatio* of D. Cambellanus, 1545.² He proceeds: 'Tum vero foeliciter me rem aggressurum si quam proxime fieri posset, Italicam Aldi Manutii literam, novis exprimerem caracteribus . . . Italicarum itaque proxime ad Aldinos literarum typos sculpo, quam foeliciter alii judicabunt.' This book, therefore, is printed in a neo-aldine italic, but which possesses sloping capitals and swash variants. These at least can be proved to be cut by Garamond (figg. 14 & 15). There are others of similar but not identical cut, perhaps cut by him or his pupils. Figg. 16 & 17 show a couple of pages from an edition of *Valerius Maximus* printed by François Gryphius at Paris in 1545.

Monsieur Dumoulin (p. 102, etc.) gives specimens of the series known as *caractères de l'université* used by the Imprimerie Royale, 1640, and usually stated to have been cut in 1540. He includes in addition, reproductions of another series: *Gros Texte* (14-point), *Saint Augustin* (12- or 14-point), *Philosophie* (10-point), *petit romain* (9-point), *Gaillarde* (8-point), and *nonpareille* (6-point), all roman and cursive. It is outside our present scope to discuss these romans, highly interesting as these are; but with the 1592 Egenolff-Sabon-Berner specimen before us and its definite ascriptions, we can at least say that all were most probably cut by Garamond. In the case of the Sabon cursive series a similar statement can hardly be made.

First, they are easily distinguishable from the cursives *de l'Université*. In comparison, the latter appear less disciplined, contain far fewer swashes and ligatures; and yield a much less restful effect in composition, due to the fact that the

¹ Joseph Dumoulin: *Vie . . . de Frédéric Morel*, 1901, p. 100.

² A translation of the preface is given below, p. 49.

LIB. VI.

81

Iam clamor, centumq; viri, densumq; corona
 Vagus, & infanti Italia tellus placuit.
 Acris equi soboles magno sic pulvere gaudet,
 Sic vitulus molli praelia fronte cupit.
 Dū seruate precor matri sua vota, patriq;
 Audiat ut natum Regulus, illa duos.

In Cinnam.

Pater ex Marulla Cinna factus es septem,
 Non libertorum, namq; nec tuus quisquam,
 Nec est amici, filiusve vicini:
 Sed in grabatis, tegetibusq; concepti
 Materna prodant caputibus suis furti.
 Hic qui retorto crine Maurus incedit,
 Sobolem fatetur esse se Cogisanta.
 At ille sima nare, turgidis labris,
 Ipsa est imago Pannici palastrata.
 Pistoris esse tertiam, quis ignorat,
 Quicunq; lippum nouit, & videt Damnam?
 Quartus cinada fronte, candido vultu,
 Ex concubino natus est tibi Lygdo.
 Præcide, si vis filium: nefas non est.
 Hunc verò acuto capite, & auribus longis,
 Quæ sic moventur, ut solent asellorum,
 Quis morionis filium neget Cyrtus?
 Dux sorores, illa nigra, & hac rufsa
 Croti choraulæ, villicq; sunt Carpi.
 Idemq; hybridarum grex tibi foret plenus,
 Si spado Corensus, Dindymusq; non esset.

l. 4.

COLINES ITALIC (A)

Fig. 11.

Martial (Paris, Colines, 1533)



Irgineum decus ipse cano
 memorabile terris:
 Et celo. Tu nunc dextro
 Sator optime rerum
 Numine pande mihi: quo
 nam letetur alumno:
 Quasq; habitet sedes: &
 quo sese efferat ore

Virginitas: & quæ sacro sint dona pudori.

Septima Parthenium campos aurora patentes
 Uiderat emensum: aduerso quum plurima saltu
 Sylua, antiqua, ingens, & prima ab origine in auras
 Squallenti assurgens facie: ac nigrantibus umbris
 Uisa viro: haud compos animi tum constitit Heros
 Incertusne gradum referat, lucosne per altos
 Carpat iter: superetq; nonos virtute labores.
 Dum dubitaret adhuc: titubantis perculit aurem
 Vox demissa polo. Quæ te mora tardat inertem?
 Et quo te monstro demens turbauit Erinnyes?
 Num te septeni spaciofa per æquora soles
 Nequicq; errantem tulerint? frustrane petita
 Præmia virginæ tibi erunt pulcherrima laudis?
 Nec casti innises templi? & timor orsa refringet?
 Exante corde metus: animosaq; pectora tanto

COLINES ITALIC (B)

Fig. 12. Cerratus (Paris, Colines, 1528)

Beaucoup dedifces en Grece & Italye, ont grandes colonnes
 de dures pierres, assises & posees sur bases de metal, ayans cha
 piteaux aussi de metal, comme il se voit a Rome, mesmement a
 sainte Marie la Rotonde. Du temps de Marc Agrippe consul
 Romain, cest trouue des colonnes moult grandes qui sont de me
 tal, & si diligemment acheuees, que tous ceulx qui les voient les
 iugēt estre parfaictes au tour. ce qui nest pas merueille, veu quō
 list de deux maistres nommez Tholon, & lautre Teolon, lesq̃l3

COLINES ITALIC (C)

Fig. 13. Vitruvius (Paris, Colines, 1539)

designer of the Sabon series more agreeably and homogeneously inclined his upper and lower case. Garamond, indeed as is natural perhaps in a pioneer, appears a little nervous in his handling of inclined capitals. The designer of the second series was perhaps a pupil, and, it would seem, certainly a little bolder. The Egenolff sheet¹ already referred to is of considerable service to us at this point. The specimen displays nine romans, seven ascribed to Garamond, two to Granjon. Of the italics, *Gros Texte* and *Cicero* are credited to Granjon, the *Augustin* is mutilated, but may be presumed to be Granjon's; the text to the size next below *Cicero* reads: *Curs. Garamond ou Immortel de Granjon*, and the smallest sizes are cryptically described as *Curs. Petit Text de G.* and *Curs. Non parel.* They pair with two fellow romans described respectively as *Rom. Gailliard de Granjon* and *Rom. Non parel.*

The cursives just mentioned, which appear to be Granjon's, differ from another series which appeared in Lyons, where Granjon had long had connections (from a document referred to by Baudrier, *Art. Granjon*, vol. 2, p. 53, he appears to have supplied types to Gryphius and De Tournes before August, 1547), and whither he transferred himself in 1557. According to Updike, the cursive types used in Jean de Tournes' 16mo Bible, 1558, and in the *Metamorphose figurée* of 1557, are 'very exquisite' and 'no doubt Granjon's.' Updike adds that from 1570 almost all Lyons printers used this kind of italic type. It has inclined capitals. In the 'A' of some sizes the curved stroke sweeps across the top of the main stroke exactly in the fashion of a cursive of Gryphius (fig. 18), to which reference must now be made. The patient reader will discover the influence of this last in two or three Lyonnese founts. We show (figg. 18 and 19) cursives used by Rouillé, which, in our opinion, cannot but be related to the Gryphius italic.

Fig. 18 represents the earliest use of a cursive with inclined capitals which we have encountered. It occurs in the fine folio *Dolet*, printed by Sebastian Gryphius at Lyons in 1538. While this type (104 in Updike) presents a notable departure from the Aldine italic, it is none the less independent of the Arrighi letter and its derivatives. We cannot throw much light upon the origins of this interesting face. M. Marius Audin² claims that Gryphius used it in 1527-8, and states, without giving a reference, that it was secured from Froben of Basel, who was employing it as early as 1518. Whether or not it is of Basel provenance, the letter certainly exerted very considerable influence. It may be found in Venice, Rome, Padua, and in other towns of Italy. Some of its characteristics may be traced in later designs used in Paris, and above all in Lyons.

The admission of inclined capital letters to the cursive forms a highly important

¹ Described in *FLEURON* No. 1, p. 32.

² *Le Livre*, Paris, Crès, 1924, p. 44.

L'histoire

DE THVCYDIDE ATHE-
nien, de la guerre qui fut entre les Pe-
loponesiens & Atheniens, Traſſa-
tée en l'ague Francoise par ſeu
Meſſire Claude de Seyſſel
lors Eueſque de Mar-
seille, & depuis Ar-
cheueſque de
Turin.



Imprimé a Paris par Pierre Gaultier pour
Iehan Barbé & Claude Garamont.

1 5 4 5.

Fig. 14

[Italic positively cut by Garamond 1545]



CTORVM, FACTO
rūmque memorabilium exempla.

Adiecto Indice propriorū nominum, rerumq;
memoria dignarum locupletissimo.



PARISIIS.
Ex officina Francisci Gryphij.
1 5 4 5

Fig. 16

[F. Gryphius: Paris, 1545]

Liure II. Chap. I. 87

combien que pour raison d'icelles, ne laissoient
point a marchander ne hâter les vngx avec les
autres sans fauſcōduict & sans heraultz, mais
non pas sans ſuſpecon, car auſſi cela qui ſe fai-
ſoit, eſtoit la perturbation & rotture des trai-
tez & confederations, & la matiere de la
guerre.

Cy finit le premier liure de Thucydide,
Et commence le ſecond.

COMME LES BEOTIENS

auât que la guerre fuſt cōmençee prin-
drent d'emblée la cité de Platée, qui te-
noit le party de Atheniens. Et cōme ilz
en furent reiectez, & la plus part qui
eſtoient entrez dedans, occis.

Chapitre I.

Par les moyes & occasions dont auôs parlé
cy deuant cōmença la guerre entre les Athe-
niens & les Peloponeſiens, & auſſi les al-
liez & confederex des deux coſtez: laquelle ſe
demena continuellement depuis qu'elle fut com-
mençee, ſans qu'ilz euſſent aucune cōmunication
de marchandiſe enſemble ſinon par fauſcōduit
& par herault. De laquelle guerre nous parle-
rons & raconterons par ordre tout ce que ſus

Fig. 15

Lib. I. 11

'pus anni aptius. Idem Epidauri Aſculapio bar-
bam auream demi iuſſit, quod affirmaret non con-
uenire patrem Apollinem imberbem, ipſum uero
barbatum conſpici. Idem menſas argētas atque au-
reas ē fanis ſuſtulit: quodque in his more Græciæ
ſcriptum erat, bonorū deorū eas eſſe, Vti ſe bonita-
te eorum pradicauit. Idem uictorias aureas, & pa-
teras, & coronas, quæ ſimulacrorum porrectis ma-
nibus ſuſtinebantur, tollebat: & eas ſe accipere, nō
auferre, dicebat: perquā ſtultum eſſe argumentan-
do, a quibus bona precamur, ab his porrigentibus
nolle ſumere. Qui tamen ſi debita ſupplicia non
exoluit, dedecore tamen filij mortuus pœnas repen-
dit, quas uiuus effugerat: Lento enim gradu ad uin-
dicam ſui diuina procedit ira, tarditatemque ſup-
plicij grauitate compenſat.

* De Thymaſitheo principe
Liparitauorum.

In quam ne incideret Thymaſitheus Liparita-
uorum princeps, conſilio ſibi aliter, atque uniuerſe
patriæ utili prouidit exemplo. excepta namque in
freto a ciuibus ſuis Piraticam exercentibus magni
ponderis aurea cratera, incitatōque ad eam partiū
dam populo: ut comperit a Romanis Pythio Apol-
lini decimarum nomine dicatam, eam Delphos per-
ferendam curauit.

* De uindicta Cereris in Alexandri
milites exercita.

Mileſia Ceres, Mileto ab Alexandro capta, mi-
B ij

Fig. 17


departure from the general spirit of the old chancery type. These founts acquire henceforth a momentum of their own, ligatures and flourishes being gradually reduced in number until at the present time customers are even impatient of the *ct* and *st*, which alone remain to us. Another important and perhaps more significant indication of secured independence is to be found in the lower case cursive '*b*.' This character, so long as it was a written one, had naturally and inevitably a curved body. From the time of its earliest beginnings when the '*h*' was no more than a half-uncial, it preserved its straight stem and round body throughout the caroline, gothic, semi-gothic periods, and during the early and late renaissance periods the finest scribes, however much they modified, retained these characteristics. As any practised writer knows, it is the only way in which to make a fine '*h*.' Whether or not Jenson assisted the Da Spiras to cut their roman of 1469 is not known. The '*h*' in this fount preserves a full bow made according to the wholesome doctrine of the humanist scribes to the same proportions as the lower case '*b*.' When in the next year Jenson came to cut his type, he equipped it with a particularly poor lower case '*h*,' whose line is altogether disagreeable; first because the body of the letter is too full for the ascender, and worst of all because it is no longer curved. A mischievous influence on typography, we submit, is to be traced to this innovation. In face of the applause which the technical excellence of Jenson's letter occasioned in his day and ours, few printers had the courage to preserve the bowed '*b*.' Among these, Ratdolt's name occurs immediately to our memory; also, Griffo's design for the Aldine *Polifilo*, 1499, though there is undoubtedly to be noticed a certain reduction of the curve. Notwithstanding this falling away in the roman, the cursive held consistently to the old form. It persists through the French italics of the period we have been discussing, and not until Grandjean de Fouchy, 1693, was there cut an italic '*h*' with a straight side parallel with the ascending stem. The *caractères de l'université* which attempt to include the roman and cursive as constituents of one fount retained the straight '*h*' and a curved '*b*' respectively. Thus it was that William Caslon did the same thing in his letters cut about 1720. Baskerville, on the other hand, was related to Grandjean, and therefore his letters are consistent in their inclusion of a straight '*h*' in both roman and italic.

These two points, the inclined capital and the modernized '*h*,' indicate the development of italic away from the chancery hand.

It would not appear, however, that the problem of italic has yet been solved. We need a pre-Grandjean letter which shall have the maximum consistency of character with its fellow and more often used roman; a character which shall not be a maze of conflicting angles as are several sizes of the *caractères de l'université*. We need a cursive which is open and easy to read. It is to be feared that the

Cui licet accedat *Virtus*, tamen usque priores
 Fert *Fatum* parteis in re quacunque gerenda.
 Romanorum Imperium ut creuit. Fato *Romani* post tot discrimina, post tot
 Prælia, debellatum Orbem rexere monarchæ:
 Roma caputq; fuit *Mundi*, prius exiguus grex
 Quam pastorum habitabat, & errans exul ab aruis
 Finitimis (ut asylum) post scelus omne colebat.
 Vt deinde corruit. Mox Fato inclinante, suis spoliata triumphis
 Corruit, & patrio (infandum) iugulata tyranno
 Nil, nisi nomen, habet *Romæ*, desertaq; sordet.
 Græcorum potentia. Fato etiam *Græci* nil non potuere uel armis,
 Vel studiis: terra omni posthabita, auxit *Athenas*

Fig. 18. Dolet, *Carmina* (Lyons, Gryphius, 1538)

 E Soleil étant à la partie du Sud, si les ombres
 sont au Sud, le Soleil est entre vous & la ligne:
 regardez combien de degrez vous prendrez de
 haulteur, & combien il s'en fault pour faire nonante, puis as-
 semblez ceux qui seront moins, avec la declinaison de ce iour:

P O U R sauoir en quel iour de la sepmaine est chacune feste de l'an, il est be-
 soing de sauoir quelle lettre sert en icelle annee, pour le dimenche: laquelle se pour-
 ra facilement congnoistre par les reigles cy deffouz escriptes, à la premiere desquel-
 les est marquee e, qui sert pour lettre dominicale ceste annee 1550. & ainsi suc-
 cessiuement, vne lettre sert en chacune annee. Puis ayant acheué les deux reigles,

Figg. 19 & 20. P. de Medina, *L'art de nauiger* (Lyons, Rouillé, 1554)

mischief which we have traced to Jenson has gone too far for us to hope with any success for a reversion to the more beautiful and the more practical curved 'b,' but there can be no doubt, we think, that the chancery models of Arrighi offer a thoroughly practical starting point for the designing of an ideal cursive, free in design, open in line and harmonious with our classical old faces.

APPENDIX

DEDICATORY EPISTLE ADDRESSED BY CLAUDE GARAMOND TO MATTHIEU DE LONGUE-
JOUÉ, BISHOP OF SOISSONS.

That I, an unknown and private individual, should offer and dedicate the first fruits of my work as a publisher to you, Reverend Father, with whom I am unacquainted, may rightly be a matter of surprise to you and to anyone not fully cognisant of my purpose. I have been advised and persuaded to this course by Jean Gagny, first almoner of the Most Christian king, a man who has deserved well of the literary world by the commentaries which he has issued on sacred literature and by promoting the publication of the labours of learned and pious men. I will say nothing further of him lest I should seem to praise him less for his own worth than for his services to me. Since he considered me capable of advancing the glory of the craft of printing by the art of engraving and letter-founding which I had studied from boyhood and with little profit to my private purse, with the goodwill which he manifests to all the industrious, he advised, that I, who had been accustomed hitherto to engrave and cast types for the publishers, should enjoy my own labours and enter the publishing trade; for those, he said, who merely engrave types and go no further, are only making honey for the publishers. When I raised the objection of the smallness of my means and asserted that such an undertaking would involve a large outlay, he promised to help me in that matter as far as his resources allowed and by procuring manuscripts of good books. He declared that the best way of starting would be to cut as soon as possible new types after the italic letter of Aldus Manutius, adding in his liberality a considerable gift in order that I might be better able to advance the work. What then was there to delay me after the encouragement, advice, and help of such a generous friend? So I engraved italic types¹ after the model of the Aldine, with what success others will judge, though

¹ Omont, in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, 1888, p. 10, etc., has a footnote to the effect that Robert Estienne used the larger of these characters for the first time in the edition of Cicero's works of 1543, 44 in 8°. What is the evidence for this statement? The type of the Cicero has upright capitals, more ligatures and other differences. The book from which figs. 14 and 15 are taken appears to have been unknown to Omont.

EPISTOLA.

Henricum III. Angliæ Regem fratrem patruelem in Britannia minori fusum vidit; sed fortiori certè fuit ANNA dum germanum audiit iteratis vicibus profligatum, & quas ut soror fraternæ gloriæ dispendio

GALLICVS.

89

regnaret Regem constituit: cui etiam adduxit ab Aquitaniis partibus uxorem, quæ cernens videlicet iuuenem patre minùs fore industrium, ut erat ingenio callida, elegit agere diuortium, monuitque illum fictè, ut simul de qua aducenerat, redirent Prouinciam scilicet iure hereditario sibi subdituram. Ille quoque non intelligens mulieris astuciam, ut monitus fuerat ire parauit; ad quam dum

Figg. 21 & 22

A. Dominicy, *Assertor Gallicus* (Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1646)

certainly they have satisfied the taste of Danés, of Vatable and of others. And not content with these I applied my mind to designing minute types of the same proportion and form (men of our trade call the fount 'glossa'). As these too seemed neat and elegant to Master Jean Gagny, he told me that he had received from you a learned and devout work of David Chambellan, formerly your father-in-law, who in earlier days had been the most distinguished of advocates and counsel in the Parlement, but after his wife's death a most devout deacon in the Church of Paris. Master Gagny thought this work worthy of being in the hands of all Christians, especially in this time of Lent. He added that he marvelled that the work had been completed in an age which produced few men of letters and by a man burdened with domestic affairs and the business of an advocate, at a time when he was immersed in pleading cases, nor could he cease to wonder how a man busily engaged in legal affairs and harassed by domestic troubles could find the leisure to acquire a knowledge of three languages, with which he alone in his age was familiar, combined with no ordinary knowledge of theology. As he said, you may find to-day several leading advocates with a knowledge of Latin, some few who have added Greek to Latin, but Matthieu alone, who has rivalled him by combining Hebrew with Greek and Latin, and none with his knowledge of theology in addition to the mastery of three languages. I have heard Gagny say that your Chambellan in sacred literature has such charm and facility that he may be compared with the learned men of by-gone days, and that in his writings his very soul inspired by the Holy Spirit seems to be speaking. Therefore in order that the devout and religious labours of such a man may not be lost to the men of our age and in order that those who are too entirely devoted to public affairs may learn by his example not to plead without intermission but to turn sometimes to God in the inner sanctuary of the soul, Gagny handed me the work to be printed in my new types. I at once thought that these first fruits should be dedicated to you alone, the author's son-in-law and one who boasts and thanks the gods who have given you children by the daughter of so learned and devout a man. Accept then this offering, which we have desired to go forth in your name in gratitude for the loan of the manuscript and for your generosity towards us. What manner of life was that of your father-in-law David Chambellan, I have desired to make clear to posterity from his epitaph, which has been added on the second page of the book. May God be with you. Paris, A.D. 1545, 18 Feb.