Reconsidering Pierre Haultin's Early Career: Roots, Training, Beginnings (1546–1550)

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Pierre Haultin is famous for being the most active publisher of the French Reformation.1 As a protestant, his religious beliefs influenced his life, leading him to move from town to town: working in Paris in the 1540s, he left for Geneva in 1550, resided in Lyon in 1558, moved back to Paris from 1565 to 1570, and finally settled in La Rochelle where he continued working until his death in 1587 or 1588. Given his professional occupation, Haultin appears as one of the major propagators of Calvinism in France and the initiator of a "renewal of reformed publishing in French".2

Pierre Haultin may be the champion of French protestant publishing, but he is also famous for being "one of the better type designers of the sixteenth century".3 The 46 types attributed to him by Hendrik Vervliet compare well with those of Claude Garamont and Robert Granjon, both for their number and quality. Besides, Haultin's types were used by many French, Italian and Spanish printers from the mid-16th century up to the beginning of the 19th century.4

Unfortunately, very little is known of the first years of Haultin's career. The 1540s seem to be a fundamental decade for understanding his life and activities. It must have been the moment of his apprenticeship. His activity as a professionnal punchcutter

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1 This paper was written in French and has been translated into English by Abigaël Poll, to whom I would like to express my gratitude. I am also grateful to MM. Hendrik D.L. Verliet, James Mosley and William Kemp for their expert advice and suggestions. The *Bibliothèque municipale* de Lyon kindly agreed to provide many photographs without any charges.

2 F. Higman, "Le levain de l'évangile", in H.-J. Martin and R. Chartier, *Histoire de l'édition française*, t. I, Paris, 1982, p. 323. For a bibliography of publications by Pierre Haultin and his successors, see Louis Desgraves, *Les Haultins*, Geneva, Droz, 1960.

3 H. D. L. Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: a Conspectus*, London, 2010 (shortened to: "*Conspectus*"), p. 42.

4 H. D. L. Vervliet, « Printing types of Pierre Haultin ; c. 1510-1587 », *Quaerendo*, nᵒ 30, 2000, p. 87-129 and 173-227 (revised version in *The Palaeotypography of the Renaissance*, Leiden, 2008, p. 243-285). The *Conspectus* attributes another seven types to Pierre Haultin.

("taillieur de lettres d'impremerie") is documented in the archives as of August 1546.[5] Haultin began his career as a publisher, with a total of twenty known editions in 1549 and 1550: a few Greek texts published with Benoist Prévost (the New Testament, Aesopus, Dioscorides and Clenard's *Institutiones*), two editions of Fuchs' *Herbarum ac stirpium historia* (one in French and one in latin), Pierre Lombard's *Sententiae* and a dozen of law booklets of royal ordonnances printed in association with Jean Dallier. From 1546 to 1550, Haultin therefore spent five years learning the ropes of the printing craft, establishing contacts in the profession, and possibly growing stronger in his religious beliefs thanks to the ferment of Parisian intellectual life. The aim of this paper is to reconsider this fundamental period of Pierre Haultin's life. Recent research into the editorial activity of Charlotte Guillard[6], a woman printer of the 16th-century Paris, sheds some new light on Haultin's early career and will, hopefully, lead to a more comprehensive view of his beginings in the craft.

Family roots

Not much is known of Pierre Haultin's origins. The date of his birth is still a mystery. The chronology of his activity was made unclear by early sources, thought to be trustworthy, which credited him with work from as early as 1510. The *Memorandum* of Le Bé (1643) mentions that Haultin "could have started working around 1500 and finished his apprenticeship around 1510"[7] and Pierre-Simon Fournier (1765) explains that "the first Music printing was done with printing types. Pierre Haultin, typefounder and printer in Paris, cut the first punches in 1525".[8]

Until recently these sources confused specialists. If the information given by Le Bé and Fournier is to be believed, as his activity is known up to 1587, Haultin would have had a career lasting ninety years (from ca.1500 to 1588). This seems most unlikely. To explain such a long career, in 1879, Louis Audiat supposed that there must have been two Pierre Haultin: the father, who worked in Paris from 1510 (according to Le Bé) to the end of the 1570s, and the son, who worked in Lyon and later on in La Rochelle from the 1540s to the

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5 On the 10th of august 1546 (AN, MC, ET/LXXIII/8), quoted by A. Parent, *Les métiers du livre à Paris,* Geneva, 1974, p. 71.

6 PhD dissertation under the direction of Pr. Marie-Luce Demonet and Pr. Christine Bénévent, defended in Tours, Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance, on November 22nd, 2014.

7 H. Carter (éd.), *Sixteenth-Century French Typefounders: the Le Bé Memorandum,* Paris, 1967, p. 19: "Pierre Hautin, graveur fondeur de lettres, a travailé à Paris en 1545 et 1550 et peut avoir commencé vers 1500 et acheva son apprentissage vers 1510"

8 P.-S. Fournier, *Traité historique et critique sur l'origine et les progrès des caractères de fonte pour l'impression de la musique,* Paris, 1765: "La première impression de la Musique est due à la Typographie. Pierre Hautin, graveur, fondeur et imprimeur à Paris, en fit les premiers poinçons vers 1525."

end of the 1580s.9 Historians such as Renouard, Baudrier, Desgraves and others after them followed this hypothetical assertion.

In 1961, in his review on the bibliography of the Haultins by Desgraves, Matthew Carter expressed serious doubts regarding the existence of two Pierre Haultins, father and son.10 Daniel Heartz and Harry Carter, Matthew's father, followed this opinion in 1967.11 As the earliest original document about Pierre Haultin is dated 1546, it is now conceded that Le Bé and Fournier may have been wrong about his career. The punchcutter probably ended his apprenticeship in the begining of the 1540s. He therefore may have born during the 1520s.12

He was born in "Villaine-sous-la-flèche en Anjou".13 This village, now called Vilaines-sous-Malicorne, is not situated "near Angers" as was sometimes noted by historians, but rather on the outskirts of the Anjou province which borders on Maine. Only forty kilometres away from Le Mans, Vilaines-sous-Malicorne was later on attached to the departement of Sarthe after the French Revolution. In a brief note published in 1972 in *La Province du Maine*, Frédéric Lemeunier suggested that the origins of Pierre Haultin should be looked for in Maine rather than in Anjou.14 It seems that this possible lead has not been followed by historians yet.

In fact, the activity of the Haultin family is attested in the region of Le Mans. For example, a certain Denis Haultin, who was in La Rochelle with Pierre in 1572, was "native to the town of Le Mans".15 It was probably the same Denis Haultin who worked as a wood engraver ("graveur et tailleur d'hystoire à imprimer") in Paris a few years earlier.16 Besides, a certain "Jean Hottin" is known to have worked as a bookseller in Le Mans: in 1554 he published the *Coutumes du Pays et Comté du Maine*; in 1562, his shop was burnt down during religious conflicts due to his being of the reformed party17, and in 1568 he was arrested along with 105 other protestants.18 Pierre wasn't the only member of his

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9   L. Audiat, *Essai sur l'imprimerie en Saintonge et en Aunis*, Pons, N. Textier, 1879, p. 23-24.

10 The Library, 3rd series, vol XVI, 1961, p. 241-242.

11 H. Carter, *Sixteenth Century French Typefounders : the Le Bé memorandum*, Paris, 1967, p. 42. D. Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant*, Berkeley, 1967, p. 49.

12 In the *Conspectus* (p. 42), H.D.L. Vervliet situates the birth of Pierre Haultin around 1510. But, in a private mail, he shared his doubts about this birthdate and tends to be in accordance with my conclusions.

13 Ph. Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens,* Paris, Minard, 1965, p. 200 ; Chaix, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Genève,* Geneva, 1954, p. 142.

14 "Le XVIe siècle littéraire: Les Haultin, imprimeurs et libraires, La Rochelle et Le Mans ?", *La Province du Maine*, 1972, p. 141-143).

15 L. Desgraves, *Les Haultin, op. cit.*, p. XVI.

16 July 10th 1557 ; AN, MC, ET/LXXIII/51.

17 *Remonstrance envoyée au Roy par la noblesse de la religion réformée du païs et compté du Maine*, Le Mans, Jérôme Olivier, 1565, integrated to the *Mémoires de Condé,* 1743, t. V, p. 277 and following.

18 *Extraict des registres du Parlement contre les seditieux, rebelles et ceulx qui se dient et ventent de la reformée et nouvelle opinion du pays du Maine*, s. n., 1568 ; this information was kindly communicated

family to leave Maine to go to Paris. Marie Haultin, probably a sister of Pierre, married in Paris the bookseller Jean Ruelle, who shared his Parisian address with Pierre Haultin, rue Saint Jacques, "at the Fox Tail" ("*à la queue de Renard*").[19]

We know of another woman printer from Maine working in Paris during the 1540s. Her name is Charlotte Guillard. Her geographic origin was highlighted in 1983 by Beatrice Beech[20]: it is known that the Guillard family had properties in Volnay and Écorpain in the south west of Maine on the boarder of the Perche province. The multiple sources of information found in the Parisian archives now enable us to establish a family link between the Guillard and the Haultin families.

On the 16th of december 1557, shortly after Charlotte Guillard's death, her heirs assembled to share the inheritance. Amongst them was a certain Jean Haultin, bookseller from Le Mans, guardian of Catherine Guillard whom he represented since she was his aunt and was described as senile "from old age".[21] There was also Michel Jusseaulme, a lawyer from Volnay in Maine, representing Jeanne Guillard, his mother.[22] Interestingly, Louis Desgraves brought to light a letter of attorney that Pierre Haultin gave to the same Michel Jusseaulme in 1576, which reinforces the hypothesis of a family link between the two men.[23]

Marie Haultin, the wife of Jean Ruelle, can also be linked to the genealogy of the Guillard family: in January 1553, after her death, four "maternal cousins" were present at the family reunion which was called to designate a tutor for her under aged children. The cousins were Guillaume Desboys, Martin Le Jeune, Sébastien Nivelle and Louis Le Bernard, all nephews by marriage of Charlotte Guillard, which seems to make Marie Haultin her niece.[24] This family link is confirmed by a letter from Martin Le Jeune to Christophe Plantin, in which the Parisian bookseller explicitly designates Pierre Haultin as his "cousin".[25]

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to me by Malcolm Walsby.

19 Ph. Renouard, *Répertoire*, *op. cit.*, p. 385-386. The *Répertoire* assumes Marie Haultin to be one of Pierre's daughters, but Vervliet rightly points out: "At any rate, in an endowment to his sister-in-law, Marguerite Vadé, of the 15th of February 1550, Pierre Haultin is reported as being childless and I suspect that the Marie Haultin, described by Renouard as his daughter, in more probably his sister" ("Printing types of Pierre Haultin", *op. cit.,* new edition p. 247).

20 B. Beech, "Charlotte Guillard: a Sixteenth Century Business Woman", *Renaissance Quarterly*, t. XXXVI, n⁰ 3, 1983, p. 345-375. On this point, my PhD dissertation completes and corrects Beech's information.

21 "Jehan Haultin marchand libraire demeurant en la ville du Mans ou nom et comme curateur de Catherine Guillard [sa] tante debille de sens pour son antien aage" (16th of december 1557 ; AN, MC, ET/LXXIII/51).

22 "Maitre Michel Jusseaulme, praticien en court laye demeurant a Vaulnay, pays du Mayne, ou nom et comme procureur de honnete femme Jehanne Guillard sa mere" (*ibid.*)

23 Departemental archives of Charente-Maritime, practice notes of the solicitor Bomyer, register of 1576, cited by L. Desgraves, *Les Haultins…, op. cit.*, p. XVIIII.

24 January 9th, 1553 n. st. ; national archive Y 5249, f. 255v⁰.

25 Martin le Jeune to Christophe Plantin, 3rd of june 1561: "Davantage vous trouverés ung paquet de

These converging elements confirm that Jean, Marie and Pierre Haultin are brothers and sister, and thus that Charlotte Guillard was the aunt of the punch-cutter.

Pierre Haultin and Charlotte Guillard

Charlotte Guillard is one of the most important Parisian woman printers in the 16th-century. 26 The widow of Berthold Rembolt († 1519), and later of Claude Chevallon († 1537), Charlotte Guillard became the owner of the very first French printing establishment, *Le Soleil d'Or* (the Golden Sun), located in rue Saint-Jacques, a few meters away from the Saint-Benoît church.27 The workshop, operating five or six presses, was one of the most powerful Parisian businesses. For twenty years, Charlotte managed her print-shop "pushing and rolling with her an enormous mass of expenses and worries".28 Until her death in 1557, when she was "almost decrepit and weighed down by old age"29, Charlotte Guillard produced more than 180 publications, including numerous latin editions of the Early Church Fathers and substantial corpora of roman and canonic laws. From the early 1530s, the *Soleil d'Or*'s publication where often set in the best types available in Paris. It seems that Claude Chevallon and, then, his widow gave considerable attention to typographic quality.

It is known that, having no child, Charlotte Guillard contributed largely to her nephews' and nieces' starts in the bookselling business30: Guillaume Guillard and Jacques Bogard started at the *Soleil d'Or* before they opened their own bookshops. Charlotte also augmented her nieces' doweries to allow them to make good mariages: Michelle Guillard, Perette Bogard and Madeleine Baudeau thus married the booksellers Guillaume Desboys, Martin Le Jeune and Sébastien Nivelle. Marie Haultin's mariage with Jean Ruelle was probably a result of the same strategy.

It is thus likely that Charlotte Guillard helped Pierre Haultin to start in his new career.

matrisses que mon cousin Hotin vous envoie." (*Correspondance de Christophe Plantin,* ed. Max Rooses), t. I, Anvers, 1883, p. 13).

26 About Charlotte Guillard, see B. Beech, "Charlotte Guillard", *op. cit.*

27 About the origins and history of the *Soleil d'Or*, see J. Veyrin-Forrer, "L'Atelier de la Sorbonne" in *L'Art du livre à l'Imprimerie nationale*, Paris, 1973, p. 32-53 ; H.-J. Martin, *La Naissance du livre moderne*, Paris, 1999, p. 116-131 ; and P. Aquilon, "Les trente pionnières" in *Paris, capitale des livres* (dir. Frédéric Barbier), 2007, p. 59-61. On the various stages of succession at the Soleil d'Or, see R. Jimenes, "Passeurs d'ateliers: la transmission d'une librairie parisienne. Le cas du Soleil d'Or", in *Gens du livre & gens de lettres à la Renaissance*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, p. 309-322.

28 J. Thouza, *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, 1552, f.†2r° ("*Carola Guillard candidis lectoribus S.*"): "*Quæ hosce quinquaginta annos continuos hoc imprimendi munus administro, id est gravissimum & impensarum & curarum pondus volvo moveoque.*"

29 Augustinus, *Opera* (index volume), 1555, "*Lectori cuique benevolo*": "*Quod sinon satis, huic tamen Carolae Guillart, quae Reip. & literarum gratia tanta sustulit, hodie pene decrepitae et senio confectae, aliquid condonandum quaeso existimes.*"

30 B. Beech, "Charlotte Guillard", *op. cit.*

Retrospectively, one may be surprised by such a close relationship. The *Soleil d'Or* was firmly catholic, famously close to the theologians of the University and especially to the collège de Navarre, a milieu that was hardly compatible with the religious opinions Pierre Haultin was to express thereafter during his career.31 But, looking at the wider social circle investigation, the link between Pierre Haultin and Charlotte Guillard's professionnal networks is soon apparent: Haultin started a publishing business in 1549-1550 in association with Benoît Prévost and the widow of Arnold Birckmann.32 At the very same time, Prévost was one of the associates of Charlotte Guillard. 33 In 1549, Arnold II Birckmann mandated Guillaume Desboys, nephew by marriage of the widow of Chevallon, to follow a transaction with Catherine Barbé (in Paris) and Guillaume Gazeau (in Lyon), which seems to further attest the proximity between the *Soleil d'Or* and the Birckman business.34

The biographical sketch on Haultin in Le Bé's *Mémorandum* brings up another disconcerting fact: after Haultin left for Geneva, his workshop was occupied by a type-caster called Guenet who had "worked for Chevallon in the *Soleil d'Or*" and was then working for Michelle Guillard, the widow of Guillaume Desboys and niece of Charlotte Guillard.35 Nothing is known of the mysterious typefounder who seems to have worked for the widow Chevallon and her successors. His surname seems to connect him to a family of booksellers originally from Rouen.36 He was probably a relative of Cardine Guenet, second wife of the Parisian printer Nicolas Bruslé37 – a coincidence which is even more notable since Bruslé took over the *Soleil d'Or* after the death of Michèle Guillard. The house of the Fox Tail (*La Queue de Renard*), where Guenet took over from Haultin, was situated in the rue Saint-Jacques, in front of the Saint-Benoît charnel house doors, less than fifty metres away from the *Soleil d'Or*. It is thus highly probable that Charlotte Guillard and her heirs appointed a typefounder to work at this address. It is then most probable that Haultin, the occupant of this same shop, had practised the same craft, that of typecasting, for the *Soleil d'Or* at the end of the 1540s. While starting his own personal carrier, he continued to play a considerable role in his aunt's activities.

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31 Ironically, it is Antoine de Mouchy, the text editor of Gratianus' *Decretum* in 1547, who wrote the report on the seizure of the prohibited books found at Haultin's in Paris in 1570.

32 Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens*, Paris, 1964-..., t. IV, p. 58-66.

33 Editions of Albertus Pighius (*Controversium praecipuarum in comitiis Ratisponensibus tractatarum*, 1549), of Ambroysius of Milan (*Opera omnia*, 1549), of Josse Bade (*Allegoriae simul et tropologiae in locos utrisque Testamenti*, 1551) and of the Bible of Jean Benoît (*Biblia sacra*, 1552).

34 July 12th, 1549 ; AN, MC, ET/LXXIII/14.

35 "un nommé Guenet, fondeur de lettres, lequel Guenet travailloit pour Chevallon qui demeuroit au Soleil dor et depuis pour Michelle Guillard, veufve Des Bois" (H. Carter (éd.), *Sixteenth-Century French Typefounders: the Le Bé Memorandum,* Paris, 1967)

36 An Abraham Guenet is known to have been a printer in Rouen in 1539.

37 Ph. Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*, Paris, 1964, p. 61.

The Printing materials of the Soleil d'Or[38]

This connection between Charlotte Guillard and Pierre Haultin leads us to closely examine the typography of the Soleil d'Or during the 1540s. In an important article published in 2007, Hendrik Vervliet drew up the chronology of all the types employed in Paris between 1540 and 1540, including those by Claude Chevallon, Charlotte Guillard's second husband, prior to his death in 1537.[39] Since then, the publishing of his *Conspectus* (2010) and my own bibliographical investigations have led to the establishment of a list of the types used at the *Soleil d'Or* from 1537 to 1557.

When she took charge of the *Soleil d'Or* in 1537, Charlotte Guillard inherited the numerous types acquired by Chevallon during the last years of his career, so she had at her disposal a large range of romans on different bodies and a few italics.[40] Most of these types were recent and reasonably satisfactory for her, including what Vervliet has called the François Gryphius-Chevallon types.[41] Indeed some of these faces, such as the *Saint-Augustin* roman engraved by François Gryphe, were employed continuously by Charlotte Guillard until her death.[42]. Therefore, in 1538 the widow of Chevallon replaced the only archaic type she had inherited (a roman *Gaillarde* used by Chevallon since 1526) with a new *Gaillarde* that Vervliet has attributed to Garamont.[43] Two years later, she completed her meagre collection of italics with a *Gros-romain* type which may also have been engraved by Garamont (fig. 1).[44]

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38 Dealing with French typography, I decided to use the traditional French names for type size (*e.g. Cicéro* instead of Pica, or *Gros-romain* for Great-Primer). One can find a correlation table of English and French body names in Vervliet's *Conspectus* (op. cit., p. 52-53).

39 "The Young Garamont: Roman Types Made in Paris in the 1530s", *Typography Papers,* n° 7, 2007 (reedited in *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, *op. cit.,* p. 161-214, specifically p. 169-170 for the analysis of Claude Chevallon's types).

40 In 1537, the Soleil d'Or possessed Roman types cast on *Petit-texte* (*Conspectus*, n° 12), *Gaillarde* (*Conspectus*, n° 25), *Cicéro* (*Conspectus*, n° 64), *Saint-Augustin* (*Conspectus*, n° 92), *Gros-texte* (*Conspectus*, n° 102), *Gros-Romain* (*Conspectus*, n° 114) and *Gros-Canon* (*Conspectus*, n° 146) bodies, with a series of Two-line capitals cast on *Petit-texte* (*Conspectus*, n° 161), *Petit-Romain* (*Conspectus*, n° 170), *Philosophie* (*Conspectus*, n° 186), *Saint-Augustin* (a type from Basle engraved by Schoeffer in 1517) and *Gros-romain* (*Conspectus*, n° 198). The printing workshop was less furnished with italics: Chevallon only possessed a type of *Petit-texte* (often cast on *Gaillarde* body ; *Conspectus,* n° 222) and a Basel *Cicero* (which Charlotte Guillard also cast on an *Saint-Augustin* body; also a type by Schoeffer).

41 See The Young Garamont", art. cit.

42 This type is still found in the 1555 edition of the *Genialium dierum commentarii* by Mathurin Montan.

43 *Conspectus*, n° 28.

44 *Conspectus*, n° 286. Vervliet described this character as a "proto-Garamont Great Primer Italic" ("Les italiques de corps Gros-Romain de la Renaissance Française", *Bulletin du Bibliophile,* n° 1, 1999, p. 12-16). He found this character in Jean Loys' work as early as 1540, while it only appeared at the Soleil d'Or in 1541. However, there is good reason to assume that it was in fact engraved specifically for Charlotte Guillard: firstly, Garamont is very likely to have worked for her (see *infra*), and secondly the publication in question, Louis Lasseré's *Vie de Sainct Hierosme*, a book of major importance for the Soleil d'Or, was a thick volume whose printing could very well have started as early as 1540. Louis Lasseré, headmaster of the Collège de Navarre, dedicated the book to Louise de Bourbon (on this point, see R. Jimenes, "Un hapax dans le catalogue du Soleil d'Or", in *Passeurs de Textes. Imprimeurs, éditeurs et lecteurs humanistes dans les collections de la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, Turnhout, 2009, p. 178-181). It was
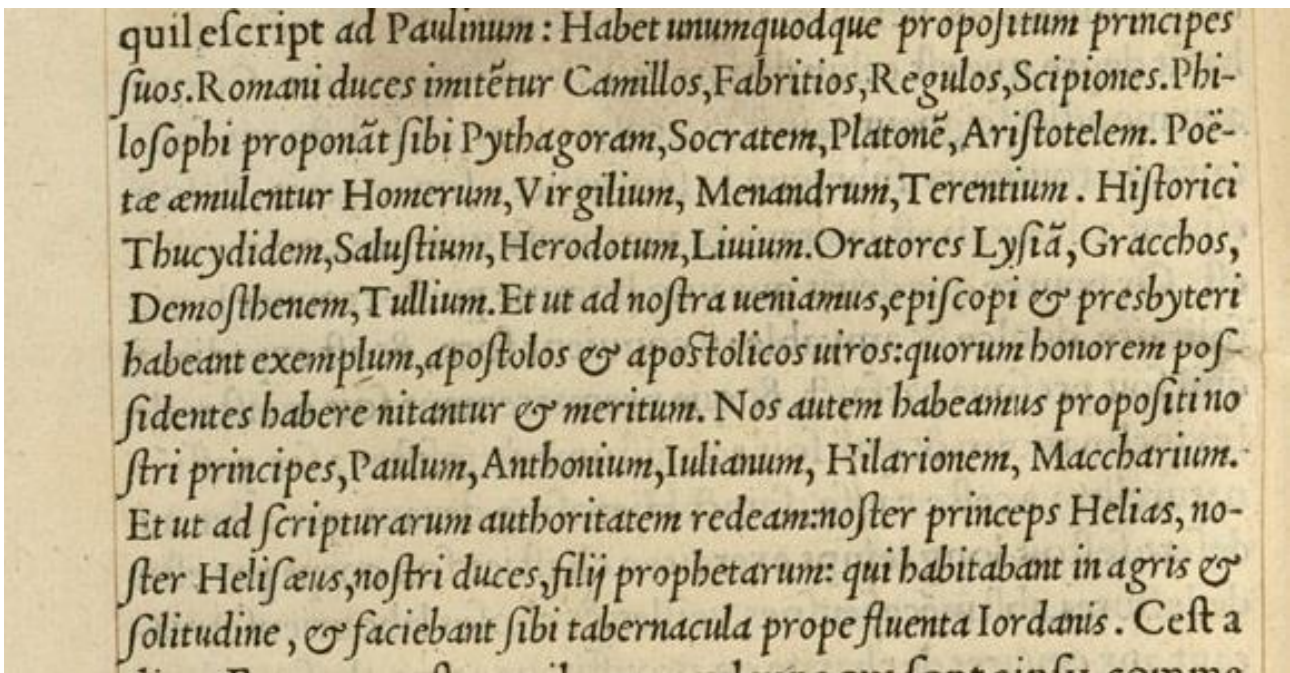
fig. 1. « Proto-Garamont » italic on *Gros-romain* (1541) as it appears in Louis Lasseré's *Vie de Monseigneur Sainct Hierosme,* Paris, Guillard, 1541, f. 32v (© Bibliothèque municipale d'Orléans / Bibliothèques Virtuelles Humanistes).

During the first eight years of her career, Charlotte Guillard did not renew her typographic equipment as her presses were furnished with quite recent and elegant types. But by the beginning or middle of the 1540s, a new generation of engravers – that of Claude Garamont and Robert Granjon – had taken the typographical craft to such a degree of perfection that even the typefaces from the previous decade suddenly began to appear archaic. A close examination of the *Soleil d'Or*'s production highlights a short period between 1546 and 1551 during which Charlotte Guillard acquired many new types to replace those acquired by Chevallon during the 1530s.

Thus, a *Petit-parangon* (or large *Gros-romain*, measuring roughly 126mm for 20 lines of type) appeared in 1546 ; it apparently had never been used in the printshop before (see fig. 2).[45] It is probably a variation of the *Gros-romain* italic referred to as the « Basel italic », the first widely-used italic with slopped capitals.[46] A very common typeface in the

embellished with numerous woodcuts, some of which can be found in a previous edition of Josse Bade, and others making their first appearance. The italic *Gros-romain* figured prominently in this edition, as it was employed throughout the text for the inumerable (and often very long) latin quotations, whereas in Jean Loys' *De Optimo genere interpretandi*, it was only employed for a dedicatory epistle dated 20th september 1540. Vervliet did not categorically attribute the type to Garamont, but wrote: "Maybe the appearance of the character in Charlotte Guillard's work is the key to the mistery. [...] It is thus possible that this character is well and truly cut by Garamont. It would then be his first Italic [...]. This first attempt would explain the irregular slope of the lower cases and the other small flaws of the type."

45 Measurements: 20 lignes = approx. 125 ; x = 2.3 ; h = 3.8 ; X = 4.
46 Alberto Tinto, "Il corsivo di Basilea e la sua diffusione" in B. M. Biagiarelli and D. E. Rhodes (ed.), *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi*, Florence, 1973, p. 427-442.

late 1530 and 1540, it supposedly originated in Basle, altough it seems to appears predominantly under Sébastien Gryphius' shop in Lyon beginning in 1537.[47] Common also in Basle, Peter Schoeffer (its likely creator) used it in Venice in 1541. Tinto found it in Paris in some of Poncet Le Preux's imprints from the same year of 1546.[48] It was the first italic with sloped capitals to be used by Charlotte Guillard - a further sign that she wished to modernise her typography. Though clearly innovative, the drawing of this type is none the less clumsy: the slope and the height of the capitals are irregular; the lower case letters are not all properly placed on the baseline; the drawing is quite rigid (see the coma) ; the *g*, both too big and somewhat misshapen, with an ear that sometimes goes oddly up to the left. These flaws probably explain why it was only used for a short period of time at the *Soleil d'Or*: in 1546, it appears only in the title pages of the *Opera omnia* of St Jerome[49] and the *Catena in Genesim* of Luigi Lippomano[50], and the following year on the title page of the *Opera Basilii Magni*[51] ; it did not appear afterwards.

Fig. 2. Basel *Gros-romain* italic, cast on *Petit-paragon* as it appears in Hieronymus'*Opera,* Paris, Guillard, 1541, titlepage (© Rémi Jimenes)

At the beginning of 1548, in an edition of Gratianus' *Decretorum collectanea*[52], two new italics appeared at the *Soleil d'Or*[53], both engraved by Robert Granjon, respectively on

47 Jean Salmon Macrin, *Odarum libri VI,* Lyon, Gryphius, 1537; Claude Rosselet, *Epigrammata*; et Étienne Dolet, *De re navali liber*, Lyon, Gryphius, 1537 (f. c2). On this type, see A.F. Johnson, *Type Designs: their History and Development*, London, Grafton, 1934, pp. 146-149 (note, however, that Fig. 45 is not from a Gryphius imprint but rather a Dolet publication and shows a distinct variety of this type, perhaps of Lyonese origin). Thanks to William Kemp for guidance on these types.

48 François Titelmans, *Paraphrastica elucidatio in Evangelia*, Paris, Poncet Le Preux for Jean Maheu, 1546 (USTC 204812).

49 *Divi Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis, opera omnia quae extant...* Parisiis, Ex officina Carolae Guillard anno domini, 1546 (USTC 149635).

50 *Catena in Genesim... authore, Aloisio Lippomano Menonensis episcopo...* Parisiis, Ex officina Carolae Guillard, 1546 (Adams, L-749 ; USTC 149526).

51 *Operum D. Basilii magni... prior[-secundus] tomus*, Parisiis, Ex officina Carolae Guillard, 1547 [=1548 n. st.] (Adams, B-337 ; USTC 195969).

52 *Decretorum collectanea...* [Paris,] Apud Carolam Guillard et Gulielmum Desbois, 1547 (USTC 195904)

53 The *Decretum* is dated of 1547, but it should probably be interpreted as 1548 in new style: the text exists in two states, one with an epistle dated of the "8th day of the ides of january 1547" (6th of january 1548 n. st.) and the other of the "8th of the calendes of march" (22nd of february).

Petit-romain and *Gros-romain* bodies. The *Petit-romain* type had already been used in Paris for just under a year and a half, since Jeanne de Marnef had employed it in an edition of Apuleius finished around 1546 (fig. 3).[54] Jacques Bogard, Charlotte Guillard's nephew, had used it in december 1546 in an edition of Leonhart Fuchs' *De historia stirpium commentarii*, in which Guillard's also participated.[55]

Idem.

Canonici(qui à diuinis ceſſare poſſunt:cū ceſſare voluerint,vŏ
cabunt abſentes,ſicut ſi immineret electio facienda,cum quibus de
ceſſatione deliberabunt: & ſi deliberant ceſſare, requirent prius
eum,contra quem ceſſant,vt irrogatam offenſam emendet: quod ſi
fecerit,non ceſſabunt:alioquin ceſſare poterūt,ita quòd à ceſſatio-
ne intra menſem,vtraque pars & ceſſans,& cōtra quem ceſſatur
iter arripiat eundi ad papam,vel per ſe, vel per procuratores ſuf-
ficienter inſtructos:niſi interim interuenerit concordia inter ipſos.
Et continuatis dietis,quàm cito poterunt ſe coram papa præſen-
tent,vt vtraq; parte præſente,vel altera cōtumaciter abſente,pa-
pa definiat negociū & culpabiles puniat:& ſi pars ceſſans prædi-
cta non ſeruet,ceſſatio non ſeruetur.Ioan. And.Capitulum.viii.

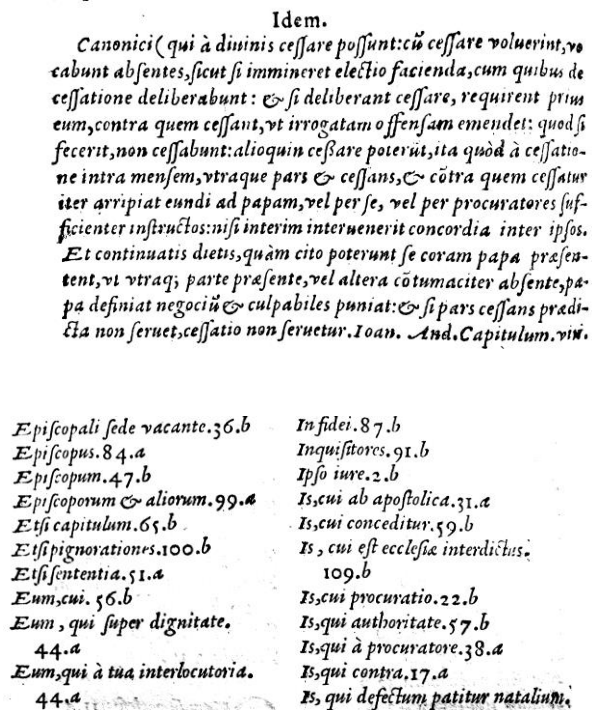|	
Epiſcopali ſede vacante.36.b	In fidei.87.b
Epiſcopus.84.a	Inquiſitores.91.b
Epiſcopum.47.b	Ipſo iure.2.b
Epiſcoporum & aliorum.99.a	Is,cui ab apoſtolica.31.a
Etſi capitulum.65.b	Is,cui conceditur.59.b
Etſi pignorationes.100.b	Is , cui eſt eccleſia interdictus.
Etſi ſententia.51.a	109.b
Eum,cui. 56.b	Is,cui procuratio.22.b
Eum , qui ſuper dignitate.	Is,qui authoritate.57.b
44.a	Is,qui à procuratore.38.a
Eum,qui à tua interlocutoria.	Is,qui contra.17.a
44.a	Is, qui defectum patitur natalium.

Fig. 3a and 3b. Granjon's *Petit-romain* italic, as it appears in Boniface VIII, *Sextus Decretalium liber,* Paris, Guillard, 1550.

The use of Granjon's new *Gros-romain* italic in Gratianus' *Decretorum collectanea* is more surprising (fig. 4).[56] This appears to be its only Parisian appeerence. Vervliet found several lines of it in Lyon in 1547 at Jean de Tournes' printshop, but its presence at the *Soleil d'Or* immediately afterwards seems to have escaped his attention. Its use by Charlotte Guillard is surprising, since this type, whose great commercial success was described by Vervliet, has not been found in Paris, "where apparently Garamont's italic Great Primer [with sloped capitals] was standing in its way".[57] And in all the other editions of 1548 and 1549, Charlotte Guillard re-used systematically the "proto-Garamont" of 1541.

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54 *Conspectus*, n° 241.
55 *De historia stirpium commentarii insignes*, Paris, Jacques Bogard with Charlotte Guillard and Vivant Gaultherot, 1547 (Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens*, t. V, 1991, n° 233 ; USTC 116918)
56 *Conspectus*, n° 290.
57 H.D.L. Vervliet, "Les italiques de corps Gros-Romain de la Renaissance Française", op. cit., n° 7, p. 26.

Only at the end of 1549 was this old type replaced by the Garamont type with sloped capitals.[58] In 1548, the *Soleil d'Or* used another new type by Robert Granjon, a *Petit-canon*
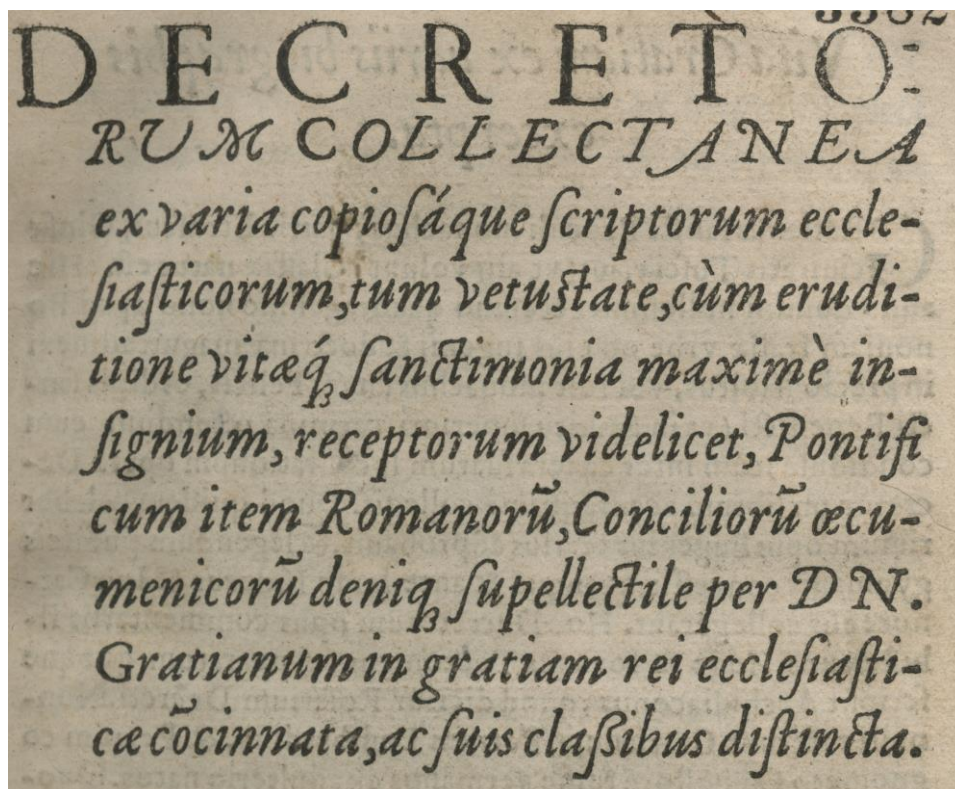
roman from 1547, which Charlotte Guillard used afterwards for nearly all her title pages.[59]

Fig. 4. Robert Granjon's *Gros-romain* italic, as it appears in Gratianus' *Decretroum collectanea*, Paris, Guillard, 1547, title page (© Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale).

Even more than Robert Granjon, Pierre Haultin played a key role in the renewal of the characters of the *Soleil d'Or*. In 1547, for the index of Gratianus' *Decretorum collectanea*, Charlotte Guillard replaced the archaic *Cicéro* italic cut by Schoeffer in the 1520s by a Haultin typeface (fig. 5).[60] She used this type again in 1549 in a large latin bible with commentary by Jean Benoît[61]. A *Cicéro* roman attributed to Haultin[62] was found in 1548 in a voluminous in-quarto edition of the glossed *Pandectae* (fig. 6).[63] In 1550, a *Petit-Romain* finally appeared at the *Soleil d'Or*, a typeface that Vervliet has attributed without certainty to Haultin.[64] Hendrik Vervliet rightly noted that the *Cicéro* italic and the *Petit-romain*

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58 *Conspectus*, n° 289. First appearance at the *Soleil d'Or* in the edition of the *Codex Theodosiani* by Jean Du Tillet (1550 ; Adams, T-544 ; USTC 196283).

59 *Conspectus*, n° 140. Vervliet found this caracter as early as 1547 in Lyon (at Jean de Tournes') and in Paris (Mathieu David for Jean de Roigny).

60 *Conspectus*, n°271.

61 *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam*, Parisiis, Apud Carolam Guillard, 1549 (Adams, B-1041 ; USTC 150167)

62 *Conspectus*, n° 72.

63 *Digestorum seu Pandectarum tomus primus*, Paris, Apud Carolam Guillard, 1548 (Adams, J-562 ; USTC 150007)

64 *Conspectus*, n°42 and 19.

both appeared for the first time at the *Soleil d'Or*. Haultin's *Cicéro* roman is ascribed to the press of Michel Fezandat in 1548, but the use of this type in the large edition of the glossed *Pandectae* given by Charlotte Guillard the same year seems to have escaped Vervliet's attention. It is therefore plausible that this type also made its first appearance in 1548 at the *Soleil d'Or*.[65]
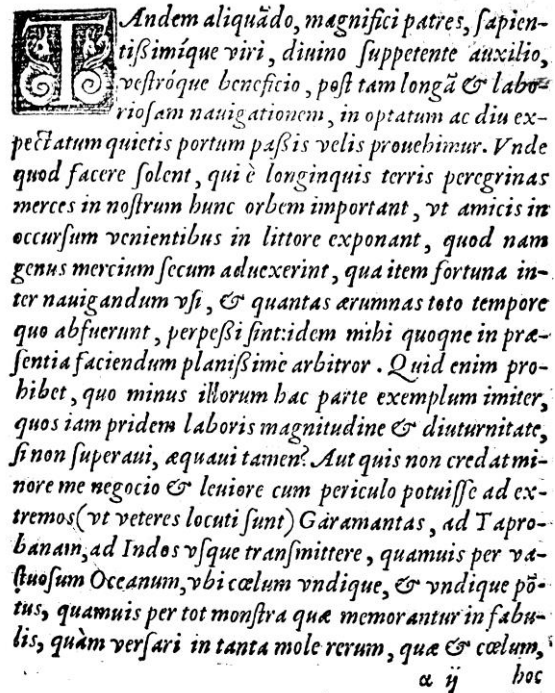
Andem aliquãdo, magnifici patres, sapien-
tissimíque viri, diuino suppetente auxilio,
vestróque beneficio, post tam longã & labo-
riosam nauigationem, in optatum ac diu ex-
pectatum quietis portum passis velis prouehimur. Vnde
quod facere solent, qui è longinquis terris peregrinas
merces in nostrum hunc orbem important, vt amicis in
occursum venientibus in littore exponant, quod nam
genus mercium secum aduexerint, qua item fortuna in-
ter nauigandum vsi, & quantas ærumnas toto tempore
quo abfuerunt, perpessi sint:idem mihi quoqne in præ-
sentia faciendum planissime arbitror . Quid enim pro-
hibet, quo minus illorum hac parte exemplum imiter,
quos iam pridem laboris magnitudine & diuturnitate,
si non superaui, æquaui tamen? Aut quis non credat mi-
nore me negocio & leuiore cum periculo potuisse ad ex-
tremos(vt veteres locuti sunt) Garamantas, ad Tapro-
banam,ad Indos vsque transmittere, quamuis per va-
stuosum Oceanum,vbi cœlum vndique, & vndique põ-
tus, quamuis per tot monstra quæ memorantur in fabu-
lis, quàm versari in tanta mole rerum, quæ & cœlum,

α ij   hoc

Fig. 5. Pierre Haultin's *Cicéro* italic (1549), as it appears in Justinianus, Νεαρῶ ν τῶ ν ἐ ν τῶ νῦ ν Ἐ υρισκομενων καὶ ὡ ς ἐ υρισκονται βιβ λί ον, Paris, Guillard, 1553, preface (© Rémi Jimenes).

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65 One can also find in the production of the *Soleil d'Or* a roman Petit-Texte which Vervliet was tempted to attribute to Haultin. Describing this type, he indicated: "This typeface is attributed to Haultin on grounds of its style and appearance in the Haultin imprints of Paris and La Rochelle. The ascription is corroborated by its first occurrence in Lyons during the period Haultin stayed there and by the entry of the c. 1618 Le Bé *inventory*" ("Printing types of Pierre Haultin", *op. cit.*, reedition p. 252, nº 3). The *Conspectus* helped to revise the date of the first appearance of this typeface, found in Paris in 1552, in an in-4º Bible published by Charlotte Guillard. The choice of the eponymous Guillard associated with this type seems however inappropriate: the Bible in question is not from the press of the Soleil d'Or, but from that of Benoît Prévost, often associated to Pierre Haultin (which reinforces the attribution). This type could have been engraved by Haultin before he left for Geneva in october 1550.

Inter prædones autem hoc iudicium locum non habet: ᶜnec fi precario pof fideant locum habebit, nec fi vi aut clam, quia iniufta caufa eft *. precaria vero iufta quidem eft, fed quæ non pergat ad huius* iu- dicij ᵈvigorem. Iulianus fcribit, fi alter poffefforᵉ prouocet, alter dicat eum vi poffidere: non debere hoc iudicium dari ne poft annum quidem: quia pla- cuit etiam poft annum in eum qui vi deiecerit, inter- diᴄtum reddiᶠ. Et fi preca- rio(inquit)dicat eum poffi dereᵍ, adhuc ceffabit hoc* iudiciũ: & de precario in–

B

vtili iudicio locus: cum vin dicationem ᴾ habere pof- fit. Cum de vfufruᴄtu cõ- muni diuidũdo iudicio a- gitur�q: iudex officium fuũ ita diriget, vt vel regioni- bus eis vti frui permittat: vel locet vfumfruᴄtum vni ex illis, * vel tertiæ perfo- næ: vt hi penfiones fine vl- la controuerfia percipiant. vel fi res mobiles fint: etiã fic poteritʳ, vt inter eos conueniant: caueántque per tẽpora fe vfuros frui- turos: hoc eft, vt apud fin- gulos mutua vice certo tempore fit vfuffruᴄtusᶠ.

Neque colonis, neque eis qui depofitum fufcepe-

C

Fig. 6. Pierre Haultin's *Cicéro* roman, as it appears in Justinianus, *Digestorum seu pandectarum,* Paris, Guillard, 1548 (© Rémi Jimenes)

At the same time, the *Soleil d'Or* renewed its engraved ornamental materials: from 1547, the old initials with a *criblé* background were gradually replaced by two series of initials with white background decorated with foliage scrolls and thinly framed in black (fg. 9a and 9b). This unusual design in Parisian printing of the time seems to have been inspired by the initials of the translation of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* which Kerver published in 1546. Already found in Gratianus's *Decretum*, the new ornamental letters were largely used in the glossed edition of the *Pandectae* (1548-1550). For the editions of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Charlotte Guillard also had two new printer's devices engraved, which were decorated with entirely new Italian inspired patterns, following the new art style of Fontainebleau[66] . From then on, these new devices replaced those that Chevallon had had engraved at the beginning of the 1520s.

66 Ph. Renouard, *Les Marques typographiques* parisiennes, Paris, 1926, n°179 and 180.
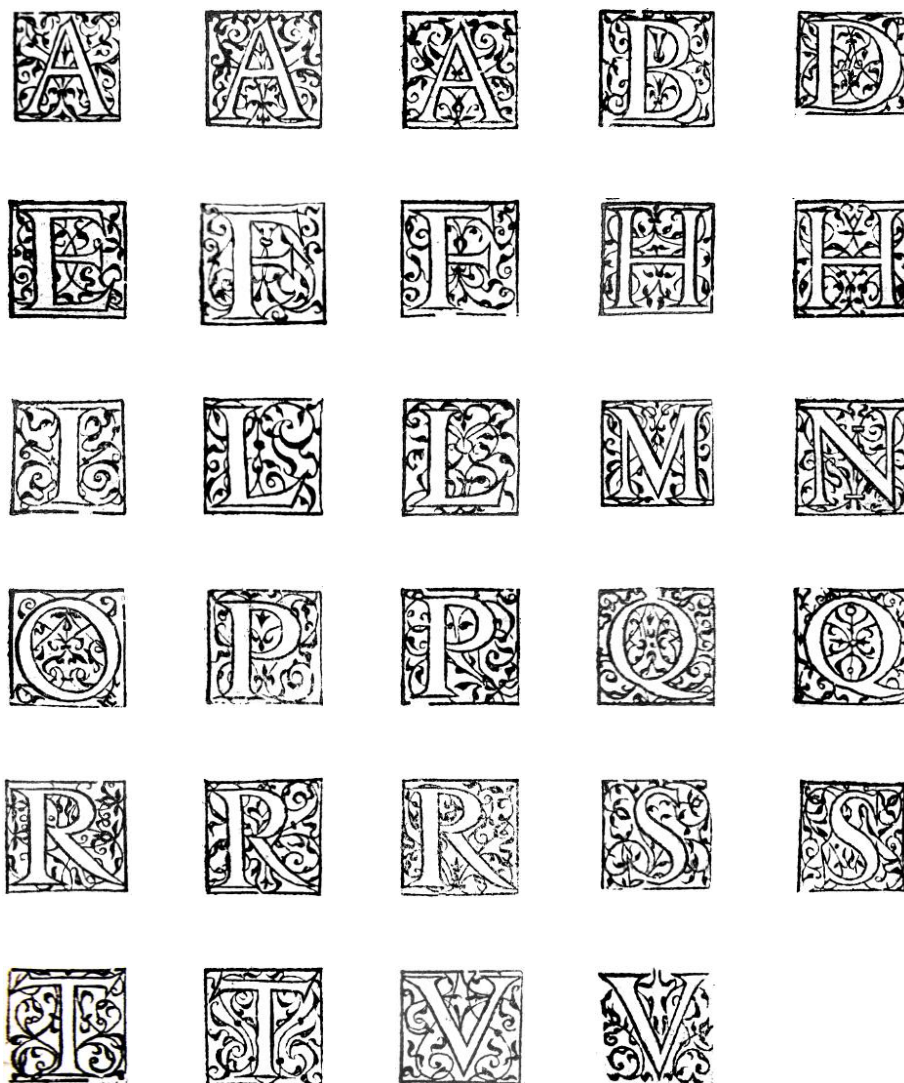
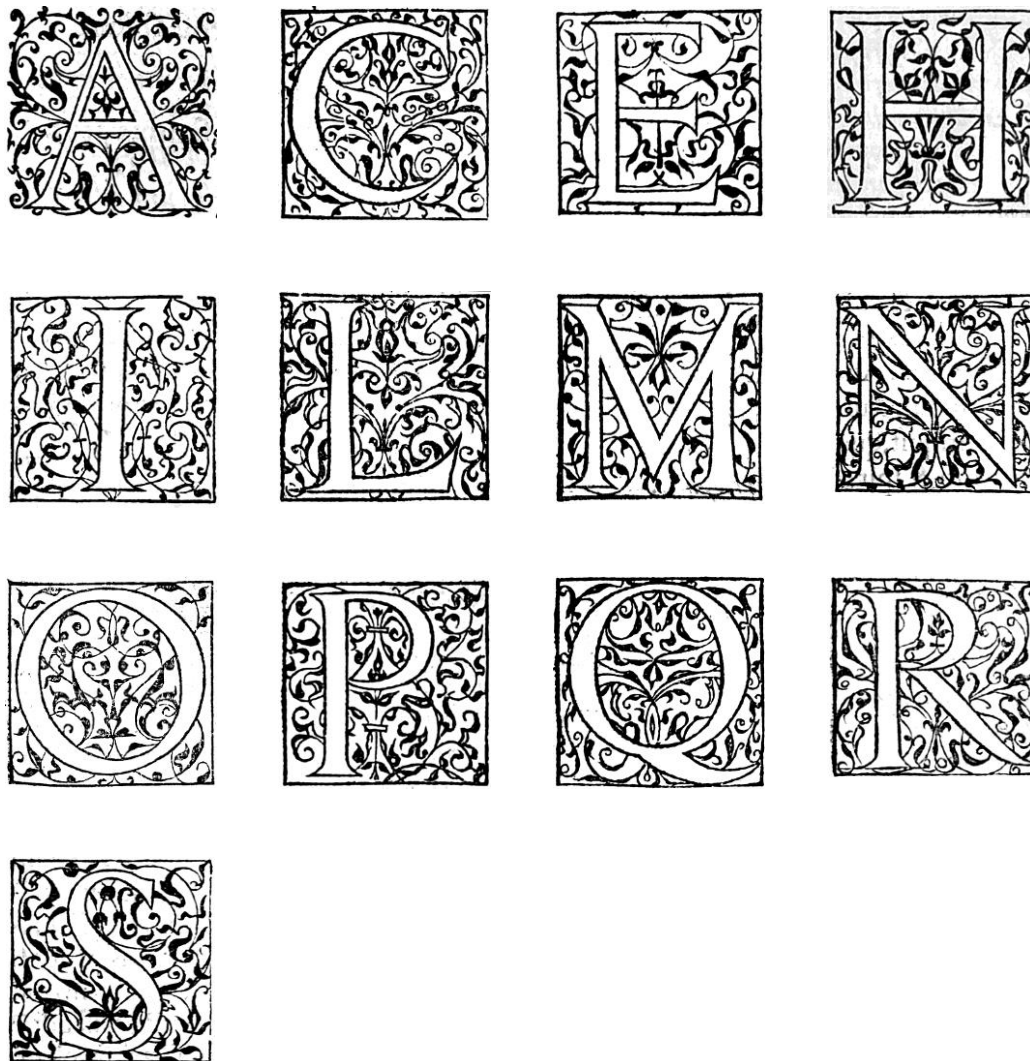fig. 9a. The Soleil d'Or initials (approx 15 x 15 mm) as they appeared in 1548 (© Rémi Jimenes)

fig. 9b. The *Soleil d'Or* initials (approx 25 x 25 mm) as they appeared in 1548. In the begining of the 1550s, the black frame will be suppress (© Rémi Jimenes).

This typographical mutation took place when the *Soleil d'Or* was in full bloom editorially speaking. At the same time Charlotte Guillard's presses were printing thick volumes of Church Fathers works (Hieronymus in 1546, Basilius and Bernardus in 1547, Ambrosius in 1549); she produced consecutively an important critical edition of Gratianus' *Decretum* by Antoine de Mouchy and two editions of the *Corpus Juris civilis*, one glossed in-quatro established by Jean du Tillet and Louis Miré, the other in-octavo without gloss prepared by Jacques de Vintimille.

In 1547-1548, Haultin was still a rather inexperienced craftsman. The order for new types in 1547-1548 could be interpreted as a well-meaning patronage from the experienced

Charlotte Guillard, aimed at promoting her nephew's integration in the book business. On the other hand, Haultin, having recently finished his apprenticeship with one of the Parisian masters, was well aware of the value of the new typefaces which had been gradually introduced into French typography for the past 15 years, i.e. the introduction of the first Aldine romans in 1530-1531[67]. If, as I have supposed, the young man worked as a founder for the *Soleil d'Or*, then it can reasonnably be assumed that Haultin was the initiator of the "typographical rebirth" of the workshop in the years 1546-1550. He may have inspired, conceived and carried it out.

Haultin wood engraver

In addition to renewing her types, Charlotte Guillard also changed her ornamental material, and here again we must consider the possible role of Pierre Haultin. It is known that in the 1540s, Haultin may have worked concurrently as a punchutter and an engraver ("tailleur d'histoires"). A 1547 contract of apprenticeship discovered by Annie Parent-Charon, in which Haultin is explicitly described as an "engraver of plates and letters for printing" ("*tailleurs d'histoires et lettres a imprimer*"), shows that he could teach illustration engraving both on wood and copper ("*la taille d'histoires tant en boys que cuyvre*").[68] Even if intaglio may have arrived in Paris within the same period or shortly after that date[69], I don't think that Haultin had mastered this technique. The copper-engraving mentionned by this document is more probably metalcut for relief printing.

About Haultin's activity as a plate engraver, Vervliet explains:

> it seems premature to point to particular items, except perhaps for some delicious woodcut initals and headpieces, appearing in early imprints of Ruelle, Du Chemin and Crespin, in Fezandat's *Chanson* of 1556, Guevara's *Marc Aurele* (Paris, Jean Le Royer, 1565) and in Haultin's *Institution de la Religion chrestienne* and *Calendrier historial,* published in 1565, 1567 and 1571 in Lyon, Paris and La Rochelle respectively. They are well designed and mix arabesque leaves, human figures or dots in a startling and personal style.[70]

These peculiar ornaments are reproduced in fig. 10.

67 W. Kemp, "Latomus, F. Gryphe, Augereau and the Aldine Romans in Paris, 1531-1533", *The Library,* 6th s., n° 13, 1991, p. 23-47.

68 Decembre 29th, 1547 (AN, MC, ET/LXXII/11), mentionned by A. Parent, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

69 A. Parent-Charon (*op. cit.* p. 87) has referred to a copperplate engraver in 1549 ("Pierre Milan, graveur en lames de cuivre"), but intaglio printing is extremely rare in Parisian books before the 1560s.

70 H.D.L. Vervliet, "Printing types of Pierre Haultin"*,* art. cit., see *Palaeotypography, op. cit.*, p. 244.

fig. 10. Woodcut ornaments attributed to Haultin by H.D.L. Vervliet, as they appear in Guevara, *L'Histoire de Marc Aurele*, Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1565 (Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, 107287)

The Bibliothèque Nationale de France has a copy of a map showing the city of Boulogne and its vicinity, whose caption is entirely written in first-person and signed "in Paris, by Pierre Haultin, rue Saint Jacques, at the fox-tail. 1550" ("*A Paris, par Pierre Haultin, rue s. Iaques à la queue de Regnart. 1550*")[71]. This large woodcut plate (42 x 57 cm) is quite roughly engraved. It is interesting got note that, contrary to the usual practice of the time, none of the toponyms appearing on it is cut: all the wording is set with roman or italic type inserted in the woodplate.

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[71] *La Figure de Boulongne ensemble des fortz et places circonvoysines*, BnF, Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (932). A fac-simile is available on-line in Gallica digital library.

The family link established between Charlotte Guillard and Pierre Haultin allows us to put forward some other hypothetical attributions. Although their style differs substantialy from the set identified by Vervliet, Pierre Haultin might have cut the initials employed by Charlotte Guillard from 1547 onward (fig. 9a and 9b). In the begining of the 1550s, these ornamental initials are at times used by the printer Sébastien Nivelle, Haultin's cousin and Guillard's associate. At the same moment, another interesting set of initials appears under Nivelle's presse. Their style may not be as personnal and delicate as the set attributed by Vervliet to Haultin, but they show all the same features: dots, black arabesque leaves and human or animal figures (fig. 11). They may also be the work of Pierre Haultin.

fig. 11. Woodcut ornaments used by Sébastien Nivelle during the 1550s as they appeared in Nectarius' *Orationes*(1554), Chrysostomus' *Homiliae duae* (1554) and Périon's *Diologorum de linguae Gallicae origine* (1555). (Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, 328655 and 343442)

Pierre Haultin: apprentice of Claude Garamont ?

This brief study of Pierre Haultin's origins has led to a reassessment of the role played by the *Soleil d'Or* in the history of typography. The fact that the *Soleil d'Or* was the first shop to obtain the *Cicéro* and the *Petit-romain* italics as well as *Cicér*o roman engraved by Pierre Haultin in 1548-1550 seems to be far from insignificant: Charlotte Guillard, wishing to renew her materials, may have ordered new types directly from Haultin and thus she played a decisive role in the career and training of one of the most talented punchcutters of the Renaissance. In addition, as we have seen, Haultin may well have been the contact by which the *Soleil d'O*r obtained a few others recently cut founts by Garamont and by Granjon.

The proven link between Charlotte Guillard and Pierre Haultin leads us to put forward a final hypothesis about Haultin's training as a punchcutter. Haultin is not the only punchcutter who worked for the Soleil d'Or. The Le Bé *Memorandum* explains:

> Claude Garamont served his apprenticeship to Augereau, and finished it about 1510. Then he went out to work as a journeyman here or there for masters of that day: he even worked for Pierre Haultin. After that he set up for himsel and was in the house of Chevallon [*i.e. the Soleil d'Or*], where he began by cutting an English and a Pica which we call 'de la premiere taille' of Garamond, meaning that they are not so satisfactying in their proportions as those that he cut later. The punches are still to be seen. He was still working in that place, the Golden Sun in the Rue Saint Jacques after Chevallon's death, when the widow was in charge of it. After that, he took to working in his own house in the Rue des Carmes.[72]

Obviously, here the *Memorandum* mixes true and false information. But it makes a major observation: at the begining of his career, Garamont worked at the *Soleil d'Or* for Claude Chevallon and then for his widow, Charlotte Guillard.

Hendrik Vervliet has summarized all known information about Garamont's career in an important paper published in 2007.[73] According to him, Garamont was born ca. 1510 (i.e. 1520[74]), ended his apprenticeship before 1534, worked as a journeyman before 1538, married in 1537, and established as a master ca. 1538.[75] The first type ascribed to

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72 H. Carter (éd.), *Sixteenth-Century French Typefounders: the Le Bé Memorandum,* Paris, 1967, p. 17-18. The original was: "Claude Garamont ayant fait son apprentissage chez Augereau [...] se mit à travailler pour luy et fut chez Chevallon ou il commença, Et grava un Sainct Augustin et un Cicero, que nous appellons de la premiere taille dudit Garamond, cest adire qui nest pas encor si parfait en la proportion comme il se fassona depuis, Nous en voyons encor des poinsons, Et travailla encor audit lieu depuis le deceds dudit Chevallon, ruë St. Jacques au soleil d'or chez [*raturé:* la chevallonne] sa veufve".

73 H.D.L. Vervliet, "The young Garamont: Roman Types Made in Paris in the 1530s", *Typography papers,* 7, 2007, p. 5-60 (revised in *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance, op. cit.*, t. I, p. 161-214).

74 See note 12.

75 Ibid., cf. *Palaeotypography,* p. 171.

Garamont when working for the *Soleil d'Or* is a *Gaillarde* roman in 1538.[76] We know that Garamond settled at his own house, "à l'enseigne des Quatre fils Aymon" before novembre 1540.[77] In the 1540s, Garamont recruited apprentices: a certain Pierre Legat trained under Garamont's direction in 1543.[78]

We have previously explained that Haultin does not seem to have been active as a professional in the 1530s, as he seems to have ended his apprenticeship in the early 1540s; therefore, it is very doubtful that Garamont was recruited by him. Vervliet also remarks that "if ever there was a connection between them, the reverse would be less surprising".[79]

The new elements we have brought to the fore about Pierre Haultin's family roots seems to stenghten this possibility. They help to explain the confusion made by Guillaume II Le Bé about an hypothetical relation between Garamont and Haultin: Haultin probably did his apprenticeship in the late 1530s, at the time Claude Garamont worked at the Soleil d'Or. So, we must examine seriously the possibility that Haultin was Garamont's apprentice – clearly a matter that deserves further study.

76 *Conspectus*, n⁰ 28.
77 A. Parent-Charon, "Les Grecs du Roi et l'étude du monde antique", *L'Art du livre à l'Imprimerie nationale*, Paris, 1973, p. 55-67.
78 August 27th, 1543 (AN, MC, ET/CXXII/1246)
79 H.D.L. Vervliet, "The young Garamont", cf. *Palaeotypography*, p. 169.