

CHAPTER FIVE

Italic

THE OLD FACE

ITALIC IS NOW a subdivision of roman; it bears the same relation to roman which Schwabacher bears to Textura. It is a cursive letter and was so called by its original designers, "corsiva" or "cancellaresca", and is still called *cursiv* by the Germans. Our name, italic, which we get like roman through the French, is not good, since roman is equally an Italian letter. Italics may be divided into four main groups: (a) the Aldine, (b) the Vicentino group, (c) the group which is the contemporary of old-face roman, and (d) the modernised italics. The Aldine letter had a comparatively short career, and is historically perhaps of less importance than the Vicentino group.

The Aldine italic (see fig. 25) was based on the hand employed in the Papal Chancery for the inditing of briefs, as opposed to the more formal Bulls, which were written in a gothic script, the "lettera da bolle". The Chancery cursive goes back to the early years of the fifteenth century. A reproduction of a brief written in this letter is given in Steffens's *Lateinische Palaeographie*. Aldus adopted it because it made possible the printing of much matter in a small space and not because of any beauty in the design. On the score of beauty this mean letter ranks considerably below the italics of our second group. Nor did Aldus improve the appearance of his type by the large number of tied letters which he used. The

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engraver employed by Aldus for the cutting of this cursive and apparently of all his types was one Francesco Griffo of Bologna. This fact is established by three contemporary documents. Aldus himself in the preliminaries of the Virgil of 1501, the first book in which the new letter was used,¹ writes: "In grammatoglyptae laudem. Qui graiis dedit Aldus, en latinis Dat nunc grammata sculpta daedaleis Francisci manibus Bononiensis." Geronimo Soncino, a well-known printer of Hebrew, used a second italic, cut by Griffo, at Fano in 1503. In the dedication of the Petrarch printed in that year, Soncino says: ". . . ma anchora vn nobillissimo scultpore de littere latine, graece, et hebraice, chiamato M. Francesco da Bologna, l'ingeno delquale certamente credo che in tal exercitio non troue vnaltro equale. Perche non solo le vsitate stampe perfectemente sa fare: ma etiam ha excogitato vna noua forma de littera dicta cursiua, o vero cancellaresca, de la quale non Aldo Romano, ne altri che astutamente hanno tentato de le altrui penne adornarse, ma esso M. Francesco è stato primo inuentore e designtore, el quale e tucte le forme de littere che mai habbia stampato dicto Aldo ha intagliato, e la praesente forma, con tanta gratia e venustate, quanta facilmente in essa se comprende." This passage confirms Aldus, although Soncino thought that the printer had taken some of the credit due to the type-cutter, and gives us the correct name of the letter. Finally Griffo himself began to print small editions in a third italic of his design at Bologna in 1516. In the preliminaries to his Petrarch he says: "(hauendo pria li greci e latini Carattheri ad Aldo Manutio R. Fabricato, de li quali Egli non sole in grandissime ricchezze e peruenuto, ma nome immortale appresso la posterità se uendicato) Ho excogitato di

¹ On the title-page of the Letters of St. Catharine of Siena, 1500, there are four words set in the new type. In *Philobiblon*, Hft. 10, 1933, there is reproduced an Italian poem in four columns, headed "Frotola noua". The poem is set in a roman type first used by Aldus in 1499, and a few letters, some l's, e's and r's, are italic. T. de Marinis who describes the sheet, which is in a private library, considers that this is probably the first appearance of italic. But the poem is not necessarily printed by Aldus. The type is a common one, nor do we know of anything else of the kind from the Aldine Press. Even if it were printed by Aldus, the date, 1499, is a mere assumption.

nouo cotal cursiua forma qual extimo a qualunche rudita persona essere per piacere. . . .” Whether his grievance against Aldus was well-founded or not, does not concern us here. At any rate these documents are evidence that Francesco indeed made history in typography. We have discussed the importance of the Aldine roman, and the lasting fame of the Aldine Greek and its notorious effects on Greek typography is a well-known story. The immediate

IVNII IVVENALIS A QVINA
TIS SATYRA PRIMA.

S
EMPER EGO AUDITOR
tantum: nunquam ne reponam
Vexatus toties rana theside
Codri?
I m p u n c e r g o n u h i r e a t u e r i t i l l e
t o g a t a s ?

Hic elegos? im p u n e d i e m c o n s u m p s e r i t i n g e n s
T elephus? aut summi plena iam margine libri
S crispus, et in tergo nec dum finitus, Orestes?
N om magis nulli domus est sua, quam mihi lucus
M arts, et aoliis vicinum rupibus aurum
V ulcani. Quid agant uenti, quas torqueat umbras
A eacus, unde alius furtivæ deuehat aurum
P elliculæ, quantas iaculetur monychus ornos,
F rontius platani, conuulsæq; marmora clamant
S em per, et assiduo ruptæ lectore columnæ.
E x p e c t e s e a d e m a s u m m o, m i n i m o q; p o e t a .
E nos ergo manum ferulæ subduximus, et nos
C onsilium dedimus syllæ, priuatus ut altum
D ornuret. stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
V anibus occurras, perituræ parare chartæ.
C ur tamen hoc libeat patius decurrere campo,
P er quem magnus equos a uruncæ flexit alumnus,
S i uacat, et placidi rationem admittitis, edam.
C um tener uxorem ducat spado, Meuiæ thuscum
F igat aprum, et nuda teneat uenabula mamma,
P atriciæ omnes opibus cum præuocet unus,

Fig. 25. Aldine Italic

reputation of Francesco's italic was considerable, as we shall see, but in this case not so enduring. An attempt was made in 1858 by Sir Anthony Panizzi to identify Francesco with Francesco Raibolini, the painter, also of Bologna. The argument was demolished by Giacomo Manzoni in his *Studi di bibliografia analitica*, and the matter clinched by the publication by Adamo Rossi¹ in 1883 of a document from which it appeared that Francesco's family name was Griffo.² However, the identification with Raibolini was still repeated by English writers. The legend that Griffo's italic was modelled on Petrarch's hand is equally persistent. In the Aldine Petrarch of 1501 it is stated that the *text* of the poems was based on the manuscript in Petrarch's hand, then in the possession of Pietro, afterwards Cardinal Bembo, and now preserved in the Vatican Library. A misunderstanding of this passage probably explains the legend. Aldus's words are: "Aldo a gli lettori . . . hauendoui una volta detto cheegli è tolto dallo scritto di mano medesima del Poeta hauuto da M. Piero Bembo." The statement is repeated in the colophon of the book. One Lorenzo da Pavia, an agent of Isabella Gongaza, the Duchess of Mantua, refers to this copy in Petrarch's hand in a letter of July 26, 1501. He writes: "E se a avuto el Petrarcha proprio de man del Petrarcha coscrito de sua mano eo lo avuto in mane ancora io. Et e de uno padovano che la stima asai si che lano stampato a letera per letera como questo con molta diligencia."³ This, of course, has no reference to the type, but to the text. Griffo returned to Bologna in 1516 and printed a few small volumes in 32mo in his third italic. His career ended in disaster in 1518. Documents were discovered and published by Emilio Orioli⁴ in 1899, from which we learn that in

¹ In the *Atti della r. deput. di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, 1883, p. 412.

² G. I. Arneudo in his *Dizionario Esegético*, 1917-24, art. Francesco da Bologna, claims to have seen a document which shows that his family name was *Giusto*, and not *Griffo*, but states that he cannot trace his reference.

³ See A. Baschet, *Aldo Manuzio*, 1872, p. 113.

⁴ See *Atti e mem. della r. deput. di storia patria per le prov. di Romagna*, Ser. III, vol. XVII, p. 162 seq.

May 1518 Francesco during a quarrel with his son-in-law seized an iron bar and inflicted such wounds as led to the death of the younger man. From the documents it does not appear whether Francesco was hanged for this crime, but merely that he was no longer living a year later.

Griffo's first italic was immediately copied, the chief plagiarist being the Lyons printers, Balthazar da Gabiano and Barthélemy Trot. The privilege which Aldus obtained from the city of Venice was of no avail, even in Italy. The Giunta in Florence copied him in 1503, and in 1506 Benedetto Dolcibelli was printing at Carpi in another version of the Aldine letter. The Lyons printers made use of Aldus himself to correct their editions. Balthazar da Gabiano was the representative in Lyons of a Venetian company, "La Compagnie d'Ivry". Aldus in his protest of 1503 says of the Lyons counterfeits that they were printed on inferior paper, "graveoleus", and that the consonants were not joined to the vowels. He pointed out misprints, for example in the Virgil, and when Gabiano reprinted the Virgil he corrected these errors; but other errors crept in, e.g. *stulus* for *stultus* on the first page. In 1512 Barthélemy Trot joined Gabiano, and it was he who introduced the fleur-de-lis found on many of these Lyons copies.¹ In Italy, in the first half of the century, the majority of printers had their Aldine italic. We may cite three well-known editions as examples of the popularity of the letter, the *Decameron*, printed in 1516 by Filippo Giunta at Florence, the first editions of Macchiavelli's works printed at Rome by Antonio Blado in 1531 and 1532, and Marcolini's Dante of 1544. These types depart from the original chiefly by cutting down the enormous number of ligatures at first used by Aldus. The design remains the same and the model is adhered to in the consistent use of upright capitals. In the italic of Paganino and Alessandro de Paganinis, used at Toscolano from about 1520, the lower case also is more upright. The Paganinis had two sizes of this type, and used a roman a, as well as the usual one-storeyed a. The original chancery hand was sloping, but as we shall see in some

¹ See *Impressions de Louis Perrin*, Lyons, 1923. Introduction by Marius Audin.

later examples, cursiveness rather than inclination seems to be the essential characteristic.

The earliest italic used at Paris, by Guillaume Lerouge, was again all but upright, more particularly the largest of the three sizes, with which the printer used a gothic upper case. The second Paris imitation of the Aldine letter was that of Thielman Kerver, with which, an unusual experiment, he printed a Book of Hours in 1517. In the colophon of this edition the printer says: "sub hoc recenti sculpture stilo nup'rime efformate". Pierre Gromors had an italic by 1520 (see G. Fichetus, *Consolatio luctus & mortis Parrhesiensis*), and in 1523 Pierre Vidoue began to use a fount acquired from Basle (see the edition of Erasmus, *De interdicto esu carniū*). Coyecque, in the *Bulletin de l'histoire de Paris*, 1894, pp. 149, 150, cites a document according to which Wechel sold to one Hennequin de Breda "deux lettres façon d'Allemagne, dont l'une gregue et l'autre d'italicque", a document dated May 28, 1528. "Allemagne" here most probably means Basle. Sebastien Gryphius of Lyons, on the other hand, who obtained most of his types from Basle, appears to have bought in Italy the italic used in the *Opere Toscane* of Luigi Alamanni, 1532, and the *Opuscula aliquot* of Cardinal Bembo, also of 1532. Alamanni, an exile at the court of King Francis I, received a payment of 1,500 livres on November 30, 1513, in order to purchase types in Venice.¹ This type, however, is not Gryphius's usual italic. That was an Aldine, probably acquired in Basle, and used in the same way as the original Aldine, for the printing of classical texts of considerable length. Gryphius sold his books in Spain with such success that this style of chancery came to be known to the Spanish writing-masters as *Grifo*. Robert Estienne at Paris also used Aldine italic for similar classical texts, for example an edition of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* of 1543 in small octavo and an even smaller edition in 1547 in sextodecimo.

Estienne's italics may have been cut by Claude Garamond, who certainly cut two sizes for his own use after the Aldine model. In

¹ Cimber and Danjou, *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, Ser. I, vol. III, p. 85.

1545 Garamond became a publisher along with Pierre Gaultier and Jean Barbé. He gives an account of the venture in the dedicatory epistle to the first book published, the *Pia et religiosa meditatio* of David Chambellan. He there says: "Tum vero foelictier me rem aggressurum si quam proxime fieri posset, Italicam Aldi Manutii literam, novis exprimerem characteribus . . . Italicarum itaque proxime ad Adlinos literarum typos sculpo, quam foelictier alii judicabunt."¹ He cut two sizes, a Glossa, which is the type used in the Chambellan and in the four other books bearing Garamond's name in the imprint, a Thucydides, a Diodorus, a Lactantius, and a Juvenecus, and a larger size, which Mrs. Warde finds on one page of the Juvenecus.² The sole particular in which Garamond's design departs from the Aldine is in the capitals, which are inclined; but even here the fount is equipped with upright capitals as well, and the inclined upper case appears on the title-pages and headings only. We shall see that the fashion of sloping capitals had been introduced some years before.

The new letter was introduced into Germany by an obscure printer at Erfurt, Sebald Striblitz, and was used for the text of an edition of Columella in 1510, *De cultu hortorum*. Three other books from his press are known, all set in italic: Platina's *Dyalogus contra amores*, Papinius Statius's *Achilleis*, both 1510, and an undated edition of Ulrich von Hutten's *Nemo*. The type measures 91 mm. for 20 lines. The upper case is modest in height, has heavy slab serifs and an unusual R; in the lower case the conspicuous letter is an upright g. It is a copy of the Aldine, but a less close copy than many later founts.

The statement that Johann Froben of Basle used italic in 1513 in his edition of Erasmus's *Adagia* has been often repeated, starting probably from a slip in Stockmeyer and Reber's *Beiträge zur Basler Buchdruckergeschichte*, 1840. There is no italic in that edition, though Froben's Aldine Greek appears there for the first time. His italic is not found until 1519. The Basle example was quickly

¹ A full translation of this epistle was given in *The Fleuron*, no. 3, pp. 49, 51.

² See her article in *The Fleuron*, no. 5, p. 138.

taken up, and by 1520 four other German printers had acquired the letter, Knoblauch and Schott at Strasbourg, Schöffer at Mainz, and Johann Soter at Cologne. Proctor says that Knoblauch's type is like Schöffer's, and Schott's like Froben's. On the printer's specimen of Johann Petri of Nuremberg, 1525, two sizes of italic are shown which are again very like Froben's, so like that possibly the matrices came from Froben. Several references will be made below to types acquired from Basle and all the evidence seems to point to that city as an important centre of type-founding during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Other German printers who had the Froben italic before 1530 were Nicolas Schmidt (1522) and Valentin Schumann (1527) at Leipzig, Sigmund Ryff (1523) at Augsburg, and W. Köpfel (1526) at Strasbourg. Peypus at Nuremberg had the same italic as Petri. In the Netherlands Thierry Martens at Louvain seems to have been the first printer to introduce the Froben letter in 1522.

In England the earliest italic is that of De Worde, in two sizes, used in 1528 in Wakefield's *Oratio de laudibus trium linguarum*.¹ A more interesting cursive is that of Thomas Berthelet in which in 1530 he printed a Vatican decree on the matrimonial affairs of Henry VIII, *Acta Curiae Romanae in causa matrimoniali cum Catharina Regina*. These italics were certainly imported; De Worde's type is found at Antwerp; Berthelet's was used at Cologne by E. Cervicorn from 1525, by Wolfgang Köpfel at Strasbourg, and by Guillaume Morrhe at Paris.²

Besides the chancery hand from which these Aldine italics were derived there was also a more formal variety, of which a magnificent example was shown by Mr. Morison in *The Fleuron* (no. 6, p. 97) from a sixteenth-century manuscript written for Cardinal Grimani, a commentary on St. Paul's Epistle. This "cancellaresca formata" was the hand practised by the writing-masters of the sixteenth century, and was by them translated into type more than twenty years after the date of Griffo's first cursive. The first writing-master who printed specimens of his hands was Lodovico degli

¹ See Isaac, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, fig. 10b.

² On these types, see *The Library*, June 1936, pp. 70-82.

Arrighi da Vicenza, a "scrittore de' brevi apostolici", as he describes himself in his book of 1522. This professional calligrapher had apparently been in Rome for at least a dozen years before the publication of this book. In 1510 he was part publisher of a book of travels, the *Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema Bolognese nello Egipto*, printed by Stephano Guillireti.¹ The first part of Vicentino's writing book of 1522 is printed entirely from wood blocks, but the second part, *Il modo di temperare le penne*, printed at Venice about 1525, has a page of text printed from type. In 1524 Vicentino began printing at Rome and issued a few small books in his new italic. In the imprint of these books his name is coupled with that of another printer, Lautitius Perusinus, styled in one of the books "Intagliatore". Vicentino's partner was probably identical with the Lautizio de Bartolomeo dei Rotelli commended by Benvenuto Cellini as an engraver of seals. It may be presumed that he was the actual cutter of the type. The books printed in this cursive were chiefly the works of contemporary men of letters, short poems or speeches, and not voluminous texts like the Aldine series. Vicentino's press was a small one, and his purpose was to issue a few select books in a beautiful setting. The cursive which he designed was a formal letter based on the hand which he himself practised; the letters are narrow, but separately formed and with a slight inclination. The ascenders are given rounded terminals in the place of serifs. The capitals are upright, but are varied by the introduction of swash letters. Nineteen small books printed in this cursive in the years 1524 and 1525 are known.² In the following year Lautizio's name has disappeared and a new cursive is used. This is still a formal chancery, but with serifs in place of the rounded terminals, and without the swashes. It is of about the same size as the earlier type (about 16 pt.), but of a larger face. It is noteworthy that almost all the italics of the Vicentino group have generous ascenders and descenders, and seldom measure less than about 16 pt. Economy of space was not considered in their design. Only six books printed by Arrighi in this type has been recorded,

¹ See *The Fleuron*, no. 7, p. 167.

² See the list below, pp. 130, 131 and fig. 26.

I RITRATTI
DI M. GIOVAN GIORGIO
TRISSINO.

I TROVANDOSI

Messer Lucio Pompilio in Ferrara,
et in casa di Madonna Margarita
Cantelma Illustrè Duchessa di Sora, ne la quale
v'era una brigata di valorose donne, e di accostu-
matissimi Giovani, da le preghiere di tutti constretto,
così a parlare incominciò. Se io ho bene la inten-
tione v'astra inteso Gratiofissima, et Illustrè Ma-
donna, e parimente quella di tutta questa nobilissima
compagnia, voi volete, che per me vi si narrino quelli
ragionamenti, che furono tra Messer Piero Bembo,
e Messer Vicentio Macro fatti in Milano; de i
quali concio sia cosa che voi n'abbiate udito ragio-
nare da chi ne nomi, ne luoghi, ne tempi vi s'ype
ordinatamente distinguere, hora da me, come da
persona, che presente vi fue, questo partitamente ne
ricercate; et io lo farò piu che volentieri; perciò
che, havendoli altre volte ridetti, parmi assai bene

A y

Fig. 26. Vicentino's Italic

the last being an edition of the Latin poems of Hieronymus Vida issued in May 1527. The mercenary armies which sacked Rome so thoroughly in that year entered the city on May 6. As Vicentino's name does not occur again in any recorded book or document, it is possible that he met his death, as did many other citizens, in that catastrophe. We shall see that his types had considerable influence among his contemporaries, and not only his types, but his style of book-production also. He avoided all ornamentation, and except for two small initials found in one of his books, the *Oratio de pace* of Pope Julius II, 1526, had no decorative woodcut material, not even a device. In several particulars he affected the manuscript style; his books had only a half-title, and blanks were left to be filled in by the illuminators. The copy of the Hieronymus Vida, 1527, in the British Museum, printed on vellum, has been so illuminated. Many of Vicentino's imitators followed the severity of his style when using their formal chancery types, and even in a small point like the use of a diamond-shaped full-stop, recalled his practice. But after the first generation Vicentino seems to have been forgotten, to be rediscovered in the nineteenth century by Giacomo Manzoni. However, Manzoni's account of him in his *Studii di bibliografia analitica*, 1881, is concerned with the calligrapher and very little with the printer. The interest of our generation in Vicentino, exemplified by the recutting of his types, is due to Mr. Stanley Morison.¹

The sixteenth century was the age of italics, especially in Italy where they were first designed, and in that country between 1500 and 1600 possibly as many books were set in italic as in roman. While the italics of the first quarter of the century were Aldine, those of the second were quite as often copies of Vicentino's letters. Among the men of letters who chose Vicentino as their printer was Gian Giorgio Trissino, the author of the tragedy, *Sofonisba*, and of an epic poem, *Italia liberata dai Goti*. In 1524 Trissino had five books, including the *Sophonisba*, printed in Vicentino's fount with the calligraphic ascenders. Some extra

¹ See his reproduction of Vicentino's writing books, the Pegasus Press, 1926.

Greek letters were introduced in order to carry out Trissino's theories on Italian orthography, and for the first time a distinction was made between medial u and v. In one of the books or tracts, an *Epistola* dealing with the introduction of these new letters, the author pays a tribute to Vicentino, declaring that he has surpassed all the men of his age not only as a calligrapher, but also as a designer of types. Trissino in 1529 employed Tolomeo Janicolo of Brescia to reprint his works in his native town of Vicenza. A copy of Vicentino's type was used for these reprints and also for Trissino's translation of Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*. These beautiful books, printed in folio and decorated by a handsome device of Jason's Golden Fleece—apparently Trissino's device, but adopted by his printer—have made Janicolo's name well known to bibliographers. Janicolo issued a specimen of his type, one of the earliest and least known of such advertisements, on which he makes no mention of Vicentino.¹ One other Italian printer imitated this cursive of Vicentino, F. Minitius Calvus at Milan. This Calvus had been a printer at Rome in Vicentino's lifetime, and was still there in 1531. In 1540 he printed at Milan *Torricella*, *Dialogo di Otho Lupano*, in his cursive, making great use of swash capitals. Of about the same year is an undated piece concerning Pietro Aretino, *Abattimento poetico del divino Aretino*. About half a dozen books are recorded printed in this type by Calvo and his successor, Andrea Calvo. Another Milanese printer, Giovanni Antonio Castellione, used a handsome cursive, akin to Vicentino's in several particulars; it has the same swash capitals, calligraphic ascenders and g, but it is upright. The Grimani manuscript, referred to above, is written in an upright chancery, and the writing book of Ferdinando Ruano, *Sette Alphabeti*, Rome, 1554, shows the construction of an upright "cancellaresca formata". Cursiveness and not inclination is the characteristic of chancery, but generations of printers have been so accustomed to the inclined italic that they have come to believe that the word means sloping. Castellione used his handsome letter in 1541 in the *Gallorum Insubrum Antiquae Sedes* of Bonaventura Castellioneus. Another

¹ A copy as in the British Museum.

humanist interested in the Gallic antiquities of Lombardy, Gaudentius Merula, used the same italic at a private press at Borgo Lavezzaro, near Novara, in 1542. Another fine book in the same letter is H. Girava's *Dos libros de cosmographia*, Milan, 1556 (cf. fig. 27).

Vicentino's later type, that used in 1526 and 1527, proved to be the forerunner of an even larger group of formal cursives. It came

IN dextra lapidis elaboratissimi Aquila visitur
trunco Insidens. Quæ in rostro auis pennam tenet:
ad Leuam altera Aquila sphaera supereminet serpentem
mordicus tenens. Quid super hac sculptura cōsultus An-
dreas Alciatus Gaudentio Merula rescripserit; accipe;
Quòd petis (inquit) à me Hieroglyphæ illa tibi explicem
quæ à Nicolao Castellioneo accepisti; vix au sim ego quic-
quam scribere; ne quod dicitur; noctuas Athenas. Adde

Fig. 27. Upright Chancery Italic

into the possession of Antonio Blado, the greatest printer at Rome in the sixteenth century. Blado's edition of Sannazaro's *Sonetti* of 1530 is perhaps his earliest book printed in this fount, and was followed by many others. The brothers Dorici, contemporaries of Blado, had a similar type, in which they printed the book of Ferdinando Ruano, already mentioned.

But it was at Venice that the influence of the Blado italic is chiefly to be traced. Vicentino's writing book was followed in 1524 by the similar work of a Venetian master, Giovantonio Tagliente. His book includes a number of pages printed from type, a cursive resembling Vicentino's later type but with rather more inclination. Tagliente's type is found both in the many editions of his calligraphic book and also in some of his other, mathematical works. The brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, who printed for Tagliente, had

an italic in the same style as the Blado, which appears in most of the books from this busy press. A good example may be seen in the preliminaries of Greek books which they printed at Verona, e.g. the Epistles, 1529, and the Acts of the Apostles, 1532. Another distinguished Venetian printer, Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, printed mainly in italic, and his use of cursive founts illustrates the fashion of the day. He had at least seven founts in italic. The two smallest sizes (about 10 pt. and 9 pt.) were used for notes only, and may be described as Aldine. Two others, used in the last years of his career, from 1556, were of foreign origin, one from Basle and one French. We refer to these again below. No. 5 was the Aldine used in the Dante, but even with this, besides the usual lower-case g, Marcolini had the second g with the calligraphic tail. The remaining two italics are of the Vicentino school, and it is these that were used for the text of most of his books. The larger type, again of about 16 pt., is akin to the Blado, swash capitals are used, the calligraphic g, and a ligature gg, the large ampersand &, and the diamond-shaped full-stop. *Il Petrarca Spirituale*, 1536, and several books of Pietro Aretino are printed in this italic. Later, Marcolini spoils the fount by using a thick-faced upper case, a strange mistake for such a printer to make (cf. the *Prose di Bembo*, 1538). The smaller type is even more remarkable, as in it the principles of the formal chancery are applied to a letter of the Aldine size. All the characteristics of the larger italic just described are found, and the essential difference between the two schools is clearly illustrated. The letters are separately and carefully formed, and in consequence the appearance of a hasty script which typifies the Aldine is avoided. An edition of Petrarch's Sonnets of 1539 is set in this type, and later, in 1551, a volume of letters addressed to Aretino. Aretino was interested in good typography, and in his earlier days at Rome had had some books printed by Vicentino. He was intimately associated with Marcolini, who in fact had published five of his books even before he became a printer. In the first ten years of his career Marcolini printed at least twenty-five books by Aretino. In one of them, the *Ragionamento de le Corti*, 1538, there is a reference to a new type of Marcolini's, which from

the date must be the italic of Petrarch's Sonnets. One of the characters in the *Ragionamento* says: "Io volevo vedere quella lettera così bella, che egli ha fatto gitare di nuovo."

The first German printers to copy the Vicentino cursive were the Viennese printers, Hieronymus Vietor and Johann Singrenius. In Gollob's *Der Wiener Holzschnitt*, 1926, there is a reproduction of the title-page of the *Periochae omnium librorum Veteris Instrumenti*, Singrenius, 1531. The title is set in a calligraphic cursive with long descenders without serifs, and an unusual ligatured ct. It is perhaps nearer to Tagliente's italic of 1524 than any of Vicentino's, and so faithfully represents the Italian cancellaresca, that it might almost be classed as a script type. Already in 1530 Vietor had used the type in Gennadius, *De synceritate Christianae fidei*. The cursive was used also at Cracow by Vietor, who in 1531 set the whole text of a Latin version of a speech of Demosthenes, the *De Pace*, in this unusual type.¹

We have already referred to the few italics which were in use at Paris up to about 1525. Apart from the books of Guillaume Lerouge the volumes set in italic were few in number. It was Simon de Colines who first made the new letter popular in Paris, and he copied both the Italian schools. For his small editions of the Latin classics dating from 1533 he used an Aldine italic. A larger type, first used in Paulus Cerratus's *De Virginitate*, 1528, with its swash capitals, ampersand &, calligraphic ascenders and lower-case g, can have had no other source than the Vicentino letter (see fig. 28). Colines's third and largest italic, used in 1536 for the text of Diego de Sangredo's *Raison d'architecture*, has the same characteristics except that he has now gone back to serifs, just as Vicentino did in his later type. Books from Colines's press are numerous—some 800 are recorded by Philippe Renouard—and examples of all his italics are readily found. Whether he himself was a punch-cutter or whether he employed Claude Garamond, is not known, but we may at any rate reject the assumption of Auguste Bernard that these italics were cut by Geofroy Tory, who used no cursive founts at all in his own press. Colines died in 1546

¹ See a reproduction in *The Fleuron*, no. 7, p. 148.

and by that date French punch-cutters had made important alterations in the design of italics. But in the meantime one other Paris printer had followed Colines's lead. Robert Estienne had for the most part kept to the Aldine tradition, for his books were of a similar character to those of Aldus, namely, editions of classical texts of considerable length. But one of his books is manifestly in the Vicentino style, an edition of an Italian classic, Luigi

*N*uenta secuit primus qui nave profundum,
i Et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas:
 Qui dubijs ausus committere flatibus alnum:
 Quas natura negat, præbuit arte vias.
*T*ranquillis primum trepidus se credidit vndis:
 Littora securo tramite summa legens.
*M*ox longos tentare sinus, & relinquere terras,
 Et leni cæpit pandere vela noto.
*A*st ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit:
 Cordaq; languentem dedidicere metum:
*I*am vagus irrupit pelago: cælitumq; secutus,
 Egeas hyemes Ioniumq; domat.

Fig. 28. Colines's Italic

Alamanni's *La Coltivazione*, 1546. The type closely resembles Colines' third italic, and the absence of decoration, blanks being left for initials, together with the absence of any subsidiary type, even on the title-page, further connect this book with the methods of Vicentino, Blado and Marcolini.

One would hardly expect to find an example of a Vicentino italic in an English law book of the sixteenth century, yet oddly enough the best example of the school outside Italy and France turns up in the *Registrum brevium* printed by William Rastell, London, 1531. The title is set in Textura, but the whole of the text in a calligraphic italic with swash capitals, probably copied from Colines. The punches may have been cut in Antwerp, as the type is found there in the *Oratio pro Pauperibus* of Christianus Cellarius printed by Hendrik Peetersen van Middelburch, in November

1530. In England the type is found for occasional use in a number of books, and with various printers, but in one other book only as a main body type, as in the *Registrum brevium*, i.e. in Robert Recorde's *The Pathway to Knowledge*, R. Wolfe, 1550. A little of it is found in other books from Rastell's press, and more in the only book known to have been printed by William Baldwin, *The Canticles or Balades of Salomon*, 1549, in which the title and text of the songs are set in the fount.¹ It travelled to Ireland and appears on the title-page of the first book printed in Dublin, a *Common Prayer*, by Humphrey Powell. Another of these Vicentino types is one used by Peter Perna (1522-82), an Italian Protestant exiled from Lucca for his religious opinions. About 1560 he printed at Basle several books of another Italian Protestant exile, Bernardino Ochino. These books, some with Perna's imprint and some without, are set wholly or in part in a cursive reminiscent of Vicentino. Although he uses the Aldine ampersand, his fount has a number of the Vicentino details, calligraphic ascenders, swash capitals, etc.

The latest member of the Vicentino group which I have found appeared at Amsterdam in 1613 in Hondius's edition of Mercator's *Atlas*. In the preliminaries of that edition some passages are printed in a cursive not unlike the Blado, and with all the usual characteristics of this group, calligraphic g, large ampersand, etc. Some of the ascenders are calligraphic and some have serifs; the upper case is inclined. It is not a good type of its class, but its use in 1613 along with a Granjon italic and another contemporary Dutch italic brings out the contrasting points of the two schools. The type occurs again in the *Atlas* of 1619, and in other books, printed by the younger Hondius, Henricus, e.g. in Robert Hues's *Tractatus de globis*, 1624. Jodocus Hondius, the father, who died in 1612, was Mercator's son-in-law, and had acquired Mercator's stock. It may be remembered that one of the earliest works of this famous map-maker was a writing book printed at Antwerp in 1540, which is devoted entirely to the Italian hand. This was the hand used by Mercator for the lettering of his maps, and again by Hondius, who also

¹ Cf. Isaac, *op. cit.*, vol. II, fig. 6a.

engraved a writing book, the *Theatrum artis scribendi*, published about 1595. Last of all the younger Hondius produced the italic of 1613, which has many resemblances to Mercator's lettering. As Henricus was born only in 1597, it may be presumed that Jodocus designed the new type, on the model of his own Latin script as shown in his *Theatrum* of 1595.

The logical step of fitting an inclined italic with an upper case at the same angle was not attempted by the original designers of cursive. The first printer to make the experiment seems to have been Johann Singrenius of Vienna. In Gollob's *Der Wiener Holzschnitt*, 1926, p. 73, there is a reproduction of the title-page of the *Vita Eremitae a Diuo Hieronymo conscripta*, 1524, showing the earliest use I have seen of this italic.¹ The type was used also by Nicolas Schmidt (Faber) at Leipzig in Schedel's *Nouus hortulus anime*, 1527, and in a Psalter of 1533. The undated edition of Melanchthon's *Elementa puerilia*, where the title is set in this italic, may be the work of a third printer. This new type is not especially attractive and seems to have been little used, but the problem of inclining the capitals was attacked with fair success; the inclination is, at any rate, more uniform than was achieved in the second type of this class.

The second italic with an inclined upper case can be traced to Basle, and will be referred to as the Basle italic. This is a remarkable letter in design and remarkable in its popularity, which endured for some twenty years. The earliest recorded book set in this italic came from the press of Sebastien Gryphius of Lyons, the *Epigrammata* of Claudius Rosselettus, dated 1537. Gryphius used the type as much as anyone, but appears to have obtained it, like many of his other types, from Basle. In 1538 there was issued an edition in Greek of the works of Galen in five folio volumes. Five Basle printers were concerned in the publishing and printing of this edition, Cratander, Hervagius, Isengrin, Bebelius and J. E. Froben. The privilege from Francis I is dated December 20, 1536. Evidently the work was in hand some time before 1538. The preface of 13 pages by the editor Gemusaeus, dated March 1, 1538,

¹ For another reproduction, see *The Fleuron*, no. 7, p. 146.

and a further preface in vol. v, are set in our italic. The device on each title-page was formerly used by Thomas Wolff, who had been the official printer of the city of Basle. Michael Isengrin, who printed vol. v of the Galen, used the type in other books of the same year, 1538, e.g. Aristotle, *Opera*, and Solinus, *Polyhistor*. (See fig. 29.)

The lower case of the Basle italic is a large letter of considerable slope, while the upper case is an extraordinary collection of letters at all angles. The M, N, R and V are the strangest. The O and Q are upright, and the A and P are swash letters. The designer can never have meant these capitals to stand in line together, and yet many contemporary printers did make the attempt. All the designers of old-face italics appear to have found a difficulty in giving a consistent slope to the upper case. In spite of the odd capitals the type has character, and certainly contemporary printers approved of it. No italic of the day is found in the hands of so many different printers. Apart from Basle, where it is particularly common, all the leading printers of Lyons had it. Christian Egenolff at Frankfurt, W. Rihel at Strasbourg, Ponce Lepreux at Paris, and Reinier Wolf and Richard Grafton in London, were among its admirers. Updike, who shows a page of the type (fig. 104), remarks on its widespread use in Venice. Giovanni Griffio, Giolito and Marcolini among other printers at Venice used it for preliminaries, and sometimes even a whole book was set in it, e.g. Xenophon's *Guerre dei Greci*, 1550. In other Italian cities it is found at Florence, at the Giunta press, at Rome with the Dorici, at Bologna, Mantua, Padua and Rimini.

In Basle there was also a smaller size of the type (about 11 pt.) in fairly common use, but this size was little favoured in other countries. The widow of Ulrich Morhard used it from 1556 at Tübingen. Richard Grafton in London also had this size.¹

The Basle italic may be taken as inaugurating the old-face group, and the next step is the establishing of this style by French type-cutters, and in particular by Robert Granjon. There are a number of contemporary references to the dealings of Granjon with various printers, but nowhere any explicit attribution to him

¹ See Isaac, *op. cit.*, vol. II, fig. 33b.

of the earliest French old-face italics. By old-face italic we mean the kind of letter of a marked inclination in both upper case and lower case which was usual in European typography from about 1540 down to the time of Caslon. It is the italic which accompanies the old-face roman, although it originated somewhat later and

10

LIBER

*Cui licet accedat Virtus, tamen usque priores
Fert Fatum parteis in re quacunq[ue] gerenda.*

*Romanorum Im-
perium ut creuit.*

*Fato Romani post tot discrimina, post tot
Prælia, debellatum Orbem rexere monarchæ:*

Roma caputq[ue] fuit Mundi, prius exiguus grex

*Quam pastorum habitabat, & errans exul ab aruis
Finitimis (ut asylum) post scelus omne colebat.*

Ut deinde corruit.

Mox Fato inclinante, suis spoliata triumphis

Corruit, & patrio (infandum) iugulata tyranno

Nil, nisi nomen, habet Romæ, desertaq[ue] sordet.

*Græcorum poten-
tia.*

Fato etiam Græci nil non potuere uel armis,

Vel studiis: terra omni posthabita, auxit Athenas

Fig. 29. Basle Italic

was not at first designed as a companion letter. Like the Italian cursives, these French italics were cut and used as independent letters. As to their origin such evidence as we have points to Robert Granjon as the designer of the earliest and most popular of them. Granjon was the son of a Paris printer, Jean Granjon, and is first heard of in 1545,¹ when he rented a shop "aux Grands Joncs". From a document of August 9, 1546, it appears that Granjon was

¹ See Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, revised edition in the *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1925.

in the habit of visiting Lyons every year.¹ In 1557 he settled in Lyons and married Antoinette, daughter of Bernard Salomon, the artist who illustrated the books of Jean de Tournes. From a document of August 24, 1547,² we learn that one Gaspard de Molina ordered from Granjon types St. Augustin and Nonpareille like those supplied to Tournes and Gryphius, "diverses espèces de caractères, S. Augustin, Nonpareilles . . . ainsi que ledict Granjon les a baillées par cy devant à Jehan de Tournes et à Griffius". If we can identify these types the document becomes important. Nothing is known of Molina, who may have been only an agent, but the press of Jean de Tournes had not been long established at this date, and the number of his types was still small. As to the Nonpareille, Tournes does not appear to have used so small a size (about 6 pt.) by 1547. But of St. Augustines, the only type which can be in question is the italic used in the *Recueil des Œuvres* of Bonaventure des Periers, 1544, in *Les Marguerites des Marguerites*, 1547, and in many other of his early books. The same type is found in the books of Gryphius, for example on the title-page of the Horace of 1545. Gryphius did not use it much, as it was too large a letter for the kind of book which he normally printed, namely classical texts. Moreover, the type was used at Paris, e.g. by L. Grandin in Demosthenes' *Oratio contra Philippi epistolam*, 1543, by Denis Janot in the *Recueil de vraye poesie Francoyse*, 1544, and by Michel de Vascosan in a Ronsard of 1549. When Granjon himself began to print at Paris in partnership with Michel Fezandat in 1549, he used a very similar italic; cf., for example, *Le Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois*, and Cardano's *De subtilitate*, 1550 (see fig. 30). Tournes's type has an inclined upper case, as had all subsequent italics. The A is a swash letter of the same design as the A in the Basle italic. Tournes used this type as a letter of some elegance suitable for volumes of verse. In the preface to his Petrarch of 1545 he refers to his purchasing of new types for such a purpose, "havend' io fatto tagliar questi caratteri (i.e. those used in the

¹ See Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés relatifs à l'histoire de Paris*, tom. II, no. 4170.

² See Baudrier *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, vol. I, art. Molina.

ILLVSTRISSE ET EX-
cellentissimo Ferrando Gonzaghæ,
Principi Malfetæ, Arrianiq; Duci,
domino Vastallæ, prouinciæ Insu-
brū, & Cæsaris exercituū Præfecto,
Hiero. Cardanus medicus Mediola.

S P D.



Mnes fermè gentes atate no-
stra, Princeps Illustrissime,
Deum venerantur: sed ta-
men nulli quod optimum fa-
ctu est, id optima ratione ef-
ficiunt, nisi soli sapientes.
Quidam enim Deum ob id
adorant, quòd eum colendo multa sperant bona,
sperando bona magna mala timent: itaque non
hic amor est, non veneratio, sed potius spes, aut
metus. Et quanquam hic metus aut spes non fru-
strà essent (quæ certè inania sunt, si ad mortaliū
euentus, non ad animæ premia referantur) nihil-
ominus optimi facti causa nō optima esset. Nūc
autē (vt opinor) hæc non solūm recta nō est, sed
etiam vana in illis cultus diuini ratio. Sunt alii,
qui ex consuetudine propria, aut aliorum, Deum
venerantur: atque vt hi prorsus nulla laude di-
gni sunt, ita illi qui ob legum metum solūm

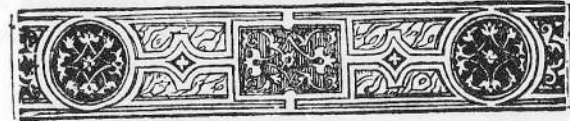
Aa ii

Fig. 30. Granjon's St. Augustine, Paris, 1547

Petrarch, a smaller size) et altri propri per stampar poeti, e altri opere da piacere". In 1549 Fezandat printed by himself *Le Temple de chasteté* of François Habert in a new italic, a beautiful letter with remarkably small, inclined capitals, and a conspicuous lower-case v. A few years later this same letter was used for the text of a number of Jean de Tournes's books, both prose and verse. Perhaps the best-known is the edition of the *Œuvres* of Louise de Labé, 1555. When we find that these two italics were used at Paris before they appeared in the books of Tournes or any other Lyons printer, we may infer that the types were cut in Paris. It is hardly likely that a Paris printer of that date would have applied to a Lyons type-founder for his material. With the support of the De Molina document and the knowledge of the connection between Fezandat and Granjon, we may conclude that the designer was Granjon.

Other italics of Tournes have been attributed to Granjon, the fount for instance in which the verses of the *Metamorphose figurée*, 1556, is printed, which Updike describes as silvery. A larger italic, a "Gros Texte", used in the Virgil in the French version of Louis des Masures, 1560, and in several books of the poet and mathematician, Pontus de Tyard, e.g. the *Solitaire Second*, 1555, has one characteristic which is common to other admitted italics of Granjon, that is the use of extra sorts with a prolonged final stroke intended for the filling up of a line. This "Gros Texte" of Tournes has swash capitals, but inclined, the G being a reversed H. Tournes used the type first in 1549, and in the same year it is found at the press of the De Marnefs at Poitiers, in Macault's version of Cicero's *Philippics*. The family of De Marnef also printed at Paris, and we should expect them to deal with a Paris rather than a Lyons founder.

The admitted italics of Granjon are those shown on the Egenolff-Berner sheet of 1592, already referred to for its romans. Seven sizes of italic are assigned to Granjon. The largest, a Parangon, has an e with a prolonged tail. This closely resembles the largest italic of Tournes, used only in preliminaries, for example, in Jacques Bassantin's *Discours astronomique*, 1557. Again we may compare



EPITOME ROMANAE HISTO-
riæ Dionis Nicæi de viginti quinque prin-
cipibus Romanis, & à Pompeio Ma-
gno, vsque ad Alexandrum Ma-
mææ filium, Ioanne Xiphi-
lino authore, & Guliel-
mo Blanco Albien-
si interpre-
te.

E' DIONIS LIBRO XXXV.



*V*M Consules sortirentur, Horten-
sio, ut bellum gereret cum Cretensibus,
obuenit. Sed is vrbe delectatus, & foro,
in quo primum locum post Ciceronem
obtinebat, collega vltro exercitum ces-
sit, ipse in vrbe remansit. Metellus autem in Cretam
missus, totam insulam cepit: deinde etsi impediabatur
à Pompeio Magno, qui per id tempus habebat totius
maris imperium, & continentis, qua non abesset à ma-
ri longius itinere trium dierum, tanquam insula ad
ipsum quoque spectarent, tamen eo inuito bellum Cre-
tense confecit, de quo triumphauit, & Creticus cognomi-
natus est. Isdem temporibus L. Lucullus, cum Mithri-
datem, Tigranemque Armenium, reges Asia bello su-
perasset, & terga vertere coegisset, Tigranem certa obside-
bat. Sed eum grauibus incommodis affecere barbari,
non solum coniectis telis, sed etiam naphtha, quam tor-

Hortensius
vrbe magis
quàm bello
delectatus.
Metellus in
Cretam mis-
sus.

L. Lucullus
Asia res ge-
stæ.
L. Lucullus.

a 5

Fig. 31. Granjon's Cicero Italic

the italic of the preliminaries of Plantin's Polyglott Bible, 1570, which is almost certainly Granjon's. In Max Rooses' *Le Musée Plantin* there are many references to dealings between Plantin and Granjon, who for a time, in the years 1565 and 1566, was living in Antwerp. In the period 1560-70 he has been called by Max Rooses, Plantin's "principal fournisseur". In 1563 Plantin drew up an inventory of his stock, and among the matrices mentioned are "le Bréviaire italique de Granjon, le Grec de Granjon, l'italique supérieure de Granjon, une autre italique de Granjon, une troisième italique de Granjon, le texte romain de Granjon, la Parangonne italique de Granjon, le Petit-Canon romain de Granjon, une italique nommée L'Immortelle de Granjon, une lettre française de Granjon". This list includes 10 founts supplied by Granjon by 1563, of which 6 are italics, 2 roman, 1 Greek and 1 "civilité". From 1565 to 1570, when the recorded dealings between the two cease, Plantin acquired or ordered about 15 other Granjon founts. On January 16, 1565, Granjon furnished 4 founts of Hebrew; on February 3 Plantin orders a fount of "gros grec à la faceon de celui du roy de France accordant sur le Parangon"; on July 5 there is an agreement for a supply of two italics, one of "Garamont" size, and the other "Philosophie". In 1566 Plantin receives punches of "Garamonde Petit Romain" and of "Médian romain", also punches of fleurons, numerals, capitals and types of music. On September 7, 1566, there is an agreement for a supply of civilité. At this date Granjon was living in Antwerp. In January 1567 Granjon receives payment for another civilité. In April Plantin receives matrices of a Parangonne cursive, and an Augustin italique; in May he orders punches and matrices of a petit canon romain. In November 1569 Granjon supplies punches and matrices of Syriac for the Polyglott Bible. The last record is of April 18, 1570, when Plantin orders the punches and matrices of an italic Grande-Ascendonica. The Cicero italic of Granjon shown on the Egenolff Berner sheet appears in Plantin's *Index*, 1567, on C4. It is found at Lyons from 1554 (see fig. 31).

From the books printed by Plantin we know that he had a large and interesting series of italic types. Some of these we can connect

Faccice, et motz subtilz. F. l.

avoir esté deffaits par leurs
princes, et L'auons veu de
nostre temps: mais que les
peuples ayent esté destruits
par leur Roy, nous ne L'auons
iamais veu, ny vuy dire.

Oy recita au Duc Galeace,
qu'il y avoit sans Milay un
advocat subtil à trouver le moyen
de faire les causes longues, et
les procès immortels, quand il
L'avoit entrepris par faueur ou
par argent. Le Duc le voulant
experimenter, s'enquit à un sien
meil deffendeur s'il estoit vray
veu à ceux qui le formissoyent
de marchandises. Fut trouvé
le boulenger à qui oy devoit
estre livré: au nom duquel
il se fit adjoindre pour
comparoître devant le Senat.
Et s'estant adressé à cest
advocat, luy demanda conseil
pour delayer le payement.
L'advocat luy promit de trouver
les moyens à conteller, que
le boulenger ne toucheroit
deniers d'icy ay, voire de
deux s'il vouloit. La cause
actionnée et prestée à juger, le
Duc demanda à l'advocat, s'il
estoit

esser stati disfatti per i lo-
ro principi, e lo hauemo
veduto del nostro tempo.
Ma che i popoli siano
stati distrutti per il Re lo-
ro, noi non lo hauemo giamai
veduto, ne udito
dire.

Fu recitato al Duca
Galeazzo, che dentro a
Milano s'era uno avuca-
to sottile a ritrouare il
modo di fare le lite lon-
gue, e i processi immortez-
li, quando l'haueua per
impresa, per fauore, o per
dinari. Il Duca volendolo
isperimentare, fece inqui-
sitione al suo maestro di
casa, se s'era nessuno deb-
bito a quelli che lo forniva-
no di mercantie. Fu
trouato il Bologniere a
cui cento lire erano debi-
te: in nome del quale egli
si fece citare per compa-
rere dinanzi al Senato.
E indirissatosi a questo
Avocadore, gli domandò
consiglio per indugiare il
pagamento. L'Avocato gli
promissè di trouare i mo-
di e cautele, che il Bolo-
griere non toccarebbe di-
nari d'un anno, anzi ne
de duoi. se egli voleua.
La lite fornita, e presta
a giudicare, il Duca do-
mandò

Fig. 32. Granjon's Civilité and Immortelle

with Granjon, and others, too, have an historical interest. Plantin's first italic, that in which the majority of his early books are printed (note that italic is still widely used for the main text), is about 11 to 12 pt., in modern measurements, or 20 lines measure 80 mm.; the fount has narrow and tall capitals. It was used by other Antwerp printers (first 1553), in Germany and by John Day in London.¹ *Les Secrets de Alexis Piemontois*, 1557, shows three italics; the main text is set in a St. Augustin which seems to be identical with the type used by Tournes, which we have attributed to Granjon. In Plantin's *Index Characterum*, 1567,² this italic is shown on C3. There are two larger italics in the introductory matter; the first measures 117 mm. for 20 lines. This type is not connected with Granjon but is of particular interest for its use by English printers. A good example may be seen in James Peele's *The manner and fourme how to kepe a perfecte reconyng*, R. Grafton, 1553, and in Cuningham's *Cosmographical Glasse*, John Day, 1559. Other London printers had it even earlier (cf. Isaac, *English Types*, 1503-58, the III italic). To us it seems to be a characteristic English italic because of its frequent occurrence. The third italic in the *Alexis* is a Gros Parangon (20 lines=143 mm.). This appears in the *Index Characterum* on B4, and is assigned to the founder, François Guyot.³ This type too was commonly used in England, by John Day, for instance (cf. fig. 257 in Updike). It is one of the types formerly supposed to have been cut by Day. In another Plantin book, the *De regni institutione* of Foxius Morzillius, 1557, we find a type of much the same size as that used by Grafton, a Gros Texte, but this time an italic in common use in Paris, for instance, with Chrestien Wechel as early as 1547. In 1558 in *Les Épitres de Phalaris* we meet a smaller italic, a Cicero, with a conspicuous initial v, which we have found used by Tournes at Lyons in the *Louise de Labé* and other works, and which we have assigned to

¹ Also at Emden. See Isaac, "Egidius van der Erve", in *The Library*, December 1931.

² A reproduction of the unique copy in the Plantin Museum was issued by Douglas McMurtrie, 1924.

³ Cf. Reed, new edition, pp. 92, 93, and H. Carter, *op. cit.*, in *The Library*, September 1956.

Granjon. In 1564 we find yet another Gros Texte, a type shown on C2 of the *Index Characterum* and on the Egenolff-Berner sheet of 1592 as a Granjon. The "Immortelle de Granjon", an interesting italic, again with a conspicuous initial v, which we know from

EX PHILOSTRATI
IMAGINIBVS FA-
BVLAE.

FABVLAE se ad Aesopum, sua in cum beneuolentia cōferunt, quod sat agat sui: fabula quippe & Homero & Hesiodo, nec non & Archilocho in Lycamben cure fuit. sed ab Aesopo humana omnia ad fabellas redacta sunt. sermone brutis non temerè impertito. nam & cupiditatem imminuit, & libidinem insectatur, & fraudem. Atque hac ei leo quispiam agit, & vulpes, & per Iouem equus, nec testudo muta, ex quibus pueri discunt, quae in vita gerantur. Habita igitur in precio fabulae, per Aesopum accedunt ad sapientis ianuam vitis eum deuinctura, coronaq; oleagina coronatura. hic, ut puto, fabulam aliquam texit. risus enim faciei, & oculi in terram defixi id pra se ferunt. pictorem, fabularum curas remissione animo indigere, non latuit. Philosphatur autem pictura & fabularum corpora. Bruta enim cum hominibus conferens, cætum circa Aesopum statuit, ex illius scena confictum. Chori dux vulpes depicta est. utitur enim ea Aesopus ministra argumentorum plurium, ceu Dauid
Comædia.

AESOPI

Fig. 33. Granjon's Cicero Currens

the Egenolff sheet, I have not found in Plantin's books, although it was, as we have seen, included in Plantin's list of his stock in 1563. This "Immortelle" is found in London used by John Day, among others (see the reproduction in Isaac's article, *The Library*, September 1933, fig. 23. See also fig. 32.)

There is still one more Granjon italic, the *Littera Currens Ciceroniana* shown in one long line on the Egenolff sheet and appearing on C4 (lower half) of the *Index Characterum*, 1567, which is perhaps the most interesting of all. In a Plantin book there is a good specimen in the *Emblemata* of Sambucus, 1566. In the *Index* the specimen shown begins with the word *Philosophia* and *Philosophie* was also a name for this size of type. Now in July 1565 Plantin ordered from Granjon the punches and matrices of a Philosophie, and it seems likely that this is the type in question. The type appears in many places even before its appearance on the Egenolff sheet. In 1565 Sir Thomas More's *Opera* was printed at Louvain by P. Zangrerus in this italic. In 1566 Feyerabend of Frankfurt had an *Æsop* printed in the same type (see fig. 33). In the same year Peter Perna of Basle was using it, the Heirs of Steelsius of Antwerp in 1568 and Birckmann at Cologne in 1569. Later we find it used by the Elzeviers of Leyden (see L. van Aitzema, *Historia pacis a foederatis Belgis*, 1654). The italic is not found in England in the sixteenth century, but it is a Fell type. On a poster issued by the Oxford University Press on the occasion of their exhibition at Messrs. Bumpus in November 1930, written by Mr. Morison, the type was shown, and it is there explained that in the Oxford Specimen Book of 1693 it appeared with the wrong upper case.

In his later life Granjon worked at Rome, among others for the New Vatican Press. His work there seems to have been chiefly on oriental types. However, the Corsivo Grosso shown in the *Indice de' caratteri* of that press, issued in 1628, has Granjon characteristics, and has been attributed to that designer by Updike.¹

¹ On Granjon's italics, see also *The Library*, March 1941, pp. 291-7.

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TYPE DESIGNS

more Granjon italic, the *Littera Currente* (one long line on the Egenolff sheet and over half) of the *Index Characterum*, 1567, most interesting of all. In a Plantin book there is the *Emblemata* of Sambucus, 1566. In the *Index* begins with the word *Philosophia* and the name for this size of type. Now in July 1565 Granjon the punches and matrices of a type seems likely that this is the type in question. It appears in many places even before its appearance on the title page of Sir Thomas More's *Opera* was printed in this italic. In 1566 Feyerabend of Frankfurt printed in the same type (see fig. 33). In 1567 Perna of Basle was using it, the Heirs of Plantin in 1568 and Birckmann at Cologne in 1569. It was used by the Elzeviers of Leyden (see L. van der Elzeviers *foederatis Belgis*, 1654). The italic is not new in the sixteenth century, but it is a Fell type. It was first shown by the Oxford University Press on the occasion of the printing of Messrs. Bumpus in November 1930, written in this type was shown, and it is there explained. In the Specimen Book of 1693 it appeared with the

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See also *The Library*, March 1941, pp. 291-7.

CHAPTER SIX

Italic Type

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

AT THE CLOSE of the sixteenth century books set entirely in italic, especially books of verse, were still common. But there was already one indication that the cursives were becoming the servant of roman; they were being cast on the same body as the romans. In Christopher Plantin's specimen of 1567 the two families are shown quite separately, but on the specimen sheet issued by the Egenolff-Berner foundry of Frankfurt in 1592 each example of roman is followed by one of italic on the same body. Nevertheless there was as yet no attempt to harmonise the two designs, and throughout the seventeenth century, italic was still used independently. The first editions of the plays of Racine may be cited as examples, e.g. the *Esther*, 1689, and the *Athalie*, 1691, both printed in italic by Denis Thierry at Paris. These seventeenth-century italics were what we know as old face, cursives of a decided slope and with an inclined but irregular upper case. Irregularity of the angle of inclination in both upper and lower case, was a general characteristic. Most of the letters, in the initial and final strokes, continued the cursive quality of the hands after which they were originally designed. One of the few surviving types of the distinguished designer of the seventeenth century, Christoffel van Dijk, is an italic of this school, a vigorous design cut without any

idea of accompanying a roman, however it might be used.¹ In England, from John Day to William Caslon, all designers were content to follow continental models.

The reform, if it may be so called, begins with Philippe Grandjean's "romain du roi", with the first step in the evolution of the modern-face roman. But already in the first half of the seventeenth century there is one peculiar italic which may be recorded, as being in some ways a forerunner of later developments. Updike, in his *Printing Types*, vol. II, p. 19, refers to a curiously condensed cursive found in the preface to an Elzevier book of 1631, P. Cluverius, *Germania Antiqua*, and says that it is "quite a new note in italic type". The fount is shown in the specimen issued by Johannes Elzevier in 1658, and again in the sale catalogue of the types of Abraham Elzevier of 1713, where its size is described as Dubbelde Mediaan. Charles Enschedé, in an essay included in the specimen of *Die hochdeutschen Schriften*, published by Messrs. Enschedé in 1919, mentions the type but had not discovered the founder. According to Enschedé it was cut neither by Van Dijk nor by the Luther foundry at Frankfurt. It is not surprising to find that it was in common use in England from about 1650 to 1720, during a period in which many Dutch types were being imported. It occurs in the sale catalogue of the James Foundry, 1782, as double pica. It is especially common as a heading type on official documents issued by the King's printers. The most striking peculiarity of the type is its condensation, and in order to achieve the condensation the designer has romanised some of his letters; notably the m and the n, in which the shoulders are squared up. The a also is a rounder letter, though condensed, than the typical old-face a.

In the case of this unusual fount the romanising appears to be accidental, due to the effort at condensation. On the other hand, with Grandjean's italic we find a deliberate attempt to make the secondary type conform to the roman. He designed his a, m and n like those letters in the Elzevier fount; one effect of these forms was

¹ For its use in prefatory matter, see C. Salmasius, *Plinianæ Exercitationes*, Utrecht, 1689.

to remove some of the irregularity of slope from the lower case. In the upper case he also gave a more consistent slope to his letters. In the old-face italics the inconsistency of inclination was not in itself unpleasing, except where the capitals were composed together. But when considered in relation to roman the effect might be disturbing. That Grandjean, when designing his cursive, had in mind the roman, is shown by the fact that he introduced the straight-shanked h, a form new in italic. His v too was new, at least in typography, and remained a form peculiar to the eighteenth century. Grandjean's successor at the Imprimerie Royale had by 1712 carried the matter a little further. Grandjean had not altered the cursive beginning strokes of the lower-case letters. Alexandre reduced these strokes until they were something half-way between serifs and the pen-strokes of the old face.

Pierre Simon Fournier makes a few interesting remarks on the subject of italic in the "Avis" to his *Modèles de caractères* of 1742. He calls attention to the great difference between his italic and all preceding designs, and says that he has made his italic more like contemporary writing, meaning the formal hands of the engravers. He then adds that he has distinguished "bien surtout les pleins et deliés", the thick and thin strokes. In his treatment of the serifs he was responsible for an important innovation, namely the introduction of roman serifs on lower-case letters such as m, n, p and r. In the splendid examples of his italics shown in the *Modèles* of 1742 these serifs are inclined and bracketed. He has taken over all the changes introduced by the punch-cutters of the Imprimerie Royale. With the addition of the roman serifs, the absence of tied letters and the regularity of the inclination, Fournier carried the idea of conformity with roman further than any earlier designer (see fig. 34). It should be added that possibly, in the matter of serifs, he had been preceded by Louis Luce, who showed a similar italic in his specimen of 1771 and complained that his designs had been copied as early as 1732. However, Fournier in his *Manuel Typographique* claims originality for his italic. Fournier's excellent design became popular and may be called the characteristic cursive of continental printers of the middle years of the eighteenth

century. All French specimen books of that period show these italics with bracketed serifs. The chief designers in other countries (not including England), e.g. Rosart in the Netherlands, and especially Bodoni in Italy, followed the Fournier model.

ITALIQUE.
OTHON lui livre la bataille, & la perd: il avoit pourtant encore assez de forces pour faire tête à l'ennemi; mais quelque chose que pussent lui dire ses soldats, dont il étoit extrêmement cheri, pour l'engager à hazarder une seconde bataille, il aima mieux mourir généreusement que de répandre davantage le sang de ses Sujets. Après avoir dormi toute la nuit d'un profond sommeil, il se passa son épée au travers du corps, étant dans la trente-huitième année de son âge, & le troisième mois de son Empire.

Fig. 34. Fournier's Italic.

Popular as the Fournier italics were, they were comparatively short-lived. Soon after Fournier's death, the great founders of the Didot family completed Grandjean's work and cut the first fully developed modern-face romans. As a secondary letter they designed an italic with still less of its original calligraphic quality. In 1784 Pierre Didot l'ainé issued his *Épître sur les progrès de l'imprimerie* printed in an italic designed by his brother Firmin at the age of nineteen (see figs. 35, 36). This fact we learn from the notes to the *Épître*. In 1786 Pierre published a second edition along with his *Essai de nouvelles fables*, and with additional notes. He states

É P Î T R E
 S U R
 L E S P R O G R È S
 D E L ' I M P R I M E R I E .

PAR DIDOT, FILS AÎNÉ.



A P A R I S ,
 I M P R I M É C H E Z D I D O T L ' A Î N É ,

avec les italiques de F I R M I N , son second fils.

M. DCC. LXXXIV.

Fig. 35. Didot's Modern Face

that Firmin, who was born in 1764, had cut the italic of the first edition, a 12 pt., and since then the 8 pt. of the notes of the second edition and the 10 pt. of the "Approbation". The larger italic of 1784—it had appeared already in 1783 in F. A. Didot's editions of Corneille, of Racine, and of Fénelon's *Télémaque*—was especially commended by Mr. Stanley Morison in an article in *The Fleuron*, no. 5, "Towards an Ideal Italic". This article was written from a special point of view, the ideal being a perfect harmony with roman. He finds that the Didot letter approaches nearer to being an inclined roman than any previous cursive. He notices the absence of foot serifs to the p and q as being a relic of a calligraphic fount. The top serifs to the lower-case letters are again roman, but not bracketed like Fournier's. They are flat, both above and below, to harmonise with the serifs of the modern-face roman. In addition to the almost mechanical regularity of the slope, the colour is lighter than in Fournier's design. The lighter typography of the eighteenth century was unfavourable to italic, which could not support further loss of colour. This side of the degradation of italic is illustrated by Fleischman's cursives. That founder has been accused of taking all the life out of his types, an accusation which is certainly well founded in the case of his italics. Firmin Didot himself went on to design modern-face romans of a more abrupt modelling, with a greater contrast between the thick and the thin strokes, and accordingly produced heavier and more abruptly modelled italics. These are to be seen in the well-known Louvre editions printed by his brother Pierre towards the end of the century. The flat serifs, however, remained, were generally copied and will be found in the specimen books of most continental founders of the next generation. Bodoni of course adopted the new fashion, and a little later we find the German founder, Erich Walbaum, whose modern-face roman has recently returned to favour, cutting an italic in the Didot style. The specimens of Gillé fils c. 1808 (reproduced in *The Fleuron*, no. 6), of N. P. Gando of c. 1810 (reproduced by Messrs. Enschedé in 1917) and of Molé le jeune, 1819 (shown in Updike, fig. 322) all illustrate the way in which Didot had revolutionised the design of italic. In the

É P Î T R E
S U R L E S P R O G R È S
D E L ' I M P R I M E R I E .

A M O N P E R E .

*CET art qui tous les jours multiplie avec grace
Et les vers de Virgile et les leçons d'Horace ;
Qui, plus sublime encor, plus noble en son emploi,
Donne un texte épuré des livres de la Loi,
Et, parmi nous de Dieu conservant les oracles,
Pour la religion fit ses premiers miracles ;
Des grands événements cet art conservateur,
Trop ingrat seulement envers son inventeur,
N'a pas su nous transmettre avec pleine assurance
Le génie étonnant qui lui donna naissance.
Toi qui sus concevoir tant de plans à la fois,
A l'immortalité pourquoi perdre tes droits ?*

Fig. 36. Didot's Italic, 1783

printers' specimens of Carl Wolf at Munich, 1825, and of Carl Tauchnitz, Leipzig, of the same year, we can trace the popularity of the modern style in Germany.

Meanwhile the Didots had in part reversed their style. They had given up the roman serifs and designed the lifeless italics which were ultimately to prevail in the nineteenth century. Firmin Didot's new italic may be seen in the specimen issued by the Imprimerie in 1812, and that of his brother in his specimen of 1819. Both have given up the roman serifs and have produced cursives of mechanical rigidity, with no life of their own, and not intended to be used on their own. The "Avis" to Pierre Didot's specimen is set in one of these spineless letters, and the reader is immediately conscious that this is only an introduction and that he will not be expected to read a book in such a type. However, the Didots, if their intention was to kill italic as an independent letter, had attained that end. Although italics with flat roman serifs continued to be used for some years—the Imprimerie displayed them in a specimen of 1855—it was the latest of the Didot designs that was destined to survive.

In England during the eighteenth century the design of italic followed a similar course and met the same end. There is one exception to be noted: roman serifs never appeared on an English italic. Such cursives are occasionally found in an English printed book, but were, I believe, imported types; at least they are not to be found in the extant specimen books of English founders.¹ As in the case of the modern-face roman, the beginning of the revolution is to be traced to John Baskerville. His italic has received much less praise than his roman; it has been described as pinched and wiry. But the use made of the Monotype version in our day by the Harvard University Press in their edition of the Boswell papers, suggests that it has been underrated. Baskerville's italic is more evenly sloped than the old face; it has the rounded a, the m and the n shaped as in Grandjean's type; from that source too he has copied the straight-shanked h, though he has not taken over the v;

¹ See Thomas Maurice, *An Elegiac and historical poem*, 1795, and *The Feudal Hall. A poem by Agrestis*. T. Bensley, 1815.

that eighteenth-century letter is absent from English cursives. The g and the s are other letters which bring the Baskerville lower case into closer harmony with the roman. On the other hand, he has inconsistently retained some calligraphic letters in the upper case, e.g. the K and the N. Baskerville's italic influenced the design of cursives in England for the next half-century, until the introduction of the modern face. We can trace that influence in the specimen sheet of Isaac Moore of Bristol, 1768, and in those of Alexander Wilson of Glasgow. The italic of William Martin, the last of the type designers in the transitional period, is even more Baskervillian than his roman. There is in fact only one other design of the period which requires special comment, that of Richard Austin, type-cutter in John Bell's British Letter Foundry established in 1786. Mr. Morison particularly commends the Austin italic on the ground of its harmony with the roman. He finds that the type is of even slope and "carries into it the characteristics of the roman", especially in the matter of serif treatment. The serifs of the capitals are not the unbracketed serifs of the nineteenth century, but are carefully shaped in an arc on the under side. As to the lower case the type is very like Baskerville's, though less pinched, while some of the swash capitals are clearly derived from that source. The individuality of the serif treatment, the re-introduction of the rounded h (the straight-shanked h was also supplied) and other small details separate Austin's italic from the nineteenth-century design.

The final step towards the modern italic was taken about 1800 by Robert Thorne. In his specimen of 1803 the new modern-face romans, one of them dated 1800, are accompanied by italics which are in several ways parallel to the later work of the Didots in France. The serifs of the upper case and of the ascenders of the lower case are flat and unbracketed; cursive beginning strokes are still retained, as in all English italics, but have quite lost the quality of flowing pen-strokes. The mechanical regularity of the slope adds to the lifelessness of Thorne's design. Finally the tendency to over-modelling, characteristic of nineteenth-century types, is already in evidence. The other London founders rapidly

followed Thorne's example. As the English founders missed the stage of cursives with roman serifs, they arrived at the modern italic even before their French colleagues.

APPENDIX

LIST OF BOOKS PRINTED AT ROME BY VICENTINO,
1524-7

- 1 G. G. Trissino, *Canzone*, s.n. (spring of 1524).
- 2 *Coryciana*, Ed. B. Palladius. Vicentino and Lautizio Perugino, July 1524.
- 3 G. G. Trissino, *La Sophonisba*. Vicentino and Lautizio, July 1524 (other issues, September 1524).
- 4 — *Oratione . . . al serenissimo Principe di Venetia*. Vicentino and Lautizio, October 1524.
- 5 — *I Ritratti*. Vicentino and Lautizio, October 1524.
- 6 C. Silvanus Germanicus, *In Pontificatum Clementis Septimi pont. max. panegyris*. Vicentino and Lautizio, December 21, 1524 (Vict. & Alb. Mus.).
- 7 G. G. Trissino, *Epistola de la vita che dee tenere una donna vedova*. Vicentino and Lautizio, 1524.
- 8 — *Epistola de le lettere nuovamente aggiunte ne la lingua italiana*, s.n.
- 9 B. Casalius, *In legem agrariam . . . oratio*. Vicentino and Lautizio, 1524.
- 10 G. Sauromanus, *De religione ac communi concordia*, 1524.
- 11 P. Aretino, *Laude di Clemente vii*. Vicentino and Lautizio, December 1524.
- 12 — *Esortatione della pace fra l'Imperatore e il Re di Francia*. Vicentino and Lautizio, 1524.
- 13 A. Firenzuola, *Discacciamento de le nuoue lettere inutilmente aggiunte*. Vicentino and Lautizio, December 1524.

- 14 A. Franci, *De le lettere nuovamente aggiunte*. Vicentino and Lautizio, s.n.
- 15 *Bulla Clementis Papae Septimi contra homicidas*. Vicentino and Lautizio (dated Prid. Idib. Junii 1524).
- 16 Z. Ferrerius, *Hymni novi ecclesiastici*. Vicentino and Lautizio, Kal. Feb. 1525.
- 17 P. Cursius, *Poema de civitate Castellana faliscorum*. Vicentino and Lautizio, March 29, 1525.
- 18 C. Marcellus, *In Psalmum usque quo Domine oblivisceris me*. Vicentino and Lautizio, April 12, 1525.
- 19 P. Aretino, *Canzone in laude del sig. Datario*. 1525.
- 20 P. Collenuccio, *Specchio di Esopo*. Vicentino, 1526.
- 21 — *Apologi IIII*. Vicentino, 1526.
- 22 *Panegirico di Francesco (Cattani) de Diaeceto*. Vicentino, 1526.
- 23 Pope Julius II, *Oratio de pace*. Vicentino, 1526.
- 24 *Itinerarium Philippi Belluccii*. Vicentino, s.n.
- 25 H. Vida, *De Arte Poetica*. Vicentino, May 1527.
- 26 (A letter dated 8 June, 1527, from Pope Clement VII to the general of the invading army).¹

The three works by Aretino are quoted from Mazzuchelli's *Vita di Pietro Aretino*. There is a copy of no. 6 in the Victoria and Albert Museum and of all the others there are copies in the British Museum. Nos. 1-19 are printed in Vicentino's first italic, nos. 19-26 in his second type.

¹ Assigned to Vicentino by C. A. Scarafoni in *La Bibliofilia*, 1938, p. 46, seq. He mentions further another document, *Pepetuatio officiorum etiam Romanae Curiae*, Vicentino, 1525. Both are in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele.