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Where and How to Print the Florentine *Pandects*: Paris, Basle, Lyons, Venice or Florence?

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Abstract

The 6th-century manuscript of the *Corpus juris civilis* or *Pandects* was given considerable scrutiny by some of Europe's leading legal scholars during the 1530s and early 1540s: Andrea Alciati, Emilio Ferretti, Lelio Torelli, Antonio Agustín, Jean Matal. As their studies progressed, the decision was made to print the manuscript in its entirety. But where? By whom? And in what form and type?

During the years 1541-1544, correspondence between Torelli, Matal and Agustín indicates the first-rank publishers that they were considering: Robert Estienne in Paris, Froben & Episcopus in Basle, Gryphius in Lyons, Giolitto or others in Venice, and perhaps Florence, where the manuscript was held. In spite of Ferretti's ardent defence of Gryphius and Matal's arguments in favour of Froben, the question was finally decided by the owner of the manuscript, Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, in 1546: the precious manuscript must be printed in Florence.

But none of the printers active there were capable of assuming such a mammoth undertaking. In the end, Cosimo and his advisors invited an unknown printer to come set up shop in Florence. Lorenzo Torrentino, a bookseller in Bologna, accepted this challenge, even though he had never signed his name to a single book. He began printing as ducal printer in 1547 and he finally published the 1,666 folio pages of the *Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri* in 1553, using French types engraved by Robert Granjon and Michel Du Boys.

It is intriguing to note that Gryphius's purchases of large-letter roman types fall roughly in the years that Ferretti was presenting his case at court in Florence. I examine what is perhaps Gryphius's most prestigious publication, the large-letter version of the *Biblia sacra* in 1550, using types cut by Robert Granjon that he purchased during and just after his negotiations with the Duke in Florence via Ferretti.

Résumé

Où et comment imprimer les *Pandectes* florentines : Paris, Bâle, Lyon, Venise ou Florence ?

Le manuscrit du *Corpus juris civilis* ou *Pandectes* (VI^e siècle) a été étudié de près par les plus grands juristes d'Europe dans les années 1530 et 1540 : Andrea Alciati, Emilio Ferretti, Lelio Torelli, Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal. Suite à leurs analyses, on décida de faire imprimer le manuscrit dans son intégralité. Mais où ? Par qui ? Sous quelle forme et avec quelle typographie ?

Entre 1541 et 1544, la correspondance échangée par Torelli, Matal et Agustín révèle qu'ils considéraient plusieurs typographes de premier plan : Robert Estienne à Paris, Froben et Episcopus à Bâle, Gryphe à Lyon, Giolito et d'autres à Venise, ou à Florence, où était conservé le manuscrit. Malgré la vive défense de Gryphe par Ferretti, et les arguments de Matal en faveur de Froben, c'est finalement le possesseur du manuscrit, Cosimo I de' Medici, qui décida en 1546 : le précieux manuscrit devait être publié à Florence.

Or, aucun des imprimeurs de cette ville n'était alors en mesure d'entreprendre un si vaste projet. Cosimo et ses conseillers invitèrent alors un inconnu à établir une imprimerie à Florence : Lorenzo Torrentino, libraire à Bologne, accepta le défi bien que n'ayant jamais publié de livre jusqu'alors. Il commença son activité comme imprimeur ducal en 1547 et acheva les 1666 pages in-folio du *Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri* en 1553, ayant utilisé des caractères français gravés par Robert Granjon et Michel Du Boys.

Il est à noter que Gryphe acquit de grands caractères romains plus ou moins au moment où Ferretti argumentait son cas à la cour de Florence. J'examine ce qui est peut-être la publication la plus prestigieuse de Gryphe, la *Biblia sacra* de 1550, imprimée avec des caractères taillés par Granjon achetés pendant et juste après ses négociations avec le duc à Florence par le biais de Ferretti.

Where and How to Print the Florentine *Pandects*: Paris, Basle, Lyons, Venice or Florence?

William Kemp

À Reinhard Bodenman, appenzellois,
maître suprême de l'univers épistolaire renaissant

SINCE the beginning of the 1540s, various scholars had been working on the ancient, archetypal manuscript of the *Corpus juris civilis* or *Pandects* (sixth century), conserved at the time in the Medici Library in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence.¹ Lelio Torelli, juriconsult for Duke Cosimo and his First Secretary as of 1546, had been labouring over the manuscript since the 1530s. Antonio Agustín, lawyer and philologist, had been deeply engaged with this work since finishing his law studies with Andrea Alciati at Bologna in 1541. Torelli published some of his transcriptions and notes in 1542: *Ad Gallum & legem Velleam; Ad Catonem & Paulum; De Militis ex casu. Ex Pandectarum Florentinarum exemplarium*. Unsigned, this edition was surely printed by the Giunti in Florence probably at Torelli's expense.² In 1543, Agustín published further texts and notes under the title *Emendationum et opinionum libri quattuor*, printed by the heirs of Lucantonio Giunta in Venice. These two works were united in an edition printed in Basle by Johann Oporin in 1544. Separately, Sebastian Gryphius republished Agustín's *Emendationum* in Lyon in 1544 and Torelli's texts the year after.³

In 1542 and 1543, these scholars were already thinking about the publication of this precious document. A large span of publishers was proposed by the group of humanists around Torelli and Agustín. Already in 1541, in the epistle to Cardinal Salviati at the head of his edition of Cicero's *Orationes Verrinae et Philippicae*, published by Gryphius, Emilio Ferretti had mentioned his own work on the text of the *Pandects*.⁴ In a letter to Torelli dated 1 September 1542, their friend and colleague Jean Matal first suggested the house of Robert Estienne in Paris for

1. On this whole question, see the section 'Humanistic Jurisprudence' in Paul Grendler's *The Universities in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 436-443. See also, Giovanni Gualandi's 'Per la storia della *editio princeps* delle *Pandette Fiorentine* di Lelio Torelli', in *Le Pandette di Giustiniano. Storia e fortuna di un codice illustre. Due giornate di studio, Firenze 23-24 giugno 1983* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1986), pp. 143-198; and Davide Baldi, 'Il *Codex Florentinus* del Digesto e il 'Fondo Pandette' della Biblioteca Laurenziana (con un'appendice di documento inediti)', *Segno e testo. International Journal of Manuscripts and Text Transmission*, 8, (2010), pp. 99-186.

2. The thick capital letters measuring 6 mm at the top of the title-page 'LAELII TAVRELLI' seem to indicate that this publication was printed by the Giunti in Florence. A partial scan is available on the website of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (MAGL.1.6.28./b).

3. Brief descriptions of these editions can be found in the Universal Short Title Catalogue's online database (www.ustc.ac.uk): Torelli 1542: USTC 859645; Agustín 1543: USTC 808134; Agustín & Torelli 1544: USTC 611990; Torelli 1545: USTC 149267.

4. There is currently no full article on Ferretti in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (henceforth, DBI), but there does exist a brief sketch. For present purposes, see the Appendice 7, 'Quelques remarques sur la vie d'Emilio Ferretti (1489 – 1552)', in Jean-Louis Ferrary (ed.), *Correspondance de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal (1542-1553)* (Como: Edizioni New Press, 1992), pp. 271-276, where it is established that Ferretti was in Florence from 15 October 1545 to 20 August 1546. See also William Kemp, 'Les historiens latins chez Gryphe au début des années 1540', in Raphaële Mouren (ed.) *'Quid novi ?' Sébastien Gryphe à l'occasion du 450^e anniversaire de sa mort*. (Villeurbanne: Presses de l'Enssib, 2008), pp. 341-356 and 498-502. Also, Glyn P. Norton, 'The Emilio Ferretti Letter: a Critical Preface for Marguerite de Navarre', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 4, (1974), pp. 287-300, and Alessandro Bertolini, 'Traduire de l'Italien pour « illustrer » le français ? La préface au 'Decameron' (1545) d'Antoine Le Maçon et ses enjeux', *Studi Francesi*, 176, (2015), pp. 270-289.

printing the *Pandects*. For Agustín's treatise, he suggested his friend Gabriele Giolito, who had recently succeeded his father Giovanni at the head of the shop in Venice.⁵

In a letter of 6 March 1543, Agustín proposed to Torelli to have the text of the manuscript published in Lyons or in Basle rather than in Italy: 'Editionem Pandectarum malim Lugduni aut in Germania fieri curares, quam in Italia'.⁶ Most striking is the letter from Jean Matal to Agustín dated 12 April 1543, in which Matal considers first Robert Estienne in Paris for this undertaking but finally settles on the house of Froben in Basle, which enjoys 'magna auctoritas'. In this instance, he went so far as to claim that Froben's types were more elegant and easier on the eyes than any other: 'Frobeni characteres sunt multo meo quidem iudicio elegantiores, & minus obtundunt oculorum aciem'.⁷ It is noteworthy that Matal, who seems to have known Estienne's imprints, which were in the new, lighter Aldine style, was still favourable to the heavier German founts used by most Basle printers. Matal also recommended again his friend, the printer Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari in Venice, whose characters he described as 'perbelli'.⁸ In fact, as mentioned above, Agustín chose to have his *Emendationum* published in Venice by the successors of Lucantonio Giunta in late 1543. On 6 February 1544, Matal wrote to Agustín, saying that he and Ferretti were eager to devour his books: 'Tuos et Ferretti libellos vorare cupio'.⁹

The Basle printers and booksellers had established 'magna auctoritas' basically since the arrival of Erasmus, at the latest 1518-1520. This includes Erasmus's own writings but also his major editions of Church Fathers and of texts from Antiquity. Erasmus and Froben were able to draw to the city such humanists as Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), Henricus Glarianus (1488-1563) and Sigismundus Gelenius (1498-1554), who continued such work after Erasmus's death in 1536.¹⁰ Some Italian scholars also chose to publish in Basle rather than in Italy. Thus, between 1525 and 1540, Celio Calcagnini and his colleague Lelio Gregorio Giraldi in Ferrara published their writings, sometimes together, through Basle printers.¹¹ Matal wrote this letter in April 1543, roughly four months before the publication of Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica* by Johann Oporin, a publication that would further reinforce Basle's prestige.

To complete the group portrait, the two printers in Florence had been or were about to be eliminated. Bernardo Giunta, of the well-established Giunta family, had just returned from his years working at the family firm in Venice.¹² Though an important humanist printshop, the

5. *Correspondance de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal*, n° 9, p. 56. On Ferretti's interest in this work, see pp. 56 and 57, note 9.

6. *Correspondance de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal*, n° 27, p. 90; and *Epistolario de Antonio Agustín*, Candido Flores Selles (ed.), (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1980), n° 111, p. 149.

7. Matal's somewhat surprising evaluation is mentioned by Vervliet, *The Palæotypography of the French Renaissance: selected papers on sixteenth-century typefaces* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), I, p. 106. Here we have an early attempt to describe metaphorically what could be called readability. In 1550, this same image was reused by Alciati when praising Torrentino's new types: dedication by Alciati to Giovio, at the head of the latter's *Historiarum sui temporis. Tomus primus* (Florence: Torrentino, 1550), *2v°.

8. *Epistolario de Antonio Agustín*, n° 113, p. 153. See also, Anthony Hobson, 'The *iter italicum* of Jean Matal', in Richard William Hunt, Ian Gilbert Philip, Richard Julian Roberts (eds), *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975), pp. 33-61, at p. 37. Gabriele Giolito's imprints during the years 1542-43 were noteworthy because of his adoption of the large Basle italic [It 118] with forward leaning capitals, brought to Italy by Peter II Schöffer in 1541, used for titles and dedications (see Alberto Tinto, *Il corsivo nella tipografia del Cinquecento*, (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1972), p. 149, advancing the date to 1543), and also several printer's flowers or fleurons which he acquired from 1542 on (see Hendrik Vervliet, *Granjon's flowers. An enquiry into Granjon's, Giolito's and De Tournes' ornaments, 1542-86* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2016), section II). Otherwise, as noted by Vervliet, Giolito's types were unremarkable (p. 125). On the Giolito establishment, see Angela Nuovo and Christian Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva: Droz, 2005).

9. *Epistolario de Antonio Agustín*, n° 132, p. 178.

10. This transformation is studied by Valentina Sebastiani in the section of her recent book on *Johann Froben, Printer of Basel* (Leiden: Brill, 2018) entitled 'The Privilege of Publishing Erasmus, 1513-1527'.

11. See the classic studies of Friedrich Luchsinger, *Der Basler Buchdruck als Vermittler italienischen Geistes 1470-1529* (Basle: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1953); and Peter Bietenholz, *Der italienische Humanismus und die Blütezeit des Buchdrucks in Basel. Die Basler Drucke italienischer Autoren von 1530 bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basle: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1959).

12. William Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence: A Renaissance Printing and Publishing Family* (New Castle: DE, Oak Knoll Press, 2012), pp. 43-55.

Giunti establishment was in no position to assume such a grandiose and onerous project.¹³ The other was the writer and recently established printer in town, Anton Francesco Doni. With his one fount, he could hardly expect to be taken seriously.¹⁴ The Roman printer, Francesco Priscianese was also approached, but he preferred to transfer his business to Naples rather than to Florence.¹⁵

Finally, in August 1546, Torelli wrote to Agustín that Duke Cosimo I de' Medici had rejected Ferretti's proposition in favour of Gryphius in Lyon: 'Surprisingly, no one is talking about the edition of the *Pandects* since the Prince has refused that they be published anywhere else than in Florence. They are looking for a printer who will set up shop here. In the meantime, Gryphius is sending me messengers almost daily, all of whom I send on to the Prince. Among them is Aemilius [Ferretti] who had an interview with the Prince on this subject two months ago, but without obtaining a reply'.¹⁶ Finally, the Duke said no, this *opus magnum* must be printed in Florence.

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DIGESTORVM LIB. VIII.

ditarias? et de illo quaero, an per alienas aedes accessum heres ad eam rem quae legatur, praestare debet: sicut solet quaeri, cum usufructus loci legatus est, ad quem locum accedi nisi per alienum non potest. Marcellus respondit, qui binas aedes habebat, si alteras legauit, non dubium est quin heres alias possit altius tollendo obscurare lumina legatarum aedium. idem dicendum est, si alteri aedes, alteri aliarum usumfructum legauerit. Non autem semper simile est itineris argumentum: quia sine accessu nullum est fructus legatum: habitare autem potest et aedibus obscuratis. ceterum usufructu loci legato, etiam accessus dandus est: quia et haustu relicto, iter quoque ad hauriendum praestaretur. sed ita officere luminibus et obscurare legatas aedes conceditur, ut non penitus lumen recludatur, sed tantum relinquatur quantum sufficit habitantibus in usus diurni moderatione.

XI. VLP IANVS Libro primo de Officio consulis QVI LVMINIBUS uicinorum officere, aliudue quid facere contra commodum eorum uellet, sciet se formam ac statum antiquorum aedificiorum custodire debere. Si inter te et uicinum tuum non conuenit ad quam altitudinem extolli aedificio quae facere instituisti oporteat, arbitrum accipere poteris.

XII. IAVOLENVS Libro decimo ex Cassio AEDIFICIA quae feruitutem patiantur, ne quid altius tollatur, uiridia supra eam altitudinem habere possunt. at si de prospectu est, ea quae obstatura sunt, non possunt.

Figure 1 – Page 216 of *Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri quinquaginta ex Florentinis Pandectis repraesentati*, printed by Torrentino in 1553, showing the Aldine-style *Gros romain* or *Testo roman* [R 113], engraved by Michel Du Boys. Page taken from the scanned copy held by the Bibliothek of the University of Ghent (Jur 2247). A second scanned copy can be found on the website of the BM in Lyons or in Google Books (21531, t. 1 and t. 2). USTC 803599.

13. Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli, 'Il privilegio di stampatore ducale nelle Firenze Medicea', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 123, n° 3 (1965), pp. 304-370, at p. 350.

14. On Doni's career as a printer in Florence, see Claudia di Filippo Bareggi, 'Giunta, Doni, Torrentino: tre tipografie fiorentine fra repubblica e principato', *Nuova rivista storica*, 58, n° 3-4 (1974), pp. 318-348, at 326-328; and *Correspondance de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal*, n° 67. A negative view of his typographic equipment can be found in the *DBI* article by Giovanna Romei (vol. 41, 1992): 'caratteri pessimi, et solo italici' (p. 159).

15. *Correspondance de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal*, n° 57 and 59, as well as p. 30 in the introduction; *Epistolario de Antonio Agustín*, n° 115, 126 and 130 (all dating from 1543); Hobson, 'The *iter italicum* of Jean Matal', p. 38; and 'Priscianese, Francesco' by Paolo Sachet in *DBI*, 85 (2016), pp. 402-404, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-priscianese_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-priscianese_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

16. *Correspondance de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal*, pp. 192-193: 'Pandectarum editio, postquam Princeps alibi quam Florentiae negauit, miro silentio transacta est. Quaerebatur tamen typographus qui officinam hic instrueret, atque interim Gryphius per nouos cotidie nuntios appellare me non desinit, quos omnes ego ad Principem reieci. Inter quos Aemilius altero abhinc mense accurate ipsum allocutus responsum non tulit.' Translation kindly provided by Reinhard Bodenmann.

By October 1546, at the latest, negotiations were underway between Torelli and a Bolognese bookseller, originally from the Netherlands, known in Italy at Lorenzo Torrentino or Torrentinus. But one does not become a major printer, let alone a ducal or royal printer, overnight. As can be seen by Angela Nuovo's superb chapter on 'Managing a Bookshop', as well as the chapters on 'Selling and Distribution' leading up to it, the work involved in managing a bookshop was already considerable, and Torrentino, in association with his countryman Arnaldus Arlenius, apparently did well enough.¹⁷ Yet Torrentino had never published a single book. No duke, prince or king would be willing to offer funding to someone who had never signed or printed a single book. Printing books was not the same as selling books, a point that Gryphius could well have made via his representatives.

minari, aut dimittere auderet, neque vltra perferre posset: an, vt vitato assiduitatis fastidio, auctoritatem absentia tueretur, atque etiam augetur, si quando indignisset sui Respublica. Quidam existimant, adultis iam Augusti liberis, loco, & quasi possessione vsurpati à se diu secundi gradus sponte cessisse, exemplo M. Agrippæ, qui M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto, Mitylenas abierit, ne aut obstare, aut obtrectare aliquid præsens videretur. Quam causam & ipse, sed postea, reddidit. Tunc autem honorum satietatem, ac requiem laborum prætendens, commeatum petiit. Neque aut matri suppliciter precanti, aut vitrico deserente se etiam in Senatu conquerenti, veniam dedit. Quin & pertinacius retinentibus, cibo per quadri-duum abstinuit. Facta tandem abeundi potestate, relicta Romæ vxore, & filio, confestim Hostiam descendit: ne verbo quidem cuiquam prosequentium reddito, paucosque admodum in digressu osculatus.

Figure 2 – Page 292 of the 1548 Frelon edition of Suetonius's *Duodecim Caesares, cum commentariis, et annotationibus*, cropped to show only Du Boys's *Gros romain* or *Testo roman* [R 113]. Aldine-style 'e' with horizontal crossbar; 'Q' with elegant tail running under the 'u', following the pattern set by the Master of Robert Estienne in Paris at the end of 1530. See Vervliet, *Conspectus*, no. 118, where the Suetonius edition is cited as the earliest appearance of this typeface. Page from the copy held at the Bibliotheek of the University of Ghent, scanned by Google Books. USTC 150011.

How did this rather academic Bolognese bookseller do it? Above all, Torrentino must have had several very solid recommendations from people in the business, or at least one person who could vouch for his hands-on training and practical knowledge of all areas of the trade.¹⁸ I will look more closely at this question on another occasion.¹⁹

¹⁷. Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), chapters VII-XI.

¹⁸. The case of Étienne Dolet, a French Humanist who set up shop as a printer in 1539 would make an interesting point of comparison; see Claude Longeon, *Bibliographie des œuvres d'Étienne Dolet. Écrivain, éditeur et imprimeur* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), pp. xxiii-xxxv. However, Dolet simply acquired types previously used by Sebastian Gryphius.

¹⁹. 'New French Types in Florence in 1547 for Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's New Printer, Lorenzo Torrentino', forthcoming.



INTER varias multiplicésque honestarum actio-
 num tuarum rationes, quas admirans Europa fere to-
 ta ueneratur et colit: in postremis illa habenda non
 est, qua uniuersum litteratorum coetum tibi artissime
 deuinxisti. mittamus enim ampla praemia per te cot-
 tidie congesta in huiusmodi uiros cum in luce aulae
 tuae uitam degentes, tum Florentiae Pisique gymna-
 sia quouis doctrinarum genere illustrantes. Istud quidem ut per quam ma-
 gnificum, ueráque liberalitate tua dignum, sic tibi cum magnanimis maio-
 ribus tuis commune. gentilicium enim uobis id, ac prope natura insitum:
 uirtutes praemiis excitare et profsequi. Quòd uerò selectorum librorum
 thesauri usque a magno illo Cosmo seniore in haec tua tempora summa
 diligentia, maximo sumptu, è diuersis orbis partibus in uestram Medi-
 ceam bibliothecam conuecti, tuo munere nunc edantur: hoc proprium
 tuum adgnosimus, hoc tibi uni acceptum ferimus. tu relictas a maiori-
 bus tuis opes non finis despectas atque inutiles armariis cancellisque con-

Figure 3 – Top of leaf † 2 recto of Torrentino’s 1553 edition of *Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri*, showing the *Petit-parangon* or *Paragone* roman [R 128], whose engraving is now attributed to Michel Du Boys. See Vervliet, *Conspectus*, n° 127 and Vervliet, *Palæotypography*, vol. 1, p. 237, n° 18. Page taken from same scanned copy as in figure 1.

Torrentino’s impressive folio edition, coming to 1,666 pages plus numerous preliminaries, of the *Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri quinquagint ex Florentinis Pandectis repraesentati* finally appeared in 1553, printed in a French *Gros romain* or *Testo* roman type (113 mm for 20 lines; or roughly 16 points).²⁰ This type has been assigned by Hendrik Vervliet to Michel Du Boys on fairly solid grounds.²¹ Figure 1 shows the top of page 216 of Torrentino’s 1553 edition of the *Pandects*, whilst figure 2 is a page of text from the 1548 Frellon edition of Suetonius’s *Duodecim Caesares*, the earliest known showing of this type.²² In addition, this landmark edition of the *Pandects* leads off with the Epistle from Francisco Torelli, son of Lelio, to Duke Cosimo, which is printed in a *Petit parangon* or *Paragone* roman [R 128 mm; or 18 points] that Vervliet has also assigned to Du Boys (see figure 3).²³ As Johnson noted in 1941 of ‘this remarkable printer’, Torrentino’s ‘stock consisted almost entirely of French types, including three Granjon italics’.²⁴ The two-page preliminary ‘Lectoribus’ was printed in Robert Granjon’s *Gros romain* or *Testo* italic [It 115 mm] (see below). The main text type, however, was in the Aldine-style *Gros romain*. This type design follows the basic norm, lighter and very well cut set by the Master of Robert Estienne in Paris beginning at the end of the year 1530.²⁵ For such a lengthy manuscript as the *Pandects* was, this is surely an exceptionally large type. Well-designed woodcut initials

20. Traditional terms for body size or type height will be given in French and, the first time only, in Italian. For the traditional names of body sizes in Italian, see the table on p. 61 of Edoardo Barbieri’s *Guida al libro antico. Conoscere e descrivere il libro tipografico*. (Florence: Le Monnier Università 2006).

21. On Michel Du Boys, see pp. 40–41 of Hendrik Vervliet’s *French Renaissance Printing Types: a Conspectus* (London: The Bibliographical Society and The Printing Historical Society; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2010) – henceforth, *Conspectus*. The typeface itself is presented as n° 118 in the *Conspectus*. It can be assigned to Du Boys since it occurred in 1548 at the press of Jean Frellon, for whom Du Boys worked between 1542 and roughly 1553.

22. Vervliet, *Conspectus*, n° 118.

23. This roman [R 128] is described in Vervliet’s *Palæotypography*, p. 237, n° 18, as well as in the short notice in his *Conspectus*, n° 127.

24. A. F. Johnson, ‘The Italic Types of Robert Granjon’, *The Library*, 4th series, 21, (1940–1941), pp. 291–308, at p. 262 (reprinted with revisions in his *Selected Essays on Books and Printing* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt; London: Routledge and K. Paul; New York: A. Schram, 1970) pp. 260–271).

25. See Hendrik Vervliet’s ‘Robert Estienne’s Printing Types’, *The Library*, 7th series, 5, (2004), pp. 107–175 (revised in his *Palæotypography*, pp. 105–148).

were also employed, including the impressive 85 x 70 mm representation of Justice surrounded by the arms of the Medici and of the Empire (figure 4).²⁶ The production of these two thick volumes must have involved a heavy investment.

LIBER PRIMVS.

DE IVSTITIA ET IVRE

VLP IANVS Libro primo Institutionum



VRI OPERAM DATVRVM PRIVS NOS-
se oportet unde nomen iuris descendat . Est
autem à iustitia appellatum : nam , ut eleganter
Celsus definit , Ius est ars boni et aequi cuius
meritò quis nos sacerdotes appellet . Iustitiam
namque colimus et boni et aequi notitiam profi-
temur : aequum ab iniquo separantes , licitum ab
illicito discernentes : bonos non solum metu pœ-
narum , uerumetiam praemiorum quoque ex-
hortatione efficere cupientes : ueram , nisi fallor ,
philosophiam non simulatam affectantes .
Huius studii duae sunt positiones , publicum , et
priuatum . Publicum ius est quod ad statum rei
Romanae spectat . Priuatum quod ad singu-
lorum utilitatem . sunt enim quaedam publicè
utilia , quaedam priuatim . Publicum ius in fa-

cris , in sacerdotibus , in magistratibus constitit . Priuatum ius tripartitum est : colle-
ctum etenim est ex naturalibus praeceptis , aut gentium , aut ciuilibus . Ius natu-

Figure 4 – Beginning of ‘Liber primus’, middle of page 1, signed a, of the *Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri* showing the *Gros romain* roman type [R 113] and the figure of Justice holding scales in her left hand and a sword in her right. Page taken from same scanned copy as in figure 1.

But what if the proposition of Ferretti and of Gryphius had been accepted? How might the house of the gryphon have printed such a mammoth work? In an earlier article with Guillaume Berthon dealing with the penetration of Aldine Romans in Lyons during the 1540s, we did not examine closely the case of Gryphius. Yet he was one of the earliest Lyonesse printers to purchase some of the new Parisian Aldine-style roman types, beginning with Granjon’s *Petit romain* or *Garamone* roman type [R 65] in 1542.²⁷ Gryphius was, like Jean de Tournes, a faithful client of Granjon, buying early on a copy of the *Saint-Augustin* or *Silvio* italic [It 98] in 1545, the *Petit-romain* or *Garamone* italic [It 65] in 1546, and the *Gros romain* or *Testo* italic [It 115] in 1548.²⁸ As for the Romans, in 1545, he obtained a copy of Granjon’s *Gros paragon* or *Ascendonica* [R 150 mm; or 21 points]. In fact, he might well have been the one who ordered it, since he is the first known user of this fount, and only a few other Lyonesse printers ended up with copies.²⁹ With the exception of the large titling Romans, whether from Basle or from Paris ([R 280] with 8-9 mm for capitals), this is his first large-size letter for titles,

26. *Digestorum seu Pandectarum libri*, Book I, p. 1.

27. William Kemp and Guillaume Berthon, ‘Le renouveau de la typographie lyonnaise, romaine et italique, pendant les années 1540’, in Christine Bénévent, Isabelle Diu and Chiara Lastraioli (eds), *Gens du livre et gens de lettres à la Renaissance : actes du LIV^e colloque international d’études humanistes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 341-355, especially pp. 349 and 351.

28. Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, p. 325, n° 1 (first shown in 1543); p. 329, n° 4 (first appearance at Gryphius’s press in 1547); and p. 332, n° 6 (first seen in 1547). These typefaces appear in the *Conspectus* as n° 242 (It 65 from 1547), n° 278 (It 98 from 1543), n° 290 (It 115 from 1547).

29. In the notice on p. 219 of the *Palaeotypography*, Vervliet also cites Jean I de Tournes (1547), Balthazar Arnoullet (1553) and Sébastien Honorat (1563).

prefaces or even basic text. It was followed in 1548 by an even larger Roman, a *Petit-canon* or *Sopracanonico* [R 190 mm; or 27 points], which was acquired by Gryphius in 1548.³⁰

ANDREAE ALCIATI
IVRISCONS. DE VERBORVM SIGNIFICATIONE LIBER
TERTIVS.

VPEREST nunc, ut ad actiones hominum deveniamus, & sic
cut à nobis, quemadmodum legibus extensio fieri possit, supra ex-
positum est, ita in praesentia declarem, quemadmodum contra-
ctus, & ultimæ morientium testationes ad casum omissum per in-
terpretationem produci possint. Nec absq; consilio nobis uilum est
materiam hanc separatim tradere, non quod inter contractus quoq; & ultimas uo-
luntates aliqua non sint differentia^a, sed quod multo maiores simul hæc habeant
cum legum interpretatione discordias. Quarum est causa, quod legis dispositio ex
sola mente unumquocq; obliget, necq; enim legis mens aut ratio ideo minus pollet,
quod uerbis non sit expressa, cum non minus committat in legem, eiq; fraudem
faciat, qui uerbis obtemperans rationem negligit^b, q̄ qui utrumq; negligat: at in hu-
manis actionibus sola mens nihil proficit, nisi aliquo modo expressa proponatur^c.
Ad hæc rationem legis perscrutari plerumq; facile est, ex eaq; argumentari con-
cessum est: cum generaliter proditum sit, id pro statuto habendum, quod legialato-
res, si de eo casu interrogati fuissent, uerisimiliter constituissent^d: quem sensum
id est ex bono & æquo accipi; Aristoteles Moralium V. autor est.
At rationes hominum in ultimis uoluntatibus discernere difficile est, in contracti-
bus longe difficilius, cum semper debendi reus negaturus sit ne productio fiat^e,
creditor propter utilitatem sit affirmaturus: merito igitur fatendum est, interpre-
tationes huiusmodi facilius in uerbis legum fieri. Quod non paucis quoque in spe-
ciebus

a l. q̄. l. que de leg. ff. de le. j.
b c. fin. de reg. iur. in 6.
c l. q̄. d. cū filiū. de here. inst.
d l. de. §. si. de pact. in gl.
e l. an inuicis. de acceptil.

Figure 5 – Bottom half of p. 55 (sign. e 4) of *De uerborum significatione libri quatuor* by Andrea Alciati, published by Gryphius in 1530, showing what can be described as the Schöffler-Froben *Gros romain* or *Testo roman* [R 110]. Note the strong, bi-directional serifs on the top of the ‘A’ and the ‘M’, as well as the shorter tail on the ‘Q’ and the oblique crossbar on the ‘e’. Page taken from the scanned copy held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (2 J.rom.m 3b). USTC 122039.

So, if Gryphius had wanted to publish this prestigious and weighty manuscript, how can we imagine that he might have gone about it? In the years up to and including 1550, Gryphius could have chosen, as was his want, to produce a Basle-style book by using his *Gros romain* [R 110] Roman, purchased from Basle in 1528, combined with 8.5 mm Roman titling letters and Holbein-style woodcut initials.³¹ Figure 5 shows part of page 55 from Gryphius’s 1530 edition of Alciato’s *De uerborum significatione*. His shop would continue to use this Basle roman up to the date of Gryphius’s death in 1556 and even afterwards. It should be noted

30. Vervliet, *Palæotypography* (2008), p. 220, n° 4.

31. This roman type on *Gros-romain* body size [R 110] appears at the press of Johann Froben, Johann Amerbach and Johann Petri beginning in 1510 (Frank Isaac, *An Index to the Printed Books in the British Museum. Part II, MDI-MDXX. Section II: Italy, Section III: Switzerland and Eastern Europe* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1938), pp. 221 and 223 et seq.) It has been attributed to Peter II Schöffler of Mainz, who worked frequently with Froben. Of this type, Daniel Updike has written that ‘[t]he massive and monumental sort of roman type which Froben used, often combined with splendid, rich borders and initials in close harmony with it, made books of great dignity and style, which scarcely miss – but none the less do lack – real beauty’ (*Printing Types: Their History, Forms and Use. A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922, 2nd revised edition, 1937) I, p. 143 and fig. 80). On the other hand, from the perspective of the Paris Aldines, Nicolas Barker has mentioned its ‘clumsiness’ (‘The Aldine Roman in Paris 1530-1534’, *The Library*, 5th series, 29, (1974), pp. 5-20 at p. 8, reprinted in his *Form and Meaning in the History of the Book: Selected Essays* (London: The British Library, 2003), pp. 186-214). In reality, these points of view are not necessarily contradictory.

that, apparently beginning in 1545, Gryphius slightly increased the spacing between the lines leading to a *Gros romain* measuring 115 mm over 20 lines. The old size for this typeface, between 108 and 110 mm, can still be seen in the 1544 edition of Claude Baduel's *De ratione vitae studiosae*, whereas in 1545 the *Gros romain* type in Mylaeus's *De primordiis clarissimae urbis Lugduni commentarius* measures 115 mm for 20 lines. The typeface had thus been recast on a fractionally larger body.³² Roughly 20 lines in the new casting would take up 21 lines of the old.

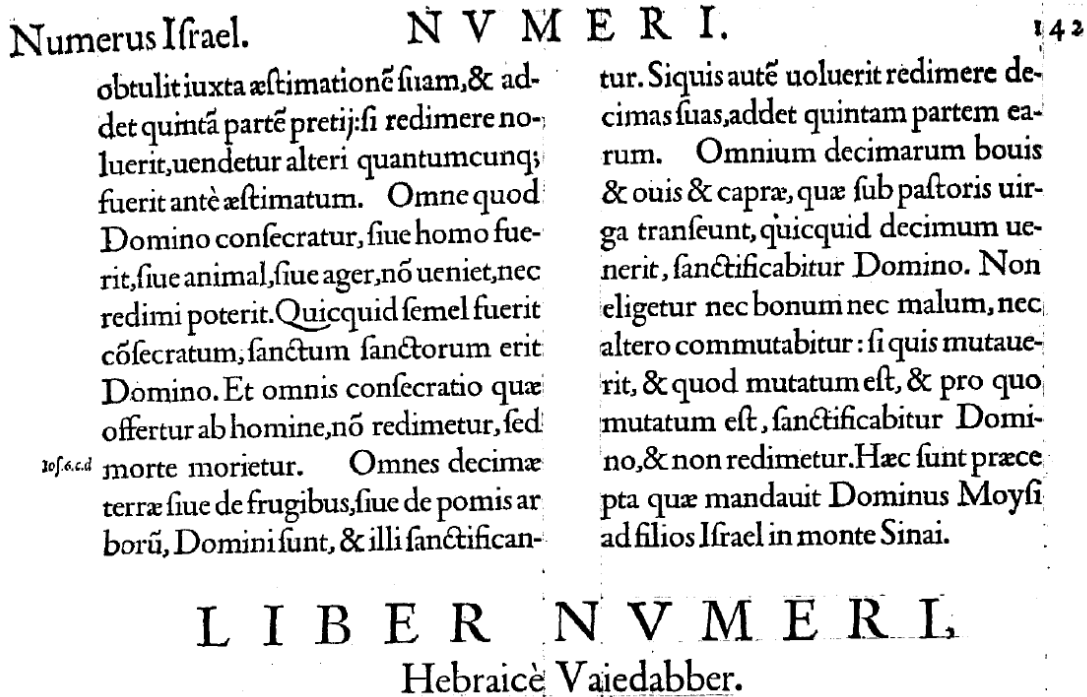


Figure 6 – Top half of p. 142 of vol. 1 of Gryphius's 1550 *Biblia sacra*, taken from the copy held by the Bibliothèque municipale in Lyons (shelf number: 20039, t. 1), available on their website. Text: R 150; running title: R 190; title of Numbers 'LIBER NVMERI': 7.5 mm roman capitals.

However, a second possibility existed. Once again in the year 1545, as we have seen, Gryphius had purchased a large, impressive roman typeface, Granjon's *Palestine* [R 150], an Aldine Roman with a Bembo or one-eared M.³³ In 1550, it was precisely this typeface that Gryphius would use to print the 'pure' text of the *Biblia sacra*, one without commentary, containing the basic text and only very minor textual alternatives in the margins. The printer himself described the work as 'maioribus augustioribus typis excusa' and Hendrik Vervliet has called it a 'typographical masterpiece', even as he noted that the type shows a certain immaturity. It is precisely this type that Gryphius used to print all eight volumes of this folio *Biblia*, comprising 1,534 pages. Figure 6, reproducing the top half of the two columns of page 142 (end of Leviticus), shows a page composed in the R 150, whilst figure 7 is Vervliet's specimen of this fount.³⁴ The running title including a keyword was set in Granjon's *Petit-canon* or *Sopracanonico* roman [R 190]. In figure 6, the 'Numerus Israel' and 'NVMERI' are set in this typeface.³⁵ To which we should add a set of 7.3 mm roman capitals, as in the title of Numbers: 'LIBER NVMERI' again in figure 6. Finally, there is a set of 13 mm roman capitals to mark paragraphs and other such features.³⁶ With such a display of fairly new roman types, it would be hard not to rank this edition high on the list of large-letter roman folio editions. It is slightly prior to the 1553

32. The gauge or measure of one line in this type using side-by-side letters with an ascender-descender combination ('pl', 'ph', etc.) gives 5.4 mm, or $5.4 * 20 = 108$.

33. See especially the diagram representing three types of 'M' given on p. 55 of the *Conspectus* (also, *Palæotypography*, vol. 1, pp. 171-172)

34. Vervliet, *Palæotypography*, vol. 1, p. 219, n° 3, showing 17 lines of text from the *Biblia sacra*.

35. Vervliet, *Conspectus*, n° 140.

36. Vervliet, *Conspectus*, n° 206.

Torrentino edition of the *Pandects*, but the 1550 Gryphius *Biblia* certainly shows a remarkable range of well-cut, big-print roman types.

Such an ‘extra-large print’ book could have been of use to elders, if they could pick it up, but surely also and mostly for use in churches or universities, nicely opened on a lectern. In fact, this production is nearly the same length as the Florentine *Pandects*, which in Torentino’s 1553 edition has 1,666 pages. The publication of this grand *Biblia* shows that Gryphius would have been perfectly capable of printing a distinctive and prestigious edition of the Florentine *Pandects*. But we must note that neither Torelli nor Piero Vettori (who looked after the Greek passages) was present in Lyons, and consulting them would certainly have complicated the publishing process.

Cumq; obduxero nubibus coelum, ap
parebit arcus meus in nubibus: & re
cordabor foederis * mei uobiscum, &
cum omni anima uiuente quaē carnem
uegetat: & non erunt ultra aquaē dilu
uii ad delendam uniuersam carnem.
Eritq; arcus meus in nubibus, & uide
bo illum, & recordabor foederis sem
piterni quod pactum est inter Deum
& omnem animam uiuentem uniuersa
e carnis quaē est super terram. Dixitq;
Deus ad Noe, Hoc est signū foederis,
quod cōstitui inter me & omnē car
nem super terrā. Erāt ergo filij Noe
qui egressi sunt de arca, Sem, Cham,
& Iapheth: porrò Cham ipse est pa
ter Chanáan. Tres isti, filij sunt Noe:

c
Eccli.43.b
* mei qd
pepigi uo
biscum.

Figure 7 – Aldine-style *Palestine* roman type [R 150] purchased by Gryphius in 1545, given in vol. 1 of Vervliet’s *Palaeotypography*, p. 219.

Our imaginary *Pandects* printed by Gryphius in his *Palestine* [R 150] roman would have been roughly one third longer, given the size of Gryphius’s text type (150 mm versus 113 mm for 20 lines of type). Instead of 1,666 pages, the text would have occupied roughly 2,212 pages. This would have been easily within the reach of the famous rue Mercière establishment. The *Epistle* by Torelli would still have been addressed to Duke Cosimo, but the imprint would not have been Florentine.

In fact, having published both the texts of Agustín (1544) and Torelli (1545), we might even wonder if Gryphius did not order the *Palestine* roman [R 150] from Granjon with a possible publication of the Florentine *Pandects* in mind. This is precisely the period when Ferretti, an author and doubtless friend of the Lyonese printer, was in Florence, and we have seen that he met with the Duke precisely on this subject in June 1546.

After publishing several editions of classical works in Lyons with Gryphius during 1540 and 1541, the humanist and professor of Greek at the Studio in Florence, Piero Vettori wrote to his friend Benedetto Varchi on 1 April 1542 expressing his dissatisfaction: ‘Truth to be told, Gryphius acted badly’, as nothing was done over a period of five months. ‘It is strange how these booksellers are stingy and negligent. Gryphius has drawn out of my sad leaves a bad form of book. He didn’t follow my instructions and in the end he has not satisfied me in anything.’³⁷

Despite Vettori’s very negative view of Gryphius (and of all printers), and the likelihood of his surveillance of the Greek passage in the *Pandects*, the Lyonese printer-publisher was clearly in no way discouraged. Taking into account Gryphius’s persistence, I think that we should imagine that he was proposing to use the new Aldine *Palestine* roman for the *Pandects*, as opposed to his Basle romans, thus creating a contrast with the Basle printers. Knowing that there was apparently no serious contender in Florence for such a major task must only have emboldened him, and Ferretti seems to have been a very active emissary.

Yet, in the summer of 1546, the Duke decided that the Florentine *Pandects* must be printed in Florence. In the end, we might wonder if the grand 1550 *Biblia sacra*, appearing three years before the *Pandects* manuscript, was not also a way of demonstrating to all the sort of printing that Gryphius was still capable of doing, not just in italics, as was his want, but also in a large, innovative and prestigious Aldine roman.

37. Raphaële Mouren, ‘Sébastien Gryphe et Piero Vettori : de la querelle des *Lettres familières* aux agronomes latins’, in Raphaële Mouren (ed.), ‘*Quid novi ?*’ Sébastien Gryphe, à l’occasion du 450^e anniversaire de sa mort. Actes du colloque du 23 au 25 novembre 2006 Lyon – Villeurbanne, Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, *Enssib*. (Villeurbanne: Presses de l’Enssib, 2008), pp. 289-339 and 491-498, pp. 330 and 497, n° 857 for the text in Italian.