

THE FLEURON  
A JOURNAL OF TYPOGRAPHY  
EDITED  
BY  
STANLEY MORISON



Cambridge                      New York · Garden City  
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS    DOUBLEDAY PAGE & CO  
1926



# THE "GARAMOND" TYPES

## SIXTEENTH & SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES CONSIDERED

by  
PAUL BEAUJON

It seems that so far this century has failed to establish one new type face to distinguish its books. There is a new style, but Caslon and the other standbys have been cast for three generations before ours. There are new advertising faces that represent faithfully our age and ideals: so faithfully that they are altogether unfit for book printing. It is among the revivals that we look for that chance of decent novelty that shall prevent us from seeing too much of the one thoroughly "English-speaking" type. Among the revivals three have unusual claims. Two of these, Baskerville and Fournier, are comparative novelties in their modern versions. Each would probably retain its charm in universal use among book printers through a definite "period" of typography. The third face, which has been the subject of endless discussion and experiment, is "Garamond"—a name used by typefounders to designate an imitation of one special roman and italic owned by the Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, and called by that office *caractères de l'Université*. Tradition has ascribed the face—with what reason we will inquire later—to Claude Garamont, the sixteenth century punch-cutter.

This design, revived in the world's most illustrious printing office as a private face with a mysterious lustre of antiquity upon it, earned a brilliant reputation early in our century, being used on a very special kind of printed page. The design was copied in America after the war, but something was lost in the copying, naturally and one might say fortunately; for "Garamond" emerged from Jersey City, N.J., U.S.A., with a chastened expression on its Gallic face, and began to look, in this soberer version, like a real book type. And when a composing machine put its version on the market, and



Bruce Rogers used it, and the sacred profanities of the *American Mercury* appeared in it, there was no doubt that "Garamond," in one form or another, had to be reckoned with. It is with one form and the others—there are eight modern "Garamonds"—that this paper deals. In order to compare these versions and find out which one, if any, has a place in our modern style, we must review such of the known facts about Claude Garamont<sup>1</sup> as will aid us in understanding the type designs of his day.

We owe our present knowledge of Garamont to a succession of French scholars: the brothers Fournier, Auguste Bernard, Henri Omont, and Jean Paillard. The latter succeeded in ranging all the documents then known and some new material in a small privately printed book<sup>2</sup> of admirable scholarship. It is not true that we know very little about Garamont: one might say that for a critical study of the letter he cut we know too much about the cutter: the man's personality and the reverence of subsequent generations obscure the fine and difficult problems presented by the romans and italics cut by him or by his pupils or fellow-workers. Until Fournier's time he was famous as the cutter of the greek types of François I: his roman took on a certain glamour in contemporary eyes on that account. The fact that these greek punches actually survive in some cases, and have been uninterruptedly owned by the French nation, has caused a good deal of confusion in regard to both roman and italic, and the casual reader of typefounders' promotion literature might think that Garamont actually cut a "royal" roman and italic, and that these had survived to our day.

As Garamont himself wrote that he had cut punches and cast type since the end of his earliest childhood, it is possible to credit the unsupported statement of Lottin that he was practising in 1510, though our earliest first-hand news of him comes some thirty years later. It takes fifteen years, say the

<sup>1</sup> "Garamont" (*latine* Garamontius) is the form used in all the books where his name appears as publisher. The other version was used, however, during his lifetime. Cf. the alteration of Gran Ionc to GranIon, and later to Granjon.

<sup>2</sup> *Claude Garamont, Étude historique, par Jean Paillard*. Imprimé avec les nouveaux caractères gravés et fondus par M. Ollière, Paris. (1914).



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punch-cutters, to learn to cut a twelve-point g: the smaller sizes are cut by men who have had more practice. If Garamont was emerging from his apprenticeship as early as 1510—when roman type was just winning ground in France—and if he started at such a very early age, it is not unlikely that he learned the art from his father or some relative, in the days when a type-founder, as Professor Haebler has made clear<sup>1</sup>, was only one employé of a printing-house with the special duties of cutting or altering punches and matrices, casting the soft types that had to be recast so often, and mending moulds. Garamont's first commissions were probably executed in that transition period when the punch-engraver began to be a free-lance, or at least to work for more than one printer. It was only in 1539 that a royal edict gave typefounding the status of a separate trade and distinguished the professional from men like Henri Estienne II, who was evidently taught the art as part of a typographic education.

In 1518 Geofroy Tory came back from Italy with all the angry enthusiasm for classic art and literature that was necessary to start a school. His epigraphical studies led him to a very practical interest in typography. A descendant of Tory's<sup>2</sup> wrote of him, a century and a half after the event,

*Primum omnium de re typographica sedulo disseruerit,  
Litterarum sive characterum dimensiones ediderit,  
Et Garamundum calcographum principem edocuerit.*

We need not be too literal about "edocuerit": the same document misplaces Tory's death by twenty years, but has the value of family tradition. If we consider the effect Tory seems to have had upon the printing craftsmen of his time, it is easy to believe that he "taught" the young punch-cutter, not so much mastery of the tool or even letter-design, as rather a certain attitude toward the roman alphabet: that curiosity and critical infatuation which makes Tory's *Champ Fleury* interesting to us. It was the roman letter

<sup>1</sup> *Schriftguss und Schriftenhandel in der Frühdruckzeit*. Leipzig, Schritgiesserei Berthold, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> The epitaph, composed by Nicolas Catherinot on the authority of Jean Toubeau, is quoted in La Caille: *Hist. de l'Imp.*, ii, p. 99. (Paris, 1689.)



# PIA ET RELIGIO

SA MEDITATIO IN SAN-  
CTAM IESU CHRISTI CRU-  
CEM & eius vulnera.

ΠΥΤΙΚΛΑΣΜΟΣ, hoc est, quinque plautus pec-  
catricis anime penitentie.

Docta & pia meditatio in psalmum quingua-  
gesimū, Misere mei deus, & in psalmi cen-  
tesimum primum, Domine exaudi orationem  
meam.

Divinum officiū de sacrosanctis domini nostri  
IESU CHRISTI plagis.

Omnia auctore Dauide Cambellano  
Parisiensis quondam eccle-  
siae Decano religio-  
sissimo.

PARISIIS

Excudebat Petrus Galterus, pro  
Claudio Garamontio.

1 5 4 5

CVM PRIVILEGIO  
ad triennium.

# Iuuenci Hi-

SPANI PRESBYTERI HI-

STORIA EVANGELICA,  
versu Heroico descripta.

Claruit sub Constantino magno,  
Anno domini, ccc. xxx.

PARISIIS

Excudebat Petrus Galterus, pro Ioanne  
Barbæ & Claudio Garamontio.

1 5 4 5

# L. COELII LACTANTII FIR- MIANI DIVINARVM INSTITVTIONVM LI- BRI SEPTEM.

RIVSDEM

De ira Dei

Liber I.

De officio Dei

Liber I.

Epitome in libros suos, Liber acephalos.

Phœnix.

Carmen de Dominica resurrectione.

Cum Indice rerum locupletissimo.



PARISIIS

Excudebat Petrus Galterus, pro Ioanne  
Barbæ & Claudio Garamontio.

1 5 4 5

# L'histoire

DE THVCYDIDE ATHE-

niē, de la guerre qui fut entre les Pe-  
loponesiens & Atheniē, Traſla-  
tée en lāgue 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

Figs. 1-4. Four title pages bearing Garamont's name as part publisher



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that took the humanistic enthusiasm of Tory and his "pupil": Garamont had so little interest in italic that he copied the Aldine letter baldly as a money-making scheme in 1545 and let it go at that. Tory, moreover, had a copy of the Aldine *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* with him; had he not found in it the idea for his melancholy device, the Broken Vase? This book, which was so fantastically charming to the neo-classic dreamers of that day, was universally admired as a typographic monument. The influence of the "Poliphilus" roman type upon the French designs of the sixteenth century has recently been pointed out<sup>1</sup>, and the fact noted that the Aldine type must have been consulted during the decade when French type-cutting was most active. Simon de Colines and his step-son Robert Estienne reformed the French roman letter in collaboration with an expert punch-cutter in 1530-2; that the latter was Garamont remains to be proved. We only know that Robert Estienne, when he was King's Printer in 1541, stood as personal sponsor to Garamont by receiving money from the royal treasury to be paid over to the cutter of the royal greek letters, the inference being that Estienne had personally recommended him from a knowledge of the cutter's earlier-proved dexterity.

According to La Caille Garamont married Guillemette Gaultier, and so became the associate of Pierre Gaultier (Galterus), the printer, who lived in what had been Tory's house in the Rue Saint-Jacques. He appears on the registers of Saint André-des-Arts<sup>2</sup> as one of the godfathers of Pierre Gaultier's son François on December 9, 1543. This was probably the year of the completion of at least one of the *grece du roi*, for the *gros-romain* made its first appearance in June 1544, in Robert Estienne's *Eusebius*. Garamont was henceforth entitled *tailleur de caractères du roi* by his contemporaries and is so named in at least one legal document.

But after being closely connected with important publishers he began to be dissatisfied with his own small opportunities and profits. Royal approval had shone on him, but even if there had been a rush of patronage after that, a type-cutter cannot, like the printer, rush, or like the publisher, make profits

<sup>1</sup> See the *Gutenberg Festschrift*, Mainz, 1925, pp. 254-258.

<sup>2</sup> Recorded by the Comte de Laborde in a note in the Doucet collection.



## PASSIO DOMINI

NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI  
ab Iuuenico presbytero metri-  
ce composita secundum Euange-  
lium Matthæi 26. Marci 14.  
Lucæ. 22. Ioannis 18.

## CONSILIVM SACER-

DOTVM, SCRIBARVM, ET  
phariseorum contra Chri-  
stum. Et de unguento  
effuso super caput  
Christi.

*Rgo ad consilium scribæ, plebisque  
vocatur*

*Iam grauior numerus, qua vatam  
principi altè  
Pulchra Cauphæa collucet atria  
sedu.*

*Illic complacuit Christum prosternere lato,  
Sed vitare dies paschæ, ne plebe frequens  
Discordes populi impetent in bella iurorem.*

## COMMENDATIO IUVENCI ET OPE- rum eius.

DIVVS HIERONY-  
mus de illustribus viris.

Iuencus nobilissimæ generis Hi-  
spanus, presbyter, quatuor Euan-  
gelia Hexametris versibus ad verbū  
penè transferēs, quatuor libros cō-  
posuit, & nonnulla eodem metro  
ad sacramentorum ordinem perti-  
nentia. Floruit sub Constantino  
principe.

Idem in Epistola ad mag-  
num vrbis Ora-  
torem.

Iuencus presbyter sub Constan-  
tino historiam domini saluatoris  
versibus explicauit, nec pertimuit  
Euangelii maiestatem sub metri le-  
ges mittere.

Carm. de Pass. domini. 67

*Ille Symonis erit testis, quem lurida lepra  
Virtute ipsius diffugerat: en recubanti  
Accedit mulier propius, frangensque alabastrū,  
Quo pretiosa inerant latè fragmenta oliui  
Vnguentay ab summo perfudit vertice Christum.  
Discipuli increpitant, fantes potuisse iuari  
De pretio vnguenti miserorum corpora egētum.  
Has domin⁹ prohibet voces, fact⁹ aq; probauit:  
Desinite obsequio iusto prohibere puellam.  
Pauperibus semper dabitur succurrere tempus,  
Sed me non semper tribuetur visere vobis.  
Funeris ista mei multum laudanda ministrat  
Officio, mundūque implebunt talia facta.*

Iudas precium petit vt tradat Ie-  
sum: qui cœnans de Iuda proditore  
ad discipulos loquitur, & sacramē-  
tū corporis & sanguinis instituit.  
Petro dicit, quod ter eum abnega-  
turus est. Matthæi 26. Marci 14.  
Lucæ 22.

**T**unc è discipulis vnus se subtrahit amens  
Iudas, qui ad pcceres tali cū voce cucurrit:  
Quod pretium sperare datur, si tradere vobis  
Quæsitūque diu possum monstrare magistrum  
i ii

## ITEM SVPER MAT- THAEVM.

Pulcherrimè munerum sacramē-  
ta Iuuenicus presbyter vno ver-  
siculo comprehendit: Aurum, thus,  
myrrhā, regiūque hominīque deo-  
que Dona ferunt.

ITEM IOANNES TRI-  
temius abbas Spanhemensis,  
in libro de scriptoribus  
Ecclesiasticis.

Iuencus presbyter, natione Hi-  
spanus, vir nobilis atque doctissi-  
mus, philosophus, rhetor, poeta, &  
theologus insignis, & non minus  
conuersatione quàm scientia scri-  
pturarum Ecclesiæ venerabilis, æ-  
didit pro ædificationē legentium,  
tam metro quàm prosa multa præ-  
clara volumina: sed pauca ad noti-  
tiam meam peruenerunt. Legi op⁹  
insigne, quod Hexametris versib⁹

Figs. 5-8. The romans and italics used by Garamont as publisher: from Juuenicus, Historia Evangelica (cf. Fig. 3). The larger italic in Fig. 5 is probably the trial fount mentioned by Garamont



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on his reputation. On the contrary, it is he, says Garamont, who "feathers the nest of publishers and brings honey to their hive<sup>1</sup>." The new founts which he sold to printers did, in those days, actually sell the printed books faster; legibility and a certain serenity of design were an inducement to the scholar—then. To deflect a portion of this honey to his own hive seemed reasonable, and his reasoning was approved by a great man: Jean de Gagny (or Gaigny), King's Almoner, Chancellor of the Sorbonne and patron of letters<sup>2</sup>. There was a serious consideration of the idea of Garamont's becoming a publisher: "But when I contrasted the slightness of our particular craft with all that had to be done, and said the task could be attempted only at the greatest expense, he (Gagny) promised to aid me however I wished, with his influence and by the choice of good books. He then said that I would make a fortunate beginning if I were to produce as close a copy as possible of the italic letter of Aldus Manutius, in new characters; and in addition to this advice, in order that I might the more readily set about it, he gave me in his generosity a present of no small size<sup>3</sup>."

Accordingly the scheme went forward, and the italic was cut in readiness and shewn to various amateurs, including Pierre Danès and François Vatable. The verdict was favourable, but Garamont (or possibly Gagny) was not satisfied. A smaller fount was cut in the *glossa*, or marginal note, size. These seemed "elegant and brilliant" to the great man, who proposed as a venture the *Pia et religiosa meditatio in sanctam Iesu Christi crucem et eius vulnera*, by David Chambellan, canon of Notre-Dame, together with the Office *De sacrosanctis domini nostri Iesu Christi plagis*, arranged by him<sup>4</sup>. A *requeste* was

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Chambellan*, *infra cit.*

<sup>2</sup> In 1545 Gagny was one of the chief persecutors of Robert Estienne; does this help to explain his support of the orthodox Garamont's publishing venture? By 1549 Gagny owned a printing-office and typefoundry himself: see Appendix I to this article.

<sup>3</sup> A fuller translation of this preface is given in *The Fleuron*, No. 3, pp. 49-51.

<sup>4</sup> A notice of this by Henri Omont occurs in the *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Paris*, 1888.



presented to the court in March, 1544, *de la part de Claude Garamont*, and a three-year copyright obtained. As Garamont alone is mentioned, it may be that only in the next year was Pierre Gaultier brought in as co-publisher. At any rate the book appeared in 1545 as their combined work, with a preface (from which the foregoing information is taken) by Garamont, addressed to the Bishop of Soissons, Mathieu de Longuejume, son-in-law of Chambellan. It is a small volume, and the preface calls up a picture of the man skilled in minute things and rather embarrassed by the reckless career he had been urged into. The mere publication of such an address is a tactical error, implying as it does that Chambellan meditated mainly that a typefounder might get on in the world. The actual printer was doubtless Gaultier. During the same year, 1545, other books printed by him were published by Garamont in association with Jean Barbé. One, Juvenius's version of the Gospels in latin verse<sup>1</sup> is of the greatest importance. It contains a roman type, in a small size, of very distinctive design, and on one page only (*fol. 66 verso*) an italic which is very probably the one abandoned before; it is not only larger than the "elegant" face but it has a more sharp and heavy appearance. A third Barbé-Garamont book is *L'histoire des successeurs de Alexandre le Grand, extraicte de Diodore de Sicile . . . traduite par Messire Claude de Seyssel . . . Imprimé à Paris par Pierre Gaultier pour Jehan Barbé et Claude Garamont*. A fourth is *L'histoire de Thucydide Athenien, de la guerre qui fut entre les Peloponesiens & Atheniens. Traduite . . . par feu Messire Claude de Seyssel . . .* the imprint being the same as that of the preceding item. A fifth, known only by a title-page in the Bagford Collection, B.M., is *L. Coelii Lactantii . . . divinarum institutionum libri septem: Parisiis, Excudebat Petrus Galterus, pro Ioanne Barbaeo & Claudio Garamontio*. All five books are sextodecimos. It should be noted that with the entrance of Barbé the typography becomes very much Barbé's; as in the books he printed alone (which include some pretentious folios) the title-page<sup>2</sup> begins with a single line in *gros-canon*

<sup>1</sup> *Iuuenii Hispani presbiteri historia euangelica, versu Heroico descripta . . . Parisiis, excudebat Petrus Galterus pro Ioanne Barbaeo & Claudio Garamontio, 1545, 16mo.*

<sup>2</sup> Except in the *Lactantius*, which however bears Barbé's device (Fig. 2).



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lower-case (with its capitals) in the manner adopted by Robert Estienne in 1532; this is followed by a line of italic capitals and the remaining lines of the title are in the body-type of the book—in these cases italic. In the two last-mentioned books the printing mark of Barbé is on the title page. What part did Garamont play in the books' production? The imprint of the last four books implies that he shared the profits as part publisher in return for some investment: either of capital (which he seems not to have had) or by his services as a book-seller—which cannot have been very valuable—or the use of the neo-Aldine fount which was his property. Gaultier and Barbé both began their careers, according to Lottin, in this year; both had printing offices, though Barbé seems to have made use of Gaultier's office at first, and both continued to print for several years after this<sup>1</sup>. The material most needed in starting such establishments is type, and it would be natural for Jean Barbé to call upon this most famous of contemporary punch cutters—his associate—for founts of roman and italic for his own use, cut in the same design as those they had used together. What was needed was a size suitable for larger books. On September 17, 1545, the type appeared, in Dominique Jacquinet's *Lusaige de l'astrolabe* with the imprint *A Paris, De l'Imprimerie de Jehan Barbé . . . On les vend à l'enseigne de l'Envée . . . par Iacques Gazeau: Et au Palais, en la boutique de Vincent Sertenas* (4to). The characteristics of this larger-sized type will be examined in the second part of this article, but it is important to note that the roman is closely related in design to the small roman which Garamont probably cut (at least he chose it for his own publication) and that the italic is a clever adaptation to a larger size of the "Aldine" fount (which is also used in the Jacquinet book). Various clues, then, lead us to the assumption that it was Garamont who designed and cut the Barbé roman and italic. As there is only one other roman of normal book size that we can definitely attribute to him, and no other italic, the founts deserve careful study. They appear in 1545 in *L'histoire de la terre neuve de Péru*, attributed to Gonzalo Fernandez, an octavo published by Jean Barbé and Vincent

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Barbé died in 1547. The *Vitruvius* of that date published by his heirs bears as a printer's mark a portrait which is probably his own.



# Traicté de la Sphere

MATERIELLE, CON-

tenant vne briue & succincte de-  
claration des cercles princi-  
paulx compris en icelle.



**P** O V R C E que l'Astrolabe, ou Planisphere de quoy vou-  
lons traicter, n'est aultre chose  
que la Sphere solide, mise &  
descripte en figure plate. Il est conuenable  
& necessaire en ce lieu, declarer & demō-  
strer les cercles descriptz en la superficie  
d'icelle, ensēble la distinction de leurs nōs  
& parties. A fin d'auoir plus facile intelli-  
gēce de ce q̄ sera dict en nostre Astrolabe.

F A V L T doncques entendre que les  
cieulx ont deux mouuemens principaulx:  
l'un quī se faict d'Occident par midy en  
Oriēt, au contraire du premier mobile, &

Fig. 9. *Jean Barbé's roman and italic: from D. Jaquinot, Lusaige de l'astrolabe, Paris, 1545*

Ac mihi quidem explicandæ philosophiæ causam attulit casus  
grauis ciuitatis, quum in armis ciuilibus nec tueri meo more Remp.  
nec nihil agere poteram, nec quid potius, quod quidem me dignum es-  
set, agerem, reperiēbā. Dabunt igitur ueniam mihi mei ciues, uel gra-  
tiam potius habebunt, quod quum esset in unius potestate Resp. ne-  
que ego me abdidi, neque deserui, neque affixi, neque ita gessi, quasi  
homini aut temporibus iratus: neque porrò ita aut adulator, aut ad-  
miratus fortunam sum alterius, ut me meæ pœniteret. Id enim ipsum  
à Platone philosophiâq; didiceram, naturales esse quasdam conuer-

Fig. 10. *An italic similar to the large size in Fig. 5, used by Vascosan in 1545*

Venit in ædibus Simonis Colinaei,  
sub Sole aureo.

M. D. X L V.

Cum Priuilegio Regis.

Fig. 11. *Italic used by Vascosan (for Colines), closely resembling Barbé's. N. Magnus: De pulveribus*



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Sertenas. The printer is Pierre Gaultier, so possibly this is an earlier impression of the types. The woodcut initial letters, decorated in outline with no shading, appear in all Barbé's books: the same blocks were used during the following five years by Sertenas alone, by Jean de Roigny, Jacques Regnault<sup>1</sup>, Vascosan (at least once), Catherine Barbé, Jean's daughter (1551) and by Robert GranJon, working with Michael Fezandat. In many cases the books containing these blocks are printed in this particular roman fount. Whether one office turned out all the books cannot be said. In the sixteenth century the identity of the publisher was all-important in the eyes of the law, but the phrase *imprimer ou faire imprimer* used in privilege forms expresses the indefinite relation he had to the printer. The publisher could supply the printer with special types, or like Colines in his later years he could simply hand over, as publisher, a book to another printer which he was too busy to print himself. Barbé's later work included a folio Machiavelli, *L'Art de la Guerre* (Paris, 1546), also designated as coming from his own office.

Whether or not Garamont paid "in kind" for his part in the enterprise, we know that he abandoned publishing before 1546, and with it his dreams of getting on in the world. *Neque progrediantur ultra*, he had said of the poor specialists in his craft. A document of 1551 mentions his second wife, Isabeau Le Fèvre. Garamont was not only practising at this time but commissioning other punch cutters. Guillaume Le Bé came to Paris from Venice (where he had stayed with Antonio Blado, who was a connection of Aldus's) and worked at Garamont's house. Many years later Le Bé compiled a specimen book<sup>2</sup> of various types he had cut (mainly Hebrew) and annotated it. One of his

<sup>1</sup> See Coyecque, *Recueil d'Actes Notariés*, vol. i, no. 3137, for the contract dated February, 1545, whereby Jacques Permentier, *fondeur de lettres d'imprimerye* receives from Jacques Regnault, bookseller, 626 pounds of *matières à faire lectres d'impression*, from which Permentier is to make 54,000 types, *de la taille de Claude Garramont* [i.e., from G's matrices] of the small roman, at 7 s.t. a thousand.

<sup>2</sup> Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This unique document was described by Henri Omont in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, vol. xv, 1888.



notes reads: *L'an 1551, en esté, ville de Paris, j'ay taillé ceste lectre 9<sup>e</sup> (hebraïque) pour le sieur Garamont, tailleur & graveur des lectres grecques du Roy, et ce après mon retour d'Italie et de Troyes à Paris, taillée en sa maison, rue des Carmes.* He mentions the intricate cutting required for accents, etc., and adds with honest pride: *Et est une lectre fort artistement faicte et bien limée & polie (sans vantise) et au contentement de celuy qui en sçavoit plus que moy.* Le Bé was only twenty-six at the time, and his reputation was based on his hebrew types, which until now he had cut abroad, in Venice. He had also cut two *grecs ecclésiastiques*, a *gros canon* roman and a set of capitals of both roman and greek alphabets, but he enjoyed himself with hebrew founts: a note in his specimen says that "in the year 1591, after the siege of the city of Paris, during the great trouble, I amused myself by designing these two founts of large letters."

To return to Garamont; in September, 1561, he and his wife sold a piece of land outside the city for 100 *livres tournois*. He was, according to Antoine Vitre, living in poverty. He died in November of that year. His widow caused an inventory of his foundry to be drawn up by Le Bé and Jean Le Sueur and the executor was André Wechel. This inventory was extant in 1756, when Fournier *l'aîné* quoted from it in a controversy, but it has since disappeared. There was a sale, on which Guillaume Le Bé has this ambiguous note in his specimen, continuing his comment on the "ninth" hebrew which Garamont had commissioned: *A la vente de ses meubles, le sieur Christofe Plantain en achepta les matrices et les mousles qu'il a portés à Envers et en a imprimé là. Et André Wechel en achepta les poinçons qu'il a transportés en Allemagne. Et je en achepté une frappe de la vefve qui me presta les poinçons pour la fayre à mes despens avant que les vendre.* This shews that Le Bé did not, as is generally supposed, purchase all the punches of the Garamont establishment: in fact the very set of which he was the most proud went to Frankfurt. But if in the above passage we take *en* to refer to *ses meubles* (the contents of the foundry) it means that Plantin bought all Garamont's matrices and moulds: Le Bé speaks elsewhere of "the mould" of a single fount of type, not in the plural. Similarly, the punches that Wechel took to Frankfurt may not have been for one hebrew fount only, but of a series of roman letters.



### The "Garamond" Types

In this case the Egenolff specimen sheet of 1592<sup>1</sup> is doubly authentic in its very definite attributions. This most important document was issued at Frankfurt by Conrad Berners to shew type faces collected by himself and the Lyon typefounder Jacques Sabon, who had died twelve years before. Sabon had worked for Plantin from the establishment of the latter's foundry. Berner's title is: *Specimen characterum seu typorum probatissimorum, incondite quidem, sed secundum suas tamen differentias propositum, tam ipsis librorum autoribus, quam typographis apprime utile et accommodatum*. The first face is entitled *Canon de Garamond*, and the *Petit Canon*, *Parangon*, *Gros Text* (sic), *S. Augustin*, *Cicero* and *Garamond* sizes of roman are also *de Garamond*. There is also a *Graec. Parangon* [and smaller sizes] *de Robert Gran Ion*, and *Cursiff* [italic] *de Gran Ion* in six sizes. In addition there are *Rom. Galliard de Gran Ion*, *Rom. Non parel.* (no ascription), *Curs. Petit Text de G.* [Gran Ion] and *Curs. Non parel.*, together with five series of arabesque units used by Plantin and other Netherlands offices. Sabon was a founder but not a punch cutter; like Guyot and Van Everbroek, he occupied himself with the adjustment of matrices and casting of type for Plantin. The latter had fled to Paris in 1561 to escape some awkward questions about his religious convictions. He arrived soon after Garamont's death and remained in the city during the time of the inventory and sale. His incentive for buying matrices was strong: he had every intention of returning to Antwerp and keeping an auxiliary typefoundry as soon as he could prove himself firm in the faith; meanwhile his good friends were buying in the books and types which had been confiscated, and "keeping them warm" for him. It was an opportunity to purchase new material, and Plantin took advantage of the Garamont sale. He started again in Antwerp in 1563, and his inventory of 1564 includes a *Breviaire*, *Augustin*, *Texte Parangon* and *Gros-canon romains de Garamond*, with italics and some romans by GranJon, Haultin and others.

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<sup>1</sup> It has survived in a unique example, now in Frankfurt, and was issued in facsimile in *Eine Frankfurter Schriftprobe vom Jahre 1592: Studie zur Geschichte des Frankfurter Schriftgiesser-Gewerbes von G. Mori*. Frankfurt, Schriftgiesserei D. Stempel, 1920.



De passione domini. 80

Celesti pacisq; boni dulcedine pascant.  
 Purpuream donec post ultima fata relicto  
 Corpore, sublimes animam reuocabit ad auras.  
 Gratia magna tibi tunc omnem exuta laborem,  
 Angelicos tunc leta choros, aciesque beatas  
 Sanctorum inspicies, aeternae pacis amena  
 Perpetuo felix tecum regnabis in aula

FINIS.

Excudebat Petrus Galterus pro  
 Ioanne Bartheo & Claudio  
 Garamontio.

Fig. 12. *A Garamont Colophon,*  
*from the Juuencus*

2  
 REVERENDO INCHRISTO  
 PATRI AC DOMINO DO-

mino Mattheo de Longue ioue  
 Sueffionēsi episcopo, Clau-  
 dius Garamodus ty-  
 pographus sa-  
 lutem.

Efficiat meae librariae prinitias

Reuerende in Christo pater,  
 quur vni tibi haecenus mihi nō  
 cognito, ignotus ego ac priua-  
 tus homo offeram ac dedice,

& tu mirari iure potes, &

quisquis instituti mei cognitam perspectanque  
 rationem non habuerit. Huius autē consily au-  
 ctor mihi fuit & impulsor Ioannes Gagneius  
 Christianiss. Regis prunus eleemosynarius, vir  
 tum editis suis in sacras literas hypomnematis,  
 tum euulgandu virorum doctorum ac piorum  
 monumentis de Republica literaria optime me-  
 ritum; Parco enim amplius de homine dicere, ne-  
 tam pro sua ipsius dignitate, quam pro suis in  
 me meritis laudare videar. Is quum iudicasset  
 arti librariae nonnihil me ex sculptoria & su-  
 foria cui a puero studuisse afferre posse or-  
 a 4

Fig. 13. *Garamont's Preface: from*  
*Chambellan: Pia... Meditatio*  
 (Fig. 1)

Post ieiunium quadragint  
 dierum & n M th.4  
 ētatus Luc.

Ex quo nulla c bi potúſve  
 Sed contexta simul firmi

Fig. 14. *Enlargements of the "Juuencus" roman and italic, for comparison*  
*with Fig. 9*



### The "Garamond" Types

In Plantin's *Index Characterum*<sup>1</sup>, issued in 1567, only the two largest sizes seem to be identical with those of the Berners sheet; in the smaller sizes the lower-case may well be generally the same, though some letters vary. The m with a prolonged final serif is an important clue in the *Parangon* roman of both specimens: but the swash t that matches it in 1567 has been recut in 1592.

Plantin, then, could not have bought *all* Garamont's roman punches, but did they, instead, go to Frankfurt or remain in Paris with Le Bé? Guillaume Le Bé II, writing after his father's death in 1598 to Moretus of Antwerp (Plantin's son-in-law and successor), asks for a strike, not justified, from the punches in Plantin's office *du petit texte de la taille de Garamond*. Le Bé says that he has "the other punches of Garamond that my late father bought from the widow of Garamond," and offers in exchange strikes of the *parangon romain*, *gros romain*, *canon* and *petit romain*. "It was my late father who sold to M. Plantin these punches for *petit-texte* and *Saint-Augustin* which I know you have, for my father bought all these at Garamond's, and then at the request of your father sold him these two founts, though my father kept a strike of each." The *petit romain* strike had been sold later and the younger Le Bé wanted to replace it to enrich that foundry which was to have such a long career in Paris.

Fournier *l'aîné*, purchaser of that foundry in 1731, upheld the theory that Le Bé had handed down Garamont's punches to posterity. He refers the public to the collection of punches and matrices still surviving in his offices. The Anisson collection of documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains contemporary copies of Fournier's two letters on the subject sent to the *Mercure de France* in 1756, together with a *dossier* of specimens of the types referred to. It is inscribed *Specimen d'une partie des caractères de la fonderie du Sr Fournier l'aîné rue des postes, du fonds de Guillaume Bée*. The capitals are eighteenth-century, and even the lower-case would not pass as of two

<sup>1</sup> *Index sive Specimen Characterum Christophori Plantini*, Antwerp, 1567. Two versions of this specimen have survived and are in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. One specimen was reproduced by Mr D. C. McMurtrie, New York, 1924.



centuries before. The *petit-texte qui a servi à Elzevir, de Garamond*, may well be authentic—Elzevir; it may even be what Le Bé II thought was Garamont's design; but it is outside the scope of what is really a discussion of the ancient prototypes of "Garamond," the present-day letter.

This, then, is the sum of our knowledge about Claude Garamont. Let us pass now to a consideration of the type designs produced in Paris in his day. By fixing our attention upon the identity of the *type* rather than assigning anything to a definite *punch-cutter*, we may hope in time to establish a scientific method of approach based on actual evidence rather than rash speculation or (worse) that learned credulity that makes any printed reference a reliable authority. Most of the types to be mentioned cannot be assigned with confidence to any engraver; their labels, for our purposes, may be the titles of the earliest books<sup>1</sup> in which their appearance has been noted. To prevent confusion, a chronological table, with numbers for the Paris *roman* types, is subjoined as Appendix II. Corrections and additions to this table will be welcomed by the compiler.

## II

Humanism came to Paris from Italy, and brought to the scholar of that city new interests, violent quarrels, international correspondents and an "Italianate" turn of language that Henri Estienne II was later to deplore. The learned Josse Bade and the first Estienne found an impatient public awaiting editions of the classics and the pedagogy of the new sciences. There was, as now, an even wider demand for interpretations and introductions. Such a book as Erasmus's *Adagia* gave the reader the very cream of a vast quantity of classical reading, and familiarised him with Greek by frequent quotations followed by their Latin versions. Aldus published the enlarged edition in 1508; Erasmus stayed at his house in Venice to see the work through the press, and developed a great admiration for the publisher's achievements. It was the great day of the editor, the castigator of texts and

<sup>1</sup> The word "books" explains why Colines' pioneer roman is called the *Terentianus*, rather than by the title of the Tory pamphlets which constituted its "advance showing," earlier that year.



### *The "Garamond" Types*

writer of introductions. Aldus's rules of orthography and scansion were consulted and quoted by subsequent editors, his texts by subsequent printers. When Erasmus came to lecture in Paris he must have found much interest shewn in Aldus's press, which had rendered such incalculable service to Humanism by putting greek texts within every scholar's means. There was at least one type-cutter in Lyon who knew how to imitate Aldus's italic. The "Lyon forgeries" depend for their effectiveness upon the counterfeit of the type even more than upon the format of the book. Bade and Estienne must have examined every Aldine book they could find with peculiar interest in the type, use of accent and format. But they found no time for experimenting with the problems of a new type during the first two crowded decades, especially if it meant introducing a classic-looking letter to French eyes still accustomed to the rich colour and sharp angles of gothic. The Ascensian press used a heavy, sharp-cut roman whose gothic influence is felt in the stunted descenders and lozenge-shaped points; Estienne's founts were all too evidently designed to withstand the accidents of casting, the wear of soft metal and the over-inking that prevented any delicate effect. It was to Simon de Colines that the opportunity to make innovations finally fell.

Colines married Henri Estienne's widow in 1521 and carried on the business for five years until Robert Estienne was old enough to take it over: then Colines started his own publishing and printing office, bringing out the subsequent books of Henri Estienne's authors and planning several collections of folios on philosophy and science. Robert brought out pocket editions of the classics in roman type, but in the Aldine format. There was a greater volume of production than ever before.

In 1528 appeared Colines's first italic, printed in an octavo (Paul Cerrato's *De Virginitate*), and also his greek type, a sober cursive combining well with the calligraphic italic, the ascenders of which curve to the right as in the Arrighi letter<sup>1</sup>. The greek was among the first to be used in Paris for complete books. The two faces mark the introduction into that city of Italian (and

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<sup>1</sup> See *The Fleuron*, no. 3, pp. 23—51, for illustrations of the Marcolini and Arrighi letters.



More captus Alcmenæ Iupiter  
Mutauit sese in formam eius coniugis,  
Pro patria Amphitruo dum cernit cum hostibus.  
Mercurius ei subseruit Sostiæ:

Fig. 15. Robert Estienne's roman, ante 1532: from his *Plautus: Comediae*, 1531

que dura telle persecutiō, y eut vng nōbre merueilleux de Martirs. Mais au bout de trois ans, elle print fin, ensēble la vie dudiēt Empereur, & luy succeda Gordian, & a Pōcian Euesque de Rome succeda Antherus, leq̃l aiant a peine tenu le Siège vng moys mourut, & luy succeda Fabian, par vne facon miraculeuse, q̃ fut telle (ainsi q̃ lon dīt) Estant tout le Peuple Chrestie de Rome ensemble en Leglise, apres la mort de Antherus pour

Fig. 16. Geofroy Tory's roman. From *Eusebius: Histoire ecclésiastique*, 1532

nominis eius syllabam, Et ille sic optime norat. hic ne rusticus quidem vocem rustice pronuntiatam agnouit. Arcesilaus quom quosdam male pronuntiantes sua carmina offendisset, lateres illorum cōculcare cœpit. ac dicere, Vos mea corrumpitis, ego vestra dissipabo. Quid de Fidentino Martialis dicam? Carneades dicere solebat Clitomachus eadem dicere, Carneadem autem eodem modo. Videas ne in philosophia quidē vbi res maxime spectantur,

Fig. 17. Simon de Colines' larger roman of 1531. From *Terentianus: de Literis*

*De hortensium semente, & quo tempore sata nascuntur.* Cap. XII.

Ementes hortensium quibus feri singula solent, tres omnibus certe notātur, hyberna, æstiuā, & quæ inter eas media cadit. Prima post brumā fit mēse Maio: quo brassicā, radiculam, rapum, & quæ postea ceu betam, lactucā, rumicem, finapi, corianum, anethum, nasturtiū serere consueuerunt. Secundam post æstiuum solstitiū ineunte Octobri mense præcipiunt, quū porrum

Fig. 18. Roman and italic from *Ruellius: de Natura Stirpium*, printed by Colines in 1536



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particularly Aldine) characters, and begin a period of remarkable activity in type design. We may speculate in passing on the identity of the cutter of Colines's greek: if it was Garamont, Colines's son-in-law would have had excellent reason later on for electing as royal punch-cutter a man whose earlier experiments had been made under the direction of his own tutor, and one who had proved his skill and discipline on so difficult a design. But it must be remembered that several other *graveurs-fondeurs* are known to have been functioning in Paris at the time, though they did not yet constitute a separate guild. Pierre Haultin<sup>1</sup>, Antoine Augereau, and possibly Robert GranJon<sup>2</sup> were working at this period; but none of them is associated in any record with Colines.

Colines printed few italic books during the next two years. In 1530 he published Tory's *Ædiloquium* and several other small books in this "calligraphic" fount. Meanwhile the stream of octavos in roman continued, interspersed with larger books. The Colines-Estienne roman founts of the period had short descenders and were heavy in colour: to the Jenson model they owed a tilted-bowl e, a slab-serif M, and a certain proportionate width of lower-case letters; the m is the best example. The g has the clumsy proportions of its predecessors: like those of Bade and Tory himself, the top circle is almost as large as a lower-case o and so comes nearly to the line at the bottom; so that the stroke connecting it with the ellipse of the tail must go sharply off to the left and return in a stroke which is technically inconsistent: a heavy horizontal. The effect is of a crushed-down letter. In Colines's early founts, the d and h top serifs are more exaggerated than that of the b. Tory's e is of interest for its narrowness, but otherwise his type is disappointing to one who would think of him as a guiding spirit in the new movement. The i with a dash above at the left instead of a dot is characteristic of all these early faces.

But French orthography was by now so far advanced that the whole

<sup>1</sup> Haultin must have had considerable skill to cut the intricate series of music types used by Attaignant from 1524.

<sup>2</sup> That GranJon could have been working in 1523 (Lottin) seems improbable, as he was printing as late as 1588.



question of type-design was involved in the new school of philology. What Tory had started, classic scholars carried to a science. Colines and Estienne threw themselves into the pioneer work. The Humanist Jacques Du Bois said (in the preface to his *Isagoge*, which will be referred to later): "in the first place we had of necessity to create certain new characters, so that I could express [phonetically] what was required in Greek and Latin as well as French," and no less than sixteen new phonetic types were so cut. Estienne, the printer, actually leaves four blank pages near the front of this book, for those suggestions which were sure to occur to the scholarly reader at that period when orthography was still flexible. Du Bois says further (p. 1), speaking of the changing style: *Literarum figurae & characteres tum typographis tum cheiographis hac tempestate variant maxime*. It became necessary, therefore, to produce many unusual characters: and while the punch-cutter was considering this task, it must have occurred to Colines and Estienne respectively that they might as well have a new roman altogether; for we may note the very significant fact that the first book of each printer in each pioneer type-design was an important philological work. Colines' was the earlier: it appeared, it is true, in two small productions of Geofroy Tory (as King's Printer) as early as March<sup>1</sup> and May<sup>2</sup>, 1531 (new style), but there is no actual reason to believe that Tory printed these at his own press. The corresponding pamphlet which he *did* claim to have printed was issued in October, 1531<sup>3</sup>, and is in his own undistinguished 11-point roman.

We gather that Tory made use of small quantities of the newly-cast type of Colines until that printer was ready to launch it in the projected book, in October 1531. This was a quarto volume on the construction of classic verse: *Terentiani Mauri Niliacae syenes Praesidio, de literis, syllabis, pedibus et metris . . . Nicolao Brissaeo Montiuillario commentatore et emendatore*. The text type of the *Terentianus* is (approximately) 17-point roman, with a smaller roman and the first italic serving for notes. It is as different from its crude predecessors as it

<sup>1</sup> Guillaume Bochetel, *Le Sacre et Coronnement de la Royne*, 4°. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *Lentree de la Royne en sa ville . . .* 4°, 6 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *In Lodoicae regis matris epitaphia latina et gallica . . .* 4°, 2½ ff. All three books are in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (H. 7634).



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could well be. The whole alphabet has been revised (Fig. 17). In the lower-case the narrower proportions and longer descenders give a lightness well carried by the carefully modelled serifs<sup>1</sup>. The e has a very high and nearly horizontal cross-stroke, the a has a low, flattened bowl, the top serif of the n is high and "scooped-out"—all characteristic of the changing fashion: the g has a relatively large top circle, but the curves of the tail are well balanced. The capitals bear little resemblance to the clumsy, archaic letters of the earlier founts, but some relation to the excellent small capitals used by Robert Estienne, *cir.* 1530. The A has a pointed tip, the T is flat across the top, the M has no inner extension of the top serifs—an improvement on Jenson—and the G and C are wide, the former having a low cross-stroke. There is a fine Qu ligature. The *Terentianus* roman was a pioneer design, not copied closely after any former fount, but italianate in cutting. It seems to have had little *immediate* effect upon French type faces, because of the popularity of the Estienne design that followed it, and indeed it was abandoned by Colines himself; but many of its characteristics were to reappear later. For the moment we may note in this connection a very slightly smaller roman of Colines used in the famous folio Ruellius, *De Natura Stirpium*, of 1536. The type is derived, though probably not by the same cutter, from that of the *Terentianus*: for while the capitals and lower-case have the same design, the latter is narrower, and the serifs are blunted in a curious way. The Ruellius type has no Qu ligature, and the e has a deeper bowl. If it represents Colines's revision of the earlier face, it cannot be called an improvement (Fig. 18).

The *Terentianus* roman also seems to have been the inspiration for an extraordinary fount used twice by Wechel early in 1532<sup>2</sup>, one distinguished by sharp serifs "undercut" so as to allow hardly any curve of "bracket," and marred by an a and (slanted) e of ungainly cut.

But soon after the *Terentianus* roman had been printed in two sizes in a regular book a lighter & more condensed roman appeared, in Du Bois, *Isagoge*,

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be an alternate d, with a horizontal top serif: the letter is really a reversed p.

<sup>2</sup> First in Cornellius: *Exactissima infantium . . . querela* (Jan.), then in Brixius: *Gratulatio quatuor . . .* (before April), 1532.



explicabo; non tanq̃ recenseatur. Igi-  
 tur; cum illum multa in umbra sedentem  
 comperissem; ita initium interpellandi  
 eum feci. PETRVS BEMBVVS FILI  
 VS. Diu quidem p̃ater hic sedes; & certe  
 ripa haec uirens; quam populi tuae istae  
 densissimae inumbrant; & fluuius alit; ali  
 quanto frigidior est fortasse, q̃ sit satis.  
 BERNARDVS BEMBVVS PATER.  
 Ego uero fili nuspiam esse libentius soleo;  
 q̃ in hac cum ripae, tum arborum, tum  
 etiam fluminis amoenitate: neq; est, quod  
 uereare, nequid nobis frigus hoc noceat,  
 praesertim in tanto aestatis ardore: Sed  
 fecisti tu quidem p̃erbene; qui me ab iis  
 cogitationibus reuocasti; quas & libentis-  
 sime semper abiicio, cum in Nonianum  
 uenitur; et nũc quidem nobis nescio quo  
 pacto furtim irrepserant non modo non  
 uocantibus, sed etiam inuitis.  
 BEMBVVS FILIVS.      Derrep. sci  
 licet cogitabas aliquid, aut certe detrium

Fig. 19. *A page from Bembo's De Aetna, printed by Aldus, Venice, 1495-6*

G N

Vertere Meccenas, vlmisq̃ue adiungere vites  
 Cõueniat: quæ cura bouum, quis cultus habẽdo  
 Sit pecori: atq; apibus quãta experiẽtia parcis:  
 Hinc canere incipiã. Vos ô clarissima mundi  
 Lumina, labentem cælo quæ ducitis annum:  
 Liber, & alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus  
 Chaoniam pingui glandem mutauit arista:  
 Poculãque inuentis Acheloia miscuit vuis:

Fig. 20. *R. Estienne's roman (middle size) and two capitals from his Virgil of 1532*

Ma DEIL

A abcdefgeh

PRSTV &

ilmonpqrsty

Fig. 21. *Estienne's gros canon type from the Bible of 1532*



### The "Garamond" Types

printed in Jan. 1532 (N.S.) by Robert Estienne: the lower-case of French book-printers for two centuries to come, as far as general design goes, though modified in the course of time by imitation. The source of this distinctive roman design has already been identified beyond reasonable doubt, not only by the general form of the lower-case but by certain "earmarks" in the shape of the capitals<sup>1</sup>. Let us first, then, consider this "arch-type" as it appeared in the earliest book printed by Aldus entirely in Latin, *Petri Bembi de Aetna ad Angelum Chabrielem liber*, Venice, 1495-6.

It must be remembered that Aldus, starting a press out of very zeal for rescuing the classics from oblivion, began as a printer of greek, though he made use of a somewhat clumsy roman as a supplementary type. His first reputation was made on greek, so when he made plans for publishing latin works as well it was natural to have a whole new roman fount prepared, clear and conservative enough to serve as a standard type for the press. This type was not produced without experiments, recuttings and daring innovations; for when it finally appeared in the *De Aetna* we find no fewer than four alternate e's with a possible fifth, two p's, two a's beside "swash" forms of a, t and m. The typography of the book has seemingly been considered before the contents, for while the variant letters are used with profusion the copy contains some bad misprints, including one word which was transposed in the sentence in order to make a line justify: an audacity corrected in ink in the majority of extant copies. Coupled with the extraordinary brilliance of the impression (quite unlike the subsequent Aldine books) and the slightness of the contents (the dialogue takes only 30 leaves) we cannot help conjecturing that this represented a sort of "trial use" of the new latin fount. The e's, cast with different accents, shew the type-cutter working out under our eyes the old-style face as distinguished from Jenson's. The è is slanted in Jenson style: another has a projecting "nose" like the earlier face; but the ordinary e finally chosen has a high, horizontal cross-stroke, evolved by the successive trials of a designer of great originality. In the four copies consulted

<sup>1</sup> See the article above cited in *Gutenberg-Festschrift*.



Acer & flamma est, & agente certum  
 cuspidē uulnus.  
 Spargam odoratas uiolas, rosāsque  
 Ipse ego, uotique reus scabo  
 Grata torquatæ ante tuas columbæ  
 guttura flammæ.

Quid magis aduersum bello est? bellique tumultu  
 Quàm Venus? ad teneros aptior illa iocos.  
 Et tamen armatam hanc magni pinxere Lacones,  
 Imbellique data est bellica parma deæ.  
 Quippe erat id signum forti Lacedæmone natum:  
 Sæpe & fœmineum bella decere genus.  
 Sic quoque non quod sim pugna uersatus in ulla,  
 Hæc humeris pictor induit arma meis:  
 Verû hoc quòd bello, hoc patriæ quòd tēpore iniquo  
 Ferre uel imbellem quemlibet arma decet.

Borgetus lepidus catellus ille,  
 Cuius blanditias proteruiore,  
 Et lusus herus ipse tantum amabat,  
 Quantum tale aliquid potest amari.  
 Nec mirum, dominum suum ipse norat,

IMPRESSVM VENETIIS PRI-  
 MVM, AMICORVM CVRA,  
 DEINDE LVETIAE PARI-  
 SIORVM, QVAMPOTVIT

FERI DILIGEN-

TISS.

Prælo

Anto. Augerelli.

M. D. XXXI

V. CALEND.

APRIL.

Figs. 22, 23. *Augereau's larger roman*; two pages from *A. Navagero's Orationes duae*. The date, as given in the colophon, is very probably calculated according to the Paris usage, and so should be read as March 28, 1532, new style



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by the writer, there are few pages that are not so printed as to give a clear showing of the exquisitely sharpened and elongated serifs on the lower-case. Aldus, however, had no time for further typographical *tours de force*; he had the capitals recut and various "swash" alternates eliminated, and subjected it to brutal presswork in subsequent editions, which changed its whole appearance. But the *De Aetna* remained a curiosity of typography as well as a *jeu d'esprit* of a great Humanist, and as such it must have crossed the Alps in some learned man's pocket and been shewn to French printers, for it is the capitals of the Bembo book<sup>1</sup> that shew that series of eccentricities mirrored in Estienne's roman: the one-eared M, the square-topped A and G with a turned-in cross stroke. The Parisian lower-case has modified the length of serif, but copied the fine g and a and in general the narrow proportions and long descenders of the *De Aetna* type.

The Estienne face (Figs. 20 and 21) was designed by a master with a real knowledge of the mechanics of type-cutting. The form may best be studied in the largest size, the colour and distribution of weight in the middle size. The former allows us almost a diagram of the design, for it is so large and clean-cut that it shews details which ink and impression blur in small sizes: but allowing for an adjustment of colour and proportion (much more scientifically effected than by modern typefounders), the three sizes are the same in form. It is a narrower and lighter letter than Colines', a difference which makes the descenders seem longer. The capitals of the smaller sizes are noticeably lower than the top serifs of ascending letters, and condensed far more than in the case of Colines'. Characteristic letters are: the e in which the high cross-stroke is horizontal (as a matter of fact it even tilts *down and forward* imperceptibly so as to give the eye the effect of a true horizontal, a clever adjustment which has never been copied); the a, with a shallow angular bowl, the g with a top circle only half the height of the lower-case m, allowing for a graceful curve toward the tail, the sharp

<sup>1</sup> Aldus's subsequent use of these capitals was restricted, it would seem, to occasional title pages, hardly sufficient to form models for later imitators. The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Aldus 1499) uses this lower-case with a narrower t, but the capitals are of a self-conscious, classical pattern.



delicate top serifs as in the h, the condensation of the r and h. In the capitals, the F, E and L have an inscriptional narrowness and the C does not extend to the implied outline of its circle. In addition there are certain "earmark" letters among the capitals which are of the first importance in establishing the derivation of the design: an M with no top right-hand serif, the heavy upright stroke being square-cut across the top; a G with the cross-piece turned in but not extending to the right beyond the letter; an A with a blunted apex, and a B whose two curves meet the upright in a line that is not quite horizontal.

In Jacques Du Bois' *In linguam Gallicam Isagoge*, all three sizes of the new roman are used for the first time: 36-point for the titles, etc., 16½-point for the introduction, 12-point for the much-accented text<sup>1</sup>. The folio *Virgil* of September, 1532, used the 16½-point as the text size. The great Bible of 1532 followed the *Virgil* three months later, using all three sizes of this roman, which reappeared in subsequent books, such as the *Giovio Vitae* of 1549, with possible modifications of some capitals. The effect upon contemporary books was excellent. Vascosan seems to have imitated it in 1542 (Fig. 24) and De Tournes in his great Bible of 1552 (Lyon) uses a fount which seems to be a close imitation, as only the capitals are fairly modified. But in Andrea Navagero's *Orationes duae*<sup>2</sup> published by Jean Petit in March,

<sup>1</sup> The approximation to modern point sizes, though not scientifically accurate, avoids the vagueness of ancient nomenclature, which varied greatly at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Andrea Navagero was, as Venetian ambassador to the court of François I in 1528, an important factor in the "italianization" of French culture, especially as he ranked with Bembo (his friend) as a Latin poet and writer of belles-lettres. Navagero died in 1529; in 1530 a volume of his unpublished work was issued for his friends by Tacuino in Venice (in a type dating from 1513, somewhat resembling Colines' *Terentianus*). Antoine Augereau seems to have made his début as printer by reprinting this book. He followed the typographic arrangement of the Venice edition very closely. Perhaps other friends of the poet, in Paris, wished to salute his memory for political or other reasons: at any rate the colophon (Fig. 23) goes to the unusual length of acknowledging a former edition.



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1532, printed *Praelo Ant. Augerelli*<sup>1</sup>, is a type which, considered historically, is the most interesting of all those that followed Estienne's.

Augereau's version is nearer the Aldine model, but he cut a very French R, with a tail brought somewhat below the line, probably to narrow the letter, a trait which also appears in the Estienne face. The Augereau roman may be studied in Figs. 22 and 23 for points in which it differs from the Estienne version: for the latter, beside being very probably an earlier form, deserves more detailed examination because of the great influence of the Estienne typography on contemporary offices. Whether Augereau's roman was copied from Estienne's seems uncertain, for we find the designer going back to the Aldine source for variant cuttings. This leads us to think that possibly the punch-cutter Augereau was concerned in the design and production of Estienne's romans<sup>2</sup>. At all events the two designs have resemblances that are most significant.

<sup>1</sup> Antoine Augereau (Augerellus) of Fontenay-le-Comte, printer-book-seller and *un des premiers qui tailla des Poinçons pour les lettres romains* (La Caille), was one of the humbler martyrs of the Reformation. For having printed the pious poem *Miroir de lame pecheresse* of Queen Marguerite of Navarre he was hanged and burned in the Place Maubert on Christmas Eve, 1534. Not as notoriously quarrelsome a person as the more celebrated martyr Estienne Dolet, Augereau seems to have served as a scapegoat for the suspect beliefs of the King's sister. A Guy Augereau of Paris was mentioned as a punch-cutter in 1559. See the *Bull. de la Soc. de l'hist. du Protestantisme franç.* vol. xlii, for documents and a partial list of books printed by A. Augereau. His *Loraison de Cicero* (1534) is a delightfully designed 8vo.: a copy on vellum is in the British Museum. It seems strange that Fournier-le-jeune, who was so interested in printer-typecutters, does not mention this most important man, whose reputation until now seems to have been absorbed by that of the more famous Garamont.

<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered that Robert Estienne was already suspect for his publishing policy. This is the only actual link we have between the two men, but in those times of gathering danger and furtive loyalties it constitutes a reason for a possible collaboration between the typecutter and the printer-editor.



IACOBVS LODOICVS STRE-  
BAEVS AD LECTORES.

QVVM de omnibus philosophiæ partibus grauter  
& copiose scripserint Græci, & veteres Latini multa ac  
præclara cōuerterint è Græcis, pauci tamē fuerūt ex tam  
multis scriptoribus antiquis, qui sapientiā scientiarū mā-  
ximā Romano sermone celebrarūt. Et plures ex illis ad eā  
partē quæ de moribus agit, & hominū vita, se cōtulerūt,  
q̃ ad scientiā physicā, quæ naturę principia, rerūq; varieta-  
tes & earū causas ratione perquirat. Nec omniū libri per-

Fig. 24. *A roman of Vascosan (1542) related to Estiennes' but with a Venetian R*

Τ Ο Κ Α Τ Α Μ Α Τ Θ Α Ι Ο Ν Α Γ Ι Ο Ν  
ΕΥ Α Γ Γ Ε Λ Ι Ο Ν.

Fig. 25. *Garamont's larger greek capitals, with the "later" M.  
From the New Testament of 1550, printed by R. Estienne*

Vn Roy, tant soit il grand en terre ou en proüesse,  
Meurt comme vn laboureur sans gloire, s'il ne laisse  
Quelque renom de luy, & ce renom ne peut  
Venir apres la mort, si la Muse ne veut  
Le donner à celluy qui doucement l'inuite,  
Et d'honneste faueur compense son merite.  
Non, je ne suis tout seul, non, tout seul je ne suis,  
Non, je ne le suis pas, qui par mes œuures puis  
Donner aux grandz Seigneurs vne gloire eternelle:  
Autres le peuuent faire, vn Bellay, vn Iodelle,  
Vn Baif, Pelletier, vn Belleau, & Tiard,

Fig. 26. *Wechel's roman: from Ronsard: Hymne, 1556*



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Another variant of the Estienne design is that found in Garamont's own books, and its larger and better size used by Barbé. This has a deeper-bowled e and a curious flat-topped q as "earmark" letters, but the general swing of the design betrays its inspiration.

The greek types which we know definitely to be of Garamont's cutting are valuable to our present discussion in only one respect, namely, that the eleven capitals common to greek and roman serve as a clue to the latter's origin. Thus we find that the A, B, E, H, I, K, M, N, P, T and X of the first, "middle size" *grec du roi* (in Estienne's *Eusebius*, 1544) are identical in design with these letters in the Estienne roman of 1532 (the type of the *Isagoge* and *Virgil*). The one-serif M should be noted. But in the "large" *grec du roi*, of 1550 all these capitals have been redesigned. The M finally solves the serif problem by bringing the inner V strokes beyond and above the supports to form wing-like serifs that are structurally part of the letter. It is one of those perfect designs that occur in any craft when the artisan completely understands the purpose of his work: and there is so little perfection in the world that we may salute it even on the scale of a 16-point quad. The important thing here is that these new capitals also appeared in a roman fount used by Vascosan as early as 1550, and that during the following decade this design was also used by Wechel (Fig. 26), Frédéric Morel, and the best printers of the day. Its use then became general, and it remained the most popular roman in France until the end of the seventeenth century. This is the design of the Egenolff roman "de Garamond." Its very perfection accounts for much of the later decline in type-cutting, for the Egenolff-Luther foundry shared with Van Dijk such popularity among printers of the seventeenth century that local engravers became mere repairers of matrices. The lower-case of this design which we can safely call Garamont's "later" roman<sup>1</sup> is similar to the Estienne 1532 fount: but the wider and more conservative capitals reflect the pattern of the pioneer Colines *Terentianus* of 1531, especially in the A, B and T. Kerver's *Songe de Poliphile* (Paris, 1553-4),

<sup>1</sup> To be referred to later, for purposes of identification, as the "Egenolff" roman.



contains a fine showing (Fig. 28): Cousin's *Livre de Perspective* (Le Roy, Paris, 1560) is a well-fitted variant cutting.

Italics shew more variety than romans in the period 1528-1550. The "glossa" size cut by Garamont is an adaptation of the Aldine letter, with inclined capitals and a swash A and R. The larger size used by Barbé and (with two slight changes) by Vascosan, in 1545, is a "round-looking" letter whose chief merit lies in having practically no contrasting heavy and light strokes such as make the GranJon italics (*post* 1550) so dazzling. The Colines italic used in the *Ruellius* (1536) is on this general pattern: an Italianate feature is the alternate, condensed *g*, which did not reappear. The tendency was to slope more and more, and it is probable that several type-cutters, including the goldsmith Chiffin mentioned in Gagny's will, were busy imitating Garamont's "Aldine" italic, until GranJon's *Nonpareille* as cut for Rouille *circa* 1550 introduced a more popular design.

This completes the list of the sixteenth-century faces which we can call Garamont's. The seventeenth century, however, produced another roman and italic *derived* from Garamont's designs but quite distinct in execution, which by some stroke of irony survives as the "original Garamond" and has so been reproduced by many modern foundries. This is the series known at the Imprimerie Nationale as *caractères de l'Université*. There can be little doubt that this is the design of Jean Jannon, dating from 1615.

### III

Jannon was a master printer at Paris until 1610; he learned his trade at the Estienne establishment, and in 1609 was printing in the "later" Garamont, or "Egenolff" roman for Frédéric Morel III. In 1610 his protestant sympathies took him to Sedan, where a Calvinist "Academy" provided him with work. In 1621 appeared one of the finest (and if we except the Le Bé *recueil* above, probably the earliest) of French specimen books: *Espreuve des Caractères nouvellement taillez: A Sedan Par Jean Jannon Imprimeur de l'Academie. M.DC.XXI.* (4to. 10 ff.)<sup>1</sup>. This exhibits eleven romans and eight italics, beside a Hebrew and a set of two-line initials. The most casual in-

<sup>1</sup> To be edited immediately, with a facsimile, by the present writer.



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spection shews that this design has details never noted in sixteenth-century books. In the roman, the left-hand serifs of *mnpr* ~~*mnpr*~~ have a much sharper angle and are slightly hollowed out above: the a has a narrow, down-tilted bowl, the M has horizontal serifs. The italic capitals are curiously angular, and the *p*, *f* and *a* (*fa* from *fa*) represent new departures. Altogether the effect is of a seventeenth-century "improvement," so technically brilliant as to be decadent, upon a Garamont model. Jannon's preface to the *Espreuve*, dated *Sedan, ce 4 Nouëbre 1621*, opens with remarks on the invention of printing, and continues:

"So, seeing that for some time many persons have had to do with the art who have greatly lowered it (so far doth ignorance and lack of skill corrupt the most beautiful things in time:) the desire came upon me to try if I might imitate, after some fashion, some one among those who honorably busied themselves with the art, [men] whom I hear regretted every day: such as, among others, a Conrad at Rome, a Manuce at Venice, an Estienne at Paris . . . a Plantin at Antwerp, a Wechel at Francfort, and some others who were very celebrated in their time. And inasmuch as I could not accomplish this design for lack of types which I needed to this end: not even being able conveniently to draw upon the type-founders, some of whom would not, and others could not, furnish me with what I lacked: [therefore] I resolved, about six years ago, to turn my hand in good earnest to the making of Punches, Matrices and Moulds for all sorts of characters, for the accommodation both of the public and of myself. So I have finished thirty strikes (*frappes*) of letters, that is, seven strikes (i.e. alphabets) of two-line initials; the *gros Canon*, *petit Canon*, *Parangon*, *gros Romain*, *Saint Augustin*, *Cicero*, *petit Romain*, *petit Texte*, *Nonpareille*, and their Italics: a *gros Cicero* (i.e. a larger face with descenders shortened to make it fit the 12-point body), a *Gaillarde*, a middle-size Hebrew: together with the *Sedanoise* and its Italic, smaller by two-fifths than the *Nonpareille*, the like of which has never before been seen. All the above founts I have enriched with fine tied letters and abbreviations never cut until now. And all these things together are the first part of my work and enterprise, of which I have wished to have you see this proof, to serve you as a sample, and be the advance-courier of a more finished work. So I offer you now these types which are most to your liking, awaiting



the time when I can give you the rest, consisting of Hebrews, Chaldaics . . . (etc.), ornamental letters, music notes, vignettes, fleurons, etc., at which I will work, with God's aid, as hard as I can. . . ."

The types were in use in official Sedan Academy publications for the next twenty years. Jannon was strictly forbidden to print for anyone else than the Prince of Sedan and the Academy, and at the end of this period friction between the printer and the authorities resulted in Jannon's leaving for Paris, where he tried to set up in business. But the time was unfavourable. In addition to political and religious troubles, the magnificent start of the *Imprimerie Royale* at the Louvre had a depressing effect upon ordinary printers, who were forbidden to copy its types. Jannon was reduced to destitution, but his reputation as a cutter of Oriental characters finally brought him a new opportunity.

In 1644 a wealthy merchant of Caen, Pierre Cardonnel, aspired to become a publisher in the learned languages. The fortunes of his press are traceable in two documents in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (MS. franç. 18600). In one, the King's officers give an account of their raid upon the clandestine office. It must be remembered that Ligue troubles had caused very strict censorship throughout France. The bailiffs came to Cardonnel ". . . and having mounted to a little room which they said was called the printing-place, we found there a man working at printing-characters, who said his name was Pierre Capelle, of the city of Geneva, and that he was employed at the said work by the said *sieur de Cardonnel*. And directly afterward there came into the room a man dressed in black, who said his name was Jean Jannon, a master printer and typefounder of Paris, and that the said Capelle worked for him; and that to defray the necessary expense the said *sieur de Cardonnel* aided him with money." In other words, Jannon in a dangerous situation very chivalrously absolved his assistant typefounder of responsibility, and then refused to throw his own responsibility on Cardonnel. "And having asked him to shew us the characters and *engins* they used in this printing-house, they shewed us six small flat cases (*caisses*) each a foot long, eight inches broad and two inches high, which we found to be full of material used in this printing-house; which six cases we had tied together with string and affixed



in Manu eius  
videbit fructum quo sa-  
turabitui, scientia sui iustificabit iustus seruus meus multos, & iniqui-  
tates ipforum ipse portabit. Ideo partem dabo ei cum multis & cum  
fortibus diuidet spolia, Et quod effudit in M O R T E M A N I M A M suam,

Romain S. Augustin de Garamond

Ad dexteram enim & sinistram dilataberis, semen quoq; tuum Gentes haredi-  
tate accipiet, & ciuitates [ *ἡ πόλις ἀποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ ὁ ἐργατὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ ἄρχων αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἰσχυρὸς αὐτοῦ* ]  
desolatas inhabitabit. Ne timeas, quia non afficeris pudore, nec erubescas, Quia  
non afficeris ignominia: pudoris enim adolescentiæ tuæ obliuisceris N A M M A  
R I T V S tuus, est factor tuus, Jehouah exercitum nomen eius: Et redemptor tuus  
Sanctus Israelis, Deus yniuersæ terræ vocatur. *✠ ✠*

Romain Cicero de Garamond

Nam vt aquæ Noha hoc michi, cui iuravi quod non transirent aquæ Noha vltra super ter-  
ram, sic iuravi quod non irascar contra te, [ *ἀποδρα ἀπειθήματα καὶ ἐξέδωκεν ἡ σελήνη αὐτῷ ὡς ἰσχυρὸν* ]  
nec in crepabo te Montes enim mouebunt sese, & colles metabunt misericordia autem mea  
a te non recedet, & fœdus pacis meæ non nutabit dixit miserator tuus I E H O V A H Pauper  
cula in turbine versans Non accepit consolationem, en ego iacere faciam in Carbunculis la-  
pides tuos, & fundabo te in sapphiris,

Fig. 27. *Three sizes of Garamont's roman from the specimen sheet of  
the Egenolff foundry, Frankfurt a/M., 1592*

tres pas geometriques en haulteur : laquelle diminueoit en poincte : & en la  
summité estoit fichée vne boule de matiere claire & transparente . Ce grand  
animal estoit soustenu d'un soubassement ou contrebase de Porphyre . Les  
deux grandes dentz qui sailloient de sa bouche , furent faictes de pierre blan-  
che, reluisante comme yuoire. A sa couuerture estoit attaché auec riches bou-  
cles dorées vn poitral du mesme cuyure : au mylieu duquel estoit escript en  
lettres Latines: CEREVRVM EST IN CAPITE. c'est a dire, Le  
cerueau est en la teste . Et semblablement l'extremité par ou le col ioingt a la  
teste, estoit enuironnee d'un beau lyen, auquel pendoit vn enrichissement en  
forme de chanfrein, iette sur le front de la beste, composé de deux quarrez en  
tiers, & bordé de feuillage antique, aussi faict de cuyure:

Fig. 28. *Roman used in Kerver's 2nd edition of Le Songe de Poliphile,  
printed by M. Masselin, 1554*



ESPREVVE  
DES CARACTERES  
NOUVELLEMENT  
TAILLEZ.



A SEDAN,  
Par Iean Iannon Imprimeur  
de l'Academie.

---

M. DC. XXI.

Fig. 29. Title-page of Jean Jannon's Specimen, Sedan 1621



GROS CANON.

La crainte de l'Eternel est  
le chef de science: mais les  
fols mesprisent saviëce &  
instruction. Mon fils, es-  
coute l'instruction de ton  
pere, & ne delaisse point  
l'enseignemet de ta mere.

ITALIQUE GROS CANON.

*Car ils seront graces enfilees  
ensemble à ton chef, & car-  
quans à ton col. Mon fils, si les  
pecheurs te veulent attirer,  
ne t'y accorde point.*

Fig. 30. Fol. 5 recto of the same Specimen. Cf. the types with the  
36-point shewn in the plate overleaf



36  
point

# CLAUDE GARAMOND TYPEFOUNDER

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz &  
*abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz &*

24  
point

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN    ABCDEFGHIJK  
OPQRSTUVWXYZ    LMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ  
WXYZ &

18  
point

*ABDGJMNPLRTU*

Officinæ meæ librariæ primitias, Reuerende in  
*Christo pater, quur uni tibi haftenus mihi non cognito,*

16  
point

ignotus ego ac privatus homo    *mirari iure potes, & quisquis in-*  
offeram ac dedicem, et tu    *stituti mei cognitam perspectamque*

12  
point

rationem non habuerit. Huius autem    *primus eleemosynarius, vir tum editis suis in*  
consilij auctor mihi fuit & impulsor    *sacras literas hypomnematis, tum evulgandis*  
Ioannes Gagneius Christianiss. Regis    *virorum doctorum ac piorum monumentis de*

10  
point

Republica literaria optime meritis; Parco enim    *me ex sculptoria & fusoria cui à puero studuissem*  
amplius de homine dicere, ne tam pro sua ipsius    *asserre posse ornamentis, cæterum rei familiari evol-*  
dignitate, quam pro suis in me meritis laudare    *menti perparum, hortatus est pro sua in viros omnes*  
videar. Is quum iudicasset arti librariæ nonnihil    *industrios benevolentia, ut qui librarijs typos haftenus*

6  
point

sculperet ac fundere literarum solitus essem, meo ipse aliquando  
labore fruerer, & artem aggredeter librariam : quod qui typos  
tantum norunt sculperet literarum, neque progrediantur ultra,  
aliud certe nihil agunt, quam quod librarijs nificat & melli-

ficant. Ego vero contra quam rei nostræ familiaris illi tenuitatem oppone-  
rem, assereremque immodicū opus esse ad id aggrediendum sumptibus, ibi se  
ille me suis quantula essent cunq; facultatibus & honorum librorum exem-  
plaribus adiuturum pollicitus est. Tum vero feliciter me rem aggressurus;

Fig. 31. The caractères de l'Université composed and printed at the Imprimerie Nationale



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the King's seal. They also shewed us another case in which we found seven packets of similar material. . . . We also found in this room (in) several little separate heaps, a great number of lead types, of which they told us they had about 25,000; which types we left in the room without moving them. . . ."

Now obviously the *caisses* were not type-cases; from the dimensions it seems likely that the first six contained sets of punches, and that the matrices, which take up less room, were all kept, in separate packets, in the seventh box. The thing to note is that the typefounding materials were confiscated and became the King's property. The sealed cases were then put in a cupboard which was in turn sealed, the room was locked, and the bailiffs went away.

Cardonnel was naturally indignant. The work he had started was not propaganda, but a folio of scientific value, Samuel Bochart's *Geographia sacra*. His signed protest to the Lord Chancellor is also in MS. franç. 18600 (fol. 726)<sup>1</sup>. The petitioner "has bought," he says, "a great number of characters of all sorts, even for the oriental languages. . . . He took on at his expense *le sieur* Jannon, very skilled in the art of printing, who long exercised this profession with the Estiennes at Paris and who bears testimonials and witness from honorable folk who use caution and assured themselves of his ability and probity. . . ." Cardonnel petitioned to be allowed to continue as a printer, and as an earnest of good faith even offered to take on as supervising associate "Blaise, Cramoisy or any other Roman Catholic he might choose." The name of Cramoisy immediately suggests the Imprimerie Royale (founded 1640) with whom this family was intimately associated during the next fifty years. We do not know whether the book, which finally appeared in 1646, had such "supervision"; but as Cardonnel was not allowed to print anything more, and as the types of the Bochart (Jannon's *Parangon*) are badly worn toward the end of the book, it may be presumed that Cardonnel's *type-foundry* remained in the possession of the State and that he was allowed to use only those types which he already had.

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<sup>1</sup> A complete transcription is in Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica*, Tome III, vol. i, p. 435. For further details on the Jannons, see J. B. Brincourt, *Jean Jannon, ses fils, leurs œuvres*, Sedan, 1902.



Jannon returned to Sedan and with his son Pierre again printed for the Academy. Whether he regained his punches is not known, but he used his 24-point roman as late as 1649 in at least one title-page, so he must at least have had matrices. He died in 1658, and his grandson Pierre II carried on the business and finally transported it bodily to Châlons, where he worked for Nicolas Denoux. Some of the Jannon strikes passed into the Cot foundry at the end of the century.

IV

Meanwhile the Imprimerie Royale, at the Louvre, had begun its glorious career under Richelieu's patronage. The roman types of its earliest impressions are very fine: the *Imitatio Christi* of 1641 is printed in a *Gros Canon* similar to Robert Estienne's. The actual punches of Garamont's greeks were deposited in this office in 1686, but the matrices had been in use previously. For facts as to the actual contents of the establishment at the end of the seventeenth century it is instructive to examine a folio in the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which contains various documents of the Imprimerie Royale<sup>1</sup>. First there is the important inventory, signed on each page by Jean Anisson, the incoming director, giving the state of the printing-house in 1691 (January and February). In addition to the greek punches and matrices, there are listed: *Caractères Italiques de l'Imprimerie Royale qui appartiennent au Roy, en l'état où la Veuve Sebastien Mabre Cramoisy les a laissez le 9. Aoust 1690: Petit Canon contenant 112 matrices. Gros Parangon contenant 128 matrices. Plus une layette contenant Cent trente matrices gros canon Romain. Une autre Layette contenant cent onze matrices de gros canon Italique. Une autre Layette contenant Cent vingt huit matrices de petit canon romain. Une autre Layette contenant Cent cinquante deux matrices de gros parangon romain. Plus dix sept poinçons et dix sept matrices qui ont servi pour les tons du Breviaire. . . . Total, 546 poinçons, 3257 matrices.* The only roman matrices, then, were for the three largest sizes, and *no roman punches are listed*. There follows in this same volume several broad-sheets constituting a table of existing punches and matrices of greek and italic types. Folio B shews the

<sup>1</sup> *Nouv. acq. français.* 2511.



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greek *Gros Romain* of Garamont, letter by letter, the punches and matrices ranged in adjoining columns. It shews that there were 447 punches only, those for all the capitals save Z having disappeared. Several others are spoiled (*gastez*). The matrices struck from the missing punches were there, seemingly in good condition. The italics first mentioned in the above quotation are shewn. They are the *caractères de l'Université* italics now used in the Imprimerie Nationale. The *Gros Parangon* has a full set of swash capitals.

There can be little doubt that the corresponding roman was also deposited at the Louvre about the time that "old-style" went out of fashion and Grandjean de Fouchy designed the first modern letter. Thus it was possible for the *caractères de l'Université*, Jannon's roman and italic, to lie safe in obscurity for two centuries at the French National Printing Office. Mystery has surrounded their name: they have no connection with "the" University—the Sorbonne. If the tradition of Garamont's having cut them had been current very early in their history they would doubtless have been called "Garamont." Our only clue is in the fact that the protestant "Academies" like Sedan, Saumur, etc., were not Academies at all in the French sense of the word, but genuine Universities, although the Government forbade them to use that word openly. Was this, then, Jannon's own name for the types of the Sedan Academy? Another legend—that Luce "altered" the *Université* punches—probably arose among scholars to explain the striking difference between the 36-point roman of this face and the same size of the earliest Imprimerie Royale roman. Short of recutting a punch, nobody could put an additional height of serif on it. This cloud of "tradition" has been interpreted as solid fact by a catena of French writers, and statements have passed from Bernard to Duprat to Arthur Christian that have acquired an authority on the principle of the Captain of the *Snark*: "What I tell you three times, is so." The Garamont attribution, like other pleasant legends, is all right in its place, and we cannot object to the comment "*attribuées à Claude Garamont*" on the 18-point *Université* types shewn in the folding specimen sheet of 1825; but it has resulted in the wide adoption of a seventeenth century design of slight value as a book face, in place of the exquisite sixteenth century Garamont original, and has forestalled to a serious extent the much-needed revival of the latter.



The *caractères de l'Université* were revived by Arthur Christian, then director of the Imprimerie Nationale, in 1898, at the suggestion, it is said, of Anatole Claudin, the greatest historian of French printing. Smaller sizes were cut to complete the fount in time for the Paris Exposition of 1900, an event which was an incentive to fine printing in France. The type never, of course, leaves the office, where it is used only in those luxurious books best suited to shew its charming and fragile brilliance. Rightly jealous of their privilege, the directors have so far prevented any French typefoundry from imitating the design: and could their powers extend outside France, there would doubtless be only one "Garamond" to-day.

In October, 1917, the American Type Founders Company began to cut their "Garamond," an avowed imitation of the *Université* letter which was yet much modified by introducing a sixteenth century serif on the m and otherwise toning down the exaggerations, and as far as possible avoiding "dazzle" in the smaller sizes. The descenders, unfortunately, were shortened; although this doubtless increased the legibility, it necessitates the unhappy anachronism of leading the lines. The roman st and ct ligatures were joined in the italic manner, an effect neither historical nor beautiful. The italic was made into a more consistent, but less striking, letter. There was a praiseworthy anglicizing of the k and w—exotics in France—and a courageous redesigning of the illogical K. The public that had been introduced to sixteenth century printing by Mr Bruce Rogers welcomed the design eagerly and considered it attentively as a possible book face, especially after Mr T. M. Cleland had revised some of the capitals and designed swash letters.

By 1923 the Monotype companies of England and America respectively had issued advance showings of their own versions of the *caractères de l'Université*. The American version (called "Garamont") appeared under the high patronage of Mr Rogers, who praised its printing qualities. It is a somewhat smaller face, near the original in elaboration of serif (the b amounts to a parody), with a good W and a distressing w. The English version gives the impression of a heavier face—it is larger on the body—and the capitals are



Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari.

*caecitate cordis liberari. Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari.*

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

fi ff fl ffi ffl & st a e m n t

Fig. 32. "Garamond," as sold by the American Type Founders Company.

Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. *Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari.*

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

ABDEGMNPRTU a e m n

Fig. 33. "Garamont" as sold by the American Monotype Company.



Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. *Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari.*

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz & st

Fig. 34. "Garamond," of the English Monotype Company

Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. *Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari.*

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

f fa fe ff fi fl fo fr fs ft fu fy f, f. f- & st QU Qu  
ffa ffe ffi ffl ffo ffr ffs ffy ff, ff. ff-

Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. *Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari.*

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ  
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

f fa fe ff fi fl fo fr fs ft fu fy f, f. f- & st QU Qu  
ffa ffe ffi ffl ffo ffr ffs ffy ff, ff. ff-

Fig. 35. "Granjon," of the English Linotype Company



### The "Garamond" Types

of excellent weight. The ugly *st* ligature of the American Type Founders is combined, oddly, with a normal *ct*. The original *J* was kept only in the American Monotype version. Jannon never used or cut a capital *J*. When the Imprimerie Nationale supplied the deficit, "old-style" had gone out and the age of "period" printing was not yet: hence the eighteenth century *J*.

Among the italics, the English Monotype version alone keeps the original generous *y*, *w* and *z*, which, together with an amazing number of tied letters, and swash capitals after those of Frédéric Morel, gives us the nearest approach to the Plantin style yet achieved.

Before any of these copies were produced to outrage the proprietary pride of the Imprimerie Nationale—in fact as early as 1913—the small foundry of M. Ollière in Paris brought out an italic imitated, with admirable logic, from that *glossa* cut in 1545 by Garamont himself, together with a facsimile of the roman he chose to accompany it. The piety of the craftsmen concerned led them to copy the form of the "authentic" small size throughout all sizes, rather than re-designing from 12-point on as Garamont evidently did; so that the type is of interest only in the original size. It is, however, valuable for its associations and for a certain archaic freshness of design. The capitals might well have been reduced in height. The larger italic should be compared with the Barbé letter (Fig. 9) to point the moral of pious obedience *v.* true inspiration. We have already considered the Barbé letter as a possible development of this very fount of the *Juvenius*, and the subjoined cut (from enlarged photographs) offers an alternative of almost equal historical interest to the Ollière roman.

AL Sab F fghmopquyctO  
scriptz cercles de Ten V &

So far, then, we have found nothing of permanent value as a book face in these archaistic reproductions. But fortunately a true Garamont design has been given to the public: that admirable "later" Garamont of the Egenolff sheet which so distinguished French books from 1550 on, and had



Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari. Doctrina Christi, omnes doctrinas Sancto-

ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOP QRSTUV WXYZ

abc def gh i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

fi ff fl et si st ill na us is

Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari. Doctrina Christi omnes doctrinas

ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOP QRSTUV WXYZ

abc def gh i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

fi ff fl et si st ill na us is

Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari.

ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOP QRSTUV WXYZ

abc def gh i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

fi ff fl et si st ill na us is

Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris: dicit Dominus. Haec sunt verba Christi, quibus admonemur, quatenus vitam ejus & mores imitemur, si velimus veraciter illuminari, & ab omni caecitate cordis liberari. Summum igitur studium nostrum sit, in vita Jesu Christi meditari. Doctrina Christi, om-

ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOP QRSTUV WXYZ

abc def gh i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

fi ff fl et si st ill na us is

Fig. 36. "Garamont" as cast by M. Ollière, Paris



Fig. 37. "Garamond" as cast by *The Schriftgiesserei D. Stempel, Frankfurt a/M.*



so good an influence over Dutch and hence English taste. The first and immeasurably the best of the modern revivals of this letter was that of the English Linotype Company. It is a fount of light "colour," and quite delicate in design, but smoothly legible, as it has no features to distract the eye—unless it be the somewhat heavy and wide capitals. These however are improved from the originals. To offset the unfortunate inability of the Linotype to cast a kerned f, no fewer than twenty-six f-ligatures are provided. After such a gallant sacrifice of practicality to beauty, it would be ungenerous for an author to mention Afghanistan and so call out the "button-hook" f that is the family spectre of Linotype designers. There is the inevitable regularization of weight that comes with any intelligent re-cutting, and the fine M has been misunderstood; but in the main, and for printing-houses who have time to use the supplementary characters, this is a book face worthy to rank with Caslon for usefulness, with Centaur for beauty: sharp enough for publicity, clear enough for a dictionary. For some reason the face is called "Granjon." It would seem that Garamont's name, having so long been used on a design he never cut, is now by stern justice left off the face which is undoubtedly his.

Another version of this "Egenolff" type of letter is that just recently produced by the Stempel Foundry. If the descenders of this face were re-cut (they are now deplorably short) we would have here a pleasant and practical old-face, not as light but fully as spirited in cutting as the "Granjon" just mentioned. The (American) Mergenthaler Linotype Company has produced a poor variant of this face. The Stempel "Garamond" italic is a round, reasonable looking letter which should be invaluable in many kinds of printing.

To summarize: we have become familiar with the Jannon roman and italic through its various imitations. The roman has a certain "prickle" to the eye, the italic a certain erratic twist, that justify our calling it a somewhat precious design, one which should have been left in the romantic privacy of the *Imprimerie Nationale*. We may hope now to become familiar, in various forms, with a revival of one of the finest old-styles ever cut: that of Claude Garamont.



Appendix I: Excerpts from the Testament of Jean de Gagny.

(From E. Coyecque: *Recueil d'Actes Notariés*, Paris 1924, vol. ii, no. 5439.)

Gagny leaves 100 l.t. to the Abbé of Ste.-Geneviève for five terms of rent of his house "... et le prie d'avoir esgard à l'augmentacion qu'il a faicte à sa maison, tant d'ung petit corps d'hostel faict pour imprimerie de neuf et plusieurs autres grandes réparacions èsquelles il n'estoit tenu et sont de grande utilité. . . . Item, doibt à M<sup>e</sup>. Martin Bézard, souysse, correcteur en imprimerie dud. testateur, par compte faict avec luy de ses gaiges et autres affaires qu'ilz ont eu affaire ensemble . . . deux cens deux livres seize solz neuf deniers tournois, qu'il ordonne luy estre payée, et prie led. M<sup>e</sup> Martin de se voulloir payer en livres de lad. imprimerye, si faire se peult à son proffict. Item, doibt à Gaudart, libraire, pour pappier par luy fourny pour ladite imprimerie . . . sept vingtz dix huict livres quatorze solz tournois, qu'il ordonne luy estre payée. . . . Item, doibt à Assulanus, fils du nepveu d'Alec (i.e. Alde) pour certains livres d'Alec, de reste de plus grande compte, quarante trois l.t. Item, à Jehan de la Floche, ce qu'il se trouvera luy estre deu pour les matrices (*or matières: the word has been corrected and written over*) et autres ouvrages de son mestier. . . . Item, ordonne payement estre faict à maistre Charles Chiffin, orfèvre, de Tours, qui luy fut baillé par M<sup>e</sup> Jehan Bresse, advocat, de Tours, pour des poinçons d'imprimerie à l'imitation d'Alec, grecs et latins, faictz par luy pour led. testateur, selon et au pris du meilleur tailleur de ceste ville après M<sup>e</sup> Claude Garamont, sauf à desduire ce que led. testateur luy aura payé sur et tantmoings, ainsi qu'il se trouverra par les papiers d'icellui testateur, lequel n'entend poinct luy compter sa despense de bouche et logis depuis qu'il est avec luy, ains luy a donné de sa bonne volonté. . . . Item, veult et ordonne que les poinçons et matrices servans à son imprimerie soient mis entre les mains de mons<sup>r</sup> nostre maistre Séquart, docteur en theologie, et M<sup>e</sup> Denis de Bidant, chanoine de la Sainte Chappelle, parce que sesd. exécuteurs ne se cognoissent en la valeur desd. poinçons, pour les faire vendre le plus qu'il sera possible, pour la descharge desd. debtes; et prie led. de Bidaut de prester conseil et ayde à ses executeurs, à l'acomplissement de ce présent testament."



## Appendix II: Chronology of Roman Types mentioned in this Article.

### PART I. XV & XVI CENTURY

		DATE	PRINTER	APPROX. SIZE OF TYPE	AUTHOR AND TITLE
1	VENICE	1495-6	Aldus	16-point	Bembo: <i>De Aetna</i>
2	VENICE	1499	Aldus	16-point	<i>Hypnerotomachia Poliphili</i>
			[Same lower-case as 1, omitting variant letters and having a narrower t.]		
3	VENICE	{ 1513 (1530) }	Tacuino	16-point+	{ Preface to Ovid: <i>Metamorphoses</i> (Navagero: <i>Orationes</i> )
4	PARIS	1531 (N.S.), Mar.	(Colines) Tory	17-point	Bochetel: <i>Le Sacre</i> [A pamphlet of 3 ff.]
4 } 5 }	PARIS	1531, Oct.	Colines	{ 12-point 17-point }	Terentianus: <i>De literis</i> [First appearance of this pioneer face in a book.]
6 } 7 } 8 }	PARIS	"1531, 6. Id. Jan." [Jan. 8, 1532?]	R. Estienne	{ 12-point 16-point+ 36-point }	Dubois: <i>Isagoge</i>
[The 12-point used for the body of the text. All three are related designs, resembling Nos. 1 and 6. The middle size (No. 8) first appeared as body text in Virgil: <i>Opera</i> , Paris, R. Estienne, 1532 (Sept.).]					
9	PARIS	1532 (N.S.), Jan.	C. Wechel	16-point	Brixius: <i>Gratulatoariae</i> [Resembling 5, but with "Basle" influence.]
10	PARIS	"1531, 5 cal. April" [Mar. 28, 1532?]	Augereau	16-point	Navagero: <i>Orationes</i> [Resembling No. 1. A smaller size appeared the following year.]
11	PARIS	1536	Colines	16-point+	Ruellius: <i>De Natura Stirpium</i> [Related to No. 5?]
12		1542	Vascosan	16-point	Budé: <i>Annot. in Pandectas</i>
13		1545	Garamont	11-point "petit romain"	Juvenus: <i>Historia evan.</i>
14		1545	Barbé	16-point	Jaquinot: <i>Lusaige de l'astrol.</i>
15		1553-4	Masselin	16-point	<i>Songe de Poliphile</i> (Kerver's 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.)
16		1555	Vascosan	16-point	Finé: <i>De Arithmetica</i>
16-a		1582	J. Poupy	16-point	Bourchier: <i>Hist. Ecclesiastica</i>

[1592, Frankfurt a/M.: publication by Conrad Berners of the specimen sheet of roman types cast by the Egenolff (later Egenolff-Luther) foundry, shewing "romains de Garamond."]



## Appendix II (continued)

### PART II. SUBSEQUENT DESIGNS

		DATE OF CUTTING	TYPEFOUNDER	SOURCE	NAME OF TYPE
17	SEDAN	1615	J. Jannon	No. 16?	" <i>Typi Academiae</i> "—(Jannon) " <i>Caractères de l'Université</i> " (I.N.)
18	PARIS	1898	Imprimerie Nationale	No. 17	" <i>Caractères de l'Université</i> ": further sizes
19	PARIS	1913	M. Ollière	No. 13	"Garamont" ("Tory-Garamont")
20	JERSEY CITY	1917-19	Amer. Type Founders	Nos. 17-18 modified	"Garamond"
21	PHILADELPHIA	1923	Lanston Monotype	Nos. 17-18	"Garamont"
22	LONDON	1923	Lanston Monotype	Nos. 17-18	"Garamond"
23	LONDON	1924	Linotype & Machinery	No. 16-a	"Granjon"
24	FRANKFURT	1925	G. Stempel	No. 16?	"Garamond"
25	BROOKLYN	1925	Mergenthaler Linotype	No. 23	"Garamond"

(I am deeply indebted to Mr A. F. Johnson for information as to the earliest appearance (so far noted) of a number of these types. Additions will be welcome to what is now a tentative list of outstanding designs. It should be noted that we cannot be sure of Estienne's dating system in any given book, though the usual (Paris) custom began the year at Easter, which fell on April 17 in 1530, April 9 in 1531 & March 31 in 1532.)