Sixteenth-century Hebrew typography:
A typographical and historical analysis
based on the Guillaume I Le Bé documents
in the Bibliothèque nationale de France

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Chapters 1 to 5

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Abstract
This thesis is an analysis and examination of the Hebrew types that are to be found in the two documents or scrapbooks in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (N.A.F. 4528 and Rés X 1665), which were compiled by the sixteenth-century French punchcutter Guillaume I Le Bé (c. 1524 to 1598). Of the 53 specimens in the two documents, 20 were cut by Le Bé, and the rest by other known and unknown punchcutters of the sixteenth century. The 16 additional Greek, Music, Roman and Italic types in the documents are also shown, but are not analysed as part of the thesis. This thesis aims to present a detailed analysis of each distinct Hebrew typeface based on the methods developed principally by Hendrik Vervliet, combined with a book history approach which seeks to situate Le Bé in the context of his times using as much of the historical background as could be discovered from documentary evidence from the period. In addition, hypotheses are put forward as to methods of punch cutting, striking of matrices, casting and the composition of Hebrew types during this period. Over 200 separate Hebrew editions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were examined to discover where and when these types were used, in order to draw conclusions concerning the spread of these types both during the sixteenth century and in later periods. This thesis contains a complete facsimile of the two documents together with a transcription and translation of the annotations by Guillaume I Le Bé, in addition to a comparative chart of the types included in the two documents, and other relevant documentary material. It also has a complete bibliographical apparatus of primary and secondary sources.
Dedicated to the memory of my extraordinary and inspiring parents:
Cecil Lubell 6 June 1912 – 19 July 2000
Winifred Milius Lubell 14 June 1914 – 3 January 2012
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Author’s declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of London or at any other institution.

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Signature:  

Printed name: Stephen Lubell
Chapter 1: Introduction

In the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris are to be found two documents, or more correctly scrapbooks, which contain a unique collection of type specimens from an important era of French typography.¹ They contain in total a collection of 53 Hebrew, three Greek, six Music, six Roman and one italic types, some cut by Guillaume I Le Bé, and others – both attributed and unattributed – cut by different punchcutters during the sixteenth century.

The first document, Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528, is held in the Richelieu library in central Paris (in the Département des Manuscrits occidentaux) and is a small book containing 29 leaves with a vellum cover and glued-on endpapers. The dimensions are 19.7 by 13.5 cm (H x W) and the document appears to have entered into the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale in the late nineteenth century, judging from the seal stamped on the pages.² The paper is clearly from the sixteenth century, but it is not possible to make a positive identification of the source of the paper, as the watermark is not visible.

The cover has the following inscription in red ink: ‘ESPREVVES |des Lettres que iay taillé| Tant en six ou sept sortes de poinsons |de lettres hebraiques que autres |Lettres, en divers temps et pour diverses | personnes et partie aussi pour moy’.³ On the flyleaf is written in sepia ink ‘Ce cayer unique est précieux’ and a second inscription in a different hand reads ‘Volume de 28 Feuillets; 30 Avril 1889’. The first note is most probably from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, judging from the orthography, and the second note was most probably added by the French bibliographer Henri Omont, who was the first to describe these documents in a published form.⁴

The examples in this document are a presentation of the types cut by Guillaume I Le Bé, beginning with his first Hebrew in 1545 and ending with two Hebrew alphabets dated 1591. There are 18 founts numbered by Le Bé and two unnumbered, but attributed to him by his annotations. Above or below most of the specimens are added handwritten annotations in a sepia-coloured ink in the hand of the first Le Bé.

¹ Vervliet refers to these as ‘scrapbooks with holograph annotations and smoke proofs or printed specimens of his own type production’. The term ‘scrapbook’ – although technically correct from a descriptive point of view – seems inadequate to describe the true nature of these collections (‘recueil’ in French). Therefore the term ‘document’ has been used throughout this thesis. See H. D. L. Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2010), p. 45
³ Trials of characters that I have cut as well as six or seven types of punches of Hebrew letter and others types in different times and for different people, as well as for myself. The additional inscription reads ‘This unique notebook is of value’.
⁴ Henri Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592 (Paris: Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1886) and Henri Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé, 1546-1574 (Paris: Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1887)
It is very clearly a typical sixteenth-century notarial hand. Someone has also added numbering in a red ink as well as underscoring any mention of the text where Le Bé identifies himself as the creator of the type specimen.

At the rear of this document is attached a handwritten sheet entitled Maximes pour la Librairie, in what appears to be an eighteenth-century hand, without any attribution. This text is not relevant to the types presented in the document and was no doubt added at a later date. It lists 24 qualities necessary for a successful bookseller.

The second document, Inv. Réserve X 1665, is held in the rare books departments of the new Bibliothèque François Mitterrand in Paris. It is also a small book measuring 19.5 by 12 cm (H x W) of 23 leaves, in a nineteenth-century cardboard binding with an embossed leather spine inscribed with a royal coat of arms, and the stamps inside (Bibliothecae Regis and Bibliothèque Royale) are probably eighteenth century. The paper is, judging from the watermark, a sixteenth-century paper from Bourges. Seven of the folios – four separate inserts in total – are bound into the spine and not pasted onto the paper support, thus supporting the idea that the document was rebound at a later date than when it was first assembled.

This document was most probably first catalogued in the Catalogue des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque du roi, 1750 under the title ‘Varia typorum hebraïcorum specimina, quibus exarata sunt biblia aut alia opera in plurimis Europae partibus’. It is not a chronological listing of types cut by Le Bé, although it does contain seven specimens repeated from Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528. The balance of the specimens consists of types from the presses of Robert Estienne, Daniel Bomberg and other unidentified presses of the sixteenth century. This document carries no inscription by Le Bé to identify it, but the hand used for the handwritten annotations is consistent with Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528. The page opposite folio 1 carries a handwritten note in what appears to be a modern hand: Notes de Guillaume le Bé and Décrit par H. Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé, 1887.

This thesis has as its object the examination and analysis of the Hebrew types in these two documents. The first document (N.A.F. 4528), as previously mentioned, is mostly a chronological record of the those types cut by Guillaume I Le Bé himself, whereas the second document (Rés X 1665), is a compendium of specimens — as well as containing duplicates of Le Bé’s types from the first document — by other punchcutters and printers of whom Le Bé had knowledge or opinions.

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The impetus for this research came from Professor Hendrik Vervliet, formerly Deputy Curator of the Museum Plantin-Moretus, Library Director Emeritus of the University of Antwerp and Emeritus Professor Book history of the University of Amsterdam, and Dr. Adri Offenberg - formerly curator of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam - both renowned specialists in their own specialist areas of typographic and bibliographic research. At the outset of the research for this thesis, the intention was to describe and analyse all of the typefaces contained in the two documents, whether Hebrew, Roman, Italic, Greek or Music, as neither Professor Vervliet nor Dr Offenberg had the time to pursue this research.

Nevertheless, as the research developed, the choice for the description and analysis was narrowed down to the Hebrew typefaces only. This was due to the need to narrow the research questions and scope of the thesis in as precise a way as possible and also to make the research and analysis more manageable in the time allowed to carry out the research by the funding body, the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). This was also the opinion of the Upgrade panel consisting of Professor Michelle Brown, Dr. J.F. Coakley and Nigel Roche, then Librarian of St Bride Printing Library in London. Yet it was also apparent that the annotations in the ‘non-Hebrew’ typefaces contained valuable information as to Le Bé’s Modus operandi as a punchcutter, his contacts with printers and his wider contributions to the development of typeface design in the sixteenth century.

Thus this thesis will not analyse the non-Hebrew typefaces in the same depth as the Hebrews, but all the typefaces will be shown in separate appendices, together with their respective annotations and translations. (See Appendices C and D) Where Le Bé made a specific contribution to punch cutting, as with his music types, this will be discussed in chapter three. It is not the intention of this thesis to ignore the non-Hebrew typefaces, but they do fall beyond the expertise and resources of the present researcher and have been in part dealt with in more detail by other scholars.

Yet another constraint on the scope of the research was the need to include historical material relevant to Guillaume I Le Bé’s life and professional activities, in additional to the description and analysis of the typefaces themselves. This requirement arose from the background of the writer in book history and the stipulation that the thesis should be as much historical in nature as possible as set by the Institute of Historical Research (IHR), which granted a three year studentship for this PhD thesis. It was

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9 See page 156 of this thesis.
this reason that influenced the writer to carry out research in archives in Paris, Venice, Antwerp and Amsterdam.

It is the purpose of this thesis to describe and analyse the Hebrew types presented in these two Le Bé documents in Paris. The first and only description of these two documents was undertaken by the prolific French Bibliographer Henri Omont (1857-1940) in two publications: the first in 1887 described Inv. Réserve X1665 and the second, issued in 1889, described Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528. Omont listed the types by punchcutter and date and provided selected examples of the specimens. He also provided transcriptions of the annotations. More recently Hendrik Vervliet has listed and described 20 of these Hebrew in his *Conspectus*. These two documents, it can be said with some certainty, are unique in the history of sixteenth-century typography, as they present type specimens with definite attributions as to the punchcutter, date and use. Hendrik Vervliet has written that ‘a majority of today’s text types, either Roman, Italic, Greek or Hebrew derive directly or indirectly from the type designs conceived or perfected in sixteenth-century France’.

This statement requires some refinement in the light of what we now know about the development of Hebrew types in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the models used by various punchcutters and later type designers. A good example can be seen in Raphael Frank, the designer of perhaps the most successful Hebrew typeface of the early twentieth century, Frank-Rühl, which first appeared in 1908. He does not mention Le Bé directly as one his models, although he does write that ‘Ich habe bei Entwurf meines Alphabets auf den Duktus der ersten Drucke, ganz besonders den venezianischen, zurückgegriffen’, and from his examples we can surmise that he means the Soncino and Bomberg Hebrew models. Even Henri Friedlaender, the designer of the Hebrew typeface Hadassah which first appeared in 1958, and who was as sensitive as anyone to the history of Hebrew type forms, was concerned to counter the negative influence of what he termed the ‘Didot-Bodoni-Prinzip’ on Hebrew type design. By this he meant the distortion of the true balance between the vertical and horizontal strokes in Hebrew. He was aware of the

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11 The Bibliothèque nationale de France catalogue lists nearly 500 publications written by Omont.
12 Omont, *Specimens de caractères hébreux gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé, 1546-1574* and Omont, *Specimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592*
14 Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus*, p. 15
15 See Stephen Lubell, 'Hebrew Typography - from the sacred to the mundane', *Typo/Graphic*, 41 (1990) for a fuller discussion of this theme.
16 Raphael Frank, *Über Hebräische Typen und Schriftarten* (Berlin: Schriftgiesserei H. Berthold Abt. Privatdrucke, 1926), p. 28 (In the design of my alphabet I have gone back to the weight of the first printed types, in particular the Venetians …)
influence of Le Bé, and knew ‘daß es alte gute Schriften gab and daß die neuen Schriften schlecht waren’, yet his final design appears to have more in common with the Ashkenazic rather than with the Sephardic model.\textsuperscript{18}

No less an typographic authority than Stanley Morison wrote that ‘nobody has ever cut the Sephardic letters for printers better than he (Le Bé) did and their history in printing since his day is one of decline’.\textsuperscript{19} The types created by Le Bé certainly were influential in their time and well beyond, as this thesis will attempt to demonstrate by the analysis of Hebrew editions in the sixteenth century and some from the seventeenth century. The Fell Hebrew types at Oxford University Press are a good example of this influence. Morison commented about them that ‘the design of the Spanish or Sephardic style is probably copied from the types supplied to Plantin by Guillaume Le Bé of Paris, which had been used in Leiden from 1584 until 1619 by the Plantin–Raphelengius office’.\textsuperscript{20} Furthermore, Guillaume I Le Bé was the founder of a dynasty of type founders which lasted until the mid-eighteenth century. The eight inventories and other documents which have survived provide a clear picture of the types in this foundry, and suggest how wide their use might have been. In the end, the only sure way to draw any conclusions is to examine the primary printed material, given the low rate of survival of the actual punches and matrices.\textsuperscript{21}

In addition, the two documents are also unique in that they deal mainly with an ‘exotic’ typeface, Hebrew, which has never been very closely studied for the period. The other two relevant documents of the sixteenth century which contain the names of punchcutters are the type specimens issued by the Berner Typefoundry in Frankfurt in 1592 and the type specimens sent by Guillaume II Le Bé to Jean Moretus in Antwerp in 1599.\textsuperscript{22} The Berner 1592 specimen, curiously, does not display any Hebrew types, as Jacob Sabon and Conrad Berner, the successors to the type founder Christian Egenolf and his widow, noted that ‘the German and Hebrew types are not quite so highly prized, they and several other Latin types are not shown here, although the best of them are also kept in plentiful stock’.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid. (that there were old ‘good’ types and that the new ones were poor.)

\textsuperscript{19} Oxford University Press, John Fell, and Stanley Morison, Notes towards a Specimen of the Ancient Typographical Materials principally collected and bequeathed to the University of Oxford by Dr. John Fell, etc. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 6

\textsuperscript{20} Stanley Morison and Harry Carter, John Fell, the University Press and the ‘Fell’ types (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p. 233

\textsuperscript{21} James Mosley, ‘Documents relating to the foundry of Guillaume Le Bé: a summary and some notes’, (2011) I am indebted to James Mosley for letting me have sight of these notes. He lists the following documents: the Le Bé Inventory c.1617, the Le Bé Inventory c.1617, transcribed and edited 1730, the Le Bé Inventory 1685, the Le Bé Memorandum, the Le Bé type specimens 1545–72, the Le Bé type specimens 1546–74, the Le Bé–Moretus collection of fragments c. 1599, and the Inventory of the foundry of Claude Garamond 1561.

\textsuperscript{22} Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, pp. 19–21
They also note that ‘you may have all manner of strikes, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew for hire or for sale, notwithstanding that all are at hand for setting’. The 1599 specimens, now in the Plantin Moretus Museum in Antwerp, are duplicates of the specimens in the two documents in Paris, with additional handwritten comments by Guillaume II Le Bé. There are 30 typefaces on this specimen comprising Hebrew, Latin and Arabic, of which 11 are Hebrew and extracts from the two Paris documents. There is also a specimen of an Arabic typeface dated 1599. The Arabic specimen has the heading ‘Characteres Arabici|In Gallia nunc primùm incisi’ and underneath specifies ‘Gvliemvs Le Bé Parisiensis|incidebat Lutetiae anno 1599’. It is most unlikely that these were cut or commissioned by Guillaume I Le Bé, but by his son Guillaume II, and copied from a Robert Granjon original of 1583.

The research questions addressed in this thesis

At the outset of the research for this thesis, the main research question was formulated as follows: to study the Hebrew types in these (i.e. the Le Bé) documents, classify them according to a modified version of the Proctor-Haebler system, and relate them to extant books or other printed matter for purposes of identification and usage. A secondary objective was to relate the Le Bé types back to the Hebrew types used by the Soncino and Bomberg presses in Italy, and to investigate the Le Bé connections with the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp as well as to other printers. A third but no less important objective was to contextualise the use of these types in the environment of Christian Hebraism in the early modern period and in the environment of Jewish society of the period. Finally a fourth objective was to investigate sixteenth-century Hebrew typefaces from the perspective of historical bibliography and book history by concentrating on the physicality of the typefaces used, their production, distribution, reception and identification in various key works, as well as in the particular way they reflect the society in which they were created.

As with any ongoing project carried out over a long period, these initial objectives have changed. The ‘methodology’ was altered to follow the Vervliet model – which indeed makes use of the Proctor-Haebler system – as seen in his studies of types in the Low Countries and in France. The Le Bé connections to the Officina Plantiniana were incorporated into the studies of the individual typefaces where

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relevant as these topics had been more fully covered in the writer’s MA dissertation. The discussion of the Christian Hebraist element was reduced to cover only relevant topics. The discussion of the typefaces increased as it became apparent that space and time would limit the thesis to a study of only the Hebrew types found in the two documents.

At an early stage of the work, it was decided to make the analysis of the actual types the prime object of the research. In addition it was decided to integrate the study of the types with a book historical approach and situate Le Bé in the context of his times. Thus other research questions began to appear as the work progressed.

- What was the nature of Le Bé’s apprenticeship with Robert Estienne?
- What was Le Bé’s role in the cutting of the Estienne Hebrews?
- Why was Le Bé’s purpose in going to Venice? Was it by invitation by the printer/publisher Marco Antonio Giustiniani or did he simply go as a qualified journeyman?
- What was the nature of the court case Le Bé brought against the printer Marco Antonio Giustiniani in Venice?
- What were the reasons for Le Bé’s six month stay in Rome with Antonio Blado and did he cut any Hebrews there?
- Did Le Bé’s family wealth come from his activities as an engraver, paper merchant, or from monies inherited from his family in Troyes or from other sources?
- Why did Le Bé specialize mainly in Hebrew types and what does this say about his relations to Jews or other minority groups, such as the Huguenots? How proficient was he in the Hebrew language and printing conventions and how might he have learned it?
- What were Le Bé’s methods of producing his types? What sort of matrices did he supply and what was his method of producing strikes with vowel points, cantillation marks and dagesh points? Did he use counter punches or drills to create the vowels or dagesh points?
- What models did Le Bé use in cutting his types, and why did he cut only types following the Sephardic hand, and never in the Ashkenazic style? This issue is discussed in the sections dealing with the Ashkenazic specimens in NAF 4528.

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• Did Le Bé function mainly as an engraver and supply matrices (or strikes) to his clients? At what point did these activities metamorphose into what we might properly call a typefoundry, as appears to have happened under the management of his son and successor Guillaume II Le Bé. 27

• What were the reasons for the compilations of the two BnF documents? Were they simply personal records or perhaps intended as type specimens for clients?

• What were Le Bé’s connections, both business and personal, with fellow engravers, founders, printers, and paper merchants, many of whom had evident Protestant sympathies?

Given the structure of this thesis, these questions are discussed within the context of specific types where they are relevant.

Sixteenth-century printing and the place of Hebrew publishing within it

Hebrew printing and publishing in the early modern period needs to be viewed from three distinct perspectives:

• Publishing carried out by Jews for Jews
• Publishing produced by Christian Hebraists mainly for Christians
• Publishing aimed at a Jewish audience, yet initiated and financed by Christians

The types cut by Guillaume I Le Bé are to be found within all three of these categories, as the two centres where he was active – Paris and Venice – produced editions for all three types of audience.

The first category, Jews publishing for Jews, catered mainly for the type of works – liturgical, commentary and Biblical – required by Jews for study and worship. As an example, the lists of Hebrew books owned by Jews in the Jewish community of Mantua from 1595 present a useful index of the types of works that were most common in the private libraries of Jews of that period.28 Roberto Bonfil has written that in Jewish private libraries of Renaissance Italy ‘the vast majority of the books that formed part of these collections were liturgical works, works of Biblical exegesis, works dealing with questions of ritual, and especially copies of the Talmud.’ He also notes that ‘this state of affairs is confirmed by the list of Hebrew works the first publishers chose to publish in the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries.’29

27 See page 381 for discussion of this question.
28 Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, La culture littéraire des Juifs d’Italie à la fin de la Renaissance (Paris: CNRS - Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 2001), p. 50
29 Robert Bonfil, Jewish life in Renaissance Italy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 148
The second category, that of publishing carried out by Christians for Christians, is one of the most intriguing phenomena of the sixteenth century and takes us into the area of Christian Hebraism and the scholars who were leading exponents of Hebraic studies in various countries. This can best be described as ‘Christendom’s rediscovery of Judaism’ and was undertaken for a variety of motives, usually religious but occasionally scholarly or antiquarian. The works they wrote and edited served a number of purposes: they were aids for learning Hebrew, polemical works for a Christian audience and forerunners of the Wissenschaft des Judentums – ‘the science of Judaism’ in German – which developed in the nineteenth century.

The ‘Zeitgeist’ in which these works emerged was typical of the Renaissance as ‘despite the general distrust of the Jews, by the end of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, a knowledge of their language and a familiarity with their classical sources became respected elements in the new intellectual scene. Some persons wanted to read the Old Testament in its original language ...; other sought techniques in the Jewish medieval commentators to create a more modern biblical exegesis, while others thought that they could discover in the Jews' own text arguments to support the truth of the Christian faith. Still others sought to give grammatical descriptions of all the languages, classical and vernacular, including Hebrew, in terms of the Greco-Latin model.’

The growth of Christian Hebraism led to what one might call a culture of Jewish books without the presence of Jews. Initially, in the early sixteenth century, Jews or converted Jews were needed to teach, edit or write texts. By the end of the century the situation had changed and there were enough scholars available to deal with the more complex of Hebrew works, such as the Kabbalistic texts. The physical absence of Jews in many countries made this a necessity. The dearth of skilled Jewish compositors and proof readers caused major problems for some printers of the period, as well as well for readers. Stephen Burnett has written that ‘for the vast majority of Christian Hebrew presses it was non-Jewish typesetters and compositors who manufactured Hebrew books’ and cites the example of Johannes Buxtorf who had to transcribe a book manuscript from cursive to square Hebrew so that the compositors could read it. In the seventeenth century there is the testimony of Avraham the son of Eliezer Brunschwig, who was involved in the production of the Rabbinical Bible printed by Johannes Buxtorf in Basle in 1618. Brunschwig

34 The English spelling of ‘Basle’ has been used throughout, excepted for cited works, where the German spelling ‘Basel’ is used.
complained of the almost total ignorance of Hebrew by the non-Jewish compositors
and of the many errors they introduced into the text. He lamented the total ignorance
of compositors who ‘ne sont pas Israélites’ and who ‘n’ont pas vu l’oeuvre de Dieu dès
l’enfance et sont hors d’état de lire ou de reconnaître même une lettre de notre
langue sacrée’. There is no evidence, for example, of any Jews being directly
involved in the Robert Estienne Hebrew editions in Paris nor in the production of the
Plantin Polyglot Bible of 1569-1572. Yet careful supervision by knowledgeable
Hebraists, such as François Vatable or Jean Mercier, or Arias Montano and
Franciscus Raphelengius, resulted in extremely accurate productions.

Hebrew printing in France began about 1518 with the arrival of the Italian
‘humaniste hébraïsant’ Agostino Giustiniani. He had been responsible for the
polyglot Psalms printed in 1516 in Genoa by Petro Porro and has been credited with
the renaissance of Hebrew studies in France. He was followed by Gilles de Gourmont
(1508-1529), the Estienne dynasty – and in particular Robert I Estienne, Chrétien
Wechel (1531-1553), François Gryphe (1532-1542), Claude Chevallon (1532-1536) and
his widow Charlotte Guillard (1537-1552), Martin le Jeune (1549-1584), Guillaume
Morel (1559-1564), Pierre Vidoue (1522-1543), Louis Blauboom (1531-1537), Simone
de Colines (1524-1541) and Gérard Morhry (1531). Some of these printers will be
discussed at greater length in this thesis.

In Paris, Christian Hebraist printing was quite unique in that a large number of
books were printed either totally or partially in Hebrew without the presence of
Jews. It has been remarked that ‘after the expulsion of 1394 only occasionally were
there any Jews resident in Paris, and these had no legal status. At last some few Jews
obtained permission from Louis XI (1461-83) to reside there, on condition of
providing themselves with a license from the police, which it was necessary to renew
every two or three months. It was not until about 1500 that the presence of Jews in
Paris is again noticed’. And Lyse Schwarzfuch confirms this point when she writes
of the post-expulsion period that ‘l’hébraïsme français serait désormais chrétien’.

Robert I Estienne produced a Hebrew Bible in two editions: the first in 24 parts in
quarto between 1539 and 1546 and the second in sextodecimo between 1543 and
1546. It is of interest to note that Estienne wrote in the introduction to his
*Thesaurus linguae sanctae* that ‘la grande etait destinée aux rois et autres dirigeants pour qu’il

(1895), pp. 70-78
36 See Anthony Grafton, *The culture of correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: British Library,
2011), pp. 168-178
37 Lyse Schwarzfuch and Antoine Coron, *Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle: inventaire
chronologique* (Paris: Editions de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004), pp. 22-44. The years
cited are the known years of their activity as printers of Hebrew editions.
2010), pp. 111-120 for a recent assessment.
Article on Paris
40 Schwarzfuch and Coron, *Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle*, p. 18
puissent en tirer des enseignements, la petite étant plus facilement transportable'.

This appears to confirm that Estienne did not have in mind a Jewish readership, but rather a non-Jewish one. It is not certain whether these Parisian Hebrew editions found their way, or were indeed accepted at all, by a Jewish readership. It is worth noting the assessment of Bertram Schwarzbach that ‘from an editorial point of view, Robert Estienne’s edition of the Bible broke no new ground and was even a regression with respect to the two great Bomberg folio Bibles ... which says much about the sophistication of Hebrew studies in Paris’. He adds that the Bomberg editions were ‘dense Hebrew texts for learned Jewish readers, while the vocation of the Paris editors and publishers seems to have been to make more rudimentary Hebrew texts available and legible to Christian readers’. Yet it is interesting to note how useful the Estienne Hebrew editions were to such a student of Hebrew as Isaac Casaubon, whose copies of the *Prophetae Minores* are ‘virtually alive’ with his annotations. Casaubon’s own personal library of Hebrew texts was large, and contained a wide range of works, such as the major grammars ‘from Kimhi to Levita, from Chevalier to Buxtorf, manuscripts ‘including the Zohar and a fascicule of the Talmud, Münster’s Chaldaic dictionary, Natan Yehiel’s Arukh and the Santes Pagninus Thesaurus, David de Pomis’ Tsemach David’, to name but a few of the volumes which have survived or can be identified from his own lists.

The third category, those books aimed at a Jewish audience, yet initiated and financed by Christians, are peculiar to the early modern period and very much a product of the society in which these printers operated. In many instances and places, Jews were not allowed to operate presses on their own and thus a Christian was needed to be either the initiator or owner of the press. Such was usually the case in Venice, where for example, Daniel Bomberg, Marco Antonio Giustiniani, Alvise Bragadin, Giovanni di Gara, Carlo Querini and Giorgio di Cavalli were active in Hebrew printing. They were often members of the Venetian Patriciate and commonly employed Jews as editors and compositors. Christopher Plantin, not usually thought of as a Christian Hebraist printer, produced a Hebrew Bible in 1567 aimed at the Jewish populations in what was then called ‘Barbarie’, which probably included present day Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. Such was the success of this edition, that Plantin printed an edition of nearly 9,000 copies in a 4to, 8vo and 16mo formats.

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41 Ibid., p. 37
This was a very large edition for this period, when the average print run was in the region of 1000.45

It is perhaps no accident that the role of the independent punchcutter and engraver arose chiefly in Italy and France in the sixteenth century, given the relatively centralised nature of French printing in Paris and Lyons and the dominance of Venice as a printing centre. A certain critical mass in terms of numbers is no doubt needed to support specialised trades and professions, and there is good evidence for this view from the period 1450 to 1600 in France. An analysis of the various trades and professions mentioned in Philippe Renouard’s sampling of documents from the Archives Nationales and the Bibliothèque nationale shows a large number of booksellers (719) and printers (356), supported by a very small number of punchcutters (8) and type casters (25).46 As a comparison, Gedeon Bursa has listed some 925 printers active in Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Rome at a much lower level of 235.47 It can be assumed that the ratio of punchcutters and type founders in Venice would have been similar to the Parisian data.

The implications of this fact are the wide dispersal of similar types across many different printers. Hendrik Vervliet has argued that ‘during the fifteenth century the technical processes can be seen as being concentrated, and that a split occurred in the sixteenth century between type founders and printers’. During this second phrase, punchcutters worked for different printers, cutting punches and producing matrices – or strikes – to order.48 The incunabula model of reproduction appears to have been a situation where each printer supplied his own type. This theory is most closely associated with the work of Konrad Haebler,49 although this was contested by Ernst Consentius. A. F. Johnson cast doubt on some of the attributions made by Robert Proctor for the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when he reduced the total number of some 600 different and distinct sixteenth-century typefaces to about 180 types cut in about twenty-five years in the period before 1501.50

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46 Philippe Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres, relieurs, doreurs de livres, faiseurs de fermoirs, enlumineurs, parcheminiers et papetiers ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600, Société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’île-de-France (Paris: H. Champion, 1901)
49 Conrad Haebler, 'Typefounding and Commerce in Type during the early Years of Printing', Ars Typographica, III (1926), pp. 32-35
Primary and secondary source materials

The *Le Bé Memorandum* was written by Guillaume II Le Bé in 1643 with additional material by Jean-Pierre Fournier added in the mid-eighteenth century. It contains short biographical notices of the major French punchcutters of the sixteenth century and has much useful additional information on the life of Guillaume I Le Bé. The main type specimens of the period are the *Index sive Specimen Characterum Christophori Plantini* of 1567, which has examples of ten Hebrews, cut by Le Bé and issuing from the Bomberg press. The Plantin Folio specimen of 1585 contains four Le Bé types and three Bombergs. The Berner 1592 specimen and the Le Bé –Moretus fragments of 1599 have already been mentioned, in that they mention the names of the punchcutter.

Yet another major primary source is the various inventories kept in the Plantin Moretus archives. These allow us to see in some detail the way the types were catalogued in the *Officina Plantiniana* during the period 1556 to 1652. These inventories list a total of 38 Hebrews, of which ten can be attributed to Le Bé, six to the Bomberg press, one to Garamont and the rest unidentified. This is useful as an example of how Le Bé’s types were distributed. The use of Hebrew types (including some by Le Bé) by Franciscus Raphelengius and Johannes Le Maire in the Low Countries during the period 1585 to 1815 has been documented by Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld.

For sixteenth-century Parisian printing, the investigative work of Philippe Renouard is of primary importance. His studies of the original sources in the Archives nationales and the BnF are a first place to look for relevant documents. His major work is the *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres, relieurs, doreurs de livres, faiseurs de fermoirs, enlumeurs, parcheminiers et papetiers ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600* as well as his *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères en exercice à Paris au XVIIème siècle*. Renouard may well have been carrying on the interests of his

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51 Guillaume Le Bé, *Sixteenth-century French typefounders: the Le Bé memorandum*. ed. by Harry Carter (Paris and Oxford: André Jammes, 1967). This document was rediscovered by Miss O. A. Abbott, Stanley Morison’s researcher in Paris for over 20 years. She was one of the first researchers to compile documentary evidence on Le Bé’s life. See Appendix E, page 518.

52 In this thesis I have used the spelling ‘Garamont’, as used by Vervliet in his œuvre, in place of the more accepted form ‘Garamond’, except where the cited source used the alternate spelling. For a discussion of this point see James Mosley, ‘Garamond or Garamont?’ (2011) <http://typefoundry.blogspot.co.uk/2011/04/garamond-or-garamont.html> [Accessed 6 November 2013]


ancestor Antoine Augustin Renouard, who in 1837 produced a still usable guide to the Estienne printing dynasty, his Annales de l’Imprimerie des Estienne. One could also mention the work of Georges Lepreux, whose multi-volume work Gallia typographica builds on the work of Philippe Renouard.

It is also worth mentioning the Anisson-Duperron archive on bookselling and printing in the BnF.\(^{56}\) This is described as a ‘recueil de documents de tout genre, manuscrits et imprimés, relatifs à la librairie et à l’imprimerie, réunis par le dernier directeur de l’Imprimerie royale’.\(^{57}\) Ms. Fr. 22117 contains a series of documents dating from 1583 to 1764 concerning type founding with references mainly to Guillaume II Le Bé and his contemporaries. Ms. Fr. 22189 has various specimens of Hebrews which have attributions to Le Bé, although the precise name of the typefoundry has yet to be established.\(^{58}\)

The typographic historian Ellic Howe wrote about the Le Bé family and the history of Hebrew typography in general in two important articles in the typographic journal Signature in 1937 and 1938.\(^{59}\) More recent scholars who have brought to light useful documents are Annie Parent-Charon of the École des Chartes, whose work Les métiers du livre à Paris au XVIIe siècle (1535-1560) is an important source for archival material in the Archives nationales, especially in the Minutier Central, and Geneviève Guilleminot-Chrétien of the Bibliothèque nationale de France for her articles on Garamont.\(^{60}\) The major contemporary source for Hebrew printing in sixteenth-century Paris is Lyse Schwarzfuch’s Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle: inventaire Chronologique published in 2004. She has since added similar studies for Hebrew printing in Lyons and Geneva.\(^{61}\)

For primary sources on printing in Venice the picture is more problematic. The classic work is that of Horatio Brown, The Venetian printing press, published in

\(^{56}\) MS. Français 22061-22193, Collection Anisson-Duperron sur la Librairie et l’Imprimerie.

\(^{57}\) From the BnF Catalogue Collective; Manuscrits et fonds d’archives Département des Manuscrits Français. Français 20256-Français 22265 See also Bibliothèque nationale, Etienne Anisson-Duperron, and Ernest Coyecque, Inventaire de la Collection Anisson sur l’histoire de l’imprimerie et la librairie, principalement a Paris [formed principally by J. d’Hemery] ... Par E. Coyecque (Paris, 1900)

\(^{58}\) Folio 63 has a ‘Hebrieu et Rabbin Sedanois’, folio 67 has a ‘Hebrew Tremisgiste’ and ‘Palestine’, folio 68 has a ‘Hebrew de Gros Romain’ and a ‘Hebrew de Saint-Augustin’, and folio 69 has a ‘Rabin de Gros Romain’, ‘Rbin de Saint-Augustin’ and a ‘Rabin de Petit Texte’. The handwritten annotation on the cover sheet attributes these typefaces to the Fonderie Fournier Ainé.

\(^{59}\) Ellic Howe, ‘The Le Bé Family: typefounders, printers, paper merchants, engravers, and writing masters, 1525-1730’, Signature (1938) and Ellic Howe, ‘An Introduction to Hebrew Typography’, Signature, 5 (1937)


\(^{61}\) Lyse Schwarzfuchs, L’hébreu dans le livre à Genève au XVIe siècle (Genève Librairie Droz, 2011), Lyse Schwarzfuchs, L’hébreu dans le livre lyonnais au XVIe siècle (Lyon: ENS Editions/Institut d’Histoire du Livre, 2008), Schwarzfuchs and Coron, Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle. Note that the older historical spelling of Lyons with an s has been used in this thesis, except where the original text was spelled without.
1891. Brown was perhaps the first historian to mine material from the Venetian Archivio di Stato. In the early years of the twentieth century, Victor Masséna, also known as the Prince d'Essling or the Duca di Rivoli, paid for some eleven researchers to comb through what appears to be the entirety of the Archivio di Stato in Venice for any mention of the words, printers, engraver or bookseller during the period 1540 to 1550. The results of these researches were sent to Masséna in Paris on coded cards and have since disappeared. The remaining results of this search are available on a microfilm and this writer was able to view them during a stay in Venice in 2010. It has to be said that the results with regard to documentary evidence from Guillaume I Le Bé’s stay in Venice are as yet inconclusive and more material may yet emerge. Regarding the history of Hebrew printing in Venice, the work most commonly cited is that of David Amram, The makers of Hebrew books in Italy, but it is unreliable in some respects and needs to be treated with caution.

The description of type as a historical discipline can be said to have started with the work of the American printer scholar Daniel Berkeley Updike, first published in 1922. Updike does discuss Le Bé and notes that ‘at his death in 1598, Le Bé was the first engraver of Oriental characters in the world’. At about the same period, A.F. Johnson also mentioned Le Bé, but without too much detailed discussion on his Hebrews. The same is true of his later work Type Designs, published in 1934. The curious fact is that the disciplines of historical bibliography and the history of print and type developed in two divergent streams, one dealing with the history of printing types and the other concentrating on analytical bibliography or the cataloguing of mainly of Incunabula, for whom the ‘question as how type developed were of no concern’. Vervliet has done much to remedy this situation in his various articles and publications. Yet Hebrew printing requires a particular approach, given the nature of the language, the scripts used, the categories of books published, the mode of distribution and the interaction between Christians and Jews in the production of Hebrew editions. It is this element of book history that this thesis will attempt to integrate into the analysis of the Le Bé Hebrew types and printers who used them.

The other source of primary material with relevance to the life and works of Le Bé is to be found in the archives of Plantin Moretus Museum in Antwerp. Here is a collection of the only remaining punches and matrices produced by him, type

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62 Archiviio di Stato, Venezia, Stampatori, Ricerca Duca di Rivoli, bobina 155, busta unica
63 I am indebted to the current holder of this title, V.A. Masséna d'Essling for this information.
64 See Michael Terry, Reader’s guide to Judaism (Chicago ; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), p. 498
67 Vervliet and Carter, Sixteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries, p. 2. For a more in depth discussion of bibliography in its many forms
specimens and the original inventories of the *Officina Plantiniana*. These were examined as part of the doctoral research.

**The punchcutter as part of the printing process**

The generally accepted view of the origins of printing is that Johann Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg, a goldsmith born into a Patrician family in Mainz in the 1390s, was the main originator and innovator of this ‘invention’. 68 There are as yet unresolved questions about his role in this development and the actual techniques he put into place, but the basic parameters of printing: punch, matrix, hand mould, hand press seem have been established certainly by the time of the first dated Gutenberg publication, the *Catholicon* of 1460. In his introduction, Gutenberg mentions that it was printed and accomplished ‘without the use of reed, stylus or pen, but by the wondrous agreement, proportion and harmony of punches and types’.70 Paper was already available cheaply by that period and the relevant technologies such as those used by goldsmiths, in wine presses were complemented by what was the crucial invention of the adjustable hand mould. Talbot Baines Reed argued ‘we find in the mould not only the culminating achievement of the inventor, but also the key to the distinction between the two school of early typography: xylography and the use of metal types’.71 Yet it is mainly true that ‘print was itself a veritable cluster or galaxy of previously achieved technologies’.72

Thus the salient stages in the invention of printing can be summarised as follows:

- Development of the requisite contributing technologies such as paper making, wine presses, metallurgy, engraving and punch cutting.
- Input from other existing printing technologies;
- Establishment of a potential market for the product;
- A period of experimentation with alternate solutions;
- Resolution of the main technological problems such as the adjustable mould, brass matrix and composition equipment.

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69 The reversed image of the punch struck into a small copper bar. See glossary for definition.

70 Steinberg, *Five hundred years of printing*, p. 23. This comment is very similar to that expressed by Rabbi Joseph ben Asher’s in the colophon to one of first dated Hebrew editions, the *Arba’ah Turim* of 1475, in which he writes ‘I am the art that is the crown of all the arts. I myself am hidden, but in me all secrets are revealed. Without pens my script is clear to all; without scribes do I create books. In a a moment I am dipped in ink. Without rulers, yet my script is evenly formed’. From Zinberg, *A History of Jewish Literature*, cited by Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a third Language*, p. 248


There were five basic stages involved in the new craft: first cutting of the type punches and striking the matrices, second casting the type, third composition of the text, fourth printing of the text and fifth finishing of the printed item (i.e. folding, gathering and binding) if relevant. The first stage is what concerns us in this thesis and ‘demanded a degree of skill in the handling of tools and experience in the working of metal rarely found in any man who undertook to learn the art of printing. They were never regarded as proper branches of the printer’s trade, but were from the beginning set aside as kinds of work by the goldsmith only’. 73

This situation had changed by the sixteenth century, which may be viewed as a kind of golden age for punch cutting and whose typefaces are still used in those revivals issued in the twentieth century by the Monotype Corporation under the guidance of Stanley Morison. 74

The process of cutting (i.e. engraving) a punch and producing a matrix is indeed not a simple one, and there are several historical descriptions to mention. Plantin’s *Dialogues francois pour les ieneus enfans*, issued in 1567, contains a very cursory description of the process, but Harry Carter commented that ‘its shows that the tools, and therefore the methods, in use by the middle of sixteenth century were those remembered by older men in the trade today’.75 There are no known early engravings of a punch cutter at work, however an wood engraving of a type caster does exist in the 1568 edition of Hans Sachs’ *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden*. The mould is quite unlike anything that has survived today and Harry Carter wondered whether this depiction was at all reliable.76

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76 Hans Sachs and Jost Amman, *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden, hoher und niedriger, geistlicher und weltlicher, aller Künsten, Handwercken und Händeln &c. vom grösten biss zum kleinsten, auch von jrem Vrsprung, Erfindung und gebreuchen von dem weitherümpften Hans Sachsen ganz fleissig beschrieben und in Teutsche Reimen gefasset, sehr nutzbarlich und lustig zu lesen, vnd auch mit kunstreichen figuren, deren gleichen zuvor niemands gesehen ... allen Künstlern ... zu sonderlichem Dienst in Druck verfertigt* (Gedruckt zu Frankfurk am Mayn: bey Georg Raben, in Verlegung Sigmund Feyerabents, 1568). See also Carter, *A view of early typography up to about 1600*, pp. 17-18
Joseph Moxon’s *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole of Printing* (1683) is the first detailed description in English, in which he claims that ‘letter-cutting is a Handy-Work hitherto kept so conceal’d amongst the Artificers of it, that I cannot learn any one hath taught it to another; But every one that has used it, Learnt it of his own Genuine Inclination’. This may have been true in the case of Moxon, but not true for Guillaume I Le Bé, nor for other well known punch cutters, such as Claude Garamont, Nicholas Kis or Jacques I de Sanlecque. They were taught by punchcueters who were masters of the trade. Moxon does describe the letter cutter’s tools as used in the late seventeenth century, the use of counter punches, the making of mould, striking the matrices, justifying the matrices, and the processes involved in casting type.77

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Finally there is the *Manuel Typographique* of Simon-Pierre Fournier (Fournier le Jeune) of 1764, which is devoted almost entirely to punchcutting. Fournier maintains that ‘a man cannot be a good punchcutter without being a typographer, that is to say, he must know every detail of the operations involved in typefounding and printing, that he may work with an eye to them’. Fournier argues that ‘the punchcutter should anticipate every step in the casting and impression of letters’, and cites Guillaume Le Bé as an example of such punch cutters, ‘to whom printing is indebted for the whole of its progress’ and as a ‘master of this art, which they have carried in France to the pitch of perfection which neighbouring peoples have never attained’. This sounds somewhat like patriotic hyperbole, and it is not obvious that punchcutter always exercised such control over the end result of their products.78

A more recent discussion of punchcutting described the following specific steps involved in producing a punch:79

- Preparing the steel bar for engraving
- Preparing and sharpening the tools
- Freehand drawing or making and transferring a smoke proof
- Roughing with the file
- Shaping with the file using successive markings
- Checking the outside dimensions with the gauges
- Digging out the counter with the graver
- Pricking (piquage) the slope of the face
- Levelling the floor of the counter
- Advance with the graver towards the final shape by means of successive markings after the examinations of smoke proofs
- Cutting the slopes
- Checking internal dimensions with the gauge
- Making smoke proofs
- Retouching, making markings with gravers and files, final polishing
- Checking with gauges and smoke proofs
- Hardening, cleaning and tempering

These procedures can also be seen in several short videos produced by the American punchcutter, typecaster and historian Stan Nelson, one of the few practitioners of this art still able to replicate the processes used in the sixteenth century.80

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The tools used by a punchcutter such as Le Bé would not have been numerous and he certainly would have able to carry them with him on his travels. They would have included, at the very minimum, various types of files, various face gauges for size and height, magnifying glasses, steel pointed tools for inscribing the image on a punch, oilstones and sharpeners, a small anvil or stake various types of engraving tools (Moxon calls them gravers and sculpters), pincers or some type of vice for holding the punch during the engraving, a small lamp for producing smoke proofs, hammers, brushes and possibly a supply of unfinished punches.

The tools shown by Harry Carter in Appendix K include some more sophisticated equipment as used in Oxford University Press in the last century, but the essential tools are the same as would have been used by Le Bé. These are best shown in the two plates from Fournier’s *Manuel Typographique*. The first plate (III) shows various face gauges, set squares, adjustable gauges, a stake with a square hollow in middle to hold the steel while it is counter punched, a magnifying glass, and a guide
which is used marking plain chant or music punches. The second plate (IV) shows various files, a steel point for drawing, liners used as a straight edge in aligning letters, an oilstone bedded in wood, a stepped punch with and without the accent, the accent, a counterpunch, brushes, pincers, and light hammer.\footnote{Fournier and Carter, \textit{Fournier on Typefounding}, pp. 301-303}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig1.4.png}
\caption{A Punchcutter's tools of the seventeenth century. Plate III from Fournier's \textit{Manuel Typographique}}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig1.5.png}
\caption{A Punchcutter's tools of the seventeenth century. Plate IV from Fournier's \textit{Manuel Typographique}}
\end{figure}
There are some records, mostly in the MPM archives, which gives details of the actual economics involved in punch cutting. The punchcutter Robert Granjon, for example, reckoned his prices on the basis ‘of the punch plus one matrix struck with it’. In July 1565 ‘he agreed to supply Plantin with a garamond italic and a mediane italic at 2 florins for each punch with one justified matrix’. Later in 1569 he supplied 100 punches for a Syriac fount at a cost of 2 florins and 5 stuyvers per punch with one justified matrix. In 1565 Granjon supplied a parangon Greek at 1 florin per punch. The punchcutter Hendrik van den Kerre was also frequently used by Plantin and in 1570 he supplied 68 punches at 1 florin per punch. It thus seems that the price per punch paid by Plantin in the third quarter of the sixteenth century – with or without the justified matrix – was between 1 and 2 florins. The prices Plantin paid to Le Bé for Hb12 (S) in 1562 – 5 escu to 50 sous – appear to be much lower than normal prices, and the same for the material Plantin bought at the auction of Garamont’s estate in 1561, but these prices may be a reflection of the general perilous state of the business during the French Wars of Religions.

One can gain a sense of the relative value of these sums by comparing them to the wages paid to compositors and printers in the Officina Plantaniana during the same period. The wages for a compositors varied between 68 fl. 13 st. to as much as 284 fl. 13 st. during the period 1564 to 1587. For pressman the variation was between 76 fl. 3 st to 276 fl. Thus the financial rewards for a punchcutter, even if he were able to produce several complete founts per annum, were not excessive.

The relative output of the prominent punchcutters of the sixteenth century is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The analysis of the typefaces in the two documents

When beginning the initial analysis of the types, the most sensible approach seemed to assign a specific number to each occurrence of every type in the two documents. The exact number of distinct types and the amount of duplication between the two documents was not certain at that point, and the initial analysis showed about 110 occurrences of all types in both documents. This allowed an identification of the location per document and folio according to the folio numbering assigned by the BnF and used by Omont, Vervliet and Carter when they referred to certain types. The numbering system chosen included the document number, the folio number and a specific numeric code, for example 4528/1/1.

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82 The Flemish Guilder or Florin was equal to 20 stuyers (or stuyvers) or patars. See Leon Voet, The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantinana at Antwerp, etc. vol. 2. The management of a printing and publishing house in Renaissance and Baroque (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co, 1972), pp. 81-91, 440-453
83 Ibid., pp. 336-338
84 See page 364.
85 See for example Harry Carter, 'A Message from Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé’, De Gulden Passer, 36 (1958)
Following the completion of the initial analysis and part of the primary research, the types were then renumbered, so that each type style – loosely a fount of type – was allocated a unique number, and identification code as to language (Heb for example – and style – for example SS = square Sephardic or RS = Rashi script or Gloss). This followed the model used by Vervliet in his Conspectus, but without the size, as it seemed preferable not to link the size to the code, given the difficulty in arriving at an absolute size determination. Vervliet also used an equivalent old English body name in his descriptions, which is perhaps logical for Roman and Italic types, but less certain for Hebrews and more difficult to use given the names and descriptions used by Le Bé in his annotations. A final renumbering was found to be necessary to correct mistaken attributions or numbering which became apparent after the completion of the first draft of Chapter 3. This final numbering system used a combination of a language code (Hb for Hebrew, Rm for Roman, It for Italic, Ms for Music and Gk for Greek, plus a unique identifying number, and a code to identify the style – S for Sephardic, R for Rashi and A for Ashkenazic).

It needs to be noted that the chronological order of the appearance of the specimens NAF 4528 was followed in the actual numbering, and not the order in which they appeared in the documents. The appearing order can be seen in the facsimile in Appendix C. However the appearing order in Rés X 1665 was followed as closely as possible, given the lack of dates in most of the specimens.

If we accept the thesis that each fount was cut for a particular size of hand mould, as was put forward by Carter and Burnhill, then it is the mould size which determined the body size – and hence name – of the type. The moulds were adjustable horizontally as can be seen from the surviving examples in the Plantin Moretus Museum, but this was in order to accept different matrix widths from the same fount. As is clear from a comparative chart of the old English and old French body names sizes for the sixteenth century are approximate and can vary quite widely. It thus seemed best to stick as closely as possible with the names that Le Bé had assigned in his annotations and not attempt a translation into a different typographic nomenclature system. What complicates the matter further is that it is not known if leading – what is known now as interlinear spacing – was used during the Incunabula period or indeed in the sixteenth century. The most accurate assumption is that types were set ‘solid’, but occasionally cast on a larger size mould

86 Carter, A view of early typography up to about 1600, p. 8 and Peter Burnhill, Type spaces: in-house norms in the typography of Aldus Manutius (London: Hyphen Press, 2003), p. 11. See also DeVinne, The Invention of Printing, p. 518 ‘As the size of every body is determined by the mould in which it is cast, it would seem that there must have been a separate mould for every distinct body’.
89 The punchcutter Hendrik van der Keere described a technique called ‘packing’, which involved the insertion of body brasses in the mould to reduce or enlarge the type body, to allow him to use a different mould than the one intended for a specific size. See Vervliet and Carter, Sixteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries, p. 334.
to take into account accents or diacriticals. There is evidence for this procedure for Hebrew casting in Fournier’s *Manuel Typographique*, where he writes that ‘having dressed a mould for casting the letter on a body rather smaller than the face ... they prepared a second which had a body equal to that of the letter added to that of the points, so that if one were pica and the other nonpareil, their second mould was great primer, which is the size of a nonpareil added to a pica. In these two moulds, one pica and the other great primer, they cast all the letters of the alphabet, making the characters range at the feet’. 90 There is also evidence for this procedure in some of the annotations by Guillaume II Le Bé to the 1599 specimens now in the Plantin Moretus Museum in Antwerp, where it is noted for one example ‘texte hébreu a fondre avec les pointz sur le Saint Augustin’ – for Hb18 (S) on 4528 f. 2v.

Unless there are examples of risen spacing in a printed text, there is little likelihood that this point can be finally established. There are three possible risen spaces in Rés X 1665 (folios 1v, 6r and 10v), but they do not provide enough information to make any clear measurements. The late Peter Burnhill attempted an analysis of printed text in four Aldus Manutius editions and came to the conclusion that ‘the line-increments (mould size) determined for the text provided the punchcutter with his scale of values for gauging the grosser dimensional attributes and ratios of a projected set of characters’.91 This hypothesis does appear to hold true for some Hebrew examples examined for this thesis, by using a simple method of measuring the baselines of a sufficient number of lines of text and then measuring across the text measure. The resulting text measure generally came out as an even number of lines, thus showing that the em – the nearest square measure – of the fount used was in effect the measurement used by most compositors of the period.92 Pointed Hebrew setting could well have been set using related – i.e. proportional – units of the em in order to allow the type to fit and lock up securely in a forme. Recent work by Scott-Martin Kosofsky supports this hypothesis.93

There are several examples of risen type from the Incunabula period, most in Latin and one other Hebrew. They give some idea of what type would have looked like in that period, its relative size and the lack of certain features (such as the feet), which may have developed only later. There is no obvious nick in the Hebrew example, and the bottom appears to be rounded at least on one side. The beard is quite vertical. 94

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90 Fournier and Carter, *Fournier on Typefounding*, p. 152
91 Burnhill, *Type spaces: in-house norms in the typography of Aldus Manutius*, p. 11
92 I am indebted to Dr. Claire Bolton for pointing out this method to me. For a more detailed discussion of this subject see Claire Bolton, *The 15th-Century Printing Practices of Johann Zainer, Ulm, 1473-1478*, University of Reading, 2008)
93 See page 271 of this thesis.
The parts of a Hebrew type character are identical to any other typographic character, and are as follows:  

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Harris, 'A mysterious UFO in the Venetian 'Dama Rovenza' [c. 1482]', Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 78 (2003)

1. The eye (עין or ayin): The printing portion of the type which receives the ink and is transferred to paper. This is also called the face or ‘oeuil’ in French.

2. The termination stroke (סיום וק or Kav-si’um). This equates roughly to the serif in Roman and italic typefaces. Gaskell calls this a ‘termination’ when referring to capitals letters and ‘serif’ when referring to lower case.

3. Head (ראש or Rosh): This is known as the beard or bevel and is the ‘steeply sloping surface between the printing surface and shoulder’.

4. Counter (תיתרה or Titorah): The counter is the ‘area enclosed by a bowl’ which is the ‘curved stroke enclosing an area’.

5. The shoulder (כתף or Katef): The ‘flat non-printing surface of the type’. It also can mean a ‘curved stroke springing from a stem’ (Gaskell) and Silverberg notes that this relates to descenders (the final letters ב / ה / ט ) and the ascender of the lamed (ל).

6. Width (רוחב or Rohav): the ‘set’ of the character which varies from character to character.

7. The body or point size (מידה or Midah): This equates to the body size of the typeface. This is also called a shank.

8. Height to paper (גובה or Govah): The standard for Anglo-American is .918” or 23.32 mm and Didot is 23.686 mm. In the Incunabula period and the sixteenth century there were no fixed norms and type heights could differ between individual printers and typographic ‘cultures’. The mould sizes more than often determined the body size.

9. The pin mark (הוץ מסמר סימן or Siman Mesmer HaHotza’ah): Also known as a ‘drag’ and may indicate the foundry name or type size.

10. Feet (רגלים or Reglaim): The base of the type which is formed after the ‘tang’ is broken off from the newly cast type and the type finished to give it a uniform height.

11. Heel-nick or groove (חריק or Cherik): The notch left between the feet after the tang is broken off and the feet levelled. Moxon describes this under the category ‘of the dressing of letters’. 96

12. The Nick (הריץ or Haritz): The square or rounded slot formed during the casting which indicates the base of the character to the compositor and an aid in distinguishing between similar characters, for example the ‘n’ and the ‘u’ in a Roman fount.

These various parts of the typeface are important as they each represent a particular part of the process of punch cutting, of casting type, of finishing the type or of

96 Moxon, Carter, and Davis, Mechanick Exercises, pp. 184-188. James Mosley maintains that these hole most probably indicated the use of wire to thread the lines of type together. See Mosley,‘Fallen and threaded types’
printing type. As an example, the beard needed to be deep enough to prevent the non-printing parts of the type from inking and hence leaving a sign on the printed page. This was also the reason that the depth of the strike on the matrix was so important to produce a clean image of the actual character. As another example, the nick was vital to show the compositor which side was up. An early impression of raised piece of type from a Cologne edition of 1476, pulled up by error during inking and impressed into the paper, shows a small hole on the side of the piece of type, may have been cast there to serve this purpose. In most moulds that have survived the nick is produced by a small piece of wire embedded in the mould. 97 The feet are produced during the finishing process after the type has been cast, and the ‘shank’ or excess material broken off. Specialist tools such as a dressing block, dressing hook and dressing knife were developed to provide an even flat surface for the base of the type. Similar tools were also used to remove excess type metal from letters with long descenders or ascenders which needed to be kerned. This was vital for the composition of pointed Hebrew. 98

Gaskell proposed a system of nomenclature for the letter forms of Roman type, but this has not been attempted for Hebrew type. 99 The closest to such a description was used in palaeographic studies such as Bernheimer and Birnbaum. 100 Gaskell’s nomenclature is generally relevant for Hebrew types, with certain exceptions such as the term ‘serif’ which does not accurately apply to Hebrew characters, and the terms ‘majuscules’ and ‘miniscules’, which do not exist in the Hebrew script. 101

The criteria used for description of the types

One of the few scholarly studies to attempt a full description of a printer of Hebrew editions is that undertaken by Herbert Zafren on the German Jewish printer Shabtai Meshorer Bass (or Shabbethai ben Joseph Bass) who was active in the town of Dyhernfurth (now Brzeg Dolny in Poland) in lower Silesia from 1689 to about 1714. 102 Zafren took a small sample of 29 editions available to him and used the following categories for his analysis. 103

1. A bibliography of the known printed works from his press – the artefacts

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2. A careful list of those works which were examined by the investigator so that the work may be checked and expanded by others

3. A bibliography of the secondary literature on the place and printer

4. A record of all title page cuts (i.e. blocks)

5. A record of the type faces and sizes

6. A record of the metal ornaments (flowers)

7. A record or transcription of the ornamental and illustrative cuts (i.e. blocks)

8. A description or other distinguishing features if any (i.e. signatures, watermarks etc.)

9. A listing of special problems, with or without solutions

This is a useful list, and some of these elements will be discussed in this thesis. Zafren’s comments on the measurement of the types are of interest. He writes:

Measurement for type – as indeed of ornaments and woodcuts as well – is a difficult matter. Although letters may come from the same mould and therefore be exactly the same size, they may appear to be of different sizes or actually measure as different sizes, several hundred years after printing. Appearance is affected by the measure and amount of leading, and actual size is determined by such factors as the condition of the type, the expansion, contraction, or wrinkling of the paper and the amount of inking or bleeding.

Ordinarily one would measure ten or twenty lines of unleaded type and calculate an average to determine the size of the type. The Hebrew faces that we are concerned with offer problems of ascenders, descenders, vocalization, and various leading, among other things, *that make normal measurement difficult.* (My italics) Furthermore, such measurement yields the body size of the type, without revealing the size of the face. Different sizes can be on the same body size. At this stage, it seemed important to me to recognize differences in face sizes (because there are no face names beyond the generic) and I preferred to risk the problems of measuring the so-called x-height of letters (excluding those that have ascenders and descenders). ... The measurements cannot be absolute because of the variables mentioned above, but one size can be relatively differentiated from other. One further point: when an elongated  ז  is referred to, it is always the final letter (ז).\(^\text{104}\)

This is fair comment on the problems of measuring Hebrew types and Rashi types in particular. Zafren refers to pointed as vocalized and mentions specific line of texts which he has measured. He also mentions when dilated or extended letters

\(^{104}\) *Ibid.*, p. 548
(sometimes known as *literae dilatabiles* in the literature) are used and the date. In the course of the analysis of the Le Bé documents, other criteria began to appear for the description of the types. Some of these were:

- Measurement of square characters where it is relatively easy to establish the appearing size of the typeface, such as the mem (מ), the final mem (ם), the bet (ב), the nun (נ)
- Measurement of the height of lamed including ascender
- Description of the type of termination stroke (serif) on the lamed
- Description of the junction of the base and downward strokes of the gimel (ג). This is often the main distinguishing factor between a gimel and a nun
- Description of the type of junctions of the strokes on the shin (ש)
- Description of the type of junction of the middle stroke on the tet (ט)
- Description of the *literae dilatabiles* where available
- Description of variants of standard weight where they exist and measure the differences of set between variants
- Description of junctions where strokes meet: smooth, angular or pointed
- Description of any additional symbols used, such as *signes de renoius*\(^{106}\)
- Description of any obvious kerning which would indicate combined use of letter and vowel punches\(^{107}\)
- Description of any obvious characteristics of the vowel points where they are available and their placement/proximity to the letters
- Description of any obvious characteristics of the cantillation points where they are available and their placement/proximity to the letters\(^{108}\)

Some of these points, where relevant, will be described in the discussion of recognition factors for each fount.

Vervliet in his *Conspectus* listed the following seven descriptives for each typeface reviewed:\(^{109}\)

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\(^{106}\) See page 47 of this thesis.

\(^{107}\) Kerns or kerned letters are ‘such as have part of their face hanging over one side or both sides of their shanks’. William Savage, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1841), p. 429

\(^{108}\) These cantillation marks, known in Hebrew as ‘Ta’amim’, have been defined as as system of strokes, dots and other signs ... which determined the grouping of the words in phrase and verses according to the traditional sense, and thus made possible the reading, and even the singing of the (Massoretic) text with proper meaning’. See Bernard Casper, *An introduction to Jewish Bible Commentary* (New York and London: Thomas Yoselof, 1960), pp. 40-41

\(^{109}\) Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus*, p. 51
It is the intention in this thesis to use the same basic criteria, plus visual samples of the specimens, alphabets and examples from relevant editions, with a greatly expanded discussion section for each typeface. A few qualifications as to the way this will differ from Vervliet’s system are in order.

As previously noted, Vervliet uses the traditional Old English size names, the Proctor-Haebler 20 line measurement, the x-height and the capital height for Romans. Vervliet notes that the 20 line measurement is used for unleaded setting, and maintains that the unleaded setting measure is essential, yet this is not always straightforward to determine. He also notes that the 20 line measure is in fact a measure for the mould and not the face and that an unevenly designed sort can be a ‘weak indicator of the exact size of Hebrew or Arabic type’.110 This measurement is normally shown as 20:89, or 89 mm depth for 20 lines.

Vervliet classes the types firstly according to letter family (Roman, Italic, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Phonetic) and then by letter group (Romans divided into Jenson, Bembo and Old face Romans, Italics divided into Aldine or Old face; Greeks divided as Graeco-Roman, Aldine or Old Face, Hebrews divided into Square Sephardic, Square Askenazic or Rabbinical. Regarding the Hebrew types, Vervliet writes: ‘The major terms used here to clarify and describe Hebrew letter designs pertain to scripts rather than to letter groups. In sixteenth-century France the following letter groups appear: Square Sephardic (a south European formal script), Square Ashkenazi (the German formal Hebrew) and Rabbinical (a Sephardic cursive script used for commentaries). The Ashkenazic types used in France seem to have been imported, and Yiddish, as a script type mainly for a vernacular readership in Germany and Italy, was used in Strasburg in 1592, but not within France within its sixteenth-century borders’.111 In the Le Bé documents there is only one folio with Askenazic scribal hands and types, and no occurrences at all of the Yiddish founts.

Finally, Vervliet restricts himself in his Conspectus to ‘type designs conceived or perfected’ within the geographical borders of sixteenth-century France.112 The two
documents in the BnF contain specimens from France, Italy and the German-speaking lands and thus cover a much wider geographical spread.

The criteria for the selection of Hebrew editions to be examined

An important part of the doctoral researches involved an examination of as broad a sample as possible of Hebrew editions printed in the sixteenth century. The reason for this examination was to plot the spread of the Hebrew types represented in the two Le Bé documents.

One major criterion in the selection of archives or libraries was to find collections with well-catalogued and representative holdings, which would be easily accessible and which would allow digital scans of relevant documents. The first choice was the Valmadonna Trust Library in London, which holds one of the largest collections of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Hebraica in the world. Sadly this option disappeared early on in the research, as the collections were moved to New York for eventual sale, however the Custodian (Mr. Jack Lunzer) allowed me to make use of the very extensive secondary material still remaining in London. I also used the very rich holdings of the Leo Baeck College Library in London, which holds many items from the London Beit Din. In the end, two collections became obvious choices, due to their representative holdings, accessibility and high level of cataloguing: the British Library and University College London/Special Collections.

The following list summarises the Hebraica holdings in the periods and printers of interest in the British Library and University College Library Special Collections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City or Printer</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of entries in the British Library</th>
<th>Number of entries in UCL Special Collections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All cities and printers</td>
<td>1450-1500</td>
<td>100(^{113})</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All cities and printers</td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>1165</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All cities and printers</td>
<td>1600-1700</td>
<td>1239</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelkind/Venice</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>1600-1700</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
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<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augsburg</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basle</td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bologna</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomberg/Venice</td>
<td>1500-1550</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bragadin/Venice</td>
<td>1540-1600</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalli/Venice</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conti/Cremona</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cracow</td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di Gara/Venice</td>
<td>1540-1600</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estienne/Paris</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferrara</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firenze</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurt am Main</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurt an der Oder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giustiniani/Venice</td>
<td>1540-1600</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantua</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City or Printer</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of entries in the British Library</th>
<th>Number of entries in UCL Special Collections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Padua</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1600-1700</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitz/Cracow</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riva di Trento</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>1500-1700</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soncino/Italy</td>
<td>1490-1550</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>1600-1700</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waldkirch/Basle</td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wittenberg</td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 1.9: Table of Hebraica holdings in the British Library and UCL Special Collections

As a comparative figure, Vinograd’s major survey of Hebrew editions lists over 1500 purely Hebrew editions printed in Italy in the sixteenth century, with nearly two thirds of them printed in Venice. ¹¹⁴ Schwarzfuchs, who included all editions containing Hebrew text in the sixteenth century, listed 439 editions for Paris alone, and 129 for Geneva during the same period.¹¹⁵

Thus the plan was to make as representative sample as possible given the time and archives available. Certain types of books, such as Machzorim (prayer books), Bibles (Tanakh and the Pentateuch), the Mishnah, compilations of Jewish law – such as the Mishneh Torah, the Talmud and the Shulhan Arukh – tend to present a wider selection of Hebrew types, both text and display, and these are especially useful to examine. The work of Marvin J. Heller on sixteenth and seventeenth century Hebrew books has been particularly useful in identifying editions to view.¹¹⁶ The total number of Hebrew editions viewed is in excess of 200.¹¹⁷ No sample can be totally representative, as individual editions themselves vary and may lack relevant pages – such as the title page or colophon, but such a survey does give a good indication of what may be found and provides possible preliminary conclusions as to the distribution of Hebrew types during the sixteenth century and later.

The method used during the investigation of these editions involved recording all relevant data on a two-page standard documentation form and, in particular, the data for each separate Hebrew type used in that edition. ¹¹⁸ These types were then compared to the Le Bé documents types, and definitive or tentative attributions made according to type, size, leading and key recognition factors. This data was then transferred from an intermediate database to a final listing by type number and date.

¹¹⁴ Yeshayahu Vinograd, Otsar ha-sefer ha-Ivri: reshimat ha-sefarim she-nidpesu be-otiot Ivrit me-reshit ha-defus ha-Ivri bi-shenat 229 (1469) ad shenat 623 (1863) (Yerushalayim: Ha-Makhon le-bibliyografyah memuhshevet, 1995)
¹¹⁵ Schwarzfuchs and Coron, Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle
¹¹⁷ See bibliography of primary sources starting on p.568.
¹¹⁸ See Appendix H, p.561.
Le Bé mentions several printers in his notes with whom he worked or to whom he sold matrices of his types. In Venice these printers were Marco Antonio Giustiniani, Meir di Parenzo and Carlo Querini. He does not mention specifically the printer/publisher Alvise Bragadin, but the attribution of several Le Bé types in Bragadin editions leads to the conclusion that he did have connections with him. In Paris Le Bé was a pupil or was apprenticed to Robert Estienne, and it is very likely that he contributed to some of the Hebrew types which appear in the Estienne editions of that period. Le Bé supplied Hebrew types to Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, many of which are to be found in the Plantin Moretus Archives. Another question to be explored is whether Le Bé had any contact with Daniel Bomberg or his successors. Finally, there is strong visual evidence that the Le Bé Hebrews were used by other Italian printers, and eventually found their way to printers outside Italy, for example to Konrad Waldkirch in Basle, and Aaron Prostitz in Cracow.

In addition to the British Library and UCL Special Collections, Hebrew editions were examined in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, Lambeth Palace Library in London, the BnF in Paris, and the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, as well as in online digital databases such as the Jewish National University Library Digitised Book Repository, Google Books. Archive.org, VD16 and e-rara.ch.119

An additional related task in this thesis was to identify the sources of the texts in the specimens in the Le Bé documents. The most useful and comprehensive tool for this was the Bar Ilan Responsa Project, which offers ‘a searchable database of the full text of the Bible and its principal commentaries, the Babylonian Talmud with the Rashi commentaries and Tosafot, the Jerusalem Talmud, the Mishneh Torah of Maimonides, 300 Rambam Commentaries, the Shulchan Arukh with commentaries, Midrashim, and hundreds of books of Responsa’.120 In addition I received much direct assistance from Rabbi Alex Chapper of the Ilford Federation Synagogue in locating certain problematic texts.

The Hebrew alphabet and the varieties of Hebrew printing types

The subject of this doctoral research, Guillaume I Le Bé, produced some 20 Hebrew types following a certain model, that of the Sephardic script, and did not produce any types using the Ashkenazic model, the other dominant Hebrew scribal tradition that was represented in print. To understand the reasons behind this preference, it is useful to present a brief overview of development of Hebrew as a writing system and the different styles that developed over its long history.

The Hebrew alphabet as a writing system is descended from what is now called the proto-Sinaitic inscriptions. These inscriptions were first discovered by Sir William

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119 VD16 = Bibliography of Books Printed in the German Speaking Countries of the Sixteenth Century e-rara.ch = 16th century Swiss prints held by Swiss libraries available online
120 Bar Ilan University,’Global Jewish Database (the Responsa Project)’, Bar Ilan University, (2011)<http://www.biu.ac.il/jh/Responsa/> accessed at Leo Baeck College Library and online at the Spertus Institute for Jewish Learning and Leadership.
Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai Peninsula in 1904/05. Subsequent work by Gardiner, Grimme, Van den Branden, Winnett, Albright, Beit-Arié, Sass and Harris has confirmed Petrie’s original idea that the inscriptions were alphabetic, but based on pictographic models. The epigrapher Joseph Naveh has categorised the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions as part of the Proto-Canaanite script which has three main characteristics:

1. It was invented c. 1700 BC by Canaanites who had some knowledge of Egyptian writing.
2. It had initially 27 letters representing the consonantal system – a writing system mainly without vowels, but had been reduced to 22 by the thirteenth century BC.
3. The signs were pictographic and most had acrophonic values. These evolved into linear letters.

Some of these characteristics, namely a mainly consonantal alphabetic script, and the number of glyphs, have remained consistent in Hebrew throughout its development. It is necessary here to stress the distinction between the different types of Hebrew scripts. There is some confusion as to terminology here, as different sources and authorities have used different terms. Joseph Naveh uses the term ‘Hebrew’ to refer to the paleo-Hebrew script used before the First Temple period and before the adoption of the Aramaic script in the fifth century BC, whereas he uses the term ‘Jewish’ to refer to the script developed by the Jews from Aramaic writing, or what is also known as ‘Assyrian Script’ or ‘Square Hebrew’. In this thesis, the term ‘Hebrew square script’ refers solely to the Aramaic script adopted in the fifth century BC and does not refer to the earlier Palaeo-Hebrew script. In matters relating to Hebrew typographic history, the letters used are only from this later model.

The proto Canaanite script separated into four main streams in its subsequent evolution: South Arabic, Archaic Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew. There is a common ancestry between the Hebrew script and the branch which led to Greek and eventually Roman letterforms. Naveh writes that ‘there is common consensus among scholars regarding the West Semitic origins of the Greek alphabet’.

This consensus is based on the names of the letters – Herodotus called them *phoinikeai grammata* or Phoenician letters, the names of the letters of which have no meaning in Greek, but are clearly derived from the Semitic names, the similar

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123 Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet*, p. 11
126 Herodotus *Histories* Book V.58
letter sequence, and the similarity to the earliest Greek letter forms. Although this common ancestry had no impact on Hebrew typography in the period analysed in this thesis, it has been a factor in more recent Hebrew type design and the tendency to use more geometric shapes as models for Hebrew letterforms.

Given the dispersal of Jews in many countries and regions, place names often refer to wider ‘geocultural’ areas. The general consensus is that there are six major areas:

1. **Oriental scripts**: This covers scripts produced in the Middle East, Asia Minor, Iraq, Persia, Palestine, Egypt and Libya. Solomon Birnbaum included in this category Palestinian-Egypt, Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Maarvic or Eastern. The oldest dated manuscript is from the fifth century AD.

2. **Yemenite scripts**: Birnbaum terms this Temanic. The oldest dated manuscript is from the twelfth century AD.

3. **Byzantine scripts**: Birnbaum terms this Yevanic. The oldest dated manuscript is from the fourth century AD.

4. **Italian scripts**: This category covers both Italy and Greece. The oldest dated manuscript is from about the third century AD.

5. **Sephardic Scripts**: (Sefarad is the Hebrew word for Spain) This covers the Iberian Peninsula, Provence, Languedoc, the North Apennine peninsula, Sicily. The oldest dated manuscript is from the sixth century AD.

6. **Ashkenazic scripts**: (Ashkenaz is the medieval Hebrew word for Germany) Covers Germany, central and northern France, England, central and eastern Europe. The oldest dated manuscript is from the eleventh century AD.

These geocultural units match very closely those listed by Colette Sirat, with the exception of the Yemenite manuscripts which she places under the Oriental category. They also match the regions used in the Sfardata Project, which contains at latest count some 2412 dated palaeographical units, or manuscripts from all the major geocultural areas in which Jews lived. The date range is from the tenth to the sixteenth century AD.

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128 For more discussion of this point, see Lubell, *The Hebrew Typeface Designs of Zvi Narkis*, pp. 221-222. See also Adi Stern, *Aleph=X, or contemporary Hebrew bad type*, in *Bad Type: Third annual Friends of St Bride conference (St Bride, London, 2004)*

129 Birnbaum, *The Hebrew scripts*


The Hebrew script is composed of 22 basic letters and five final letters. In addition there are 12 basic vowel points (Nikkud in Hebrew) which are generally placed below the letters, but in some cases above or in the middle. There are also the Dagesh points which are found in the centre of certain characters and indicate either their intensified (doubled) pronunciation, or, in the case of the letters – bet, gimmel, dalet, kapf, peh, and tav, their hard (unaspirated) pronunciation. The letters have numerical equivalents which are used for dates, pagination in most Hebrew Biblical and religious texts and, since there are letters which may indicate words and the name of God, there are rules as to the way the letters may be combined. As in most of the Semitic languages, the script is a retrograde script and reads from right to left. The chart below summarises the Hebrew alphabet, the names of the characters, the difference between the Square Character (Merooba in Hebrew) and the Rashi Script, and names, the numerical values, the main accents and cantillation marks. This chart may be used in conjunction with the assembled alphabets used throughout this thesis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of character</th>
<th>Square Character</th>
<th>Rashi Character</th>
<th>Numerical equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aleph</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>ה</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bet</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gimmel</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>ד</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalet</td>
<td>ד</td>
<td>ה</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heh</td>
<td>ה</td>
<td>ו</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vav</td>
<td>ו</td>
<td>ט</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The names of the Hebrew letters used in this thesis have been chosen for approximation to the current Israeli Hebrew pronunciation and after a comparison with other systems, such as the names used in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Davidson’s *Introductory Hebrew Grammar* (2006) and the Unicode system. The guttural sound of the letter Chet (ח) is often indicated by a special glyph (ח), also called an h-underdot, which is not always available in all online fonts, hence the alternate (Chet) was used. Within the text, the first mention of a Hebrew character has the actual Hebrew glyph within parentheses, e.g. aleph (א), thereafter without.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of character</th>
<th>Square Character</th>
<th>Rashi Character</th>
<th>Numerical equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zayin</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chet or ḫet</td>
<td>ק</td>
<td>ק</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tet</td>
<td>ט</td>
<td>ט</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yod</td>
<td>י</td>
<td>י</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaph</td>
<td>ק</td>
<td>ק</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mem</td>
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<td>מ</td>
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<td>נ</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>נ</td>
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<td>Resh</td>
<td>ר</td>
<td>ר</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shin</td>
<td>ש</td>
<td>ש</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tav</td>
<td>ת</td>
<td>ת</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
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<td>אليل</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of character</td>
<td>Square Character</td>
<td>Rashi Character</td>
<td>Numerical equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Tsere</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Patach</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Segol</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Kibbutz</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Chirek</td>
<td>ב</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Shva</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Chateph Patach</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Chateph Segol</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Cholem</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel: Cholem vav</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctuation: Sof Pasuq</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctuation: Maqaf or Makaf</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctuation: Geresh</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctuation: Gershayim</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Atnach; Etnachta</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Segol; Sgol; Segolta</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Shalshelet</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Zaqef Qatan</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Zaqef Gadol</td>
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<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Tipcha</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Revia</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Zarqa</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of character</td>
<td>Square Character</td>
<td>Rashi Character</td>
<td>Numerical equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>🌶️</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Yetiv</td>
<td>🌶️</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Tvir</td>
<td>🌶️</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Pazer (Qatan)</td>
<td>🌶️</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Qarney Para (Fara); Pazer Gdol</td>
<td>🌶️</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Tlisha Gdola</td>
<td>🌶️</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: Geresh</td>
<td>🌶️</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantillation Mark: (Munnach) Legarmeh</td>
<td>🌶️</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 1.10: The Hebrew Alphabet, vowel points and cantillation marks

The following diagram presents the same material in a different format and shows the set of Hebrew glyphs in the SBL (Society of Biblical Literature) Unicode Hebrew that is used in digital typesetting of Biblical texts.
Fig. 1.11: The Hebrew Alphabet, vowel points and cantillation marks for Unicode setting. (By permission of John Hudson of Tiro Typeworks, Gulf Islands, British Columbia, Canada)

The characters in the green cells represent the minimum number of glyphs necessary to set the text using a fully ‘decomposed’ approach in which all combinations are handled with mark positioning. The characters in the red cells are ‘precomposed’ Unicode characters, which would not be necessary in a fully decomposed approach.136 The characters in blue cells are include extended letters, which are

136 A fully decomposed Biblical Hebrew fount would be one in which each letter and each individual mark is handled as a separate glyph, and the interaction of the different marks applied to a single letter, their positioning relative to that letter, and the spacing relative to adjacent letters with marks is all handled dynamically through glyph positioning. Most implementations of Biblical Hebrew are
optional. The magenta cells are technical variants, i.e. glyphs that are useful to have for OpenType Layout purposes. The creator of this fount, John Hudson, estimates that the ‘absolute minimum number’ of glyphs necessary to display the Masoretic Bible text using modern OpenType Layout capabilities to be 85.137 This number compares to the number of matrices for the Le Bé Hebrews listed in the 1730 Inventory as ranging from 61 to 101.138 Note that this list does not include the aleph/lamed ligature (𐤏), which is not used in Biblical composition, but is found quite frequently in Commentaries and Responsa literature.

These characters and accents can be related to what used to be termed ‘founts’ in typographic terminology: ‘a set of related alphabets of one size and based on one design’. In Latin typography, a fount may consist of up to five sets of characters: upper and lower case roman, upper and lower case Italic, small capitals, and additional miscellaneous characters and spacing.139 Gaskell has defined the term as ‘a group of type-cast letters, numerals, signs etc all on one body and type-face’.140 Vervliet has adopted a narrower definition of the term and differentiates between the terms type, typeface, casting or fount. He defines a type or typeface as referring to the ideal type, an abstraction which relates to the basic set of punches and from which are derived the matrices, the castings, the type as found in the printer’s typefaces and ultimately the typefaces as they can be observed on the printed pages. This definition as described by Vervliet, ignores the ‘traditional requirement for unity of time and place of casting’ and also disregards minor variations that might be caused ‘in the phases of justifying, casting, rubbing, kerning and dressing, or may be caused by broken or foul sorts, or by the inclusion of peripheral sorts, such as small caps, spaces ligatures, pronunciation or numerals, or the position of diacritics or strokes and dots’.141

This definition is perhaps more suitable to the description of Hebrew typefaces, as Hebrew types differ from Latin founts in a number of important aspects. Hebrew has no caps, no small caps, nor italic variants. Until modern times it had no true Arabic numerals. It may be produced in a pointed – vocalised or vowelled – version, but this variation involves the addition of the vowel or cantillation marks above or below the basic letter. Three basic varieties of Hebrew types available in the sixteenth century were square Hebrew (Merooba or Meruba), semi-cursive (also called Rashi or

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137 Email correspondence from John Hudson of Tiro Typeworks, Gulf Islands, British Columbia, Canada, 25 July 2013.
140 Gaskell, ‘A nomenclature for the Letter-forms of Roman Type’, p. 44
141 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, pp. 57-58
Rabbinic), and Yiddish (also a form of semi cursive). The cursive form, which only recently historically has become a typographic form, was also known as Kurrent.\textsuperscript{142}

![Fig. 1.12: The basic varieties of Hebrew types (Raphael Frank, Über Hebräische Typen und Schriftarten, 1925)](image)

It is thus not useful or correct to speak of Hebrew founts in terms of families of types as would be relevant to Latin typography. The most accurate definition in relation to Hebrew would be individual typefaces which relate to specific punches where they can be identified or, where this is not possible, to certain common recognition elements or size.

Yiddish type is an interesting case in itself and does not figure in any of the Le Bé specimens. This emphasizes the complexities in the Hebrew printing world in the sixteenth century, although Yiddish type was used in Italy in Cremona, Mantua, Verona and Venice, as well as in the German-speaking lands north of the Alps. It is a fair assumption that Le Bé would have been aware of Yiddish both as a language and as a typeface, but for reasons perhaps related to the dominance of the Sephardic letter forms, he chose to ignore it in his specimens.

Rabbinic (Rabbinisch) has been given a variety of names and it is not always clear if they are referring to the same scribal hand of typeface. It is well represented in the Le Bé specimens and thus of interest as to its origins and role in Hebrew printing in the sixteenth century.

\textsuperscript{142} Frank, Über Hebräische Typen und Schriftarten, p. 25

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Bernheimer refers to ‘rabbinico’ as one of the ‘tre tipi fondamentali di scrittura’, the other two being ‘quadrato’ and ‘corsivo’.143 Birnbaum later introduced the term ‘Mashait’, which he saw as being the correct terminology and which comes from Jewish Halakhic literature, which he writes ‘has been the designation for cursive and rabbinic styles since the about the twelfth century’. He writes further that the term ‘Rabbinic’ had been incorrectly introduced at early stages of the cataloguing of Hebrew manuscripts and that rabbis had no closer connection with this style than with the square or cursive. Birnbaum asserts that ‘books of any kind, and not only Halakhic, were written in Mashait.144

Despite Birnbaum’s preferences, the term ‘Mashait’ does not appear to have gained much favour in recent studies of Hebrew palaeography, and Colette Sirat uses the term Rashi script and she writes that ‘the Talmud printed by the Soncino family produce the commentaries of Rashi in a Sefaradic type embellished with an Italian roundness. Although this style of lettering is commonly known today as “Rashi”, it has nothing whatever to do with the writing used by the French Jewish scholar of the eleventh century’.145

Many of the codicological elements of medieval Hebrew manuscripts were carried over into the early printed books.146 These elements included the actual scripts, auxiliary graphic signs, substitutes for the tetragrammaton, devices for producing even lines, means for preserving the order of the gathering or the sheets, formulae at the beginning and end of a book, the wording of colophons and ways of producing justified left margins – justification in typographic terminology.147

The last element, the justified left margins, is a major area which affected sixteenth-century punchcutters of Hebrew such as Le Bé, and determined some of the characters they needed to cut. Hebrew incunabula used such devices as filling in the space with as many letters as would fit and then writing the complete word in the next line, or using graphic fillers or certain random letters, or the use of dilated letters. These devices appear to have been used quite widely in Hebrew printing in Spain. Beit-Arié comments that ‘the Italian printers and compositors employed either, at the beginning, no scribal devices at all, or later mainly a single scribal device. Thus the early Italian Hebrew presses demonstrate their detachment from the scribal tradition’.148 It seems clear that the dilated letters shown in some of the typefaces cut by Le Bé follow in this tradition, which he would surely have known from the period he spent in Venice and his earlier apprenticeship with Robert Estienne in Paris. The device of dividing words at the end of lines, already evident in

143 Bernheimer, *Paleografia ebraica*, p. 19
144 Birnbaum, *The Hebrew scripts*, pp. 189-190
145 Sirat and De Lange, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, p. 186
147 Ibid., pp. 253-254
148 Ibid., p. 265
the Gutenberg Bibles, was not carried over into Hebrew printing. Le Bé was well aware of this tradition and its implications for the design and composition of Hebrew texts, as is evidenced by his comment in one of the Paris documents.\(^{149}\)

Another scribal element carried across into early Hebrew printing was the use of a small superscript circular mark above certain letters to indicate cross references in the side columns. These references are found in the margins of the text, and are often indicated by superscript semi-cursive letters above the relevant word in the text, or by a small superscript circle or circumcellus, which is originally a Masoretic mark indicating either a cross reference or a necessary correction.\(^{150}\) This *circumcellus* or *signe de renvoi* is also found in some of the specimens used by Le Bé and it is likely that he was asked to cut such a symbol by the printers for whom he worked, although no such accent appears in the smoke proofs assembled by Harry Carter in 1954.\(^{151}\) This same sign is also found in various extant manuscripts, so it was clearly carried over to print from scribal practices.\(^{152}\) There is in fact an example of this sign (punch number 12) in the set of punches numbered ST51, the Double Augustine Ashkenazi vowels and intonations, in the Plantin Moretus Museum. As this sign could be placed over any letter in a word, it would have been treated as any other vowel or cantillation mark for the purposes of striking matrices and casting.

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\(^{149}\) Omont, *Specimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592*, pp. 10–11

\(^{150}\) I am indebted to Dr Willem F. Smelik of the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at UCL for this information. It may also indicate a ketiv/qere sign. This refers to a number of differences between what is written in the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible, as preserved by scribal tradition, and what is read. This is also called a “signe de renvois” in paleography. See Philippe Bobichon, *Le lexicon: Mise en page et mise en texte des manuscrits hébreux, grecs, latins, romans et arabes*. Vol. CNRS: UPR841 (Paris: Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes (IRHT), 2009)


\(^{152}\) See Birnbaum, *The Hebrew scripts*, pp. examples 241 and 242, Sephardic Manuscripts from 800 to 1000 and 1222.
Chapter 2: Le Bé's types during his apprenticeship with Robert Estienne and in Venice

Le Bé's early years and his apprenticeship with Robert Estienne

The subject of this thesis, the punchcutter Guillaume I Le Bé was, as stated in the entry on him in the Le Bé Memorandum, a ‘natif de Troyes en Champa[gne]’. He was born into a family with long roots in the papermaking industry in Troyes and this connection, as will be seen, was undoubtedly a key element in his entry into the Parisian print world.

The exact date of his birth is not certain, as no baptismal registers have survived in the regional archives in Troyes from that period. Le Bé gives an accurate indication of his birth date in Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528 when he writes that his first type was cut in 1545 when he was ‘aagé alors de 20 ans et huit mois’. This would place his birth date in April 1525. A contradictory note in the same document gives his age as 68 in June or July 1592, which would place his birth year sometime in 1524. In yet another note in MS 1665, Le Bé writes that he cut a Hebrew Texte Moyen in 1546, ‘aagé de 20 a 21 ans’. Whichever of these notes is correct, we can thus date his birth between 1524 and 1526. The most probable date is sometime in 1525, as his son Guillaume II Le Bé wrote that his father ‘partit de Paris vers le mois d’octobre 1545 et fut demeurer à Venise premierement, auquel lieu ayant atteint l’aage de 20 ans ...’. This is albeit a second-hand recollection, but appears to confirm the first date of April 1525.

Le Bé’s family roots in papermaking in the region of Troyes in Champagne have been traced in detail by the archivist Louis Le Clert. Le Clert’s two-volume history of paper in Troyes represents a lifetime’s research in local archives. He gives the first mention of a Le Bé (also given as Le Ber) as a *paupeleur* (*papetier*) from 1405, when a Guyot I Le Ber is listed as ‘locataire d’un des moulins à papiers à Saint-Quentin’. What is of importance is that he lists a Guillaume I Le Ber who was active as *papetier juré* in the late fifteenth century, who may well have been the grandfather the subject of this thesis.

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153 Le Bé, *The Le Bé memorandum*, p. 21
154 Email communication from the Archives départementales de l’Aube, dated 28/12/2011, which confirms that ‘notre service ne conserve pas d’actes ou certificats de baptême à Troyes avant 1535’.
155 Guillaume Le Bé, ‘Epreuves de lettres que j’ay taillées, tant en six et sept sortes de poisons de lettres hebraiques, que autres lettres, en divers temps et pour diverses personnes et partie aussy pour moy’, (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, ?)N.A. fr-4528, f. 1
157 Guillaume Le Bé, ‘Spécimens de caractères hébreux gravés à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé (1546-1574)’, (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, ?)RES- X- 1665, f.10
158 Le Bé, *The Le Bé memorandum*, p. 21
It was very common in early modern France to have successive generations with the same given name, yet for the purposes of this thesis and to avoid confusion, it seems best to keep to the titles adopted for the Le Bé generations started by Guillaume I Le Bé the punchcutter. It is a safe assumption from the available evidence that Guillaume I Le Bé was probably the fifth generation of Le Bé’s to bear the name Guillaume. Both his son (Guillaume II Le Bé) and grandson (Guillaume III Le Bé) were also named Guillaume and were involved in the typefoundry established by their father and grandfather Guillaume I Le Bé.

Le Clert was aware of the importance of the Le Bé family in papermaking, as he wrote: ‘il n’a pas encore été publié de généalogie de la famille Le Bé et nous croyons qu’il n’en existe aucune à l’état manuscrit: c’est une lacune regrettable pour l’histoire de notre cité et de son industrie, les Le Bés s’étant distingués par l’importance qu’ils firent prendre à leurs fabriques de papier et par la perfection qu’ils donnèrent aux produits sortant de ces usines’. Le Clert also provides a comprehensive list of specimens of Le Bé watermarks used from the period of Jean II Le Bé (from 1459 to c. 1488), Guillaume I Le Bé (from c. 1523), Guillaume II Le Bé (from 1523 to c. 1560), Denis Le Bé (from 1548), Nicolas Le Bé (from 1550 to 1605), Edme Le Bé (from 1550 to 1593), Jacques I Le Bé (from 1574 to 1607) and Jacques II Le Bé (from 1607 to 1642). This selection complements the far more comprehensive work of Charles Briquet.

Elizabeth Armstrong commented on the frequent use of paper with the Gothic P watermark, which Briquet ascribes to the Piétrequin family, as well as a less frequent use of a compass, a watermark ‘belonging to a member of the Le Bé family, related to the Piétrequin family’. It will be seen from the chart below that Nicolle Pietrequin (Pétrequin) may well have been the mother of the subject of this thesis and thus it was quite natural to place him in an apprenticeship in an allied printing trade. As will be discussed later, no documentary evidence has yet been found for this apprenticeship and the reasons for this lacuna may reflect the close relationship between the Estienne family and Le Bé papermaking dynasties in Troyes.

Le Clert’s searches and annotations are not easy to follow and a later archivist, Comte François Chandon de Briailles, compiled a more logical genealogical listing based on Le Clert and other archival sources. Figure 2.1. shows a modified listing of the Le...
Bé family active in paper making in Troyes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries based on the Fichier Chandon. The probable direct descendants leading to Guillaume Le Bé the punchcutter are highlighted in **bold**. The Cabinet d’Hozier mentions seven children for Guillaume I Le Bé: Guillaume, marchand a Paris/ Robert, marchand /François, marchand/ Adrien, marchand /Nicolas, Papetier (marié à Françoise Belin)/Jean (AN Y.3374 16 juin 1548).

The nineteenth century bibliographer and librarian Emile Socard writing in 1882 confirms this genealogy. He wrote that ‘Guillaume II Le Bé’ (this is based on Guillaume the punchcutter as being the second in line to carry this name) ‘était fils de Guillaume Ier le Bé et de Madeleine de Saint-Aubin et petit-fils de Pierre’, but claimed incorrectly that ‘il ne continua pas le commerce de papiers de son père’ and also insisted that his date of death was about 1610 and not 1598. This confusion stemmed from the publication in 1609 of Jean Cinquearbre’s *Linguae Hebraice Institutiones* by Guillaume ‘II’ the successor to the family firm.\(^{166}\)

Both the probable grandfather and father of Guillaume I Le Bé the punchcutter were named as a *papetier-juré* of the University of Paris. Charles VIII reconfirmed the privileges of the ‘les ouvriers et faiiseurs de papier Jean Le Bé demeurant à Troyes’ as a *papetier-juré* of the University of Paris in March 1489 and in January 1518. Guillaume Le Ber resigned from his office as *papetier-juré* of the University of Paris in favour of his son Jean.\(^{167}\) Boutiot in his history of Troyes notes that ‘les papetiers en réputation furent les Leber ou LeBé, qui fabriquèrent pendant plusieurs générations et possédèrent plusieurs fabriques sur la Seine, les Nivelle, les Denise, les Debure etc.’ and he also confirms that ‘les Estienne se fournissaient à Troyes’.\(^{168}\)

The close connection between the Estienne and Le Bé families is confirmed by the *Le Bé Memorandum* which recounts that Guillaume I Le Bé, on his return from Rome in 1550, travelled to see his former master Robert Estienne, then newly established in Geneva. Estienne gave him letters of recommendation to ‘Guillaume le bé son pere, marchand papier à Troyes, qui auroit fourny tout les papiers de ses impressions tant de bibles que autres’.\(^{169}\) Gosley in his history of Troyes confirms this when he wrote of the Le Bés, ‘premiers papetiers-jurés de l’Université de Paris, (qui) fournissaient la matière sur laquelle roulaient les célèbres imprimeries des Colines, des Estiennes, des Vascovans’.\(^{170}\)

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\(^{168}\) Boutiot, Boutiot, and Det, *Histoire de la ville de Troyes et de la Champagne méridionale*, p. 547

\(^{169}\) Le Bé, *The Le Bé memorandum*, pp. 21-22

Fig. 2.1: The Le Bé family tree based on Le Clert and the Fichier Chandon

GUYOT I LE BÉ (papeleur = papeleur) in Troyes (Documents dating from 1405 and 1439); Probable death in 1440

François 1412

Guyot 1140

Jean 1406

GUYOT II LE BÉ + Jeanette N.
Docs dating from 1440, 1451, noted on town registers from 1439 to 1592 and receipt for paper 1501 to 1502

Jean (contrepointer = Tapissier) 1451

Jean (papeleur) 1459, 1474 + Marguerite de Bray

Jeanne

Nicole

Roline

Claude

Simonne

Pierre (papeleur) 1496, 1534 + (1) Marguerite Pericard + (2) Guillermette de Marconville – Dame de Courgerennes

Guillaume (papeleur et papeleur-juré de l'Université) 1478, 1506; Résigne 1518 en faveur de son fils Jean + (1) Nicole Pietrequin (Pétrequin) + (2) Jeanne Frevault

Guillaume (papeleur-juré de l'Université) 1523, 1560 + Magdeline (Madeline) de Saint Aubin

Marguerite

Pierre (marchant drapier)

Jean (papeleur-juré de l'Université)

Antoine

Nicholas

Catherine

François

Claude

Edme

Jean

Pierre

Guillaume (Guillaume I Le Bé?) ca. 1524-1598 + Loyse Lambert Married 1551

Guillaume (Guillaume II Le Bé?) ca. 1565-ca. 1645

Denis (Seigneur de Courgerennes, Villert et Bailly) 1551, connétable de ville 1564, marchant papeleur + (1) Catherine Pericard + (2) Guillermette Le Tartier

Denis échevin agr. de Bailly, prêtre? 1551 + Antoinette Bertin

Guillaume (Guillaume III Le Bé?) ca. 1610 -1685

Françoise

Jacques

Nicolas

Odard

Claude

Étienne

Marie

Nicolas l’aîné papeleur-juré, fermier de la mairie royale de Vannes, 1557, sch. Tr. 1568, cons. 1571, maire 1582, testament 1602 + Françoise Belin

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There are two additional possible members of the Le Bé family with a connection to letter engraving. The first is Pierre Le Bé, the author of Béle Prérie (an anagram of his name) or Modèles de Lettres printed in 1601. His connection to the Le Bé paper dynasty has never been established. The title page of this publication gives his place of origin as Bar-sur-Aube near Troyes and names him as a ‘Maistre ecrivain juré’ à Paris. This is the only publication known to his name and contains an early attempt at geometrically constructed roman and italics letters. There are no Hebrews shown, yet the name, close geographical location and similar professional activity do point to a possible family connection.171 The second is André Le Bé, also a ‘maistre ecrivain juré’ à Paris’, whom Ellic Howe describes as the brother of Guillaume II Le Bé and who engraved two manuals on how to write ‘lettres bastarde’.172 Thus there appears to a clear thread running through the Le Bé family linking them to letter engraving of one sort or another.173

The civic and personal status of the papetiers in Troyes can be judged by this except from a poetic description of the entry of Charles VIII into Troyes in the year 1486. Grosley claims that it was written by N. Le Bé - ‘l’un des suppôts de la florissante papeterie qu’avait dès-lors la ville de Troyes: de ce Le-Bé descendait le savant Guillaume Le-Bé, élève de Robert Estienne …’ It is not clear who exactly this N. Le Bé was. It may have been the Nicolas Le Bé mentioned in the Cabinet Hozier genealogical list, which would have made him an uncle of Guillaume I Le Bé the punchcutter.

Aussi y feurent de Troyes les papetiers,
En très-grand pomo, habiliez de migraine,
Et bien montez sur beaux puissans destriers,
De bardure couverts très-belles et saine;
Pour y venir, laisserent courir Seine,
Leverent vannes, delaissant leurs molins;
Ung chacun d’eulx grant joie si démaine,
Tous y avoient beaux pourpoins de satin.174

173 There is also a mention of a Joseph Le Bé, ‘mon cousin marchand demeurant au bout de ruë longue à Lyon’ in the letter written by Guillaume II Le Bé in November 1614. This letter written to Pierre Mourier, ‘Maistre Fondeur de lettres demeurant à Geneve’ was a warning against attempts by certain booksellers in Paris and Lyons who were attempting to purchase matrices to set up their own type foundries. The relationship to Guillaume I Le Bé is not clear, but given the dates he would most likely be a nephew. This letter is found in the Anisson-Duperron archive in the BnF.
174 Grosley, Ephemerides, pp. 126, 129 (Tome I). Migraine = sorte d’étoffe teinte avec la graine de chochenille ; destriers = chevaux de mains et bardure = armure en lames.
Nothing is known of the earlier education of Guillaume I Le Bé, the punchcutter, but it may be assumed that, given the high social status of his family, that he would have received some lessons in French and Latin. There was in fact a humanist college in Troyes, established by the 1530s and this is where the Flemish scholar Nicholas Stiltère – a ‘personnage assez bien versé en la langue latine, et aucunement en la grecque’ - was a principal and appears to have used his position to instruct students in the new reformed religion. Given Guillaume I Le Bé’s exposure to alternative religious views and to a more tolerant view of other religions during his apprenticeship with Robert I Estienne, it appears highly likely that he was aware of such divergent opinions, but wisely chose to keep his allegiances to himself given the violence of the years of the French Wars of Religions, to which he was a witness.

The Estienne Hebrews and Le Bé’s involvement in them

There is no extant document recording Guillaume I Le Bé’s apprenticeship with the printing office of Robert I Estienne. Such a document would most likely have been drawn up by a notary near the Estienne printing office in Paris, as can be seen by the documents which have survived and which list apprenticeships to printers and type founders. Most of them are in a standard format, and list the name and age of the apprentice, the period of apprenticeship, the obligations of the printers and occasionally the obligations of the apprentice towards his master. The average age of entry appears to have been 10 or 13, but an apprenticeship document from July 1541 mentions a young boy, Nicholas de la Ruelle, aged five and a half, who was placed into service and apprenticeship with the illuminator Jean Legay for a period up to his twelfth birthday. This may have been unusual, but Legay undertook to ‘envoyer à l’escolle et luy faire apprendre les sept psaumles, heures et aultre service, et ce faict, l’entretenir quelque temps au colleige pour apprendre la science’. Another typical example relating to type founders is the following from a document from 1538: ‘Engagement par Jean Josse le jeune, fils de Jean Josse l’aîné, qui le 23 septembre 1538, s’était mis en apprentissage pour 4 ans, chez Alexandre Beaujouan, fondeur de lettres à Paris, et qui avait quitté son maître ayant encore 2 ans à le servir, pour apprendre le métier de compositeur en Imprimerie, de rentrer pour 3 ans au service de son maître, qui lui fournira le gîte et le couvert et lui donnera 9 l.t. (livres

177 For a fuller discussion of this topic see Chapter II of H. Hauser, Ouvriers du Temps Passé (Paris: Félix Alcan, Editeur, 1906)

It is also known that the punchcutter Claude Garamont had at least four apprentices in his service during the period 1543 to 1558, but it was noted that ‘il n’apprend pas son art de graveur mais le métier de fondeur’. The known apprentices taken on by Garamont were Pierre Legat in 1543, Anselme le Bigot in 1551, Jehan de Preau in 1557 and Paterne Robelot in 1558. In all four cases Garamont undertook only to ‘enseigner ledict mestier de fondres lectres’ or ‘enseigner à son povoyr le dict estat de fondeur de lettres’, and not to instruct these apprentices in punch cutting or in the justification of matrices. It is noteworthy that these documents describe Garamont as *tailleur et fondeur de lettres* or in one document as *tailleur et graveur de lettres grecques*.

This lack of clear distinction between punchcutters and founders in this period is further reinforced by the *Lettres Patentes* issued by François Ier at Villiers-Cotterêts on the 31st August 1539. This edict set out quite specifically the obligations and duties of both masters and apprentices, and appears to be aimed at controlling the often unruly behaviour of the apprentice printers in both Paris and Lyons during this period. What is interesting for the purposes of this thesis is the distinction made in the edict between printers (imprimeurs) and type founders (fondeurs des lectres). The original text in clause 18 reads as follows:

*Item, et pour ce que le mestier des fondeurs des lettres est connexe à l’art d’ymprimeur et que les fondeur ne se dysent imprimeurs, ne les imprimeurs ne se dysent fondeurs, lesdits articles et ordonnances auront lieu, quant aux...*

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179 *Ibid.*, pp. 310, 397

180 See Mosley, ‘Garamond or Garamont?’ for a discussion of what form should be used for Garamond’s surname. The accepted practice appears to be that ‘désormais d’usage d’écrire Garamond pour désigner une police de caractère, et Garamont pour citer le graveur’. I have retained the spelling Garamond in this thesis only where cited from other publications. See Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, ‘Garamont ou Garamond?’, [http://garamond.culture.fr/fr/page/garamont_ou_garamond](http://garamond.culture.fr/fr/page/garamont_ou_garamond) [Accessed 6 November 2013]


182 These documents are found in the Archives Nationales respectively in ET/CXXII/1246, ET/LXX/45, ET/LXXIII/51, and ET/LXXIII/23.


amendes, inhibitions, deffenses et peines dessusdites, aux compaignons et aprentils fondeurs ainsi que ès compaignons et aprentils imprimeurs, lesquels, oultzre les choses dessudites, seront tenuz de achever les fontes des lettres par eulx encommencées, et de les rendre bonnes et vallables, autrement seront tenuz aux interestz et dommaiges des maistres; et commenceront à besongner par chaque jour à cinq heures du matin et pourront delaisser à huit heures du soir, qui sont les heures acoustumées d’ancienneté.\footnote{Levasseur and politiques, Ordonnances des rois de France: règne de François Ier, pp. 680-681}

This appears to be the first instance ‘to distinguish the type founders from the printers, although its regulations were applicable to both professions’, yet ‘it remains silent on punch cutting’.\footnote{Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 30} The conclusion to be drawn from this edict is that, at the time, the professions of punchcutter and type founder were often conflated and thus there was no need to distinguish between them, at least with regard to the printing trades.

Vervliet has pointed out that it was the case in the sixteenth century that independent punchcutters often ran a typefoundry at the same time, and he cites the cases of Claude Garamont and Hendrik van der Keere, who were both punchcutters and owned or had an association with a typefoundry.\footnote{Ibid., p. 28} It may thus be the case that the term \textit{fondeurs des lettres} also covered \textit{graveurs} or \textit{tailleurs de lettres}.

The profession of engraver (\textit{graveur}) most certainly existed during the sixteenth century, especially when it was applied to those craftsmen who engraved medals (\textit{médaillons}), tokens (\textit{jetons}), or coins (\textit{monnaie}). Natalis Rondot’s comprehensive study of such craftsmen lists a total of 365 graveurs of different specialities (for example 239 \textit{graveurs de monnaie}, 50 \textit{graveurs de jetons}, and 40 graveurs de médaillles et médaillons) during the whole of the sixteenth century.\footnote{Natalis Rondot and Henri de La Tour, Les Médailleurs et les Graveurs de monnaies, jetons et médailles en France (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 1904), p. 4} He does not list any \textit{graveurs de caractères d’imprimerie} and this may point to the way that engravers of printing type viewed themselves, the \textit{graveurs de médailles et médailons} being the more ‘artistic’ end of the profession.

It may also point to a semantic confusion between the terms \textit{graveur} or \textit{engraveur} and \textit{tailleur} which one finds commonly in the Le Bé documents and as late as Fournier’s \textit{Manuel Typographique} of 1764. The two terms tended to be used interchangeably when referring to punch cutting, to indicate both to engrave and to cut. Natalis Rondot comments that ‘la qualité d’engraveur a été donnée rarement à des maîtres’ which may imply that it was considered a higher form of craftsmanship.\footnote{Ibid., p. 13} A survey of Fournier’s \textit{Manuel Typographique} shows that the term \textit{tailler} was used in some ten instances and the term \textit{graver} in some 23 instances to apply to much the same action. The use of \textit{tailler} seems to indicate the...
action of tracing (e.g. ‘il faut tailler d’abord cette figure sur une petite tige d’acier’ on page 9), whereas Fournier speaks in general of ‘graver les caractères’. 190 Lothar Wolf gives the definition of tailler as ‘graver, former en relief les caractères à l’extrémité des tiges d’acier’, and graver as ‘tracer sur une matière dure, en l’entaillant, au moyen d’un burin, d’un ciseau’. 191 It should also be noted that Harry Carter’s translation of Fournier uses the term to cut or letter cutter to cover both French terms, whereas the closer meaning may well be ‘engrave’ for graver and ‘trace’ for tailler. 192

If we return now to Guillaume I Le Bé and his period of apprenticeship with Robert I Estienne, several terms have been used by various sources to describe that period.

In the Le Bé Memorandum Guillaume II Le Bé writes quite specifically that his father ‘fut mis apprentif chéz Robert Estien[e Laisné] et premier en lan 1539 ou 40 auquel il apprit la librairie, imprim[erie] et fonderye le lettres et graueure dicelles’. 193 This statement is repeated in the section on Robert Estienne, when discussing the Hebrew type cut by Jean Arnoul, where Guillaume II Le Bé writes that his father ‘estoit alors apprentif chéz ledit Estienne en 1542 et il travailla sur la fin auxdits caracetres’. 194 This last statement is important, as it establishes that Guillaume I Le Bé worked on some of the Estienne Hebrews and this point will be discussed later in this chapter.

There is in fact a record of another apprentice taken on by Robert Estienne in 1539. The name of the apprentice was Loys Mauffans, and he appears to have been recommended by ‘Maistre Jehan Chappel, estudiant en la faculté de medecine’. Unfortunately no further information is available on this apprentice. 195 What this may indicate is that Robert Estienne relied on personal connections and acquaintances to find apprentices and may have employed a more informal type of ‘exchange of favours’ rather than a formal notarial contract. 196

Subsequent mentions of Le Bé’s apprenticeship use other terms, such as élève and disciple. The series of articles and replies which began with an anonymous letter to the Journal des Sçavans in Janvier 1756 mentions Le Bé as a ‘disciple de Robert Estienne’, and a later reply maintained that Le Bé ‘n’a jamais été élève de Garamond; il etoit disciple de Robert Estienne’. The letter, still unsigned but most probably written by Fournier l’aîné, given the accurate references to comments from the Paris

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190 Pierre-Simon Fournier, ‘Manuel Typographique’, 1764
191 Karl Lothar Wolf, Terminologische Untersuchungen zur Einführung des Buchdrucks im französischen Sprachgebiet (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979), pp. 21-22
192 Fournier and Carter, Fournier on Typefounding
193 ...and was apprenticed to Robert Estienne the Elder and the first of the name in 1539 or 40. There he learned bookselling, printing, letterfounding and letter-cutting.
194 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, pp. 17, 21, 29, 32 (My father was apprentice to Robert Estienne, that is to say in 1542, and he worked at these letters towards the end.)
195 Armstrong, Robert Estienne royal printer: an historical study of the elder Stephanus, p. 281 (1986 revised edition) I have not been able to trace the references given for this detail.
196 I am grateful to Mme Geneviève Guilleminot, Réserve des livres rares of the BnF, for this suggestion.
documents and the Le Bé memorandum, adds that ‘son pere, Marchand de papiers à Troyes, qui fournissoit Estienne, le pria de recevoir son fils, qu’il lui envoya à l’âge de 15 ans’. And the signed letter sent by Fournier l’aîné in May 1756 to the Mercure de France contradicts the earlier statement and maintains that ‘ce même le Bé, élève de Garamond, s’est appliqué à graver ce que son maître n’avoit pas fait, sçavoir des caractères hébreux, Rabiniques et Arabes ...’ 197 The meanings given the term, disciple, for example, in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries may have been closer to ‘a schollar, a learner, a pupill’ or ‘qui apprend quelque science ou quelque Art liberal, ou quelqu’un des Arts liberaux d’un maistre’. 198

The mentions of Garamont also raise the question of what exactly was the relationship between the young Guillaume I Le Bé and Claude Garamont during this period of apprenticeship. The Le Bé Memorandum records that Claude Garamont was apprenticed to the printer and punchcutter Antoine Augereau (c. 1500-1534), where he learnt type casting, mould-making, justifying and punchcutting. Auguste Bernard maintained that Garamont was an ‘élève de Geoffrey Tory’, but this assertion has been recently challenged and there appears to be no documentary proof to support the claim. 199 The possible dates for Garamont’s period of apprenticeship (c. 1525 – 1534) could coincide with the later years of Tory’s working life, as he was appointed Imprimeur du Roi in 1531 and is thought to have died about 1533. 200 The connection to Tory would be the influence of his alphabets in Champ Fleury, published in 1529. It should also be noted that the Hebrew alphabet shown in Champ Fleury, while clearly Sephardic in origin, is much closer to some of the larger titling letters used in some of the Venetian Hebrew editions, yet are very crude in execution and display a basic misunderstanding of the termination strokes in Hebrew letters. 201 These are not the models used by Guillaume I Le Bé in any of his Hebrews, either early on or later in his career. It is more than likely that Le Bé would have known of these alphabets, just as he knew of the Ashkenazic Hebrew alphabets, but chose to follow quite different models in his own work. 202

197 Journal des Scavans, Janvier 1756, p. 16, Septembre 1756, p. 588, Mercure de France, Mai 1756, p.125
198 Randle Cotgrave, A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues (London: Adam Islip, 1611) and Dictionnaire de l’Académie française, 1st Edition (1694)
199 Auguste Bernard, Geoffroy Tory, peintre et graveur, premier imprimeur royal, reformateur de l’orthographie et de la typographie sous Francois Ier (Paris: Edwin Tross, 1857), pp. 47, 74, 89,200. I am grateful to Professor Hendrik Vervliet for his clarification on this point.
200 Stéphanie Deprouw and Musée national de la Renaissance (France), Geoffroy Tory: imprimeur de Francois Ier, graphiste avant la lettre (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux: Grand Palais, 2011), pp. 108-121
201 folios 68-69
202 See page 87 for detailed discussion on calligraphic models used by Le Bé.
Following a period as a journeyman from c. 1535 to 1538, Garamont worked as a master until his death in 1561, during which time he made and sold founts and had various apprentices as type-casters. There is no document recording a formal association with Guillaume I Le Bé. Yet we do know that Guillaume I Le Bé and Jean Le Sueur, both listed as type founders, compiled an inventory of the Garamont typefoundry in November 1561 and that Guillaume I Le Bé acquired at least some

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of Garamont’s punches and matrices following his death. Vervliet has written about this period of Guillaume I Le Bé’s training that ‘he must have known the ageing (Simone de) Colines or learned about his reputation during an apprenticeship in the 1540-50s at Robert I Estienne’s and Claude Garamont’s premises’ and would lead one to conclude that the arrangement between Garamont and Le Bé was an informal one.

Yet the professional links between Guillaume I Le Bé and Garamont are clearly attested in two accounts. The first is a passage from a manuscript now in the British Library and written by the orientalist Guillaume Postel about 1560 which notes that Robert Estienne acquired some of Garamont’s Grecs du Roy – most probably the Gros-romain of 1543, the Cicero of 1546 and the Gros-Parangon of 1550. The earliest of these types would fall within the period of Le Bé’s apprenticeship to Robert Estienne and thus it is more than likely that Le Bé’s personal and professional acquaintance with Garamont dates from this period. The second account comes from the Le Bé Memorandum which recounts that Le Bé, ‘estant de retour d’Italie à la fin de lan 1550 demeura vn an ou environ chez ledit Garamond en susditte maison de la boulle Ruë des Carmes …’. This second comment is certainly evidence of a close professional and personal relationship.

The Lettres Patentes of Villiers- Cotterêts of the 31 August 1539 do not make mention of the distinction between apprenti and alloué. An alloué has been defined as ‘an apprentice who would never qualify as a master’. The English equivalent would be a journeyman. This status was established legally in 1723, but might have existed more informally in earlier periods. Nicholas Contat dit Le Brun describes these differences as they existed in the eighteenth centuries where there were recorded brevets d’apprentissage and brevets d’allouage. It is not known if Guillaume I Le Bé attained the status of journeyman or master, nor whether he presented a chef d’oeuvre upon completion of his apprenticeship.

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208 See ibid., pp. 104-148,167-168 (Volume I) and Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, p. 18


210 Hauser records the use of the term ‘alloué’ in the sixteenth century. See Hauser, Ouvriers du Temps Passé, p. 39

211 Contat and Barber, Anecdotes Typographiques, pp. 12, 36-37

212 Renouard records one instances of a maître-fondeur de lettres à imprimer (Jean Girault) in 1567 and the same status for various other trades such as parchemenier, imprimeur, libraire, cartier, doreur sur cuir, apothicaire and fourreur de robes. He also notes that ‘les privilèges qui permettaient aux fils et aux gendres de maîtres d’obtenir la maîtrise sans formalités les engageaient à conserver la profession de leurs pères, et nous retrouvons les mêmes familles exerçant les mêmes
The edict also issued at Villiers-Cotterêts on the 25th August 1539 – which established in clause 111 the use of French in place of Latin in all state and legal documents – also makes mention in clause 190 of a *chef d’œuvre* in the following terms: ‘lequel toutesfois nous déclarons inhabile et incapable de la maistrise, au cas qu’il auroit fait autre despense que celle de son chef-d’œuvre pour parvenir à ladite maistrise, (my italics) et l’en voulons estre privé et débouté par nos juges ordinaires des lieux ausquel la cognoissance en appartient’. This implies that it was not a common practice and that other types of certification were generally accepted.213 Giles Barber has noted that ‘in the sixteenth-century printers appear to have been generally free in being allowed to take on apprentices although the academic standard required of candidates appears to have risen progressively’, a point which relates to the increasing regulation of apprenticeships in the seventeenth century.214

It thus seems likely that Guillaume I Le Bé entered the printing establishment of Robert I Estienne as an apprentice or ‘student’ in either 1539 or 1540 at the age of 14 or 15 years of age. The *Le Bé Memorandum* also notes that he was a contemporary of ‘Iehan picard’ (Jean Picard) and ‘Mathieu Poignet’. Harry Carter in his notes comments that ‘Poignet became a typefounder and that P. Picard, a good punchcutter, went to England and died there’.215 The P. Picard mentioned in the *Journal des Sçavants* in the February 1756 issue appears to be an incorrect attribution and the reference is in fact to Jehan (Jean) Arnould, dit Picard, le Jeune, Arnould (or Arnoul) to whom is ascribed several Hebrews in his name in the Le Bé documents. Vervliet maintains that Arnoul acted as an instructor to Guillaume I Le Bé and in fact travelled with him as far as Lyons, where he died.216 The reason for their trip may have been to seek work in Lyons, then the second printing centre in France.217 Arnoul’s death and the effects of ongoing conflicts between master printers and workers might have encouraged Le Bé to continue on to Venice, leaving aside the question for the moment whether he had in fact been invited by Giustiniani. These conflicts and strikes had the result, according to Hauser, of closing down almost completely work in the typographic workshops from the spring of 1539 to the end of 1542.218

Robert I Estienne was the second of the Estienne dynasty, and took over from his father Henri in about 1526. He printed in Paris until 1550, when he moved to Geneva. His Genevan imprints run from 1551 until his death in 1559. His first

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214 Contat and Barber, *Anecdotes Typographiques*, p. 10
215 Le Bé, *The Le Bé memorandum*, p. 48 (Note 48)
217 See Delacolonge and Carter, *The type specimen of Delacolonge*, p. 13
218 Hauser, *Ouvriers du Temps Passé*, p. 178 (ces conflits, qui agita l’imprimerie parisienne et lyonnaise, de 1539 à 1572, et d’abord la grève qui suspendit presque complètement le travail dans les ateliers typographiques des deux grandes villes depuis le printemps de 1539 jusqu’à la fin de 1542.)
Hebrew imprint dates from 1527 and, during his lifetime, he issued nearly 75 separate editions, depending how one counts reissues, amended editions and re impressions. 219

The scholarly and open-minded atmosphere of the Estienne household is well-documented and could well have had an impact on the young Le Bé. Although there is no evidence that Estienne had any connections to the Family of Love, as did Plantin later on in Antwerp, he had a ‘strong commitment to Calvinism’ and the exposure to such unconventional influences could certainly have influenced Le Bé’s attitude to Jews and Protestants with whom he later came into contact. The Latin poem composed by John Dorat in 1538 and based on the visit by the scholar Junius Rabirius to Estienne’s press and household gives a fulsome description of the ambiance of ‘civil learning’ and ‘purity of Latin speech’ which the young Le Bé would have encountered during his period there. 220

Robert Estienne received the title of imprimeur et libraire du Roi en lettres hebraiques et latines in a letter issued by François Ier in June 1539, although there is an earlier document from January of that year which allows him ‘100 ecus par an, sur la recette d’Outre-Seine et Yonne, les gagtes de Robert Estienne, imprimeur de lettres latines et hebraiques’. 221 He does not appear to have used this title much earlier than 1540, when at least three editions (not Hebrew) were signed as ‘Parisiis apud (or ex officina) Robertum Stephanum, Hebraicarum & Latorum literarum typographum regium’ or ‘Paris, de l’imprimerie de Robert Estienne, Imprimeur du Roy en hebrieu et latin’. 222 His earliest Hebrew was probably cut by himself, a hypothesis supported by Vervliet based on the note in the Le Bé Memorandum, which recounts that Estienne ‘se mit à faire et faire faire des caractères hebreux dont il imprimât la Bible en 4o et commença par quelques volumes qui se vendirent à part...’. This most probably refers to the quarto Bible printed in 1528. Vervliet identifies this Hebrew as a 2 mm Saint-Augustin. A second Hebrew, also a Saint-Augustin of 2.2 mm appeared in 1532 for which no punchcutter is known. 223

219 The first comprehensive listing of the Estienne editions is that of Antoine Augustin Renouard, Annales de l’Imprimerie des Estienne, ou, Histoire de la Famille des Estienne et de ses editions (Paris: Jules Renouard & Cie, 1837). This work is not accurate in many respects and is not a useful guide for the Hebrew editions. The more recent work by Lyse Schwarzfuchs is much more accurate and lists the Hebrew editions individually and separately. See Schwarzfuchs and Coron, Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle


222 Renouard, Annales de l’Imprimerie des Estienne, p. 50. See also Armstrong, Robert Estienne: Royal Printer, pp. 117-123

223 See Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, pp. 136-138 (Volume I) and Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, p. 16
There is yet another intriguing but as yet unsolved reference to Le Bé’s early Hebrews while he was apprenticed to Robert I Estienne. The 1950 edition of the *Cabinet des Poinçons de l’Imprimerie Nationale* refers to four existing founts of Hebrew. The first two, 6 point and 8 point are described as ‘un des plus anciens qui existent & des plus célèbres … il a été gravé par Guillaume Le Bé sous la direction de Robert Estienne & sur les propositions de Guillaume Budé, Bibliothécaire du roi François Ier à Fontainebleau’. The second two – the 14 point and the 17 point, were engraved respectively by Marcellin Legrand in 1836 and Bertrand Loeulliet in 1858. 224 The caption to the 8 point notes that this was re-engraved by Aubert in 1881. A later edition (1990) contradicts this assertion somewhat and maintains that it ‘a été gravé par Aubert en 1879 … il réproduit le type créé par Guillaume Le Bé, avec lequel Robert Estienne publia sa Bible’. 225

The inventories of the Cabinet des Poinçons confirm that the engravers were in fact Aubert (for the 6 and 8 point Hebrews) and Marcellin-Legrand for the 14 point and Loeulliet for the 17 point. There is indeed a set of stepped punches for an 8 point Hebrew in the Cabinet des Poinçons, but the assertion that they are the work of Guillaume I Le Bé during his period with Robert Estienne cannot be verified except on stylistic grounds. 226 The mention of Guillaume Budé is of interest as he was a close friend of Robert I Estienne, who had published Budé’s *Commentarii linguae graecae* in 1548. Budé was also the main inspiration behind the *Collège des Trois Langues* (Collegium Trilingue), which was founded in 1530 and included Hebrew among its subjects, so it is possible that he could have had a say in the creation of the new Hebrew typeface. 227

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226 I am grateful to Madame Nelly Gable of the Cabinet des Poinçons in Ivry for allowing me to see these punches and also for the references from the Cabinet des Poinçons Inventaires from December 1903.

227 Eugene de Budé, *Vie de Guillaume Bude fondateur du collège de France (1467-1540)* (Paris: Librairie Académique Didier Emile Perrin, Libraire-Éditeur, 1884), Mosley, *A Dictionary of Punchcutters for Printing Types*
Fig. 2.3: Corps 6 from the *Cabinet des Poinçons de l’Imprimerie Nationale*, 1950 (Actual size)

Fig. 2.4: Partially Assembled alphabet of the corps 6 Hébreu Actual Size (x = 2.0 mm) Imprimerie Nationale

Fig. 2.5: Corps 6 Hébreu Enlarged x1.5 Imprimerie Nationale

Fig. 2.6: Hb1 (S) The first Le Bé Square Sephardic as a comparison
Fig. 2.7: Specimen of the Corps 8 from the *Cabinet des Poinçons de l'Imprimerie Nationale*, 1950 (Actual size)

Fig. 2.8: Partially assembled alphabet of the Corps 8 from the *Cabinet des Poinçons de l'Imprimerie Nationale*, 1950 (Actual size)

A comparison of the Imprimerie Nationale Corps 6 and the Corps 8 to the first Le Bé Square Sephardic – Hb1 (S) – shows a similar treatment for certain characters, the aleph (א), the lamed, the peh (פ), the tsadde (צ) and the shin, yet with clear differences in the tet, the ayin (ע), and the tav (ת). If some of the original Le Bé punches were reworked indeed by Aubert in the nineteenth century, this would account for at least some of the differences.

The same entry on Robert Estienne in the *Le Bé Memorandum* continues with the following passage:

Neamoins lesdits caracteres ne se trouuerent pas si agreeables qu lon esperoit, Et cest *ce gros vilain hebreu* (my italics) dont sont imprimez quelques liures,
como Ieremie, Esaïe, Job, et autres prophéttes, de sorte qu'il fit refaire lesdits Caractères hébreux de la bible in 4o par un nommé Jehan picard homme le plus adroit a la proportion & grace des Caractères qu'il fut en ce templ, mon père estoit alors apprentif chez ledit Estienne en 1542, et il travailla sur la fin auxdits carac|eres, (my italics) et se sont Rencontrés Les plus beaux, et aussiy toute la bible en fut imprimée qui est celle qui se voit apresant ....’228

This comment raises as many questions as it answers, before attempting a hypothesis as to which types Le Bé worked on, several questions need to be examined:

- Which Hebrew typefaces were in use and were used for these editions. Which typeface is in fact this ‘ce gros vilain hebreu’ and which were cut by Jehan Arnoul?
- Which editions were published during the period of Le Bé’s apprenticeship to Robert Estienne?

In his two seminal publications Hendrik Vervliet has identified ten Hebrew types in use by Robert I Estienne during his periods of activity in Paris and Geneva. The types are ordered by approximate date and not by size. 229

1. The first ‘Estienne’ Square Sephardic Hebrew on English or Saint-Augustin (1527-28). Punchcutter: Vervliet’s contention is that this was cut by Robert I Estienne himself. See Conspectus no. 372 or Hb 2.

2. The second ‘Estienne’ Square Sephardic Hebrew on English or Saint-Augustin (1532). Punchcutter: Unknown. See Conspectus no. 374 or Hb 2.2.

3. The first ‘Estienne’ Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica or Gros-Parangon (1539). Punchcutter: Vervliet identifies this type as the gros vilain hebreu and his hypothesis is that it was cut by Michel du Boys. See Conspectus no. 395 or Hb 4.

4. The ‘Estienne’ Rabbinical Hebrew on English or Saint-Augustin (1539). Punchcutter: Unknown - according to 1665 f. 4 this gloss is not attributed to Jean Arnoul le Picard. See Hb31 (R) in this thesis and Conspectus 377 or Hb2.

5. The third ‘Estienne’ Square Sephardic Hebrew on English or Saint-Augustin (1539). Punchcutter: Unknown - Vervliet’s hypothesis is that this might have been cut by Michel du Boys. See Conspectus no. 376 or Hb 2.44.

228 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, pp. 16-17. Carter’s translation reads: The type proved not to be as agreeable as was hoped: it was the big ugly Hebrew with which some of the Books, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Job, and other prophets were printed; so he had new faces cut for the 4to Bible by a man named Jehan Picard, who was at that time the most skilled in the proportions and grace of printer’s letters. My father was apprentice (sic) to Robert Estienne, that is to say in 1542, and he worked at these letters towards the end. (pp. 28-29)


7. Picard’s Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-Line Pica Gros-Parangon or Palestine (1543). Punchcutter: Jean Arnoul le Picard. See Hb28 (S) in this thesis and Conspectus 396 or Hb 4.

8. Picard’s Square Sephardic Hebrew on Great Primer or Gros-Romain or Saint-Augustin (1543). Punchcutter: Jean Arnoul le Picard. See Hb29 (S) in this thesis or Conspectus 378 or Hb 2.2.

9. Picard’s First Square Sephardic Hebrew on English or Saint-Augustin/Cicéro (1543). Punchcutter: Jean Arnoul le Picard. See Hb30 (S) in this thesis or Conspectus 369 or Hb 1.8.

10. The ‘Estienne’ Rabbinical Hebrew on Brevier or Petit-texte (1556). Punchcutter: Pierre Haultin? This type appears to have been used only in the Genevan imprints and the x-height is 1.2 mm.

The types which are relevant to the question of Guillaume I Le Bé’s involvement in the cutting of the Estienne Hebrews are number three (the ‘gros vilain hebreu’) which can be possibly be attributed to Michel du Boys and the number seven, which is firmly attributed to punchcutter Jean Arnoul.230 An examination of these two assembled alphabets shown on page 80 as compared to Le Bé’s first Hebrew – Hb1(S) – leads to the tentative conclusion that Le Bé assisted in the cutting of fount number seven, as the Arnoul fount is generally closer in most respects to the attributed Le Bé founts. The key recognition characters in this context would be the gimmel, the zayin (ז), and the tsadde. The shin in the Arnoul fount has the termination on the middle stroke pointing right, a feature used consistently by Le Bé. The shin on the gros vilain hebreu has the termination on the same stroke pointing left, not a characteristic of Le Bé’s Hebrews. The treatment of the lamed in both founts is quite similar and decidedly different to the way Le Bé dealt with this character in his own cuttings. It has to be said that Le Bé’s skill as punchcutter and his sensitivity to historic Hebrew letterforms models is very striking from the very outset of his career, and that these qualities are not clearly visible in the two Estienne founts. Can it truthfully be said that the Estienne number 3 is vilain, meaning not necessary ugly, but crude or unsightly? It is certainly closer to a Hebrew scribal models, if one notes the angled base of the bet and the curved right hand stroke of the tet, but still heavy and cumbersome in appearance when compared to Le Bé’s later productions.

The decisive factor which ought to lead one to conclude that Le Bé had a hand in the Arnoul fount is the date. Vervliet has dated these founts to 1543, whereas the ‘gros

vilain hebreu’ is dated to 1539, the period when Le Bé began his apprenticeship with Estienne, and thus it is highly improbable that he could have taken part in cutting these punches so early in his apprenticeship. Furthermore the comment in the Le Bé Memorandum uses the phrase ‘sur la fin auxdits caracteres’, and this can most probably be taken to mean at the end of his apprenticeship.231 It should be noted that Le Bé’s annotation in Rés X 1665, folio 4 dates the four Estienne Hebrews cut by Arnoul to the year 1541, which would also support the assertion that he took part in some way in the cutting of these founts.

And yet if we accept that Le Bé had a hand in the Arnoul Estienne founts, we are left in any case with the hypothesis that Le Bé worked under the guidance and instruction of Arnoul. It was only after his exposure to alternative Hebrew letterform models in Venice, that he was able to arrive at his own style and handling, which stayed quite constant throughout his career as a punchcutter. The exposure to Sephardic scribal Hebrew hands, which Le Bé may have seen in Robert Estienne’s workshop in Paris and most certainly saw in Venice, must have influenced his perception of the way that a Hebrew typeface should appear.

This attribution is confused when one notes that both these founts have been used in similarly dated editions. For example, the British Library copy of Jonah (Ionas) which is dated 1540, is clearly a different impression from the copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Rés-4-NFA-3) which is also dated 1540. Yet the British Library copy (1942.g.2) uses the first ‘Estienne’ Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica (the gros vilain hebreu), whereas the Bibliothèque nationale de France copy (Rés-4-NFA 3) uses Picard’s Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-Line Pica (Hb 4 mm) Gros-Paragon or Palestine. Randall McLeod has noted that in Jonah the same two different founts can also be seen on the title page of Haggai (Aggaeus) in two different copies from the Bibliothèque Mazarine and the Fisher Rare Book Library in Toronto.232

McLeod’s explanation is that these editions ‘ont fait l’objet de réédition attribuées à Robert Estienne avant 1550, l’année de son départ pour Genève’. Furthermore McLeod argues that Estienne had underestimated the market demand for these volumes and thus was obliged to reprint them and did so without changing the date. This explanation would allow us to account for the use of the two different founts, one dating from 1539 and the other from 1543.233

This hypothesis is supported by Vervliet, who writes that ‘some of the earlier instalments of the quarto Bible were reissued in or after 1543 possibly even in or after 1549; they were completed recomposed but maintained the original date of publication’. He adds that ‘these antedated reissues area recognizable by their use

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231 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, p. 17
233 Ibid., p. 129
of the new Picard Hebrews. Vervliet notes that the ‘big ugly Hebrew’ was only used by Robert I Estienne and suggests that it might have been cut by the punchcutter Michel du Boys, given his period of activity in Paris (up to 1538) and his later association with Le Bé in Venice in the cutting of Hb23 (S).234

Fig. 2.9: The two alternate Hebrews used in the Estienne editions (Enlarged to common size)

Fig. 2.10: Hb1(S): Assembled alphabet enlarged view to approx. 7 mm x-height as a comparison

The Hebrew Bible published by Estienne during the years 1539 to 1544 appeared in 24 sections in a quarto format. Subsequently he issued a 16mo edition in 17 sections during the period 1543 to 1546. The Estienne catalogue of 1546, presumably issued for the Frankfort fair, under the heading *Biblia mediocri forma* (or the quarto edition) lists the following contents listed as separate items for sale: Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomium, Leviticus, Numeri, Prophetiae priores (Iosue, Iudicum liber, Samuel), Regum libri duo, Liber Paralipomenon, Isdras, Iob, Psalterium, Proverbia Salomonis, (Canticum canticorum, Ruth, Lamentationes Ieremiae, Ecclesiastes, Esther), Esaia, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Duodecim Prophetiae (Osee, Ioe, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Michaeas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Haggaeus, Zacharias, and Malachias.235

The subsequent heading in the catalogue is for the *Biblia enchiridia forma*, or the 16mo edition, which consists of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Iosue & Iudicum liber, Psalterium, Proverbia Salomonis, Esaia, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel & Esdras, and the Prophetae minores duodecim. The entire quarto Bible could be purchased in its entirety at that time for 100 sous, whereas purchasing the separate instalments was more costly. The 16mo edition could only be bought as separate sections.236

The Hebrew editions printed during the probable period of Guillaume Le Bé's apprenticeship were examined, based on the editions listed in the Renouard bibliography and the Schwarzfuchs chronological inventory.237 The listing in Appendix I sets out the founts used in each edition as far as could be determined. The provisional conclusion from this data is that the first ‘Estienne’ Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica was used from 1539 until about 1543, when Picard’s Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-Line Pica began to be used in its place. The 16mo Hebrew Bible which was begun in January 1544 uses mainly, but not consistently, the Picard fount. This would fit in with the last year of Le Bé’s apprenticeship.238 This would support the hypothesis that Guillaume I Le Bé assisted in the cutting of the Arnoul founts during the later years of his apprenticeship to Robert Estienne.

The *Le Bé Memorandum* places the date of Le Bé’s completion of his apprenticeship ‘vers le mois d’octobre 1545’ when he left Paris and notes that he ‘fut demeurer à

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235 See Appendix L on page 598 for a comparative list of Biblical names.
236 Randal McLeod notes that 28 installments (‘fascicules’) were issued and that the order corresponded neither to the canonical order according to the Catholic Church nor to the Jewish tradition. He writes that ‘il y avait treize fascicules avec pages de titres, plus celles de onze des douze constituants du Duodecim Prophetiae. Seul Osias, le premier, n’avait pas d’autre page de titre que celle de la serie’ …. Ceci fait donc quatre fascicules de plus que le classique vingt-quatre livres, et ces pages de titre pretendent s’échelonner entre 1538 et 1544.’ See McLeod, ‘ALTVM SAPERE’, in *La Bible imprimée dans l’Europe moderne (XVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, ed. by Schwarzbach (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999), pp. 86-88. See also Renouard, *Annales de l’Imprimerie des Estienne*, pp. 93-96
238 The copy of Ezra for example, in Lambeth Palace Library (E15 1543), uses the first ‘Estienne’ Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica and not the Picard.
Venise premierement’. Vervliet’s hypothesis is that both Le Bé and Jean Arnoul left Paris together and arrived first in Lyons, where Arnoul died in 1545 ‘and Le Bé pursued his journey alone to Italy’.

This would have been a logical route to take if they were headed for Venice as their ultimate goal, as opposed to the great overland Alpine routes such as Mont-Cenis, Simplon, St. Gotthard, Brenner and Tarvis. It may also be that they envisaged finding work in Lyons, the second major French printing centre, as already has been suggested. The river route of the Rhône would have led to the French Mediterranean ports and thence by sea to Venice.

There is no documentary or even secondary evidence to suggest why Le Bé went to Venice. The annotations in NAF. 4528 f.1 would indicate that that he found work very quickly with Marco Antonio Giustiniani, and this would argue for some kind of previous connection or perhaps a personal invitation. There is also the possibility that this trip came about through Robert Estienne’s printing connections.

There is evidence that there was an active trade in type between France and Italy during this period. Paolo Manuzio (Paulus Manutius 1512-1574), the third son of the founder of the Aldine Press, Aldus Manutius the Elder, wrote a letter in 1558 in which he describes a type specimen of three founts for editions of the Accademia Veneziana or the Accademia della Fama. He notes that ‘il mezzano (quarto) ho fatto venir di Franza’ and adds that ‘e sono tutti i più excellenti nel suo genere’. Renouard, who first published this letter, commented that ‘c’est donc avec nos caractères français de Garamond, que Paul Manuce a fait plusieurs de ses belles éditions in 4to, tant pour l’académie que pour son compte personnel’. Whether this attribution is correct is open to question, but what is of interest is the fact that Paolo Manuzio maintained that he had bought or ordered them from France, whether they were cast type, punches or matrices. This is of course a later date than Le Bé’s arrival in Venice, but it does demonstrate that there were established connections between Venetian and Parisian printers and punchcutters. Many of the typefaces shown in the 1628 type specimen of the Vatican Press show these connections. Vervliet has characterised the period in Italy from about 1530 to 1580 as one ‘where new types were brought in from abroad, to small extent from Germany … and to a large extent from France, whose letter-cutters and types had a great attraction for Italian

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239 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, p. 21
240 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 42
printers, especially after 1550’. Included in these specimens are three by Le Bé, the Canon Gros Roman and his small capitals (both Roman and Greek), of which he records as having sold matrices to Lorenzo Torrentino in Florence and Tomaso Giunta in Venice. Although these Roman and Greek founts which Le Bé cut during his period in Venice were small in number as compared to his Hebrew founts, they point to his advanced skills as a punchcutter and the type of market which he serviced.

These facts also argue for some kind of invitation given to Le Bé by perhaps Marco Antonio Giustiniani to come to Venice and cut a new distinctive typeface to be used in his Hebrew editions, which began to appear in 1545. Ellic Howe agreed with this hypothesis, but did not provide any concrete proof for it. At a later period in 1578, the noted French punchcutter Robert Granjon was invited to come to Rome and produce type for the Tipografia Medicea Orientale, where he was paid a monthly salary of 20 Scudi and produced a wide variety of types, including a Great Primer Hebrew in 1585. Granjon’s lifetime (c. 1513 to 1590) paralleled that of Le Bé, yet he appears to have been far more productive in the number of typefaces attributed to him – some ninety in total – and sold matrices ‘to the whole of Europe’. His reputation would have preceded him prior to his arrival in Italy, but he serves as model for the international connections that a talented punchcutter would have developed in the sixteenth century.

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245 See page 439 of this thesis, NAF 4528, folio 20.
Hb1 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 1 and Rés X 1665 folio 11
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed
Type size/name: Texte (du Talmuth)
Measurements x-height of 2.7mm; 10 lines = 52 mm
Date and place of creation: 1545 in Venice (Le Bé’s first numbered type)
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé
First occurrence: Sefer Agur, Giustiniani, Venice 1546?

The first specimen in NAF 4528, on folio 1, contains three elements. The first and third are a Rashi script – Hb2(R) – and will be discussed as separate items, and the second, is the typeface under consideration here. As it is the first typeface claimed by Le Bé to be his own creation, it is worth examining it in some detail to determine his starting point, his influences and how it may help us in recognising other typefaces shown in the documents.

Le Bé call this typeface a ‘texte du talmuth’, which combines two aspects. The first is for the size, which places it firmly as a standard sixteenth-century type size, between English and Great Primer, or about 16 points Didot. Wolf lists some ten mentions of this size from various sixteenth-century sources, many of them from Plantin and his press. In addition other terms such as ‘lettre de texte’, ‘gros texte’ and ‘vray texte’ also were current. The second part, ‘de Talmuth’, surely relates to its purpose, and Le Bé indicates that it was a term well known to himself, if not to other printers. He uses the same term for Hb9 (S) which he cut towards the end of his stay in Venice.248

Thus the term ‘Texte du Talmuth’ can be taken as a descriptive term, perhaps reflecting the anarchic state of nomenclature which existed in the sixteenth century and resulted in different names, sizes and moulds for English, French, Italian and Dutch types. The sizes listed for both the Hebrew matrices and punches in the Le Bé inventory of 1730 inventory are Canon, Parangon, St.Augustin, Gros Romain, Petit Texte or Nompareille and these sizes can be taken to be representative of the sizes Le Bé would have used later in his lifetime and for those types which found their way into the Le Bé foundry which was passed down to Jean Pierre Fournier in the eighteenth century.249

The text itself is most likely from the Babylonian Talmud, the Tractate Bava Batra, Chapter 1, Midrash 1 and deals with the law of Hazakah, meaning ‘the acquisition of property by continued and undisturbed possession during a period of time prescribed by law’.250 Yet one is immediately struck by the fact that the specimen text does not correspond exactly with the textus receptus of the Talmud and contains

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248 Wolf, Terminologische Untersuchungen zur Einführung des Buchdrucks im französischen Sprachgebiet, pp. 114-115. I am grateful to Hendrik Vervliet for his clarification on this point. See also Vervliet and Carter, Sixteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries, p. 16
249 Fournier and Morison, L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé, pp. 22, 25
various spelling errors and textual omissions, which is curious if one assumes that these early specimens were composed in Venice, where Jews were active as compositors and editors in the printers for whom Le Bé had contacts. The penultimate line appears to be a random setting without any meaning. The final line reads in Hebrew: *Guilielmus Lebay Tsarfati* or ‘Guillaume Le Bé Frenchman’. Le Bé thus signed his creations from the very beginning of his career, as will be seen from further specimens and this indicates that he was aware of his role as an independent punchcutter. This is an important difference in the way types were produced in the sixteenth century as opposed to the Incunabula period. It also indicates that he thought it worthwhile to keep specimens of his type, perhaps for purposes of claiming ownership of the type and to prevent other printers such as Giustiniani from claiming sole use of the type. That this was indeed a problem at the time can be seen from the dispute between Aldus Manutius and the punchcutter Francesco Griffo of Bologna in 1502.251

The typographic errors and omissions could lead one to the conclusion that the compositor was not a Jew and could not distinguish between the Hebrew letters *vav* (ו) and *zayin* (ז) – the typo in the first word – in the type case. This is not an inconsequential point in the history of Hebrew printing and has been remarked on as late as the seventeenth century.252 Yet we do know that Jews worked as compositors and editors in Venice during the early sixteenth century, as Bomberg’s editor Fra Felice da Prato had to apply to the Venetian Senate to obtain permission ‘to keep Hebrew compositors and readers’ and that ‘it was necessary to have four Jews to superintend the printing, but that it would be impossible to induce them to come if they were obliged to wear the yellow cap, as they would be molested and insulted in the streets.’253 But this was perhaps a unique situation and not repeated in all places where Hebrew books were produced. Non-Jews were as much involved in the production of Hebrew books as were Jews.

Le Bé’s annotation is interesting from a number of points of view. It gives us a nearly exact date for Le Bé’s date of birth, i.e. in March or April of 1525. The dates Le Bé gives for the cutting of the type also fits quite closely to the election of Francesco Donato as the 79th Doge of Venice on 24 November 1545.254 It also locates the press of Marco Antonio Giustiniani in the Calle dei Cinque, a small street whose name still exists today and which was in the early 1540s near to the centre of the Venetian book trade near the Rialto Bridge.255 Indeed the second Hebrew edition published by

255 The Calle dei Cinque is situated in the Sestiere of San Polo and runs from the main axis connecting the Campo S. Aponal, Ruga Vecchia San Giovanni, to the Rialto Bridge and opens up on the Riva del Vin on the Grand Canal.
Giustiniani, *Sefer Rosh Emunah*, bears the inscription *BeRialto* (On the Rialto) in Hebrew on the title page.\(^{256}\) The Giustizia vecchia referred to in the annotation is most probably the present day Palazzo dei Camerlenghi, where the Uffici di Giustizia Vecchia was located. Two judicial bodies, the Giustizia Vecchia and Nuova, were established in 1261. \(^{257}\)

What is perhaps most interesting is the mention of a ‘messer Leon’, whom Le Bé describes as a *personnier or parsonnier au fraitz et ouvrages*, which most certainly means ‘partner’ in this context. \(^{258}\) And, furthermore he describes messer (an old Italian term for sir or master) Leon as combining skills in print and editing, as well as keeping a shop for second hand and new clothes (*strazzaria* in Italian). This was indeed one of the occupations which Jews in Venice were allowed to practice in the sixteenth century and it throws an interesting light on the restrictions under which Jew lived.\(^{259}\) We do not know precisely who this Messer Leon was, but it was not an uncommon name for Jews during that period, as is seen for example in the fifteenth-century Italian rabbi, teacher, physician, and philosopher was known as Judah Messer Leon, and the later scholar, rabbi, and poet Leone da Modena.

Le Bé also mentions that Messer Leon was ‘aucunement entendu aux meilleurs traitz et portraitz de l’escripture HEBRAÏQUE’ (particularly knowledgeable about the best shapes and figures of Hebrew script).\(^{260}\) The implication is that Messer Leon might also have been a scribe, or a *Sopher* in Hebrew, in which capacity he might have prepared Jewish documents, such as Ketubot (Jewish wedding contracts), Gittim (divorce documents) or other documents needed by the Jewish community. Le Bé makes mention once again of this theme on Folio 14 of NAF 4528, where he annotates a Hebrew cut in 1573 in Paris and notes that he followed ‘les meilleurs traictz et les plus receuz de l’antiquité au jugement des plus experimentez ès lettres hebraïques par ceux de leur religion et nation, en la ville et cite de Venise, où j’ay demeuré cinq ans et plus, suyvant les portraitz et brouillardz que j’en fis lors que je y estaoye’. This can only mean that Le Bé was in touch with Jews during his stay in Venice and was aware of the various scripts available to him at the time. An example of such a script is the following detail from a Ketubah produced in Venice in 1612 written in a clear Sephardic hand, and extended letters (*litterae dilatable*) which are

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\(^{256}\) Itzhak Abravanel, *Sefer Rosh Emunah*, (Venice: Giustiniani, 1544) BL 1952d9(4)

\(^{257}\) See Silvia Gramigna, Annalisa Perissa Torrini, and Roberto Lazzari, *Scuole grandi e piccole a Venezia tra arte e storia: confraternite di mestieri e devozione in sei itinerari* (Italy: s.n., 2008).


to be found in several of the types cut by Le Bé. There is a strong similarity in the ayin on the bottom line, which is very clearly in the style of Le Bé’s types.261

Fig. 2.11: Jewish marriage document or Ketubah, produced in Venice in 1612 (St John’s College Library, Cambridge MS N.34 539)

There appear to be few remaining ketubot (plural of Ketubah in Hebrew) which one could use as concrete examples of Hebrew scribal hands which Le Bé might have seen during his stay in Venice. Most of the surviving examples in collections are from the seventeenth century, but they all show a similar Sephardic hand, the use of litterae dilatabile, and the similar treatment of the letters ayin and shin. Two examples from the Braginsky Collection are typical: a 1638 ketubah from Rome and a 1648 specimen from Venice. 262 A further example is from the Querini-Stampalia Library in Venice and is dated 1637 or 1638. This hand too shows marked similarities to the Le Bé types.

Fig. 2.12: Assembled alphabet from MS CL.IX Codec XLII, enlarged (Bibliotheca, Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Venice)

261 N.34 Ketubah. Venice, 1612. St John’s College Library, University of Cambridge. See also page 82.
262 Emile G. L. Schrijver et al., Schöne Seiten: jüdische Schriftkultur aus der Braginsky Collection (Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2011), pp. 172-175
Further evidence of the closeness with which Le Bé followed the Sephardic style can be seen in many early Hebrew manuscripts produced in the Iberian peninsula prior to the expulsion in 1492. A good example is from the Rylands Hagadah which is thought to have been produced in Catalonia in the mid-fourteenth century. The similarities are most obvious in the gimel, the zayin, the peh, the tsadde and the shin, as shown in the following constructed alphabet from one of the folios. Note the pronounced left slant to these letters, as well as the slanted baseline, which has not been followed in Le Bé’s typefaces. The appearing size of the letters is about 6 mm.

Fig. 2.13: Incomplete assembled alphabet from the Rylands Haggadah, Spain or Catalonia, mid-fourteenth century.

Fig. 2.14: Hb1(S) from NAF 1665 folio 11. A setting from Alvise Bragadin’s edition of the Mishneh Torah, Venice, 1550. See BL shelfmark 1918e1, unnumbered folio containing text from Chapter 5 of Chaluchat Yesodi HaTorah, with the Migdal Oz Commentary by Rabbi Shem-Tov ben Abraham Ibn Ga'on.

Fig. 2.15: Specimen of Hb1(S) from the Mishneh Torah, Giustiniani, Venice 1550 Title page recto (BL 1918e4)

Fig. 2.16: Specimen of Hb1(S) from the title page of Machzor Helek Sheni, Bragadin, Venice 1599. (BL 1971f4)

If Le Bé had been able to attain an adequate understanding and control of the typographic requirements for Hebrew typefaces, what can be said about his knowledge of the Hebrew language? It is most probable that he was not educated in the Christian Hebraist tradition nor was he a Hebrew scholar, although he must have been able to read and write Hebrew at a basic level. This is shown by the attributions

to himself in many of the type specimens. But it also seems clear that he was following certain traditions of design and layout which he had learned in his apprenticeship with Estienne and later absorbed during his period in Venice.

In the period of Le Bé’s lifetime in France, the opportunities for contact between Christians and Jews were extremely limited due to social and religious restrictions on both sides. The medieval Church did not approve of such meetings and on the Jewish side ‘few Jews consented to teach Hebrew to Gentiles’. There were quite a few notable Christian Hebraists active in Paris, such as Bishop Agostino Giustiniani (1470-1535), who taught Hebrew in Paris for a period in the 1520s, François Tissard (1455-1510), François Vatable (1490-1547) Jean Mercier (1510-1570), Antoine Rodolphe Chevallier (1507-1572), Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), Jean Cinquearbres (1514-1587), Gilbert Génébrard (1537-1591) and Guy Le Fèvre de la Broderie (1541-1598). It is known that Vatable and Mercier were both involved in the editing and production of Estienne’s Hebrew Bibles, and that Mercier’s Aramaic ‘was good enough to translate the Targumin’. It is more than likely that Le Bé would have met them during his period at Robert Estienne’s press and possibly used at least Jean Mercier for assistance on Hebrew texts later in his career.

The writer François Rabelais (c. 1494 –1553), of an earlier generation than Le Bé, is interesting for his extensive use of Hebrew words and texts in Pantagruel and the Fourth Book. The admonition of Pantagruel’s father Gargantua is instructive as to the Renaissance vision of learning and the place of Hebrew within it. It has been noted that ‘the Rabelaisian novels are rich in Hebrew terms and in numerous allusions to the Masoretic work’ and that ‘Rabelais was not a complete neophyte in the matter and knew enough Hebrew to find his way by himself in the Hebrew Bible’. The short Hebrew extract in Chapter 2.IX, despite errors, demonstrates

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264 See for example the annotations to Folios 14 and 16 in N.A.F 4528.
267 I intend, and will have it so, that thou learn the languages perfectly; first of all the Greek, as Quintilian will have it; secondly, the Latin; and then the Hebrew, for the Holy Scripture sake; and then the Chaldee and Arabic likewise, and that thou frame thy style in Greek in imitation of Plato, and for the Latin after Cicero. Gargantua and his Son Pantagruel Chapter 2. VIII.—How Pantagruel, being at Paris, received letters from his father Gargantua, and the copy of them.
some ability in reading and writing Hebrew. This is a possible model for the level of knowledge that Le Bé could have attained to enable him to cut Hebrew typefaces and attain a rudimentary level of reading and writing in Hebrew.

Le Bé would certainly have known by reputation the work of the earlier pioneers of Hebrew printing in Italy and more specifically in Venice, such as Aldus Manutius, Gershom Soncino and Daniel Bomberg. Aldus Manutius had ceased printing by 1515 and the Soncino family had moved to the Ottoman Empire by 1526.270 There is some debate as to when Daniel Bomberg finally returned to Antwerp from Venice, and he may well have done so before Le Bé arrived, yet we know that Le Bé was in contact with Cornelio Adel Kind, a partner and successor to the Bomberg press.271 The Le Bé Hebrews build on the type of Sephardic letterforms used by these ‘pioneers’, but are a major step forward in redefining the typographic character of the Hebrew letter form. The following specimens comparing Square Sephardic Hebrew types used by Aldus Manutius, Gershom Soncino and Daniel Bomberg demonstrate the improved legibility, differentiation of characters, character fit and aesthetic quality as introduced by Guillaume I Le Bé from his very first typeface cut in 1545.272

Fig. 2.17: Hebrew text from the 1500 proposed Polyglot Bible, printed by Aldus Manutius, Venice c. 1501 (By permission of Martin Davies)

272 See Fig. 2.19 for a comparison.
Fig. 2.18: Hebrew alphabet from the *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere Cupientibus*, Aldus Manutius, 1500 (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Signatur: B hebr. 1516 01)

Fig. 2.19: Hebrew text from the Soncino Polyglot Torah printed by Eliezer ben Gershon Soncino in Constantinople in 1546 Actual size (From the Hebrew University Digitized Book Repository)

Fig. 2.20: The Bomberg Moyenne as used in the Plantin 1566 Hebrew Quarto Bible
The key letter recognition factors

Aleph: The termination to the left hand stroke has a distinct calligraphic flick that would have been produced by changing the angle of the pen or quill from 45 to 90 degrees.

Extended aleph: Similar to the aleph but with a more pronounced flick to the termination. The lower left stroke has a decided angle and points inwards to the right.

Bet: The right hand termination to the baseline stroke has a 45 degree angle. This is one of the problematic pairs (the bet and the kaph) in Hebrew that are commonly confused, especially in the smaller typeface sizes.

Gimmel: The termination to the vertical stroke protrudes below the baseline. The upper termination has a distinct narrowing before joining the vertical stroke, a clear calligraphic feature.

Dalet: The main differentiation between the dalet and the resh is the flat juncture between the vertical and horizontal strokes. The right hand vertical stroke has a distinct angle to the right.

Heh: The right hand stroke has a slight curve to left. The counter of the heh is more rounded as opposed to the chet.

Extended heh. The right hand stroke is much straighter than the letter heh.

Zayin: The horizontal stroke joins the vertical stroke in the middle. The vertical stroke has a distinct calligraphic swelling from top to bottom which helps to differentiate it from the vav.
Chet: The counter is much squarer than the heh counter. This is one of the problematic pairs in Hebrew (the heh and the chet) that are commonly confused, especially in the smaller typeface sizes.

Tet: The termination to the right hand stroke has a 45 degree angle and does not touch the left hand stroke. The bottom stroke is flat to the baseline.

Yod. This character displays a pronounced angle to the two strokes.

Kapf: The baseline protrudes beyond the termination of the upper horizontal stroke.

Final Kapf: The vertical stroke has a distinct angle to the right.

Lamed: The termination to the ascender has a left facing flag and the ascender has a distinct curve from the horizontal middle stroke

Mem: The baseline stroke is slightly angled and touches the left hand stroke.

Final Mem: The counter shape is squarer to differentiate it from the samekh.

Nun: The upper horizontal stroke is much shorter than the baseline stroke and the vertical stroke is much more vertical to differentiate it from the Kapf.

Final Nun: The vertical stroke has a distinct calligraphic swelling from top to bottom.

Samekh: The baseline stroke curves upwards and narrows where it joins to the right hand vertical stroke. The curved baseline and left hand vertical provide the main differentiation from the final mem.

Ayin: The ascender has a distinct angle and protrudes beyond the main body of the character. The termination to the tail stroke is squared off.
Peh: the middle stroke is very similar to the left hand stroke of the aleph.

Final Peh: the middle stroke has a more distinct angle than the peh.

Tsadde: The base stroke is flat and both termination flags point outwards. Later Le Bé Hebrews (i.e. HB14 (S)) have both terminations strokes pointing to the left.

Final Tsadde: The descender is almost vertical.

Resh: The main differentiation between the resh and the dalet is the curved joining between the vertical and horizontal strokes. The vertical stroke is more nearly straight than the dalet vertical stroke.

Shin: The flag of the termination of the middle stroke points right. The middle stroke joins the baseline very close to the left hand vertical stroke. The flags of the left and right hand strokes point left. The baseline curves upwards and narrows where it joins the left hand stroke. This characteristic was maintained consistently throughout Le Bé’s Square Sephardic Hebrews and follows the model used by Jean Arnoul (Le Picard) in the Hebrews he cut for Robert Estienne. The letter shin in manuals for Jewish scribes has all three termination strokes pointing to the left.

Tav: The upper horizontal stroke is slightly shorter than the resh and the left vertical protrudes well beyond the main body of the character.

Aleph/Lamed Ligature: The vertical down stroke makes a 45 degree turn to the right where it joins the right hand shorter vertical. The termination to the vertical right hand stroke is a short continuation of the main ductus.

Fig. 2.22: Hb1(S): Assembled alphabet at actual size = approx. 2.7 mm (From NAF 4528 f.1.)

Hb1(S) was found in the following printed editions during the search of primary material. The earliest use thus appears to be in 1550 and the typeface was distributed across a wide spectrum of Hebrew presses in Venice, not only with Giustiniani, for whom it was originally cut. It also was found in Hebrew editions printed in Basle and Freiburg im Breisgau in Germany.
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Hilkhot Shehita uVedikah*, Venice, Adelkind, 1550
- *Mishneh Torah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1550?
- *Sefer Birkat Avraham*, Venice, Bragadin, 1552
- *Sefer Orah Hayim*, Venice, Bragadin, 1563
- *Shulhan Arukh*, Venice, Bragadin, 1565
- *Mishneh Torah*, Venice, Bragadin, 1574
- Koppelmann, *Sefer Misle Su’alim*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583
- Benjamin Tudela, *Masa’ot shel Rabi Binjamin*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583?
- *Sefer Toledot Aharon*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1584?
- *Tsemach David*, Venice, Giovanni de Gara, 1586
- *Machzor*, Venice, Bragadin and di Gara, 1599
- Moshe de Léon, *Zot HaSefer HaNefesh HaHochma*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1608
Hb2 (R)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 1
Type Classification: Rashi Script unpointed
Type size/name: Grosse Glose?
Measurements x-height of 2 mm; 10 lines = 52 mm
Date and place of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
First occurrence: Pirkei Avot, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545

Le Bé makes no mention of this rabbinical script in his annotated notes to Folio 1, and does not claim it as one of his creations. This is curious, as the rabbinical text is printed on the same sheet as Hb1(S) and pasted into the document. It is also very close in style to Hb5 (R), which Le Bé does claim as his third Hebrew and to Hb7(R), which Le Bé claims as his fifth and also dates to 1547. Closer examination of the two most similar in size, Hb2 (R) and Hb7(R), show subtle differences in the bet, gimmel, shin, final tsadde (ץ) and tav. Furthermore, it appears quite consistently in the Hebrew publications of Giustiniani from the first imprints of 1545, which would tie it in with other Le Bé types used by Giustiniani.273 It is definitely different from the Bomberg rabbinicals, which have a distinctive final nun.274 Further investigation may yet turn up an earlier example of this rabbinical, but for the time being we must assume that, for whatever reason, Le Bé did not want to claim this type as one of his creations. This similarity also raises the question as to whether Le Bé’s dates are unreliable or perhaps that he did not include all his types in these documents.275

The text of the specimen is also problematic. Given the type used, it can only be a legal code or a sermon. A search on the Bar Ilan Responsa Project database came up with some three possible texts, but no certain ones.276 The text does have the line ‘I the younger (son?) from the house of my father Yosef ben rabbi Itzhak from the house of Alofela (Elopeia)’ which is the type of text one might expect from rabbinical responsa or commentary. The best hypothesis at present is that it is related to the main text above it, dealing with the law of Hazakah.

273 The British Museum Catalogue of Italian Books gives the date of the first Hebrew edition printed by Marco Antonio Giustiniani as 1545.
274 See Hb34 (R) on p. 274 for example.
275 I am grateful to Professor Hendrik Vervliet for these observations.
276 Bar Ilan University, 'Short Global Jewish Database (the Responsa Project)', Bar Ilan University, (2011) <http://www.biu.ac.il/jh/Responsa/>. I am indebted to Rabbi Alex Chapper of the Ilford Federation Synagogue for his opinion that there are ‘a number of mistakes in the wording but it definitely appears to be an attempt at setting a halachic code possibly something like the Shulchan Arukh, Tur or Rambam Mishne Torah’. (Email communication 29 June 2011)
A final word of caution is necessary when discussing these Rabbinical types. The appearing size is of course one major difference between the 16 Rabbinical types described in this thesis, but it has to be emphasised that in most cases the recognition factors between the typefaces are far fewer and more elusive than in the Square Sephardic types. This close similarity in detail can be seen in the following comparison of Hb2 (R) to two other Rabbinicals types cut by Le Bé.
The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

Fig. 2.25: Hb2 (R) complete alphabet enlarged to approximately 10 mm appearing size.

Fig. 2.26: Hb2 (R) complete alphabet at actual appearing size (2.00 mm x height).

Aleph: The upper ascender joins almost directly to the left vertical stroke.

Bet: The second version has an angled curve base stroke.

Lamed: The ascender has a slight angle to the left and distinct flag pointed left.

Mem: The right vertical stroke is shorter than the left vertical.

Final Nun: The termination flag faces left, which is a clear difference to the Bomberg Rashi types.

Ayin: The base stroke protrudes beyond the left vertical stroke.

Final Tsadde: Compare to the version used by printer Daniel Bomberg – Hb34 (R) – which has a curved calligraphic stroke facing left.

Tav: The left stroke has a thickened swell where it joins the upper horizontal stroke.
The number of definite and questionable finds for this type adds further evidence for Le Bé’s involvement in this type. The elements of ink squash, paper shrinkage and poor impression make positive identification difficult in all cases, but it was clearly a useful type for the types of Hebrew editions being produced during the sixteenth century and thus widely used by Hebrew presses, not only in Venice and further afield in Italy, but also in Poland.

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Pirkei Avot*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Igrot leha’or ha-gadol, ha-ner ha-ma’aravi*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Sefer Zevah Pesah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Be’ur al ha Torah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- *Sefer Shulhan Arba’ah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Midrash Rabot*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Otiot shel Rabi Akiba*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- *Babylonian Talmud*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546/50
- *Beit Ya’akov*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547
• *Halakhot Gedolot*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1548
• *Mishnah*, Venice, Meir di Parenzo in casa di Carlo Querini, 1548/49
• *Sefer Hazut Kashah*, Sabionetta, Foa, 1552
• *Sefer Birkat Avraham*, Venice, Bragadin, 1552
• *Humshe Hamishah Torah*, Ferrara, Usque, 1554?
• Benjamin Tudela, *Masa’ot shel Rabi Binyamin*, Ferrara, Usque, 1556?
• *Sefer Toledot Yitzhak*, Mantua, 1558?
• *Sefer Arba’ah Turim*, Cremona, Conti, 1558
• *Sefer Hovat HaLevanot*, Mantua, 1559
• *Shirei Musar HaSekhel*, Mantua, Rufinelli, 1560
• *Bible/Sefer Tehilim*, Cremona, Conti, 1561?
• *Shoresh Yishai*, Constantinople, Usque, 1561?
• *Sefer Ruach Hen*, Cremona, Conti, 1566
• *Sefer Haguda*, Cracow, Prostitz, 1571?
• *Mishneh Torah*, Venice, Bragadin, 1574
• *Sefer Divrei Shelomo*, Venice, Zanetti 1595-96
• *Sefer Urim ve Tumin*, Venice, Zanetti 1603?
Hb3 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 f. 2, Rés X 1665 f. 10 and Rés X 1665 f. 10v
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed and pointed
Type size/name: Unidentified
Measurements x-height of 2.8 mm
Date and place of creation: 1546 in Venice?
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé?

The specimen of this typeface appears in three of the Le Bé specimens, which are described in Hb4 (S). The specimen consists of two words and a total of eight characters as shown below. The specimens on NAF 4528 folio 2 and Rés X 1665 f. 10v are pointed, whereas the specimen on Rés X 1665 f. 10 is unpointed.

Fig. 2.29: Hb3 (S) shown at actual size from NAF 4528 f. 2

The date on the specimen and the very characteristic treatment of the final peh (ף) and the ascender of the lamed identify this specimen beyond any doubt as a Le Bé type. In addition, the close similarity in all but size to Hb1(S) confirms the identity of the punchcutter. In terms of size, the closest match in the Hebrews in the Plantin Moretus matrices is the Vrai Texte Hebreu (MA 167a or MA 164a).

A comparison at an enlarged size with the assembled alphabet from Hb1 (S) confirms the very clear similarity of the letter forms, with the exception of the treatment of the ascender of the Lamed. In Hb3 (S) the upper stroke is much thicker and the termination flag larger and less angled than in Hb1 (S). The accents (Nikkud) in two of the specimens appear to be identical to those used in Hb4 (S), yet they very clearly sit below the body of the letter, whereas in Hb4 (S), they are much closer to the type body. This would mean that they were not cast with the type, but set as a separate line, with ascenders and descenders cast as kerned or overhanging characters on the lines above or below.277

Fig. 2.30: Hb3 (S) shown enlarged to x-height of approximately 10 mm

This typeface raises several intriguing questions. Why does it appear only appear in this specimen? Why does Le Bé make no claim for its creation? Why does it not appear in any of the Giustiniani imprints examined between the years 1545 to 1547? One hypothesis is that it was a cause of some dispute between Le Bé and Giustiniani which resulted in the type being withdrawn from use. Another more plausible

277 I am grateful to professor Hendrik Vervliet for this clarification. See example on page 91.
hypothesis is that Le Bé simply neglected to claim this type when he assembled the document, as he was more concerned with the main specimen – Hb4 (S) – in the sheet.

The text of this specimen reads ‘Mizmor le Asaf’ (A Psalm of Asaph), which is the opening to Psalms 79: 1-5

No editions using this typeface were found, which may be partially due to the small number of key recognition characters in the specimen. Further examination of Hebrew imprints from the sixteenth century may yet turn up a clue as to the origins of this type and where it was first used.
Hb4 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 2, Rés X 1665 f. 10 and Rés X 1665 f. 10v
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed and pointed
Type size/name: Moyenne or Texte Moyen
Measurements: x-height of 2.3 mm; 10 lines = 51 mm (pointed); 10 lines = 50 mm (unpointed);
Date and place of creation: 1546 in Venice (his second numbered type)
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé
Literature: Omont 1889, p. 8
First occurrence: Candelabri typici in mosis tabernaculo isusu divino expressi brevis ac dilucida
interpretation, Guillaume Postel, Venice, 1548?

Le Bé in his annotation states that this is his second Hebrew type, cut in 1546 in Venice for Marco Antonio Giustiniani. The same specimen reappears in Res X 1665 on folios 10 and 10v, the difference being in the pointing to the text. NAF 4528 folio 1 is pointed throughout the text, whereas the specimen on Res X 1665 f. 10 is pointed only on the first three lines with an additional line of text added, and Res X 1665 f. 10v is pointed throughout and appears identical to NAF 4528 folio 1. The specimen on Res X 1665 f. 10v also has cantillation marks (Ta’amín in Hebrew) added to the three first lines in addition to the pointing.

Fig. 2.31: Hb4 (S) Pointed setting with cantillation marks from Rés X 1665 f. 10 (Actual size)

We are faced here with the question as to why Le Bé would have decided to repeat what is essentially the same setting, not once, but three times. His annotations do not contradict each other as to names and dates.278 There are three missing letters in (NAF 4528 folio 1) which on closer inspection show that they were cut out. This is not the only instance of repetition of specimens in the two documents, so one can only conclude that they were compiled at different times or that Le Bé did not have the first document to hand when compiling the second.

The name given to this typeface by Le Bé raises various questions. Moyenne is a size found three times in the 1730 Inventaire as either ‘moyen’ or ‘moienne’, although it does not appear to be on the ‘standard’ old French sizes. Vervliet argues that it is a ‘normal name for the size between English and Great Primer’, but it is not defined as such by Wolf in his listing of sixteenth-century type sizes.279 In the sizes used in the Officina Plantiniani we find a ‘Moyen Canon’, but this is equivalent to about 30 points Didot and thus not the same as referred to by Vervliet. Baines Reed does refer

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278 Omont noted this repetition but made no suggestion for its reasons. Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592, p. 8 (Note 2)
279 Comment on earlier draft version of this thesis by Professor Hendrik Vervliet. See Wolf, Terminologische Untersuchungen zur Einführung des Buchdrucks im französischen Sprachgebeit
to Moyenne in the Le Bé corpus of type sizes and notes that ‘the nomenclature seems to be in process of formation’. He also adds that Moyenne ‘might have become a regular size, like the German Mittel and Dutch Mediaan’.  

The closest in actual x-height size would be 9pt Didot, which would make it equivalent to English Long Primer or Old French Petit Romain. The line count for a solid setting of 86 mm to 20 lines would bring it closer to English Pica or Old French Cicero, yet a comparison to the Colines Great Primer Hebrew shows that the x heights are very close. As Le Bé does use this term for five of his types, we must assume that the term had a specific meaning for him. It is possible that he was referring to a size for a mould then currently in use in France and Italy.

The specimen text in all three cases is from Psalms 79: 1-5, a Psalm of Asaph. This same verse is used in a later specimen in this same document on Folio 12. The final line has Le Bé’s signature as usual in Hebrew letters: Guliemo LeBay Tsarfati, or Guillaume Le Bé Frenchman. Note that here Le Bé uses the Italian form of his name, and not the Latin as in the first specimen.

When cutting this second Square Sephardic, Le Bé followed very closely in detail his first Hebrew. Perhaps he was asked by Giustiniani to produce a slightly smaller type with pointing for use in the setting of biblical texts. Once again the key recognition characters are the lamed, the ayin, the shin and the aleph/lamed ligature, but in this typeface the aleph/lamed ligature is quite distinct and closer to the scribal models.

The first appearance of this typeface appears to be Guillaume Postel’s Interpretation du candelabre de Moyse or Candelabrus typici in Mosis Tabernaculo printed in Venice in 1548. There is one line of text on the title page and the printer is not mentioned. The Candelabri typici in Mosis Tabernaculo does contain a foldout placard and it is possible that is one of the Hebrews on it.  There is a suggestion that Postel was in contact with Daniel Bomberg in Venice, who financed in part a trip that Postel made to Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus and Constantinople in search of Arabic manuscripts of the New Testament and with whom he was planning to produce a New Testament in Syriac. The uncertain dates of Bomberg’s final departure from Venice put this idea in doubt, but it does raise the question of whether the Candelabri typici in Mosis Tabernaculo might have been issued by Bomberg’s press.

What is more interesting is the use of this typeface in the two competing versions of the Mishneh Torah printed in Venice in 1550, one printed by Marco Antonio

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280 Reed and Johnson, History of the old English Letter Foundries, p. 28
283 Postel, Les Ecrits de Guillaume Postel publiés en France et leurs éditeurs 1538-1579, p. 17

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Giustiniani and the other by Alvise Bragadin. Le Bé makes no mention of cutting any types for Alvise Bragadin in his notes in either of the two documents and one would have assumed from the dispute between the two printers that they would not have cooperated in the use of type. It has been noted that ‘instability and ruinous competition were typical of the printing industry of that era’. Yet it also has to be said that editors such as Meir di Parenzo worked for a number of printers, notably Bomberg, Giustiniani and Querini, so the same would have been the case for punchcutters, of whom there were probably very few of any great reputation working in Venice at the time.

The result of this the legal conflict between the two printer publishers was the Papal ban on the Talmud and the burnings of Hebrew books in Rome in 1551 and in Venice in 1553.

The two typefaces used in the Giustiniani and Bragadin versions of the Mishneh Torah are also cast on the same body size, that is unpointed with a line measurement of 86 mm to 20 lines. This would indicate that they were cast from the same mould. The specimens in the BnF documents were cast on a larger body size, that is 108 mm to 20 lines presumably in order to incorporate the pointing and cantillation marks. An examination of the Le Bé punches and matrices held in the Plantin Moretus Museum shows that the accents and cantillation marks were cut as separate punches and in some cases – i.e. the Dagesh point in the centre of some letters) struck afterwards into the matrix.

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285 The files compiled for the Duca di Rivoli in the Archivio di Stato in Venice do show various mentions of the terms intaglior (engraver), justador de letere (justifier of type?), corrector di literhebrae (corrector of Hebrew letters), gitador de lettere da stampa (type founder), fontador di lettere (type founder), or Ruitador da lettere (perhaps a Venetian term for letter engraver?). It is not clear what particular trade these various terms indicate. The relevant printing craft or guild in seventeenth-century Venice was Fonditori (type founders). See Richard Tilden Rapp, Industry and economic decline in seventeenth-century Venice, Harvard historical monographs ; no. 69. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 173

286 This episode has been widely discussed, but the most comprehensive discussion can be found in Netanel, 'Maharan of Padua v. Giustiniani: the Sixteenth Century Origins of the Jewish Law of Copyright',

287 I am indebted to Hendrik Vervliet and Fred Smeijers for clarification of this point. For further discussion see Fred Smeijers, Counterpunch: Making type in the sixteenth century, designing type now (London: Hyphen Press, 1996). See page 188 of this thesis for discussion of this technique and its implications.
Another technique for casting pointed or accented characters involved the use of stepped punches. They are known in French as *accents postiches*, due to their resemblance to wigs or perruque\(^{288}\) and can be seen Fournier’s *Manuel Typographique*.\(^{289}\) Hendrik Van den Kerre and Robert Granjon both used them in four of the sets of punches they supplied to Christophe Plantin and which are held in the MPM in Antwerp.\(^{290}\) There are also stepped Hebrew punches in the Cabinet de Poinçons in Ivry, but they are probably nineteenth century ones.\(^{291}\)

Judging from the surviving punches in the MPM, Le Bé did not make use of this technique for his Hebrews, although stepped punches for Hebrew were found at least five of the sets of punches examined in the Athias Cabinet (Het Athiaskastje) in

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\(^{288}\) I am grateful to M. Christian Paput formerly of the Imprimerie Nationale in Paris for his information on this point.

\(^{289}\) Fournier and Carter, *Fournier on Typefounding*, pp. 84-85, Mosley, *A Dictionary of Punchcutters for Printing Types*. See also Plate IV, items 10 and 11 for illustrations.

\(^{290}\) From the MPM archives : ST11 (Reale Romaine, Hendrik van den Kerre, 1575), ST16 (Philosophie Romaine, Hendrik van den Kerre, c. 1578), and ST 49 (Jolie Grecque, Robert Granjon, cut to Plantin’s order of 1574-75).

\(^{291}\) There are four Hebrews listed in the Imprimerie Nationale’s *Inventaire* of 1903. Two are listed as having been cut by Aubert and two by Marcellin Le Grand. For further details on these punchcutters see Mosley, *A Dictionary of Punchcutters for Printing Types*, p. 2 and 37.
Amsterdam. These appear to be from the press of the Jewish Printer Joseph Athias (active in Amsterdam 1634/45 to 1700) and were preserved by his successors the Proops family and the printer Israel Levisson. Curiously there are examples of stepped punches for a set of punches for Rashi script, a character which normally is not set with accents. As the technique was clearly known to punchcutters in the sixteenth century, it is a question for speculation at this point as to why Le Bé did not make use of it.

Fig. 2.34: Stepped and normal Square Hebrew (hebreeuwsch vierkante Letter) punches from the Athias Cabinet (Drawer 5) (The University of Amsterdam Special Collections)

Fig. 2.35: Stepped and normal Rashi Script punches from the Athias Cabinet (Drawer 5). (The University of Amsterdam Special Collections)

Fig. 2.36: Diagram showing stepped punch with and without accent attached (From Fournier’s Manuel Typographique Plate IV, items 10 and 11)

Fig. 2.37: ST11 Reale Romaine by Hendrik van den Kerre showing lower case e stepped punch
Fig. 2.38: ST49 Jolie Grecque Granjon showing lower case character stepped punch with four accents

Fig. 2.39: Hb4 (S) as shown on the title page of Guillaume Postel’s *Candelabri typici in mosis tabernaculo isusu divino expressi brevis ac dilucida interpretatio*. Venice, 1548.
The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

Fig. 2.40: Hb4 (S) Assembled alphabet from NAF 4528 f. 2 enlarged to approx. 10 mm x-height

Fig. 2.41: Hb4 (S) Assembled alphabet from NAF 4528 f. 2 (Actual size)

The four characters in this font which differentiate it most strongly from Le Bé’s first Square Sephardic – HB1 (S) – are the aleph, the extended aleph (א), the final kapf (ך), the lamed, the ayin, final tsadde and the aleph/lamed ligature. Note the triangular termination ‘hook’ on the lamed and the aleph/lamed ligature, the straighter left hand stroke on the extended aleph (א), and the reduced angle on the aleph/lamed left hand stroke. Otherwise most of the characters follow much the same pattern in both founts. Hb4 (S) appears to have the standard dagesh points – the ‘begadkephat letters’ – and vowel points, although the text sample is not comprehensive enough to show all possible glyphs.

Fig. 2.42: Comparison of Hb 1 (S) and Hb4 (S)

Aleph: The termination to the left hand stroke has a distinct calligraphic flick.
Extended aleph: Similar to the aleph but with a more pronounced spike to the termination. The lower left stroke has a much more vertical stem than in Hb1(S).

Bet: The right hand termination to the baseline stroke has a 45 degree angle.

Gimmel: The termination to the vertical stroke protrudes below the baseline. The upper termination has a distinct narrowing before joining the vertical stroke, a clear calligraphic feature.

Dalet: The main differentiation between the dalet and the resh is the rounded juncture between the vertical and horizontal strokes. The right hand vertical stroke has a distinct angle to the right.

Heh: The right and left hand strokes have distinct angles to the right.

Extended Heh. The right hand stroke is much straighter than the letter heh.

Zayin: The horizontal stroke joins the vertical stroke in the middle. The vertical stroke has a distinct calligraphic swelling from top to bottom which helps to differentiate it from the vav.

Chet: This chet is quite close to the heh and the left hand stroke does not stand out as much.

Tet: The termination to the right hand stroke has a 45 degree angle and protrudes deeper into the counter of the letter.

Yod. This character displays a pronounced angle to the two strokes, and is very similar to the calligraphic examples which so influenced Le Bé.

Kapf: The baseline protrudes beyond the termination of the upper horizontal stroke. In smaller sizes it is not stand out enough from the bet.

Lamed: The termination to the ascender has a left facing flag which is more bracketed than in Hb1(S). The ascender has a distinct curve from the horizontal middle stroke.

Mem: The baseline stroke is slightly angled and almost touches the left hand stroke.

Nun: Another letter often taken for a Kapf in smaller sizes.

Final Nun: The vertical stroke has a distinct calligraphic swelling from top to bottom. The termination flag to the ascender points right.
Samekh: The baseline stroke curves upwards and narrows where it joins to the left-hand vertical stroke. The curved baseline and left hand vertical provides the main differentiation to the final mem.

Ayin: The descender has a distinct angle and protrudes beyond the main body of the character. The termination to the descender has a 45 degree angle.

Peh: The middle stroke is very similar to the left hand stroke of the aleph.

Final Peh: The middle stroke has a more distinct angle than the peh and the descender is more pointed than in Hb1(S).

Tsadde: The base stroke is flat and the termination flag to the right points right.

Resh: The main differentiation between the resh and the dalet is the curved joining between the vertical and horizontal strokes. The vertical stroke is nearly straight as opposed to the dalet vertical stroke.

Shin: The flag of the termination of the middle stroke points right. The middle stroke joins the baseline very close to the left hand vertical stroke. The flags of the left and right hand strokes point left. The baseline curves upwards and narrows where it joins the left hand stroke. This characteristic was maintained throughout Le Bé’s Square Sephardic Hebrews.

Aleph/Lamed Ligature: The vertical down stroke makes a more gradual turn to the right, where it joins the right hand shorter vertical. This is one of the key recognition factors to distinguish Hb4(S) from Hb1(S).

Hb4 (S) was found in the following printed editions during the search of primary material. Once again there is a concentration of use in Venice and then further use outside Italy later in the century.

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Candelabri typici in mosis tabernaculo isusu divino expressi brevis ac dilucida interpretation*, Guillaume Postel, Venice, 1548

- *Mishneh Torah*, Venice, Bragadin, 1550

- *Derech Emunah*, Padua, Pasquato, 1652

- *Sefer Meir Iyov*, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567

- *Shulhan Arukh*, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567,
• *Sefer Toledot Aharon*, Venice, Bragadin, 1591
• *Sefer Harukh*, Basel, Waldkirch, 1599?
• Mayr, *Institutiones Linguae Hebrewae*, Augsburg, Mangius, 1616?
Le Bé’s third type and his second rabbinical Gloss (script) appears in four places in the two documents.

The annotations on NAF 4528 folios 3: folio 14 of 1665 add to our knowledge about Le Bé, and also pose further unanswered questions. The various mentions of May, Maggio or Maz de Parense or Parenza indeed correctly refer to Meir di Parenzo, one of the two Parenzo brothers active as printers and publishers in Venice during the sixteenth century. The British Museum STC of Italian Books lists them as Me’ir ben Jacob (active between 1545 and 1574) and Asher ben Jacob (active between 1579 to 1596) and lists 16 titles attributed to Meir and 11 to Asher.

Amram states that ‘Meir Parenzo learned his craft in the shop of the prince of printers Daniel Bomberg, where he was associated with Cornelio Adelkind’ and also writes that Me’ir father, Rabbi Jacob ibn Parenzo, ‘was also a member of the craft’. Meir di Parenzo was associated with Marco Antonio Giustiniani, Alvise Bragadin, and Carlo Querini, all members of the Venetian patriciate. His link to Le Bé is clear and we may assume that Meir di Parenzo had some role in making connections to other Venetian printers for whom he worked. Jews were generally not able to function as printers on their own in Venice, yet Parenzo was able to circumvent these restrictions, as he did manage to publish at least four editions under his own imprint and printer’s mark (a Hanukiah or Candelabra). He was certainly a skilled printer, publisher and scholar in terms of Jewish texts.

Le Bé then mentions, and not for the last time, his legal dispute with Giustiniani. He calls it a grand procès which could indicate that large sums of money or at least an important principle was at stake. The assumption is that either the case arose due to Giustiniani’s use of this typeface in the 1546 Talmud and did not reimburse Le Bé appropriately. The clue may lie in the second comment, which tells us that Le Bé did not justify the matrices himself and did not produce a specimen with his name on it as a guarantee of his work. Whoever the ‘Allemant’ was, possibly a competitor engraver or typefounder, Le Bé lost control of his livelihood in this case, and saw no

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293 British Museum Dept. of Printed Books, A. F. Johnson, and Victor Schilderer, Short-title catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British museum ([S.l.]: British museum, 1958), pp. 906-907.
294 Amram, The makers of Hebrew books in Italy, pp. 367-371
295 N’ayant pas justifié ceste lettre pour la fonte, je n’en ay fait d’espreuve, partant mon nom au dessoubz comme aux precedentes, ains cecy est d’un feuillet d’un livre de laditte lettre fondu par un Allemand

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other option but a legal case. He may at this point have begun to produce type for other printers in Venice.\textsuperscript{296}

To date no legal document has yet been found in the Venetian archives to provide further details about this case.\textsuperscript{297} As Le Bé was technically a foreigner in Venice, it might be expected that the case would have come up before one of the special courts dealing with foreigners (Giudici al Forestier),\textsuperscript{298} and this generally was taken to mean non-Venetians. Given the complex nature of the Venetian legal system, it may be necessary to look in all types of civil and criminal cases for such evidence.\textsuperscript{299}

One possible document relating to Le Bé was found from the review of the Duca di Rivoli material in the Venetian State Archives.\textsuperscript{300} This was a tenancy agreement (Affitanza) dated 17 March 1547 and witnessed by one ‘Guielmi de Burgundis eduensis diocesis impressor liborum’ (William of Burgundy of the Diocese of Autun, a printer of books). The dates are certainly appropriate for Le Bé’s stay in Venice, but it is not clear why he would have described himself as a Burgundian, nor indeed as someone coming from the Diocese of Autun. Troyes would have been located in the Province of Sens, and not in Burgundy.\textsuperscript{301} The notarial entry (in Latin) does not appear to provide any additional information about this person.

The size mentioned in this annotation is described as \textit{coursive moyenne}. This is not the smallest of Le Bé’s rabbinicals, but it is clearly a useful size for commentary texts, as seen by the number of times it was used by sixteenth-century Italian printers of Hebraica. The x-height is equivalent to a 6pt Didot, a nonpareil or Minion in old English sizes, or to a nonpareille or Mignonne in old French sizes. The discrepancy in the dates on folio 14 of 1665 (i.e. 1546 and 1556) appears to be a simple error on the part of Le Bé, as it is not possible that he could have cut this type in Venice in 1556.

The text on folio 3 itself is an extract from the Mishnah, Tractate Avot, Chapter four, a commentary on the Mishnah by Ovadia of Bartenura, the fifteenth-century biblical Rabbi and commentator.\textsuperscript{302} This specimen is most likely from the Mishnayot printed

\textsuperscript{296} Amram also noted this reference to a court case but could add no more details. He wrote that ‘the reason for the suit is unknown and we can only guess at its cause’. Amram, \textit{The makers of Hebrew books in Italy}, p. 371
\textsuperscript{297} This researcher spent some three weeks in November 2011, sponsored by a grant from the Bibliographical Society of America, with the aim of exploring the Archivio di Stato and other Venetian archives for evidence of Le Bé’s period in Venice. No evidence of a court case involving him and Giustiniani was found during this research.
\textsuperscript{299} I am indebted to Dr. Renata Segre for her advice on this subject.
\textsuperscript{300} See page 27 of this thesis.
\textsuperscript{301} Prince d’ Essling, Victor, ‘Archivio di Stato di Venezia (“Archivietto”), Stampatori, Ricerca Duca di Rivoli’, (Venice: Archivio di Stato Venezia, 1901-1904) f. 72v
in Sabbioneta in 1559, yet the type is identical to the *Mishnayot mi-Seder Torhorot*, printed by Querini in Venice in 1548/49. 303

The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

![Fig. 2.43: Hb5 (R) Complete assembled alphabet: to approximate appearing size of 10mm](image)

![Fig. 2.44: Hb5 (R) Complete assembled alphabet: to actual appearing size of 1.50mm](image)

- **Aleph**: The upper ascender joins almost directly to the left vertical stroke.
- **Bet**: The vertical stroke has a swelling to the vertical stroke.
- **Gimmel**: The vertical stroke protrudes below the baseline stroke.
- **Dalet**: The sharply angled junction between the horizontal and vertical stroke articulates this letter against the character resh.
- **Vav**: The left facing termination flag defines this letter.
- **Zayin**: The right facing termination flag defines this letter.
- **Lamed**: The ascender is perpendicular and has a distinct cross stroke termination pointing left. The ascender stroke thickens towards the top.
- **Final Nun**: The termination flag faces left and is a clear difference to the Bomberg Rashi types.

303 British Library, Mishnayot : ... im perush ha-rav Rabenu Mosheh b.R. Maimon ye-im perush ha-rav Ovadyah mi-Bartenurah ...Sabbioneta, 1559. (1950.c.2-3). Mishnayot mi-seder Tohorot, Venice, 1548/59 (1950c1)
Samekh: The samekh and the shin are very similar in the actual appearing size. The upper horizontal stroke contrasts it to the angled unattached upper stroke in the shin.

Ayin: The base stroke protrudes beyond the left vertical stroke.

Final Tsadde None of the Specimens have an example of this character. This is from the colophon of Sefer Sha’arei Dura, Parenzo, Venice 1547. The ascender is probably damaged.

Resh: The curved junction between the upper horizontal stroke and the vertical strokes is the main defining feature as against the dalet.

Shin: The upper angled horizontal stroke defines the shin as against the Samekh.

Tav: Similar to Hb 2 (R) but without the thickened swell in the left vertical stroke.

Aleph/Lamed Ligature. Similar to HB1 (S) but with more of a curved base stroke.

Hb5 (R) was found in the following printed editions during the search of primary material. The earlier attributions (prior to 1546) may indicate a discrepancy in the dates given be Le Bé in his annotation.

- She’alot veTeshuvot, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545?
- Seder tefilot mi-kol ha-shanah, Venice, 1545
- Sha’ar bet H. he-hadash: ... Humash im Targum va-Hamesh megilot ve-Haftarot, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- Babylonian Talmud, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546/50
- Pesahim u-khetavim, Venice, 1546?
- Sefer HaKuzari, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- Sefer HaShorashim, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547
- Sefer HaShorashim, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547
- Sefer Sha’arei Dura, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- Mishnayot MiSeder Nashim, Venice, Querini, 1548
- Hilchot Shehita uVadekah, Venice, Daniel Adelkind, 1549
- Sefer Mishal HaKadmoni, Venice, Parenzo, 1550?
- Mishneh Torah, Venice, Bragadin, 1550
- Mishneh Torah, Venice, Giustiniani, 1550
- Hilkhot Shehita uVedikah, Venice, Adelkind, 1550
• *Sefer Orah Hayim*, Venice, Bragadin, 1563
• *Sefer Ruach Hen*, Cremona, Conti, 1566
• *Sefer Meir Iyov*, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
• *Shulchan Arukh*, Venice, Giovanni Grypho, 1567?
• *Sefer Kol-Bo*, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567?
• *Machzor*, Venice, di Cavalli, 1568?
• *Mishneh Torah*, Venice, Bragadin, 1574
• Koppelmann, *Sefer Misle Su’alim*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583
• Gerondi, *Sefer Chaje Olam*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1583
• Benjamin Tudela, *Masa’ot shel Rabi Binjamin*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni 1583?
• *Sefer Toledot Aharon*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1584
• *Bible/Pentateuch*, Venice, Bragadin, 1590
• *Sefer Toledot Aharon*, Venice, Bragadin, 1591
• *Sefer HaKuzari*, Venice, Di Gara, 1594
• *Yalkut HaTorah/Shimeoni*, Cracow, Prostitz, 1595
• *Shnem Asar Derashot*, Venice, Di Gara, 1596
• *Machzor* (Prayer book), Venice, Bragadin and di Gara, 1599
• *Sefer Harukh*, Basel, Waldkirch, 1599
• *She’elot u-Teshovot*, Hanau, Hans Jakob Henne, 1610
• *Arba’ah Turim*, Hanau, Hans Jakob Henne, 1610?
• *Sefer Mishle*, Hamburg, 1698?
Hb6 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folios 4 and 6; Rés X 1665, folios 11, 12 and 12v
Size: Petit Texte
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed
Measurements x-height of 2.1 mm; 10 lines = 42 mm
Date and place of creation: 1547/48 Venice Note: 1665/12/54 gives 1547 and 1558 as dates in Venice (His fourth numbered typeface)
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé for Meir di Parenzo and Carlo Querini
First occurrence: *Hilchot Shehita uVadekah*, Venice, Daniel Adelkind, 1549

NAF 4528 folio 4 contains specimens of three different Hebrew typefaces, of which the first is Hb6(S).304 This is an unpointed Square Sephardic and Le Bé notes in his annotation that he cut it for Meir di Parenzo, and he further adds that he cut two types 'soubz l’adveu du magnifique messer Carlo Quirini, en une maison, size au bout d’une ruelle regardant sur le quay de la Madona de l’Orto’. The word *adveu* in old French may also indicate under contract or agreement and thus probably means that Le Bé was paid by Querini for this work.305

On Rés X 1665, folio 12, which is identical to the first specimen, he makes a similar comment and confirms that the single word is also his design: ‘Ce petit texte et glose grosse en ce mot de petit canon sont de mes ouvrages, faitz a Venise, le texte et glose faitz pour Mazo de Parensa comme est cy devant dit, en l’an 1547, les 4e et 5e lettres de mes fassons’.

These notes are instructive in that they provide much detail about Le Bé’s contacts and activities in Venice. What these notes tell us is that by 1547 Le Bé had begun to produce types for Meir de Parenzo, possibly due to his dispute with Marco Antonio Giustiniani. It also tells us that he had begun an association with Carlo Querini about 1547.

The four relevant annotations differ in certain details, some of which are contradictory and others which add information to our knowledge about Le Bé. If one examines the first specimen, the first instance of the typeface (NAF 4528 folio 4) is not mentioned at all, whereas in the second (Rés X 1665, folio 12) Le Bé adds ‘et ce mot de petit canon’. 306 The dates from these two specimens concur in the date 1547. Clearly this specimen, containing his fourth, fifth and eighth typefaces, was produced no earlier than 1547. This specimen is an assembled text dealing with Halakhic rules of Kashrut and the salting of meat. 307 The closest model for the text found to date is the 1599 edition of R. Isaac ben Meir Dueren’s *Sha’are Dura*, printed by Konrad Waldkirch in Basle in 1599, which uses some of the same Le Bé typefaces. Although the earlier date of the Le Bé specimen and the fact that the first edition was published in Cracow in 1534, this means that it could be a setting taken from various different

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304 See page 411 of this thesis for the full specimen.
305 Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues*
306 See the complete folio on page 404 of this thesis.
307 The *Halacha* is the collective body of Jewish law and Kashrut is body of Jewish dietary laws.
elements.\textsuperscript{308} The final line. Le Bé’s signature, reads ‘BeVenetziah Gulielmo LeBay Tsarfati’.\textsuperscript{309}

It is curious that in all four examples of this typeface in the two documents there are no instances of pointed setting. This size, petit texte, would seem useful for biblical setting, which would require both vowels and cantillation marks, but the specimens are all of biblical commentaries such as a text on the rules of blessing on food (the Birkat HaMazon) on 4528 folio 6, and the Mishneh Torah on 1665 folio 12v. The specimen on 4528 folio 4 appears to be cast on a larger body than those in 1665 folios 11 and 12v, where the body size is slightly tighter (10 lines = 40 mm). This may be due to the need to save space and align the main text with the commentary in Rashi script in a complex Folio layout such as the Mishneh Torah. There is nonetheless evidence of some kerned characters, where for example the ascender of the lamed nearly overlaps with the descender of the ayin or final nun (ן). But this typeface appears to pose fewer issues of fit to a compositor than with a completely pointed setting. Le Bé’s skills as a punchcutter and his intuitive understanding of the complex requirements of Hebrew setting are what sets him apart from his contemporaries.

\textbf{Fig. 2.45: Hb6 (S) A detail from the 1550 Bragadin Mishneh Torah showing the alignment between the main text and side commentaries. Also note the situations where certain characters would be kerned. Actual size (BL 1918e1)}

\textsuperscript{308} See ‘Sha’arei Dura’ [http://www.virtualjudaica.com/Item/21804/Sha%27arei_Dura> [Accessed 05 October 2013]

\textsuperscript{309} In Venice by Guillaume Le Bé a Frenchman
The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

This typeface follows very much in the pattern of his first and second Square Sephardic Hebrews, and three distinctive elements can be noted: the termination stroke on the ascender of the lamed has a very pronounced oblique serif-like form.
pointing left, the middle stroke of the shin joins to left hand side stroke, and the termination to the ascender of the Aleph/Lamed Ligature is horizontal and is closer to a Roman serif.

Lamed

Shin

Aleph/Lamed Ligature

This typeface was found in the following editions dating from 1549 to 1599.

- *Hilchot Shehita uVadekah*, Venice, Daniel Adelkind, 1549
- *Hazeruni*, Cremona, Conti, 1559?
- *Sefer Orah Hayim* (Part of the *Arba’ah Turim*) Venice, Bragadin, 1563
- *Arba’ah Turim*, Venice, Giovanni Grypho, 1564
- *Yalkut haTorah*, Venice, 1566
- *Shulchan Arukh*, Venice, Giovanni Grypho, 1567
- *Mishneh Torah*, Bragadin, Venice, 1574
- *Sefer Kavanot HaAggadot*, Basel, Ambrosius Frobenius/Zifroni, 1580
- Koppelman, *Targum shel Chamesh Megilot*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1584?
- *Sefer Mikrae Kodesh*, Venice, Bragadin and Parenzo, 1586?
- *Sefer She’elot uTeshuvot*, Venice, Di Gara, 1586/7
- *Sefer Toledot Aharon*, Bragadin, Venice, 1591
- *Yalkut HaTorah*, Prostitz, Cracow, 1995/96?
- Hugh Broughton, *Epistolae variae et variarum lingurarum, de Byzantiacis hebraeis* ..., Waldkirch, Basel, 1599
- *Sefer Harukh*, Waldkirch, Basel, 1599
- *Psalmus Primus cum Commentarijs*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1612
Hb7 (R)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 4, Rés X 1665, folios 11, 12, 12v and 21v
Size: Grosse Glose
Type Classification: Rabbinical (Rashi) unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 2 mm; 20 lines = 89 mm
Date and place of creation: 1547 in Venice (his fifth numbered typeface)
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé for Meir di Parenzo
First occurrence: Mishneh Torah, Bragadin, Venice, 1550

This is Le Bé’s fifth typeface and his third Rabbinical in this document. It is virtually identical in appearing size and leading to Hb2(R), and yet different enough in its details to make it a distinct typeface, and one which we can clearly attribute to Le Bé. A comparison between the two typefaces at an enlarged appearing height is instructive:

![Fig. 2.49: Hb2 (R) (left) and Hb7 (R) (right) compared at 5 mm appearing size.](image)

The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

![Fig. 2.50: Hb7 (R) complete alphabet at actual appearing size of 2.00 mm](image)

Hb7 (R) is on the whole cut with a much more attention to detail, with a slightly larger ‘œil’ and a more ‘cursive’ feel. The particular differences in individual characters are as follows.

Aleph: The counter is larger and the right hand stroke not as close to the left hand vertical.

Bet: The base stroke is rounder and longer.

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310 Christian Paput defines Oeil as ‘la surface graphique de la lettre. See Paput, La lettre/La Gravure du Poinçon typographique p. 19. The term does not always correspond with the term x-height, as can be seen from the following definition: ‘Il s’agit traditionnellement de la hauteur de la lettre minuscule x. L’œil désigne également la hauteur des lettres bas de casse d’une police de caractères, sans les hampes ascendantes et descendantes. Certaines lettres bas de casse sans hampe ascendante ni descendante ne correspondent néanmoins pas tout à fait à cette hauteur d’œil. La hauteur d’œil peut varier considérablement d’une police de caractères à l’autre, pour un corps donné.’ I am using it here to indicate appearing size. See ‘Glossaire de termes typographiques’ (<http://www.adobe.com/fr/type/topics/glossary.html> [Accessed 03 July 2011]
Gimmel: The base line stroke is more swelled and joins higher up on the vertical stroke.

Final Kapf: The vertical down stroke has a decided angle to the right.

Lamed: The bowl of the lower stroke is more open and has a more right-angled join to the upstroke.

Nun: Shorter in extent and more semi-circular in shape than in Hb2(R).

Final nun: The termination of the descender is more pointed.

Samekh: The counter is larger and the down strokes more vertical.

Ayin: The terminations in the two vertical strokes are more rounded and point downwards.

Tsadde: The termination is longer and more angled.

Koph: The down stroke is straighter.

Tav: The left down stroke is longer and protrudes below the x-height.

The mention of Carlo Querini (or Quirini) in the annotation is the first mention of his name and one that needs some explanation. Given the prohibitions enacted by the Venetian Senate against Jews engaging in or printing or publishing books in Venice, Jewish printers such as Meir di Parenzo sought the protection of Christian patrons –
usually members of the Patrician class. The first notable prohibition was enacted in December 1571 and set out that ‘no Jew may work at the press or publish books under penalty of confiscation of the goods and payment of one hundred ducats. And those who have published under the name of Christians shall incur the same penalty and the printed books will be considered to belong to those in whose name they have been published’.\textsuperscript{311} There were in fact earlier prohibitions, which did not necessarily mention Jews, but the establishment of the guild of printers in January 1549 certainly would not have envisaged admitting Jews to its membership.\textsuperscript{312}

Carlo Querini does not appear to have had any prior connection with printing, and his reputation was more likely to have been gained in various wars or to have had some high position such as the Podestà di Murano (chief magistrate). And indeed the text surrounding Querini’s printer’s mark reads in Hebrew with typical Renaissance hyperbole, ‘he who sits in a golden chariot is Carlo Querini, who commands armies and is considered a hero’.\textsuperscript{313} There was in fact a Carlo Querini who was born in 1516 and died in 1567 and a member of the Delle Papozzi Branch of this family.\textsuperscript{314} It is not likely that he was a member of the branch of the Querini family which founded the Fondazione Querini Stampalia in Venice.\textsuperscript{315} The Chiesa Madonna dell’Orto and the quayside of the same name mentioned in the annotation is situated – Le Bé probably meant the present day Fondamenta Madonna dell’Orto – on the very north side of the Sestiere of Cannaregio, north of the Ghetto Nuovo. This is Le Bé’s second address in Venice.

The association of Meir di Parenzo and Carlo Querini produced some six imprints between the years 1547 and 1550, using Querini’s printer’s mark of an ornate framed mirror with three stars in the centre or Parenzo’s mark of a seven-branched Jewish menorah or candelabrum.\textsuperscript{316} This may have been the end of Parenzo’s association

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Brown, \textit{The Venetian Printing Press}, p. 106 The original text in Italian reads: non possa alcun hebreola vorar di stampa ne far stampare libri, et contrafacendo incorrino in pena di perder la robba et pagar ducati cento. Et quelli che facessero stampar sotto nome de Christiani incorrino nell istessa pena et li libri stampati si intendano esser et siano di colui in nome de chi fussero stati stampati.}
\footnote{I am indebted to Dr. Dorit Raines of the University Ca’ Foscarì in Venice for this information, via Dr. Professore Mario Infelise of the same of the same university. (Email communication March 2010)}
\footnote{Marco Barbaro, ‘\textit{Arbori de’ patritii Veneti}’, (Venice: Archivio di Stato, 1743), p. 320 (Vol. VI/No. 328)}
\footnote{I am grateful to the librarian of the Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Signora Cristina Celegon for this clarification.}
\footnote{‘Parenzo worked for some time as a typesetter and corrector at the press owned by Carlo Querini. During 1546-48 he worked on his own, publishing five works, and later an edition of the \textit{Mishnah} with Bertinoro’s commentary for Querini, although from about 1550 his main work was with Alvise Bragadin.’ See ‘Parenzo’ (<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejued_0002_0015_0_15420.html> [Accessed 03 July 2011])}
\end{footnotes}
with Querini, but not so for Le Bé, who dedicated two specimens to him from Paris in 1579 (NAF 4528 folios 11v and 2v).

![Image](image1.jpg)

Fig. 2.53: (Left) Printer's mark used on Meir di Parenzo's edition of Sefer HaKuzari, Venice, 1547 and (Right) Printer's mark used on the Meir di Parenzo/Carlo Querini edition of Mishnayot MeSeder Kodashim, Venice, 1549. Both Reduced 60 per cent (BL 1932d10 and 1950c1)

Despite the annotations by Le Bé regarding the origins of this typeface, it does not appear in the editions printed by Meir di Parenzo or Carlo Querini in the second half of the 1540s. The first occurrence found to date is in the two competing editions of the Mishneh Torah by Giustiniani and Bragadin in 1550. Why this should be so is a mystery, and it has to be admitted that our understanding of the working arrangements in Renaissance print shops are extremely vague, unless more original documents come to light which throw more light on them. Bernard Cooperman has studied four Hebrew editions printed in Rome in the 1540s by Samuel Tsarfati, who was in a partnership with the Roman printer Antonio Blado. Cooperman writes that ‘on the title pages and in the introductions to these books (produced by Marco Antonio Giustiniani) the Jews present themselves as merely carrying out the commissions of their patrons, but one suspects that such declarations were no more than pro forma efforts to satisfy the licensing authorities’. He adds: ‘these Jews, I suspect, were clearly entrepreneurs rather than employees’. Meir di Parenzo is a good example of this type of collaboration within the protection of a Christian

317 Cooperman, 'Organizing Knowledge for the Jewish market: An editor/printer in Sixteenth-century Rome', p. 27
patron, as well as a printer/publisher who was able to publish edition under his own name.

Given the difficulties that Jews had in obtaining ‘privilegi’ (approval to print) from the Venetian Senate, it is not surprising that no Hebrew publications appear in the lists of senatorial copyrights compiled by Horatio Brown for the period 1527 to 1555. This may explain why the names of Jewish printers do appear in the records of the Esecutori contra la Bestemmia, the Venetian body charged with overseeing heretics and supervising the publication of prohibited books. Many Jews did print ‘senza licenzia’ (without permission), knowing that once published they would escape with relatively minor penalties.

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Mishneh Torah*, Bragadin, Venice, 1550
- *Mishneh Torah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1550
- *Sefer Behinat Olam*, Ferrara, 1551
- *Sefer Likute shikheah u-feah*, Ferrara, 1556
- *Sefer Toledot Yitzhak*, Mantua, 1558?
- *Maharil*, Cremona, Conti, 1558?
- *Arba’ah Turim*, Giovanni Grypho, Venice, 1564
- *Shulhan Arukh*, Bragadin, Venice, 1565
- David ben Joseph Abudarham, *Leperush Tefilot HaShana*, Venice, Di Cavalli, 1566?
- *Shulhan Arukh*, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
- *Shulchan Arukh*, Venice, Giovanni Grypho, 1567
- *Sefer Haguda*, Prostitz, Cracow, 1571?
- *Sefer Neim Zemirot*, Prostitz, Cracow, 1576
- *Bible*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1573
- *Sefer Sha’arei Dimah*, Di Gara and Bragadin, Venice, 1586
- *Sefer She’eolot uTeshuvot*, Di Gara, Venice, 1586/7
- *Sefer Derash Mosheh*, Prostitz, Cracow, 1589
- *Mateh Mosheh*, Prostitz, Cracow, 1591?
- *Sefer Toledot Yitzhak*, Prostitz, Cracow, 1593?

318 Schedario di Horatio Brown, Privilegi veneziani per la stampa 1527 – 1597, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, IT. VII 2500-2502 (12077–12079) Bundles A and B
319 For example, in the records of the Esecutori contra la Bestemmia, Terminazioni 1542-1560, Busta 56, Archivio di Stato, Venezia. See also Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 195-257
• *Minhah BeLulah*, Francesco delle Donne, Verona, 1594
• *Yalkut HaTorah*, Prostitz, Cracow, 1595/96
• *Sefer Tana Divrei Eliahu*, Zanetti, Venice, 1598?
• *Sefer Tiferet Israel*, Zanetti, Venice, 1599
Hb8 (R)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 5
Size: Petite glose or Petite coursive
Type Classification: Rabbinical (Rashi) unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.1 mm
Date and place of creation: 1548 (his sixth numbered typeface) in Venice
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé for Meir di Parenzo
First occurrence: Sefer Ha Shorashim, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547

Le Bé’s commentary to this short specimen gives two names for this typeface, neither of which, Petite glose or Petite coursive, relates to any known type size. It is slightly larger in appearing size to Hb18 (R), which is 1.0 mm, and the same size as Hb 15 (S) which Vervliet lists in his Conspectus as Le Bé’s Mignon Hebrew (Heb. 1.1).320 This is thus the earliest attempt made by Le Bé to cut a small Hebrew in a size of Mignon (old English) or Mignonne (old French) and may have influenced Plantin in his request of 1569 to ask Le Bé ‘de la fayre la plus petite que je pourroye’. 321 The resulting typeface Hb 15 (S) which survives in the MPM is MA 83 Coronelle Hebrew, which in fact is the Dutch name for Minion and is equal to 6pt Didot. 322

No smaller Hebrew exists in Vervliet’s Conspectus and it would have been a mark of skill for a punchcutter to be able to engrave such a small typeface.

The location given in the annotation is off the Campo San Lio in the sestiere of Castello, the third address for Le Bé in Venice and is within easy walking distance of the Rialto. The monthly rent given is also of interest, and probably indicates that Le Bé was not particularly well paid for his type, if one takes into account that ‘a compositor might hope to earn 50 or 60 ducats a year’ and that he had to pay for materials such as steel for punches, copper for matrices etc.323 Le Bé’s three moves in Venice indicate that he was not operating a typefoundry, which would have required much heavier equipment such as some kind of furnace to produce the type metal or the punches and counter punches and that he was thus able to move about with the modicum of equipment – for example files, gravers, gauges, and smoke proofer – to produce his punches.324

The amount of equipment and space required for a fully operative typefoundry can be judged from the following details of the Enschedé typefoundry in Haarlem, from the 1768 catalogue. The detail on the left shows three casting ‘stations’, with three workers casting per furnace. The right hand detail shows the type of finishing

320 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 389
321 NAF 4528 folio 12 annotation.
322 Voet, The Golden Compasses, p. 56 (Vol 52)
323 Brian Richardson, Printing, writers, and readers in Renaissance Italy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 25
324 For images of an operating typefoundry see Plate II in Fournier on Typefounding or Plate I in l’Encyclopedie in the section of printing. For a description of the basic tools required to cut punches see Paput, La lettre/La Gravure du Poinçon typographique pp. 18-21. See also Appendix K with Harry Carter’s more recent list of typefounder’s tools.
operations such as rubbing, dressing and kerning as described by Moxon. In addition, the dangers from fires due to furnaces were a continual risk in Venice, as can be seen in the compulsory removal of all the glass furnaces to the island of Murano in the thirteenth century.

The phrase used by Le Bé ‘taillé et gravé’ in the annotation raises the question once again if Le Bé intended a different action in these two words. In Fournier’s Manuel Typographique both terms are used as in ‘l’art de graver les caractères’ or graver des poinçons, ‘tailler sur une lame d’acier deux pointes distantes de la largeur juste’, or ‘tailler avec la lime les figures marquées ci-après’. These are the terms Le Bé uses most of the time and it is fair to assume that he was indicating two distinct processes.

The text itself has the heading ‘Rabbi Eliezer said’, which could refer to the first century Biblical commentator Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, but the following lines are similar to the specimen in NAF 4528 folio 9v, which is from the Mishnah, Tractate Avot, Chapter Heh (6). The penultimate line is a series of random letters, mainly to demonstrate the final kapf (ך), peh and Tsadde. The final line reads BeVenetzia Gulielmo LeBay Tsarfati (In Venice Guillaume Le Bé Frenchman).
The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

Le Bé’s rabbinical typefaces, as previously mentioned, are very difficult to attribute absolutely, given the distortion of ink squash and the small number of characters to compare in many printed editions. The earliest likely use of this typeface is with Giustiniani in 1547, and a very possible use for superscript references in the *Mishneh Torah* of 1550. It does not appear in any of the Parenzo editions examined for the relevant period.

- *Sefer Ha Shorashim*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547
- *Mishneh Torah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1550
- *Sefer Tana Deverei Eliahu*, Venice, Zanetti, 1598?
Hb9 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 6, Rés X 1665, folios 14, 17v and 18
Size: Texte du Talmuth
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 3.1 mm
Date of creation: 1549 in Venice (his seventh numbered typeface)
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé for Meir di Parenzo
First Appearance: Mishneh Torah, Bragadin, Venice, 1550

The specimen in which this typeface appears is from an edition printed in Venice in 1563 entitled Sefer Orah Hayim, by Jacob ben Asher, a thirteenth century Ashkenazic codifier and Biblical commentator, and this work is a commentary on the ritual laws relating to the daily prayers, the Sabbath, and holy days. This edition was printed by Alvise Bragadin, who used Arabic page numeration in addition to the Hebrew ‘numbers’. The text on this page is a discussion of the Laws of the Birkat Mazon or the laws relating to the blessings and prayers recited before eating. The actual page consists of two specimens pasted down in the document, with the main body from Sefer Orah Hayim and a smaller bit containing the words Migdal Oz – a commentary on Maimonides by the thirteenth century Spanish Talmudist and cabalist Shem-Tov ben Avraham ibn Gaon. The relevant words are underlined in red, presumably by Le Bé to show which letters he had cut.

In his annotation Le Bé tells us that this typeface was cut for Meir di Parenzo, which implies that di Parenzo was associated in some way with Bragadin at this time, whether as an editor, printer or compositor. It also tells us that Le Bé did not obtain a proof with his name set into the text, his usual practice, and that he obtained this specimen long after his return to Paris in 1550. It thus gives indirect evidence of his continuing contacts with Italy, which is seen in the dedications to Carlo Querini in the type specimens on folios 11v and 12v of NAF 4521. He also tells us that the type was cut ‘en maditte chambre’, which presumably was his third residence in Venice near to the Campo S. Lio.

The final comment in the annotation concerns Le Bé’s six month stay of in Rome during the Papal Jubilee of 1550 and is the only mention of this event in his annotations. It is mentioned once again in the Le Bé Memorandum, where Guillaume II Le Bé writes of this father that ‘apres cela fut à Rome à la Solennité de lan 1550 soubz le pape Iules, ce que ayant veu et assisté ...’ Le Bé tells us that he stayed with the printer Antonio Blado, ‘imprimeur de la Chambre Apostolique’.

330 This type of pagination was also used by Giustiniani, for example in his Sefer Orah Hayim, printed in 1550. (BL 1920d7 and 8)
332 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, p. 21
Antonio Blado was active as a printer and publisher, mainly in Rome, from 1516 to his death in 1567. He was named printer to the Apostolic Chamber (Camera Apostolica) from 1535, and this privilege was passed on to his son Paolo. His total number of publications is thought to exceed 3000, and these cover a wide range of texts, Greek, classical, patristic, and Italian literature, in addition to his work for the Vatican printing edicts and proclamations. He also printed various editions of the classic sixteenth-century calligraphic specimen books of Ugo da Carpi, Giovanni Battista Palatino and Giovanni Francesco Cresci. His Hebrew editions are limited to the years 1545 to 1547, and seven are known. Blado’s name is listed in at least some of these editions as a partner (Shutaf in Hebrew) together with Isaac de Lattes and Benjamin d’Arignano. It thus seems that Blado supplied printing services and ‘his name on the title page was certainly there at least in part to legitimize a legally problematic endeavor’.  

The dates of Blado’s Hebrew editions and Le Bé’s stay in Rome suggest more of a business relationship than is hinted at in Le Bé’s annotation. The Papal Jubilee opened in February 1550 and would have lasted until ‘the Christmas Eve of the current year’. A visit to this event as a purely religious tourist would not have required a stay of six months, whereas this might have been sufficient time to complete a Hebrew font. This is a working hypothesis, as Le Bé makes no mention of any typefaces cut for Blado, nor do the lists of Blado’s output show any obvious Hebrew works where they might have been used. It is possible that Blado could have had in mind Roman font, just as Le Bé had previously supplied to...

336 Fred Smeijers has estimated that two months would be required to engrave a complete Roman font at the rate of four punches per day. See Smeijers, *Counterpunch*, p. 124. This appears to fit with the time given by Henri du Tour le jeune to Plantin in 1576 for the compleye work involved in the making of a font. He wrote: ‘Il y fault 3. mois a la taille, 2. sepmaines a la justification, 2. sepmaines aux moulles et aultre preparation d’acher et de cuyvre qui font 4. mois. Avec la besoigne qui se pourroit entremesler cependant, vous ne pouvez prendre moins de un demy an. Et il coustera bien 150. fl. devant que pourrez penser a la fonte, ou la environ’. See Christoffel Plantin, Jean Denuice, and Max Rooses, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin. Publiée par M Rooses, Jan Denucé*, [Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen. Uitgaven. no. 12, 15, 26, 29 -34, etc.]Antwerpen; Gent, (1883), pp. 119-120 (Vol. V)  
337 See Domenico Bernoni, *Dei Torresani, Blado e Ragazzoni: celebri stampatori a Venezia e Roma nel XV e XVI secolo, cogli elenchi annotati delle rispettive edizioni* (Farnborough: [Germany Printed], 1968) and Emanuele Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio et al., *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado Asolano ed eredi, 1516-1593, possedute dalla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele di Roma ... Compilato da Giuseppe Fumagalli ... e Giacomo Belli, etc.* (fasc. 3. Compilato da Emerenziana Vaccaro-Sofia.) fasc. pp. 311. Roma, (1891, 1942)
Lorenzo Turentin (Lorenzo Torentino) in Florence and to Tomaso Jontha (Giunti) in Venice in the years 1546 and 1547, when he was still in Venice.338

A further suggestion of the links between Venice and Rome is contained in the correspondence between Cornelio Adel Kind in Venice and the humanist scholar Andreas Masius in Rome in May 1547. Adel Kind writes about ‘mei padroni bombergi’ and mentions ‘uno ebreo amico deli bombergeri e mio in particulare che a nome biniamin de iosef de arimanio e qual M. gulielmo lo cogniosce bene’. The ‘iosef de arimanio’ is most certainly the Benjamin d’Arignano mentioned earlier as involved with Antonio Blado in the printing of the *Sefer Igeret HaKodesh* in Rome in 1546, and the M. gulielmo refers to the Hebraist and scholar Guillaume Postel. 339 From these personal connections one can easily see how Le Bé might have been recommended by Adel Kind to Blado as a craftsman useful to his press and publications. His trip to Rome, whatever its purpose, does not appear to have brought any long-lasting benefits.

Le Bé’s annotation also provides further circumstantial evidence as to his working practices. He appears to have provided strikes or justified matrices to Meir di Parenzo, who then had them cast after Le Bé had departed for Rome. As we have no record of Le Bé returning to Venice, he most probably left behind his working materials, whether they were punches or matrices. The first appearance in the Bragadin *Mishneh Torah* of 1550 would confirm this point.

Fig. 2.58: Hb9 (S) Specimens from NAF 4528 folio 6 (actual size)

338 See NAF 4528, annotation on f.. 20
The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

Fig. 2.59: Hb9 (S) assembled alphabet enlarged to 10 mm (additional characters taken from the Mishneh Torah, Bragadin, Venice, 1550)

Fig. 2.60: Hb9 (S) assembled alphabet at actual size of 3.1 mm

Fig. 2.61: Hb9 (S) from the Mishneh Torah, Bragadin, Venice, 1550 (BL 1918e3)

The name Le Bé gives to this typeface, Texte du Talmuth, is the same as given to Hb1 (S), yet has less to do with size than with style of character. Given the few occurrences of this typeface that were found and its relative large appearing size, it appears to have been intended for headings and display setting, not for running text. It falls between Vervliet’s No. Hb2.5 (Great Primer) and Hb4 (two Line Pica), and thus would probably be Gros Romain in size according to the old French sizes.

- Mishneh Torah, Venice Bragadin, 1550
- Sefer Orah Hayim, Venice Bragadin, 1563
Hb10 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folios 4 and 7; Rés X 1665, folios 3 and 12
Size: Grosse lettre and Petit Canon
Type Classification: Sephardic Square Hebrew Unpointed and pointed
Measurements x-height of 4 mm; 20:177mm (on BL ORB 30/17); 10:88 (on NAF 4528 f. 7)
Date and place of creation: 1548/49 (his eighth numbered typeface)
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé in Venice
First occurrence: Mishneh Torah, Venice, Giustiniani, 1550

This typeface, Hb10(S), appears in four instances in the two documents, twice in the same specimen in NAF 4528 folio 4 and Rés X 1665, folio 12, and twice in a different specimen in NAF 4528 folio 7 and Rés X 1665, folio 3. The first specimen contains only three characters bet, shin and resh (ך), and is used solely in a heading to a text. The second specimen contains a much longer text, but is not complete in terms of showing all the characters in the typeface.

The four relevant annotations differ in certain details, some of which are inconsistent and others which add information to our knowledge about Le Bé. If one examines the first specimen, the first instance of the fount (NAF 4528 folio 4) is not mentioned at all, whereas in the second (Rés X 1665, folio 12) Le Bé adds ‘et ce mot de petit canon’. The dates from these two specimens concur in 1547. Clearly this specimen, containing his fourth, fifth and eighth founts, was produced no earlier than 1547. This first specimen is a text dealing with Halakhic rules of Kashrut and the salting of meat and is most probably from the Mishneh Torah, although it also could be a setting taken from various different elements.340

The mention of the size, Petit Canon, is the first instance where Le Bé uses what is a recognizable old French size. This is equivalent to two line English, or 26.5 points in Didot points.341 Fertel lists this size as being equivalent to two body sizes of Saint Augustin, and lists it as the sixth largest out of 19 body sizes.342 The 20 line count from Bragadin and di Gara’s Machzor (Prayer book) of 1599 places it within the next size down, Palestine, which demonstrates the difficulty in attributing absolute sizes for this period. The equivalent sized in millimetres given by Bauer (10.526 mm) is in fact very close to the body size from the second specimen.

The second specimen is a text composed of various verses from Proverbs 16 and 22, and not in any particular order. The heading reads ‘Yehi HaMelekh’ which translates as ‘Long live the King’. The penultimate and final lines once again reads BeVeneziah Gulielmo LeBay Tsarfati/ In Venice Guillaume Le Bé Frenchman. On Rés X 1665 f. 3: Le Bé notes ‘Ceste grosse lettre de ma fasson, faicte a Venise, en l’an 1548, sur

340 See the glossary for more detailed description.
341 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 52
342 Martin Dominique Fertel, La science pratique de l'imprimerie. Contenant des instructions très-faciles pour se perfectionner dans cet art. On y trouvera une description de toutes les pièces dont une presse est construite ... avec une méthode ... pour imposer toutes sortes d'impositions, etc (Saint Omer, 1723), p. 2
l’eschantillon de ma precedente, taillé pour moy; et celui a qui je laissay mesdits poinsons en garde en a fait des frappes et tout mange, ayant vendue et poinsons et matrice a ung Allemant ainsi que de Dansi [Dantzig?] m’ont mandé’. On NAF 4528 F. 7: he notes ‘Ceste lettre est une lettre nommée en l’imprimerie petit canon, taillé a Venise pour moy, en l’an 1548 et 49, et justifié quant et quant les lettres de Mazo, et a esté cy taillé avant la precedente du texte d’un Talmuth pour ledit Mazo’.344

The first comment, ‘sur l’eschantillon de ma precedente’ most likely means that it based on Hb26 (S) from the previous numbered folio, which Le Bé says came from Constantinople, and is in fact very close in detail and size to Hb10 (S). This comment gives us some idea of Le Bé’s modus operandi, in that he also used specimens from other types as models for his own. The continuation of the comment relates that he had left the punches for this typeface with an unscrupulous individual, who promptly produced strikes, having stolen (mangé) everything, and then sold the matrices and punches to a German possibly from Dantzig. In the annotation on NAF 4528, folio 7, Le Bé makes no mention of this mishap, and only relates that they were justified according to the characters of Mazo (Meir di Parenzo). It is difficult to reconcile these two accounts, as this typeface does not appear to have been used by Meir di Parenzo in any of the editions accredited to him. It does underscore the problems Le Bé had in keeping control over his type, particularly early in his career. It also points to the very international nature of printing in Venice in the sixteenth century, where printers of many nationalities were attracted to work there, such as Daniel Bomberg from Antwerp or the printer Pietro Lichtenstein and heirs from Cologne.345

Notwithstanding these comments, the first recorded use of this typeface found in this sampling appears in Giustiniani’s Mishneh Torah in 1550.

343 This large character of my making, cut in Venice in the year 1548, based on my previous [character?], and cut for me. And the person to whom I left my punches in safe keeping made of them matrices and stole everything, having sold both punches and matrices to a German from Dantzig [?] which were sent to me [?].

344 This character is called small canon by printers and was cut in Venice by me in the years 1548 and 1549 and justified according to [?] the characters of Meir di Parenzo, and was cut before the previous text for the Talmud for the same Meir di Parenzo.

345 See Fernanda Ascarelli and Marco Menato, La tipografia del ’500 in Italia (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), pp. 332-333, 357-358
The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

Fig. 2.62: Hb10 (S) Complete assembled alphabet to enlarged x-height of size of 10 mm. From Le Bé specimen and Machzor (Prayer book), Bragadin and di Gara, Venice, 1599.

Gimmel: The junction of the vertical and lower horizontal stroke at the base is very pronounced and follows closely the model of the gimmel in Hb25 (S) and Hb26 (S).

Lamed: The termination to the ascender is similar to Hb6 (S) and is angled at 45 degrees with a serif-like stroke.

Aleph/Lamed Ligature: The termination to the ascender is similar to lamed, but more delicate.

Extended characters: The specimen (4528 f. 7 for example), only shows the extended heh, but there are more available in printed examples. These may have been added at a later stage, but a still bear the mark of Le Bé’s hand.

Fig. 2.63: Hb10 (S) Complete assembled alphabet at actual size of 4 mm x-height. From Le Bé specimen and Machzor (Prayer book), Bragadin and di Gara, Venice, 1599
Punctuation. The double lozenge ‘sof pasuq’ (end of verse) appears in the specimen (4528, f. 7 for example), but the raised dot appears in later editions.

Fig. 2.64: Hb 10 (S) Specimen from Bragadin and Di Gara’s Machzor, Venice, 1599 (BL ORB 30/171)

This typeface appears to have been used very widely, throughout the sixteenth century in Venice and elsewhere in Italy. It was a useful size for both headings and large display type settings, such as used in prayer books. It also had a pointed version. It was used in Basle by the printer/publisher Konrad Waldkirch, who obtained them from Ambrosius Froben. Froben had persuaded the Jewish printer Israel Zifroni to come to Basle from Italy, where he had worked for Vincenzo Conti in Cremona. Harry Carter wrote with some certainty that ‘the types of Talmud, Square and Rashi, are those cut in Venice in 1545-50 by Guillaume Le Bé for Giustiniani, the finest of the Hebrew faces’ and it seems quite certain that the conduit for their arrival in Basle was Zifroni. He was apparently able to cast type as well.

This same typeface was also found in the editions of Aharon Prostitz in Cracow, yet the route of the transmission is not so clear. It has been claimed that Prostitz bought these typefaces via Giorgi di Cavalli and Giovanni Grypho in Venice, when they

closed their press in 1568, but there are no documents to date to support this claim. 348

This typeface also appears to have found its way to the Frankfurt region in Germany. It was used for occasional Hebrew words in a work of the English Hebraist Hugh Broughton in which the main English commentary is most probably Garamont’s Great Primer Italic, with curious composition characteristics, such as the alternate use of a special sort of the letter ‘w’ or the use of two ‘u’s to compose the letter ‘w’. 349 So as to fit the Hebrew into the commentary text, the ascenders and descenders on some of the characters were trimmed off, for example on the Lamed and the ayin. Daniel Averi or Aubry was the son of Johann (or Jean) Aubry, who together with Claude de Marne were partners with André Wechel in his re-established Frankfurt press. Both appear to have been French Calvinists and found the more Lutheran atmosphere in Frankfurt oppressive, and moved to the more welcoming atmosphere of the new town of Hanau (Neustadt Hanau), near Frankfurt am Main.350

There was also a Typographia Orientalis active there from 1609 to 1630, and later from 1707 to 1714. The Christian printer Hans Jakub Henne was active in this press until his death in 1613. The inventory of the stock of this press from September 1611 does not list any Hebrews by name, but does mention ‘Allerley Schriften’ (additional types) and ‘Quadrata’, which could mean square Hebrews or spacing. Yet the inventory does list several ‘Garamond antiqua and cursiff’ (Roman and Italic), which is most probably an indication of size and not origin, as well as five ‘Graecum’ types (Greek), including one ‘Garamond graecum’.351 As several Le Bé Hebrews were found in the editions examined from the Hanau press, the trail of acquisition must surely point back to either sales at the Frankfurt Book Fair or possibly to types brought from France by the French Protestant emigrés.352

The Specimen Characterum of Johann Berner in Frankfurt am Main of 1622 shows this Le Bé Hebrew without an attribution.

348 Bernhard Friedberg, Toldot ha-defus ha-Ivri be-Polanyah: me-reshit hivasdo bi-shenat 294 ve-hitpathauto ve ad zemanenu (History of Hebrew Typography in Poland) (Tel-Aviv, 1950), p. 5, Heller, 'Ambrosius Froben, Israel Zifroni and Hebrew Printing in Freiburg im Breisgau',
349 I am grateful to Hendrik Vervliet for his assistance in identifying this typeface. See Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 318
351 Könnecke, Hessisches Buchdruckerbuch, pp. 139-141
352 Könnecke, Hessisches Buchdruckerbuch, pp. 139-141
Fig. 2.65: Hb10 (S) Portion of specimen from Johann Berner’s Specimen Characterum, Frankfurt am Main, 1622
(From Type Specimen Facsimiles 1, 1963)

Fig. 2.66: Hb10 (S) Specimen from Hugh Broughton, Daniel with a Brief Explanation, Daniel Averi, Hanau, 1607,
Actual size (BL 1003.b.9.(I.)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- Mishneh Torah, Venice, Giustiniani, 1550
- Benjamin of Tudela, Masa’ot shel Rabbi Benyamin, Ferrara, Usque, 1555?
- Maharil, Cremona, Conti, 1558?
- Sefer Arba’ah Turim, Cremona, Conti, 1558
- Arba’ah Turim Cremona, Conti, 1558
- Joseph Caro, Sefer Toldot Yitzhak, Riva di Trento, Cardinal Christoforo Madrucci and Jacob Marcaria, 1558
- Sefer Shevile Emunah, Riva di Trento, Jacob Marcaria, 1559
- Sefer Hovat HaLevanot, Mantua, 1559
- Hazeruni, Cremona, Conti, 1559
- Shirer Musar HaSekhel, Rufinelli, Mantua, 1560
- Goren Nakhon, Riva di Trento, 1562
- Sefer Tanhuma, Mantua Rufinelli, 1563
- Arba’ah Turim, Venice, Giovanni Grypho, 1564
- Sefer Ruach Hen, Cremona, Conti, 1566
- Ben Joseph, Isaac, Amudei Golah (Semak), Cremona, Vincenzo Conti, 1556
- Rabenu Bahye, Venice, di Cavalli, 1566
- David ben Joseph Abudarham, Leperush Tefilot HaShana, Venice, Di Cavalli, 1566
- Shulchan Arukh, Venice, Giovanni Grypho, 1567
- Sefer Meir Iyov, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
• Shulhan Arukh, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
• Sefer Kol-Bo, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567?
• Shulhan Arukh, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
• Machzor, Venice, di Cavalli, 1568
• Sefer Haguda, Cracow, Prostitz, 1571?
• Mishneh Torah, Venice, Bragadin, 1574
• Sefer Kavanot HaAggadot, Basle, Ambrosius Frobenius/Zifroni, 1580
• Génébrard and Halaphta, Hoc est chronologia Hebraeorum maior, Basle, Ambrosius Froben, 1580
• Yosé ben Halaphta, Seder ‘Olom rabba: Seder ‘Olom zuta, Basle, Ambrosius Frobenius, 1580
• Eliezer Ashkenazi, Ma’asei Hashem, Venice, Di Gara, 1583
• Koppelmann, Sefer Misle Su’alim, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583
• Gerondi, Sefer Chaje Olam, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1583
• Benjamin Tudela, Masa’ot shel Rabi Binjamin, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583?
• Koppelmann, Ohel Ja’akov, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583/84
• Sefer Toledot Aharon, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1584
• Koppelman, Targum shel Chamesh Megilot, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1584
• Tsemach David, Venice, Ioannis de Gara, 1586
• Sefer Sha’arei Dimah, Venice, Di Gara and Bragadin, 1586
• Sefer She’elot uTeshuvot, Venice, Di Gara, 1586/7
• Sefer Derash Mosheh, Cracow, Prostitz, 1589?
• Sefer Tana Devevi Eleyahu, Venice, Zanetti, 1598
• Siddur, Basle, Waldkirch, c. 1598
• Robert Bellarmine, Institutiones linguae Hebraicae, Antwerp, Vidua & Moretus, 1596?
• Machzor, Venice, Bragadin and di Gara, 1599
• Sefer Toledot Aharon, Venice, Bragadin, 1591
• Shnem Asar Derashot, Venice, Di Gara, 1596
• Pentateuch, Venice, Bragadin and di Gara, 1597
• Sefer Diurevi Shelomo, Venice, Zanetti, 1598
- *Pithu Sha’arim/Sha’arei Dura*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1599
- *Sefer Harukh*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1599
- *Sefer Tiferet Israel*, Venice, Zanetti, 1599
- *Sefer Lashon HaZahav*, Venice, Zanetti, 1599
- Hugh Broughton, *Epistolae variae et variarum linguarum, de Byzantiacis hebraeis ...*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1599
- *Sefer Urim ve Tumin*, Zanetti, Venice, 1603?
- Hugh Broughton, *Daniel with a Brief Explanation*, Hanau Daniel Averi, 1607?
- *Hagadah shel Pesach*, Venice, Israel ben Daniel Zifroni, 1606
- *She’elot u-Teshivot*, Hanau, Hans Jakob Henne, 1610?
- *Arba’ah Turim*, Hanau, Hans Jakob Henne, 1610?
- *Hamishah Humshe Torah*, Hanau, Hans Jakob Henne, 1610?
- Mayr, *Institutiones Linguae Hebraicae*, Augsburg, 1616?
- Johann Berner, *Specimen Characterum seu Typorum Probatisseorum*, Frankfurt am Main, 1622
- *Mnemoneuma Historicum Montrans*, Vindshemiae (Bad Windsheim), Typis Christophori Redelhameri, 1685?
- *Talmud*, Berlin and Frankfurt an der Oder, 1715-1739?
Chapter 3: Le Bé’s types from his Paris period

An important object of this thesis has been to situate Le Bé in the historical context of his time, to find out as much as possible about the man himself, his family, his business connections, his financial and social standing, and how he might have stood in relation the major religious issue of his day: Catholicism versus the reformed Protestant (Calvinist) Church. Guillaume I Le Bé lived the entirety of his life in the sixteenth century, and most of his adult life was active as a punchcutter and paper merchant in Paris during the period known as the French Wars of Religion, which began in 1562 and only terminated in 1598, the year of his death. He would no doubt have experienced at first hand the events leading up and culminating in the horrific St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in August 1572. He mentions these wars once in his annotations in a passing reference to the ‘Troubles’.353

The effect of the ‘troubles’ on the booksellers and publishers in Paris has been summarised as ‘une époque qui avait vu la ruine à peu près totale de l’édition Parisienne’. As a supplier of both paper and type to many of the major printers in the Quartier de l’Université in Paris, Le Bé would no doubt have seen the effect of this ‘ruine’ in his business and this is reflected in the annotations and the number of his typefaces created during the most trying periods of the Wars of Religion. It would fall to his son, Guillaume II, to exploit the material accumulated by his father and make the Le Bé foundry into ‘l’une des plus grandes fonderies d’Europe’. 354

There are in fact quite a few extant documents attesting to Le Bé’s life, his business dealings and connections, his social standing and family matters.355 Most of these documents date from around the period Le Bé returned to Paris from his stay in Venice, and attest to his growing social position and wealth. Already in 1548, while he was still in Venice, his father had acquired a house in the Paris suburb of Gentilly from the paper merchant Claude Duboys, as result of some unspecified financial dealings at the annual Champagne fair in Brie in 1543.356 Further acquisitions of property in Gentilly were made in 1551 and 1569. This was quite a common practice, where property or land (terres agricoles) was purchased with the view of renting it out for income.357

Not long after his return to Paris, in March 1551, Guillaume I Le Bé married Loyse Lambert. She was, according to the notarial document, the daughter of Nicole Lambert, a barbier chirugien juré, thus probably someone of similar social status to

353 N.A.F. 4528, f. 9
355 See Appendix E, p. 498 for a full listing of known documents.
356 Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres, p. 154. Gentilly is located just to the south of the present day Cité Universitaire in the 13th and 14th arrondissements, which would have been a short journey from Le Bé’s residences in Paris.
357 Florine Stankiewicz, ‘Répertoire de l’imprimeur Michel Le Noir - L’EAD au service du livre ancien’, Université de Lyon, 2009), p. 36
the Le Bé family in Troyes, who were ‘papetiers jurés’. The dowry (la dot) paid by the bride’s family was 1000 livres tournois, and part of this sum was destined to provide clothes and jewellery for the wedding dress in ‘an honest way’ according to her station. Le Bé or his family put down a dowry (douaire) of 400 livres tournois, whose purpose was to support the wife in the case of the death of the husband. It is worth noting several other details of this marriage contract. The ceremony was clearly a Catholic and not a Protestant rite (‘… sera de brief faict et solempnisé en face de Ste eglise’); the bridegroom is named as ‘Guillaume Le Bé le jeune’ (the younger) and his father as ‘Guillaume lebé l’aisne (the elder), marchand papetier demeurant a Troyes en Champagne’, and the address for Guillaume Le Bé le jeun is given as ‘rue St Jehan de Beauvais a Paris’. This mention clearly links Guillaume I Le Bé to his father, who, as previously noted, was probably the fourth in the Le Bé family to bear this Christian name.

The witnesses to this marriage were Jacques Kerver, Oudin Petit, Thiellemant Kerver, and Jehan de Roigny, all marchans libraires, in addition to several other witnesses who were apparently friends of the bride’s father. The Kervers are well documented in the history of Parisian booksellers, and Oudin Petit is known to have been an active Protestant who was murdered in the Saint-Barthélemy massacre of 1572. This point is important for assessing Le Bé’s religious allegiances and his more tolerant attitude to members of the reformed church. As a comparison, the Parisian printer and bookseller Nicolas Chesneau was firmly committed to the Catholic cause, and not only in the editions he published. In November 1562 he took an active part in the defence of the city gates and recorded that he ‘was forced on the spot to wield weapons instead of books, and with the citizens of this town, I did my duty in defending the gates, while a skirmish with the enemies of the Church of God was taking place outside the city walls, at Notre-Dame-des-Champs’. He also referred to the Protestant troops who pursued him at one point as ‘those who preach nothing in France but an armed gospel, a gun-blazing Christ, all blackened with smoke’.

Whatever were the true religious allegiances of Guillaume I Le Bé, these attitudes had hardened by the time of his son Guillaume II Le Bé. Guillaume II apparently

358 Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, ET/LXXIII/17
359 sur laquelle somme ledit futur espoux sera tenu habiller et enjoyaullier dhabillemens nuptiaulx ladite Loyse Lambert honnestement selon son estat.
360 Jacques Lelièvre, La pratique des contrats de mariage chez les notaires au Châtelet de Paris de 1769 à 1804 (Paris: Cujas, 1959) Le douaire, soit coutumier soit préfix, est un terme de droit ancien désignant la portion de biens que le mari réserve à son épouse dans le cas où celle-ci lui survivrait. La bénéficiaire est dite douairière. Le douaire est un élément fondamental du droit des gens mariés sous l’Ancien Régime.
362 I am grateful to Geneviève Guilleminot of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for clarifications on this particular document.
refused to publish works by ‘heretics’ such as the Protestant scholar Isaac Casaubon, 
as was noted by Casaubon in a letter to Thomas Erpenius in 1611.364

Annie Parent has examined in some detail the marriages of marchand libraires in 
Paris during the sixteenth century. The sums involved in the Le Bé marriage contract 
are not the highest recorded – over 10,000 livres tournois in one case, but it is 
certainly well above the mean and thus situates Le Bé in a higher level of the Parisian 
bourgeoisie of the period. Annie Parent comments that this shows ‘l’extrême 
concentration des familles, une dizaine tout au plus, qui se partagent les grandes 
fortunes dans le monde du livre parisien’.365

The next important document to relating to Le Bé’s social and professional status is 
dated some fifteen days after the marriage contract, that is to say the 15th March 
1552 and records the purchase of ‘deux maisons contiguës, rue Saint-Jean-de 
Beauvais l’une faisant le coin de la rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran’ for the price of 3,050 
livres tournois’.366 It is possible that this document is a formalisation of an earlier 
agreed sale, for Le Bé’s address on the earlier marriage contract is given as ‘rue St 
Jehan de Beauvais’. In 1561 Le Bé purchased ‘la moitié divisée dune maison, droictz, 
aisances et apartenances dicelle, comme elle se poursuit et comporte, assise a Paris 
Rue de Beauvais, faisant le coing de ladite rue et de la rue St Jehan de Latran... dont 
lautre moitié apartenoit audit deffunct Guillaume Lebé par la succession de feu son 
père’.367

A further document cited in the 1598 Inventaire après décès, and dated to January 
1572, relates that Le Bé purchased ‘une maison, petite cour et apartenances, en 
lquelle pend pour enseigne "la Grosse Escriptoire" assise a Paris en la rue St Jehan de 
Latran et ladite vente avoit esté faicte aux charges et moienant le pris et some de 
dix huict cens livres tz’.368 This property was sold by ‘Guillaume le Cirier son frere 
escuier369 gentilhomme servant ordinaire de Monseigneur le duc d’Allancon’ who is 
mentioned in the 1552 contract, and it is possible that there were parts of the 
property that still were not owned by Le Bé. Yet, certainly by 1572, Le Bé appears to 
have owned the entirety of this property. The rue Saint-Jean-de Beauvais was known 
earlier as the Clos Bruneau, and is labelled as such on some earlier maps.370

The Parisian printing and bookselling community in the sixteenth century was 
concentrated in a compact area, grouped around the rue St. Jacques, in what is now 
the fifth Arrondisement of Paris. The reason for this concentration was the proximity

364 Isaac Casaubon and Theodoor Jansson van Almeloveen, Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ (Roterodami: 
Typis Casparis Fritsch et Michaelis Böhm, 1709), pp. 375-376 as cited in Grafton and Weinberg, "I 
have always loved the holy tongue" p. 301
365 Parent, Les métiers du livre à Paris au XVIe siècle (1535-1560), pp. 193-194
366 Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres, p. 154 
(Archives Nationales S.1652, F. 22 verso, 3ième série)
367 Guillaume Le Bé, Inventaire apres deces, 14 juillet 1598, f: 21
368 Guillaume Le Bé, Inventaire apres deces, 14 juillet 1598, f: 23
369 le plus bas et premier degre de noblesse (Jean Nicot: Le Thresor de la langue francoyse - 1606)
370 Adolphe Berty, Topographie historique du Vieux Paris. Région centrale de l’Université ... Extrait 
du Grand Plan d’Adolphe Berty (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), pp. 91-102
to the University of Paris, which put booksellers, printers and publishers ‘en contact perpétuel avec la population des écoliers, d’étudiants de tous pays, de professeurs et de savants que les si nombreux collèges attiraient et retenaient dans le quartier de l’Université, centre intellectuel de Paris’. The other obvious reason for what Renouard describes as being ‘agglomérées les unes auprès les autres’, was the need to have all the relevant book production trades at close hand to each other, such as book sellers, printers, type founders, book binders and paper merchants. 371 And indeed it can be said that Le Bé lived in a very small and interconnected world, from his apprenticeship with Robert Estienne in the rue des Carmes until his death in 1598. Renouard’s detailed listing of the printers and booksellers, street by street, shows, for example, that there were over 130 printers in the rue Saint-Jacques alone, and over 30 in the rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran.372 Thus one can assume close relationships, both professional and personal amongst this community.

The following historical maps present a more visual representation of this part of sixteenth-century Paris. The first is a detail from what is known as the Plan de Bâle, and was produced in about 1550 by Germain Hoyau and Olivier Truschet. It shows dwellings, although it is difficult to say how accurately they are drawn, as for example the site where the Maison de la Grosse Escriptoire should be located looks to be unbuilt on this map.373 The second plan is from the Lenoir Plan archéologique de Paris: feuille XIV (université) of 1888 which shows the University area, and the Maison de la Grosse Escriptoire which is clearly marked. Renouard cautions that ‘presque toutes les notes qui leur (les libraires et les imprimeurs) sont consacrées sont en désaccord complet avec ce que nous avons enoncés sur leur compte’.374 The final map is from Renouard and shows the area of the University, the colleges, churches and city walls of the sixteenth century, and its relation to the Île de la Cité.375

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372 Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres*, pp. 408-417
374 Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d’imprimerie*, pp. xiv-xv
375 Ibid., pp. 384-385
Fig. 3.1: Plan de Bâle, c. 1550 by Germain Hoyau and Olivier Truschet. La Grosse Escriptoire marked in red circle and book trade areas marked in yellow
Fig. 3.2: Albert Lenoir, Plan archéologique de Paris: feuille XIV (Cartes et Plans - GE D- 6958 Bibliothèque nationale de France) Maison de la Grosse Escriptoire marked in red circle.
Fig. 3.3: Renouard, Plan Partiel des Quartiers de l'Université, 1898. Location of the Maison de la Grosse Escripitoire marked in red circle
Returning to our survey of documents relevant to Le Bé’s life, perhaps the most illuminating of all is the *Inventaire après décès*, dated the 14th July 1598, which is worth a closer examination and analysis. It provides an enormous amount of information as to Le Bé’s household and life style.

An *Inventaire après décès* was in essence a detailed listing of all the contents of the deceased’s house or business premises, compiled with the purpose of the division of the inheritance amongst the inheritors, starting from the lower to upper parts of the house. These inventories tended to follow a fairly standard form, with a preamble listing the parties who had requested the inventory and the name, address and occupation of the deceased, and finally the names of the notaries, assessors and specialist assessors if they were required. A complete listing of the contents, room by room, then followed, each item or group given an assessment either in écus or in livres, sols and deniers which was the theoretical ‘monnaie de compte’. The rate was fixed at three livres to the écu in the 1560s.

The inventory would then describe in an abbreviated form, any documents which were found in the possession of the deceased and could have an impact on any monies owed to the inheritors. In certain cases, as for example in the inventory of the Le Bé foundry in 1685, the inventory was preserved with the main inventory. Sadly none of the listed documents were preserved in this inventory of 1598, apparently on the express wishes of the inheritors.

A word is appropriate here on the function of the will or testament. They appear to have been much less common than *inventaires après décès*. According to Pierre Chaunu, wills represent only 1.5 to 2 per cent of the total number of notarized acts. There does not appear to have been a will for Guillaume I Le Bé, which is a pity, as it might have given more details on his religious affiliations. The will of his mentor Claude Garamont dated the 23rd September 1561, which has survived, gives clear indications in its details that he had Protestant sympathies and gives no details of the contents of his foundry. He did appoint the bookseller and printer André Wechel as one of his executors, a person who is who mentioned directly by Le Bé and who

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377 The *inventaire après décès* allows us to date Le Bé’s death to sometime in the middle of June 1598: ‘Lequel seroit decedé depuis ung mois en ca, ayant survescu ladite defuncte Loise Lambert par longue espace de temps, sans avoir faict aucun inventere’.
379 I am grateful to Rémi Jimenes, doctorant en histoire du livre au Centre d’études supérieures de la Renaissance Tours for his clarification of this issue.
was forced to flee Paris for Frankfurt in 1572 due to his Protestant beliefs. The inventory of the Garamont foundry was drawn up after Garamont’s death on the 18 November 1561 by Le Bé and Jean le Sueur, another fondeur de caractères. This inventory does not appear to have survived, but it came into the possession of the type founder Jean-Pierre Fournier, l’ainé, in the eighteenth century as he mentions it his letter to the Mercure de France, in May 1756.382

Guillaume I Le Bé’s Inventaire après décès is a document of 30 pages which follows the standard form, with a preamble, a detailed listing and assessment of items found and a list of documents relating to Le Bé, mainly monies owed to him.383 It was compiled by the Parisian notaries Jehan (Jean) Luson and Nicolas Le Noir, at the request of Le Bé’s children: his son Guillaume (II), his daughter Madeleine, her husband Claude Andrenas, and his daughter Marie Le Bé.384 The preamble to the inventory informs us that, at the time of death, Guillaume Le Bé was widowed and that his wife Loyse Lambert, whom he had married in March 1571, had died sometime before 1583, the last mention of her in a known document. It also tells us also that his daughter Madeleine had married Claude Andrenas, who was a ‘marchant mercier, grossier, jouaillier a Paris’, from what appears to be a strongly Catholic family if one is to judge from the donation of a relic of St. Benoit to the Abbey of Saint-Germain in Paris in 1657.385 Once again, this is a sign of Le Bé’s at least outward show of Catholic orthodoxy.

The Inventaire après décès gives a picture of what must have been a very typical bourgeois household for the Paris of that period.386 It describes what was probably a two-story dwelling (referred to as a hostel)387 with a cellar (une cave), kitchen (une cuisine), a small antechamber or dining room (une sallette), a bedroom in which Le Bé had died, another bed chamber, a small wardrobe (une garderobbe), an additional bedroom, and a loft room (un grenier). The location of the foundry is not mentioned in this list, but would most probably have been on the ground floor with access to the street. The inventory lists a sizeable wardrobe of both male and female clothes (les habitz) in a variety of fabrics, some obviously of great worth such as silk, velour and satin. There is also a detailed listing of household linen (le linge). At least

382 I am indebted to James Mosley for his unpublished handlist of documents relating to the Le Bé foundry. See also Fournier and André, Lettres polémiques sur la typographie
383 Archives Nationales Minutier Central ET/LVX/161. I am grateful to FranceGenWeb and PaléoFGW for their assistance in transcribing this very problematic document from the point of view of the notarial hand of the period.
384 See Appendix F, p. 520 for the full text.
386 The term ‘Bourgeois’ meant more specifically un home vivant de ses rentes’ (someone living off their income). Here we are using the term to describe a social class largely composed of theses sorts of individuals and their families. See Martin, Livre, pouvoirs et société, p. 46.
five paintings are mentioned, all of them obviously religious in nature (‘la Nativité de Notre Seigneur, le Presche St Jehan Baptiste, Notre Seigneur en croix, l’Anonciation Notre Dame’), but one listed as ‘une carte de toile ou est depeincte la ville de Troye’. These prints may have been similar in theme and style to the wood engraving which Le Bé sold in the 1580s. There is also a mention of several bookcases and a quantity of 170 books, not itemised. This was thus a household of a high level of literacy, whatever the actual subject matter of the books. There was also a small quantity of jewellery, including ‘un chappellet garny de sa croix et perle’, which is obviously a Rosary, a sure sign of a Catholic household.

It should be noted that, in addition to the Le Bé and his wife, his three children and possibly their spouses living in the house, there was also a servant mentioned in the inventory, Guillemette Chauvet (‘servante dudit defunct qui a tousjours demeuré en ladite maison’). One must also add apprentices or élèves at various times, of whom Jacques I de Sanlecque was possibly one, as well as other associates. For example, a notarial contract dated the 8th April 1564 names the Genevan printer Jehan Anastaze as having nominated his residence ‘en la maison de Sire Guillaume Le Bé demeurant St Jehan de Beauvais’. There could thus have been up to eight people living in the La Grosse Escripertoire at any one time. The overall impression is one of ‘l’entassement (crowding) de la population. Certains logent dans les greniers, ailleurs, un ménage et cinq enfants dans une seule pièce. Et cet entassement est encore aggravé par des véritables accumulations de mobilier’.

The assessors then proceeded to assess the furnishing found in ‘une maison sise au village de Jantilly lez Paris’, which is most certainly the property already mentioned in one of the earlier documents.

This inventory does not contain, as was sometimes the case, a summing-up of the total estimate, but the total estimate of the household furniture, utensils, clothes, bed

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388 See Georges Wildenstein, 'Le Goût pour la Peinture dans la bourgeoisie Parisienne entre 1550 et 1610’, Gazette des Beaux-Arts (1962) for a more detailed discussion of the type of paintings common to early modern Parisian households. The Le Bé inventory is briefly mentioned.


391 Archives Nationales, ET/LXXIII/58 (J. Anastaze, demeurant chez Guillaume Le Bé, rue Saint Jean de Beauvais, ...bourgeois de Genève, à cause de Jeanne Estienne sa femme, vend à Robert (II) Estienne... le 1/5 de l’imprimerie, matrices, caractères, presses, figures, moules... déclarés en l’inventaire dont la délivrance a été obtenue de Vascosan, par arrêt de la cour, ... moyennant le prix auquel elle a été estimée il y a huit jours par Oudin Petit et Charles Périer, Guillaume Le Bé et J. Le Sueur...)

392 Couperie and Jurgens, ‘Le logement à Paris au XVIe et XVIIe siècles’, p. 494

393 See for example the summary at the end of the 1768 Fournier Inventory, ET/LXIV/400
linen and jewellery amounts to 541 escus (écus) and 1182 solz (sous), or the equivalent of over 1600 Livres Tournois.\footnote{I am grateful to my colleague Rémi Jimenes for his clarification of the currencies in use in France in the sixteenth century. In effect there were two parallel monetary system in uses: l’écu which was usually a gold coin produced in a Royal mint, which had varying values depending on the period and the rate of the metal used. Then there was the pounds (une livre) which was a theoretical ‘monnaie de compte’, which was commonly used and was divided into 20 sols (solz) and 240 deniers, but was not an actual physical coinage. At this period one escu probably was equal to three livres.}

How does this figure compare to other inventories for similar levels of Parisian society? The Huguenot notary Antoine Léal left an inventory dated 13 January 1573, which assessed the furnishings, lien, jewellery, and cash in hand at 988 Livres Tournois. The commentary on this inventory is that it describes ‘un ménage qui répond bien plus à l’établissement bourgeois qu’on entendrait d’un notaire parisien’.\footnote{Cited in Barbara B. Diefendorf, ‘Les divisions religieuses dans les familles parisiennes avant la Saint-Barthélémy’, Histoire, économie et société, 7 (1988), p. 66} Yet another comparison can be seen in the Le Noir dynasty of Parisian printers. Three successive generations are known: the first Michel (died c. 1528); the second Philipe (to c. 1550), and the third Guillaume (active to c. 1560). Their wealth allowed them to enter into the ranks of the ‘notabilité parisienne’. They made numerous property purchases around the rue Saint-Jacques and outside Paris - a property in Gentilly is also noted. This is a pattern similar to what one sees with the documents in the Guillaume I Le Bé inventory.\footnote{Stankiewicz, ‘Répertoire de l’imprimeur Michel Le Noir - L’EAD au service du livre ancien’ Les acquisitions immobilières de la famille sont le second aspect à aborder ici. Elles sont à la fois conséquence de ses succès professionnels et condition de son nouveau statut de notabilité parisienne. En effet, en étendant progressivement son assise foncière, en multipliant les initiatives pour en améliorer la gestion, la famille accède peu à peu au statut de notabilité locale.’ (p. 34)} We also see this pattern going back much earlier, indeed to the mid-thirteenth century, about the time that the Université de Paris was beginning to take shape. The will of the bookseller (\textit{venditor liborum Parisius}) Emery d’Orléans made in Lyons in July 1246 makes it clear that he ‘made a profitable career as a provider of books, to students and especially to masters, his business growing apace with the university’. He also ‘had amassed an impressive amount of property around Paris’, for example a farm (\textit{grangia}) which he owned in Ville l’Evêque in the present-day eighth Arrondissement of Paris and another property outside the Porte St. Victor. The total value of his estate is not known, but it is of interest that he was able to amass a reasonable financial capital and property even in this early period of the Parisian book trade.

Emery d’Orléans will have made part of his fortune from the sale of Pecia and the development of this system is closely linked to the growth of universities and the growing the growing demand for cheap texts for students.\footnote{Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, \textit{Manuscripts and their makers: commercial book producers in medieval Paris, 1200-1500} (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), pp. 36–39. See also Graham Pollard, 'The pecia system in the medieval universities', in \textit{Medieval scribes, manuscripts & libraries: essays presented to N.R. Ker}, ed. by N. R. Ker, M. B. Parkes, and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978)} It was a progression
from the more costly production of individual manuscripts and was in effect the forerunner of the development of a commercial book trade. Relative costs are known for the scribal trade in England for the period 1300 to 1483, which was characterised by an acceleration in production methods and increased output of codices.\textsuperscript{398}

The final section of the inventory is perhaps the most interesting part for what it reveals about Le Bé. Some 33 documents are listed and described, some which have already been discussed regarding property bought by Guillaume Le Bé (the father), or by Guillaume I Le Bé. There is also a number of documents, variously entitled contract or contrat, cellule (a bill or IOU), and brevet (a type of receipt) The IOU records sums of money owed to Guillaume Le Bé by other booksellers and printers, namely Jean Richet, Adrian le Roy, Jean Corbon, Charles Perier, Denis Duval, Mamert Patisson, Estienne Prevost, Denis Binet, Guillaume Anuray, Pierre Fieffe, Pierre Luillier,\textsuperscript{399} Leger Delas, Arnoul Cottrier and Philosoph Dupin. Most of these descriptions merely record the date and sum of money owed, so we do not know whether Le Bé supplied paper, type or printed books to these individuals. Yet in the case of the sentence des juges – a more formal court order – dated the 20th February 1591, it records that Mamert Patisson, merchant bookseller was ordered to pay a total of 27 écus and ten sous to Le Bé for a fount of type.\textsuperscript{400} The printer Mamert Patisson is of particular interest due to his connection with Robert II Estienne, for Patisson married the widow of Robert II Estienne in 1574 and thus came into the possession of Estienne’s house and workshop.\textsuperscript{401}

The most intriguing mentions of all are to be found on page 29: an appraisal of all the books by Jehan (Jean) Carbon, an appraisal of all the paper (marchandise de pappier) by Lois Ron and four sheets of paper containing an inventory of the ‘matrices, moules, poinçons et autres ustancilles servans a la fonte de lettres dimprimeries’ by Jacques Duclos and Jacques de Sanlecque, dated 20 July 1598.\textsuperscript{402} The note at the end of this item indicates that both Guillaume II Le Bé and Claude Andrenas (his brother-in-law) were satisfied to have this documents described and not attached to the actual inventory. This is indeed a great pity, for a record of the Le Bé foundry and what it comprised on the death of Guillaume I Le Bé would have been an important historical record in its own right. This inventory does not appear to have been conserved at the Archives nationales in Paris.

\textsuperscript{399} Pierre Luillier (L’Huillier) most probably purchased matrices from Le Bé, as his edition of Gilbert Génébrard’s De S. Trinitate of 1569 makes use of Hb11(S) within the text.
\textsuperscript{400} Item, une sentence des juges et consulz de ceeste ville de Paris, en datte du vingtiesme jour de fevrier mil Vc iiiixx xi (1591), signée L......, contenant Mamert Patisson marchant libraire a Paris avoir esté condampné paier audit defunct Lebe la somme de deux cens vingt ung escus six solz contenu en sa ceddulle du xxixeme (29) juin mil Vc iiiixx cinq (1585) et vingt sept escus dix solz pour vente de fonte dimprimerie et avoir esté condampné es despens, taxé a seze solz.
\textsuperscript{401} Michaud, Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne p. 129 (Tome 133)
\textsuperscript{402} See Appendix E, page 512 for the full text.
No less an authority than Stanley Morison was of the firm opinion that this inventory formed the basis of the inventory inserted into the 1730 Deed of Sale by which Jean Pierre Fournier (the elder or l’aîné) purchased the Le Bé foundry from the Le Bé sisters. Morison wrote: ‘this, therefore, seems to be our ultimate source: that is to say, the c. 1598 inventory, which was copied after the death of Le Bé II sometime after 1643, and again after the death of Le Bé III in 1685. Next it was copied when Jean Pierre Fournier became principal of the foundry in 1730. Thus the inventory of 1730 is, in reality, the inventory of ca. 1598.’

The three inventories mentioned on this page – books, paper and press – are clear proof that Le Bé was active in all of these areas of business. In addition there is also evidence that Le Bé acted as a publisher of more popular items. He is known to have issued at least eight series of albums of wood engravings with titles such as ‘Les trente-six figures contenant tous les jeux qui se peurent (sic) jamais inventer et representer par les enfants’ (in 1587), ‘Les Apôtres’ (c. 1585), ‘Fleurs dans les Vases, Costumes de Souverains’ (c. 1585), ‘Costumes exotiques’ (c. 1585), and ‘La Chasse’ (c. 1580). Some of these, held in the Cabinet des Estampes in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, carry the caption at the bottom ‘A Paris, Chez Guillaume le Bé, rue sainct Jean de Beauvais, pres le puits certain’. These consist of rather crudely executed wood engravings showing an image and a few lines of verse in French, with a variety of subjects, such as dignitaries (‘L’Empereur or Le Roy de France’), or trades (‘Serrurier’), religious figures (‘Sainct Pierre’), or even domestic scenes (‘comme s’appaisent les petits enfans’). These are not in the style of the popular Renaissance Emblemata Sacra images, but are most probably in the style of l’art populaire parisien and are dated to about 1580. They may even been produced for children. In the following generation in 1644, however, Guillaume II Le Bé printed Philippe Desprez’ Théâtre des Animaux, which does follow the tradition of emblems and spiritual images. This edition was entirely in French and not in Latin, and was described in the title page as ‘enrichy de belles Sentences tirées de l’Escriture Saincte, & orné de Figures, pour ceux qui ayment la Peinture’.

This type of publishing continued into subsequent generations. There is, for example, an edition of Jean Cousin’s La vraye science de la pourtraicture descrite et demontrée printed in 1671, which again gives the address as ‘ruë Sainct Iehan de

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403 Fournier and Morison, L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé, p. 12
404 locksmith
405 Bnf, Réserve EA-79-4
406 Adhémar, Bibliothèque nationale, and Linzeler, Inventaire du fonds français. Gravures du seizième siècle, pp. 355-357. Adhémar comments that ‘Papillon appelle Le Bé le plus habile graveur et fondeur de caracters de son siècle, but adds that ‘les quelques pieces signées par lui n’ont rien cependant qui justifie cet enthusiasme ; ce sont des copies assez ordinaires gravées sur bois avec une saveur populaire. Signalons qu’il a acheté des bois gravés par Jean Leclerc II, et les a edités en y mettant sa marque. See also Anciens jeux: a Propos d’un livre rare Intitulé, Le Magasin Pittoresque, XV (1847) for examples of the wood engravings of children’s games.
407 Philippe Desprez, Le théâtre des animaux, aauquel sous diverses fables et histoires est représenté la plupart des actions de la vie humaine (Paris : chez Guillaume Le Bé, 1644) BnF RES- YE- 879
Beauvais, pres le puits certain’. 408 This would have been Guillaume III Le Bé and what is of interest here are the use of the Garamont italics and romans in the introduction and descriptions, as well as the specimens of initial letters, which show part of the rich typographic holdings of the Le Bé foundry inherited from Guillaume I Le Bé. Yet a further example of this type of production is a folio edition entitled Figures des Histoires de la Saincte Bible published in 1643, 1660 and 1666, with the wood engravings by the engraver Jean Le Clerc – most probably Jean II Le Clerc. 409 The 1666 edition is of interest once again for the use of the two line Granjon double pica italic, the Colines Roman titling on two line English, the Granjon parangon italic, amongst several others. 410

Fig. 3.4: Wood engraving from Costumes exotiques, published by Guillaume I Le Bé in 1585 (BnF - Receuil de Gravures sur bois Ea 79 rés., F. 017522) Note the impressum and address for Le Bé at the bottom.

408 Jean Cousin, La vraye science de la pourtraicture descrite et demontrée (Paris: Guillaume Le Bé, 1671) Wellcome Library Closed stores EPB Suppl. C 60120/C
409 For a listing of the various members of the Le Clerc dynasty of engravers see Adhémar, Bibliothèque nationale, and Linzeler, Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du seizième siècle, pp. 359-367
410 BL 561*e40. For further discussion on this edition see Howe, ’The Le Bé Family’, pp. 18-19
There is one aspect of Le Bé’s activities which has a particular relevance to his typographic output and which requires further clarification and discussion: his types for the printing of music.

Guillaume I Le Bé was also known to his contemporaries as a punchcutter of music types and indeed NAF 4528 shows several specimens of his types. Folio 21v of NAF 4528 shows a printed sheet of what Le Bé calls a musique grosse and which was cut in 1555 for Adrien Le Roy and Robert I Ballard, who were named as ‘imprimeurs du Roy en musique’. Folios 22v and 23v-24 also show specimens of the same type. Folios 24v, 25, 26 and 26v show examples of a grosse tablature d’espinette, dated sometime in the 1550s, and a ‘petite tablature d’espinette sur la moyenne musique’ dated 1559, also for Adrien Le Roy and Robert I Ballard. The musique grosse is a five stave Mensural Roman Notation and the tablature is a five stave Virginal Tablature – most probably a double impression.

Le Bé’s name is particularly linked with that of Robert I Ballard (active from 1550 to 1588) and his associate, Adrien Le Roy (active 1551–1589?). Lepreux maintains that Le Roy was an ‘excellent musicien, fort habile joueur de luth et de guitar, compositeur de musique et chanteur de la Chapelle du Roi’, and that he was responsible for finding works to publish, whereas his brother-in-law dealt with the printing and typography and commercial aspects of the business. 411 Adrien Le Roy

411 Georges Lepreux, Gallia typographica: ou, Répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l’imprimerie jusqu’à la révolution, Série Parisienne

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was indeed Robert I Ballard’s brother-in-law, having married his sister, but his name disappeared from the Ballard music editions after his death. The Ballard name continued for at least six generations until the mid-eighteenth century, from father to son with a relentless regularity, and the Ballard family had almost a virtual monopoly to print works of music, the first one having been granted by Henri II in 1552. The line of succession – and their periods of activity – ran from Robert I Ballard, to Pierre Ballard (1603 to 1639), to Robert II Ballard (1640 to 1679), to Christophe Ballard (1666 to 1715), to Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard (1694 to 1750), to Christophe-Jean-François Ballard (1741 to 1765), and finally to Pierre-Robert-Christophe (from 1767 to 1788).412

An earlier reference had Guillaume I Le Bé related by marriage to Ballard, whose wife was named as Lucrèce Le Bé, who took over the management of the Ballard-Le Roy music printing business after the death of Robert I Ballard in 1588. It is more likely that this was a mistaken identification for her real name - Lucrèce Le Dugué.413 Where and when this error was introduced is not clear, but certainly Edmond Werdet places a Lucrèce Le Bé in his list of members of the Le Bé family in his Histoire du Livre en France and later Henri-Jean Martin describes Pierre II Ballard as a ‘cousin de Le Bé’, without citing any supporting documents.414 Yet it is clear that Guillaume I Le Bé and Robert Ballard were closely linked at least by location. The Ballard Leroy imprints give the address first as ‘a l’image Sainte-Geneviève, rue Saint-Jean de Beauvais’, which is probably the same house as ‘à l’enseigne du Mont Parnasse’ in the same street. This was within view of the Le Bé house, the ‘Grosse Escripertoire’, and one can assume that the two families were in close contact. 415 The Ballard family not only printed and sold music by other music publishers, but had their own foundry, ‘de sorte que ce dernier (Pierre II Ballard) pouvait se contenter dans ce domaine des notes nécessaires à l’impression des livres d’Eglise’.416 The Inventaire après décès de Jean-Baptiste Christophe Ballard compiled in 1750 lists some 2,200 editions from the period 1530 to 1746, only some of which were issued by the Ballard


416 Martin, Livre, pouvoirs et société, p. 364
family. The inventory lists some 30 editions for the period 1551 to 1598 (Adrian Le Roy and Robert I Ballard), and some 120 editions for the period 1599 to 1639, during which one would expect to find the more intensive use of the Le Bé music types. 417

The first description of the Le Bé music types appeared in 1766 in a small publication written by ‘MM. Gando, père et fils’. 418 This was the punchcutter and typefounder Nicolas Gando (c. 1700 -1767) and his son Pierre-François Gando (1733-1800), also a punchcutter and typefounder, and was a riposte to the earlier publication of 1760 by Pierre-Simon Fournier 419 (1712-1768) which had denigrated both Gando father and son (‘qui ne sont graveurs ni l’un ni l’autre, mais seulement Fondateurs’) and accused them of plagiarism (‘double plagiat de leur part’). Fournier did confirm that ‘Guillaume le Bé, Graveur, Fondateur & Imprimeur, grava plusieurs Caractères de Musique & de la Tablature de Luth, in 1544 et 1545’. He added that ‘ce caractères étoient faits pour être imprimés à deux fois, d’abord les filets, ensuite les notes, par rentrées les uns sur les autres. Ceste sorte de Caractères de Musique n’a pas eu d’autres succès; elle a été abandonnée comme sujette à trop d’inconvénients’. 420

Fournier also mentions a legal case brought by Robert II Ballard against Guillaume II Le Bé and Jacques de Sanlecque father and son (père et fils) in February 1640 to prevent them from printing music and thus breaking the monopoly long held by the Ballard family. In a further paragraph, Fournier attributes the core of the Ballard music types to Le Bé (‘Guillaume le Bé, fils de celui qui avoit fourni plusieurs Caractères de Musique qui formoient le fonds dudit Ballard’). As we know from the various polemical letters published earlier in the Mercure de France and the Journal des Sçavans, it is more than likely that Fournier was speaking from actual documentary evidence, as well as being the owner of the remains of the Fonderie Le Bé, which had passed into the possession by Jean-Pierre Fournier (Fournier l’Aîné).

The Gando publication confirms the Fournier text, but also adds some technical information as to how the characters were to be printed: ‘Le Bé a gravé quelques caractères de musique pour Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, pour être imprimés à une seule fois, & il n’a gravé que les poinçons d’une grosse musique; & une tablature de luth pour être imprimée à deux fois’. Gando also explains the relative scarcity of printed examples of these types: ‘Ses matrices, à la vérité, ne paroissent pas avoir beaucoup servi; elles ont été conservées chez M. Ballard’. The table at the end of the text shows five specimens (A, B, C, D and E), of which specimen A is attributed to Guillaume I Le Bé (Grosse Musique pour être imprimée à deux fois), and

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418 Nicolas Gando and Pierre François Gando, Observations sur le traité historique et critique de M. Fournier le Jeune (Berne and Paris: Chez Moreau, Libraire-Imprimeur, 1762)
419 Also known as Simon-Pierre Fournier
420 Pierre-Simon (le Jeune) Fournier, Traité historique et critique sur l’Origine et le progres des caractères de fonte pour l’impression de la musique (Paris et Berne: Chez Barbou, 1765), pp. 6-8. I am grateful to James Mosley for the use of his unpublished Dictionary of Punchcutters for Printing Types for clarification of the often confusing family names of the Fournier and Gando dynasties of punchcutters.
Specimen C (Grosse musique), which appears to be a single impression type, as the breaks between the various notes and staves are quite distinct. Specimen A appears to be identical to the specimen on NAF 4528, which is a setting of Psalm 16, and part of a Huguenot/Protestant psalm book.

Fig. 3.6: Page from Observations sur le traité historique et critique de M. Fournier le Jeune, 1762

The recent study and analysis of the music editions produced by Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard by Laurent Guillo lists five music types cut by Le Bé which were
part of the Ballard foundry. The following is a summary of these types and their attributes: 421

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Style</th>
<th>Dimensions per 5 lines</th>
<th>Punchcutter</th>
<th>First Use</th>
<th>Mentioned in documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| GMF1 = grosse musique de fer le lance | Note en fer de lance (ou losangée) | 14.7 mm               | Le Bé       | 1555     | Le Bé BnF MSS Ballard Inventory 1698
                      |                              |                       |             |          | Gando 1766 'C' Wekerlin 1865 Vente de Marchandises (MC XI, 240 dated 7 octobre 1672)    |
| GMF2 = grosse musique de fer le lance en deux impressions | Note en fer de lance (ou losangée) | 14.7 mm               | Le Bé       | 1557     | Le Bé BnF MSS Gando 1766 'A' Wekerlin 1865 Vente de Marchandises (MC XI, 240 dated 7 octobre 1672) |
| GPC = Gros-Plain Chant | Plain-Chant (notes Carrés pleines) | 15.0 mm               | Le Bé       | 1557     | Ballard Inventory 1698
                      |                              |                       |             |          | Ballard Inventory 1750? Gando 1766 'A' Wekerlin 1865                                |
| GTE = Grosse Tablature d’épinette en ove | Note en ove (arrondie) | 14.7 mm               | Le Bé       | c. 1555? | Le Bé BnF MSS Gando 1766 Wekerlin 1865                                               |
| MMO = Moyenne musique en ove | Note en ove (arrondie) | 10.5 mm               | Le Bé       | c. 1559  | Le Bé BnF MSS Ballard Inventory 1698
                      |                              |                       |             |          | Ballard Inventory 1750                                                               |

Fig. 3.7: Tabular list of the Le Bé Music types (From Laurent Guillo, Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard, imprimeurs du roy pour la musique 1599-1673, p. 209)

Guillo also discusses in some detail the two methods of composition used for music types. The first technique he calls *composition en emboîtage*, which could be translated as ‘nesting’. In essence this procedure would consist of casting separate elements of notes and staves, which would then be fitted together to form a complete five-line stave with notes, clefs and rests. The second technique he calls *composition en juxtaposition*, which would consist of casting each separate element on a five line stave. The ‘composition en emboîtage’ would require fewer punches and matrices and also produce a more even effect, fewer breaks in the lines. Guillo notes that

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421 Guillo, Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard, imprimeurs du roy pour la musique, p. 209. The Vente de Marchandises (MC XI, 240 dated 7 octobre 1672) which lists the tools, punches, matrices and types sold by Marie Robinot to Christophe Ballard in 1672, a few months before the death of Robert III Ballard. This document mentions ‘trente sept poinssons de grosse musique pour les messes de la taille de Guillaume Lebé avec une boiste carrée’ and ‘vingt quatre poinçons d’une grosse sans regletz de la taille dud. Lebé, avec vingt neuf matrices de la justification et quatre poinçons avec autres cinq matrices de grosses notes’. I am grateful to Laurent Guillo for bringing this document to my attention.
‘l’atelier Le Roy et Ballard employa l’emboîtage dans toute sa production et dès la première décennie de l’existence de l’atelier’, yet the specimens on Folio 23v-24 in NAF 4528 appear to have used the second procedure. There also has been a suggestion that kerning was used to build up a composite staff of lines and notes, but ‘a font with kerned variants was expensive and time-consuming to design and cut as well as to set’.

Fig. 3.8: Two methods of composition used for music types (By permission of Laurent Guillo, Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard, imprimeurs du roy pour la musique 1599-1673, p. 229) Left: composition en emboîtage and right: composition en juxtaposition

The nineteenth-century French musicologist and archivist Jean-Baptiste Wekerlin wrote a series of articles in the Parisian music Journal Le Ménestrel in 1868 which explored in some detail the history of printing for music. As these articles were written before the Omont descriptions of the Le Bé documents were published, Wekerlin would have relied on existing biographical data for information on Le Bé, such as Lottin’s Catalogue Chronologique des Libraires et des Libraires-Imprimeurs, which appeared in 1789. This would explain the misinterpretation of the dates of Le Bé’s period of professional activity in Paris, which Wekerlin puts at between 1539 and 1555. Lottin in fact places these dates more accurately as between 1552 and 1598.

Wekerlin notes Le Bé’s ‘poinçons pour les notes’ in 1540, which is probably a misreading for 1555, and the ‘tablatures’ for Lute of 1544 and 1546. He supposes that Le Bé produced punches both for double impression, in which the staves (la portée) were printed separately, and then then notes printed in a separate iteration, as well as punches combining both the notes and staves. This followed, according to Wekerlin, the method invented by the Parisian punchcutter Pierre Haultin (c. 1510 - 1578), in which ‘la note et les filets (fragment de portée) se trouvaient sur le même poinçon, différant en celà du procédé de Petrucci, dont l’impression se faisait en deux fois ... les portées, puis les notes’. Vervliet, citing Fournier le Jeune, mentions that

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422 Ibid., pp. 199-229
423 Duggan, Italian music incunabula: printers and type, pp. 33-34
Haultin cut Pierre Attignant’s earliest single impression music in 1528, and not in 1525 as reported by Wekerlin.425

Wekerlin then pursued this interest in Le Bé’s types one step further. The last in the line of the Ballard dynasty, Christophe Jean François II Ballard (1772-1825) had died without succession and the type material came into the possession of Thérèse Bauche, his widow. She remarried into the Vinchon family, who eventually sold the press to the Imprimerie Charles de Mourgues Frères in 1855, who continued the printing business in Paris from the 1850s until at least the 1870s.426 Wekerlin was keen to satisfy his desire to ‘retrouver quelques anciens poinçons de notes’ and was able to find hidden away in the printers two bags of punches, many of which he immediately established as coming from the hand of Guillaume I Le Bé, as well as others from other punchcutters which had been acquired during the many years of the Ballard dynasty.427 The total number he estimated at some five to six hundred. He reproduced in an article the most characteristic of them, which he divided into six groups. The certainty with which he attributes these punches to Le Bé can be put down to his knowledge of the 1766 Gando brochure, which he cites in his footnotes.

The types in groups A and B consist of integrated note and staves, for a single impression, and Wekerlin describes them as having a ‘forme barbare’ and suggests that ‘c’était là le premier essai de Le Bé’ and that they might even be from the hand of Pierre Haultin. It is worth noting that these specimens have respectively four, nine and seven lines of staves, which is not the case in the music specimens in the BnF documents, all of which have five or six lines of staves.

427 Wekerlin, ‘Histoire de l'impression de la musique en France’, pp. 266-267
Unfortunately this important collection of historic punches has totally disappeared and left no trace. It is to be hoped that they were not destroyed and may yet be found in some archive, but we must be grateful to Wekerlin for his discovery and for his partial description of what he found.

Laurent Guillo has noted that ‘il est frappant de constater que beaucoup de graveurs de caractères exotiques ont aussi travaillé à graver des caractères de musique’, and he mentions as examples Robert Granjon, Nicolas Du Chemin, Guillaume I Le Bé, Jan Jannon and Hendrik Van den Keere. He also notes that this illustrates ‘le degré de
specialisation similaire existant entre les domaines des langues exotiques et de la musique, tant pour la taille de caractères que pour l'impression des ouvrages'.428

To summarise this discussion of the music types of Guillaume I Le Bé, we are left with the impression of a skilled craftsman able to tackle the more complex procedures of punch cutting and type manufacture, i.e. music, Hebrew and Greek typefaces. Le Bé surely had more than a cursory knowledge of the linguistic and scribal requirements, as well as a detailed understanding of the technical aspects of casting and composition.

It is not in the scope of this thesis to explore these themes and connections in greater depth, but what they reveal is a far more complex and involved picture of Le Bé both in his family and business environments than what might be surmised from the Bibliothèque nationale de France documents alone.

We now proceed to an analysis of the Hebrew types produced by Guillaume I Le Bé following his return to Paris from Venice, excluding the Latins, Greek and Music types. These are shown for reference in the facsimiles in Appendices C and D.

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Hb11 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 8
Size: Unidentified on specimen; Vervliet gives as Great Primer or Gros-Romain; Plantin Moretus gives as Vrai texte Hebréu, façon de Venice
Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed and unpointed
Measurements x-height of 2.5 mm (Vervliet gives as 2.8 mm); 10 lines = 53 mm
Date of creation: 1551 in Paris (His ninth numbered)
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé for Claude Garamont
First Appearance: Shirei Musar HaSekhel (Cantica Eruditionis Intellectus), Paris, Guillaume Morel, 1561
Type specimens: Plantin’s Index Characterum 1567, Folio A3, Fournier Epreuves des Caractères à l’Usage de l’Imprimerie, Paris 1767 (Hébreu de Gros Romain) on folio 68 of MS 22189 of the Collection Anisson.
Material Preserved: Antwerp, MPM MA72; Deberny-Peignot MA 15216 at the Cabinet des Poinçons, Ivry?
This is the first type cut by Le Bé in Paris after his return from Venice and his ninth according to his own count. It carries with it an interesting history and list of connections.

The annotation dates this specimen to the summer of 1551 and indicates that it was made in the house of Claude Garamont in the rue de Carmes.429 It may well be asked why Le Bé makes this statement, given that the marriage contract of Le Bé is dated 1st March 1551, the contract for the purchase of the house in the rue St. Jean de Beauvais is dated to the 15th of March, and finally given that the address on the marriage contract is given as rue St. Jehan de Beauvais. Note also that Le Bé writes ‘apres mon retour d’Italie et de Troyes’. We know from the Le Bé Memorandum that he passed through Geneva on his return from Italy, where Robert Estienne provided him with letters both to Garamont and other type founders and printers, as well as to Guillaume Le Bé the elder, his father, in which Estienne asked the father to continue to supply paper to the two Estienne sons (Robert II and Charles) who had remained in Paris. To confuse matters further, the section on Garamont in the Le Bé Memorandum states that Le Bé returned to Paris ‘a la fin de lan 1550 demeura un an ou environ chez ledit Garamond en sa susditte maison de la boulle Ruë de Carmes, ou il grava cest Hebreu de Gros Romain ...’ These dates would place him in Garamont’s house until roughly the end of 1551.430

This may be explained by a simple lapse of memory on the part of Le Bé I, and probably so on the part of Guillaume II Le Bé, the presumed author of the Le Bé Memorandum, composed in 1643, some fifty year after the death of his father. Guillaume Le II Bé notes that he had in his possession the letters from Estienne, but had destroyed them, ‘ne jugeant pas estre necessaires’. Thus one may assume that

429 See page 410 of this thesis.
430 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, pp. 18,21-22

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such letters were dated and that they would have provided more information as to
where Le Bé lived after his return from Italy. The confusion may also be explained by
the change from old style to new style calendar, which took place in France in 1582.

Le Bé notes that the fount was cut ‘pour le Sieur Claude Garamond’. That is to say, it
was cut for the use of Claude Garamont, and continues the pattern that Le Bé
established in Rome, where his founts were produced for other printers, and not for
his own use. It implies also that at this stage the Le Bé foundry did not yet exist. By
1565-1566 Le Bé noted that he cut his founts ‘pour moy’.

The annotation also notes that this fount was used by the printer Jean Bienné
(Ioannes Benenatum) who was active from 1566 until his death in 1588, and married
the widow of Guillaume Morel, from whom he is most likely to have inherited all his
types and printing equipment. Renouard attributes this typeface to two
publications printed by Jean Bienné: the De Sancta Trinitate of Gilbert Génébrard of
1569 and the Novum Testamentum of 1584, but he does add that the Hebrew in
this later edition belonged to the printer Etienne Prevosteau, and this more than
likely means that Prevosteau was a business associate of Morel and married Morel’s
daughter. Indeed Lyse Schwarzfuchs notes that Prevosteau continued ‘à imprimer de
l’hebreu jusqu’en 1596 avec les caractères de son beau-père.’ Prevosteau’s name
appears on the colophon of the Novum Testamentum as ‘Excudebat Steph.
Prevosteau, Ioann. Bene_nati sumptibus & labore’.

Le Bé’s association with Claude Garamont continued until the death of the latter, as
Le Bé was one of two type founders asked to prepare the inventory of Garamont’s
foundry in 1561. This inventory was mentioned by Jean-Pierre Fournier in a letter he
wrote to the Mercure de France in 1756 and in which he described the inventory as
follows: ‘L’inventaire, la prisée & la vente que Guillaume le Bé & Jean le Sueur, autre
fondeur de caractères, firent de la fonderie de Garamond après son décès, le 18
Novembre 1561, à la Requête de Dame Isabeau Lefevre, veuve de feu sieur Claude
Garamond, en son vivant, Graveur de lettres, & Maître à Paris, & de sieur André
Wechel, Marchand Libraire, Juré au-dit lieu, executeurs du Testament dudit
défunt’. Quite a few documents relating to Garamont have been found, including
his will dated September 1561.

This inventory appears to have been lost. Le Bé’s name is not mentioned, but
André Wechel (‘honorable homme André Wechel, marchant libraire juré bourgeois
de Paris’) is named as an executor of the will (exécuteur testamentaire).

431 Renouard, Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d’imprimerie,
pp. 28-29. See also Renouard, Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle, p. 458
432 Renouard, Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle, p. 459
433 Schwarzfuchs and Coron, Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle, p. 43
434 Printed by Etienne Prevosteau at the expense and labour of Jean Bienné
435 The description by Jean-Pierre Fournier appears in a Lettre de M. Fournier, l’aîné’, Mercure de
France, mai 1756, p. 123. The original draft is to be found in the BnF, the Collection Anisson Fr.
436 I am indebted to James Mosley for drawing my attention to this document in an unpublished note.

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Wechel is mentioned in the final paragraph of the annotation as having purchased the punches for this typeface and taken them to Germany. André Wechel, nephew of the printer Chrétien Wechel, was of Flemish origin and was active as a publisher and printer in Paris from about 1554 to 1572, when he was forced to flee to Frankfurt am Main due to his Protestant leanings, following the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre. Chrétien Wechel did publish over 30 full or partial Hebrew editions, but André Wechel was only involved in an edition of Ludovico Carreto in 1554, after which Lyse Schwarzfuchs comments that he ‘ne devait plus publier en hébreu après ce livre’. An edition from 1556 has since come to light which bears the colophon of André Wechel in Paris with the occasional use of Hebrew within the text, but the Hebrew type used is most probably that of Gryphius (1531).

André Wechel did in fact publish two books containing Hebrew characters following the re-establishment of his press in Frankfurt. The first is the Bibliorum Pars Tertia id est Quinque Libri Moschis, printed in 1579, which uses Hebrew initials letters in Lam. 1-3. The Hebrew used in this edition is a 4 mm Ashkenazic, very similar in fact to the specimen shown in Res X 1565 f°. 22, and not one of Le Bé’s founts. The second edition is the Testamentis Biblia Sacra, printed in Geneva in 1590 by Jean II de Tournes, but with the imprint ‘Impensis (sic) And. Wecheli Haeredum’. It uses a Hebrew in the Annotatio, but this Hebrew once again is not a Le Bé fount, but most probably a Bomberg fount.

Thus Le Bé, lacking either the matrices or punches for this typeface, was forced to purchase a set of strikes and borrow the punches from Wechel’s widow, which must

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438 Schwarzfuchs and Coron, Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle, p. 39.

439 Jean de Neufville, Ioannis Neovillei Genvillani in septem Davidis Psalmos quos poetentiales vocant, commentarii (Paris: André Wechel and Galiot du Pré, 1556). I am grateful to Geneviève Guilleminot of the BnF for calling my attention to this edition and to Lyse Schwarzfuchs for her useful contribution as to the attribution of this fount.

440 François the elder Du Jon and Joannes Immanuel Tremellius, Bibliorum pars tertia, id est, quinque libri Moschis. (Pars secunda, id est, libri historici, etc.-Pars tertia, id est, quinque libri poetici, etc.-Pars quarta, id est, prophetic libri omnes, numero xvi., etc.) Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati, ab Immanuele Tremelio & Francisco Junio. (Libri Apocryphi, sive appendix Testamenti Veters ... latina ... facta, & notis brevibus illustrata per F. Iunium.) (Francofurti ad Moenum: A. Wechelus: , 1579) (BL 463c8)

441 Théodore de Bèze, Francois the elder Du Jon, and Joannes Immanuel Tremellius, Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra, sive, libri canonici ... Latin ... facti ... ab Immanuele Tremelio & Francisco Junio. Accesserunt libri qui vulgo dicuntur Apocryphi, Latine redditi ... a F. Junio ... Quibus etiam adjunximus Novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syro ab eodem Tremelio, & ex Graeco a Theodoro Beza in Latinum versos ... Secunda cura F. Junii. Vol. 6 pt. (Genevæ: apud I. Tornæium: Genevæ; impensis A. Wecheli hæredum, C. Marnii & I. Aubrii: Francofurdi,, 1590) (BL 3020e8). See also Schwarzfuchs, L’hébreu dans le livre à Genève au XVIe siècle, pp. 206-207

442 For discussion of the transmission of the Le Bé types to Frankfurt see Morison and Carter, John Fell, the University Press and the “Fell” types, pp. 126-128
have taken place after the death of André Wechel in 1581.\footnote{William Lefanu, 'André Wechel', \textit{Huguenot Society Proceedings} (1966)} The fate of these punches is not known.

Le Bé does record that the matrices and mould of this typeface were sold to Christophe Plantin, following the sale of his \textit{meubles} – most probably meaning his household goods. This could either indicate the sale of Garamont’s household possessions following his death in 1561 or possibly those of Plantin following the period when Plantin had returned to Paris (1562 to 1563) to escape possible persecution for his unorthodox religious beliefs, and prior to the partnership with Cornelis and Karel van Bomberghen, Johannes Goropius Becanus and Jacopo Scotti.\footnote{Colin Clair, \textit{Christopher Plantin} (London: Cassell, 1960), pp. 37-38} Plantin might have been in Paris during the sale of Garamont’s foundry and could have purchased these matrices and relevant moulds at that time. Harry Carter believes that the theory that Plantin bought a large amount of matrices offered for sale ‘does not square well with the Plantin records’ and links these matrices and moulds specifically to the typeface in question – Hb11(S). He adds that ‘clearly he [Le Bé] is talking only about the punches, matrices and moulds for a particular type and the reason why moulds is plural is that a pointed Hebrew needed more than one mould’.\footnote{Harry Carter, ‘Plantin’s types and their Makers’, \textit{De Gulden Passer}, 34 (1956), pp. 131-132}

There is little doubt that the matrices at present in the Plantin Moretus Museum (MA72) are indeed the typeface described in the document. The actual mould is not so easy to identify and no specific mould appears to be related to this typeface.\footnote{Parker, ‘Early Typefounder’s Moulds in the Plantin-Moretus Museum’, pp. 101-102} The various inventories in the Plantin Moretus archives are quite specific on this point and leave no doubt that this transaction did take place. In total this typeface is mentioned in the following inventories: 1563, 1566, 1572, 1612 and 1652. For example, the inventory of 1566 lists ‘les matrices and poinssons taillé de Guillaume Le Be (sic) de lhebrieu sur le texte avec 3 instruments (my italics), and these relate to MA 72 and ST52. The inventory of 1572 has under the heading ‘Moulles ou Instruments’ ‘et outltre ceulx cy – meaning those other moulds for Roman and Greek typefaces – les moules de l Hebreiu et les accents qui sont aupres des matrice en la boite’, but does not specify the exact size or number of the moulds. Finally, the 1581 inventory lists eight ‘moulles de LHebreieu et ses accents qui sont ensemble en 2 boites’.\footnote{Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, \textit{Typographica Plantiniana II}, pp. 25, 36, 69}

The actual specimen is a page from the didactic poem \textit{Musar HaSekhel} (Ethics of Morality), thought to have been written by the tenth-century Jewish scholar and commentator Hai Ben Sherir Gaon of Pumbedita in modern Iraq (939 –1038).\footnote{Sherira Hai ben, Jean Mercier, and Jehoseph ben Hanan ben Nathan Ezobi, \textit{Shire musar haSechel} (Parisisiis, 1559) Exact page found in 1982c36(2) in the BL.} The first edition of this work appeared about 1505 in Fano and others were published
in 1531 in Constantinople and later in 1561 in Paris. This Paris edition was printed by Guillaume Morel during the period 1559 to 1561: the date on the colophon reads 1561, whereas the Hebrew date reads 1558. Morel was active as a bookseller and printer during the period 1548 to 1564 and has nine Hebrew editions to his name. Lyse Schwarzfuchs writes that ‘ses impressions hébraïques ... sont très soignées et les fautes y sont rares’. The colophon also notes that Morel was in graecu typographum Regium, a position which Morel took over from his former associate, Adrien Turnèbe, the ‘imprimeur du roi en grec’.

The second paragraph of the annotation gives some idea of Le Bé’s understanding and knowledge of Hebrew and the necessary characters required for a Hebrew typeface: ‘daguetz, pointz et accents, lettres communes, lettres larges, demi larges et estroites’. He also shows his awareness of the lack of hyphenation in biblical Hebrew setting – d’autant que les Hebreux n’usent point de division et separation des motz en la fin de ligne – and the slipshod composition methods practiced by many compositors when faced with Hebrew setting. This last point is often an indication that a text was set by non-Jews or at least by a compositor with minimal knowledge of Hebrew orthography and grammar. Such mistakes are common in some of the Le Bé specimens, for example the confusion between similar characters pairs – i.e the vav and the zayin, the heh and the chet, or the bet and the kapf, the incorrect placement of vowel points, or the incorrect use of final letters in medial positions. These problems were widespread in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The example of in the Apologia by Avraham the son of Eliezer Brunschwig in the Rabbinical Bible printed by Johannes Buxtorf in Basle in 1618 has already been mentioned. Yet it also has to be said that such errors were not restricted to non-Jewish compositors. The example of David Portoleone’s edition of Shiltei HaGibborim by the printer Moses Elishema Zifroni in Mantua in 1612 demonstrates that Jewish printers were equally capable of serious typographical mistakes. In his introduction to this volume Portoleone complains bitterly about the printer who repeatedly misplaced the character het ‘while the letter bet has time and again been confused with the letter kaph’.

Correct setting of Hebrew required a competent editor, such as in the case of the convert Felice da Prato or Felix Pratensis in the first Bomberg Biblia Rabbinica of

450 Schwarzfuchs and Coron, Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle, pp. 42-43
451 Ibid., p. 42
452 dagesh, vowels and cantillations marks, basic letters, extended letters, wider and narrow set.
1517/1518,454 or the roles of Franciscus Raphelengius and Benito Arias Montano in the editing of the Plantin Polyglot Bible.455

Le Bé declares himself well satisfied with the end result (fort artistement faicte), well finished (bien limée et polie) and approved by others with greater knowledge than himself (et au contentement de celuy qui en scavoit plus que moy). This may indicate that Jews well versed in the correct letter forms had seen and approved this typeface.

This is an appropriate point to raise the question whether Le Bé supplied matrices or strikes with what are sometimes called Portmanteau sorts. This is not a straightforward matter. These sorts take their name from the term ‘portmanteau’, which identifies a blend of two words to form a third with a new meaning. It was first coined by Lewis Carroll in Through the Looking Glass. 456 The first use of the term as applied to typography is most likely in Morison’s work on the Fell Types in 1967.457

The application to typesetting is to produce a variety of diacriticals or accents on one matrice whose purpose is to cut down on the number of sorts which need to be produced or cast. In theory, once cast, the printer or compositor could file or cut off the unwanted accents. What then is the evidence for such a practice in the printer’s manuals? Moxon, the earliest English printers manual (1683) in Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing, has no mention or description of such sorts, although he does discuss composition for Hebrew and Greek. Simon-Pierre Fournier in his Manuel Typographique (1764-1766) provided a much more detailed discussion of the setting of pointed Hebrew, and discussed how accented letters are struck in a matrice with stepped punches, 458 but provided no description of this particular method.

The casting bill (‘register’ in Dutch) in Volume I of the Manuel Typographique for a pointed Hebrew fount does appear to show characters with a full set of points for most of the relevant characters. For example, the shin has six alternate sorts, one with a holem to the right, one with a holem to the left, one with Holine to both right and left, one with a dagesh and holem to the right, one with a dagesh and holem to the left and one with one with a dagesh and holem to the left and right.459 These may well be perfectly bona fide positions for dagesh and holem points in Hebrew, but they could also have been used as Portmanteau sorts to reduce the number of

454 Amram, The makers of Hebrew books in Italy, p. 156
455 The degree of the knowledge of Hebrew of both Montano and Raphelengius was noted by Anthony Grafton in his 2010 Panizzi lectures at the British Library. See Anthony Grafton, The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe (London: The British Library, 2011)
457 Morison and Carter, John Fell, the University Press and the "Fell" types, p. 241
458 Fournier and Carter, Fournier on Typefounding, pp. 84-85
459 A small dot above the character to represent a long ‘o’ sound.
characters cast. There do not seem to be descriptions from the period which either confirm or deny this point.

In the MA72 matrices for Hb11 (S) examined in the MPM in Antwerp, there are three instances of a character with double upper holem points: the aleph, dalet (ד) and shin. This may be evidence for the use of Portmanteau sorts, but are not conclusive given the large number of possible combinations in Biblical Hebrew setting.

A possible resolution to this issue would only be a diagram of the lay of the Hebrew case used by Fournier. Most standard cases would not have room for this many sorts. Gessner in 1743 shows a single case for Hebrew, with a similar assortment of pointed characters, some showing both the dagesh and holem. There are seven sorts shown for the shin, which could point to a possible Portmanteau sort. One of the sorts has three points above, which are most probably what are called puncta extraordinaria or Ezra’s points. The case also shows a full complement of individual points and cantillation marks, which presumably would have been cast on a smaller bodies.

Fig. 3.10: Gessner 1743 Hebrew type Case. From Der in der Buchdruckerei wohl unterrichtete Lehr-Junge. BL 11899.bb.4.

Johann Ernesti (1733) shows a similar Hebrew type case, but with different positions for most of the characters. There are fewer sorts for the characters with dagesh and holem points, and once again a full complement of individual points and cantillation marks.

460 As an example of the use of double upper points in the character shin, see the combination no. 276 in Appendix J on page 586, from Psalms 34. See also George Bush, A Grammar of the Hebrew Language (New York: Gould, Newman & Saxton 1839), p. 45 where an example is given of several words in which the initial shin has both a right and left holem point over the letter.

461 See Appendix J for examples.

462 See glossary for further details.

463 Christian Friedrich Gessner et al., Der in der Buchdruckerei wohl unterrichtete Lehr-Junge; oder: Bey der lüblichen Buchdruckerkunst nöthige und nueliche Anfangsgründe (Leipzig, 1743)
marks. In addition, there are a series of type boxes marked *Accente* whose purpose is not made clear from the accompanying text.\(^{464}\)

![Fig. 3.11: Ernesti 1733 Hebrew type Case. From Die Wol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey. BL 53.b.28](image)

Johnson in his *Typographia* shows three variations of the Hebrew type case: an upper and lower case (for pointed setting) and what he calls a common Hebrew case for unpointed setting. The lower case contains separate vowel points, whereas the upper show shows the most common cantillation marks as individual sorts. There are fewer instances of what one could clearly identify as well as Portmanteau Sorts. He also shows a single case Common Hebrew Case without any accents. Note the six extended characters and the aleph/lamed ligature in the upper case. The seven left hand boxes in the lower case are labelled as containing spaces for justifying the points, which may well have been a feature of sixteenth-century Hebrew type cases.\(^{465}\)

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\(^{465}\) J. W. Johnson, *Typographia, or the printers instructor* ([S.l.]: [s.n.], 1824), pp. 272-274 (Vol. II)
De Guigne’s *Principes de composition typographique pour diriger un compositeur dans l’usage des caractères orientaux de l’imprimerie royale* (1790) does mention Portmanteau sorts, without using this term. He writes, when talking about the Arabic character Ta (۰) that, ‘dans ce caractère, on a suivi une marche toute opposé aux précédens pour tendre un même but, celui de diminuer le nombre des poinçons;
dans les premiers, on a communément supprimé les points: ici on en a mis une multitude à chaque figure: c’est ce qui a fait dire M. Pétis de la Croix, qui n’a rien entendu à ce système, faute de l’avoir examiné dans toutes ses parties, qu’il fallait rejeter ces caractères chargés de tant de points, parce qu’il ne conviennent ni au Turc, ni à l’Arabe, ni au Persan; c’est eût anéantir ce corps de caractères, que de suivre son avis. Mais en l’examinant avec attention, on aperçoit bientôt que ces petites lettres ou poinçons n’ont pas été faits inutilement, & qu’ils ne sont chargés de tant de points, que pour que le Compositeur supprime, suivant le mot qu’il veut imprimer, ceux de ces points dont il n’a pas besoin, on n’a pas été obligé de faire graver un nombre prodigieux de poinçons’.

De Guigne’s discussion of Hebrew in the same edition is much shorter and notes that ‘les voyelles Hébraïques, ainsi que les accens & les points orthographiques, se placent communément au-dessous des consonnes auxquelles elles ne tiennent point; c’est une seconde ligne ou ligne interlinéaire dont la composition est assez embarrassante à cause de la multitude de ces points & accens; mais c’est à l’auteur qui donne la copie, de les bien placer, pour diriger le Compositeur. Dans ces caractères de Roi, il n’y a pas, comme en Arabe, de poinçons à double figure; tous sont isolés, c’est au Compositeur à les réunir’. (my italics) This last comment (à double figure) may indicate that it was not the practice, at least in the Imprimerie Royale in the eighteenth century, to use Portmanteau Sorts for Hebrew. When discussing the character Dolat (ד) in Syriac, de Guignes notes that ‘dans ces caractères du Roi on n’a fait que deux poinçons, une pour chacune de ces deux lettres, & ces deux poinçons présentent un point dessus & un point dessous, en sorte qu’en supprimant l’un ou l’autre, le Compositeur peut faire à son gré, ou un dolat, ou un risch’. De Guignes adds: ‘Ceci est une preuve ce que j’ai dit en parlant de l’Arabe dans lequel on a chargé un caractère de points, lesquels le Compositeur est maître de supprimer à son gré, suivant le besoin ...’

As previously mentioned, Morison noted Portmanteau sorts in the Fell Canon Arabic. He wrote: ‘the original set of punches left to the compositor the task of trimming off the type as many diacritical points from such portmanteau-sorts as were superfluous to the character that he wanted, and there are a few punches to be completed by adding the diacritical mark “floating” in a line above them...’ They are also shown in the Appendix to the 1695 Oxford specimen, in relation to the extra

466 I am grateful to Geoffrey Roper for clarification on this point. Pétis de la Croix - ‘was a celebrated Arabic, Persian and Turkish scholar’ in the seventeenth century – and does not appear to have written a text which contained this specific reference, but ‘his dissatisfaction with the actual or proposed founts may have had something to do with this’.
467 Joseph de Guignes, *Principes de composition typographique pour diriger un compositeur dans l’usage des caractères orientaux de l’imprimerie royale.*, 1790), pp. 19-20, 65-66. 71-72. This matrix could become either a ‘resh’ or a ‘dalath’, depending on which point was cut off.
dotted letters in Persian, Turkish & Malay. These dots are usually referred to as 
nuqṭ (plural: nuqāṭ) in Arabic. One issue with the use of Portmanteau Sorts in 
Arabic is that characters with one dots need to be centred, whereas ‘if the lower two 
dots are removed from the triangular group of three, the remaining one, though 
centred, is too high’. The same issue could also occur in Hebrew with certain 
characters if Portmanteau sorts were employed. 469

An alternate opinion on the subject of Portmanteau sorts in Hebrew composition is 
that by the time the type was sorted into the type case, the extraneous points had 
already been filed off. Furthermore, the definition of what makes a Portmanteau sort 
needs to be widened to cover such the deletion of unwanted dagesh points. This may 
indeed be correct, but it very much depends on the practices of individual printers, 
which is not the sort of information that has yet come to light.470

In summary, there appears to be clear evidence for the use of Portmanteau sorts in 
such ‘exotics’ as Arabic and Syriac, but a less conclusive argument for their use in 
Hebrew. Type engravers and type founders in the sixteenth century would have had a 
strong economic incentive to reduce the number of punches they had to produce and 
also the number of individual sorts they needed to cast for a complete setting fount. 
Added to this was the limitation of the size of the type case in use and the very basic 
knowledge of Hebrew grammar on the part of most compositors. The exception was 
in Italy where such printers as Soncino and Bomberg were known to have employed 
Jews in their print shops, or in for example where the Jewish printer Israel Zifroni 
worked for both Ambrosius Frobenius and Konrad Waldkirch in Basle. Unless we 
find specific descriptions to document the use of such sorts in Hebrew, the final 
answer to this question needs to be left open.

469 See Geoffrey Roper, 'Arabic Printing and Publishing in England before 1820', Bulletin (British 
Society for Middle Eastern Studies), 12 (1985), p. 15. Email correspondence with Geoffrey Roper re 
Portmanteau Sorts, 13/07/2012.
470 I am indebted to Dr. J.F. Coakley for this alternate opinion.
The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors

Fig. 3.13: Hb11(S) Complete assembled alphabet from the specimen at actual x-height of 2.5 mm.

Fig. 3.14: Hb11(S) Complete assembled alphabet from the specimen (MA72). Actual size. This specimen contains more sorts than are shown in the NAF 4528 specimen. Note the separate accents (Nikkud) and punctuation. (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

Fig. 3.15: Hb11(S) Complete assembled alphabet from the specimen enlarged to approximate x-height of 10 mm.

Aleph: The Le Bé specimen has only one set width, whereas the Moretus matrices have three variants of the normal character (4, 4.5 and 5 mm). These additional sorts may have been cut at a later date.

Aleph Extended: The width of the matrix at the Plantin Moretus is 7.6 mm.
Heh: The Le Bé specimen has three variants (normal set, normal extended and extended), whereas the Plantin Moretus matrices have three variants of the normal character (4.1, 4.7 and 5.2 mm). The extended final heh on the specimen is much wider and does not appear in the Plantin Moretus matrices.

Mem: The Plantin Moretus matrices have a Mem (4.6) and four final Mems (4, 4.2, 5.1 and 7.8 mm)

Lamed: Both the specimen and the Plantin Moretus matrices have three widths: 4, 4.6 and 5.5 mm.

Ayin: The Plantin Moretus matrices have two sorts with different descenders (4.2 and 4.6).

Tav: The Plantin Moretus matrices have two sorts of the normal Tav (4.2 and 4.5) and an extended final Tav (5.1).

- The following additional sorts appear in the Plantin Moretus matrices: aleph/lamed ligature, aleph with holem, bet with dagesh, gimmel with dagesh, dalet with dagesh and two holes, heh with holem, heh extended with holem, vav with dagesh, vav with holem, zayin with dagesh, tet with dagesh, yod with dagesh, kaph with dagesh, kaph final with dagesh, kaph final with kametz, lamed with dagesh, mem with dagesh and holem, samekh with dagesh, nun with dagesh and holem, peh with dagesh, koph with dagesh, tsadde with dagesh, shin with two holes, shin with two holes and dagesh, tav extended with dagesh, and tav with dagesh and holem.

- There are 13 punctuation, vowel or cantillation signs in the Plantin Moretus matrices: a punctuation full stop, a telisha gedolah, a Patach (?), a kametz, a chirek, a shva, a tsere, a segol, a hyphen, three possible makafs and a shalshelet.

MA72 (labelled Vrai texte hebreu/vrai texte de la façon de venise) is amongst the most perfectly finished and justified matrices in the Plantin Moretus collection of Hebrews, and Le Bé’s annotations seems clear evidence that he was responsible for justifying the matrices.\(^{471}\) There are two notches on the back and front of the matrices, which may have been intended to hold the mould spring in place during casting. There are also small circular indents in the matrices on one side which may

\(^{471}\) Et je en achepté une frappe de la vefve qui me presta les poinsons pour la fayre à mes despens avant que les vendre (NAF 4528 folio 8)
have been added at a later stage also to hold the mould spring in place. Some of the matrices have repetitive ‘v’ shaped pin marks on one side whose purpose is not clear.

Fig. 3.16: Hb11(S) Matrices and label. Reduced approximately 77% from original width of 21 cm. (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)
Fig. 3.17: Hb11(S) Colophon from *Cantica Eruditionis*. BL (1982c36(2). The Hebrew gives the printer’s names (Guillaume Morel), date in the Hebrew calendar (the month of Cheshvan 1558) and place of printing (Paris). The date in roman numerals is one year later (1559).

Fig. 3.18: Hb11(S) Text specimen from Gilbert Génébrard, *De Sancta Trinitate*, Jean Bienné, Paris 1569, from Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs parisiens*, plate B (II) 38.
The first use this typeface in Paris can be dated precisely to the edition from which the specimen is taken from the *Cantica Eruditionis intellectus* of 1561. There are similar Square Sephardics in detail and size in the editions of Giovanni di Cavalli, but there is no evidence to establish a trail from Le Bé in Paris to printers in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Cantica Eruditionis intellectus*, Paris, Guillaume Morel, 1561
- *De Poeta Hebraeorum* Paris Guillaume Morel. 1563
- *De S. Trinitate*, Paris Pierre L’Huillier, 1569
- *Novum Testamentum*, Paris, Jean Bienné, 1570
- Yosé ben Halaphta, *Seder ʿOlam rabba: Seder ʿOlam zuta*, Basle, Ambrosius Frobenius, 1580?
- *Biblia Hebraica*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1582
- Eliezer Ashkenazi, *Ma’asei Hashem*, Venice, Di Gara, 1583?
- *He Kaine Diatheke Novum Testamentum*, Paris: Jean Benenatum, 1584
- *Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime*, Paris, Guillaume Le Bé II, 1609?
- *Hagadah shel Pesach*, Venice, Israel ben Daniel Zifroni, 1606
- *Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609
- Philippe d’Aquin, *Dictionarium absolutissimum*, Paris, Antoine Vitré, 1629
- Johann Rittangel, *יצירה פרס id est Liber Ierzirah*, Amsterdam, Apud Johannum et Jodocum Ianssonios, 1642?
- *Mare Rabbinicum Infidum*, Paris, Pierre Variquet, 1667
- *Glossarium Universale Hebraicum*, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1697?
Hb12 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 9
Size: Gros Duble Canon; Gros Hebreu Fort Gros (MPM), In Vervliet's Conspectus Le Bé's Hebrew on Seven-line Pica (Hb 15) or Grosse Nompareille
Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed and unpointed
Measurement: x-height of 15 mm
Date of creation: 1559 in Paris
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé (His tenth numbered)
First Appearance: Grammatica Hebraea, Plantin Antwerp, 1564?? Or Biblia Polyglotta, Plantin Antwerp, 1568-72
Type specimens: Plantin Index Characterum 1567, No. 3 (Tres Gros hebreiu), Plantin Folio specimen of 1585 No. 83
Material Preserved: MA6 and ST50 at MPM
Literature: Vervliet Conspectus: 403/Hb 15 - Le Bé's Hebrew on seven line pica or Grosse Nompareille; Inventaris van de stempels en matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus, p. 109, Vervliet and Carter, Type Specimen Facsimiles II, pp. 2, 11

This typeface presents us with an unusually rich array of comparative elements: the smoke proofs of the actual specimen, the matrices and punches held in the Plantin Moretus Museum in Antwerp and the actual printing specimens beginning with its use in the Plantin Polyglot Bible (Biblia Regia). The smoke proofs (fumés in French) are in effect working proofs and are used by the punchcutter to test the progress of the engraving. They are extremely rare for the sixteenth century. They also show that Le Bé was unable to obtain a printed proof with his name, as was his usual practice, which may be due to events related to the French Wars of Religions.

The original date in the annotation was 1562, later amended to 1559. The first War of Religion lasted from 1562 to 1563.472 The first ‘troubles’ to which he refers most probably occurred during this first phrase. 473 And it was during this time that Christophe Plantin was in Paris - January 1562 to June 1563 - having fled from Antwerp during that period, when he had fallen under suspicion for printing heretical works for the Family of Love, and its leader Hendrik Niclaes. The sale of the Garamont foundry took place sometime after Garamont’s death in November 1561, a time when Plantin was likely to have been in Paris. 474 This is confirmed by the second annotation on this folio: ‘Venduz 1562. – Les poinsons pour 5 escus à 50s. Le cuivre à 3 l. 10s. Le moulle nef, 4 l.’

474 Clair, Christopher Plantin, pp. 37-38, 249. See also Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, Typographica Plantiniana II, p. 15
A further clue to the date is the first note of this typeface in the Plantin inventories: 1563, which lists MA6 as ‘gros Hebreu fort gros de Guillaume le Be (sic) contenant Le Moule a fondre laditte lectre’ and ST50 as ‘Poinsons d’ung tres gros hebreu Guillaume le Be (sic) 27 poinsons et 8 points’. Le Bé also sold punches of the Garamont Augustine and Bible Romans, which Vervliet notes ‘were among the most important he owned. Le Bé must have been in financial difficulties to sell these sets, as they were sources of a steady future income.’ He does not give any further details, but one can imagine that his business must have suffered due to the effects of the first War of Religion. A study of the impact of the wars of religion on individual dioceses in France noted the ‘widespread impact’ of the wars and notes that ‘few areas remained untouched, almost all incurred serious, and many extremely serious costs and damages’. This study concludes that this was a ‘cultural disaster of the highest magnitude’.476

Yet what would have prompted Le Bé to cut such a large Hebrew and for what potential audience? At least two large display Hebrews of about 15 mm height appear in some Venetian Hebrew editions during the 1540s – for example in the editions printed by Meir di Parenzo and Alvise Bragadin – and in the early seventeenth century in the Hagadah printed by Israel ben Daniel Zifroni and Gershon Prinz (or Parenzo).477 Although Le Bé does not provide examples of these in either of the two Paris documents, there can be little doubt that he would have been aware of them. It also has to be said that they are very crude in detail and execution, which may have provided the motive for Le Bé to produce his own version. The examples below from the Bragadin Mishneh Torah of 1550 and the 1609 Venice Hagadah give an idea of the quality of these letters. Although they are Sephardic in style, they show a misunderstanding of the way the terminals strokes are constructed in Hebrew. Perhaps Le Bé’s idea was to sell strikes of this typeface to his contacts in Venice, but this plan did not materialise due to the troubles in France and the slowdown in Hebrew printing in Venice following the papal bull of 1553 which led to the burning of Hebrew books in Rome and Venice.478

![Fig. 3.19: Examples of the 15 mm display Hebrew from the Bragadin Mishneh Torah, Venice, 1550 (BL 1918e2) (Reduced)](image)

475 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, ‘Typographica Plantiniana II’, pp. 15-17
477 See Bezalel Narkiss and Leone Modena, Seder Hagadah shel Pesach, Venetsyah 369 = The Passover Haggadah, Venice 1609 (Jerusalem: Makor, 1974)
The Plantin inventories record Hb12 (S) on five different occasions: 1563, 1566, 1572, 1590 (Leiden) and 1652. The first was in 1563. The second in 1566 and lists a ‘Gros hebrieu extraordinaire poisons matrices et mousle iustifiees (ST50 and MA6) and the third in 1572: Poinsons du plus gros Hebrieu de G. le be (sic) (ST 50), the fourth in 1590 Leiden: Hebraiques de diverse sortes and finally the fifth in 1652: 33 Allergrootste Hebreusche (MA6). The box containing the punches (ST50) has 33 punches in all, 27 letters and 6 accents or punctuation. These punches range in height from roughly 50 to 70 mm for the letters, and 40 to 52 mm for the accents. The punches do not have any clear identification marks on them, as might have been expected from the list of punches in the 1730 document, but they do have distinct separate horizontal lines on one side of some of the punches.479

What is noticeable is that there appear to be the signs of dagesh points in the counters of the bet, chet, tet, kapf, mem, mem sofit, samekh, ayin, peh, peh sofit, koph, shin, and tav, and this could lead to the conclusion that the matrices were first struck with the dagesh point, then the points filed down and a new set of matrices struck without the dagesh points. Yet when they were re-examined together with Fred Smeijers, it was evident that the indentation were not dagesh points, but rather signs of the initial drilling used to produce the counter.480 If these had been dagesh points subsequently removed from the punch with an engraving tool, then one would not see a round indentation, but more of a smoother surface in the counter. Fred Smeijers also did not think that counterpunches would have been used to produce these Hebrews. Thus a feasible hypothesis for a working method which Le Bé would have used would be first to define the contours of the character on the face of the punch, then produce the outer contours of the character using files gravers (burins), and finally drill into the centre of the counter to create the initial ‘hole’, followed by the use of scrapers or gravers to create the final shape.

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479 Fournier and Morison, *L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé* The inventory lists distinctive graphic symbols against each of the founts mentioned and it was this researcher’s theory that these symbols might be found on the actual remaining Le Bé punches. Such was not the case as no such symbols were visible and one hypothesis is that these symbols could have been added at a later date for identification and/or sorting.

480 This examination took place during a visit to the MPM in April 2013.
Fred Smeijers has proposed three possible procedures for inserting the dagesh points on the matrices of Hebrew typefaces. They are as follows:

1. The punch cutter cuts a punch of the Hebrew character complete together with accents, then using this punch he produces a number of strikes. He then softens or anneals the punch, cuts off the tip of the accents, hardens the punch once again and produces additional strikes without the accents.

2. The punch cutter cuts the punch without accents, produces some strikes and then adds the relevant accents to the strikes (as a secondary operation). This could have been done through the use of a small drill which was drilled directly into the strike.

3. The same as procedure 2, but instead of using a drill the punch cutter uses a small punch to strike the accent in the matrix. 481

In MA6 the dagesh points on the matrices appear to have been struck separately. It should also be noted that the smoke proofs on the specimen show certain characters with a dagesh point: the chet, kapf, mem, and nun. This could indicate that Le Bé added the dagesh points separately as he was working on the engraving of these characters.

The matrices in MA6 are well justified on the side bearings, but not consistently even in height as can be seen from the image below. It does appear that a key factor in producing consistently aligned type was the distance from the top of the matrix to the head of the Hebrew character, as the matrices were butted to the top of the mould when casting. The matrices for MA40 are almost identical in depth and were probably also struck by Le Bé, which confirm this point and the importance of this key distance. 482
This typeface has all the characteristics of a mature Le Bé Hebrew typeface. The lamed has a distinctive ‘flag’ termination to the ascender, the final kapf, nun, tsadde and peh all have similar angled descenders to the right, and both the bet and kapf have longer baseline strokes protruding beyond the upper horizontal strokes. There are differences between the smoke proofs and the character set in Antwerp, such as the two slightly differing forms of the Lamed, and the letter Chet with a dagesh. This latter case is not possibility in Biblical Hebrew, as the characters which usually take
the Dagesh Lene (*Kal* in Hebrew) are the bet, gimmel, dalet, kaph, peh, and tav, known collectively as the ‘Begadkephat letters’. The Dagesh Forte (*Chazak* in Hebrew) can appear in any Hebrew consonant except on a guttural letter. Thus the inclusion of the Chet with a dagesh on the smoke proofs may be a mistake on Le Bé’s part, but what appears to be a circular indent in the counter of the bet, may also be the impression of a pump drill, used to begin the cutting out of the counter of the punch. The first two images show the matrix for the aleph as it would have struck with the punch for the same character. The matrix for the bet and dalet show clearly how the dagesh was struck or drilled as a secondary operation.

Fig. 3.23: Microscopically enlarged photos of MA6 and ST50, showing the aleph, bet and dalet. Enlarged 2x (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

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483 Martin, *Davidson’s Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, pp. 20-21
Le Bé calls this typeface a *Gros Duble Canon*, and this size most closely equates to Gros Double Canon in Fertel, the largest of the sizes in his list.484 Vervliet identifies it as a Seven line pica or Grosse Nonpareille, which is equivalent to 82pt Anglo American or 77pt Didot. The x-height of the final mem is 15 mm and this appears to be slightly over 60pt Anglo-American, thus once again we have the problem of assigning a comparative numeral or indeed equivalent name to Le Bé’s types. It is interesting to note the various names assigned to this typeface in the Plantin inventories, which emphasize the large size (très gros, extraordinaire, and Allergrootste).

Le Bé also notes that he sold this material *à bon marché*: Les poinsons pour 5 escus à 50 s. Le cuive (= copper or matrices) à 3 l. 10s. Le moule nef (= neuf), 4 l. French currency at the period was divided into ‘Livres, Sous and Deniers although the smallest coin was the copper gros (4 denier) and also had the écu worth 3 livres’. The same source also notes that ‘a French livre was worth approximately the same as a guilder in the early 1630s but the actual amount decreased steadily over time’.485 This then works out at roughly 15 livres for the punches, the matrices at 3.5 livres and the mould (as new) at 3 livres. If this was indeed cheap, one has to compare prices paid by Plantin during the same period for punches and matrices. Voet describes the purchase of 20 sets of punches and 12 sets of matrices in 1581 for 1,400 fl (florins), which works out at about 44 florins per set. If the florin and livre (tournois) were roughly equivalent, then these prices were indeed *à bon marché*. 486

The first use of this typeface was probably in the *Biblia Hebraica* of 1564, yet it was most certainly used in the Plantin *Biblia Regia* of 1568-72 on the Hebrew title page.

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484 Fertel, *La science pratique de l'imprimerie*, p. 2
486 Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, pp. 74, 440-453 (Volume 442)
Hb13 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 10 and 13 and Rés X 1665, folio 5v and 6
Size: Texte; Vervliet Conspectus Two line Pica Hebrew [Hb 3.8] or Palestine
Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed
Measurements: x-height of 3.6 mm on 4528 folio 10 and Rés X 1665, folio 6; x-height of 3.7 mm on 4528 folio 13 and Rés X 1665, folio 5v; Interlinear spacing – 8 mm on NAF 4528 f.10 and 9 mm on NAF 4528 f.13
Date of creation: 1565-1566 in Paris
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé (His eleventh numbered)
Type Specimens: Plantin Folio Specimen c. 1585 no. 86; MA40 in PM, Le Bé specimens in the MPM archives (Arc. 153), Moretus specimen: No. 24 of 1599; Spéculimens des Types Français et Etrangers de l’Imprimerie Nationale. 1855 (Hébreu No. 2)
Materials preserved: MA 40 at MPM, In Plantin’s Folio specimen: of 1585 No. 24
Literature: Vervliet Conspectus 397/Hb 3.8, Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, p. 20 ( Raph. Sq. 3), Le Bé Inventaire après décès c. 1617 (Hebreu paragon) – probable attribution
First occurrence: Biblia Regia, Antwerp, 1569-72

This typeface appears in four separate instances in the two Paris documents, and it is at first a temptation to list them as two separate typefaces. The interlinear spacing differs by one millimetre between the two specimens, and the appearing size of the final mem by .1 mm – 3.6 as against 3.7 mm. Furthermore, neither specimen contains a complete enough range of recognition characters to be able to make a complete comparison. The only definite claim by Le Bé for Hb13 (S) is in his annotation on NAF 4528 f. 10. None of the other three specimens make specific mention of this typeface.

These discrepancies can perhaps be explained by ink squash which would make the second set of specimens appear larger and being cast on a larger body.487 In terms of style, the two sets of specimens are identical. Thus although Vervliet does not list both sets, he does give two specimens in his Conspectus and this thesis will follow his lead and consider all four instances to be the same typeface.488

The text of this specimen is from Psalms 65: 7-10, whereas the text of the specimen on NAF 4528 folio 13 is from Zechariah 14:6-7. The text from Psalms contains one typographical error: an initial Tsadde (ץ) is used in place of the final Tsadde (ץ) in the word 'HaAretz’ (הארץ) in line 4, which indicates either that the relevant character was missing from the case, or that the compositor was not aware of the rules of Hebrew orthography.

487 See Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, ‘Typographica Plantiniana II’, p. 43. Parker et al mention that Le Bé ‘knew this as Parangon and which Plantin cast on Double Nompareille and set to Double Mediane when he used the points’. And indeed the specimen in the Folio Specimen of c. 1585 has the heading Double Mediane.
488 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 415
Le Bé mentions that he engraved it ‘grossi de la Bible in 4to de Robert Estienne’ (enlarged from the Quarto Bible of Robert Estienne) and this can only mean the 28 sections printed by Robert Estienne during the period 1538 to 1544.\(^{489}\) This is of particular importance to Le Bé, as it covers the greater part of his apprenticeship with Estienne.\(^{490}\) Yet what is one to make of term *grossi*? It could imply that he used a model one of the Estienne Hebrew typefaces (most likely cut by Jean Arnoul dit Le Picard) or that that he used the nearest equivalent size and made a revised version.\(^{491}\) Hb13 (S) has in fact an x-height of 3.6 mm. Whatever the meaning, the relationship between them was a close one, and Vervliet assumes that ‘he (Le Picard) apparently acted as an instructor to Guillaume I Le Bé’.\(^{492}\) There is little doubt that Le Bé was a gifted student and that his Hebrew types follow the model set by Arnoul, yet are clearly distinct in detail and execution.

The full assembled alphabet shows once again the hand of Le Bé, with angled descenders to final nun, kapf, tsadde, and peh, the distinctive aleph/lamed ligature and characteristic extended mem, tav and heh. The flags on the left and right vertical strokes of the shin point right, whereas the flag on the middle stroke points to the right.

This is also the first Le Bé Hebrew typeface which shows a range of cantillation marks, as well as vowel points, in the specimen. The only other specimen in NAF 4528 to show these marks is Hb19 (S) on folio 12v. None of the earlier Venetian Le Bé specimens show these marks, whereas Le Bé did cut both dagesh and vowel points in HB4 (S) in his second numbered type for Giustiniani. It cannot be argued that Le Bé was unaware of them, as the Estienne Hebrew Bibles which were produced during his apprenticeship do show them. Nevertheless producing a full Hebrew font with all its components – some 70 punches for the basic characters, characters with dagesh points, the vowel points and the cantillation marks – would have been a lengthy process. Thus Le Bé would have only cut these if he was requested to do so.

The matrices for this typeface are to be found in the Plantin Moretus Museum (MA 40) and comprise a total of 57 characters, 26 basic, four punctuation and 27 with dagesh points or ligatures. All the matrices have small indents at base, usually on all four sides and the reverse side of each character has a notch for the mould spring and a more recent circular indent positioned above. The vowels and cantillation marks for the pointed setting are most probably from MA83c (Double Mediane vowels and


\(^{490}\) Le Bé, *The Le Bé memorandum*, p. 21

\(^{491}\) From the verb *grossoyer* meaning ‘write faire or in great and faire letters’. See Cotgrave, *A Dictionary of the French and English tongues*

\(^{492}\) Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus*, pp. 41-42
intonations), which the *Inventaris* notes ‘are justified in exactly the same style as MA40’.493

Fig. 3.26: MA 40 made from ST50, Actual size (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

Microscopic examination of three of the matrices – the dalet, the heh and the shin – show the tell-tale signs of the manual insertion of the dagesh points in the centre and the two sin/shin points above. They appear to have been struck initially with some kind of punch given the uniform flat impression surface, but finished by hand with either the use of a hand file or a pump drill.494

494 See diagram on page 182 of this thesis.
In the Plantin Moretus archives there is a page showing a casting register or bill dated 1st August 1568 for these two typefaces which almost exactly matches the number of sorts: 56 characters with normal, extended and or dagesh points; 20 vowels or cantillation marks cast to ‘Heel puncten’ (whole points); 23 vowels or cantillation marks cast to ‘Halve puncten’ (Half points), and 14 Arabic numerals. There are also lists of quadrats or spacing. The total number of sorts cast is 77,895 at a value of 39 Florins 2 stuivers.\textsuperscript{495} This list gives some idea of how Hebrew might have been set in the sixteenth century and perhaps even later. The ‘Heel puncten’ are most likely to be accents and cantillation marks cast to the full set width of the main character, whereas the ‘Halve puncten’ would be cast on a smaller body as a modular proportion of the main character to allow both characters and accents to fit tightly in the forme. The specimen from the Biblia Regia in Fig. 3.39 shows examples of both situations. This solution would also be necessary for situations where the vowel is not centred on the set of the letter and thus needs to be cast on a smaller body. The same sheet also contains the spaces (Dick spatien = thick spaces and Dunne spatien = thin spaces) and the same spaces for the halve puncten. In this case the difference between the numbers cast is not so extreme - 3970 as against 4470 for the thick spaces, and 2312 as against 1870 for the thin spaces.\textsuperscript{496}

\textsuperscript{495} Plantin Moretus Archives, Archive 513, p. 39. The heading for this sheet names this as a ‘nompareille’.

‘floating accents’ are similar in hot metal setting. For a discussion of setting the vowels in the Monotype scheme, see J.F. Coakley, *The Hebrew Types of the Jericho Press* (Ely, 2010), pp. 2-4
The actual numbers of the sorts cast confirms this theory. For example, under the category ‘Heel puncten’ the quantities are listed for the following accents: Segol = 1042, patach = 1248 and kametz = 1052. Under the heading ‘Halve puncten’ the quantities are Segol = 412, patach = 380 and kametz = 332. Thus the greater requirement was for accents and cantillation marks for the full set width and presumably the type case would have reflected this. Voet notes that ‘Hebrew alphabets, without the difference between capitals and lower case, all had single cases, whenever specified’. Yet Lefèvre’s nineteenth-century description of Hebrew types cases shows two cases, a *haut de casse* and a *bas de casse*. The ‘haut de casse’ contains all the basic characters with dagesh points and the cantillation marks in the upper row; the *bas de casse* contains all the unpointed characters, extended characters, punctuation, vowel points and spacing. There do not appear to be additional compartments marked for different widths of accents.

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497 Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, p. 144
Fig. 3.32: Hb13 (S): Assembled partial alphabet from the MA40 matrices (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>דנה</th>
<th>ח</th>
<th>ב</th>
<th>ג</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>י</td>
<td>ז</td>
<td>ח</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3.33: Hebrew type case layouts from Lefevre, *Guide Practique du Compositeur d’Imprimerie*, Paris 1855
The composition or setting of pointed Hebrew requires a degree of complexity not present in the setting of most Roman alphabets. Fournier describes the alignment of the main characters and the points and the size on which they are cast. He also describes the technique of casting the main character and accent on a mould which had ‘a body equal to that of the letter added to that of the points, so that if one were pica and the other nonpareil, their second mould was great primer, which is the size of nonpareil added to a pica’. 499 He does not describe the actual process of composition and here the most complete description is from Lefèvre’s Guide Practique du Compositeur d’Imprimerie of 1858. There is not a similar discussion from any earlier date known to this writer. Firstly Lefèvre notes the differences between Hebrew composition in Germany, where it is set generally from right to left with the nick facing down, whereas in France it is set from left to right with the nick facing up, as with Arab composition. In the first step, the main characters with dagesh points are composed in the composing stick without any accents or cantillation marks. The second step is to set the upper vowel points and cantillation marks (Lefèvre calls them the ponctuation tonique) below the main line of text in the composing stick. This setting is then placed in a type galley.500 In the third step the main line of text is then reinserted in the composing stick and the lower cantillation marks and vowel points are added. Lefèvre notes that these are generally positioned ‘au milieu de cachune des lettres qui en portent’, with the exception of the letters dalet, vav, zayin, yod, lamed and final kapf, where they are placed ‘exactement sous la pointe de leur trait vertical’. Finally in the fourth step these two lines are combined together on the galley with the upper line of cantillation marks in the correct order of appearance. (Step 4). Note that the line of cantillation marks in this example has been transferred above the x-height in the final step. 501

Fig. 3.34: Pointed Hebrew composition from Lefèvre: Step 1

Fig. 3.35: Pointed Hebrew composition from Lefèvre: Step 2

Fig. 3.36: Pointed Hebrew composition from Lefèvre: Step 3

499 Fournier and Carter, Fournier on Typefounding, p. 152
500 In French une galée or galée. A galley is a open-ended tray of wood or metal with sides lower than type height whose purpose is to ‘receive the matter as it is composed and to afford a level on which to make up the pages’. See Savage, A Dictionary of the Art of Printing, pp. 248-249
501 Lefèvre, Guide Practique du Compositeur d’Imprimerie, p. 251
This laborious method meant that only line at a time could be set and would require the use of some kind of setting rule to transfer the line of type to the type galley and back again. The positioning of these ‘accents’, whether centred or set to the left or right of the middle line, requires adequate spacing, which is what is evident on the 1568 casting register. As the Lefèvre text is from 1855, it may well be that composition practices for Biblical Hebrew in the sixteenth century were different and possibly involved the composition of all three elements at one go in the composing stick. The Lefèvre procedures are cumbersome and prone to human error, such as accidental dropping of the set line. It is also likely that the word spacing would been to full body height, thus requiring composition of all the elements of the line – main characters and points above and below – in one operation.502

Moxon describes the use of what he calls a ‘composing rule’, which he says is ‘very commodious to work with, because the letter slides easier and smoother down the Back of the Stick, than it will upon a Line of letters’, but he makes no mention of any special techniques for setting Hebrew. Fertel mentions the use of ‘une réglette’503 to transfer a line of type into the galley, so there is evidence that setting rules were known and used at least by the late seventeenth century in England and in France.504

This complexity is clear if one examines an actual page of setting, such as the first page of Genesis from the Plantin Polyglot, where Le Bé’s Hb13 (S) is used. The examples below illustrate the positioning of the vowel points and cantillation marks when single, combined, or above and below the main characters. In the case of the lamed, the ayin and the koph this also involves kerned characters. See the table on page 51 for the position of vowels and cantillation marks above or below the main characters.

502 I am grateful to Scott-Martin Kosofsky for his comments on this specific point and on the hand composition of pointed Hebrew in general.
504 Moxon, Carter, and Davis, Mechanick Exercises, pp. 205-207 and Fertel, La science pratique de l'imprimerie, pp. 45-46
This same page also provides an example of the body size for both the main characters, the vowels and the cantillation marks. An analysis shows that the x-height is roughly 40 per cent of the body size, and the vowels and cantillation marks make up about 25 per cent. If one takes the letter mem as the ‘squarest’ character in the typeface, then the measure of the line works out at 35 ems of the character. This is no doubt the way that compositors would have worked, first setting a line of em quads in the composing stick to set the measure, whether they were adjustable or fixed measures.\(^{505}\) It must be assumed from the visual evidence that the ascender of the lamed, and the descenders of such letters as final peh, ayin, and final tsadde would have been kerned to allow closer fitting of the vowels and cantillation points.\(^{506}\)

\(^{505}\) Plate II of the Imprimerie/Relieure section of the Diderot d’Alembert Encyclopédie shows both types, and Voet mentions that there were ‘only twelve for the period 1564 to 1566’ in the Officina Plantiniana/ See Voet, The Golden Compasses, p. 143 (Vol 142). He does not mention what type they were, yet most of the early ones seem to have been made of wood. See Martin K. Speckter, Disquisition of the Composing Stick (New York: The Typophiles Inc., 1971), pp. 25-44

\(^{506}\) This point was confirmed by Madame Nelly Gable and her colleagues at the Cabinet des Poinçons in Ivry, from their experience in setting ‘exotic’ types.
The first use of this typeface according to Vervliet is in the Plantin edition of Sancte Pagnino’s *Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae* which is dated 1570. The use in the *Biblia Regia (Polyglot)* may be earlier, as this was printed in the period 1568 to 1573. The following example of this typeface is from the first volume, in the first page of Genesis.
An examination of Hebrew printed texts shows a fairly wide distribution of this typeface, one trail of which has been well documented for the Northern Netherlands. Eight Hebrews are known to have been brought to Leiden in 1583 and were used by Plantin’s son-in-law Franciscus Raphelengius when he took over the business in 1585. These types, including this typeface, were ‘used in many towns in the Dutch Republic for almost two centuries’ and were employed by Thomas Erpenius (Professor of Arabic at Leiden), the printer Johannes Le Maire and the Leiden Elzevirs. The attributions in French editions can perhaps be explained by the matrices and punches listed in the 1730 inventory, where there is a hébreu Parangon (with 61 matrices) and a set of 52 punches (hébreu Parangon mon pere).

A specimen of what appears to be an identical unpointed version of Hb13 (S) was found in an 1855 specimen of types printed by the Imprimerie Impériale. What is not clear is whether this is a survival or possibly a later recutting by the early nineteenth-century punchcutter Jacquemin. There are eight sets of Hebrew punches and

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508 Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, Hebrew typography in the Northern Netherlands, pp. 11-21
509 Archives Nationales, Paris. ET/LXV/229. See also Fournier and Morison, L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé
three sets of Hebrew matrices held at present in the Cabinet des Poinçons, none of which appear to correspond to this No. 2 Hebrew.511

Fig. 3.41: Specimen of Hebrew No. 2 from *Spécimen des types français et étrangers de l'imprimerie Nationale*, 1855
Actual Size (By permission of Mme Nelly Gable, Le Cabinet des Poinçons)

Fig. 3.42: Partially assembled alphabet from *Spécimen des types français et étrangers de l'imprimerie Nationale*, 1855 Actual Size (By permission of Mme Nelly Gable, Le Cabinet des Poinçons)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Biblia Regia*, Antwerp, 1569-72
- *Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae*, Antwerp, 1570

511 I am indebted to Mme Nelly Gable, Graveur et Responsable du Cabinet des Poinçons and to M. Didier Barrière, Bibliotheaı́re of the Cabinet des Poinçons, for their assistance in providing images of these rare specimens and for their kindness in replying to my various queries. Mme Gable’s inventory of the Hebrews in the Cabinet des Poinçons is as follows: Corps 6/14 gravé par Marcellin-Legrand (73 poinçons + 9 accents); - Corps 6 gravé par Aubert 1879 (45 poinçons); - Corps 8 gravé par Aubert en 1879 (45 poinçons + 1 accent); - Corps 11 gravé par Lek en 1923 (poinçons signés)-(55 poinçons + 26 accents); - Corps 14 (9/5) gravé par Lek (poinçons signés)-(55 poinçons. + 27 accents); - Corps 9/17 (9+8) gravé par Bertrand Lœuillet en 1858 – (38 poinçons)- Corps 24 (12+6+6) gravé par Louis Gauthier ( 68 poinçons.+ 1 accent). She also lists the following sets of Hebrew matrices: Hébreu Villeneuve sans corps; Hébreu Villeneuve 6pts; Hébreu Marcellin-Legrand 6pts, 8pts, 11pts, 16 pts, 30pts. Email of 4 April 2013 from Mme Nelly Gable.
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1581
- *Hinukh hoc est Catechesis*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1591
- *Libellus Ruth cum Scholis Masorae*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609
- *Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609
- Ya’akov ben Asher, *Arba’ah Turim*, Hanau, Hans Jakub Henne, 1610?
- *Psalmus Primus cum Commentarijs*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1612
- *Biblia Hebraica*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1613
- *Behinat HaOlam*, Paris, Laqueray, 1629
- Philippe d’Aquin, *Dictionarium absolutissimum*, Paris, Antoine Vitré, 1629
- *Glossarium Universale Hebraicum*, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1697
**Hb14 (S)**

Appears on NAF 4528 folios 10, 11, and 13 and Rés X 1665, folios 1, 5v and 6

**Size:** Canon or Gros Canon or Grosse Lettre (Vervliet = Two line Great Primer (Trismégiste), Double Parangonne Hébreu

**Type Classification:** Square Sephardic unpointed and pointed

**Measurements:** x-height of 6 mm; 10 lines = 24 mm (Vervliet = 20:25 pointed)

**Date of creation:** 1565/1566 in Paris

**Punchcutter:** Guillaume I Le Bé (his twelfth numbered)

**Materials preserved:** In MPM = MA18 (Double Parangonne Hebreu)

**Type Specimens:** Vervliet notes specimens in the Cabinet des Poinçons; The Plantin Folio Specimen of 1585 No. 89 (Double Parangonne?)

**Literature:** Vervliet

In the 1730 Le Bé Inventory there are two sets of matrices entitled ‘hébreu canon mon père’ (37 and 90 matrices) and one set of punches entitled ‘hébreu Canon mon père’, with 35 punches listed. The identity of the 90 matrix set is a mystery, as Le Bé cut only one typeface of this size according to the two Paris documents, and 90 matrices would only make sense, if it included a typeface of normal characters with dagesh points, separate vowel points and cantillation marks. The set of 37 matrices is most probably the set now found in the Plantin Moretus archives in Antwerp (MA1t8), which has 38 matrices in total. Plantin cast this on a Double Parangonne body and can be seen in the Canon specimen in the 1585 Folio Specimen.

Parker, Melis and Vervliet note that Plantin paid the letter founder Herman Grater to justify 41 Hebrew matrices in July 1569 and to cast 60 pounds of type. In addition the punchcutter Hendrik van den Keere was paid to justify four Hebrew points in April 1571 and indeed there are four matrices for vowel points – segol, kametz, shva and patach, which are different in size to the main characters. This may imply that Le Bé supplied strikes to Plantin which were then justified. All of the matrices have a notch at the bottom end which was used to attach a small piece of leather, ‘and stuck to the wood of the mould with cobbler’s wax during casting, so as to allow the matrix to fall far enough to allow the cast types to be ejected from the mould’. This addition to the casting technique may not have been common in the sixteenth century, as only two of the matrices have these notches and they may be later

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512 Fournier and Morison, *L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé*, pp. 22, 25. This was presumably based on the c. 1598 inventory and thus the references to feu mon père (my late father) were written by Guillaume II Le Bé.

513 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, ‘Typographica Plantiniana II’, p. 42. See also Dreyfus, *Type Specimen Facsimiles II Nos 16-18*, p. 11 (No. 89)

514 Morison and Carter, *John Fell, the University Press and the "Fell" types*, p. 257. See also Plate II in the Diderot d’Alembert Encyclopédie (Imprimerie/Relieure) which shows a view of an assembled hand mould with a matrix inserted into the mould and attached with a small leather strip tied to the two notches at the bottom end. The explanation to the plate says that this is the ‘attache de la matrice. C’est une petite bande de peau de mouton’. See Denis Diderot and Jean-Baptiste le Rond D’Alembert, *L’Encyclopédie: Imprimerie-Relieure* (Paris: Bibliotheque de l’Image, 2001)
additions. There is also a small circular indent above the notch which could also serve the purpose of holding the metal spring in place during casting. These appear to have been drilled and not struck, as there is no burr around the edge of the hole.

There are three further interesting points about these matrices. The dagesh points appear to have been drilled in a separate operation, and the character ayin is open to the side of the matrix on the descender. This was probably to allow a closer fit for the adjacent characters, although the ayin on the sixth row of the specimen must have been kerned to allow it fit under the bet. Finally the final kapf (ך) has horizontal slots on the front and rear of the matrix. It is not clear what the function of these slots was, but it points to the hand of another punchcutter.

The conclusion that Parker et al draw from these facts is that this typeface was first used in the Plantin Polyglot Bible, but a closer examination does not bear this out. The Canon size Hebrew used on the Hebrew title page and on the first page of the Biblical texts (Genesis) is in fact Hb24 (S), a typeface that Le Bé attributes to Jacob of Mantua and was already in the possession of Plantin by 1567, as it appears in the Index Characterum. It most probably came to Plantin along with the other Bomberg types which he received in 1563 with the establishment of the partnership with Becanus, de Schotti, and the van Bomberghens.\(^{515}\) Hb13 (S) appears on the title page of Plantin’s Hebrew Pentateuch of 1573 and this may well be the first appearance.\(^ {516}\)

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\(^{516}\) Voet and Voet-Grisolle, The Plantin Press, 1555-1589: a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden, p. 329 (No. 652). The annotation to the side of the specimen, (cecy est ce que l’on veult) in another hand, suggests that the specimen was shown to a potential client and that it met with his approval.

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Fig. 3.45: HB14 (S): Assembled alphabet enlarged to 10 mm appearing size

Fig. 3.46: HB14 (S): Assembled alphabet at actual size

Fig. 3.47: HB14 (S): Assembled alphabet of MA 18 (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)
The text of the specimen itself is a curious mixture of actual and invented text. The first three lines are from Ecclesiastes 11:1. The fourth and fifth lines are from the Mishnah, Pirkei Avot (Sayings of the Fathers) 2:5, with erratic vowel settings. The name on the fourth line (Rabbi Matt ben Hamur) which means literally ‘Rabbi Matt son of an Ass’ and could well be satirical, but it raises the question where Le Bé would found this name or who would have given it. It is clearly not a name that a Jew would have chosen, but possibly a Christian Hebraist or student active in Paris at that time, such as the Collège Royale professors Jean Cinquearbres, Gilbert Génébrard, the cabbalist Guillaume Postel, or the brothers Guy and Nicholas le Fèvre de la Broderie, who were involved in the production of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. The final line is Le Bé’s usual signature: BePariz Gulielmo Lebay Tsarfati (in Paris by Guillaume Le Bé a Frenchman).

This typeface appears in three instances in the Plantin inventories: 1572, 1590 (Leiden) and 1652. The entry in the 1590 Leiden inventory explains the use and transmission by Raphelengius and Johannes le Maire. In the 1652 inventory it is listed under Hebreusche Matrysen as 38 Dobbel Parangon Hebreusche. In Paris in the seventeenth century it was used in the Vitré Polyglot Bible and as late as 1753 in the Biblia Hebraica printed by Briasson and Durand.

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517 I am grateful for the assistance of Dr Jeremy Schonfield of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies for his suggestions on the text, and to Dr. Stephen Burnett of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln for his suggestions on Christian Hebraists active in Paris in the 1570s.

518 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana II', p. 114
This Le Bé type is also extremely close in style to the Double Pica Hebrew found amongst the OUP Fell types. Morison attributes the No 2 Double Pica Hebrew to the Dutch punchcutter Arent Corneliszoon van Hogenacker of Leiden (c. 1579 – 1636) and also notes that the five extended characters could be attributed to the London typefounder Nicholas Nicholls.\textsuperscript{519} John Lane has written on this type that ‘the model for Hogenacker’s Hebrew types is clear. They are close copies of the sixteenth-century Hebrew types cut by Guillaume Le Bé in Paris’.\textsuperscript{520}

\textsuperscript{519} Morison and Carter, \textit{John Fell, the University Press and the "Fell" types}, p. 234
There is another possible connection to Hb14 (S) which was first noticed by Harry Carter. In the specimen book issued by Adophe René in Paris in 1858, there are four Hebrews – a Corps 13, a Corps 18, a Corps 22 and a Rabbinique Corps 11 – all of which Carter linked to Le Bé’s Hebrews in NAF 4528. In 1966 Carter wrote to the French typefoundry Deberny & Peignot and asked for further information about these Hebrews. He was told that ‘René Corps 13 is now Peignot Corps 12 (matrice 15216)’ and that ‘the Corps 22 still exits: matrices No. 15207’. Deberny & Peignot was founded in 1923 by the merger of the two eponymous foundries and in 1972 was bought by Haas in Switzerland. Vervliet thought that the matrices could be held in the Cabinet des Poinçons, but at present this seems doubtful. Further enquires in Switzerland and in the Cabinet des Poinçons brought no further information as to the whereabouts of these matrices. The resemblance to Hb14 (S) is very clear and raises the possibility that they might have come from matrices in the Le Bé foundry and somehow made their way through various Parisian foundries to Deberny & Peignot. Alternatively they may be recuttings made based on the Le Bé originals.521

Fig. 3.51: Hebrew Corps 22 from the 1858 Epreuves des Caractères, Adophe René, Fonderie Générale Actual size (St Bride Printing Library)

Fig. 3.52: Hebrew 15207 with and without vowels from the 1924 Deberny & Peignot specimen book. Actual size (Bibliothèque Forney, Paris)

521 See Adophe René, Epreuves de Caractères (Paris: Fonderie Générale des Caractères Français et Etrangers, 1858) and Deberny et Peignot, Caractères étrangers / fonderies Deberny et Peignot. Vol. Fascicule 1 (Hébreu) (Paris: Deberny et Peignot, 1924). I am indebted to Hendrik Vervliet for letting me see the letter from Harry Carter to him, as well as to the librarian of the Bibliothèque Forney in Paris for the 1924 Deberny & Peignot Hebrew specimen.
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Sefer Kol-Bo*, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567?
- *Bible*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1573
- *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1574
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1581
- *Biblia Hebraica*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1582
- *Hagadah shel Pesach*, Venice, Israel ben Daniel Zifroni, 1606
- Hugh Broughton, *Patshegen Nishtevan*, Amsterdam, 1606
- *Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609
- Abraham ben David Portaleone, *Sefer Shilte ha-giborim*, Mantua, 1612?
- *Psalmus Primus cum Commentarijs*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1612
- *Biblia Hebraica*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1613
- *Sefer Tehilim/Psalterium*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1615
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1615
- *Grammatica Ebraea Generalis*, Leiden, Raphelengius and Le Maire, 1621
- *Samuelis libri duo*, Leiden, Johannes Le Maire, 1621
- *hoc est Arcanum punctationis revelatum*, Leiden, Johannes Le Maire, 1624
- *Behinat HaOlam*, Paris, Laqueray, 1629
- Philippe d’Aquin, *Dictionarium absolutissimum*, Paris, Antoine Vitré, 1629
- Johann Rittangel, *יצירה פרס id est Liber Ierzirah*, Amsterdam, Apud Johannum et Jodocum Ianssonios, 1642?
- *Glossarium Universale Hebraicum*, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1697
- *Biblia Hebraica*, Paris, Briasson and Durand, 1753
Hb15 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 12
Size: Petite lettre Hébraïque texte hebreu, Vervliet = Minion Hebrew [HB 1,1] or Mignonne
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1 mm; 5 lines = 9 mm (Vervliet = 1.1 mm and 20:45)
Date of creation: 1569/70 in Paris
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé for Christophe Plantin (his 15th numbered)
First use: Bible. O.T. (Hamishah Humshe Torah. 1573-74), Plantin, Antwerp
Materials preserved: ST55, MA 82a and MA 83a at the MPM
Type Specimens: 1585 Folio specimen (no. 77), Omont, 1887, 280, no. 15
Literature: Index characterum architypographiæ Plantinianæ, 1905, (Colineus Hebraeuwsch);
First Occurrence: Biblia Hebraica, Plantin, 1573

This typeface was the result of a direct commission from Christophe Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé and it appears that Le Bé sent only the punches (ST55), from which matrices were struck and justified by Hendrik van den Keere in 1571.522 Plantin asked Le Bé ‘de la fayre la plus petite que je pourroye’.523 This would perhaps explain why Le Bé notes that ‘je n’en ay peu recouvrer d’autre espreuve’.524 The specimen that Plantin sent to Le Bé is a pointed text and Le Bé comments that ‘Je ne sçay d’ou est ce petit hébreu que je reçeu de Plantain pour luy en faire un plus petit; il m’en envoya ce demy feuillet, et n’en ay point veu à Venise, ny Rome, ny autrepart’.525 It should be noted here that this is first of three requests for Hebrew types which Le Bé received from Christophe Plantin. The second resulted in Hb46(S) and the third (undated) was a request to produce a copy of a Bomberg – see Hb35 (S) – which Le Bé was unable to fulfil as he ‘neuz lors loisir de faire’.

There are two sets of matrices relating to this typeface and, according the inventory of the Hebrew material in the MPM, the matrices justified by van den Keere is MA82a and contains 36 matrices. MA 83a contains 30 matrices and is listed as Colonel alias Petit Hebreus in the 1652 inventory.526 In the inventories kept in the Plantin Moretus, this typeface is first mentioned in 1572 (ST55 and MA82a), then in 1581, possibly in the Leiden inventory of 1590, and finally in 1652 as listed as a Jolie Hebreusch. In the 1595 Plantin folio specimen, this type is names as ‘Hebrieu sur la Coronelle’.

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523 To make it as small as I could.
524 I was not able to obtain another specimen.
525 I do not know where this small Hebrew is from that I received from Plantin to make a smaller version. He sent me this half sheet and I have not seen anything like it in Venice, Rome nor anywhere else. See Rés X 1665 f.20.
The actual punches (ST55) are variously known as Coronelle hébreu, Grosse nonpareille, Jolie Hebreusche in the inventories and contain 33 punches. All are in Le Bé’s hand and of various heights, and some have one or two horizontal incisions on the side or edge of the punch. This typeface consists of the 22 basic characters, six final characters, four extended and one punctuation sign. They vary in height from 34.1 to 48.7 mm, which does not appear unusual if they are compared to ST52, a Le Bé typeface which he might have reworked (retaille) in some way.\footnote{Ibid., p. 114}
Fig. 3.54: Hb 15 (S): Selected punches from ST 55 showing differing punch heights and finish. (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

Fig. 3.55: Hb 15 (S): Assembled alphabet from the Le Bé specimen enlarged to about 5 mm appearing size.

Fig. 3.56: Hb 15 (S): Assembled alphabet from the Le Bé specimen at actual size.

Fig. 3.57: Hb 15 (S): Assembled alphabet Actual size (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)
The Le Bé specimen contains part of Psalms 79:1-5 (A Psalm of Asaph) in lines one to six, a complete alphabet in lines six and seven, and random characters in the final two lines. The only use of this typeface found to date is in the 1573 Plantin *Biblia Hebraica*. 
Hb16 (R)

Appears on NAF 4528 folio 9v and Rés X 1665, folio 21v
Size: Petit Glose
Type Classification: Rabbinical (Rashi) unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1 mm; 10 lines = 24 mm
Date of creation: 1570 in Paris
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé (his 13th numbered)
Type Specimens: MPM Archive Franç.-flamand, n° 153. Fondeurs de caractères 16e siècle.
Literature: Vervliet, 2010 (No. 367. Le Bé’s Rabbinical Hebrew on Brevier [Hb 1.2] or petit texte),
Vervliet and Carter, Type Specimen facsimiles II, 1972, No. 18 Le Bé-Moretus Fragments c. 1599,
no. 27, Le Bé Inventaire après décès c. 1617 (Glos Hebraique Petit texte mon père) – probable attribution

Le Bé dates this Rashi Script to 1570 and calls it a petit glose, which does not relate
to a known size, whereas Vervliet classifies it as Old English Brevier, or Old French Petit texte, which is equivalent to 7 pt. Didot or 7.5 pt. Anglo-American. It is the smallest Rabbinical Hebrew cut by Le Bé, no doubt prompting him later to engrave Hb 15 (S) in the same period, his fifteenth. The presence of the aleph/lamed ligature, the swash final mem and the two punctuation marks might indicate that he designed this typeface for a full text setting.

Le Bé notes in his annotation that he cut it ‘céans pour moy’ may be interpreted to mean ‘in this place for me’, and implies that he had no purchaser in mind, as opposed to Hb 17 (S), which was cut on the request of Christophe Plantin in Antwerp. Such a small size usually appears as a superscript reference to marginal notes or as a side reference itself. This can be seen, for example, in a Bible printed by Bragadin in Venice in 1590/91.528 Le Bé also notes that he sent a set of matrices (perhaps a strike) to Venice, but to date no examples of this typeface have been found in any Italian Hebrew editions. This is evidence that he kept up his connections with Italy after his return to Paris and also evidence for a trans-national trade in the sale of typefaces.

The text of the specimen is from the Mishnah (Masekhet Avot, Chapter 4). The heading is Le Bé’s fifth type, Hb7 (R) which he engraved in 1547. Lines 1 through 8 are from this text, whereas line 9 appears to be nonsense and there mainly to show several final characters. In particular there is an extended final mem in this line with an extended horizontal stroke. The final line of the specimen contains the words in Hebrew ‘BeParis Gilielmo LeBay Tsarfati asa’ or Made in Paris by Guillaume Le Bé. This was engraved during the third war of the French Wars of Religion, which may have affected Le Bé’s ability to sell his types. 529 Later in 1591, after the siege of Paris, Le Bé relates in some detail in his annotation the circumstances in which he worked and his need to have ‘de l’argent pour vivre’. 530

528 Bible, OT Pentateuch, Venice: Bragadin, 1591 (BL ORB 30/2408)
529 For a discussion of how the Wars of Religion affected Le Bé’s native city of Troyes during this period, see Roberts, A city in conflict, pp. 123-141
The specimens in NAF 4528 and Rés X 1665, although identical in the text, appear to differ slightly in leading. This may indicate that they were cast on a different mould. There is no annotation relating to the second specimen in Rés X 1665, folio 21v.

Fig. 3.59: Hb 16 (R) Specimens from NAF 4528 folio 9v (Left and top), Rés X 1665, folio 21v (centre) and the 1599 MPM specimen (right) The PM specimen has an annotation by Guillaume II Le Bé.

The complete alphabet and key letter recognition factors are as follows:

Fig. 3.60: Hb 16 (R): Complete assembled alphabet enlarged to 5 mm x-height

Fig. 3.61: Hb 16 (R): Complete assembled alphabet at actual size of 1 mm x-height

Aleph: The oblique upper stroke joins the horizontal stroke further to the right. This may be a later characteristic of Le Bé’s designs, as the first Rabbinical – Hb2(R) – has the join almost directly above the right vertical.

Koph: The left vertical stroke has a definite swell and oblique termination.

Tav: The left vertical stroke has a distinct angle.

Aleph/Lamed ligature: Similar to others ligatures of its type but its very presence indicates a possible use for longer text setting

Extended final mem: The upper horizontal stroke extends well beyond the actual type body.

This extended final character could be termed as what is now known as a swash character. Such characters are not without precedent in Hebrew typography and can be seen in incunabula editions printed in Hijar in Spain in 1485 and in Lisbon in
Portugal in 1489. It is possible that Le Bé would have seen similar editions either in Venice or in Paris and used them as his models. There are similar examples in Hb18 (R).

Fig. 3.62: Detail of semi-cursive Hebrew from Lisbon Pentateuch. Actual Size (From Freimann and Marx, Thesaurus typographiae Hebraicae saeculi XV, plate B19.8)

Note the final mem () characters in the right hand column which are similar to Le Bé’s HB18 (R). This page also shows the use of other extended characters, such as the resh and heh (). This type is a very close copy of a typical Sephardic semi-cursive hand.

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531 Freimann and Marx, Thesaurus typographiae Hebraicae saeculi XV, pp. B8-1, B26-21. See also A. Freimann, 'Die Hebräischen Inkunabeln der Druckereien in Spanien und Portugal', Gutenberg-Jahrbuch (1925)
532 Sirat and De Lange, Hebrew Manuscripts, pp. 190-195
This is the largest of the typefaces created by Le Bé and it is not obvious to what uses such a ‘monumental’ size could be put. The largest sizes of cast letters used in Venice, Paris and Antwerp during the sixteenth century for text on title pages or chapter openings are usually no larger than 16 mm in appearing size. Where larger sizes were used, they were normally incised initial letters in wood, such as those seen in Antwerp drawn by the Paris engraver Geoffrey Ballain (or Ballaing) and those engraved by Cornelis Muller, or in the initial characters of the Paris polyglot of LeJay of 1645. Another good example of these large initial letters can be seen in the *Haggadah* printed in Venice in 1609 by Israel ben Daniel Zifroni. They were produced with Passover themes in mind, and follow the Sephardic style. It may be that Le Bé had such uses in mind when he produced this alphabet.

A possible use of these monumental sizes of Hebrew, although it is unlikely that Le Bé would have known of this tradition, was to emphasize important elements in the text, such as benedictions. These can be seen in the mid fifteenth-century Ashkenazi *Haggadah* manuscript, for example on folios 1b, 35a, 37b, 39a, 43a, 45a, and 46b where initials up to 50mm in height are used.

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533 See the examples of incised ‘introductory’ letters in Réx X 1665 f. 17. This specimen is from the Bomberg 1523 Bomberg Jerusalem Talmud, the first page of the Tractate Demai.
534 Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, pp. 199-201
535 Narkiss and Modena, *Seder Hagadah shel Pesach, Venetsyah 369 = The Passover Haggadah, Venice 1609*
536 David Goldstein, Joel ben Simeon, and Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, *The Ashkenazi Haggadah: a Hebrew manuscript of the mid-15th century from the collections of the British Library*. New ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), pp. 14-15. Larger founts could also be used for the Kiddush Levanah, or sanctification of the moon, which is recited once a month when the full moon is visible. I am grateful to Dr Jeremy Schonfield for this clarification.
The final paragraph of the annotation notes that part of this alphabet was engraved in wood by one ‘Mahiel du Boys’ and this, according to Vervliet, is not the Michel Du Boys who lived from c. 1510 to 1561 and whom Le Bé credits Hb23 (S), but Mahiel Du Boys, a dominotier, or maker of marbled papers.537

The first two paragraphs of the annotation are important as they provide confirmation of Le Bé’s knowledge of and involvement in Hebrew letterforms. According to these comments, he made good use of his time in Venice to consult with Jewish scribes and possibly other engravers who dealt with Hebrew typefaces. He may also have used collections of Hebrew manuscripts in Venice available in the sixteenth century, such as the library belonging to Cardinal Domenico Grimani, which consisted of some 193 volumes. Some of these volumes came from the Christian Hebraist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.538 This is at present a hypothesis, but what little he says does point to a curiosity and interest in such matters. He also appears to have brought back with him to Paris sketchbooks of letterforms which he


had seen and later used. This period in Venice and Rome would have exposed him to aspects of Jewish culture not available to him later in Paris and he obviously came to it with a surprising lack of prejudice for the period.

There is no record of this typeface being used in any printed edition nor of its presence in the later Le Bé typefoundry, thus do they appear to have disappeared at some point before the sale of the Foundry. This is confirmed by the fact that Le Bé makes no mention of a sale to another printer or typefounder.

The large size of this typeface gives an accurate depiction of Le Bé’s ‘late mature style’, if it can be so called. The letterforms are strongly influenced by pen shapes, well modulated in their transitions from vertical to horizontal strokes, and with a clear eye to the differentiation of similar letterforms, such as the bet and kapf, dalet and resh, samekh and final mem. It is interesting to observe in the specimen that the ascender of the lamed overlaps the left stroke of the chet, and Le Bé has not pasted down this element, but left a flap to lift up on the specimen.

Fig. 3.65: Hb 17 (S) Unretouched Assembled alphabet from NAF 4528 folio 14v-15 (Reduced 50 per cent)
Hb18 (R)

Appears on NAF 4528 folios 9v, 10, 11v and 12v; and Rés X 1665, folio 6

Size: Glose (cast on St. Augustin body)

Type Classification: Rabbinical (Rashi) unpointed

Measurements: x-height of 2.3 mm; 10 lines = 24 mm

Date of creation: 1574 in Paris

Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé (his 14th numbered)

Materials preserved: M135a in MPM

Type Specimens: MPM 1599 specimen [Folio 20c]

Literature: Vervliet Conspectus: 379 Le Bé’s Rabbinical Hebrew on English [Hb 2.3], Le Bé

Inventaire après décès c. 1617 (Glos Hebraique St Augustin mon père) – probable attribution

First Occurrence: Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609

This specimen occurs in four different folios of the two Le Bé documents. The complete specimen is repeated and dated in 4528 folio 10 and 1665 folio 6, whereas the same type is used in 4528 folio 11v and 12v as headings. Le Bé calls this a ‘glose’ in the annotation on 1665 folio 6 and mentions it, without any further comments, on 4528 folio 20. In the 1599 Le Bé-Moretus fragments, part of the whole specimen is shown with an added handwritten annotation by Guillaume II Le Bé ‘Glose Hebraique a fondre sur le St. Augustin taillé de feu mon pere’.539

The complete specimen is repeated and dated in 4528 folio 10 and 1665 folio 6, whereas the same type is used in 4528 folio 11v and 12v as headings. Le Bé calls this a ‘glose’ in the annotation on 1665 folio 6 and mentions it, without any further comments, on 4528 folio 20. In the 1599 Le Bé-Moretus fragments, part of the whole specimen is shown with an added handwritten annotation by Guillaume II Le Bé ‘Glose Hebraique a fondre sur le St. Augustin taillé de feu mon pere’.539

The 1730 Le Bé inventory does list a set of 42 punches for a ‘Glose Hébraïque St. Augustin mon père’ and two similar named sets of 44 matrices each.540 It is a fair assumption that these punches and at least one set of matrices relate to this typeface and remained in the Le Bé foundry until its final sale and disappearance. A very similar typeface appears in the catalogue of the Parisian Fonderie Adolphe René in 1858 – a Rabbinique du Onze – and includes part of the almost identical text and the final swash mem. Furthermore the same punctuation with the raised full stop and end of verse colon has been followed. These similarities could not be coincidental and point to a setting from the original matrices or at the least a very faithful copy of them from the Le Bé specimens in the BnF.541 The Fonderie Adolphe René existed from 1851 to 1871 and formed part of the succession of the Fonderie Générale which incorporated many smaller French type foundries including Firmin Didot. Further research may yet reveal a connection to the Le Bé foundry, but that is beyond the remit of the present research.542

539 Dreyfus, Type Specimen Facsimiles II Nos 16-18 (Le Bé-Moretus fragments, c. 1599 No. 26)

Hebrew gloss to be cast on St Augustin engraved by my late father.

540 Fournier and Morison, L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé

541 René, Épreuves de Caractères

What is unique about this specimen are the extended final forms, which could almost be described as ‘swash’ characters, borrowing the term from swash capitals or ‘a typographical flourish on a glyph, like an exaggerated serif’. These were common in the sixteenth century and are seen, for example, in some of the typefaces cut by Granjon and Garamont.

The example in figure 3.59 shows similar swash and extended characters from a Biblical commentary printed in Leiria in Portugal by Samuel d’Ortas and sons in 1494. The type is based on a semi-cursive Sephardic script and illustrates the condensed lamed, the ‘swash’ final mem, and the extended resh (edio) which Le Bé has added in his specimen. The expulsion of the Jews in 1497 from Portugal occurred soon after this publication and it is likely that Portuguese Hebrew editions such as these would have reached Venice by the time Le Bé was active there in the 1540s.

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545 Sirat and De Lange, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, pp. 190-195
These forms of swash characters are also seen in Hebrew editions attributed to Samuel Netivot in Fez in Morocco from 1516 and 1517. The edition of the Sefer Abudarham of 1517 has examples of an extended resh, tav, lamed, extended final mem, smaller condensed final mem and final kapf.\textsuperscript{546} This provides indirect evidence for the movement of typefaces from Spain to North Africa during the period of the expulsions from Spain and Portugal. The swash characters can be seen in HB 16 (R), and this is clearly a progression on Le Bé’s part in the models he has used for his types.

Fig. 3.68: Type specimen of Targum to the Book of Earlier Prophets from Bible printed by Samuel d’Ortas in Leiria in Portugal, dated 1494. Slightly reduced (From Freimann, \textit{Thesaurus typographiae Hebraicae saeculi XV}, 1969, Plate B27, 5)

The text of the specimen is a commentary by the eleventh-century Biblical commentator Abraham ben Meir Ibn Ezra to the passage from Psalms which appears on the same specimen (Hb13 (S)).\textsuperscript{547} The penultimate line appears to be unconnected words, and the final line is Le Bé’s signature in Hebrew: ‘BePariz Gulielmo Lebay Tsarfati asa’ or made in Paris by Guillaume Le Bé Frenchman.

A very similar Rashi script is to be seen in an edition of a Machzor printed in Mantua in 1557, yet dates of this edition and Le Bé’s attribution of 1574 would rule out this as a use of the typeface.\textsuperscript{548} It is possible that Le Bé might have seen this edition and used it as a model. The Mantua edition does not have any extended characters, but the line spacing (leading) is identical. Another Hebrew type which appears in this 1557 Mantua edition is a 3.9 mm Square Sephardic and is used on the title page and on headings, and is very similar to Le Bé’s 1548 Hb10(S). It is possible that strikes of this Hebrew were sold to the printers named on the title page, Yaakov ben Naftali Cohen of Gazzuolo (fl. 1556-1562) and Meir ben Ephraim Sofer (1556 to 1587).\textsuperscript{549} Le Bé does not mention any transactions of this sort with printers in Mantua, but they could have acquired them from Venetian printers.

\textsuperscript{546} Heller, \textit{The sixteenth century Hebrew book}, pp. 102-103
\textsuperscript{549} Ascarelli and Menato, \textit{La tipografia del ’500 in Italia}, p. 186
The further two specimens of this typeface appear as headings and signature on Folios 11v and 12v of NAF 4528 and are dated to 1579. They do not present any examples of the swash extended letters, nor does the first printed use as noted by Vervliet: Francesco Giorgio’s *Harmonie du Monde*, printed by Jean Macé in Paris in 1579.\(^{550}\) The type here is used for occasional Hebrew words without any swash/extended letters, but this edition does show the condensed lamed character, as does the *Psalmus Primus* printed by Guillaume II Le Bé in 1612.\(^{551}\)

![Condensed Lamed](Image)

The specimens held in the Plantin Moretus archive contain 39 strikes (MA135a). This typeface appears in the inventories of 1590 (Leiden) and 1652. This is described as *Garamonde cursive hebraïque* in the *Inventaris*,\(^{552}\) which Vervliet identifies as being Le Bé’s Rabbinical Hebrew on English (Hb 2.3) in his *Conspectus*, yet the material in the MPM Inventories is less conclusive and suggests that it could be a Bomberg type.\(^{553}\) The attribution to Le Bé does appear to be correct, given the condensed lamed, and the zayin and yod cast with Gershayim – the double punctuation marks over the character. These can be seen on both the Le Bé specimen and the Plantin Moretus specimen of strikes. What is curious is the smaller nun whose use is not clear. The smaller nun can be seen on lines seven and nine from the top of the Le Bé specimen. None of the extended final characters are included in the strikes. It is very clear that these strikes have not been justified, and a close examination shows the distortion to the matrix sides caused by the impact of the punch on the matrix and the unfinished state of the heads of the strikes. Small circular indents have been added to the reverse of each strike to hold the pin in mould.

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\(^{551}\) *Psalmus Primus cum Commentarijs*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1612


This same typeface was later used as a model for a Rashi cut in the nineteenth century and shown in various Imprimerie Nationale publications. The size is larger (3 mm x-height) and subtle changes made to various characters, such as the final mem, the tav, but note the similarities to the tsadde and the lamed. The table below
is from the 1927 publication edited by Charles Fossey and printed at the Imprimerie Nationale.  

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Fig. 3.74: Alphabet Rabbinique from the Imprimerie Nationale (Notices sur les Caractères Étrangers anciens et modernes, Fossey, 1927)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609

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Stephen Lubell thesis final May 2014
Hb19 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folios 11v and 12v
Size: Petit texte hebreu (Textin), Vervliet = English-sized Hebrew [HB 2] or Saint-Augustin
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed and pointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.9 mm; 10 lines = 42 mm pointed (Vervliet = 2.0 mm and 20:90 pointed)
Date of creation: 1579 in Paris
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé (his sixteenth numbered)
First use: None
Materials preserved:
Type Specimens: 1599 Le Bé Moretus specimens,
Literature: Vervliet Conspectus: 380/Le Bé’s English-sized Hebrew [Hb 2] or Saint-Augustin, Le Bé
Inventaire après décès c. 1617 (Hebreu Saint Augustin mon père) – probable attribution
First Occurrence: Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609

Le Bé writes in his annotation to NAF 4528 folio 12v that this typeface was cut in Paris, yet the typeset note above the specimen (in Hb18 (R)) has the following text in Hebrew: El HaElyon Carlo Quirini Atzil Veniziano. This translates as ‘To the most mighty Carlo Querini Venetian Nobleman’. The phrase El HaElyon or alternatively El Elyon is used in the Bible to refer to God and is used here as a translation of the Italian honorific term Magnifico, as was used for example for Lorenzo de’ Medici during the Renaissance – Lorenzo the Magnificent or Lorenzo il Magnifico. It tells us that Le Bé continued to have a connection with Querini after his return to Paris from Venice and yet, Querini only appears to have published Hebrew books during the 1540s in collaboration with Meir di Parenzo. It is not clear why Le Bé would have dedicated this typeface to him. The only likely attributions for this typeface seen to date are the Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime, printed by Guillaume II Le Bé in 1609 and the Glossarium Universale Hebraicum, printed by the Imprimerie Royale, Paris in 1697.

There is also a possible link to the Cicero Hebrew found in the type specimens of Louis Delacolonge of 1773. Delacolonge’s typefoundry was in Lyon and had a good selection of identifiable founts by Claude Garamont, Pierre Haultin, Robert Granjon, Jean Arnould, Jacques I Sanlecurcq, Francois Gando le Jeune, Claude Lamesle, and Nicolas Gando. The Hebrew founts were not absolutely attributed by Harry Carter in his critical edition of the specimens, but he did note that ‘it looks like an old copy of one by Guillaume I Le Bé’. The specimen for the Hébreu ponctué de Cicero adds that he had ‘Hébreux au corps de Petit-Texte, de Petit-Romain, de Philosophie, de Cicero, de Saint-Agustin, & de Gros Romain’ and that ‘les points d’hébreu sont toujours au corps de nonpareille pour tous les corps’. Thus is it is quite plausible that Delacolonge had more Le Bé Hebrew founts in his foundry, which he probably acquired when he took over the business in the 1760s. There are some differences in

555 The term is also found in the first blessing of the daily Amidah prayer, where the prayer reads ‘the Most High God who bestows loving kindesses’. I am indebted to Rabbi Alex Chapper of the Ilford Federation Synagogue for this reference. See also Gen 14: 18-20.

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the characters as compared to the Le Bé original, for example the ayin, which may be a sign of a later recutting. 556

The text of the specimen in both examples is from Psalms 124, the difference being that the specimen in folio 11v is unpointed whereas the specimen in folio 12v is pointed – both vowels and cantillation marks. There are also examples of *literae dilatrabiles* (aleph, heh and final mem), which indicate that the typeface was intended for a full Biblical setting. Le Bé has as usual added his signature and the date is also typeset in both cases.557 The arabesques at the top and bottom of Folio 12v as well as around the date are most probably French, but as yet unidentified.

The annotation in Le Bé-Moretus specimen no. 29 reads ‘Texte hébreu a fondre avec les pointz sur le St. Augustin. Taillé par feu mon pere’.558 Le Bé notes that size is ‘nommé a Venise le textin’, and the closest in name is the Italian size Testino or approximately 8 points Anglo-American. This is equivalent to the old English size Brevier or old French petit texte.559 The pointed version is indeed very close in x-height and leading to the St. Augustin Roman shown in Vervliet’s *Conspectus*.560

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556 Delacolonge and Carter, *The type specimen of Delacolonge*, pp. 22-28, 75-81
557 BePariz Gulielmo Lebay Tsarfati asa or Made in Paris by Guillaume Le Bé Frenchman.
558 Hebrew text to be cast with points on St. Augustin. Engraved by my late father.
559 Bauer, *Handbuch fuer Schriftsetzer ... Dritte neu bearbeitete Auflage*, etc, pp. 30-31 and Reed and Johnson, *History of the old English Letter Foundries*, p. 32
560 See R93 and R95 for example in Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus*, pp. 166-170

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Fig. 3.75: Hb19 (S) Assembled alphabet enlarged to 8 mm appearing size

Fig. 3.76: Hb19 (S) Assembled alphabet at actual size
Fig. 3.77: Hb19 (S) Specimens from NAF4528 folios 11v (Left) and 12v (Right) Actual size

Fig. 3.78: Hb19 (S) Specimens from the Delacolonge specimens of 1773 Actual size
Hb20 (R)

Appears on NAF 4528 folios 16v and 17
Size: Unidentified Vervliet = Le Bé's Rabbinical Hebrew on eight-line Pica [Hb 17]
Type Classification: Rabbinical (Rashi) unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 17 mm
Date of creation: 1591 in Paris
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé (unnumbered, but number 19 in this thesis
First use: No known uses
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: NAF 4528 folios 16v and 17 only
Literature: Vervliet Conspectus: 405 Le Bé's Rabbinical Hebrew on Eight-line Pica [Hb 17; Omont, Spécimens de Caractères Hébreux, Grecs, Latins et de Musique, 1889, No. XVI bis

This alphabet is the nineteenth Hebrew typeface produced by Le Bé, and has no recorded uses, nor any surviving material. They are clearly printed specimens, judging by the ink squash and slightly uneven inking visible on some of the letters. They appear to have been cut by someone else and not to Le Bé’s satisfaction, yet there is a suggestion that they were sold in some haste. Le Bé notes that he did not have the energy or time to clean them up. He was 66 at the time and very near the end of his career as a punchcutter.

A further point of interest in this annotation is Le Bé’s comment on what he calls ‘une lettre courante dont les Hebreux se servent en lescripture de leurs comptes et affaires ordinaires’. The term ‘courant’ applies in Latin palaeography to the humanistic cursive book script, which began to appear in the late fourteenth century in Florence. This cursive humanistique courante was characterised by ‘son exécution extrêmement rapide, l’accumulation des ligatures et des abréviations en fin du mot’. Le Bé appears to be confusing the Hebrew cursive hand with the Rashi rabbinical hand, which although it did have its roots in the cursive hand, is quite distinct from the everyday cursive script. The cursive script has quite different forms which developed from the need to write quickly and resulted in joined-up letters where necessary. Le Bé writes that the current hand is not so ‘fardée et arrondie, mais sent plus sa chicanerie, coppie et courante’ (not so ‘painterly i.e. calligraphic and rounded) and this is indeed the case if one compares the following examples to the typeface in question. Le Bé did not appear to find the Jewish cursive hand very attractive and is perhaps trying to explain why he never used it as a model. His use of the word ‘chicanerie’ could be interpreted to express a certain underlying dislike of Jews and their business practices. This cursive is the antecedent of the model presently used in the Hebrew speaking world and increasingly adapted as an

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561 Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues*, pp. (RAB-RAC)
563 Mediavilla, *Histoire de la calligraphie française*, p. 164
564 The *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694) defines ‘chicane’ as ‘les subtilitez captieuses dont on se sert dans les disputes de l’escole, & pour les contestations mal fondées que l’on fait, soit dans le jeu, soit en autre chose’. Harry Carter interpreted it as ‘cleverness’ in an unpublished manuscript.
alternative to the Square Sephardic for signage and display typography. A good example is the version created by Zvi Narkis in 1998 called Narkis Tami.

Fig. 3.79: Example of Hebrew cursive script (Yiddish) from Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*, Vol II.

Fig. 3.80: Example of Hebrew cursive script alphabet from Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*, Vol II.

Fig. 3.81: Specimen of Narkis Tami Light (Specimen from Authors’ collection)

This Hebrew appears in the *Alphabetum rabbinicum ex antiquiss*, printed by Guillaume II Le Bé in 1600.\(^{565}\)

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\(^{565}\) Schwarzfuchs and Coron, *Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle*, p. 224
Fig. 3.82: Hb20 (R) Assembled specimen from NAF 4584 F. 16v-17 (Actual size)
Hb21 (S)

Appears on NAF 4528 folios 16v and 17
Size: Not identified, Vervliet = Le Bé’s Hebrew on Eight-line Pica [Hb 17]
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 17 mm
Date of creation: 1591 in Paris
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé (unnumbered, but number 20)
First use: No known uses
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: NAF 4528 folios 16v and 17
Literature: Vervliet Conspexitus: 404 Le Bé’s Hebrew on Eight-line Pica [Hb 17], Omont Spécimens de Caractères Hébreux, Grecs, Latins et de Musique, 1889, No. XVI bis

This typeface may be considered the twentieth and final Hebrew cut by Le Bé. It is not even clear if it was cast in metal or engraved in wood. The specimens are clearly printed and ink squash is visible in some of the characters. Yet the very size of the characters would indicate a wood engraving, as Le Bé does mention in the case of Hb 17 (S), where he used the services of the Dominotier Machiel Du Boys for the engraving. It is not improbable that he did the same in case of these two typefaces, but was not pleased by the result: ‘ont esté fort mal taillées par un qui n’a observé les traiczt ny les corrections, n’ayant a cause du temps meilleur moyen de les fayre, se passerent aussi mal que le temps, et les despescha pour avoir de l’argent pour vivre’.

The trade or craft of Dominotier was apparently well-established in Le Bé’s native city of Troyes and it is likely that he would have known of them and used their services. It has been noted that ‘les images de dominoterie, dont Troyes et Rouen fournissaient la France et toute l’Europe’, involved hand colouring of printed or engraved images. The series of wood engravings produced by the Le Bé family has been previously discussed.

Harry Carter notes in his edition of Moxon’s Mechanick Exercises that ‘it is unlikely that letters bigger than the Dutch Groote Kanon (about 0.6 in or 15 mm) were cast as type until the middle of the eighteenth century.’ As evidence he cites an item from Henri Du Tour’s (Hendrik Van den Keere) account book of 1575, which talks about ‘la Fonte en Sablon’, and a note from Franciscus Raphelengius Junior in 1618 which also speaks of ‘wooden punches for the biggest capitals and window-bill letters and all such as they cast in sand’.

Nevertheless without any examples of either actual usage or documentary evidence as to how they were made, this can only be a supposition at present.

566 Le Thresor de la langue francoyse (1606) defines ‘dominotier’ as ‘celuy qui fait et qui vend des dominos, c’est à dire des images et oeuvres de pourtraicature peintes et imprimées en papier, et gravées en bois ou cuivre’, which implies a wide trade than someone who dealt only in marbled papers.
568 See page 143 in this thesis.
569 Moxon, Carter, and Davis, Mechanick Exercises, p. 371
The main distinctive element in this typeface is the lamed, where the ascender of the lamed bends to the right, with a flag-shaped termination stroke.

Fig. 3.83: Hb21 (S) Assembled specimen from NAF 4584 F. 16v-17 (Actual size)
Hb22 (R)

Appears on NAF 4528 folios 13; and Rés X 1665, folio 5v
Size: Grosse Glose (cast on Gros Romain body)
Type Classification: Rabbinical (Rashi) unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 2.8 mm; 10 lines = 54 mm (Vervliet Conspectus: 20:117)
Date of creation: 1592 in Paris
Punchcutter: Guillaume I Le Bé (his seventeenth numbered)
Type Specimens: In Le Bé Moretus specimen: 1599 no. 25,
Literature: Vervliet Conspectus: 394/Hb 2.8 Le Bé’s Rabbinical Hebrew on Great Primer, Lane,
Early Type Specimen, 2004, pp. 248-9, no. 158, Le Bé Inventaire après décès c. 1617 (Glos
Hebraique Gros Romain mon père) – probable attribution
First Occurrence: Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609

Le Bé dates this specimen to June or July of 1592, after the siege of Paris during the
period of the Wars of the Three Henris: (1585-93), during which Henri III – then
allied with the Calvinist faction – laid siege to Paris. Henri III was assassinated in
1598, and Henri de Navarre, who took the title of Henri IV, eventually declared
himself a Catholic and was crowned at Chartres in 1593, and entered Paris
unopposed in March 1594.570 The siege of Paris lasted from May to September 1590
and was ‘l’un des plus atroces épisodes des guerres de Religion’.571 The diarist Pierre
l’Estoile recorded his observations from this period which saw acts of extraordinary
cruelty committed by both sides. L’Estoile also records the famine which probably
cost the lives of some 30,000 Parisians, out of a total estimated population of some
250,000 to 300,000.572 Another chronicler, Henri de Monantheuil, wrote of the
siege, that it was a siege ‘duquel la memoire ne s’effacera jamais, à cause de
l’incoiable famine et disette de toutes choses necessaires a la vie, que tout le people y
a supporté, de veilles, de soings, de crainte, de tristesse, manquant de toute
victuaille necessaire, n’ayant point de gensdarmes pour sa defense ou bien ce peu
qu’elle en avoit c’estoient gendsarmes tous alangouris (languishing) de famine et de
necessité …’ 573

These events put into context Le Bé’s comment that he cut this type ‘pour passer
l’ennui’.574 One can well imagine the effect this situation might have had on a man of
his age, and not less so on his various businesses.

570 See French Wars of Religion – a quick timeline’. See also Gullemette Payen and Michel De
Jaeghere, ’Vive Henri IV!’, in Le Figaro (Hors Série), 2010)
571 L’Estoile and Papin, Paris pendant les guerres de Religion: extraits de ses registres-journaux, p. 313
572 De L’Estoile was an ‘audiencier a la chancellerie du Partlement de Paris’, or an officer in the
Chancery who ‘hears examines or hears read all patents before they pass the seale and delivers them
out’. See Cotgrave, A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues, pp. (Letters AVD-AVE)
573 Guillaume Bishop of Lisieux Du Vair, Jacques Flach, and Frantz Funck-Brentano, Traité de la
constance et consolation es calamitez publiques ... Edité par Jacques Flach ... et F. Funck-Brentano,
etc (Paris: Librairie de la Société de Receuil Sirey, 1915), pp. 15-16
574 Cotgrave (1619) defines ennui (ennuy) as ‘annoy, vexation, trouble, disquiet, grieve, anguish,
wearisomenesse ...’ so it is most likely that Le Bé is not referring to his own boredom, rather to the
anguish he suffered.
Le Bé also records his age at 68, which could not be correct if he were born in 1525, but rather 1524. The date given in Hebrew in the specimen is the month of Nisan in 1592, which is equivalent to March 1592 and which would thus date the specimen to earlier in the year 1592. Thus whatever the actual date when this typeface was cut, the circumstances must have been difficult. Perhaps due to the very events of the time, it does not appear to have had any distribution at all. Yet the 1730 Inventory does show a set of 43 punches for a ‘Glose Hébraïque gros Romain, mon père’ and set of 44 matrices for a ‘Glose hebraïque G. Romain mon père’, so it is more than likely that this typeface remained in the Le Bé family until the sale of the foundry in the eighteenth century. Yet the number of characters taken from the specimen is 35, which leaves another four unaccounted for, as the specimen does not contain the characters tet, ayin, Final peh and final Tsadde.

An intriguing and as yet unattributed specimen of this typeface appears in the specimen book of the Fonderie Générale of Adolphe René, in Paris, 1858. The Rabbinique du Treize is an exact copy of Hb19 (S) including the same text as used in the specimen of Hb18 (R).575.

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\[\text{Fig. 3.84: Hb22 (R). The full specimen (NAF 4528 f. 13) Actual size}\]

575 See page 198 of this thesis for earlier discussion of this specimen.
Just as Le Bé appears to have used a Sephardic model for Hb18 (R), this typeface shows influences from the same source. The small ‘superscript’ nun in line ten from the top in the specimen is also found in an edition from the press of Samuel d'Ortas in Leiria, Portugal in 1495.576 There are also smaller forms of the final mem and the shin, whose origins may well be from scribal forms in Sephardic manuscripts.577 The close setting of groups of characters point to sophisticated composition and kerning techniques at this early stage of Hebrew type casting.

The specimen itself is a commentary in Zechariah 14 by the twelfth-century Biblical commentator David Kimchi, also known as Redak.578 The final line contains Le Bé’s usual signature plus the date: BePariz Gulielmo Lebay Tsarfati asa beHodesh Nisan beShnat 1592.579 We may imagine that he was able to find a person knowledgeable enough in Hebrew grammar to provide him with the name of the month in Hebrew.

The arabesque at the top of the specimen is very similar to one which is to be seen in Plantin’s Index Characterum of 1567, Junta in Venice in 1572, and the Egenolff specimen in Frankfurt of 1592 in the sixteenth century.580 This fleuron is attributed

576 Freimann and Marx, *Thesaurus typographiae Hebraicae saeculi XV*, pp. [plate B29, 22]
577 See assembled alphabets 311-315 in Volume II of Birnbaum, *The Hebrew scripts* for example of similar scribal hands.
578 See article on David Kimchi in Adler, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*.
579 Guillaume Le Bé Frenchman made this in Paris in the month of Nisan in the year..
580 Francis Meynell and Stanley Morison, 'Printer's Flowers and Arabesques', in *Fleuron anthology. Chosen and with a retrospectus by Francis Meynell and Herbert Simon*, ed. by Francis Meynell and Herbert Simon (Tonbridge, Kent and London, Toronto and Buffalo: Ernest Benn and University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 28
to Granjon and was purchased by Plantin from Granjon in 1566.581 There are matrices listed for 18 fleurons cut by Granjon in the 1730 inventory, which may well have included this particular one.582

This particular typeface has several distinctive elements: the swash final mem (ם), the swash heh, the narrow form of the lamed, the ‘superscript’ nun, the long ascender to the final nun, and the long descender to the final tsadde. Were it possible to locate further printed examples of this typeface, no doubt the four missing characters could extend this list.

Fig. 3.87: Hb22 (R) Assembled alphabet from NAF 4528 folio 13. Enlarged to 10 mm appearing size.

Fig. 3.88: Hb22 (R) Assembled alphabet from NAF 4528 folio 13. (Actual size)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Linguae Hebraicae Institutiones Absolutissime*, Paris, Guillaume II Le Bé, 1609
- Philippe d’Aquin, *Dictionarium absolutissimum*, Paris, Antoine Vitré, 1629

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582 Fournier and Morison, *L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé*, p. 26
Chapter 4: Analysis of Res X 1665 – Types by other punchcutters

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the Hebrew types from the second document in the BnF in Paris: Inv. Réserve X 1665. As noted in Chapter One, this is not a chronological listing of types cut by Le Bé, although it does contain seven specimens repeated from Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528. The balance of the specimens consists of types from the presses of Robert Estienne, Daniel Bomberg, Martin Le Jeune and other unidentified presses of the sixteenth century. It has no specimens of Latin, Greek or Music types, and only presents specimens of Hebrew.

As this document has no handwritten inscription to identify it by Le Bé, as does Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528, it seems a safe assumption that it was produced after the first, yet it appears to have entered the Royal Library by at least 1750. The hand writing used for the annotations is consistent with the hand writing in Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528. It was probably also bound by this time, given that there are four inserts that are bound into the spine. The sewn binding was also clearly done after the actual compilation, as the binder has trimmed the pages, as can been seen by the cropped annotations on folios three and four at the head. It is also curious that there are seven ‘repeats’ of specimens from the earlier document, often with different annotations. Was this a case of forgetfulness or perhaps that Le Bé did not have the first document in his possession when he compiled the second? There are no obvious answers to these questions.

A working hypothesis is that Le Bé kept these documents as a kind of aide-mémoire for himself of the work he had produced, perhaps as way of asserting ownership of a valuable economic asset. It was also a record of those Hebrew types which he had collected over his lifetime in both Venice and Paris. If this is correct, it adds to their importance for the typographic history of the sixteenth century.

583 See page 16 in this thesis.
Hb23 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, Folio 1v
Size: Bu Boy’s two-line Great Primer Hebrew [Hb 6] or Tresmégiste (Grosse Lettre)
Type Classification: Square Sephardic partially pointed
Measurements: x-height of 5.5 mm
Date of creation: 1545? In Venice
Punchcutter: Michel du Boys for Marco Antonio Giustiniani, and Guillaume Le Bé
First use: Seder tefilot mi-kol ha-shanah, Venice, 1545
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Omont, 887, 263
Literature: Vervliet Conspectus, 2010, No. 400, p. 417

In his annotation, Le Bé attributes for this type face to the punchcutter Michel Du Boys, who cut it for Marco Antonio Giustiniani. Le Bé also adds that ‘Me (Messer) Leon, Juif, me voulu fayre refayre’. This is no doubt the same messer Leon mentioned in the annotation for 4528, Folio 1, who was Giustiniani’s ‘prote’, i.e. his print shop manager and the person responsible for his Hebrew editions. 584 In this case, it may be that Messer Leon was not entirely happy with the quality of the type and asked Le Bé to redo it. The final nun and the lamed could be said to show the hand of Le Bé, but the general style is much ‘squarer’ and less calligraphic than that of Le Bé.

Vervliet attributes five Hebrews to Du Boys in the Conspectus, four of them conjectural, whereas this typeface appears to be a solid attribution, given Le Bé’s annotation. If one compares this typeface to Du Boy’s Great Primer Hebrew, there is indeed a resemblance. Du Boys is known to have been in Venice and Lyons during the 1540s, before going to Geneva, where he died in 1561. 585

The characteristics of this typeface make it quite readily recognisable. The shin has a very thin middle stroke, the lamed a very distinct flagged termination and the peh a square top stroke and slightly angled termination tip. The type, given its size, was more useful as a display type and thus the dagesh points in the specimen do not seem to have been used. The specimen itself is a conflation of Biblical names – Avraham/Yitzhak/Gad/Ya’akov/Moshe/Aharon/David/Schlomo, followed by four nonsense words, and finally two lines of characters in a semblance of alphabetical order. The purpose of the specimen is to provide a complete sampling of all the characters.

584 Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592, p. 8 (N. 1). Dictionnaire de l’Académie française, (1762) Terme d’Imprimerie. ‘On appelle ainsi Celui qui, sous les ordres du maître, est chargé de la direction & de la conduite de tous les ouvrages, & de revoir & corriger les épreuves’.
585 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, pp. 40-41, 408
The interesting point here is that a set of matrices made their way to Basle, where they were used by Konrad Waldkirch in a series of Hebrew editions. This was probably via the Jewish printer Israel ben Daniel Zifroni, ‘who had worked previously for Vincenzo Conti in Cremona and Sabbioneta and would work afterwards for the Di Gara press in Venice’. In Basle Zifroni worked for Ambrosius Froben and upon his return to Italy in 1585 ‘left a number of books which were ready for printing and which were later printed by Konrad Waldkirch’.586

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- Seder tefilot mi-kol ha-shanah, Venice, 1545
- Otiot shel Rabi Akiba, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- Sha'ar bet H. he-hadash: ... Humash im Targum va-Hamesh megilot ve-Haftarot, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- Sefer Agur, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546-7
- Babylonian Talmud, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546-50
- Sefer HaShorashim, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547
- Halakhot Gedolot, Venice, Giustiniani, 1548
- Shulhan Arukh, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
- Seder HaTefilot, Basle, Waldkirch, 1598

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586 Heller, 'Ambrosius Froben, Israel Zifroni and Hebrew Printing in Freiburg im Breisgau', p. 3
• *Birkat HaMazon*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1598-99
• *Pithu Sha’arim*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1599
• *Sha’arei Dura*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1599
• *Selihot*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1600
• Moshe de Léon, *Zot HaSefer HaNefesh HaHochma*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1608
Le Bé’s annotation helps us to place this much used and much travelled typeface in a context prior to its acquisition by Christophe Plantin. We do not know precisely who ‘Jacob de mantoue’ was, but Le Bé tells us that he was a ‘jeune homme travaillant à l’imprimerie’ and that he sold strikes of this typeface to Meir di Parenzo (Mazo di Parenza), who then asked Le Bé to justify the strikes. If we accept that ‘Jacob de mantoue’ was a contemporary of Le Bé, it does not resolve the question of why this typeface appears much earlier in a Bomberg edition of 1519. Le Bé’s description of him as ‘jeune’ in the 1540s would therefore disqualify him for being the punchcutter for the Bomberg types. There is indeed a connection between Meir di Parenzo and Bomberg, as Parenzo is said to have ‘learned his craft in the shop of the prince of printers Daniel Bomberg, where he was associated with Cornelio Adelkind’. 587 Thus Le Bé’s attribution of this typeface to ‘Jacob de mantoue’ appears dubious.

The link to Bomberg is confirmed by the fact that this typeface came to the Officina Plantiniana by virtue of the 1563 agreement of November 1563, which established a ‘compagnie d’imprimerie’, of whom the signatories were Charles and Cornille van Bomberghen, Jacques de Scotti, Johannes Goropius Becanus and Cretofre (Christophe) Plantin. This company re-established Plantin in Antwerp and gave him the use of some of the Bomberg Hebrews, but the conditions specified that the Hebrew editions ‘simprimeront au nom des Bomberghes sans contrediction quelconque’. The contract also stated that the Hebrew matrices should be returned to the Bomberg family and not kept by Plantin. The Charles and Cornille mentioned in the contract were most probably the son and nephew of Daniel van Bomberghen who had inherited the Venice press and its material in 1556 and who had brought to Antwerp at least ‘une partie … des caractères hébraïques, que Daniel avait fait fondre ou ciseler a grand frais pour usage’. 588

587 Amram, *The makers of Hebrew books in Italy*, p. 367

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The 45 matrices of MA34 in the MPM archives appear in the Plantin inventory of 1572, but they were acquired before this date, as there is note in the archives which records that in 1564 the punchcutter François Guyot was paid ‘for striking and justifying 55 matrices for a Hebrew on 2 règles Augustine including 10 matrices for points which seem to have been lost’. If these matrices were indeed Hb24 (S), no punches has survived from which he could have made strikes. The dagesh points appear to have drilled into the matrices and not struck, and there are no vowels. Also to be noted is the crude finishing of the head of the matrix, although they appear to be correctly justified. These matrices were listed once again in the 1652 inventory as ’47 Dobbel Augstijn Hebreusche’.

Fig. 4.4: MA 34 Matrices Actual size (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

589 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, ‘Typographica Plantiniana II’, p. 43
590 There are at least six Bomberg Hebrews in the MPM archives: MA24 (Petit texte hebreu), MA34 (Double Augustine hebreu), MA 82c (Petite Augustine Hébreu Cursive), MA135b (Mediane cursive Hebraique), MA135c (Garamonde cursive Hebraique), and MA167a (Vrai texte Hebreu). See ibid. for more details.
A microscopic examination of six of the matrices from MA34 confirms Fred Smeijer’s hypothesis that his procedures 2 and 3 would have been used to produce these matrices.\textsuperscript{591}

The dagesh points in the three characters below were added after the initial strike was produced. The bet, for example, shows three successive holes, possibly produced with some type of circular punch and then finished with a pump drill or hand file. The dagesh in the shin is very roughly struck and show clear signs of the hole being completed with a file. The printing surfaces of the samekh and the ayin also show evidence of being finished by hand. There is no evidence of the use of counter punches to form the counters.

\textsuperscript{591} See page 188 of this thesis.
A recent study established that there were two distinct display types used by Bomberg, types D and E, and identified type E as the Double Augustine Hebreu of Plantin. This is the same typeface that was used in the 1523 Bomberg edition of *Mikneh Avram/Peculium Abram*.

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Fig. 4.7: Types D and E display types as used by Bomberg. From Kalman, *The Book craft of Daniel Bomberg's Press in Venice in the first Half of the 16th Century*, 1992, p. 103.
Fig. 4.8: Hb24 (S) Assembled alphabet from specimen (Actual size)

Le Bé’s attribution of this typeface to the unknown ‘Jacob de mantoue’ provides a clue to the type of anonymous punchcutters of Hebrew types who would have been active in the sixteenth century. The fact that it was used by such a wide variety of printers says something about its robust qualities as a display type. It is to be seen for example in a 1580 edition of the Sefer Yuchasin (Book of Genealogies) printed by Isaac Prostitute in Cracow in 1580. There are differences in certain of the characters such as the lamed, which could indicate a recutting at some point. 593

This typeface is also almost identical in detail to the Hebrew that appeared in the Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus, printed by Aldus Manutius the elder in Venice in 1500. The similarity of so many features raises the question whether the same ‘Jacob de mantoue’ could also be the punchcutter of this typeface. There is also a possibility that it was cut by the punchcutter Francesco da Bologna, also known as Griffo, who was responsible for ‘all the types that Aldus ever printed with’. 594 Francesco da Bologna was at the root of the dispute between Gershom Soncino and Aldus Manuzio, which resulted in Soncino’s departure from printing activities in Venice.

The specimen itself is a mixture of possible Talmudic text with errors and invented words to demonstrate the final characters. 595

595 I am grateful to Dr. Jeremy Schonfield for his comments on this text.
Fig. 4.9: Assembled alphabet from *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus*, Aldus Manutius, 1500

Fig. 4.10: Hb24 (S) as used in the *Sefer Yuchasin*, Prostutz, Cracow, 1580. Actual size (From Hebrewbooks.org (The Chaim Elozor Reich / Renaissance Hebraica Collection))

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus*, Aldus Manutius the elder, Venice, 1500?
- *Tanach*, Pesaro, Soncino, 1511-1517
- Teshuvot, Venice, Bomberg 1519
- Talmud, Venice, Bomberg, 1520-23
- Babylonian Talmud, Venice, Bomberg, 1520
- Peculium Abrae, Venice, Bomberg, 1523
- Pentateuch, Venice, Bomberg, 1525-33
- Voarchadumia, Venice, Giovanni Tacuino, 1530
- Bible, Venice, Bomberg, 1544
- Midrash Rabot, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- Sefer Michlol, Venice, Bomberg and Adelkind, 1545
- Even Bohan, Venice, Adelkind, 1546
- Rabbenu Bahya, Venice, Bomberg, 1546
- Pesikta Zutarta, Venice, Bomberg, 1546
- Rabbi Levi ben Gershom, Venice, Bomberg, 1547
- Sefer Birkat Avraham, Venice, Bragadin, 1552
- Sefer HaKuzari, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- Sefer Sha’ar Hashamayin, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- Sefer Sha’arei Dura, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- Mishnayot MiSeder Nashim, Venice, Querini, 1548
- Mikraot Gedolot, Venice, Bomberg, 1548
- Sefer Mashal HaKadmoni, Venice, Parenzo, 1550?
- Mishneh Torah, Venice, Giustiniani, 1550
- Mishneh Torah, Venice, Bragadin, 1550
- Sefer Hazut Kashah, Sabionetta, Foa, 1552
- Grammatica Hebraea, Antwerp, Plantin, 1554 and 1570
- Maharil, Cremona, Conti, 1558
- Sefer Arba’ah Turim, Cremona, Conti, 1558
- Hazeruni, Cremona, Conti, 1559
- Sefer Tefilah le Mosheh, Salonika, Joseph Jabez, 1563?
- Sefer Orah Hayim, Venice, Bragadin, 1563
- Shulhan Arukh, Venice, Bragadin, 1565
- Kohelet/L’Ecclesiaste di Salome, Venice, Ziletti, 1571
- She’alot. Venice, Zuan di Gara, 1574
- Mishneh Torah, Venice, Bragadin, 1574
- Teshuvot HaRav, Constantinople, Soncino, 1574
- Hai ben Sherira, Shirei Musar HaSekhel, Venice, Di Gara, 1578?
- Pitron Halomot, Cracow, 1580?
- Abraham Zacuto, Sefer Yuchasin, Cracow, Prostitz, 1580-1?
- Eliezer Ashkenazi, Ma’asei Hashem, Di Gara, Venice, 1583
- Sefer Mikrae Kodesh, Bragadin and Parenzo, Venice, 1586
- Sefer Sha’arei Dimah, Di Gara and Bragadin, Venice, 1586
- Sefer Toledot Aharon, Bragadin, Venice, 1591
- Machzor, Bragadin and di Gara, Venice, 1599
- Behinat HaOlam, Laqueray, Paris, 1629
Le Bé’s annotation, which includes Hb26 (S) as well, indicates that these are types from Constantinople, ‘apportees de Constantinople a Venise par un povre vieil Juif, pensant qu’elles fussent aussi rares a Venise comme en levant’. Thus one may conclude that Le Bé obtained these specimens during his stay in Venice, which would date them to a period pre-1540, and indeed the earliest occurrence found to date is from the Incunabula period (1494). These types do not appear to have been that rare as Le Bé thought, and it can be said that they were probably quite well dispersed throughout the Levant, meaning the Ottoman Empire. They show up again in the third quarter of the sixteenth century in Constantinople.

They also appear, with slightly amended detail in a series of Ferrara Hebrew publications from the 1550s. Usque purchased ‘quatro sorte de madre de lettere’ from Meir di Parenzo in August 1559 and although it is not stated that these were Hebrew matrices, it can be reasonably assumed that they were. This is a later date than the editions found with Hb25 (S), but it would make sense for Parenzo to have acted as a means of transmission for the sale of Hebrew types to other printers in Italy. The similarities between the Le Bé specimen and the Ferrara types are close enough to raise the question of their common ancestry, or the possibility that they were both cut by the same punchcutter.

Le Bé’s comment, that this typeface has ‘hardis traitz (well-formed or bold strokes) but ‘mal taillez’ (poorly cut) indicates that he approved of the general style, but thought them badly executed from a professional point of view.

Fig. 4.11: Hb25 (S) Assembled alphabet Actual size from the Le Bé specimen

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596 Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Notarile 8246_1559, folios 35-36

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Fig. 4.12: Detail from 1494 Arba’ah Turim, Constantinople, 1494 (From the Hebrew JNUL Digitized Book Repository)

Fig. 4.13: Details from Hamishah Humshei Torah, Avraham Usque, Ferrara, 1554 (BL 1944.f.1)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- Arba’ah Turim, Constantinople, Nachmias, 1494
- Hamishah Humshei Tora, Constantinople, Nachmias, 1505
- Shimon ben Tsemach Duran, Perush HaKetubah, Constantinople, c. 1515
- Mishpatei HaCherem, veHanidui, ve Hanezipha, Constantinople, c. 1515
- Sefer Behinat Olam, Ferrara, 1551
- Pitron Halomot, Ferrara, 1552?
- Me’ah Berakhot, Ferrara, Usque, 1554?
- Sefer Tsedah LaDerekh, Ferrara, 1554?
- Sefer Likute shikheah u-feah, Ferrara, 1556?
- Sefer Ma’arekhet HaElohou, Ferrara, 1557?
- Remu’ah, Constantinople, 1565
- Shoresh Yishai, Constantinople Usque, 1561
- Derech HaHayim, Constantinople, 1570
- Machzor, Constantinople, 1576
Hb26 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 2v
Size: (Grosse lettre)
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 4 mm
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: None
First occurrence: Rosh Emunah, Constantinople, Nachmias and Caspota, 1506

This second specimen is a smaller version of Hb25 (S) and most probably cut by the same punchcutter as the previous. The forms of the shin and the gimmel are identical, but the ayin in this version has a decided ‘kink’ in the left hand stroke. An example of the earlier use found to date is shown below. Note the bent ascenders on the lamed showing wear on kerned characters and the bent hook on the left hand stroke of the ayin which is similar in both the Le Bé specimen and the printed detail of 1506.

Fig. 4.14: Hb26 (S) Assembled alphabet from the Le Bé specimen (Actual size)

Fig. 4.15: Detail from Rosh Emunah, Constantinople, Nachmias and Caspota, 1506 (From the Hebrew JNUL Digitized Book Repository)
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Hamishah Humshei Tora*, Constantinople, Nachmias, 1505
- *Rosh Emunah*, Constantinople, Nachmias and Caspota, 1506
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Salonika, 1522
- *Sefer Behinat Olam*, Ferrara, 1551
- *Sefer Tsedah LaDerekh*, Ferrara, 1554
- *Sefer Likute shikheah u-feah*, Ferrara, 1556
- *Sefer Ma'arekhet HaElohut*, Ferrara, 1557
Hb27 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 4 and 5
Size: Two-line Great Primer or Petit Canon or Trismégiste/
Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed
Measurements: x-height of 6 mm; 20:260 (vocalized)
Date of creation: 1541 (Vervliet mid-1543)
Punchcutter: Jean Arnoul dit Picard/ Paris
Literature: Vervliet, Paleatypography, Vol 1, 142-143; Vervliet Conspectus, p. 417 [399/Hb 6]
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 6; Berner, Specimen characterum, Frankfurt, 1622
First occurrence: Quinque Libri Legis, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1543

This typeface, and the four which follow it on the same sheet, form part what is most probably the first complete Hebrew type specimen ever recorded.597 This fact was not appreciated by Henri Omont when he first described the Le Bé documents in 1887, as the binder of the document had cut off the top line of Le Bé’s annotation, but which was first recognised by Harry Carter 598 and later confirmed by Hendrik Vervliet in his 2004 article on Robert Estienne’s Printing Types.599 It has to be said that there were at least two earlier specimens of Hebrew setting, the first being a specimen of an Hebrew alphabet in Bernhard von Breydenbach’s Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam of 1490600 and the second a proof sheet for Aldus Manutius’ project of 1502 to issue a Polyglot Bible in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The Breydenbach is a table, most probably engraved in wood, showing an Ashkenazic Square Hebrew alphabet and the Manutius is a quarto sheet issued to publicise an edition, and are not per se specimens of Hebrew types.601 The distinction between a specimen of setting and a type specimen is in the intention. It can either be ‘to show the range of founts and material available for use in a certain printing office’, or to show ‘one of more typefaces, often including typographical materials, offered for sale by a particular punchcutter, type founder or merchant, or at an auction’.602 This Estienne sheet bears all the hallmarks of a true type specimen, as it provides enough information for type size, leading and casting-off purposes.

Jehan (Jean) Arnoul dit le Picard is described in the Le Bé Memorandum as ‘un nommé Iehan picard home le plus adoit a la proportion & grace des Caracteres qu'il fut en ce templa’ and it was apparently this punchcutter who undertook to cut new

597 John A. Lane, Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, and British Library, Early type specimens in the Plantin-Moretus Museum: annotated descriptions of the specimens to ca. 1850 (mostly from the Low Countries and France) with preliminary notes on the typefoundries and printing offices (London and New Castle, Delaware: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2004), p. 15
598 Carter, A view of early typography up to about 1600, p. 43
601 Davies, Aldus Manutius: printer and publisher of Renaissance Venice, p. 52
602 Lane, Vervliet, and Library, Early type specimens in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, p. 12
Hebrews for Robert Estienne to replace the ‘gros villain hebreu’ which appears in some of the earlier Estienne Hebrew bibles. Harry Carter notes that an earlier volume of 1540 (Zacharias, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes and Esther) is printed in the Arnoul Hebrews. Based on a marriage document in the Archives Nationales from 1542 which describes Arnoul as a ‘maître tailleur et fondateur de lettres’ and also living at ‘l’hostel de Robert Estienne’, Vervliet argues that Arnoul taught Guillaume Le Bé the craft of letter cutting and foundry. Vervliet also deduces that both Arnoul and Le Bé left Paris at the same time and ‘travelled to Lyons where Picard died’. The Le Bé annotation names Arnoul as ‘le jeune’, which implies that he was at least second in line to have the same name, but there appears to be no further documents to support this view.

Le Bé gives no details as to size in his annotation for this typeface, but comments that it was ‘bien jollie et bien achevé, sentant sa plume’. Vervliet gives two possible equivalent sizes for this typeface, Petit Canon or Trismégiste, yet given the lack of adequate consecutive lines of setting in any specimen yet seen, it is difficult to be any more precise. The Petit canon size is equivalent to 180 to 219 mm per 20 lines, whereas Trismégiste is equivalent to 200 to 269 mm per 20 lines.

Fig. 4.16: Hb27 (S) Specimen from 1665 f. 4

The key identifying characters for this typeface are the lamed with its distinctive flagged ascender, the shin with the squared termination on the middle stroke and the gimmel with the bent middle stroke and calligraphic termination to the baseline. The

603 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, pp. 17,40
604 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 42. The document in the AN is from the Minutier Central RE/XLIX/1a, Répertoire du notaire François Crozon.
606 ‘Plume’ in this reference most likely means his ‘hand’ or style.
607 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 52
terminations are generally square as in the tsadde and the ayin. The text of the specimen is from Psalms 34:1.

The attributions for this Picard typeface show a very wide distribution: Geneva, Gießen, Frankfurt and Hanau in Germany. There are two possible explanations for this spread: André Wechel and Robert Estienne. Wechel reestablished himself in Frankfurt after fleeing from the St Bartholew’s Day Massacre in 1572, and most probably managed to have some of his type brought to Frankfurt by Denis du Val, his associate in Paris.608 Robert Estienne also brought most of his type with him to Geneva, after leaving Paris in 1549.609 Recasting and recutting of some of the sorts could explain the differences in the two following examples from Kaspar Chemlin in Gießen and Christoph Wust in Frankfurt.

There is a specimen of this typeface in Johann Berner’s 1622 Frankfurt specimen sheet. No punchcutter is attributed, but there is little doubt of the attribution.610

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610 Dreyfus et al., *Type specimen facsimiles 1-15*, p. 7

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Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Quinque Libri Legis*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1543
- *Psalterium/Sefer Tehilim*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1545
- *Hosea*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1546
- *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1548
- *Sefer Hinukh*, Geneva, Robert Estienne, 1554
- *Sefer Ta'amī HaMikra/Liber de accentibus scripturae*, Paris, Henri Estienne, 1565
- Chevallier *Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae*, Geneva, Henri Estienne, 1567
- *Hē Kainē Diathēkē*, Paris, Apud Ioannem Bene-natum, 1584?
- *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae*, Geneva, Pierre de la Rouvière, 1614
- *Elementale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, Gießen, Kaspar Chemlin, 1619
- *Sefer Hakavanot*, Venice, Lorenzo Bragadin, 1620?
- *Machzor mi-Khol HaShanah*, Hanau, Typographia Orientalis, 1624?
- *Menonsis Hannekenii Grammatica linguae Hebraeae*, Frankfurt, Christoph Wust, 1676
Hb28 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 4 and 5
Size: Picard’s two-line Pica Hebrew or Palestine/Gros-Parangon
Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed
Measurements: x-height of 4 mm; 20:177 (vocalized)
Date of creation: 1541 (Vervliet mid-1543)
Punchcutter: Jean Arnoul dit Picard/ Paris
First Occurrence: Quinque Libri Legis, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1543
Literature: Vervliet, Paleaotypography, Vol 1, 143; Vervliet Conspectus, p. 414 [396/Hb 4]
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folios 4 and 5; Omont, 1887, 6; Berner, Specimen characterum, Frankfurt, 1622

The second typeface on the Estienne specimen sheet has already been discussed in chapter 2 in connection with Le Bé’s activities during his apprenticeship with Robert Estienne. To recapitulate: the Le Bé Memorandum relates that Estienne himself cut ‘the big ugly Hebrew’ which was used initially to print his quarto Hebrew Bible in some of the books issued separately. However, ‘as the type proved not to be as agreeable as was hoped ... he (Estienne) had new faces cut for the 4o Bible by a man named Jehan Picard’. Guillaume II Le Bé then adds that ‘my father was apprentice to Robert Estienne, that is to say in 1542, and he worked on these letters towards the end’. The most plausible explanation to this statement is that Guillaume I Le Bé worked on these types as an apprentice under Arnoul’s supervision on the finishing of these types, but that the major engraving work was done by Arnoul himself. This would explain the clear stylistic differences between this typeface and those which Le Bé identifies as his own in the two BnF documents.

An analysis of all available editions of the Estienne quarto Hebrew Bible in the British Library dated from 1539 to 1545 shows that this typeface (Picard’s Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-Line Pica [Hb 4 mm] Gros-Parangon or Palestine) first began to be used in the 1543 edition of the Quinque Libri legis/Hamishah Humshe Tora (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri and Deuteronomium). There are two earlier editions which use it, Michaæas of 1539 and Jonas of 1540, but it is likely that these were reprints of earlier editions without changes to the date. Thus one can say with some certainty that these three typefaces cut by Picard, with some assistance by Le Bé, began to be used in the Estienne repertoire about September 1542.

A page from the Estienne Quarto Bible, Chronicles 1: 1-15 is shown on Réserve X 1665 folio 5, which uses Hb29 (S) for the text and Hb27 (S) for the heading within an engraved frame.

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611 This is Harry Carter’s English translation from Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, p. 29
612 The relevant British Library shelfmarks are 1.a.12-15 (1539), 1942.g.2. (1539), 676.e.7,8 (1543) 1942.b.11-13. (1544), 675.b.1-8. (1544), 219.b.18-25. (1544) – all entitled Hamishah humshe Torah
The 16mo edition, which began to appear in 1543, uses only the Picard types. It was this edition which prompted Philippe Renouard to comment that ‘cette petite édition que l’on dit fort exacte, est vraiment un bijou typographique, et peut-être ce qui a jamais été imprimé de plus beau en langue hébraïque’. Renouard did comment that ‘il est seulement fâcheux que la grosseur des caractères ne soit pas en suffisante harmonie avec l’exiguïté du format’. One could indeed argue that a size between Hb28 (S) and Hb29 (S) would have been more appropriate to the pocket-sized format, as can be seen in the Aldus Octavo Greek editions. It is perhaps these Aldine editions that Estienne had in mind when he issued the 16mo Hebrew Bible.

The text of this specimen is the continuation of the text from the specimen in Hb27 (S) and is from Psalms 34:2-7. The characteristics of Hb28 (S) are similar to the other three Picards, with minor differences. In this typeface, for example, the ascender of the lamed is straighter and not ‘kinked’ as is the lamed of Hb27 (S). There are also sorts for the extended aleph, heh, lamed, final mem and tav. The specimen was cast on a larger body to allow for correct placement of the vowels and cantillation marks which must have been cast on a half-sized body.

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This typeface and two of the other Picard Hebrews – Hb27 (S) and 32(S) – found their way further afield than Paris and Geneva, and were used in Hanau near Frankfurt in the seventeenth century. The specimen below from a Machzor printed in 1624 shows a Musaf prayer for the New Year (Rosh HaShanah) and includes a near complete listing of the alphabet: the text is a poem with an alphabetical acrostic. The printers in the colophon are given as Mordechai ben Ya’akov of Prostitz and Eliahu ben Yehuda of Hanau, which would tie them to the Typographia Orientalis of Hans Jakub Henne (1609-13) and Abraham Leo (1613-1630), but it is not clear how these types were acquired.\textsuperscript{616}

\textsuperscript{616} Reske, Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet, p. 348
As with Hb27 (S), there is a specimen of Hb28 (S) in Johann Berner’s 1622 Frankfurt specimen, again without any attribution.\textsuperscript{617}

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\textsuperscript{617} Dreyfus et al., \textit{Type specimen facsimiles 1-15}, p. 7
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Quinque Libri Legis*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1543
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1544
- *Hosea*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1546
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1550
- *Sefer Hinukh*, Geneva, Robert Estienne, 1554
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1563
- Judah ben Samuel Ibn Balam and Jean Mercier, *Sefer Ta’ami HaMikra/Liber de accentibus scripturae*, Paris, Henri Estienne, 1565
- *Literae Illstriss*, Geneva, Henri Estienne, 1569
- *Alphabetum Graecum & Hebraicum*, Geneva, Paul Estienne, 1600
- *Machzor mi-Khol HaShanah*, Hanau, Typographia Orientalis, 1624
Hb29 (S)

- Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 4
- Size: Picard’s English-sized Hebrew or Saint-Augustin
- Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed
- Measurements: x-height of 2.2 mm; 20:97 (vocalized)
- Date of creation: 1541 (Vervliet mid-1543)
- Punchcutter: Jean Arnoul dit Picard/ Paris
- First Occurrence: Duodecim Prophaetae, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1539
- Literature: Vervliet, Palaeotypography, Vol 1, 144; Vervliet Conspectus, p. 397
- Materials preserved: None
- Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 6; Berner, Specimen characterum, Frankfurt, 1622

The third typeface attributed by Le Bé to Jean Arnoul dit Picard le Jeune is this 2.2mm Square Sephardic Hebrew. The text of this specimen is the continuation of the text from the specimen in Hb28 (S) and is from Psalms 34:8-18.

Fig. 4.26: Hb29 (S) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen and Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae, Henri Estienne, Geneva, 1567 (BL 621.i.8)

Fig. 4.27: Hb29 (S) Specimen from 1665 folio 4
There is no surviving material of this typeface, but one can see from the specimens that Picard would have cut a full set of both vowels and cantillation marks. These can be seen together in the Le Bé Biblical specimen, but not in the Estienne grammatical work. Thus we can only guess at the complete number of punches and matrices in the complete fount, but a safe assumption is that there would have been separate punches for the main characters, some with dagesh points, and separate punches for each of the vowels and cantillation marks. It is more problematic to say how they were struck on the matrix, but again following the example of Plantin casting bill, they were probably cast on smaller (half) bodies to fit in with the main set of the characters. A good indication of the number of possible combinations – over 300 – can be gauged from the following example of a Hebrew fount compiled by Horace Hart, Printer to the University of Oxford and Controller of the University Press between 1883 and 1915. It should be noted that this specimen shows only the possible vowels and dagesh points and does not include any cantillation marks.

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618 See page 181 in Chapter 3 of this thesis.
619 Bound booklet seen in the Harry Carter Archives at Oxford University Press Archives OUP/PR/25/23 (File of type specimens)
This schema is by no means exhaustive as to the total number of combinations of basic glyphs, glyphs with dagesh points, vowel points (nekudot), and cantillation marks (simanei ta’amin) that might be required for a full Biblical setting. As an example, an analysis of all the glyphs from the first chapter of Genesis produced a total of 443 separate ‘sorts’ and a similar analysis of Psalm 34 produced a total of 297 separate ‘sorts’. Both of these texts are found in the Le Bé documents – in Hb13 (S) and in Hb46 (S) – and give an indication of the complexities facing Le Bé in the cutting of pointed Hebrew founts.  

The total number fo sorts that could be held in a wooden type case was in any case limited and could not contain all the various combinations in a pointed Hebrew text.

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620 See Appendix J of this thesis.
This is confirmed by the layout of Hebrew type cases as illustrated in historic printing manuals.\(^{621}\)

A total compilation of all the possible combinations in the entire Masoretic Hebrew Bible would certainly be in the thousands. To the best knowledge of this writer, no such attempt was ever made by a Jewish commentator. The closest attempt was a rather obscure poem probably written by the tenth century Biblical philosopher, and exegete Sa’adia Gaon, who wrote a poem entitled ‘On the Number of the Letters of the alphabet’. The total number for the base characters – excluding final letters and any ‘diacriticals’ – is 304,804, although it is not clear how he arrived at this number.\(^{622}\) A more recent estimate for the SBL Hebrew fount is around 13,200 possible combinations.\(^{623}\)

The only way that punchcutters such as Le Bé would have had to cope with the enormous range of possibilities would have been to cut separate punches for each ‘element’ and then to cast them on modular units. This is in fact the evidence from the Hebrew founts at the MPM. Spacing would have been cast to fit these modular units, which then would have allowed lines to be set with all relevant glyphs and accents. This is confirmed by the surviving punches and matrices in the Plantin Moretus Museum and the casting register also in the Plantin Moretus archives.\(^{624}\) It is also shown in the schema recently suggested by Scott-Martin Kosofsky as shown on page 272. The modular units he proposes would have allowed the composition and secure locking of formes of any relevant combination of glyphs and accents.

This method is also confirmed by the lay of Hebrew type cases already described. No type case could have accommodated such an enormous number of sorts. And it was equally important for the compositors or the apprentices whose job would usually have been to distribute used type to the type case (to dis) to have the minimum number of sorts which they distinguish. It needs to be remembered that many of the people working in the presses of the sixteenth century had little or no knowledge of Hebrew. This was certainly the case during the production of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.\(^{625}\)

It is instructive to compare Hebrew composition with other exotic alphabets on this issue. Syriac, for example, is an alphabet containing 22 letters – the same as used in Hebrew and Aramaic. There are also alternate final forms for the kaph, mem, and nun, as well as some differing forms for standalone, initial, medial and final, as in the

\(^{621}\) See page 174 in this thesis for further discussion and examples.


\(^{623}\) Email correspondence from John Hudson of Tiro Typeworks, Gulf Islands, British Columbia, Canada, 25 July 2013

\(^{624}\) See page 182 of this thesis.

\(^{625}\) For more detailed discussion of this issue see Lubell, ‘The Use of Hebrew in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible’, pp. 48-49
Arabic script. The total number of sorts in a fount of Estrangela Syriac is 72. Syriac also requires vowel points as in Hebrew, and there are two different methods for casting them. The first was ‘to cast the points on the same body as the letters’ with ‘the point set in the line after the relevant letter’. The second method was to set the vowels ‘on separate lines above and below the letters’. This second approach appears to have been the preferred method. The compositor had ‘to set and justify the lines of letters first, then do the same for the lines of points above, the turn the two lines upside down in the composing stick and set and justify the line above’. This is in fact the method for setting Hebrew as described by Lefèvre in his *Guide Practique du Compositeur d'Imprimerie* of 1858. J.F. Coakley also suggests that, given the large number of matrices required for a full setting fount of Syriac – ‘upward to a thousand for all combinations of letters, vowels, diacritical points, qushaya, rukaka and linea occultans’ – that the portmanteau sorts would have been cast with all possible points for a particular character and then the unwanted ones removed prior to composition. The evidence for this technique with regard to Hebrew was discussed in Chapter Three. It is however useful to compare composition techniques for Hebrew with the techniques used for composition of music. The emboîtage technique as described by Laurent Guillo (see page 163) has strong similarities with Scott-Martin Kosofsky’s proposed composition technique for Hebrew.

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626 See page 186 of this thesis.
Fig. 4.30: Biblical Hebrew setting schema for metal type. (By permission of Scott-Martin Kosofsky)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Duodecim Prophaetae*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1539
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1539
- *Biblia Sacra*, Paris, Ex officina Simonis Colinaei, 1541?
- *Quinque Libri Legis*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1543
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1544
- *Psalterium/Sefer Tehilim*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1545
- *Hosea*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1546
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1550
- *Sefer Hinukh*, Geneva, Robert Estienne, 1554
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1563
- *Sefer Ta’ami HaMikra/Liber de accentibus scripturae*, Paris, Henri Estienne, 1565
- Chevallier *Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae*, Geneva, Henri Estienne, 1567
- *Literae Illustriss*, Geneva, Henri Estienne, 1569
- *Johannis Rainoldi Angli, De Romanae ecclesiae idololatria*, Geneva, Jacob Stoer, 1598 \[628\]
- *Alphabetum Graecum & Hebraicum*, Geneva, Paul Estienne, 1600
- *Machzor mi-Khol HaShanah*, Hanau, Typographia Orientalis, 1624

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\[628\] This edition – see also Hb30 (S) – is provisional as there are not enough characters to make a complete attribution. Stoers reprinted a Henri Estienne edition of the *Alphabetum Hebraicum* and Schwarzfuchs writes that ‘il utilise les caractères des Estienne, dont il représentait les intérêts aux foires de Francfort ...’. See Schwarzfuchs, *L’hébreu dans le livre à Genève au XVIe siècle*, pp. 36-37
Hb30 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 4
Size: Picard’s Pica Hebrew or Cicero.
Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.8 mm; 20:80 (vocalized)
Date of creation: 1541 (Vervliet 1545)
Punchcutter: Jean Arnoul dit Picard/ Paris
Literature: Vervliet Conspectus, p. 319
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 6;
First occurrence: Alphabetum Hebraicum, 1543

This is the third and last Hebrew typeface attributed to Jean Arnoul by Le Bé on the Estienne specimen sheet. Given the vowels and cantillation marks, it was obviously intended for setting Biblical text or perhaps, given its small size, for cross references. Few examples of this type were found, with the exception of the 1543 Estienne Alphabetum Hebraicum and the 1556 Liber Psalmorum Davidis which was printed in Geneva. It was also used at the end of the sixteenth century by the printer Jean II de Tournes, who was active first in Lyons, and later in Geneva, where he printed works for the descendants of André Wechel, and his sons-in law Claude de Marne and Jean Aubri (Aubry). This type must have been first brought to Geneva by Robert Estienne when he left Paris, but its small size may have limited its usefulness as a text type except in very small formats. The text is from Psalms 34:19-23.

Fig. 4.31: Specimen from Le Bé 1665 f. 4

Fig. 4.32: Hb30 (S) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé 1665 f. 4 and Liber Psalmorum Davidis, Geneva 1556 (From e-rara.ch Bb 515)

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629 Ibid., pp. 37-38. See discussion in Chapter 2 in this thesis.
Fig. 4.33: Specimen of Hb30 (S) (seen on the bottom line of text) from the 1543 Estienne *Alphabetum Hebraicum*. Actual size (From BSB L.as.123)
Fig. 4.34: Specimens of Hb30 (S) from *Franciscus Iunii Grammatica hebraeae linguae*, Geneva, Jean II de Tournes, 1596 Actual Size (From e-rara (Universitätsbibliothek, Basle, FB X22:1)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1543
- *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra*, Geneva, Excudebat Ioannes Tornaesius, Imprensis Andrae Weceli Haerdum, 1596
- *Johannis Rainoldi Angli, De Romanae ecclesiae idololatria*, Geneva, Jacob Stoer, 1598?
Hb31 (R)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 4
Size: Estienne Rabbinical Hebrew on English [Hb 2] or Saint-Augustin
Type Classification: Rashi Script unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 2 mm; 20:94
Date of creation: 1541 (Vervliet mid-1543)
Punchcutter: Michel Bu Boys?
Literature: Vervliet, Paleotypography, Vol 1, 140; Vervliet Conspectus, p. 396
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 6; Berner, Specimen characterum,
Frankfurt, 1622
First occurrence: Alphabetum Hebraicum, Robert Estienne, Paris, 1539

This final specimen on Rés X 1665, folio 4 is not attributed to Jean Arnoul, but Le Bé writes in his annotation that ‘et la glose taillé par un aultre, bien pollie et bien achevé, sentant sa plume’. Vervliet attributes this glose conjecturally to Michel Du Boys. Bu Boys was active as a punchcutter from c. 1510 to 1561, and there are traces of his activities in Paris, Geneva, Venice and Lyons. This typeface proved to be a very useful and successful fount in the Estienne repertoire. It is clear and extremely legible for use as commentaries, as well as incorporating distinctive ascenders such as the lamed, and descenders, such as the ayin, the tav, the koph and the final nun. Although the punchcutter has followed the standard letterforms for Rashi script, the shin is closer to the square Sephardic model. It could be said that Le Bé took some inspiration from it for his later Rashi types, such as Hb18 (R) and Hb19 (S).

Fig. 4.35: Hb31 (R) Alphabet from Alphabetum Hebraicum, Robert Estienne, Paris, 1539, p. 5 (BnF Rés-X-1662)

630 ‘Plume’ in this reference most likely means his ‘hand’ or style.
631 ‘qui sent sa plume couante’. I am grateful to Mr Sandy-Pascal Andriant of FranceGenWeb and his extraordinary transcriber, M-Françoise, for their assistance in clarifying the text of this annotation.
632 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, pp. 40-41
Fig. 4.37: HB31 (R) Detail of 20 lines from Hosea, *Duodecim Prophetae*, Robert Estienne, Paris, 1539 (BnF Rés-X-NFA 3)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1539
- *Duodecim Prophaetae*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1539
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1544
- *Psalterium/Sefer Tehilim*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1545
- *Hosea*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1546
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1550
- *Sefer Hinukh*, Geneva, Robert Estienne, 1554
- *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1563
- *Sefer Ta'am HaMikra/Liber de accentibus scripturae*, Paris, Henri Estienne, 1565
• *Alphabetum Graecum & Hebraicum*, Geneva, Paul Estienne, 1600
• Hugh Broughton, *Patshegen Nishtevan*, Amsterdam, 1606
• Johann Rittangel, *יצירה פרס id est Liber Ierzirah*, Amsterdam, Apud Johannum et Jodocum Ianssonios, 1642?
Hb32 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 7, 7v, 9, 9v
Size: Grosse Lettre/Gros-Parangon?
Type Classification: Square Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 4 mm
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folios 7, 7v, 9, 9v,
First occurrence: Third Bomberg Biblia Rabbinica of 1548?

This specimen is found in the first of four inserts which have been bound into the spine of Rés. X 1665, and which were not pasted onto the leaves as with the other specimens. This first insert comprises two distinct pages from the Bomberg Hebrew opus, with the second bound into the centre of the first, using a ‘guard’ to hold it into place.

The first page (folios 7, 7v, 9 and 9v) is from the third Bomberg Biblia Rabbinica of 1548, a folio edition, and is a part of the page from 2 Samuel: 1-6, together with part of the commentary by the fourteenth-century biblical commentator Rabbi Levi Ben Gershon or Gersonides, known as the ‘Ralbag’ (רלבג). The second page (folios 8 and 8v) is from an unidentified Bomberg quarto Bible and comprises part of Jeremiah, part of two Haftarot, those for ‘Shemot’ and ‘Mattot’ (Jeremiah 1:4)-12 with the commentary by the thirteenth-century Biblical commentator David Kimhi, known as the ‘Radak’ (רדק). The verso of this page (folio 8v) comprises parts of Ezekiel: 28:25 - 29:26 and 29:5, which is part of the haftarah Shemot (Exodus). These pages are taken from printed editions which came into the possession of Le Bé, as he obviously kept specimen of other Hebrew editions which were of interest to him.633

These pages demonstrate the complexity and number of typefaces used for setting a Hebrew Bible together with the various commentaries that surround it. There are three ‘display’ founts – including the already described Hb24 (S), three sizes of pointed and unpointed founts for the main text, and two sizes of Rashi Script for the commentaries and side references. The same complexity would hold for the setting of the Talmud. The various colophons and introductions in the Bomberg Rabbinical Bibles do not appear to name any of the punchcutters for these founts. For example, in his introduction to the first Rabbinic Bible edited by Felix Pratensis, Bomberg writes that ‘I have employed intelligent and skilful typographers to print in moveable type and in the most perfect and correct manner the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographia’. And in the Jacob ben Chayim’s account of the making of the second

633 I am grateful to Dr. Jeremy Schonfield for his clarification on these extracts. A ‘Haftarah’ (plural ‘Haftarot’) is a selection from the Prophets to be read on special occasions, such as the Sabbath, the Holidays and Fast Days) after the public reading of the Torah.
Rabbinic Bible of 1524–1525, he emphasised the great expenses paid out by Bomberg for the Bible (whose expenses in this matter far exceeded my labours).  

In 1515, when Bomberg applied to the Venetian Collegio dei Savi for a patent for his Hebrew types and a privilege for his Hebrew editions, one of his arguments was that it had cost him ‘grande spese si del far excider le lettere hebreo et attrovar persone doctissime in hebreo al companer et emendar ditti libri’.  

A recent study of Bomberg’s opus concluded that ‘it is not known who cut the types for Bomberg’ and, one can make a safe assumption that he would have used local craftsmen, either professional punchcutters or engravers, in Venice or in other cities of Italy. Such work would have required quite close supervision on his part in order to provide the requisite punches, matrices and moulds.  

Joshua Bloch claimed that Le Bé produced six different Hebrew fonts for Bomberg during his residence in Venice (1545–1548 and again in 1556), but aside from the obvious mistakes in dates, there is no documentary evidence whatsoever for this assertion. Le Bé attributes various typefaces to Bomberg, as will be seen, but does not claim them for his work in any of the annotations.

Bomberg’s application for a privilege for his Hebrew types was not an exceptional event in this period. In 1498, for example, the Cretan printer Nicolò Vlasto Candioto received a privilege for ten years to protect his Greek types, which he had ‘facto intagliar ... sorte de belletissme lettere, grece unide con i suo accenti, cosa che non fu mai piu facte nè si bona nè cussi bella, che fe privilegio per anni dieci di stampare libri greci con questi caratteri’, although he does not appear to have printed any editions in Greek after the year 1500. No such privilege has yet been found for any of Le Bé’s Venetian Hebrews.

This 4 mm Square Sephardic was not seen in any other editions examined for this thesis, but there is a marked similarity both in size and in style with this fount to Le Bé’s Hb10(S), which was cut in 1548 for Meir di Parenzo in Venice. Given the small number of characters in the specimen and the heavy inking of the impression, it is not possible to make a clear identification of all the characters, but the gimmel and the lamed are close enough to raise the possibility that this Le Bé typeface found its

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635 Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, p. 105 (much money and to have cut the Hebrew letters and to attract knowledgeable people to compose and correct these books.)
636 Kalman, *The Bookcraft of Daniel Bomberg’s Press*, p. 89
637 Joshua Bloch, ‘Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books’, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 36 (1932), p. 80. This assertion was also roundly refuted in one of Moses Marx’s unpublished review of this article. See Moses Marx, *History and annals of Hebrew printing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1982)
way via Meir di Parenzo to Baruch Adelkind,\footnote{Adelkind was in the employ of Daniel Bomberg, from 1524 to 1544 and most likely retained close connections with him after he (Adelkind) took on the role of an independent publisher. See Avraham Meir Habermann, \textit{HaMadpis Daniel Bombergi veReshimat Sefri Beit Defuso (The Printer Daniel Bomberg and a list of books published by his press)} (Zefat: Museum of Printing Art in Zefat, 1978).} and was used for this Bomberg edition.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig438.jpg}
\caption{Hb10(S) Assembled alphabet}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig439.jpg}
\caption{Samples of headings from third Bomberg \textit{Biblia Rabbinica} of 1548 (Actual size)}
\end{figure}
Fig. 4.40: Full Page from Bomberg *Biblia Rabbinica* of 1548, showing the sections reproduced on 1665 Folios 7 and 9v Reduced 70 per cent (Leo Baeck Library)
Fig. 4.41: Full Page from Bomberg *Biblia Rabbinica* of 1548, showing the sections reproduced on 1665 Folios 7v and 9 Reduced 70 per cent (Leo Baeck Library)
Hb33 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 7, 7v, 9v, 20v
Size: Great Primer or Gros-romain
Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed and unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 3 mm; 20:115 (vocalized) (Kalman = 118 mm)
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 7
First occurrence: Pentateuch, Venice, Bomberg, 1525-33

This is the main text fount used in Bomberg’s Third Rabbinic Bible and a very successful one, judging from the number of times it appeared in Venetian imprints during the 1540s. It is labelled type B in Ruth Kalman’s study of the Bomberg books, which she says first appeared in 1520 and is to be found in at least ten Bomberg editions.640

This is not one of the Bomberg typefaces that made its way into the Plantin repertoire after the formation of the ‘compagnie dimprimerie’ in 1563, but judging from the evidence, it was used by other printers in Venice.641 In size, it is slightly larger than Le Bé’s vocalized Square Sephardic – Hb11(S)) – which Vervliet gives as Great Primer or Gros-Romain in size. It could well have served as a model for Le Bé, when he cut his Hb11(S). The Bomberg is much heavier, blacker in colour, with less differentiation between the thick and thin strokes. In this regard, it resembles Raphael Frank’s Frank-Rühl typeface of 1908, which may have been based on this model. Frank described the Bomberg Hebrews – most probably Le Bé’s specimen on 1665 folio 17 – as being ‘bewundernswert in ihrer Vollendung’ and that contemporary Rabbis and authors remarked as ‘ein Zusatz, der nur dem Namen jüdischer Grosser und verdienter Männer beigefügt wurde’.642 It is this model of Hebrew typefaces, based on the Soncino and Bomberg Hebrews, and not those typefaces cut by Le Bé, which has predominated even until today. Raphael Frank’s Frank-Rühl is still the preferred choice for setting text in Israeli publishing.

641 A possible use of this type was found in an edition of Robert Bellarmine’s Institutiones linguae Hebraicae, printed by Vidua & Moretus in Antwerp in 1596. See example on page 272. The use of vowels and cantillation marks, the use of the literae dilatabiles, and the common features in many of the letter forms raise question as to how this typeface might made it way into the Plantin repertoire at this time.
642 Frank, Über Hebräische Typen und Schriftarten The German text reads ‘admirable in its perfection’ and ‘an addition that was only added to the names of great and deserving Jewish men’.

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The termination on the middle stroke of the shin points to the left, which is not a characteristic of Le Bé’s typefaces, and the junction of the descender and horizontal stroke of the lamed is very nearly a right angle. There is evidence in the Bomberg editions that the lamed was kerned and cut off manually to allow room for the vowels above as can be seen on lines 3, 12 and 16 in figure 4.43. The extended final mem has rounded not square corners. It is worth noting the circumcellus, which is used as a signe de renvoi to indicate variant spellings in the margin as for example in lines 4, 8, 16 and 17 in the Bomberg third Rabbinic Bible 1548 specimen.643

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Fig. 4.45: Hb33 (S) Specimen of 20 lines from Bomberg third Rabbinic Bible 1548 Actual size (Leo Baeck Library)

Fig. 4.46: Page from Robert Bellarmine, *Institutiones linguae Hebraicae*, Vidua & Moretus, Antwerp, 1596 showing possible use of Hb33 (S). Actual size (Freimann Collection of the University of Frankfurt)
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- Babylonian Talmud - Masechet Makkot, Venice, Bomberg, 1520 (Kalman)
- Babylonian Talmud - Masechet Sota, Venice, Bomberg, 1520 (Kalman)
- Babylonian Talmud - Masechet Horayot, Venice, Bomberg, 1521 (Kalman)
- Pirkei Avot, Venice, Bomberg, 1521 (Kalman)
- Babylonian Talmud - Masechet Nedarim, Venice, Bomberg, 1522 (Kalman)
- Pentateuch (Tanach), Venice, Bomberg, 1524-26 (Kalman)
- Pentateuch, Venice, Bomberg, 1525-33
- Babylonian Talmud - Masechet Keritut, Venice, Bomberg, 1528 (Kalman)
- Recognitio veteris Testamentis veritatem, Venice, Aldus, 1529
- B'eurim al Perush Rashi, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- Sefer Michlol, Venice, Bomberg, 1545 (Kalman)
- Even Bohan, Venice, Adelkind, 1546
- Pesikta Zutarta, Venice, Bomberg, 1546
- Sefer Dikdukim, Venice, Bomberg, 1546 (Kalman)
- Mirpe Lashon veDarkhei Na'ım, Bomberg, Venice, 1546 (Kalman)
- Sefer Igeret HaKodesh, Rome, Isaac de Lattes, Benjamin d'Arignano and Antonio Blado, 1546?
- She'elot uTsehuvot Rabeinu Nissim Girondi, Rome, Isaac de Lattes, Benjamin d'Arignano and Antonio Blado, 1546?
- Sefer Agur, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546/7
- Sefer HaShorashim, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547
- Sefer Ha Shorashim, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547
- Sefer Sha'arei Dura, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- Sefer Sha'ar Hashamayin, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- Sefer HaKuzari, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- Mishnayot MiSeder Nashim, Venice, Querini, 1548
- Mikraot Gedolot, Venice, Bomberg, 1548
- Robert Bellarmine, Institutiones linguae Hebraicae, Antwerp, Vidua & Moretus, 1596?
Hb34 (R)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 7, 7v, 8, 8v, 9, 9v, 21v
Size: English or Saint-Augustin
Type Classification: Rashi Script unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 2 mm; 20:86
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: MPM, MA 82c
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folios 7, 7v, 8, 8v, 9, 9v, 21v; Omont, 1887, 6; Index Characterum, 1657, folio A3, Plantin Specimen c. 1585 (Cursive sur la petite Augustine), Harry Carter, Essai de Fonte, 82;
Literature: Fuks, Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands
First occurrence: Sefer Ketuvim im HaTargum, Venice, Bomberg, 1516-17?

Le Bé identifies this typeface in his annotation on Folio 7 of Rés-X-1665 as a ‘glose des Bombergues de Venise’, and once again on folio 7v of the same document as a ‘glose, impression des Bombergues de Venise’. Finally on folio 21v he identifies the Glose as a ‘petite glose dont sont faictes des additions à la grand Bible des Bombergues de Venise telle quelle’. There is little doubt that this typeface was one of the first Hebrews cut at the beginning of Bomberg’s activities in Venice and used quite commonly both by Bomberg and other printers in Venice, as well as outside of Italy.

It was also one of the Hebrew founts brought back to Antwerp after Christophe Plantin’s return from Venice and was used by Plantin from 1566. It first appears in the Inventory of 1572, together with 14 other founts described as ‘et toutes les matrises de l’Hebrieu et Syriac tant creues que justifies, qui sont ensemble en vne boite et chez Plantin’, and later in the 1590 Leiden Inventory, where it is probably described as Coronelle ou petit Hebrieu. The Plantin Moretus Museum holds 33 matrices (MA 82c). The two specimens below are from proofs in the MPM archives and from a set of proofs cast by Harry Carter in 1954. The Carter specimen mixes MA 82c and MA 164a, a Vrai texte Hebreu, dated to the sixteenth century without any attribution.

Fig. 4.47: Hb34 (R) From the Catalogus Letterbeelden Proeven (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

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644 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, ’Typographica Plantiniana II’, pp. 35, 45, 96

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Fuks called this Rashi as ‘Raph. Ital. 1’ and identified it as coming from the printing material Plantin brought with him to Antwerp, ‘including eight different Hebrew founts’. It was used in two of the Leiden imprint examined for this thesis.

The key identifying factors in this Rashi type are the final nun, which has a distinctive right-facing termination and the lamed where the termination to the ascender has an angled stroke. The typeface as whole is very vertical in stress.

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Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Sefer Ketuvim im HaTargum*, Venice, Bomberg, 1516-17
- *Teshuwot*, Venice, Bomberg, 1519
- *Babylonian Talmud*, Venice, Bomberg, 1520
- *Talmud*, Venice, Bomberg, 1520-23
- *Sefer Dikduk*, Venice, Bomberg, 1523
- *Pentateuch*, Venice, Bomberg, 1525-33
- *HaMeturgeman*, Isny Fagius, 1541
- *Bible*, Venice, Bomberg, 1544
- *Sefer Michlol*, Venice, Bomberg and Adelkind, 1545
- *Rabbenu Bahya*, Venice, Bomberg, 1546
- *Even Bohan*, Venice, Adelkind, 1546
- *Pesikta Zutarta*, Venice, Bomberg, 1546
- *Sefer Igeret HaKodesh*, Rome, Isaac de Lattes and Benjamin d’Arignano, and Antonio Blado, 1546?
- *Sefer Agur*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546/7
- *Rabbi Levi ben Gershom*, Venice, Bomberg, 1547
- *Mikraot Gedolot*, Venice, Bomberg, 1548
- *Hamishah humshe Torah*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1566
- *Proverbia Salmonis*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1566
- *She’alot*, Venice, di Gara., 1574
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1581
- *Biblia Hebraica*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1582
- *Sefer Mikrae Kodesh*, Venice, Bragadin and Parenzo, 1586
- *Tsemach David*, Venice, Ioannis de Gara, 1586
- *Hinukh, hoc est Cathecheis*, Leiden, Officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1591
- *Shenem asar Derashot*, Venice, di Gara and Bragadin, Parenzo, 1593
- *Shnem asar Derashot*, Venice, Di Gara, 1596
- *Pithu Sha’arim*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1599
- *Sefer Harukh*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1599
- *Machzor*, Venice, Bragadin and di Gara, 1599
- *Sefer Hakavanot*, Venice, Lorenzo Bragadin, 1620?
- *Sefer Tehilim, Psalterium*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1615
Hb35 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 7v, 8v, 9, 13v, 15v, 16, 16v, 17, 17v, 18, 18v, 20, 20v
Size: Textin des Bombergues, Mediane Hébreu (Long Primer or Petit-romain)
Type Classification: Square Sephardic pointed and unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.9 mm; 20:99 (vocalized); 20:86 (unvocalized)
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: MPM Augustine vieille Hebreu (MA164b) Mediane Hébreu; MA164c Double Augustine Hebreu vowels, intonations
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 6; Plantin’s 1567 Index Characterum, Folio A3 (No. 20), Plantin’s c. 1585 Folio Specimen No. 78 (Sur la Garamonde & Bible)?
First occurrence: Talmud, Venice, Bomberg, 1520-23?

This Bomberg Square Sephardic raises a number of interesting questions.

There is a set of 29 strikes (MA 164b) in the Plantin Moretus Archives which also includes ‘a piece of a broken punch’. There is also a set of 24 strikes and 2 matrices in MA164c, which are mostly cantillation marks. The comments on these strikes notes that ‘two matrices are from MA34 with which they appear in c. 1580 Specimen and also probably from the 1567 Index Characterum’. The comments continue that ‘the matrices are not completely justified, and they fit punches from ST51 and must originally have been part of this set’. MA 164c is attributed to Hand A, an early or mid-sixteenth-century punchcutter, and notes that ‘two of the faces for which his punches were used (No. 195, 205) are Hebrews connected with the Bombergs’. Neither of these two sets is listed in any of the Plantin inventories.

It is extremely difficult to attribute precisely separate punches or matrices of vowels or cantillation marks, but there appears to be a strong likelihood in this case that MA164b and MA164c were intended to be used together. The Atnach or Etnachta (ן) on the bottom line of MA164c is similar in size and style for example to the same sign in the bottom line of 1665 folio 16.

Did these strikes come to Antwerp with Bomberg, or were they acquired by some other means? Why were they never justified, hence not used in the Plantin oeuvre? Yet it is worth noting that it is precisely this typeface that Plantin sent to Le Bé as a specimen of the type of letter that he wanted Le Bé to cut for him. Harry Carter noted that this typeface ‘is one that had been used in Venice by Daniel Bomberg and, no doubt, brought into the stock of the company headed by Plantin when Cornelius

647 Ibid., p. 116
649 Ibid., p. 156
650 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana II’, p. 133
651 Res X 1665, f. 16v. This request is undated, and Carter writes that ‘it is not possible to tell the date of the request’. 
van Bomberghe joined it in 1563. Le Bé put several specimen-pages of this type into his albums; but he did not name it. He concludes that ‘it must therefore have been one of Daniel Bomberg’s types’.652 If we accept Carter’s thesis as to its origins, then it remains to ask why only one possible specimen of this typeface was found in any of the Plantin editions examined for this thesis.653 One hypothesis is that Plantin never found a wider applicable use for it in his Hebrew editions, or perhaps that it did not find favour with him, hence the reason why he asked Le Bé to cut him a newer version. Le Bé’s annotation on this specimen indicates that he was not able to fulfil Plantin’s request, as he ‘n’euz lors loisir de faire’. Yet there is little doubt that the reason behind Plantin’s request was that he wanted a small pointed typeface for the text of one of his Hebrew Biblical editions, such as the 16mo Biblia Hebraica which he printed in 1576 and 1580/81, as he asked Le Bé to cut him a type with a full complement of vowels, cantillation marks and extended characters.

Harry Carter also draws attention to the similarity of the design to the types attributed to Jean Arnoul dit le Picard le Jeune. The early appearance of this typeface in the Bomberg editions would cast doubt on this idea, as Arnoul’s dates of activity are much later (i.e. 1539 to 1545).654 Hb35 (S) is in fact similar to other attributed Bomberg typefaces in the Le Bé documents,655 and thus the most logical conclusion is that the same punchcutter was responsible for all of them. Harry Carter also writes that this typeface is shown as a ‘[Hebrieu] Sur la Garamonde et Bible’ in the Plantin Folio Specimen of ‘about 1579’, which is in fact number 78 in the c. 1585 specimen.656 The 1567 Index Characterum also contains a specimen on folio A3 which is attributed to the same Bomberg typeface. Whereas the style characteristics in these specimens are similar to Hb35 (S), the x-heights are not the same.

Le Bé identifies it clearly as a ‘textin des Bombergues’ (1665 f. 9) and indeed it is found in various Bomberg editions, as well as many others. ‘Textin’ is not a French name for a type size, thus it is most likely that Le Bé was referring to the Italian size ‘Testino’, which is equivalent to the English Brevier or French Petit-Texte. Mediane would the Dutch Mediaan, here equivalent to Cicero. The x-height of Hb35 (S) is 2 mm, yet in Vervliet’s Conspectus, the closest equivalent is Long Primer or Petit-Roman. As we are left with a confusion of possible sizes, it appears best to stick with Le Bé on this typeface and call it a Textin.657

The key recognition factor for this typeface, where it occurs, is the aleph/lamed ligature, with its vertical upright stroke, distinctive 45 degree straight bottom stroke

652 Carter, ‘A Message from Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé’, p. 60
653 The identification of Hb35 (S) in the 1573 Plantin Hamishah Humshe Torah is uncertain, but plausible. This is the 1573 Octavo Hebrew Bible, No. 652 in Voet and Voet-Grisolle, The Plantin Press, 1555-1589: a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden, pp. 329-330
654 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, p. 41
655 For example Heb/SS/37 and Hb37 (S)
656 Dreyfus, Type Specimen Facsimiles II Nos 16-18, pp. 2, 11
and curved side stroke. It can be seen on the bottom line of the Plantin Moretus Augustine vieille Hebreu specimen and in the Giustiniani 1548 specimen. The Lamed is also distinctive with the vertical ascender and large termination flag, and finally the Tsadde has a straight angled stroke which meets the base stroke in a sharp angle.

The specimens on folios 17, 17v, 18, 18v are cropped pages 40 and 41 (Tractate Demai) from the Jerusalem Talmud (Talmud Yerushalmi) printed by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1523. The lower specimen on folio 16v is also from the Bomberg Jerusalem Talmud, whereas the upper specimen is most probably from the Ben Asher Pentateuch printed by Bomberg in 1546, and ‘is a commentary on Gen. 25: 29-34’. As with the Bomberg Biblia Rabbinica of 1548, the leaves are bound into the album, which explains the loss of text in the middle sections. There are no annotations by Le Bé on these specimens, but as they follow the specimen sent by Plantin (Folio 16v), one may assume that Le Bé was aware of the common origins of these typefaces.

The engraved opening word in the Bomberg Jerusalem Talmud is of interest. This is not technically a typeface cast in a hand mould, but characters engraved in wood. They are referred to in French as ‘lettres grises’ or ‘lettres fleuries’. Wolf notes the first appearance of this term in 1550 in Paris. This was a very common practice in Hebrew manuscript and later book production, and was no doubt no influenced by the type of highly decorated wood engraving introduced by Geoffrey Tory.

The distribution of Hb35 (S) shows a wide usage, predominantly Venetian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but was also found in the 1629 edition of Behinat HaOlam/L’Examen du Monde, printed by Jean Lacquerhay in Paris.

Fig. 4.52: Hb35 (S) Assembled alphabet from the Le Bé specimen and the Giustiniani Halakhot Gedolot 1548 Actual size (UCLSC, SR Mocatta Quarto 1548 H1)

Fig. 4.53: Hb35 (S) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen and Giustiniani Halakhot Gedolot 1548 Enlarged 1.5x (UCLSC, SR Mocatta Quarto 1548 H1)

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660 Wolf, Terminologische Untersuchungen zur Einführung des Buchdrucks im französischen Sprachgebiet, p. 64
Fig. 4.54: MA 164b strikes Actual Size (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

Fig. 4.55: MA 164c strikes Actual Size (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

Fig. 4.56: Hb35 (S) Proofs from strikes Actual Size (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)
Fig. 4.57: Hb35 (S) as used in 1548 by Giustiniani (UCL/SC, SR Mocatta Quarto H1)

Fig. 4.58: Hb35 (S) from 1665 folio 16
Fig. 4.59: Bomberg Jerusalem Talmud, 1523, top part of page 41, showing folios 17 and 17v from Res-X 1665. (Reduced 90 per cent) Note the example of Lettre grise in the right-hand column.

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Talmud*, Venice, Bomberg, 1520-23
- *Babylonian Talmud*, Venice, Bomberg, 1520
- *Peculium Abrae*, Venice, Bomberg, 1523
- *Talmud Yersushalmi*, Venice, Bomberg, 1523
- *Perush HaTorah*, Venice, Di Gara/Adelkind, 1544
- *Perush Ba'al HaTurim al HaTorah*, Venice, Giovanni dei Farri and Cornelio Adelkind, 1544
- *Be'ur al HaTorah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Midrash Rabot*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Be'ur al HaTorah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Seder Olam Raba*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Igrot leha-ma'or ha-gadol, ha-ner ha-ma'aravi*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545
- *Sefer Michlol*, Venice, Bomberg and Adelkind, 1545
- Avodat Halevi, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545/46
- Even Bohan, Venice, Adelkind, 1546
- Be'ur al ha Torah, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- Rabbenu Bahya, Venice, Bomberg, 1546
- Otiot shel Rabi Akiba, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- Even Bohan, Venice, Adelkind, 1546
- Pesikta Zutarta, Venice, Bomberg, 1546
- Sefer Agur, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546-7
- Rabbi Levi ben Gershom, Venice, Bomberg, 1547
- Mikraot Gedolot, Venice, Bomberg, 1548
- Halakhot Gedolot, Venice, Giustiniani, 1548
- Sefer Mashal HaKadmoni, Venice, Parenzo, 1550?
- Sefer Birkat Avraham, Venice, Bragadin, 1552
- Sefer Hazut Kashah, Sabionetta, Foa, 1552
- Sefer Arba‘ah Turim, Cremona, Conti, 1558?
- Sefer Tanhuma, Mantua, Rufinelli, 1563
- Rabenu Bahye, Venice, di Cavalli, 1566
- David ben Joseph Abudarham, Leperush Tefilot HaShana, Venice, Di Cavalli, 1566
- Shulhan Arukh, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
- Sefer Kol Bo, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
- Bible, Antwerp, Plantin, 1573
- Yosé ben Halaphta, Seder ‘Olam rabba: Seder ‘Olam zuta, Basle, Ambrosius Frobenius, 1580
- Abraham Zacuto, Sefer Yuchasin, Cracow, Prostitz, 1580-1?
- Koppelmann, Sefer Misle Su‘alim, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583
- Gerondi, Sefer Chaje Olam, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1583
- Benjamin Tudela, Masa‘ot shel Rabi Binjamin, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583?
- Koppelmann, Ohel Ya’akov, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1583/84
- Sefer Toledot Aharon, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1584
- Koppelman, Targum shel Chamesh Megilot, Freiburg im Breisgau, Zifroni, 1584
- *Sefer Toledot Aharon*, Venice, Bragadin, 1591
- *Sefer Tiferet Israel*, Venice, Zanetti, 1599
- *Machzor*, Venice, Bragadin and di Gara, 1599
- *Bible/Pentateuch*, Bragadin, Venice, 1590
- Judah Aryeh Leone da Modena (?), *Tzemach Tzadik*, Venice, Zanetti, 1600
- *Sefer Urim ve Tumin*, Venice, Zanetti, 1603
- *Sefer Arba’ah Turim*, Hanau, Hans Jakob Henne, 1610
- *Haggadah*, Daniel Zifroni, Venice, 1620
- *Behinat HaOlam*, Laqueray, Paris, 1629
This Rashi Script glose appears twice in Rés. X 1665 and both are identified by Le Bé as coming from a Bomberg edition. The first occurrence (in Folio 7v) is from the third Bomberg Biblia Rabbinica (Mikraot Gedolot) of 1548 and is used to provide commentary on individual words. The second occurrence (folio 21v) is in too small a specimen to identify precisely, but it looks very much like a part of the same Rabbinic Bible, but showing what is possibly a commentary by the Ba’al ha-Turim, a medieval rabbinic authority, known for his influential work on the halakha (Jewish law), the Arba’ah Turim (‘Four Rows’).

A set of 29 strikes to be found in the Plantin Moretus Museum and known as MA135c is identified as this typeface. It is found in three inventories. The first is in the 1572 inventory, where it was put together with 14 other matrices (et toutes les matrices de l’Hebrieu et Syriac tant creues que justifiees …). In the second, the 1590 Leiden inventory, it is combined with MA135a and 135b (103 matrices in total) and labelled ‘Cursives Hebraiques’, and finally in the third, the 1652 inventory written by Balthasar II Moretus, where it is called ‘Bybel Cursijf Hebreusch, onghhejusteert’. In this last inventory, 38 matrices are noted, and it is not clear what the additional nine matrices would be. The strikes were struck by François Guyot in 1565, the Parisian-born punchcutter who was active in Antwerp from about 1539 to 1570, and was ‘Plantin’s regular type founder from 1558’. Guyot called these strikes a ‘cleyn glost corsijf’ and one may assume that he had in his possession the original Bomberg punches.

This Rashi script was not used by Plantin in any of his Hebrew editions, and an examination of the strikes shows clearly that they were not justified, nor was the distance to the head of the matrix from the character baseline adjusted to make for a correct alignment in the mould. It was provisionally identified in two Roman Hebrew editions in 1546, printed by Isaac de Lattes and Benjamin d’Arignano, in collaboration with Antonio Blado: Sefer Igeret HaKodesh and She’elot uTséhuwot Rabeinu Nissim Girondi. The trail of this Bomberg type from Venice to Rome has yet to be clarified.

662 *Petite glose dont sont faites des additions a la grand Bible des Bombergues de Venise telle quelle.
664 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, *‘Typographica Plantiniana II’*, pp. 48, 96, 118.
This Rashi Script has the characteristic final nun and straight ascender of the lamed of other Bomberg Rashis. The Plantin Moretus specimens also show a distinctive final Tsadde where the descender curves slightly to the right.
Hb37 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 8, 8v, 9, 13v
Size: Moyenne (Petit texte)
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic pointed
Measurements: x-height of 2.3 mm; 20:115 (vocalized)
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: MPM, MA24 and ST56 (4 punches)
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 6; Index Characterum 1567, Folio A3 (No. 7 Ex Proverbiis Salomonis); Plantin’s Folio specimen c. 1585 (No. 84) Sur le petit Texte
First occurrence: Bomberg, Vetus Testamentum hebraice, Venice, 1517, Sefer Ketuvim im HaTargum, Venice, Bomberg, 1516-17?

This is a well-documented and represented typeface, identified by Le Bé on folios 8, 9 and 13v as a ‘moyenne des Bombergues’. The previous use of this size has been discussed, but is called a Petit Texte (or also Kleine Text) in the 1572 Inventory, and ‘Cleyn Text Hebreusch’ in the 1652 Inventory (pp. 35, 42, 114). In the Folio specimen of c. 1585 it is called ‘Sur le Petit Texte’. Fuks identifies it as Raph. Sq. 5 and writes that ‘it is the most commonly used Hebrew fount, both by Plantin in Antwerp and the firm in its Leiden days. Plantin first used it for his three Hebrew bible editions in 4to, 8vo and 16mo, all of which appeared in 1566’. He adds – and not correctly on the attributions – that they ‘were brought from Venice by Cornelis van Bomberghen, who started to work for Plantin in 1563. The types had been cut for Daniel van Bomberghen in Venice by Guillaume Le Bé’.

Cornelis van Bomberghen was indeed a partner in the ‘compagnie d’imprimerie’ founded in 1563, but his role was that of ‘comptable de association’ (accountant). Cornelis (or Corneille II) was an active supporter of the Protestant cause and was banished from the Spanish Netherlands in 1567. Le Bé makes no direct claim in the two documents to have cut this typeface, nor any other, for Bomberg. Fuks cites Omont, but this is clearly a misreading of Omont’s text.

The specimen proofs found in the Museum Plantin Moretus are shown in the following pages and are inconsistent in the number of matrices shown. The actual number of matrices held is 90, including 10 which are marked as fitting the punches in ST56. These are part of what is labelled the ‘Hebrew Pool’ which comprises 18

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665 See page 91 of this thesis.
666 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, Typographica Plantiniana II, pp. 35, 42, 114
667 Dreyfus, Type Specimen Facsimiles II Nos 16-18, pp. 2, 11
668 Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, Hebrew typography in the Northern Netherlands, p. 12
669 van Ortroy, Contribution à l’histoire des imprimeurs et des libraires belges établis à l’étranger, p. 103. See also Bomberghen, Généalogie de la famille van Bomberghen, pp. 139-143
670 Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, Hebrew typography in the Northern Netherlands, p. 12
punches and one matrix. 671 Four of the punches, presumably the two versions of the extended characters, the final mem, the lamed and the heh, which can be seen in the matrices, are those produced by Robert Granjon. He was active in Antwerp for some seven years before his return to Paris in 1570, and the MPM archives record that Plantin paid him for producing these characters in January 1565. 672 The MPM example of MA24 shows a total of 90 characters including vowels and cantillation marks, whereas the specimen sheet HV shows only 75 characters, vowels and cantillation marks. Harry Carter’s Essai de fonte shows 29 characters and no separate vowels, and confuses the direction of the aleph/lamed ligature.

It should be noted that the handwritten note in the MA24 box relates that ten of the matrices marked with a green stroke fit the punches in ST56. This may indicate replacement characters, as well as the additional extended characters, which were ordered by Plantin.

Hb37 (S) has several distinctive recognition characters, in addition to the size. The middle stroke of the aleph/lamed ligature meets the upright stroke at a right angle, and the smaller upright stroke is also at a right angle. The lamed has a slightly angled ascender with a distinct termination flag, and the shin has a vertical middle stroke joining midway on the bottom stroke. The final tsadde has the ascender angled to the right and the middle stroke of the tet almost touches the bottom stroke.

It is not possible to tell precisely from the struck matrices how the punches were cut, i.e. whether they were stepped or separate. A microscopic examination of the matrix for the shin shows double upper points, which could be a sign of a Portmanteau sort. The two upper points were most likely struck with the main character, yet the dagesh point in the centre shows clear signs of being finished by hand with some kind of file. The contours of the character also look like they were finished in the same way. Thus we have here a good example of a matrix formed partially by a combination of direct strike and hand finishing.

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672 Vervliet and Carter, Sixteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries, p. 31. See also Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, Typographica Plantiniana II, p. 42
Fig. 4.65: Magnified photo of the matrix for shin in the MA24 (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

Fig. 4.66: MA24 Full listing of 90 matrices Shows 90 matrices in total Actual size (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)
Fig. 4.67: HV Kleine Text. MA24 Full listing of 90 matrices (Actual size) Shows 75 matrices in total (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

Fig. 4.68: From Harry Carter’s Specimen types from Matrices at the Plantin-Moretus Museum, 1954 Actual size Shows 29 characters in total (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)

Fig. 4.69: MA24 showing complete matrices in their box. Reduced 80 per cent (Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet)
In the study of Bomberg’s Hebrew editions, Ruth Kalman identifies Hb37 (S) as Type A Square and notes that it was found in 11 Bomberg editions, starting from 1514 until 1546, that is for the entire period of Bomberg’s activity in Venice. She makes a note of three extended characters – the aleph, heh and tav – and three forms of the character lamed, but this is more likely to be due to broken or bent kerned ascenders than to differently cut characters. The specimens of Hb37 (S) on 1665 folios 8 and 8v are from the same edition, as they are printed back to back on the same sheet and bound into the album, not pasted. It is most likely that they are from the 1516 or the 1521 Bomberg Quarto Bible, as they contain only the Biblical text and the Haftarah of parashat Va-era, but the exact location has yet to be determined.

The distribution of this fount as seen in the volumes examined for this thesis appears to be limited to Venice and the Netherlands. The trail of the Bomberg founts to Antwerp and Leiden via Plantin is clear enough, yet other printers may well have used it or indeed used it as a model for their own typefaces. This was the case in certain Hebrew editions by Jacob Marcaria in Riva di Trento in the 1550s and 1560s.

The high estimation with which the Bomberg Hebrew editions were held during the sixteenth century can be seen in the dialogue written by the Portuguese-born Jewish

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673 Kalman, *The Bookcraft of Daniel Bomberg’s Press*, pp. 93-94 (Ketav Merooba Aleph)
scholar and writer Immanuel Aboab (c. 1555 – 1628). He wrote that ‘even that much is owed to Christophe Plantin, who printed with such clarity this Bible in the year 5326 (1565 or 1566), and not least is owed to Daniel Bomberg, whose types were used to print it, as can be seen from the authority on the title page’.

It has to be said that these Bomberg types are somehow rougher and more crudely fashioned than those cut by Le Bé, but they nonetheless found favour with a wide public. This success can be partially attributed to the accuracy of the Bomberg Hebrew editions and the way in which Bomberg tailored his editions to his two most profitable markets: Jewish and Christian. He added certain features, such as adding additional Nekudot to make the volumes more readable to Christian students or printing his editions in smaller easier-to-handle formats. Bomberg’s reputation was well known north of the Alps, as can be seen in the comment by Nicolaus Cleynaerts and the records of Georg Spalatin, the superintendent of the ducal library in Wittenberg, who ‘made annual trips to purchase published Greek, Latin, and Hebrew books for universities on German lands’ and especially so from Bomberg. Bomberg also catered for the widely spread Jewish congregations in regions bordering the Mediterranean, and printed their Machzorim, as well as printing for example a volume of Pesakim (Rabbinical decisions or judgements) for the Venetian Rabbinate. Thus it can be said that the high approval and acceptance of his Hebrew types was allied in some way with the actual reputation of his editions.

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Sefer Ketuvim im HaTargum*, Venice, Bomberg, 1516-17
- *Pentateuch*, Venice, Bomberg, 1525-33
- *Sefer Dikduk*, Venice, Bomberg, 1523
- *Bible*, Venice, Bomberg, 1544
- *Kohelet/l’Ecclesiaste di Salome*, Venice, Ziletti, 1571
- *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1574
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1581

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675 He was the grandson of the noted fourteenth century Spanish scholar Isaac Aboab. See 'Aboab' [Accessed 14 March 2008]
676 Imanuel Aboab and Ischak Lopes, *Nomologia o Discursos legales*. Segunda edicion. Coregida y emendada por ... Ischak Lopes. (Amsterdam, 1727). The original Spanish reads: ‘Aun que se deve mucho à Christophoro Plantino, que imprimió con tanto cuydado esta Biblia en el año 5326 (1565 or 1566), no se deve menos à Daniel Bomberga, con cuyos moldes se hizo la estampa; y por su mandato, como se vé en el titolo’.
677 The Hebrew books which Bomberg prints in Venice are shipped by sea to Jews in all parts of the world, in Africa, Ethiopia, the Indies, Egypt and to other parts of the world’. Cited by Nielsen from Nicolaus Clenardus and Alphonse Roersch, *Correspondance de Nicolas Clénard. Publiée par Alphonse Roersch. Lat. & Fr* (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1940)
- *Biblia Hebraica*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1582
- *Hinukh hoc est Catechesis*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1591
- *Pentateuch*, Venice, Bragadin and di Gara, 1597
- *Biblia Hebraica*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1613
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1615
- *Sefer Tehilim/Psalterium*, Leiden, Raphelengius, 1615
- *Samuelis libri duo*, Leiden, Le Maire, 1621
- *Samuelis libri duo*, Leiden, Johannes Le Maire, 1621
- *Grammatica Ebraea Generalis*, Leiden, Raphelengius and Le Maire, 1621
- *Samuelis libri duo*, Leiden, Johannes LeMaire, 1621
- *hoc est Arcanum punctuationis revelatum*, Leiden, Le Maire, 1624
Hb38 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folios 11v face, 11v revers, 15v,
Size: Petit texte
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic pointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.9 mm; 20:87 (vocalized)
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown engraver for the mint (Graveur de Monnaye et cachetz), Venice for Marco Antonio Giustiniani
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folios 11v face, 11v revers, 15v; Omont, 1887, 7;
Literature: None
First occurrence: Machzor (Daily Prayers), Venice, 1545

Le Bé attributes this typeface to a ‘graveur de monnaye et cachetz’, meaning an engraver of coinage and seals and adds that it was cut for the printer and publisher Marco Antonio Giustiniani. This attribution is of itself of interest, as it answers the question of how and by whom many of the unattributed typefaces in the Le Bé documents might have been cut. Engravers of coinage and medals are well known in late medieval and early modern Europe and, in the case of France, they were highly organised and controlled. The techniques involved in producing coinage and medallions would have been very similar to those involved in cutting and striking punches and matrices for type, and it would have been quite natural for craftsmen to move into the new crafts created by the invention of printing. As an example, the punchcutter Nicolas Jenson was a ‘maître et tailleur de la monnaie de Tours’ and was sent by Charles VII in 1458 to Mainz to learn the craft of printing by ‘poinçons et caractères’, and later established himself in Venice where he became celebrated for his Roman types.679 Further example is the Basle printer Johann Amerbach (1440 – 1513) who used the services of a Strasbourg goldsmith, Hans van Unkel, in the 1490s to produce punches and matrices.680

Le Bé also notes that this type is ‘de Justinian’ and it does appear in six Giustiniani editions in 1546 and 1547. Le Bé arrived in Venice towards the end of 1545 and his first type – Hb1(S) – is dated to this period. It may be that Hb38 (S) was commissioned and produced before Le Bé’s arrival. In addition, Le Bé did not produce a similar-sized vocalised Square Sephardic until 1579 in Paris, which may point to his awareness of only cutting those Hebrews which were lacking in Venice. We also note that on occasion he was commissioned to cut a particular size, as with the request from Plantin.681 This was the pattern of some of his types, notably those

681 1665 f. 16v
produced for Giustiniani, Meir di Parenzo, Adrian Le Roy, Robert I Ballard and Christophe Plantin. Later in his life he appears to have cut typefaces for his own pleasure and not with a particular client in mind.

This typeface is somewhat condensed in its ‘set’, and this characteristic can be seen in the ayin and the aleph. As Biblical Hebrew does not allow for word breaks, the extended characters for the aleph, heh and final mem, and tav were also provided. Another recognition element is the shin, which has the termination flag on the middle stroke pointing left. This is certainly not seen in any of the Bomberg or Le Bé typefaces.

Fig. 4.71: Hb38 (S) Assembled alphabet from the Le Bé specimens (Actual size)

Fig. 4.72: Hb38 (S) Assembled alphabet from the Le Bé specimens (Enlarged 2x)

Fig. 4.73: Hb38 (S) Page from the 1546 Giustiniani Pentateuch (BL 1944b5)

The specimen in the Le Bé documents are from the 1546 Giustiniani Pentateuch (Sha'ar bet H. he-hadash: ... Humash im Targum va-Hamesh megilot ve-Haftarot), verses from Genesis 9:9-27 (Folio 11v face) and Genesis 8:13-22 and Genesis 9:1-8 (Folio 11v revers). Curiously, the copy in the British Library has the same Biblical
text, yet the side references appear on the right hand margin, the pagination mark is missing, and the catch line has been altered. These are indications of a re-impression, but only a comparison between multiple editions would provide a clue as to the printing order of the editions.

In addition to the Venetian imprints, Hb38 (S) was also found in Hebrew editions from Cracow and Geneva. The attributions are provisional, as the founts were poorly cast and thus irregular in their alignment, nonetheless many of the key recognition factors are the same.

In the course of the examination of the Hebrew editions for this thesis, there emerged a further three unattributed Hebrew founts. These unattributed founts have striking similarities with Hb38 (S) and a provisional conclusion is that these two types were cut by the same ‘graveur de monnaye et cachetz’ who cut Hb38 (S). The first fount is a 6 mm, and the second a 3 mm Square Sephardic and both appear without vowels. The third has an x-height of 2.5 mm and is pointed. They were found in the following editions, but are not found in either of the two Le Bé documents:

- Jacob ben Asher, *Perush HaTorah*, Venice, Adelkind and dei Farri, 1544 (BL 1984bb4)
- Joseph Albo, *Sefer Ikarim*, Venice, Giovanni dei Farri, 1544 (BL 1932e3)
- Isaac Abravanel, *Sefer Zevach Pesach*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545 (BL 1974c1)
- *Seder Tefilot mi-khol ha-Shanah*, Venice, 1545 (BL 1973a19)
- *Sefer Rosh Emunah*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545? [BL 1952d9 (5)]
- *Nachalat Avot*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1545 (BL 1952f5)
- *Sefer Agur*, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546/7 (Hebrewbooks.org)

The similarities of these unattributed Hebrews to Hb38 (S) are the ayin in both the 6 and 3 mm founts with the same condensed set. The shin shows the same left pointing flag on the middle stroke. Likewise, the tet, lamed, tsadde and final nun are similar.

![Fig. 4.74: 6 mm assembled unattributed alphabet from BL editions](image1)

![Fig. 4.75 3 mm assembled unattributed alphabet from BL editions](image2)
A similar Hebrew was also seen in the Sefer menorat haMoar of R. Isaac Aboab the Elder and in the Pirkei Rabi Eliezer, both printed by Giovanni di Farra in 1544. The x-height of this Hebrew is 2.9 mm. It has the same tell-tale angle on the left hand stroke of the ayin, the bulbous upper termination on the lamed; the angled join of the baseline and oblique stroke of the tsadde, and the left facing termination on the middle stroke of the shin.

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- Machzor (Daily Prayers), Venice, 1545
- Sha’ar bet H. he-hadash: ... Humash im Targum va-Hamesh megilot ve-Haftarot, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- Seder tefilot mi-kol ha-shanah, Venice, Giustiniani, 1546
- Sefer HaShorashim, Venice, Giustiniani, 1547
- Sefer Meir Iyov, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
- Sefer Kol-Bo, Venice, di Cavalli, 1567
• *Sefer Haguda*, Cracow, Prostitz, 1571?
• *Sefer Ne'im Zemirot*, Cracow, Prostitz, 1576?
• *Biblia sacra, Hebraice, Graece, & Latine*, Geneva, Officina Sanctandreana, 1587?
• *Bible/Pentateuch*, Venice, Bragadin, 1590
• *Pithu Sha’arim*, Basle, Waldkirch, 1599
Hb39 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 13
Size: Great Primer (Gros-Romain)
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic pointed
Measurements: x-height of 2.5 mm; 20:115 (vocalized)
Date of creation: 1532?
Punchcutter: François Gryphius?
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 13, Omont, 1887, 6
Literature: Vervliet, Conspectus, 404 (No. 386 Hb 2.5)
First occurrence: Jan van Campen, Psalmarium omnium iuxta Hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica Interpretatio, Claude Chevallon, Paris, 1532

Omont first attributed this typeface to Jean Picard, whereas Vervliet in his Conspectus has attributed it to the Parisian printer and punchcutter François Gryphius with a first appearance in Jan van Campen’s Psalmarium omnium iuxta Hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica Interpretatio, printed by Claude Chevallon in Paris in 1532.682 Vervliet notes that Gryphius, ‘the younger brother of the well-known Lyons printer, Sebastian Gryphius, has hitherto not been recognized as a punchcutter’, and bases this conclusion on the fact that Gryphius ‘used only typefaces that, as a rule, no other printer had used before him’.683

Le Bé describes Hb39 (S) as ‘vielle lettre mal faicte’, meaning either crudely cut or justified and attributes it to the libraire/imprimeur Martin le Jeune.684 This almost certainly does not mean that it was cut by Le Jeune, but was used by him for his various Hebrew editions. It has none of the elegance of Le Bé’s typefaces, although it is not a difficult face to read. The similar pairs, such as Chet/heh (כ/ח), bet/kapf (כ/ב) and dalet/resh (כ/ד) are reasonably well differentiated. The extended characters are over heavy and stand out from the surrounding text. There is little doubt from the evidence of the setting of the specimens that the characters with ascenders and descenders were kerned to allow as close a fit as possible with the vowels and cantillation marks. The text in the specimen is from Psalms 119:40-51 and is from Martin Le Jeune’s edition of Torat HaMashiach (Evangelium secundum Matthaeum) of 1551.

Martin Le Jeune’s use of Hb39 (S) may be related to his publication of at least four works by the orientalist Guillame Postel (De Universitate Liber, De Foenicum Literis and Compendaria Grammatices Hebraicae Introductio, all printed in 1552 and Les

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682 Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé, 1546-1574, p. 6

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Premiers Eléments d’Euclide chrestien in 1579). Martin Le Jeune was active as a printer in Paris from 1548 through 1584, and his press was initially situated in the ‘rue Sainct Jean de Latran, à l’enseigne du Serpent’, thus a close neighbour of Guillaume I Le Bé. Le Jeune also published some 68 editions which use Hebrew type from 1549 to 1584, and this large production would have required a reasonable stock of Hebrew types. Lyse Schwarzfuchs notes that Le Jeune had three Hebrew types which can be attributed to Claude Chevallon/Charlotte Guillard and Robert I Estienne. We may now add the name of François Gryphius to the list. The Hebrew alphabet from Génébrard, Hebraicum alphabetum, Martin le Jeune, Paris, 1564 is a provisional attribution, given the vagaries of ink squash.

Fig. 4.78: Hb39 (S) Assembled alphabet from the Le Bé specimen and the Evangelium secundum Mattheum Actual size (BL 218b12)

Fig. 4.79: Hb39 (S) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen and the Evangelium secundum Mattheum Enlarged 1.5x (BL 218b12)

Fig. 4.80: Hb39 (S) Page from the Evangelium secundum Mattheum Actual size (BL 218b12)

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685 Postel, Les Ecrits de Guillaume Postel publiés en France et leurs éditeurs 1538-1579, pp. 66-68
686 Renouard, Veyrin-Forrer, and Moreau, Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d’imprimerie, pp. 261-262
687 Schwarzfuchs and Coron, Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle, pp. 55-56, 251
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- Jan van Campen, *Psalmorum omnium iuxta Hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica Interpretatio*, Paris, Claude Chevallon, 1532
- Johannes Vallensis, *Opus de prosodia Hebraeorum in quatuor libros diuisum*, Paris, Jacques Bogard, 1545
Jean Cinquearbres, *De re grammatica Hebraeorum opus*, Paris, Martin le Jeune, 1549

*Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, Martin le Jeune, Paris, 1551 (See BL 218b12 Evangelium Secundum Matthaeum, f. Aviii)

Gilbert Génébrard, *Hebraicum alphabetum*, Paris, Martin le Jeune, 1564?

Jean Cinquearbres, *De notis Hebraeorum liber*, Paris, Martin le Jeune, 1582
Hb40 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 14 and 20
Size: Petit-texte (Picard’s Pica Hebrew B Hb 1.6 or Cicéro)
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic pointed and unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.6 mm; 20:78
Date of creation: c. 1545
Punchcutter: Jean Arnoul dit Picard le jeune
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 14 and 20, Omont, 1887, 5
Literature: Vervliet, Conspectus, 391 (No. 370 Hb 1.6)
First occurrence: Sefer HaKuzari, Venice, Parenzo, 1547

On the specimen for folio 14, there is an annotation which was overlooked by Omont in his first analysis of the documents. It reads: ‘ce petit texte est de Jehan Picard a (ou de) Paris decedé a Lyons’. The page is from a 1549 edition of the Mishnah printed by Meir di Parenzo for Carlo Querini in Venice, and the actual text is from Chapter 5 of the Pirkei Avot (פרקי אבות). The specimen page is from the Mishnaic tractate of Avot, which is usually the final tractate in the order of Nezikin in the Talmud. The second specimen appears on Folio 20, and is clearly a printer’s specimen, as it includes three lines of vocalised setting, followed by four lines of random words and characters in alphabetic order. Le Bé also attributes this typeface to ‘Jehan Arnoul, dit Picard, decedé a Lyon, duquel j’euz la presente frappe que je vendis a Venise a Maz de Parezne’.

It seems likely that this typeface was cut by Jean Arnoul dit Picard, either in Paris or in Lyons, who gave the strikes to Le Bé before he left for Venice. Once settled in Venice, Le Bé sold them to Meir Parenzo, who had served as a kind of foreman or perhaps ‘prote’ to both Bomberg and later Alvise Bragadin, before issuing at least five editions under his own name. Marx commented that Parenzo’s types were ‘generally very small types, well printed, cleanly and evenly, and always clearly legible’. 688

This description is indeed well suited to Hb40 (S), which is highly legible, given its small appearing size. The shin is a key recognition character, where the middle stroke joins the baseline at the juncture of the left hand stroke and the baseline at a very sharp angle. There were also extended characters, which can be seen in the specimen below from the 1547 Sefer HaKuzari. They do not appear on the specimen on Folio 20, so possibly they were added later.

Fig. 4.82: Hb40 (S) Assembled alphabet (Actual size)


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Fig. 4.83: Hb40 (S) Assembled alphabet (Enlarged 2x)

Fig. 4.84: Hb40 (S) used as text face from a page from Sefer HaKuzari, Venice, Parenzo, 1547 showing additional extended characters (BL 1932d10)
Fig. 4.85: Hb40 (S) from 1665 folio20 (Actual size)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Sefer HaKuzari*, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- *Sefer Sha’ar HaShamayin*, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- *Sefer Sha’arei Dura*, Venice, Parenzo, 1547
- *Mishnayot Meseder Mo’ed*, Venice, Parenzo, 1548-49
- *Mishnayot Meseder Kadoshim*, Venice, Parenzo, 1548-49
- *Mishnayot Meseder Nashim*, Venice, Parenzo, 1548-49
- *Sefer Kaftor vePerach*, Venice, Parenzo, 1549?
- *Sefer Arba’ah Turim*, Cremona, Conti, 1558?
Hb41 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 15
Size: Petit texte?
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.9 mm; 20:89
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 15
Literature: None
First occurrence: De Literis Hebraeorum, Basle, Typis Martini Wagneri, 1643?

This folio is once again clearly a proof of a type specimen, showing 20 lines of unvocalized setting, and including four lines of various sorts set in alphabetic order. The Biblical text in the specimen is from Leviticus 1:1-10. There is no annotation on the specimen to indicate who cut it, nor where it came from. The fifteen handwritten characters below the specimen show a hand well familiar with Hebrew calligraphic letterforms, and could point to suggested corrections to the sorts already cut. The alphabetic lines show a variety of sorts with dagesh points, but no indication of vowels or cantillation marks. There are also extended characters for the aleph and the final mem, and more were available as can be seen from the page from the Liber Cosri.

The immediate recognition factors for this fount are the ayin, the tsadde, the final tsadde and the shin. The ayin has a distinctive angle to the left hand stroke, the final tsadde has a sharply angled downstroke to the descender, and the shin shows the three upper terminations all pointing left. These characteristics might link it to the anonymous unknown engraver for the mint (Graveur de Monnaye et cachetz) already identified by Le Bé in Hb38 (S), which could indicate a Venetian origin in the 1540s, but, if so, the unexplained question is why the first unambiguous use found to date is from Basle in the seventeenth century.

Fig. 4.86: Hb41 (S) Assembled alphabet from 1665 folio 15 (Actual Size)

Fig. 4.87: Hb41 (S) Assembled alphabet from 1665 folio 15 (Enlarged 2x)
Fig. 4.88: Hb41 (S) Specimen from 1665 folio 15 (Actual Size)

Fig. 4.89: Portion of Page from Johann Buxtorf, Liber Cosri, Continens colloquium seu disputationem de religione, Georg Decker, Basle, 1660. Actual Size (John Rylands University Library, Manchester. Teltscher J193)
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *De Literis Hebraeorum*, Basle, Typis Martini Wagneri, 1643
- Buxtorf, *Liber Cosri*, Basle, Georg Decker, 1660
Hb42 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 15
Size: Petit texte?
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 2.1 mm; 5:19
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 15
Literature: None
First occurrence: Unknown

This specimen is found on the same folio as Hb41 (S) and has no annotation to indicate either punchcutter or origin. It is slightly larger in appearing size than Hb41 (S) and has several characters with similar characteristics: the shin with the termination flag on the middle stroke pointing left, the final tsadde with a pronounced right angle to ascender, the tsadde with a 45 degree angle to the juncture of the oblique stroke and baseline. It is a darker typeface, with less differentiation between the thin and thick strokes, but the fact that Le Bé placed it on the same folio as Hb41 (S) may indicate a common origin. It was not found in any of the editions examined for this thesis.

The actual text is a puzzle, as it appears to be a mélange of correct and nonsense Hebrew. It was not located in any Biblical test or commentary following a comprehensive search of the Bar Ilan online Responsa Project. The incorrect use of final characters is evidence that it was made as a proof of the typeface to demonstrate the range of characters that had been cut.

Fig. 4.90: Hb42 (S) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen (Actual size)

Fig. 4.91: Hb42 (S) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen (Enlarged 2x)

Fig. 4.92: Hb42 (S) Le Bé specimen from 1665 folio 15 (Actual size)

689 ’Online Responsa Project’<http://www.responsa.co.il/default.aspx> [Accessed 6 November 2013]
Hb43 (R)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 19v
Size: Glose Hebraique
Type Classification: Rashi Script unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.9 mm; 5:19
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: for Cornelio Adelkind?
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 19v
Literature: Omont, 1887, p. 6
First occurrence: Unknown

Le Bé describes this fount on his annotation as a ‘glose hébraïque de messer Cornelio, chrestien baptise, correcteur en l’imprimerie des Bombergues, bien antique et taillée d’un bon maistre’. The ‘messer Cornelio’ is without any doubt Cornelio Adelkind, who was the foreman of Bomberg’s press as well as being his corrector. Amram writes that ‘the Bomberg press since its establishment had employed the family of Adelkind, father, sons and grandsons, another family who under different circumstances might have established a famous press like that of the Soncinati. Most prominent among the clan of the Adelkinds was Cornelio the friend and associate rather than the subordinate of the master, in whose press room he served for upwards of three decades. So great was his merit as a printer that Bomberg permitted their names to be associated on the title page of many books and in some even allowed Cornelio’s to appear alone’. 690 Adelkind worked for at least three Venetian printers during and following his association with Bomberg: Giovanni dei Farri in 1544, Marco Antonio Giustiniani from 1545 to 1552, and finally for Tobiah Foa in Sabbioneta from 1553 to 1554.691

Le Bé’s comment about Cornelio Adelkind’s conversion to Christianity – or apostasy as viewed from the Jewish perspective, seems to be confirmed by Adelkind’s epitaph to the 1546 Bomberg edition of Eliahu Levita’s Dikdukim, in which he writes that ‘Israel was my name and as Cornelio I will be remembered’. This was not unusual at the time nor for the Bomberg press, as he had used the services of three Jews who had converted to Christianity: Felice da Prato (Felix Pratensis), Jacob ben Hayyim and Isaiah Parnas.692

The fact that Le Bé attributes this typeface to Adelkind does not mean that it was cut by him. It is worth noting Le Bé’s phrase ‘bien antique et taillée d’un bon maistre’, which implies that it was cut by a skilled punchcutter. It is also different from the other Rashi Scripts used in the Bomberg oeuvre and is not listed in the analysis of the

690 Amram, The makers of Hebrew books in Italy, pp. 180-183
691 Avraham Meir Habermann, HaMadpis Cornelio Adel Kind u-Beno Daniel (In Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1980) in English summary
692 Amram, The makers of Hebrew books in Italy, pp. 186, 189
Bomberg types compiled by Kalman. The typeface is more calligraphic in its character and also has more differentiation between the thick and thin strokes. The distinctive features are the bet with an extended and angled baseline, the final nun, the gimel with the lengthened vertical stroke meeting the baseline at a 90 degree angle, and the ‘hook’ on the final tsadde. It also has a smaller version of the kapf which can be seen on line one of the specimen below, which is similar to the kapf used by Le Bé in Hb18 (R). The text of the specimen is most likely from an as yet unidentified edition of Rashi’s Siddur, Chapter 502? ( Psalm). This fount was not found in any the specimens examined for this thesis.

Fig. 4.93: Hb43 (R) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen (Actual size)

Fig. 4.94: Hb43 (R) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen (Enlarged 2x)

Fig. 4.95: Hb43 (R) Le Bé specimen from 1665 folio 19v (Actual size)

693 Kalman, 'The Bookcraft of Daniel Bomberg’s Press’, pp. 94-100
Hb44 (R)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 19 and 19v
Size: Glose
Type Classification: Rashi Script unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 2 mm; 20:90
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: From Constantinople
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folios 19 and 19v
Literature: Omont, 1887, p. 7
First occurrence: Mishnayot, Soncino, Naples, 1492?

The two specimens for this typeface on folios 19v are taken from the edition of Sha’arei HaTeshuva, printed by Gershom Soncino in Fano in 1505/6. The text is from the Sefer Sha’arei Teshuva (the Gates of Repentance), by the thirteenth-century Catalan rabbi and moralist Yonah ben Abraham Gerondi.

An earlier appearance for this same Rashi is to be found in an edition of the Arba’ah Turim, printed in December 1493 at the press of David and Samuel Ibn Nachmias in Constantinople. Adri Offenberg has analysed this edition and its history, the first ‘book printed in the Near East, and also the first product of the printing press in South-East Europe’. Offenberg is quite certain that ‘the type with which are printed the titles in its various parts, chapters and paragraphs, as well as the decorative initial at the beginning of the text, are undoubtedly of Spanish origin’. He is also quite certain that the ‘ordinary typeface in which the Arba’ah Turim is printed, formerly referred to as “rabbinical” or “Rashi letter”, but nowadays more prosaically called semi-cursive, obviously comes from Naples’. This type is Hb44 (S), the specimen in the Le Bé document 1665, folios 19 and 19v.694 Offenberg also adds that this Rashi Script/semi-cursive type is ‘identical with the text type of Joshua Soncino, last used by him in his grandiose Mishnah edition of 8 May 1492’.695 He makes the very logical assumption that the Nachmias Brothers had connections with the Soncino family, and this would explain the fact they had the Soncino Rashi types ‘at their disposal’.

It is not known who cut the punches for this type. Le Bé does not say and only notes that the specimen came from Constantinople. Offenberg writes that ‘twelve years later they (i.e. the Nachmias Brothers) were using apparently the same type on a smaller body, making it probable that at the same time they had the use of the matrices and possessed their own typefoundry’. He also notes that the edition of the Arba’ah Turim shows extended letters (Litterae dilatabiles), which ‘are not found in

695 According to Amram’s list of the Soncino editions, this would be the Mishnah with Maimonides, printed in Naples. See Amram, The makers of Hebrew books in Italy, p. 140
the Soncino editions’. The Le Bé specimen and the edition in which it is found do not have any extended letters, but it does have the aleph/lamed ligature. A possible specimen seen in the c. 1515 Constantinople edition of Mishpatei HaCherem, veHanidui, ve Hanezipha, which does contain examples of litterae dilatabiles.

Are there any clues in the writings on or about Gershom Soncino as to the origin of this typeface? Soncino left a lengthy biographical note on the title page of his edition of Kimchi’s Michol, printed in Constantinople in 1533. He writes of his work of ‘editing texts’ and of his travels to France and Switzerland to seek out ‘books which have ... been concealed dark and obscure’. He does not mention specifically any details of his presses, his type or the paper used. Moses Marx maintains that Soncino ‘assumed all the editorial tasks ...read proofs, and certainly, at all times had his eyes upon the whole of the business as well as his hands in everything’. Soncino, unlike his rival Daniel Bomberg, hardly mentioned the names of his editors, assistants or associates during ‘the whole period of his activity as a printer of Hebrew from 1485 to 1534’. It is possible that he had a hand in cutting his own types. Marx cites the Renaissance writer and humanist Alessandro Gaboardo da Torricella, who remarked that Soncino ‘has a good name as a printer, that he prints with particularly beautiful types, and that his books are marked by their outward elegance’.

This Soncino Rashi is indeed a highly legible typeface, with a strong horizontal emphasis. The down strokes are lighter than the base and upper strokes. There is also attention given to the ‘side bearings’ of the characters so the individual characters are clearly differentiated. Note the final nun with the left facing termination flag, and the angled vertical stroke of the gimmel. The final peh is not seen in the Le Bé specimen, but has the distinctive ‘bishop’s crook’ shape to it.

The inclusion of this Incunabula typeface in the specimen is further evidence of Le Bé’s knowledge of the historical varieties of Hebrew printed letterforms. He could have acquired such specimens during his period in Venice,

Fig. 4.96: Hb44 (R) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen 1665 folios 19 and 19v (Actual size)

Fig. 4.97: Hb44 (R) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen 1665 folios 19 and 19v (Enlarged 2x)

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696 Offenberg, 'The printing history of the Constantinople Hebrew Incunable of 1493', pp. 26-227
699 Ibid., p. 496
Fig. 4.98: Hb44 (R) Specimen of 20 lines from Le Bé specimen 1665 folio 19 (Actual size)

Fig. 4.99: Hb44 (R) Specimen of 20 lines from the 1492 Soncino Mishniot From the Hebrew University Digitized Book Repository, F. 1v (Actual size)
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Mishniot*, Naples, Soncino, 1492
- *Arba’ah Turim*, Constantinople, 1494
- *Hamishah Humshei Tora*, Constantinople, Nachmias, 1505
- *Sha’arei Ha Teshuva*, Fano, Gershon Soncino, 1506
- *Mishpatei HaCherem, veHanidui, ve Hanezipha*, Constantinople, c. 1515?
- *Teshuvot*, Venice, Bomberg, 1519
- *Teshuvot HaRav*, Constantinople, Soncino, 1547
- *Pentateuch*, Venice, Bragadin and di Gara, 1597
Hb45 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 19v
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 3.5 mm
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 19v
First occurrence: Sha’ari Teshevot, Soncino, Fano 1506?

This typeface appears as cross headings in an edition of Sha’arei HaTeshuva, printed by Gershom Soncino in Fano in 1505/6. The text is from the Sefer Sha’arei Teshuva (the Gates of Repentance), by the thirteenth century Catalan rabbi and moralist Yonah ben Abraham Gerondi in which this typeface is used as cross headings.

Le Bé attributes the gloss in this specimen to a Constantinople source and it was found in four Constantinople imprints dating from 1494 to 1547. The square Sephardic on the specimen was not found in any other of the Soncino imprints from the Fano period that were available for examination. There is also a pointed Square Sephardic which was used by the Soncino press for the text of the Hebrew Bible printed in Pesaro during the years 1511 to 1517. The similarities between certain key characters in both founts, such as the gimmel, shin, the lamed, the ayin, and the tsadde are close enough to demonstrate that they are most probably the same typeface, with the addition of extended characters and vowel points at a later date.

Another interesting feature of this typeface is the close ‘fit’, which is especially apparent in the Soncino Bible with vowels and cantillation marks. This setting also uses a combination of extended characters and the repetition of the initial character from the following line to achieve justification of the lines, a characteristic of earlier Hebrew scribal practice.

The differences in the forms of the vowel points and cantillation on this edition raise the question whether they were inserted by hand. If this hypothesis is confirmed, this would explain their unusually close fit to the main characters and the differences between different versions of the same sign. The colophon makes no mention of this point and only says that ‘I have seen the completion of the printing of the Four and Twenty (Bible) with vowels, accents and corrected.’ There is no indication that the Soncino Press ever used such a technique, in addition to the fact that it would have

700 The edition was examined in a digitised format at http://www.hebrewbooks.org/45260 and the volume is held in the Chaim Elovor Reich Renaissance Hebraica Collection. See also page 312 in this thesis.
701 Amran lists seven imprints for Soncino from 1503 to 1506 from Fano. See Amram, The makers of Hebrew books in Italy, p. 141
702 Edition examined from the JNUL Digitized Book Repository. http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=001295061&local_base=NNLALL There is also an copy at the BL 1901.d.10
been an extremely consuming process and would have limited the print run. An 
examination of other Soncino imprints, for example the 1518 edition printed in 
Ortona of Galatino’s *On the Mystery of Catholic Truth* shows the use of a similar 
pointed Hebrew on the title page. 704 There is enough differentiation in the 
placement and treatment of some of the vowel points (e.g. the kamatz and the 
Patach) to raise the question of how they were inserted or indeed whether they were 
type set at all.705

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704 I am grateful to Scott-Martin Kosofsky for this suggestion. See Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book*, p. 41 (Vol I) and Marx, ‘*Gershom (Hieronymus) Soncino’s Wander-Years in Italy*’, 705 *Opus toti christian[a]e reipublic[a]e maxime utile de arcans catholic[a]e ueritatis contra obstinatissimam Iudeoru[m] ... p[er]fidiam* / [auctore, P. Columna]. See also Amram, *The makers of Hebrew books in Italy*, pp. 124-126
Fig. 4.104: Hb45 (S) Full page Sha’ari Teshevet, Soncino, Fano 1506 (Actual size) showing the actual specimen from Rés-X-1665, folio 19v
Fig. 4.105: Hb45 (S) as used in the Tanach/Bible, Soncino, Pesaro 1511-1517 (Reduced 70 per cent). The opening verses of Genesis. Reproduction from JNUL Digitized Book Repository
Hb46 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 20
Size: Coronelle Hebreu or Grosse Nompareille
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.1 mm; 5:19
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: MPM ST 55 and MA83a
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 20; Omont, 1887, p. 8; See Plantin Folio Specimen c. 1585 Hebreu sur la Coronelle (No. 77)
Literature: None, but see Vervliet/Carter, Type Specimens II, p. 77, Inventaris van de stempels en matrizen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1960, p. 118
First occurrence: O.T. (Hamishah Humshe Torah. 1573-74). Plantin, Antwerp

This is yet another specimen that was sent by Christophe Plantin to Le Bé, with the request ‘pour luy en fayre un plus petit’. Le Bé records that he had not seen anything similar ‘a Venise, ny Rome, by autrepart’. The specimen is a pointed text from a printed edition, and luckily the specimen in 1665 f. 20 is pasted on one side only, so the reverse side is visible. This shows a signature mark iiii 2, which indicates that this was the verso page. This type of signature seems to have been found mainly in Italian Hebrew editions, but this particular edition has yet to be found, and neither were any occurrences of Hb46 (S) found in any of the editions examined for this thesis, which may confirm Le Bé’s comment in the annotation.

The best assumption is that this specimen comes from what is called an enchiridii forma. The word enchiridion comes from the Greek for handbook or manual, and it was a format used by Robert Estienne in his various catalogues. This particular edition would most likely have been a small pocket-sized prayer book – 16mo or 32mo – given the lack of cantillation marks. The actual text is from Psalms 34:19-23, followed by Psalms 90-91:1. This is the introductory liturgy for Sabbaths and festivals, where Psalm 90 follows Psalm 34, and thus ‘it could come from either a weekly siddur (including Sabbath and holiday prayers) or a holiday Machzor’. This request from Plantin to Le Bé resulted in the punches (ST55) and matrices (MA83a), now in the MPM. They are labelled as ‘Grosse Nompareille petit Hebreu de G. le be’ or ‘Hebreu sur la Coronelle’. These punches contain examples of an extended aleph, heh, mem and tav, which Le Bé included in Hb 15 (S). A similar size Square Sephardic Hebrew was used in two Hanau editions printed in 1610 by Hans Jakub Henne. They are not pointed and there are differences in some of the characters, which may be due to ink squash. The punchcutter of this typeface is not

706 The first instance is HB17 (S) on page 209.
708 This information is from Dr. Jay Rovner, Manuscript Bibliographer at the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. I am most grateful to him for supplying these details.
709 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana II', pp. 38, 98
710 See page 214 of this thesis.
known, but what it does show is that the need for smaller sized Hebrews remained a desideratum.

Fig. 4.106: Page from *Hamishah Humshe Torah*, Hans Jacob Henne, Hanau, 1610. Actual Size (BL 3408bbb1)

The typeface itself has three characteristics which may link it to the unknown punchcutter of Hb41 (S): the sharp angle of the juncture of the baseline and oblique stroke for the tsadde, the left pointing termination flag of the middle stroke of the shin, and the sharp angle in the ascender of the final nun. But otherwise it is lacking in the elegance of line which are typical of Le Bé’s typefaces.

Fig. 4.107: Hb46 (S) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimens (Actual size)

Fig. 4.108: Hb46 (S) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimens (Enlarged 2x)
Fig. 4.109: Hb46 (S) Specimen from 1665 f. 20 Front side (Actual size)

Fig. 4.110: Hb46 (S) Specimen from 1665 f. 20 Rear side (Actual size)

Fig. 4.111: Le Bé’s Typeface (HB 15 (S)) which was the result of this request.
Hb47 (R)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 20v
Size: Moyenne Glose
Type Classification: Rashi Script unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 1.6 mm; 10:43
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 20v; Omont, 1887, p. 6;
Literature: None
First occurrence: Sefer HaShorashim, Bomberg, Venice 1529?

Le Bé calls this typeface a ‘moyenne glose des Bombergues’ and comments that is ‘très belle et bien taillée, avec meilleur art que celles du Justinian et aultres’. We have already examined a Bomberg Rashi – Hb34 (R) – which has a slightly larger x-height of 2 mm and was used for commentary text. This Bomberg Rashi is very similar in style, but seems to be used mainly for cross references in the margins of the text.

Le Bé also correctly notes that the specimen from the Bomberg edition of what he calls the ‘Sepher Hassarasim’, which is in fact the Sepher HaShorashim (the Book of Roots) by David Kimchi. Bomberg printed two editions of this work, in 1529 and 1546.711 There are three separate specimens pasted on the bottom of Folio 20v, and in spite of different appearing sizes to the top specimen, they are most probably the same type, possibly from different copies. The differences can be explained by ink squash or different impressions. The main typeface for the text is Hb35 (S), and the glose has been cast on a larger body so that the lines of marginal glose and text align. This is same in both the 1529 and 1546 edition.

A cursory comparison of the two editions seems to indicate that they are virtually identical, except for different catchwords and possibly different title pages. In the sixteenth century it is very unlikely that type would have been standing over such a long period, thus the later edition was probably completely reset from the earlier model. Only a detailed comparison using a device such as the McLeod Portable Collator would bring out the exact differences between the two editions. What is clear is that same typeface were used in both editions.712

It is difficult to agree completely with Le Bé about the aesthetic qualities of this typeface. Smaller Hebrew typefaces rarely bring out the best either in legibility or letterforms, unless they are engraved with what Fournier called gros oeil, which is basically a larger appearing size on the same body as a standard size (oeil

711 The British Library has both of these editions. The 1529 edition is shelfmark 1936e20 and the 1546 edition is shelfmark 1936e2. See British Museum Dept. of Printed Books, Johnson, and Scholderer, Short-title catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British museum, p. 211
Le Bé’s own attempts at Rashi script, such as Hb5(R), seem more successful in terms of legibility in small sizes. The Rashi on the Estienne type specimen (Hb31 (R)) is also highly legible, in spite of its ‘darker’ overall colour.

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Hb48 (S)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 21
Size: Saint-augustin?
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Sephardic unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 2.3 mm
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 21
Literature: None
First occurrence: Unknown

This fount is found on the printed specimen on folio 21. The source of this specimen has not yet been identified and there are not enough characters in the specimen to produce an assembled alphabet.

Fig. 4.115: Hb48 (S) Specimen from 1665 folio 21 (Actual size)
**Hb49 (R)**

- Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 21
- Size: Petit-texte?
- Type Classification: Rashi Script unpointed
- Measurements: x-height of 1.3 mm; 20:56
- Date of creation: Unknown
- Punchcutter: Unknown
- Materials preserved: None
- Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 21
- Literature: None
- First occurrence: Unknown

The specimen on folio 20 is a page from what is most likely an index to an as yet unidentified edition of the *Mishnah*. Le Bé adds no annotation to indicate either origin or printer. This typeface is not found in any of the Bomberg editions and was probably not a Bomberg typeface, which is confirmed by the left-pointing termination flag of the final nun. The mem is also distinctive and has a right-hand stroke protruding well below the baseline.

![Fig. 4.116: Hb49 (R) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen (Actual size)](image1)

![Fig. 4.117: Hb49 (R) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen (Enlarged 2x)](image2)

![Fig. 4.118: Hb49 (R) 20 line specimen from Le Bé specimen (Actual size)](image3)
Hb50 (A)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 22v
Size: Not given
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Ashkenazic pointed and unpointed
Measurements: x-height of 6 mm
Date of creation: Unknown
Punchcutter: Unknown
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 22
Literature: Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräischen Drucke*, 1964, p. XV-XXI
First occurrence: *Sefer Tehillim*, Froben, Basle, 1516?

Guillaume I Le Bé produced some 20 Hebrew types following the Sephardic model and cut no types using the Ashkenazic model, the other dominant Hebrew scribal tradition that was represented in print. The only Ashkenazic examples he included in his specimens are those which are found on folios 22v and 23. This preference requires some explanation.

The Ashkenazic script – *Ashkenaz* is the medieval Hebrew word for Germany – originated in northern Europe and was used in the Rhineland, Germany, central and northern France, England, later central and eastern Europe (Poland and Bohemia). The oldest Ashkenazic manuscript dates from the eleventh century.\(^{714}\) The characteristics of the Ashkenazic style were heavily influenced by the northern European Gothic style, as in the straight strokes, sharp angles, and strong contrast between the thick and thin strokes, and these characteristics varied between the German, French, English and Italian styles.\(^ {715}\)

Carlo Bernheimer wrote that ‘the earliest printers took as a model the manuscripts, which they reproduced or imitated the various scripts according to their own taste and the region in which they resided’.\(^ {716}\) There was in fact a mixture of influences in many parts of Italy which led to, for example, the Ashkenazic model being adopted for certain headings, a Sephardic or Italian model for the text and a cursive model for the notes or commentaries.

Gershom Soncino came from a family of German Jews who had settled in Italy in the mid-fifteenth century and took the surname Soncino from the town where Israel – his grandfather – first set up his Hebrew printing press in 1483.\(^ {717}\) However it does appear that the Soncino editions by the mid-1480s were set in mostly Sephardic or Italian style Hebrews. Other early printers, such as Abraham Conat or Meshullam

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714 Trzcinski, ‘*Badania paleograficzne nad pismem hebrajskim średniowiecznym i nowożytnym (Palaeographic Studies on Medieval and Modern Hebrew Writing)*’, p. 71
715 Sirat and De Lange, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, pp. 195-203
716 Bernheimer, *Paleografia ebraica*, p. 107
717 Marx, ‘*Gershom (Hieronymus) Soncino’s Wander-Years in Italy*’, p. 427
Cusi, used types which are much closer to the Ashkenazic model, and it is not clear whether they themselves were of Italian or German origin.\footnote{Freimann and Marx, \textit{Thesaurus typographiae Hebraicae saeculi XV}, pp. 14, 19, 18, 22}

Solomon Birnbaum’s work is mostly concerned with Hebrew palaeography, but he does comment on the scribal influences in early print. He wrote that:

The type cutters reproduced the letterforms of the contemporaneous manuscripts as closely as possible. Thus the typeface differed according to the type to which the manuscripts belonged. The printers and type cutters would naturally deal with the manuscripts written in the script of their own group, so that from central Italy we would get typefaces of the Italian type, from southern Italy of Sephardic type, and from northern Italy they would generally be of the Ashkenazic type. To reproduce a manuscript meant also to reproduce the style of that manuscript, if it was in Mashait, it was printed in the same style, and if each of its pages contained both Square and Mashait, the printed copy did likewise. The first book in Hebrew characters was printed in Mashait.\footnote{For discussion of the term ‘Mashait’ see page 52 of this thesis.}

After some time the Ashkenazic and Italian founts disappeared. Why they did so has still to be explored. The reasons are not to be sought in the script itself but are obviously of another kind. Since then all Jewries have been using the Sephardic type for printing, although the overwhelming majority of books and printers have been and are Ashkenazic.\footnote{Birnbaum, \textit{The Hebrew scripts}, pp. 270-271}

Birnbaum’s observation that ‘Ashkenazic and Italian founts disappeared’ applies to Italy and partially to France,\footnote{Note the persistence of Ashkenazic founts in Hebrew printing in Lyons. See Schwarzfuchs, \textit{L’hébreu dans le livre lyonnais au XVe siècle}} but certainly not to the German-speaking lands and the comment that ‘the overwhelming majority of books and printers have been and are Ashkenazic’ is debatable. Jews may have followed local traditions, but there were also strong connections among the various Jewish communities.

A curious exception to this finding is the example of a Hebrew alphabet in Palatino’s 1540 writing book.\footnote{Giovanni Battista Palatino, \textit{Libro di M. Giovambattista Palatino cittadino romano : nelqual s’inseagna à scriuer ogni sorte lettera, antica & moderna, di qualun que natione, con le sue regole, & misure, & esempi : et con un breve et utile discorso de le cifre} (Roma, 1550)} It is very clearly Ashkenazic in style and the question needs to be asked why an Italian writing master working in Rome in the mid sixteenth century would have chosen this model above a Sephardic one. One possible clue comes from a series of sixteenth-century Jewish gravestones examined in Padua. The author observed that ‘in the sixteenth century the square lettering characteristic of the Ashkenazic hand reigned supreme in the Padua cemetery’. And indeed in one gravestone, one can observe the same decorative dots in the thin vertical strokes. It
may well be that Palatino had seen similar gravestones in Rome and copied the style as being suitably monumental for his Hebrew alphabet.\textsuperscript{723}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{hebrew_alphabet}
\caption{Hebrew alphabet from the 1550 edition of Palatino’s writing book}
\end{figure}

The decline in use of the Ashkenazic model in Italy may also be a reflection of the growth of the new humanistic learning in the Renaissance.\textsuperscript{724} A. F. Johnson made an important connection between the introduction of roman types and the influence of Humanistic learning and scholars. He noted that ‘by 1480 only ten roman founts are recorded in the presses of Germany, but that their numbers began to increase rapidly after 1490, the printers of Basle in particular leading the way’. He also notes as important that ‘Aldus had no gothic types’.\textsuperscript{725} A further reason for the persistence of the Gothic form in the German-speaking lands was the connection between the Lutheran Bible in the sixteenth century and use of Texturalis\textsuperscript{726} as the ‘standard letter in Germany for Bibles and service books’.\textsuperscript{727}

The early use of the Gothic typefaces can also be explained on mechanical grounds. Theodore DeVinne argued that the Gothic character ‘ was not so quickly cut, but its broad face, free from hair lines was more readily founded’. He also argued that ‘it could be inked with facility and printed with more evenness of color, and it would not show wear as soon as Romans’. The persistence of Gothic characters in Germany, he

\textsuperscript{724} For discussion of Humanist interest in Hebrew and in particular the example of Pico della Mirandolo and his Jewish mentors see Manuel, \textit{The broken staff}, pp. 36-44

\textsuperscript{725} A. F. Johnson, \textit{Type designs: their history and development}. 2nd ed. (London: Grafton, 1934), p. 56

\textsuperscript{726} The term \textit{textura} or \textit{textur} is related to \textit{Textualis}, which is used to refer to a Gothic book script or ‘black-letter script’. See Michelle Brown and Patricia Lovett, \textit{The historical source book for scribes} (London: British Library, 1999), pp. 87-94. The typographic term used in Germany is \textit{Fraktur}.

\textsuperscript{727} Johnson, \textit{Type designs: their history and development}, p. 9
maintained, was due to the ‘strong prejudice against Roman customs and fashions of all kinds’. This argument does appear to have some bearing on the Hebrew Ashkenazic typefaces, although it does have to be said that they are generally less elegant and aesthetic than those based on the Sephardic model. 728

The rapid acceptance of the Italian roman model in France can also be attributed to the influence of Italian culture at the court of François I. It has been said that ‘l’Italie est la clef du règne de François I’ (1515 – 1547). His role as a patron of the arts has been well documented, and in particular with regard to printing and books. 729 The activities of his ambassador in Venice during the years 1540 to 1542, Guillaume Pelicier the Archbishop of Montpellier, present a good example of this keen interest. Pelicier spent enormous energy and funds in seeking out and commissioning manuscript copies of Greek and Hebrew works.

This royal preference for Italian models and his desire to ‘emulate the Italian patrons of learning’ 730 are indicative of the desire to encourage all aspects of classical learning during the reign of François I. 731 As an illustration, the gallery of François I at Fontainebleau shows the King in classical armour where he is holding ‘dans sa main la grenade de l’unité ou bien il chasse l’ignorance de son royaume, afin d’instaurer la règne des arts et des lettres’. 732 No one better epitomises this trend than Robert Estienne, under whom Guillaume I Le Bé was apprenticed from the age of 15 in 1539 or 1540. 733 It is recorded that François I was on extremely good terms with Estienne, who was appointed typographus regius in 1544. 734 Estienne indeed was referred to as ‘Robert Estienne, nostre imprimeur ordinaries ès lettres hebraiques, grecques et latines’. 735 Vervliet notes that ‘in Paris the romanization of vernacular printing started at the very end of the 1520s’ and ‘it has been suggested that the French court was involved in this change’. 736 It thus follows that the Roman letter form began to predominate in this period. It also follows that a ‘Latinate’ model as opposed to a ‘Germanic’ model for Hebrew letters would have been the obvious choice for someone such as Le Bé to follow.

Yet another, but perhaps more distant reason for the French preference for Italianate letter models was tied to the wider developing conflict between the Catholic and Protestant worlds in the first half of the sixteenth century. Despite the relatively

728 DeVinne, The Invention of Printing, pp. 516-517
731 See Arthur Tilley, ‘Humanism under Francis I’, The English Historical Review, 15 (1900) for more discussion of this subject.
733 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, p. 21
734 Armstrong, Robert Estienne: Royal Printer, p. 124
735 Ibid., p. 147 See Chapter V, Estienne at Court for more discussion on this appointment.
strong Calvinist party in France, it has been remarked that ‘François n’avait aucun motif politique de soutenir la cause réformée’ and ‘contrairement à ce que suppute le grand Michelet, cela n’avait que très peu de rapports avec l’esprit de la Renaissance’. Furthermore, Henri-Jean Martin has written that ‘chacun sait que l’Allemagne et la France divorcèrent, typographiquement parlant, au début du XVIe siècle’ and also notes ‘la division de l’Europe typographique en deux mondes qui tendirent désormais à s’ignorer’. This offers some explanation as to why Le Bé ignored the Ashkenazic Hebrew model in his documents.

Royal patronage of typography did however occur at the same time in the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperor Maximilian I is said to have arranged a contract with a printer in Augsburg ‘pour tailler secrètement un nouveau caractère afin de souligner la spécificité allemande face à l’écriture humanistique’. The printer was Johann Schönsperger who was active in Nuremberg and Augsburg and the type was the first appearance of Fraktur, used to print a royal prayer book (Gebetbuch). It is interesting that this royal patronage of a ‘German’ typeface should have occurred before the Reformation and is also indicative of the cultural split between the Romance and Germanic worlds. This split was also mirrored in Hebrew typography.

The influence of the Gothic Textualis script on the Ashkenazic model is clear. Friedlaender calls the Ashkenazic model the ‘hebräische Gotisch’ and Adi Stern calls this an example of the Latinization of Hebrew. This term is misleading, yet it may be correct to say that ‘the first time Latin script influenced Hebrew was most probably during Gothic times’. The Hebrew Ashkenazic hand, with its strong horizontal stress and diminished vertical strokes, closely reflects the gothic tendency

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737 Lang, François Ier, p. 165
739 Ibid., p. 78
740 See also Albert Kapr, Fraktur: Form und Geschichte der gebrochenen Schriften (Mainz: Verlag Hermann Schmidt, 1993) for further discussion of this theme.
742 Friedlaender, Die Entstehung meiner Hadassah-Hebräisch, p. 19. See also Brown, A guide to western historical scripts from antiquity to 1600, pp. 80-91 for descriptions of the various categories of the Textualis hand.
743 Stern, ‘Aleph=X, or contemporary Hebrew bad type’,
to reduce vertical strokes which leads to a blurring of key recognition factors such as between the letters resh and dalet, heh and chet, kapf and bet. A comparison of the similarity between the Ashkenazic writing hand and textualis is shown in the figure below:

![Fig. 4.121: Fourteenth-century Ashkenazic scribal and sixteenth-century printing compared (From Adi Stern, Aleph=X, or contemporary Hebrew bad type, 2004)](image1)

A further comparison of the close similarity between a fourteenth-century Ashkenazic manuscript hand and a sixteenth-century Ashkenazic printing type (1527) is shown in the figure below. The same strong horizontal stress is present, but the baselines of the letters have been flattened out and the left hand slant made less prominent.

![Fig. 4.122: Comparison between Ashkenazic scribal hand and printing type (Friedlaender, Die Enstehung meiner Hadassah-Hebräisch, p. 18) Reduced](image2)

Malachi Beit-Arié described the influence of the scribal models used in early Hebrew typefaces as follows: ‘the local Italian scripts, the square one which was rooted in the Ashkenazic type of script, and the semi-cursive one which was introduced by the

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744 Ibid.
745 Friedlaender, Die Enstehung meiner Hadassah-Hebräisch, p. 18
Sephardic-Provençal printer Avraham Conat, were rapidly rejected from Italian Hebrew printing, which adopted the Sephardic types of script, introduced by the Ashkenazic printers of the Soncino family.\textsuperscript{746} This involved making a selection and choice of locally available models, and this selection ‘was not influenced by the printer’s own origins and handwritings’.\textsuperscript{747}

Evidence for the predominance of the Sephardic scripts has come from yet another source. A study of 150 surviving Talmudic and Midrashic manuscript fragments which were found in Italian Archives and libraries has shown that Sephardic scripts accounted for nearly 55 per cent of the total. Ashkenazic hands accounted for 25 per cent, oriental hands accounted for two per cent, whereas Italian hands accounted for 18 per cent. These manuscripts fragments date from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries and consist of recycled pages which were used as bindings or reinforcement for books and registers, generally in the 1550s, following the confiscations and burnings of the Talmud in 1553. One conclusion from these findings is that there was a clear preference in Italy for the Sephardic hand, even prior to the advent of print.\textsuperscript{748}

It is also interesting to note that three major Hebrew scribal hands – Italian, Sephardic and Ashkenazic – are found in the manuscript fragments found in the bindings of north central Italy, whereas in the recycled fragments found in Germany the hands are exclusively Ashkenazic, and in the Sephardic regions they are all in the Spanish or Sephardic style.\textsuperscript{749}

What was known as the ‘Gothic’ style, a pejorative name perhaps indicating an Italian view of its origins,\textsuperscript{750} became a very widespread script in many countries including England, northern France, the Netherlands, the German speaking lands, Italy and Spain, whether it was known in its various permutations as Textura, Lettre de forme, Fere Humanistica, Gotico-Antiqua, Rotunda, Littera Moderna, Bastarda, Lettre Bâtarde, Schwabacher or Fraktur.\textsuperscript{751} One of the major factors which appears to have altered the preference to Roman is the association with the New Humanistic learning, particularly in Italy, where it became known as the ‘littera antiqua’, a description still used in German typography to refer to Roman.\textsuperscript{752} Hebrew types mirror this trend, but coming from different sources. The critical period was the early sixteenth century and typographic developments in Paris, which relate directly to the typefaces produced by Guillaume I Le Bé.

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\textsuperscript{746} Malachi Beit-Arié, \textit{The makings of the medieval Hebrew book: studies in palaeography and codicology} (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1993), p. 260

\textsuperscript{747} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 255

\textsuperscript{748} Mauro Perani and Enrica Sagradini, \textit{Talmudic and midrashic fragments from the Italian Genizah: reunification of the manuscripts and catalogue} (Firenze: La Giuntina, 2004), pp. 7-13, 18, 125, 127


\textsuperscript{750} Kapr, \textit{Fraktur: Form und Geschichte der gebrochenen Schriften}, p. 13

\textsuperscript{751} Johnson, \textit{Type designs: their history and development}, pp. Chapter 1, Gothic Types, pp. 5-47

\textsuperscript{752} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 48
The Le Bé specimen on Folio 22v is the entirety of page 70 from the 1529 edition of Nicolas Clénard’s *Tabula in grammaticen hebraeum*, printed by Theodore Martens in Louvain. 753 The author, Nicolas Clénard (c. 1494 – 1542), was a Flemish humanist, traveller, Hebraist and Arabist. He was also known as Nicolas Cleynaerts or Nicolaus Clenardus.754 This 6 mm Hebrew typeface used by Martens is most probably what Prijs calls Qa and which was first used in Konrad Pellican’s *Sefer Tehillim* printed by Johann Froben in 1516.755

Theodore Martens, also known by his Flemish name of Dirk or Thierry Martens, was active as a printer from the 1470s until his death in 1534 in Alost, Antwerp and Louvain. In his long career, he was possibly the first to introduce Greek type in the Low Countries in 1512 and printed at least two works using Hebrew. 756 The first was the *Grammatica hebraica* of Jan Van Campen d’Overssel (Joannis Campensis) in 1528 and the second the work by Nicolas Clénard. Van Iseghem maintained that Martens cut at least some of his founts, but Vervliet does not support this claim. The Hebrew used in the Le Bé specimen is of Swiss origin, and it is not clear where the Romans used on the page came from.

The distribution of this Hebrew fount, at least in the Frobenius Hebrew editions in Basle, appears quite frequently during the sixteenth century. The fact that Martens had it in his press in Louvain in 1529 shows the speed with which types could be spread. It is also worth comparing this Hebrew to the Ashkenazic Hebrew used in the first edition of Johannes Reuchlin’s *De rudimentis hebraicis*, printed by Thomas Anshelm in Pforzheim in 1506. It is identical in size, but not in detail. For example, the left hand stroke of the mem in the Pforzheim edition does not touch the baseline stroke, whereas it descends below it in the Martens example, and note difference in treatment to the ascender termination of the lamed. However it is possible that the Pforzheim type was a model for the example shown in Le Bé.757

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756 van Iseghem, *Biographie de T. Martens d’Alost ... suivie de la bibliographie de ses éditions*, p. 164

Fig. 4.123: Hb50 (A) Assembled alphabet from *Tabula in grammaticen hebraeam*, 1516. Actual size (Amsterdam University Library Special Collections, RON A-4732)

Fig. 4.124: Hb50 (A) Lines of pointed setting from the colophon of *Tabula in grammaticen hebraeam*, 1516. Actual size (University of Amsterdam Special Collections, RON A-4732)

Fig. 4.125: Hebrew Alphabet from Reuchlin, *De rudimentis Hebraicis*, Thomas Anshelm, Pforzheim, 1506, p. 5 (VD16 R 1252) reduced to same size as Hb50 (A)
Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Sefer Tehilim*, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1516 (e-rara)
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1523 (e-rara)
- *Mikre dardeqe/Dictionarium hebraicum*, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1525 (e-rara)
- *Qohelet/Ecclesiastes*, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1523 (e-rara)
- *Kitsur HaDikduk/Compendium Hebr. Grammaticae*, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1527 (e-rara)
- Sebastian Münster, *Arukh/Dictionarium Chaldaicum non tā[m] ad Chaldaicos interpretes*, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1527 (Prijs, No. 26)
- Nicolas Clénard, *Tabula in grammaticen hebraeam*, Louvain, Theodore Martens, 1529
- *HaVikuach/Christiani hominis cum Iudaeo pertinaciter prodigiosis suis opinionitus*, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1529 (e-rara)
- *Sefer Hadikduk/Grammatica Hebr. Eliae Levitae Germani*, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1532 (e-rara)
- *Arba'ah veEsrin*, Basle, ex officina Frobeniana, 1536 (e-rara)
- *Sefer Hadikduk/Grammatica Hebraea Eliae Levitae Germani*, Basle, apud Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1537 (e-rara)
- *Sefer Tehilim*, Basle, apud Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1538 (e-rara)
- *Isagoge elementis perquam succinta in hebraicam linguam*, Basle, per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1540 (e-rara)
- *Sefer Tehilim*, per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, Basle, 1563 (e-rara)

This list is taken from the Swiss digitized libraries site e-rara, and is by no means comprehensive, but gives an indication of its use. Prijs in *Basler Hebräischen Drucke* is much more comprehensive in his coverage.
This type specimen, if that is what it is, may prove to be the oldest type specimen of Hebrew that has been found to date. This typeface is first seen in the editions printed by Meshullam Cusi and his sons in Piove di Sacco in 1475. The edition of Arba‘ah Turim is dated precisely in the colophon to the 3rd July 1475 and the edition of Selihot to about 1475. It is probably the oldest dated Hebrew Incunabula known and one can see that he used an Ashkenazic scribal hand as the model for this typeface.

There is, for example, a Hebrew Bible produced in Germany in 1294 and written in an Ashkenazic square script which contains both the aleph/lamed and ‘Yehovah’ ligatures shown in the Le Bé specimen. The aleph/lamed ligature persisted as a common sort well into the nineteenth century, and indicated both the name of God (El), as well as being used as a contraction for example in the Hebrew spelling of Israel. The ligature for the name God as seen in some Incunabula editions appears to be an early form of the abbreviation Yod-Yod (יְּדֵי) and does not seem to have lasted much beyond the Incunabula period. This is an abbreviated form of the Tetragrammaton (יהוה), ‘the divine name associated with the attribute of mercy’.

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758 Piove di Sacco is a small village in the region of Veneto, about 25 kilometres southwest of Venice and about 20 kilometres southeast of Padua.
760 This is MS. Urb. Ebr. 1 in the Vatican library. See Eugene Tisserant, Specimina codicum orientalium, Tabulae in usum scholarum (Bonnæ: A. Marcus et E. Weber, 1914) and Benyamin Richler, Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue (Rome: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008). These two ligatures are also used in the British Library Ashkenazi Haggadah, which is dated to the mid-fifteenth century. See Goldstein, Simeon, and Worms, The Ashkenazi Haggadah, p. 15.
The type was used by Soncino for his edition of *Selichot* printed in Barco, with the addition of vowels either printed or added by hand. The font was also cast on a smaller body, as the 20 line count for this vocalised setting is 20:166. Both ligatures can be seen in this edition. Giovanni de Rossi described the types in the *Arba’ah Turim* as being ‘all square and German’, meaning Merooba and Ashkenazic. He says nothing more about the origin of the type, nor does Meshullam Cusi in the colophon to *Arba’ah Turim*. Cusi wrote that he had produced this volume ‘without a pen stroke’ and ‘without a scribe’.

The possible appearance of this type in André Wechel’s Frankfurt Bible edition of 1575 is curious and raises questions as to how this typeface could have survived for such a long time and how Wechel might have obtained it. He uses it in the third volume (*Bibliorum pars tertia*) as initial letters for Lamenations 1 and 3, and apparently nowhere else in the other five parts. One possible hypothesis is that Wechel obtained this type in Frankfurt after he re-established himself there, following his escape from Paris, and had none of his Paris Hebrews to hand.

The text for the Le Bé specimen is from Jeremiah 4: 1-2.

![Fig. 4.126: Hb51 (A) Assembled alphabet from Le Bé specimen and Piove di Sacco edition 1475 (Actual size)](image)

![Fig. 4.127: Hb51 (A) Le Bé specimen folio 22 (Actual size)](image)

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762 See discussion of this possibility on page 316.
763 Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi, *Annales Hebraeo-typographici sec. XV* (Parmae, 1795), p. 6 ‘Tres occurrunt characteres, quadrati omnes et germanici, alter minusculus, non adeo inflexus nec inelegans, quo textus, major alter, rudior et incomptior, quo tituli et prima verba, tertius intermedius ac rario, quo initialia quaedam praefationum vel constitutionum vocabula sunt exarata’.
764 Amram, *The makers of Hebrew books in Italy*, pp. 25-26
Fig. 4.128: Page from MS. MS. Urb. Ebr. 1 in the Vatican library (From Tisserand, Specimina codicum orientalium, 1914) Note highlighted aleph/lamed and yehovah ligatures, and the 'nun afukh' used to fill out lines. (Actual size)
Fig. 4.129: Hb51 (A) Example from Meshullam Cusi’s Selihot, c. 1580. From Freimann, *Thesaurus typographiae Hebraicae saeculi XV*, Plate A3.1. Note the use of both ligatures, one of them possibly damaged.
Fig. 4.130: Hb51 (A) Example from Soncino’s Selihot, c. 1596. Note the highlighted ligatures. Actual size (From Freimann, Thesaurus typographiae Hebraicae saeculi XV, Plate A83,1)
Fig. 4.131: Part of page from Wechel’s *Bibliorum pars tertia*, showing the use of Hb51 (A) as initial letters in the margin. (BL 463c8)

Attributions for this typeface in printed editions:

- *Selihot*, Piove di Sacco, Meshulam Cusi, c. 1475
- *Arba’ah Turim*, Piove di Sacco, Meshulam Cusi, July 1475
- Eldad HaDani, *Sefer Eldad*. Piove di Sacco, Meshullam Cusi and sons, c. 1480
- *Selihot*, Barco, Moses b. Gershom Soncino, 1496
- *Bibliorum Pars Tertia*, Frankfurt, André Wechel, 1569?
Hb52 (A)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 23
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Ashkenazic pointed hand
Measurements: x-height of 5 mm
Materials preserved: None
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 22
Literature: Birnbaum, no. 343, Beit-Arié, Sirat, and Glatzer, Codices Hebraicis litteris exarati quo tempore scripti fuerint exhibentes, Vol. IV, Manuscript 91

This specimen is not a typeface at all, but an example of a calligraphic hand. Le Bé has not added any annotations to these two specimens, so we are left to speculate as to why he included them in this document. These two documents are assembled collections, and in that sense Le Bé inserted specimens of type and scribal hands which he had collected over the years and which appealed to him. This particular scrap of manuscript is from an Ashkenazic Machzor and is a fragment from the selihah (To your holy sanctuary our hands are raised).  

This hand is closest to Birnbaum’s number 343, which he classifies as a thirteenth-century Square Ashkenazic hand. The thick and thin strokes are strongly differentiated, and the terminations are thin ‘flicks’ made with the side of the pen. Note the gimmel and the tsadde in the Le Bé specimen, which are very close in style to the Birnbaum 343. This hand is also very close to MS Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2209/2208, which is dated in its colophon to 1193. The close similarity to the Le Bé specimen can be seen in the squared termination to the lamed, the gimmel, the fine vertical termination to the chet, and the oblique downstroke of the tsadde.

![Fig. 4.132: Hb52 (A) Specimen from Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 22 (Actual size)](image-url)

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765 See glossary. I am grateful to Malachi Beit-Arié, Ludwig Jesselson Professor emeritus of Codicology and Palaeography at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for this identification and clarification of this text, as well as for the identification of Hb53 (A).
766 Birnbaum, The Hebrew scripts
Fig. 4.133: Sample from Birnbaum, No. 343 (Actual size)

Fig. 4.134: Detail from f. 43v of MS 2209, 2208 from the Biblioteca universitaria, Bologna. Actual size (From Beit-Arié and Sirat, *Codices Hebraicis litteris exarati quo tempore scripti fuerint exhibentes*, Manuscript 91, p. 114.)
Hb53 (A)

Appears on: Rés-X-1665, folio 23  
Type Classification: Square Hebrew Ashkenazic pointed hand  
Measurements: x-height of 3 mm  
Materials preserved: None  
Type Specimens: Le Bé, Rés. X 1665, folio 22  
Literature: Birnbaum, no. 343

The second calligraphic specimen on this folio shows an example of a fifteenth-century semi-cursive script. The closest model for this hand are the various samples of Ashkenazic semi-cursive script shown in Birnbaum. The text is once again a fragment of an Ashkenazic selihah for Yom Kippur similar to אלו אזכרה 768

768 "Those I will remember’ in Hebrew

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Chapter 5: Synthesis and Discussion

The main object of this thesis has been to examine and analyse the Hebrew types found in the two documents compiled by Guillaume I Le Bé which are held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. The aim of this final chapter is to summarise these findings and put forward some tentative hypotheses for the career of Guillaume I Le Bé as a punchcutter, and his modus operandi as a type founder, paper merchant, printer and businessman.

In addition, one further goal of this thesis has been to locate Guillaume I Le Bé in his historical context. This desideratum was described by Geneviève Guilleminot-Chrétien, conservateur en chef at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, when she wrote about Le Bé that ‘cependant, l’étude à travers les documents d’archives de leur situation sociale, familiale et même professionnelle reste largement à faire. Si leur réputation repose sur leur fonderie et son influence sur l’art typographique européen, c’est le commerce du papier qui assure leur enrichissement au XVIe siècle et permet à Guillaume I Le Bé de prendre rang par les personnalités notables des métiers du livre, d’accroître peu à peu son patrimoine immobilier et détenir des créances sur les principaux libraires de son temps. Cette aisance financière explique la capacité des Le Bé à acquérir poinçons et matrices des autres graveurs parisiens’. The 1598 Inventaire après décès provides some answers to these questions, however provisional.

This comment also raises the question to what degree Le Bé based the success of his typefoundry on his business as a paper merchant. The Le Bé Memorandum contains a comment that Guillaume I Le Bé paid a visit to Robert Estienne in Geneva on his return to Paris from Italy in 1550. On that occasion Estienne gave him ‘lettres de Recommandation aux amis qu’il connoissoit en France et mesme apporta lettres de Recommandation a Guillaume le bé son père, marchand papetier à Troyes’. The message of these letters was a request to Guillaume I Le Bé’s father in Troyes that he continue to supply paper to Estienne’s sons Robert and Charles, who had remained in Paris. Thus we have very solid evidence that Guillaume I Le Bé intended to operate at least partly as a paper merchant once settled in Paris.

The searches conducted by Philippe Renouard for documents relating to the Parisian printing trades also show a total of 71 individuals identified as Papetiers, and 68 as Parchemeniers. Although the period sampled – between 1450 to 1600 – covers both the earlier Incunabula period and the more technically advanced sixteenth century, these numbers appear to confirm the assessment that ‘manuscripts continued to be written and illuminated long after the press arrived in Paris in 1470’

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770 Le Bé, The Le Bé memorandum, pp. 21-22. The author of this memorandum, Guillaume II Le Bé, adds that he had kept these letters for a long time, but had destroyed them, ‘ne jugeant pas estre necessaires’.
771 See also page 24 in this thesis.
and that ‘it was the libraire who was the critical figure linking the world of the manuscript book and the printed book era’. Paper had been manufactured in Europe from the late twelfth century and yet, well until the fourteenth century many countries in Western Europe were dependent on Italian paper mills. There is a document from 1432 which records the purchase of some 20 reams (rames) of paper from a Milanese merchant to a merchant in Avignon. The first French paper mills in Troyes are mentioned in a document from 1348 and Alibaux writes that ‘c’est d’Italie sûrement que nous est parvenu cet art nouveau (i.e. le papier) sur presque tous les points où il s’est implantés au XIVe siècle’. The availability of paper was thus well established when printing appeared, and in Britain at least ‘the price of paper had in effect halved by the middle of the century (i.e. 1450) and then halved again by 1500’.

Renouard’s listings of paper merchants makes mentions mainly of those who were a papetier, marchant papier, or papetier-juré en l’Université. The main links to other book trades are the occasional combined mentions of a marchand libraire et papetier – for example Etienne Bourdon, Jean Canyvet, Jean Ricouard and Guillaume Roulard – or the mention of Guillaume I Le Bé, as a papetier et fondeur in 1572. Yet the dominant métier is not always clear and in several instances Renouard admits that ‘nous ne savons si ce fut comme imprimeur, libraire, relieur ou papetier’, thus underscoring the fluidity of professions during the sixteenth century. As previously discussed, Le Bé’s entry into the profession of punchcutter was no doubt through his family connections to the Estienne family.

It is relevant at this point to examine Le Bé’s output as a punchcutter compared with his contemporaries in the sixteenth century. The most comprehensive and authoritative analysis to date is that of Hendrik Vervliet’s Conspectus. He studied and listed the output of 17 major French punchcutters including Guillaume I Le Bé, and another 11 minor punchcutters, whose work ‘has not been identified for certain or not included in his review’. The 17 major punchcutters are as follows with their known birth and death dates or dates when they were known to be active (fl.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punchcutter</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Total Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jean Vatel</td>
<td>fl. 1513 to 1522</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simone de Colines</td>
<td>c. 1490 to 1546</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maître Constantin</td>
<td>c. 1500 to 1533</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

772 Rouse and Rouse, Manuscripts and their makers, pp. 229, 331
776 Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres
777 Vervliet, French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus, pp. 35-49. Vervliet restricts the typefaces he examined to those produced within ‘the borders of France during the major part of the sixteenth century’ and thus does not cover the Le Bé Hebrews produced in Venice.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punchcutter</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Total Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antoine Augereau</td>
<td>c. 1500 to 1534</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>François Gryphius</td>
<td>fl. 1531 to 1545</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claude Garamont</td>
<td>c. 1510 to 1561</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel du Boys</td>
<td>c. 1510 to 1561</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Arnou dit Picard</td>
<td>fl. 1539 to 1545</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Haultin</td>
<td>c. 1510 to 1578</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Granjon</td>
<td>c. 1510 to 1590</td>
<td>±90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume I Le Bé</td>
<td>c. 1523/24 to 1598</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Chiffin</td>
<td>fl. 1545 to 1549</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas II de Villiers</td>
<td>c. 1530 to 1613</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillippe I Danfrie</td>
<td>c. 1531 to 1610</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julien Du Clos</td>
<td>fl. 1564 to 1584</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques I de Sanlecque</td>
<td>c. 1570 to 1648</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume II Le Bé</td>
<td>c. 1570 to 1645</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 5.1: Major sixteenth-century punchcutters according to Vervliet's *Conspectus*

The analysis of these major punchcutters shows that Le Bé was not the most prolific punchcutter of his age, certainly if one compares his output to that of Robert Granjon, for whom Vervliet makes a tentative attribution of nearly 90 typefaces. Le Bé was unusual in his concentration on Hebrew typefaces, but he was by no means the only punchcutter to have cut what are called ‘exotic’ typefaces, such as Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac or even Georgian. It is difficult to estimate from these figures if a particular punchcutter worked solely in this craft, and this seems improbable given the length of time required to cut, justify and cast a fount of type. If one assumes a production rate of roughly two founts per annum, then a total output of 28 typefaces over a working life of 14 years as in the case of François Gryphius is about correct. It is also true to say that most of the punchcutters active in the sixteenth century had more than one métier, as we have seen with Guillaume I Le Bé. Other examples are Robert Granjon was also a *libraire* and *imprimeur*, professions he may well have inherited from his father Jean Granjon, who was a *libraire juré* in Paris. Granjon is known for his frequent travels to Lyons, Antwerp, Frankfurt and finally Rome, thus confirming the pattern already discussed for Guillaume I Le Bé in his travels to Venice and Rome. Danfries was also a ‘graveur d’armoiries, graveur general des monnaies de France, cannonier ordinaire du Roi’. And finally Simones de Colines was a *libraire juré* as well as a noted *imprimeur*.

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778 See *ibid.*, pp. 43-44
779 György Haiman and Elizabeth Soltész, *Nicholas Kis: a Hungarian punch-cutter and printer 1650-1702* (San Francisco: Jack W. Stauffacher, 1983), pp. 405-437
780 See page 120 of this thesis for more discussion on this point.
781 Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, foundeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie*, pp. 4-5, 181-183

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Three further documents from the Minutier Central throw additional light on Guillaume I Le Bé’s activities as a paper merchant. The first is dated the 18th of July 1551, and records that ‘il prend en location un ouvroir repondant sur les rues Saint Jean de Beauvais et Saint Jean de Latran .. moyennant 50 lt par an’.782 He is listed on this document as a ‘papetier (marchand), Imprimeur et Libraire’. A document from the 10th November 1551 for an apprenticeship in which Le Bé appears as a witness, lists him only a ‘libraire’. 783 This can be compared to another document for Anselme Lebigot who was apprenticed to Claude Garamon (sic) on the 13th May 1551, in which Garamont is listed as a ‘fondeur de Lettres, Paris’.784

The third document is dated the 26th of June 1560 and records that ‘Guillaume Le be, le jeune, papetier, bourgeois de Paris, loue à son pere Guillaume le Bé, aîné, deux corps d’hotel et deux ouvroirs dans la maison ou il demeure au coin des rues Saint Jean de Beauvais et Saint Jean de Latran’.785 The wording ‘prend en location un ouvroir’ (rents a workshop) indicates that le Bé had rented these premises (which he later bought) for the purpose of either cutting types or storing paper. The second document speaks of him as renting two workshops to his father, and here one can assume that it was for the purpose of storing paper from the Le Bé paper mills in

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782 Minutier Central: ET/LXXIII/17
783 Minutier Central: ET/LXXIII/45
784 Minutier Central: ET/LXXIII/45
785 Minutier Central: ET/LXXIII/25

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Troyes for sale in Paris. Annie Parent concludes that le Bé was ‘à la fois dépositaire du papier fabriqué à Troyes par son père, imprimeur et libraire’.\(^{786}\)

It therefore appears very likely that Le Bé returned to Paris with the idea of establishing himself as an agent for his family’s paper mills in Troyes, at the same time continuing to cut type. His first type in Paris is dated ‘este (ete) 1551’ and Le Bé records that it was cut in Garamont’s house in the rue des Carmes. It is possible that Le Bé was mistaken in this date, and the date is more likely 1550, as we know that he was already established in the rue Saint Jean de Latran by this date. He did indeed continue to cut types after his return to Paris, but it is safe to say that he did not base his finances solely on his punch cutting nor supplying type to other printers. There may be confusion in the various entries between the old and new style calendars which would explain the difference in the dates. \(^{787}\)

The evidence found to date is not conclusive enough to enable us to reach a definitive answer on the extent of his activities as a paper merchant during his lifetime. As previously mentioned, the *Inventaire après décès* of 1598 contains an inventory and appraisal of ‘toute la marchandise de pappier’ by Lois Rion, but this document has not survived and thus we cannot say with any certainty what stocks of paper were held by Le Bé on his death and where they might have come from. However, an inventory of the paper stocks would only have been undertaken if they had been sizeable and of commercial value to Le Bé’s heirs.

One might also expect that there would be have been a major amount of business between Le Bé and Christophe Plantin, yet there is only one mention of six reams of paper supplied by Le Bé to Plantin in March 1570 in a letter from Gilles Bey, Plantin’s son-in-law, then in Paris.\(^{788}\) Furthermore, in the period 1563 to 1567, Le Bé is not named as a supplier of paper whereas his kinsman Nicholas Le Bé is named, but he is listed only third in the list of French paper merchants from whom Plantin bought paper. Le Bé is mentioned for the period 1568 to 1576, but once again he is mentioned as seventh in a comparative listing. The amount of paper he supplied is just over 429 florins, which is quite small when compared to the amounts supplied by the Troyes paper merchant Jean Gouault, who is credited with supplying over 5,570 florins worth of paper. For the period 1586 to 1589 Jean Gouault is once again mentioned, but Guillaume Le Bé is not. It should be stressed that the lists compiled by Voet are from the extant Plantin ledgers, which are not complete. Voet notes that


\(^{787}\) See definition of Old and new style calendars in the glossary.

\(^{788}\) Plantin, Denuce, and Rooses, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, p. 132 (Vol. II). It has to be said that this is a small amount of paper, as it is roughly the amount of paper required to feed one press per day. See Parent, *Les métiers du livre à Paris au XVIe siècle (1535-1560)*, pp. 56-57
'many deliveries of French papers seem not to have been recorded in the accounts either'. 789

In the names of creditors mentioned in the 1598 *Inventaire après décès*, there are at least fourteen *imprimeur* and *imprimeurs libraires* mentioned who can be identified as being active in Paris in the period described by the various *ceddulles*, *brevets* or *sentence des juges* between the years 1587 and 1596. 790 These notes are for monies still owing to Le Bé at the time of his death, and only one of them actually specifies what the expense was for: ‘pour vente de fonte dimprimerie’ and not for the supply for paper. Thus we do not have more detailed information for Le Bé’s activities as a paper merchant for over 30 years: i.e. between the years 1550 and 1587. Yet one certain assumption is that Guillaume I Le Bé would have acted at least in part as an agent for his family’s paper mills. There were seven paper merchants from the Le Bé family who were active during the period of Guillaume I Le Bé’s lifetime and no doubt he would have patronised them out of family loyalty. 791

**Inventories relating to the Le Bé Typefoundry**

There are a series of inventories relating to the Le Bé Foundry, some of which have been found and examined, and others which once existed but have since disappeared.

It is important to examine the connection between these two documents – in particular NAF 4528 – and the surviving Le Bé foundry inventories. It can be assumed that any of the Hebrew types mentioned in the inventories would relate to the Le Bé Hebrews cut after his return to Paris, as he did not retain possession of those Hebrews punches or matrices which he had cut in Venice. This is confirmed by the attributions found for the earlier Venetian types and those for the later Parisian ones. 792 In addition the named punchcutters in the 1730 inventory are all French, which would indicate that the types in the Le Bé foundry were either cut or acquired in France, and not in Italy. Furthermore, the names (i.e. sizes) in the 1730 inventory differ from many of those in the two documents, and are evidence for a later listing when type sizes had become more standardised. Thus it does not seem likely that the two documents were ever used as a reference listing for the foundry during Le Bé’s lifetime. They are not mentioned in the documents listed in the 1598 *Inventaire après décès*, but then they are not legal documents as such and contain no mention

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790 The names mentioned who are identified or known as printers and booksellers are: Jehan Richet (Jean I Richet), Denis Binet, Estienne Prevostreau, Pierre Fieffe, Pierre Luiller (Pierre Lhuillier), Leger Delas (Léger de Las or Delas), Michel Souyns (Michel I Sonnius ?), Arnoul Cottrier, Philippe Dupin, Jehan Corbon (Jean I Corbon or Corbom), Denis Duval, Mamert Patisson, Guillaume Anuray, and Adrian le Roy. See Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, foundeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie* for cross references. See also Appendix F on p. 520.

791 See p. 49 of this thesis.

792 See discussion on page 363 and Appendix G on page 549.
of outstanding monies owed. They were still in the possession of the Fournier family in the eighteenth century, as we know that one of the documents was in the possession of Jean-Pierre Fournier l’aîné.793

The 1561 Garamont Inventory
This inventory was cited by Jean-Pierre Fournier (Fournier l’aîné), in his letter to the Mercure de France of May 1756 as proof that ‘Plantin, après la mort de Garamond, acheta seulement des frappes et autres ustensiles de la fonderie dudit Garamond; mais ce fut Guillaume Le Bé qui en acheta les poinçons’. Fournier describes the document as ‘l’inventaire, la prisée et la vente que Guillaume Le Bé et Jean le Sueur, autre fondeur de caractères, firent de la fonderie de Garamond après son décès, le 18 novembre 1561, à la Requête de Dame Isabeau Lefevre, veuve de feu sieur Claude Garamond, en son vivant, Graveur de lettres, & Maître Fondeur à Paris, & de sieur André Wechel, Marchand Libraire, Juré audit lieu, executeurs du Testament dudit défunt’. Fournier l’aîné claimed that he had the original of this document and maintained that it was ‘Guillaume le Bé qui acheta les poinçons, & presque toute la fonderie de Garamond’. 794 This document has never been found. It can be assumed that Fournier was referring at the least to the 18 sets of matrices and seven sets of punches attributed to Garamont in the 1730 inventory. 795

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Fount</th>
<th>Punchcutter</th>
<th>Number of matrices</th>
<th>Number of punches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Gros Canon</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Petit Parangon</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Gros Romain</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Gros Romain</td>
<td>Italicque</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Gros Romain</td>
<td>Italicque</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Saint Augustin</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond A</td>
<td>205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond B</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond C</td>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamont Première Taille</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>Italicque</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>Italicque</td>
<td>Telle quelle Garamond</td>
<td>138 (cuime = cuivre)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Petit Romain</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond A</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Petit Romain</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond B</td>
<td>157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Petit Romains (s. just)</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Petit texte</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond A</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Petit texte</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond B</td>
<td>203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Petit Romain</td>
<td>Lettres 2 points</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Gros Canon</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Gros Parangon</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Gros Romain</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>Romain</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

793 Fournier and André,’Lettres polémiques sur la typographie’, p. 143. In his letter of January 1757 he cites Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4528 f. 9 on the sale of punches to Plantin ‘à bon marché à cause des troubles’. 794 Ibid., p. 94 795 Fournier and Morison, L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé. The inventory refers to various sets labelled Garamond A, B and C, as well as ‘premiere taille’. The spelling follows the order and style of the inventory.
Fig. 5.3: Table of Garamont typefaces from the 1730 Inventaire après décès

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>23. Petit Romain</th>
<th>??</th>
<th>Garamond</th>
<th>196</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24. Gros Romain</td>
<td>Italique</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Petit Romain</td>
<td>Lettres 2 points</td>
<td>Garamond</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Inventaire après décès of 1598

The 1598 Inventaire après décès of Guillaume I Le Bé Mentions a ‘description et prisée par Jacques Duclos et Jacques de Sanlecque faicte des matrices, moulles, poinçons et autres ustancilles servans a la fonte de lettres dimprimeries, trouvéz apres le decez dudit deffunct’. This inventory was not included in the main document at the express wishes of the executors of the will – Guillaume II Le Bé and Claude Andrenas – and was dated 20 July 1598. This document appears not to have survived. The ‘1730’ inventory may well be an accurate copy of the 1598 inventory.

The Le Bé Inventaire après décès c. 1617

James Mosley mentions two documents associated with this date. The first may have run to more than 32 pages and ‘was clearly far more extensive than the document of 1730, of which it was presumably an edited summary’. The second was a ‘summary transcription of eight pages made from the inventory originally compiled by Guillaume II Le Bé in about 1617’. It is this copy that was included in the sale document of the Le Bé foundry to Jean-Pierre Fournier of 13 December 1730. This inventory was reproduced and described by Stanley Morison in 1957 in l’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé and he maintained that it represented the state of the Le Bé foundry in c. 1598. The original is in the Archives nationales in the Minutier central des notaires. This document states specifically which types were cut by Guillaume I Le Bé and other punchcutters such as Haultin, Garamont, Granjon, Picard, Colines, and de Villiers. The total number of matrices listed is 120, of which 74 are roman or italic, 14 are Greek, 9 are Hebrew and 23 music. The total number of punches listed is 82, of which 30 are roman or italic, 4 are Greek, 6 are Hebrew and 11 are music. There is also heading for ‘poinsons et matrises séparées’, but most of these appear to be matrices. The inventory also lists 170 moulds. Each matrix or punch has a distinct sign which can be best described as almanac, planet or medical signs, but it is not clear what the purpose of these marks was. The Le Bé punches examined in Antwerp do not carry any such signs, so they were probably not a maker’s mark, but rather an identification sign used on each box or container.

Additional references:

796 Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, ET/LVX/161, p. 29
797 See page 142 of this thesis for further discussion.
798 Mosley, ‘Documents relating to the foundry of Guillaume Le Bé’, pp. 2-3
799 Fournier and Morison, L’Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé, p. 12
800 ET/LXV/229
801 This material was stored in boxes (boîtes), as can be seen in the surviving probably later boxes in the Plantin Moretus. Some of the seventeenth-century punches in the Athias Cabinet in Amsterdam were stored in small circular medicinal containers, with the punches inserted into folded paper strips.
the numbers of the drawers in which the boxes were stored. The relevant parts relating to the Hebrew types are shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of matrices</th>
<th>Box number</th>
<th>Probable equivalent typeface in the Le Bé Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hebreu Canon mon pere</td>
<td>37 m</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>HB14 (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hebreu Canon mon pere</td>
<td>90 m</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>HB14 (S)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hebreu parangon encor (i.e. mon pere)</td>
<td>61 m</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>HB13 (S)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Hebreu Gros Romain mon pere</td>
<td>95 m</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>HB11 (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hebreu St Augustin mon pere</td>
<td>101 m</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>HB19 (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Glose Hebraique G. Romain mon pere</td>
<td>44 m</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>HB22 (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Glose Hebraique St Augustin mon pere</td>
<td>44 m</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>HB18 (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Glose Hebraique St Augustin encore de meme</td>
<td>44 m</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>HB18 (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Glose Hebraique Petit texte mon pere</td>
<td>35 m</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>HB 16 (R)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of Punches</th>
<th>Box number</th>
<th>Probable equivalent typeface in the Le Bé Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hebreu Canon, mon pere</td>
<td>35 p</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>HB14 (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hebreu parengon mon pere</td>
<td>52 p</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>HB13 (S)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hebreu St Augustin mon pere</td>
<td>59 p</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>HB19 (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Glose Hebraique G. Romain mon pere</td>
<td>43 -p</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>HB22 (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Glose Hebraique St Augustin mon pere</td>
<td>42 p</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>HB18 (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Glose Hebraique Petit texte ou nomp. mon pere</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>HB 16 (R)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 5.4: Table of Typefaces from c. 1617 Le Bé Inventaire après décès (AN ET/LXV/229)
The Guillaume III Le Bé *Inventaire après décès* 1685

This document came to light after the publication of the 1617 inventory by Morison. The estimation was carried out by Philippe Cottin ‘fondeur de Lettres Dimprimerie et Marchand Libraire A Paris’ and is held in the Archives nationales in Paris. Harry Carter studied it and produced a summary and transcription of the original document (OUP archives). This listing does not attribute types to specific punchcutters, except for the Guillaume II Le Bé Arabic, yet it does reproduce the signs (often *signes d’Almanachs et planettes*), which can be used to match similar the same typefaces in different inventories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Matrices or strikes</th>
<th>Number of Matrices or punches or strikes</th>
<th>Punchcutter according to Harry Carter</th>
<th>Probable Equivalent on 1617 inventory</th>
<th>Possible equivalent typefaces in the Le Bé documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu Canon</td>
<td>Matrices Justifiées</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Hebreu canon mon pere (37 or 90 matrices)</td>
<td>HB14 (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu Parargon</td>
<td>Matrices Justifiées</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Hebreu parangon encore (61 matrices)</td>
<td>Hb13 (S)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu Parargon</td>
<td>Frappes</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Hebreu parangon encore (61 matrices)?</td>
<td>Hb13 (S)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu rabbinis (sic) St Augustin</td>
<td>Frappes</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Glose hebraique St Augustin de meme (44 matrices)</td>
<td>Hb18 (R)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu de gros romain</td>
<td>Matrices partie Justifiées</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Hebreu Gros Romain mon pere (106 matrices)</td>
<td>Hb11 (S)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu Glose G. Rom.</td>
<td>Matrices Justifiées</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Glose Hebraique G. Romain mon pere (44 matrices)?</td>
<td>Hb22 (R)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu Glose petit texte</td>
<td>Matrices Justifiées</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Glose heb. Petit texte mon pere (35 matrices)</td>
<td>Hb 16 (R)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu de St. Augustin</td>
<td>Matrices Justifiées</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Hebreu St. Augustin de mon pere (101 matrices)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu de St. Augustin</td>
<td>Matrices Justifiées excepté</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Hebreu St. Augustin de mon pere (101 matrices)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

802 11 September 1685 (ET/LXX/182)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Matrices or strikes</th>
<th>Number of Matrices or punches or strikes</th>
<th>Punchcutter according to Harry Carter</th>
<th>Probable Equivalent on 1617 inventory</th>
<th>Possible equivalent typefaces in the Le Bé documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dix matrices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu sur le cicerò</td>
<td>Matrices Justifiées</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu sur le cicerò</td>
<td>Frappes non Justifiées</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic LB sur le corps de Gros Paragon</td>
<td>Matrices Justifiées et non Justifiées</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Le Bé II</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu un petit de St Augustin</td>
<td>Poinsons</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Hebrew St Augustin mon pere (59 punches)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu de petit texte</td>
<td>Poinsons</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hébreu et signes</td>
<td>Poinsons</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 5.6: Table of Hebrew and Arabic typefaces from Guillaume III Le Bé *Inventaire après décès* (11 September 1685 ET/LXX/182)
Fig. 5.7: Hebrew matrices and punches as listed in Archives nationales ET/LXX/182

The second Letter of Fournier l’aîné 1757

This final letter written by Fournier l’aîné to the Mercure de France of the ‘Polemiques typographiques’ series provides a partial listing of his foundry for purposes of self-advertisement. The relevant section reads as follows:803

- De Guillaume Le Bé: la Grosse Nompareille, le Triple Canon, le Gros Canon gras, des notes de plain chant, rouge & noir, huit hébreux & rabbinique, & un arabe.
- De plus il a conduit Jacques Sanlecque dans la gravure d’un Gros Parangon. De ce dernier, j’ai le beau S. Augustin, le Cicero moyen.
- Je possède encore nombre de poinçons & matrice de différents Graveurs, comme Nompareilles à gros œil & a petit œil, signes de toutes sortes &c, Caractère de Civilité, gothique sur tous les corps. J’ai gravé des notes de plain-chant, & grave tout ce qui m’est nécessaire en romain & italique. J’ai fait des moules à reglets de tous corps & grandeur, simples, doubles & triples, enfin on trouve dans ma fonderie tout ce dont on a besoin.

A further source of Le Bé’s activities as a punchcutter comes from a series of letters published in a number of French learned journals from 1742 to 1759. The main protagonists in these letters appear to be the two Fournier brothers, Jean-Pierre Fournier (1706-1783) known as the elder (l’Aîné) and Pierre-Simon (also known as Simon Pierre) Fournier (1712-1768) known as the Younger (Le Jeune), both the sons of Jean-Claude Fournier (?? – 1729). It was Jean-Pierre Fournier l’Aîné who became the principal and later sole owner of the Le Bé foundry of which his father Jean-Claude Fournier had been manager to Guillaume III Le Bé. The 1730 inventory was

803 Lettre de M. Fournier l’aîné, Graveur & Fondeur de caractères d’Imprimerie, à Paris, rue S. Jean de Beauvais ; à l’auteur du Mercure Mercure de France Janvier 1757, pp. 85-95
part of the deed of sale of 20 December 1730 in which Jean-Pierre Fournier l'Aîné became the owner of the entirety of the former Le Bé foundry.804 His brother Pierre-Simon Fournier (le Jeune) is the author of the *Manuel Typographique* of 1764-1766.

The correspondence which sparked off this debate on the transmission and ownership of the Le Bé Hebrew types first appeared in the learned journal, the *Journal des Sçavans*, of February 1756 in which a second ‘Lettre sur l’Imprimerie’ by an ‘auteur anonyme’, and claimed that Garamont and Le Bé had supplied Christophe Plantin with the punches and matrices which with ‘il a etabli une fonderie celebre qui subsiste encore aujourd’hui’. The anonymous author of the letter was most probably Pierre-Simon Fournier le jeune.805

The riposte to this assertion was signed by Jean-Pierre Fournier l’Aîné and appeared in the *Mercure de France* of May 1756. The reply read in part as follows:

Il est vrai, Monsieur, que Plantin vint puiser à cette source; c’est-à-dire dans les fonderies de Claude Garamond et de Guillaume Garamond et le Bé lui ont fourni les poinçons et les frappes avec lesquelles il a établi une fonderie célèbre qui subsiste encore aujourd’hui.806 Ce sont les caractères Hébreux de ce dernier qui ont servi pour la Bible de 1569 dont l’impression fit tant d’honneur à Plantin dans le monde littéraire, et lui valut des récompenses honorables de la part de Philippe II, roi d’Espagne, par l’ordre duquel il l’avait entreprise. Le Bé, les beaux caractères dont il forma sa fonderie; mais ni Garamond ni Le Bé ne lui fournirent point leurs poinçons, comme l’avance sans aucune preuve l’auteur de la lettre anonyme. (my italics) Plantin, après la mort de Garamond, acheta seulement des frappes et autres ustensiles de la fonderie dudit Garamond; mais ce fut Guillaume Le Bé qui en acheta les poinçons: (my italics) ce qui se justifie par l’inventaire, la priseé et la vente que Guillaume Le Bé et Jean le Sueur, autre fondeur de caractères, firent de la fonderie de Garamond après son décès, le 18 novembre 1561, à la Requête de Dame Isabeau Lefèvre, veuve de feu sieur Claude Garamond, en son vivant, Graveur de lettres, & Maître Fondeur à Paris, & de sieur André Wechel, Marchand Libraire, Juré audit lieu, executeurs du Testament dudit défunt. J’ai entre les mains cet inventaire en original, et l’on y voit que ce ne fut point Plantin, amis Guillaume Le Bé qui acheta les poinçons, et presque toute la fonderie de Garamond. Le même Guillaume Le Bé vendit à Plantin des frappes de matrices de ses caractères hébreux, mais il en garda les poinçons: (my italics) ce qui se justifie premièremen par l’inventaire de la fonderie de G. Le Bé, dressé par son fils, dans lequel inventaire on lit ces mots page 32, & en la même boîte (où est l’hébreu canon) est l’hébreu parangon: il est gras comme celui de la Bible in-4o de Robert Estienne: & celui-ci est celui de la

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804 Archives Nationales, Paris ET/LXV/229. See also Allen Hutt, *Fournier, the compleat typographer* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd, 1972)

805 Fournier and André, ‘Lettres polémiques sur la typographie’, p. 41

grande Bible de Plantin, mon Pere lui en ayant vendu une frappe. La Bible de M. le Jay en est imprimée. Cette frappe-ci est garnie de points & d'accens..... Les poinçons sont céans. On voit par cet inventaire, dont je suis possesseur, que les poinçons des caractères hébreux qui servirent à imprimer la belle Bible de Plantin, ne furent point vendus à Plantin, mais qu’ils passèrent au fils de Guillaume Le Bé, aussi-bien que presque tout. (my italics)

How can one assess these two contradictory assertions, with the actual evidence that the Plantin Moretus Museum holds the following punches for the Le Bé Hebrew founts?

- **ST 50**: Hb12 (S) Le Bé’s tenth dated 1559
- **ST52**: Petit texte Hebreu, probably recut by Le Bé, but does not appear in either of the BnF Documents.
- **ST55**: HB 15 (S) Le Bé’s 15th dated 1569/70

ST50 was indeed sold by Le Bé to Plantin ‘à bon marché à cause des troubles’ as we know from Le Bé’s annotation on NAF 4528 f. 9, and ST55 was also cut for Plantin in 1569 or 70, yet Le Bé obviously retained neither the punches nor the matrices, as he notes that ‘je n’en ay peu recouvrer d’autre espreuve’. For ST52 we have evidence from the various MPM inventories that this Hebrew was ‘retailé de Bé’. In addition to these sets of punches, there are also six sets of matrices of the Le Bé Hebrews in the MPM:

- **MA6**: HB12 (S) Le Bé’s tenth dated 1559
- **MA18**: HB14 (S) Le Bé’s 12th dated 1565/1566
- **MA40**: Hb13 (S) Le Bé’s 11th dated 1565/1566
- **MA83c**: Vowels and cantillation marks possibly cut by Le Bé; to fit MA40
- **MA72**: Hb11 (S) Le Bé’s 9th dated 1551
- **MA82a**: HB 15 (S) Le Bé’s 15th dated 1569/70

What this list plainly shows is that Le Bé did sell punches as well as matrices to Plantin in Antwerp, but that he only sold the punches when he was in a difficult position financially or when he was directly commissioned to produce a type. If we look at the complete list of his transactions as set out in the annotations of the BnF Documents, the conclusion for his early period in Venice is that he had little control over the punches and matrices, and he did not bring them back with him on his return to Paris in c. 1550. He mentions several changes of location in Venice and this fact alone would not have allowed him to keep a large stock of punches or indeed matrices with him. It is likely that the material for the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans he cut in while in Venice would have remained with the printers themselves or have been sold on to other printers. The comment that he sold matrices to the Florentine
printer Lorenzo Torrentino and the Venetian printer Tommaso Giunta is a sign of his growing reputation and wider connections with the printing trade.\(^{807}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where cut and date</th>
<th>No. of typeface in this thesis</th>
<th>Cut for</th>
<th>Strikes or matrices sold to</th>
<th>Le Bé Nos.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1545-46</td>
<td>Hb1 (S)</td>
<td>Giustiniani</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1546</td>
<td>Hb4 (S)</td>
<td>Giustiniani</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1548</td>
<td>Rm 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Bé for Christophe Zanetti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1546/47</td>
<td>Rm 2</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>Lorenzo Turentin in Florence and Tomaso Jontha in Venice</td>
<td>Le Bé and Jehan Arnoul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1547</td>
<td>Hb5 (R)</td>
<td>Meir di Parenzo</td>
<td>Matrices used without permission by Giustiniani? Resulting in Lawsuit</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1547</td>
<td>Hb6 (S)</td>
<td>Meir di Parenzo and Carlo Querini</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1547</td>
<td>Hb7 (R)</td>
<td>Meir di Parenzo and Carlo Querini</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1547</td>
<td>Hb8 (R)</td>
<td>Meir di Parenzo</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1548</td>
<td>Gk 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Bé for Christophe Zanetti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1548</td>
<td>Gk 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Bé for Christophe Zanetti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1549</td>
<td>Hb9 (S)</td>
<td>Meir di Parenzo</td>
<td>The punches and matrices sold to a German, from Dantzig?</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice 1548/49</td>
<td>Hb10 (S)</td>
<td>Meir di Parenzo</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1551</td>
<td>Hb11 (S)</td>
<td>Claude Garamont</td>
<td>The matrices and moulds bought by Plantin after the sale of Garamont's effects; The punches bought by Andre Wechel and taken to Germany LB bought a set of matrices from Wechel's widow</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1555</td>
<td>Ms 1</td>
<td>Adrien Le Roy and Robert Ballard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1555</td>
<td>Ms 2</td>
<td>Adrien Le Roy and Robert Ballard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1559</td>
<td>Hb12 (S)</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>The punches, matrices and moulds sold to Plantin in 1562.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1559</td>
<td>Ms 5</td>
<td>Adrien Le Roy and Robert Ballard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1566?</td>
<td>Hb13 (S)</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Set of matrices sold to Plantin</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1566</td>
<td>Hb14 (S)</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1570</td>
<td>Hb 16 (R)</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>A set of matrices or strikes sent to Venice</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris ??</td>
<td>Hb18 (R)</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Set of matrices sold to Plantin</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Hb 15 (S)</td>
<td>Plantin</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{807}\) Ascarelli and Menato, *La tipografia del ’500 in Italia*, pp. 235-236, 328-329
Once back in Paris and established in the rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran, Le Bé was able to begin to accumulate a stock of both punches and matrices. The purchase of the Garamont material in 1561 could well have been the crucial date in this regard. What then does the 1730 inventory tell us of the range of his typefoundry at the end of his life, as this inventory is generally taken to represent the inventory as it stood on the death of Guillaume I Le Bé in 1598.808 The inventory lists a total of 150 matrices and a surprising number of 170 moulds. These two figures are close enough to allow a working hypothesis that each separate set of matrices or size would have been supplied with its own mould during this period. If we then analyse the punchcutters listed by name for the matrices, 98 are by known punchcutters, whereas 52 are unattributed. The largest number of matrices are attributed to Robert Granjon (33), followed by Claude Garamont (20), Pierre Hautin or Haultin (16), Guillaume I Le Bé (11), Villiers (7), Simone de Colines (4), Philippe I Danfrie (2), with one each for Antoine Augereau, Hendrik van den Keere, Picard, Jean Micard and Jacques I de Sanlecque. In the section in the inventory on punches, 51 are listed in total, with 42 attributed to specific punchcutters and 9 unattributed. The largest number of punches are attributed to Sanlecques (13), followed by Le Bé (11), Granjon (9), Nicolas II de Villiers (8), Claude Garamont (7), with one each to Colines, Danfrie, Hautin and Jean Arnoul dit le Picard.809

An analysis of the type sizes offered by the Le Bé foundry shows a nearly a complete range of the most common text type sizes from Nonpareille (Nonpareille) up to Grosse Nonpareille, with Deux Points de Saint-Augustin, but only a range of four titling sizes. In addition there are 44 matrices for music (Nottes Plainchant, Grad. et Antiph, Tablature de luth et Guitarre) and five matrices for fleurons.810 The list of

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**Fig. 5.8: Table of Le Bé typefaces and their recipients**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where cut and date</th>
<th>No. of typeface in this thesis</th>
<th>Cut for</th>
<th>Strikes or matrices sold to</th>
<th>Le Bé Nos.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1569/70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1579</td>
<td>Hb18 (R)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1579?</td>
<td>Hb22 (R)</td>
<td>Le Bé for Carlo Querini in Venice</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1573</td>
<td>Hb 17 (S)</td>
<td>Le Bé and Michiel Du Boys</td>
<td>18 (Unnumbered)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris 1591</td>
<td>Hb20 (R)</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>19 (Unnumbered)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris Hb22 (R)</td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 (Unnumbered)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

809 The inclusion of types by Jacques I de Sanlecques in this inventory is curious, as his assumed dates (c. 1570 to 1648) would place him towards the end of Le Bé’s career. It is also been said that Sanlecques was apprenticed to Le Bé, and hence these types could be from his earliest period of activity as a punchcutter. Vervliet lists nine Romans possibly attributed to Sanlecques starting in 1583 to 1598. See Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus*, p. 47. See also Werdet, *Histoire du Livre en France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu’en 1789. Tom. 1–4*, p. 147 (Tome II)
810 Antip. is a plainchant type for the large format of choirbooks and Grad. is a note intended for the *Graduale Romanum*, a liturgical book of the church containing chants. See Mary Kay Duggan, ‘A
type sizes, based on Vervliet’s comparative table of sizes is shown below.811 This is compared with the figures taken from David Shaw’s analysis of four major styles of founts – Textura, Rotunda, Bastarda and Roman – which are taken from the index initially compiled by Col. Frank Isaacs of early printed books in the British Museum: from the invention of printing to the year MD. Shaw has identified what he calls clusters of common sizes. While the numbers are not by any means identical, they do point to similarities in commonly held founts sizes in sixteenth-century Parisian type foundries.812

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Size</th>
<th>Number of founts held in the Le Bé foundry</th>
<th>Overall number of Parisian type sizes (1501-1520) from the BMC VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nompareille</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mignonne</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Texte</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Romain</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophie</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Cicero</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros Cicero</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Augustin</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros texte</td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros Romain</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Parangon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parangon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros Parangon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Canon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moyen Canon</td>
<td></td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros Canon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Canon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grosse Nompareille</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros Double Canon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lettres 2 pt. x petit texte</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lettres 2 pt. x Gros Parangon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lettres 2 pt. x Petit Romain</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lettres 2 pt. x Saint Augustin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 5.9: Table of type sizes in the Le Bé typefoundry

This enumeration of the matrices and punches in the Le Bé typefoundry in the later years of the sixteenth century raises interesting questions as to the extent of Le Bé’s activities as a punchcutter. The numbers of either punches or matrices attributed to Le Bé himself are quite small when compared to those from other punchcutters, such as Garamont and Granjon. This balance is confirmed by the attributions to named punchcutters in the MPM collections, which lists 11 types for Le Bé (all Hebrews), 20

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812 David Shaw, ‘Standardization of Type Sizes in France in the early Sixteenth Century’, *The Library*, s6-111(4) (1981), p. 333

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for Garamont, 49 for Granjon and 11 for Haultin. This suggests that Le Bé had far less time to devote to punch cutting following his return to Paris, due to his increased involvement in managing the Paris branch of Le Bé family paper business. The tempo of types from the Venice years (eight in some five years) was not duplicated in the subsequent years in Paris, where he produced another 12 numbered types from 1551 to c. 1591 (a period of some 40 years).

Yet another question that needs to be asked is why Le Bé never issued a complete type specimen sheet during his lifetime, when he was the possessor of such a large selection of types? Guillaume II Le Bé did send a set of 11 separate specimens (including nine Hebrews) to Jan Moretus in Antwerp in 1598, following the death of his father. They contain handwritten annotations by Guillaume II, but are basically duplicates of the material in the two BnF documents and they could not be considered as a full specimen sheet. As previously discussed, the idea of issuing such specimen sheets was not unknown in the sixteenth century. Plantin issued two type specimen sheets during his lifetime, the *Index sive specimen Characterum Christophori Plantini* of 1567 and the Folio Specimen of c. 1585 and later Konrad Berner issued his *Specimen Characterum seu Typorum Probatisissimorum* in Frankfurt in 1592. The purpose of the 1567 specimen may have been to convince the Spanish Court that Plantin had the wherewithal to produce the Polyglot Bible. Plantin was not short of praise for the breadth of his collection, when he wrote that ‘I do not think that elsewhere could be found in all Europe a collection to equal it for number, beauty and condition; and several of the printers and other good judges of the matter in France, Germany and Italy have written and confessed as much many times, and in my absence’. If one can compares the 1592 Konrad Berner type specimen sheet to the earlier Plantin specimens, what is interesting is that Berner is setting out specimens of his types ‘for the benefit of all those who use a pen, but principally for the particular advantage of authors of printer’s copy, so that they may judge in what type their work may best be done; but equally useful to type-casters and printers as showing what may be of service in every printing-office and business’. He also writes that ‘and you may have all manner of strikes, German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, for hire or for sale, notwithstanding that all are at hand for casting’. This differs in no way from the uses of modern type specimens. And what is striking as well is that they are being offered for sale or hire, so it can be said that the evolution to a fully formed typefoundry was complete by this date, at least in Germany.

This question touches in fact on one of the crucial questions of this thesis: Can we consider Guillaume I Le Bé to have been mainly a punchcutter or a type founder?

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813 Parker, Melis, and Vervliet, *Typographica Plantiniana II*, pp. 136-139
814 MPM Arch. 153, f. 20 a through m. See also Lane, Vervliet, and Library, *Early type specimens in the Plantin-Moretus Museum*, pp. 239-250
815 Dreyfus, *Type Specimen Facsimiles II Nos 16-18*, p. 1. See also Plantin, Denuce, and Rooses, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, pp. 50-51 (Vol. I)
816 Dreyfus et al., *Type specimen facsimiles 1-15*, p. 3
The answer is that there is not enough documentary evidence to be able to point to a conclusive answer. John Lane has written on this point: ‘Le Bé may have been one of the first typefounders in the modern sense, but the transition to supplying cast type instead of punches or matrices surely came gradually over the decades’, and he added that ‘evidence for local sales of cast type are less likely to survive, however, making it more difficult to document this evolution’. 817 This is indeed what we are seeing in the documentary evidence which has come to light so far. A thorough examination of the types used in the printed work of the printers and publishers named in the 1598 Inventaire après décès would probably determine whether any of the types from the Le Bé foundry were used or whether these contracts referred to the supply of paper only. Yet it seems clear to this researcher that Le Bé was able to offer no less a broad and useful selection of types than was boasted of by Plantin at the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp. The absence of a formal type specimen sheet from the Le Bé foundry could well point to the conclusion that Guillaume I Le Bé and his successors had no need to issue such a specimen and that their reputation and contacts within the Paris printing world were enough to bring them in sufficient work and financial reward. On this point, Harry Carter’s wrote that ‘the punchcutters of the sixteenth century appear to have issued few collected specimens of their types, and hardly any survive. They dealt in matrices rather than in founts, and it was not until typefounders could offer printers a choice of cast type that the practice of issuing specimens became common’. 818

The conclusion of this researcher is that the Le Bé documents in the BnF were not intended to be used as type specimens for his clients, but rather as a personal record of the types cut by Guillaume I Le Bé or of other types which were of interest to him. Their ‘personal’ nature is emphasised by the fact that they contain mostly Hebrews and very little of the Roman, Italic and Greeks types mentioned in the inventories. Yet they do contain two unique type specimens: the Estienne Hebrews on Res X 1665, f. 4 and the possible Piove di Sacco specimen in Res X 1665 f. 22.

Analysis of the editions examined for this thesis

As discussed in Chapter 1, one of the major aspects of this research in this thesis was the examination of some 200 printed editions in various libraries, archives and repositories, either fully in Hebrew or with the occasional text in Hebrew. The object was to attempt to identify the use of the Hebrew types contained in the two BnF documents and from this analysis to formulate some hypotheses as to the spread of these types in the sixteenth century and beyond.

This examination is summarised in the following graph which shows the number of editions which contained one or more of the types in the Le Bé documents itemised by location. The major locations – Amsterdam, Basle, Leiden, Geneva, Paris and Venice - are indeed among the leading places for Hebrew printing in the sixteenth century.

817 Lane, Vervliet, and Library, Early type specimens in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, pp. 239, 243
818 See Delacolonge and Carter, The type specimen of Delacolonge, pp. 14-15..
and seventeenth centuries. It is useful to compare these finding to the data compiled by Stephen Burnett for the Christian Hebrew book market. For the period 1501 to 1560, he lists Paris, Basle, Venice and Lyons as the leading producers (from 21 to over 50 books), for the period 1561 to 1620, he finds Wittenberg, Paris, Geneva, Basle, Antwerp, Leiden, Lyons, Franeker, Leipzig, Nuremberg and Venice in this category, and finally for the period 1621 to 1660, this category includes London, Paris, Leiden, Amsterdam, Basel, Wittenberg and Leipzig. It should be noted that this compilation only includes ‘Christian books containing a significant number of words and phrases in Hebrew type’, and thus a different table might emerge if one took into account only books published in Hebrew for Jews, such as was used in Yeshayahu Vinograd’s work. 819

The data prepared by Jean-François Gilmont for the sixteenth century is based on data from the Index Aureliensis. It also takes into account the nature of publishing in various parts of Europe, i.e. whether they were highly concentrated as in France, or more decentralised as in the Holy Roman Empire. Le Bé’s main contacts during his lifetime were in France, Italy and the southern Netherlands, and the types he cut, being Sephardic, were less suited to the German-speaking lands, although some did get into these regions. 820 Gilmont’s data does not deal with Amsterdam, which only came into its own as a centre for Hebrew publishing in the early seventeenth century.

---


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region or country</th>
<th>Total number of editions 1501 to 1600</th>
<th>Main printing centres</th>
<th>Total Editions for main centres</th>
<th>Description of type of publishing centre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German-speaking world</td>
<td>6744</td>
<td>9 (Cologne, Basel, Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Strasbourg, Wittenberg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Tübingen)</td>
<td>6744</td>
<td>Totally unique situation: The nine main centres produced two thirds of the total output</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingdom of France</td>
<td>6176</td>
<td>2 (Paris and Lyons)</td>
<td>6176 (90% of total production)</td>
<td>Model of high concentration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>5849</td>
<td>5 (Venice, Rome, Florence, Milan, Bologna)</td>
<td>5849</td>
<td>Less radical type of concentration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>1545</td>
<td>2 (Antwerp and Louvain)</td>
<td>1545</td>
<td>Less radical type of concentration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iberian Peninsula</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Highly decentralised Large dispersal of printing offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>1 (London)</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>Model of high concentration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Europe</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland Romande (Suisse Romande)</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>1 (Geneva)</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>Model of high concentration?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Europe</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian Countries</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 5.11: Publishing centres in the sixteenth century (from Jean-François Gilmont, ‘Les Centres de la Production Imprimée’, 1992)**

The more comprehensive USTC (Universal Short Title Catalogue) presents a more up-to-date listing for the same period. The USTC accesses a much wider range of libraries, especially in France, but confirms in a more rigorous way the earlier findings of Gilmont. The Hebrew editions are probably an under estimation, as they appear to present mainly Christian Humanist editions, and not editions prepared solely in Hebrew for a Jewish audience, with the important exception of the Prostitz Cracow Hebrew editions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region or country</th>
<th>Total number of editions 1501 to 1600</th>
<th>Main printing centres (in order or importance)</th>
<th>Total Editions for main centres</th>
<th>No. of Hebrew editions listed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balkans</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>10 (Bardejov,Tmava, Plavecky hrad, Béla pod Bezdèzem, Bratislava, Klopotec, Nedelišce, Salonica, Hostie, Levoča)</td>
<td>106 for Bardejov</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemia and Moravia</td>
<td>1699</td>
<td>10 (Prague, Olomouc, Litomyšl, Prostějov, Kralice, Plzeň, Mladá Boleslav, Ivančice, Mikulov, Náměšť nad Oslavou)</td>
<td>1260 for Prague</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region or country</td>
<td>Total number of editions 1501 to 1600</td>
<td>Main printing centres (in order or importance)</td>
<td>Total Editions for main centres</td>
<td>No. of Hebrew editions listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>75,705</td>
<td>10 (Paris, Lyon, Rouen, Toulouse, Poitiers, Orléans, Tours, Troyes, Caen, La Rochelle)</td>
<td>44,290 for Paris and 21,116 for Lyon</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Roman Empire</td>
<td>94,192</td>
<td>10 (Wittenberg, Nuremberg, Cologne, Strasbourg, Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main, Augsburg, Erfurt, Magdeburg, Tübingen)</td>
<td>9406 for Wittenberg</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian States</td>
<td>66,866</td>
<td>10 (Venice, Rome, Bologna, Florence, Milan, Naples, Brescia, Padova, Turin, Ferrara)</td>
<td>27,879 for Venice and 8859 for Rome</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Countries</td>
<td>28,306</td>
<td>10 (Antwerp, Leiden, Louvain, Dender, Amsterdam, Gent, Delft, Brussels, Douai, Den Haag)</td>
<td>13,524 for Antwerp</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>4183</td>
<td>10 (Cracow, Wroclaw, Gdańsk, Poznań, Legnica, Toruń, Vilna, Brześć, Braniewo, Lwow)</td>
<td>2721 for Cracow</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>1460</td>
<td>10 (Lisbon, Coimbra, Évora, Braga, Oporto, Goa, Viseu, Alcobaça, Almeirim, Faro)</td>
<td>925 for Lisbon and 385 for Coimbra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>3 (Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Stirling)</td>
<td>330 for Edinburgh</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>13,782</td>
<td>10 (Salamanca, Seville, Valencia, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Saragoza, Barcelona, Burgos, Toledo, Valladolid)</td>
<td>1999 for Salamanca</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss Federation</td>
<td>14,539</td>
<td>7 (Basle, Zürich, Bern, Fribourg, Geneva, Lausanne, Morgues)</td>
<td>7754 for Zürich and 3805 for Geneva</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 5.12: Publishing centres in the sixteenth century (from the USTC database accessed 04/04/14)

The evidence from Chapter Two deals with Le Bé's types cut during his Venetian period from 1545 to 1550. The majority of attributions are, as might be expected, from Venetian printers, beginning with Le Bé’s initial Venetian contacts Marco Antonio Giustinian, Meir di Parenzo, and subsequently to other printers of Hebrew editions such as Giovanni di Gara, Alvise Bragadin, Giorgio di Cavalli, Giovanni Grypho and Cornelio Adelkind. There is no evidence that his types were used by Bomberg. In other Italian cities the Le Bé types were seen in Cremona (Vincenzo Conti), Ferrara (Samuel Usque), Mantua (Giacomo Rufinelli), Padua (Lorenzo Pasquati), Sabbioneta (Tobia Foa), and in Riva di Trento (Jacob Marcaria). Further afield, the Le Bé types were found in the editions of Konrad Waldkirch and Ambrosius Froben in Basel, Yitzhak ben Aharon Prostiz in Cracow, and in the
Hebrew editions of the Hanau Hebrew printers (Daniel Averi and Hans Jakub Henne). As previously noted, we know from Le Bé’s annotations in NAF 4528 that Le Bé sold strikes of his Roman types to Lorenzo Torentino in Florence and to Tomaso Giunta in Venice, as well as Greeks to Christophoro Zanetti in Venice. This provides evidence in itself that Le Bé had wide ranging business contacts with printers, but did not necessarily record many of these transactions during his early period in Venice.

The evidence from Chapter three covers Le Bé’s types cut after his return from Venice. The majority of the attributions are from Parisian printers, such as Guillaume Morel, Pierre l’Huillier, Jean Bienné, with later uses in the seventeenth century by Pierre Variquet, Jean Laqueray, Guillaume II Le Bé and Antoine Vitré (for the Paris Polyglot Bible of 1645). In addition there are the recorded uses by the Officina Plantaniana in Antwerp, and in Leiden by Franciscus Raphelengius and Johannes Le Maire. There are also some possible uses in Venice by di Gara and di Cavalli, with a more certain attribution to Zifroni’s 1620 Hagadah shel Pesach printed in Venice in 1609. Lyse Schwarzfuchs has written that ‘il est possible que la majorité des fontes utilisées à Paris aient été gravées d’abord par Jean Arnoul et puis par Guillaume Ier Le Bé’, yet the data from the volumes examined seems to indicate that Le Bé had a lesser market for his own Hebrew types in the period following his return to Paris. He was no doubt concentrating more on his activities as paper merchant, or possibly began to sell types obtained from the sale of the Garamont foundry in 1651. There also appears to have been a decline in the number of both Hebrew and Aramaic grammars, and Hebrew Bibles printed in Paris from the mid-sixteenth century to the end of the century. 821 This may reflect the adverse cultural and economic conditions brought about by the various Wars of Religion, which began in 1562 and only ended in 1598 with the Edict of Nantes. 822

Chapter four contains the analysis of the types from document Rés X 1665. The type specimens here are inserted in a non-chronological order and all are Hebrews, with seven repeats from NAF 4528. In this document, Le Bé has provided a wide selection of Hebrew typefaces cut by both identified and unidentified punchcutters. The range of dispersion of these types is thus quite wide, from Amsterdam, Antwerp, Leiden and Louvain in the northern and southern Netherlands, Frankfurt/Main, Frankfurt an der Oder, Giessen, Isny, and Hanau in the German speaking lands, Basle and Geneva in Switzerland, Cracow in Poland, Constantinople and Salonika in the Ottoman Empire, Paris in the Kingdom of France, and finally ten cities in Italy with the most occurrences as is to be expected in Venice.

It is useful to compare with these results with Yehoshua Vinograd’s Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book, which is a major source for Hebrew editions in the sixteenth century. Vinograd’s listing is limited to editions printed entirely in Hebrew, yet nonetheless the Vinograd data clearly demonstrates the predominance of Venice as a Hebrew publishing centre. A summary of the data presented by Vinograd for the sixteenth

821 Schwarzfuchs and Coron, Le livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle, pp. 52-54
century illustrates the clear dominance of Italy. Several figures are worth noting: the almost total lack of Hebrew editions from Spain and Portugal, which illustrates the results of the expulsions from the previous century, and the relatively small number of editions from northern Europe during this period (Antwerp, Leiden and Amsterdam).  

One of the interesting but not unexpected results from the attributions is the wide distribution of the Bomberg types, especially in Venetian editions, but also in Antwerp where they came into the Officina Plantiniana following Bomberg’s return from Venice. Other types, such as HB24 (S), which Le Bé attributes to a ‘Jacob de Mantoue’ was found in over 40 examined editions from Cracow, Constantinople, Salonika, Mantua and of course in Venice, and one can only assume from such a wide distribution that multiple strikes were made from the original punches. One such set is to be found in the Museum Plantin Moretus in Antwerp (MA34). The sale or transfer of matrices is attested by a document dated 17 August 1559 found in the Archivio di Stato concerning the printers Meir di Parenzo and Abram Usque, which deals with ‘quattro sorte de madre de lettere’.  

The full details of the evidence from the examined editions can be found in tabular form in Appendix G, on p.578.

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823 Vinograd, Otsar ha-sefer ha-Ivri  
824 Archivio di Stato, Venezia Notarile Busta 8246
Dispersals of the Le Bé Hebrew Types: Wechel, Zifroni, Prostzitz and others

Several of the Le Bé types – for example Hb6 (S), Hb 10(S), and Hb11(S) – were found to have been used in Basle editions printed by Ambrosius Froben and Konrad Waldkirch during the period 1578 to 1583. The link to Le Bé here is via the Italian Jewish printer Daniel Zifroni (Sifroni). It is worth recounting something of his background.

Zifroni came from the town of Guastalla in Emilia Romagna according to his self-description on the imprint of his first imprint in Freiburg in 1583. It is thought that in his early years he worked for the printer Vincenzo Conti in Cremona, before moving to Basle to work for Ambrosius Froben. It is also known that following his period in Basle and Freiburg, Zifroni returned to Italy where he printed in Venice from 1588. He is known for a now rare edition of the Passover Haggadah from 1609. Zifroni was known as Israel ben Daniel, but there is also a mention of a ‘Mosè ben Israel Elisciama Siforni’, who from his dates and places of activity, appears to be the same person. It appears that that Zifroni was skilled in type casting as well as printing, and that he obtained several of the Le Bé matrices which he took with him to Basle.

Ambrosius Froben (1537–1602) was the grandson of the noted Basle printer Johannes Froben (Frobenius). In 1578 Froben applied for and received permission from the City of Basle to engage a Jewish master printer to supervise the printing of the expurgated version of the Babylonian Talmud, financed by the Frankfurt businessman and scholar Simon Günzberg. Post and Schumacher note that Zifroni brought the necessary Hebrew printing types with him from Italy and that possibly a new type for the Talmud edition was specially cast. They also note that Froben had in his press some nine Hebrew types: Hebrew, Aramaic and Yiddish, and that these types were passed on to Konrad Waldkirch after the period of printing in Freiburg was over. It is also known that Zifroni was accompanied by Jacob ben Isaac Luzzato, a scholar and author of various works, including the explanatory notes to

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the Basle expurgated Talmud. Luzzato called himself a ‘corrector’, thus his role in Froben’s press was probably that of proofing and correcting text. In 1583 Froben moved to Freiburg (in present-day) Germany where he printed some seven Hebrew editions during the next two years. Zifroni accompanied him to Freiburg, as Froben had to seek permission for Zifroni and his wife Bilha to dwell in the town.

If Zifroni’s Hebrew type which he used in Basle and Freiburg was later transferred to Waldkirch on his departure, then it is likely that he had matrices with which he was able to cast fresh type for his 1609 *Hagadah* in Venice. Waldkirch used the Le Bé Hebrews in at least two editions of the writings of the English Hebraist Hugh Broughton which he printed in the late 1590s. This may well be the pattern for many of the Le Bé type dispersions seen in this thesis.

Another possible link to Le Bé is through the press of André Wechel. Wechel was the son of Chrétien Wechel and was active in Paris from about 1535 until 1572, when he was forced to flee following the events of the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre. Wechel was clearly capable of striking matrices from punches, as is evidenced by the ban placed on him from casting the Garamont Grec du Roy in March 1562. He re-established his press in Frankfurt am Main and died in 1581. Wechel was clearly on close terms with Le Bé, and Le Bé notes in an annotation that Wechel had the punches for Hb11 (S) which he took with him to Frankfurt. An examination of the editions printed by Wechel in Frankfurt has not yet shown any use of this typeface, however Wechel did appear to have a set of Hb51 (A) which he used. The trail of Le Bé’s Hebrews to Germany via Wechel and his heirs is still unclear, yet what information we do have points to a transferral or sale at some point.

Yet another link to the spread of Le Bé’s Hebrews further afield in Poland comes from the Jewish printer Itzhak ben Aharon Prostitz. Prostitz came from a family of Italian Jews settled in the Moravian town of Prostitz (Prostějov) and was sent as a young man to Venice to learn the trade of printing. There he worked for Giorgio di Cavalli and Giovanni Griffio (Griffo), and it has been variously claimed that Prostitz

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831 Post and Schumacher, *Die Jüdische Drucker Israel Sifroni in Freiburg i. Br.*, p. 67

832 For example: Hugh Broughton, *An epistle of an ebrew willinge to learne Christianitie sent by him to London: & thence, by the Archb. of Canterburies aduise, to Basil: thence returned uuthe[sic] some further spech upon it unto the Quene of Englanedes most excellent maiestie* (Basel: Conrados Waldkirch, 1598) and Hugh Broughton, *Epistolae variae et variarum linguarum, de Byzanticiis hebraeis, discupientibus erudiri in Christi D. Sacro volume, atque adeo de alio magno viro, quem nisi obliquè significare, Byzantij saltem non oportet, in re adhuc dubià. Argumenum docebit susius sequens pagina* (Basilieae apud Conradum Waldkirch, 1599)

833 Lepreux, *Gallia typographica*, p. 417. The edict apparently was to prevent the damage to the punches by ‘gens inexpetzi qui ne se pouvoit faire sans les rompre, chose irreparable et dommageable au publicq’.

834 Lefanu, *André Wechel*, . See also the article on Chrétien and André Wechel in Pierre Bayle and Prosper Marchand, *Dictionaire historique et critique* (Amsterdam, Leiden, 1730), pp. 490-491 (Tome IV)

835 See page 337 for discussion.
bought di Cavalli or Grypho’s printing material (including his types) in 1568 when their presses were closed. 836 Prostitz then moved back to Poland and established his press in Cracow in 1568 or 1569, where he was active until 1602. He was accompanied by Samuel ben Itzhak Boehm who had worked with Grypho as a proof reader. As Giorgio di Cavalli was still printing Hebrew texts in 1585 and Grypho’s five Hebrew all date from the period 1566 to 1567, it seems more likely that Prostitz got his types from Grypho’s press sometime in 1567, although no documentary evidence has been produced to support this claim. 837 Grypho witnessed an amendment to the *Mariegole* (bye-laws) of the Venetian Guild of Printers and Booksellers in September 1571, so one may assume that he was still active at this date. 838 Whatever the truth of this matter, at least four of Le Bé’s Venetian Hebrews – HB2 (R), Hb6 (S), Hb7 (R) and Hb10 (S) – and two from other punchcutters – Hb24 (S) and Hb38 (S) – were found in the Prostitz Cracow editions and the assumption must be that these types were acquired by Prostitz at some period before his return to Poland.

A possible and as yet unconfirmed link to Le Bé is to the London printer Henry Bynneman, who was active in several locations near St Paul’s Cathedral from about 1563 to his death in 1583. On his death a writ was issued listing all his possessions, as he owed £1000 to one Richard Hutton, an armourer. The articles of interest to this thesis are from the following lines in the inventory: 839

- 18. Item one little old hebrue alphabett ijd (2d)
- 20. Item one older Richechling diccionarie hebrue iis iiiijd (2/4d)
- 21. Item one older hebrue case farnished, wayeng thirtie pounds and one old case with Grecce in it wayeng thescore pounds xxxvijd vjd (37/6s)
- 45. Item one small case of hebrue and one case of hebrue poynetes wayenge fourteen pound net xiiiis (14/-)
- 46. Item one hebrue mattriz iijli (£3)
- 47. Item one mattris variorum viijd (6/8d)
- 48. Item one double greke mattis xis (10/-)
- 49. Item one mattris of the olde hebrue romaine, one mattris of the pica Roman italicca and one other of diuerse sortes iiiijli (£4)

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837 British Museum Dept. of Printed Books, Johnson, and Scholderer, *Short-title catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British museum*, pp. 806, 856

838 Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, pp. 82, 87, 251-252


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55. Item one alphabet of Greke lettres iiij iiijd (3/4d)

57. Item seventeen seuerall sortes of moulds for seuerall sortes of lettres viiij (6/8d)

The ‘hebrue’ and ‘Greke’ alphabets (items 18 and 55) are no doubt printed alphabetum of the sort produced by Robert Estienne and Plantin. The disparity in prices could be explained by condition, extent or rarity of the edition. The ‘Richechling diccionarie hebrue’ (item 20) must be Johannes Reuchlin’s Rudiments of Hebrew [Principium libri Ioannis Reuchlin ... de rudimentis hebraicis], printed in Pforzheim in 1506 by Thomas Anshelm. All this material was probably meant to serve as a source or base for a projected Hebrew dictionary, which never materialised. What is of major interest are the set of matrices for an unknown Hebrew, valued quite high at £3, as compared to the Greek matrices which were valued at a sixth of the Hebrews. Bynneman also had seventeen moulds, which are far in excess of the total number of cases of type listed in the inventory, but one may assume that they related to specific sizes in the printed editions of Binneman’s stock. The inventory lists some 1082 books owned by him ‘at a shop in St Gregory’s by St. Paul’s’. This item also tells us that many London printers of this period needed to cast their own type or indeed import from abroad, given the lack of evidence for any native English type foundries until at least 1597. Baines Reed notes that ‘type was one of the latest of the printer’s commodities to go into the public market’ and that it was not until printing of Walton’s Polyglot Bible in 1657 that the ‘first important (Hebrew) fount was cut in this country’. A further confirmation of this assertion comes from Harry Carter. He wrote that ‘there is every sign that the mechanical part of English type founding was in the hands of resident aliens and that a demand for better designs was satisfied by imports or migrations of skilled men’.

There are no known Hebrew editions printed by Bynneman and ‘the lack of Hebrew type in England’ in the sixteenth century has been noted by both Lloyd-Jones and Schper. Thus the most obvious source for these Hebrew matrices would have been either the Low Countries or France. One possible clue is found in Bynneman’s 1579 edition of the Profitable Art of Gardening, in which he uses an Arabesque border which came from Plantin in 1567, and which was in fact in Binneman’s stock of

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840 See Appendix I on p. 563.
841 This church stood at the south-west angle of St Paul’s Cathedral and was destroyed during the Fire of London. It was not rebuilt. See James White, The churches & chapels of old London: with a short account of those who have ministered in them (London: Printed for private circulation, 1901), pp. 50-57.
842 Reed and Johnson, History of the old English Letter Foundries, pp. 55-57, 114, 118.
A further clue is item 45, a ‘small’ setting fount of pointed Hebrew, which could well have been Le Bé’s HB 11 (S) dated 1551 or HB18(S) dated 1579. It is more than likely that the conduit for these Hebrews would have been the Flemish-born printer Reyner (Reginald) Wolfe, who had settled in London in about 1533 and had numerous continental contacts. In 1547 he became the King’s printer for Latin, Greek and Hebrew. It is known that Binneman acquired printing material from Wolfe after his death in 1573. This remains for the present no more than a plausible hypothesis, until a specimen of one or more of Bynneman’s Hebrews can be found.

The Influence of the Le Bé types

The final topic to be discussed in this summation chapter is the impact of Le Bé’s types on the Hebrews of succeeding generations. Stanley Morison’s assessment of Le Bé’s Hebrew has already been cited in Chapter One, and Harry Carter was equally enthusiastic in his praise (‘What magnificent letters!’). Earlier assessments of Le Bé were also fulsome, such as that of Pierre-Simon Fournier le jeune in 1756, who wrote that ‘Guillaume le Bé, disciple de Robert Etienne, perfectionna le caractère hébreu: pendant 4 ans ou environ qu’il fut dans cette ville, il l’enrichit de huit ou dix sortes de caractères tant hébreux que rabbiniques, tous parfaitement beaux, dont le Talmud et d’autres grands ouvrages ont été le fruit’.

The examination of a sample number of printed editions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows wide distribution and use of the Le Bé Hebrews, with a concentration in either Venice or Paris, places where he was active and worked. The examination also showed extensive uses in Basel, Cracow, Antwerp and Leiden, places where there is evidence of a secondary transmission or actual commissions to Le Bé. There is little evidence for the use of the Le Bé Hebrews in the German-speaking world, which would have been greater had Le Bé actually cut any Askenazic Hebrews during his career. Le Bé showed only one page of Ashkenazic Hebrews in Res X 1665, a sign that he was not greatly interested in them or perhaps that he did not see much of a potential market for such Hebrews.

The influence of Le Bé can be seen in the northern Netherlands, which became the dominant centre of Hebrew printing in the seventeenth century. In 1627 in Amsterdam, the rabbi, author, and printer Menasseh ben Israel printed his first Hebrew edition, the Seder Tefilot, a daily prayer book according to the Sephardic rite. His proof reader, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, wrote in the introduction to this work that:

846 See the entries for Henry Bynneman and Reyner Wolfe in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
847 Carter, A view of early typography up to about 1600, p. 101.
848 Fournier and André,‘Lettres polémiques sur la typographie’, p. 46

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'Menasseh ben Joseph ben Israel, seeing the Bomberg types worn out,849 and since nothing can be imperfect for the Holy Work, arose from within the community and went out, and came to the house of an artisan. And behold, he was standing there at his work, the tools of his trade in his hand. He said to him: behold, the money is given to you and the shapes of the letters to make as is good in the eyes of the honorable and respected Michael Judah, first among the scribes, may the Lord consummate his work and may his reward from the Lord God of Israel be complete. The man swore in real writing to make them for him and for no other man. He shaped them with a burin and made them good to look at and fine to read, as perfect as if cast in gold. And there were two men who were amazed to see the completeness of the work and its beauty. It lifted up their hearts to bring to the work of printing a little Siddur, the like of which had never been since there were printers on the earth.'

This description – for all its florid quality – is unique for a depiction of a punchcutter at work during the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The engraver was in fact the punchcutter Nicolaes Briot and the types he cut set the pattern for what came to be called the Otiot Amsterdam or Amsterdam Letters. There has been a suggestion that the Hebrew scribal models used for the Briot Hebrew fount were from the seventeenth-century scribe Sephardic scribe Eliah ben Michael Judah Leon who was active in Amsterdam, but this hypothesis does not appear to have sufficient evidence to support it.850 However the square Sephardic hand in a surviving and signed example of Michael Yehuda Leon’s hand from 1666 shows clear resemblances to the Briot Hebrew.851 The interesting point is the relatively minor dissimilarities to the Le Bé Hebrews, which came be seen in the following comparative chart. The Le Bé Hebrews are lighter, perhaps more calligraphic in character and showing the square-edged pen strokes more clearly. The Briot versions are heavier, more ‘engraved’ in character, and with less distinction between the thin and thick horizontal and vertical strokes. Dr Emile Schrijver has noted that ‘the innovation does not seem to be impressive and leaves room ... for the assumption that part of the fame of Amsterdam printed Hebrew books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries goes back to the quality of the paper, of the design, of the illustrations in a number of the most famous books and on the great intellectual variety of their content, rather than on the famous Otiyyot Amsterdam alone’.852

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849 The word used in the Hebrew original is (מִרְפָּא), which means weakened or possibly broken. This could imply that there were Bomberg types in Amsterdam at the time, but they were in poor condition.

850 Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, Hebrew typography in the Northern Netherlands, pp. 102-103


Fig. 5.14: Signature in Square Sephardic hand of Eliah ben Michael Judah Leon from letter dated 1666. From the Ets Haim Bibliotheek, (EH 47A11). Enlarged to same appearing size as Briot Hebrew fount.

Fig. 5.15: The largest Hebrew cut by Briot for Menasseh ben Israel compared to Le Bé’s texte Hebrew. (By permission of John A. Lane, from Nicolaes Briot and Menasseh ben Israel’s first Hebrew types)

Rosenthaliana: Treasures of Jewish Booklore, ed. by A. K. Offenberg (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994)
It can be asked why Menasseh ben Israel or his patrons for this edition did not consider using any of the Le Bé Hebrews, which would have been available from Plantin in Antwerp or Raphelengius in Leiden, and which were surely known in Amsterdam. Note the reference to the ‘worn out Bomberg types’. For whatever reason, these new Hebrews appear to have become the model for future Hebrews in the northern Netherlands. The types in the Athias Kastje (Athias Cabinet) are a good example of this development, now kept in the University of Amsterdam Special Collections. They came from the press of Joseph Athias (c. 1634 – 1700) and later came into the possession of the press of Solomon ben Joseph Proops. The undated and unattributed specimen of the Hebrew Canon (Fig. 5.20) shows the same tendency towards what Henri Friedlaender once called the ‘Didot-Bodoni-Prinzip’, that is to say an increasing exaggeration of the thick-thin strokes, perhaps appropriate to Latin letterforms, but not so for Hebrew.853

Three Hebrew types in what are known as the Fell types of Oxford University Press were acquired in 1637. They came from Arentz Cornelisz van Hogenacker in Leiden and include a Double Pica unpointed Hebrew, a pointed and unpointed Brevier Hebrew, and a pointed and unpointed Nonpareil Hebrew. Harry Carter noted in 1927

853 Friedlaender, Die Entstehung meiner Hadassah-Hebräisch, p. 9
that he was not sure whether or not van Hogenacker actually cut these Hebrews, but he added that ‘the three Hebrew faces of the Sheldonian Press are very close to the manner of Guillaume Le Bé’.

The Double pica Fell Hebrew is closest in size to HB14(S), but with distinct differences to the treatment of the shin which has a flattened base stroke, the final tsadde and the final peh. The Brevier and Nonpareil have quite differing treatments to the aleph/lamed ligature. Carter also comments that ‘the Leyden types illustrate

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854 Carter, *Notes towards a specimen of the Ancient Typographical Materials principally collected and bequeathed to the University of Oxford*, pp. 5-6
an early stage of the tendency to over-refinement and regimentation leading to modern Hebrew typography; they are less degenerate than the much-admired type of Menasseh b. Israel, cut about 1625 and reminiscent of the engraved models in the *Theatrum Artis Scribendi* of Judocus Hondius, published in 1594.'

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Fig. 5.19: The Fell Brevier Hebrew Alphabet from original set of matrices and additions and replacements. Actual size (OUP Archives)

Fig. 5.20: The Fell Nonpareil Hebrew. Actual size (OUP Archives)

The influence of the Ben Menasseh Hebrews can also be seen in subsequent seventeenth-century Amsterdam Hebrews: such as the Athias Canon in the Athias Cabinet and the three Miklós Kis Hebrews from his 1685 Amsterdam specimen. In both these specimens it is worth noting that all upper termination strokes on the shin

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855 Ibid., p. 6
856 Haiman and Soltész, *Nicholas Kis: a Hungarian punch-cutter and printer 1650-1702*, p. 74
point to the left, as opposed to the Le Bé Hebrews, where the middle termination stroke always point right. This indicates a different model or a conscious attempt to differentiate these Hebrews from the Le Bé Hebrews.

Fig. 5.21: Hebrews from the 1585 Miklós Kis Amsterdam specimen. Actual Size (From Haiman and Soltész, Nicholas Kis: a Hungarian punch-cutter and printer 1650-1702, 1983)

Fig. 5.22: Kanon Hebreeuwsch from Drawer 35 of the Athias Cabinet. Actual Size (University of Amsterdam Special Collections)
A further example of the influence of the Le Bé types can be seen from an unexpected source: Hebrew manuscripts produced in the German-speaking lands in the eighteenth century. Here we see a scribe, the Jewish sofer (scribe) Aaron Wolf Herlingen, who was active in Pressburg (now Bratislava in Slovakia) and later in Vienna, where he became the ‘Kaylerl. Königli. Bibliotec Schreiber in Wienn’ and produced some forty known Hebrew illuminated manuscripts from about 1720. The point of interest here is that a Jewish Scribe from the Ashkenazic tradition produced illuminated manuscripts in which the lettering for the text and headings was ‘inspired by Hebrews types used in Amsterdam – be otiot Amsterdam – using the Sephardic and not the Ashkenazic model for his hand. This was quite a common practice during the period beginning about 1710, whereas ‘the first printers based themselves on handwritten letters, we now see the copyists following printed examples’. Aaron Wolf Herlingen appears to have followed the earlier Sephardic hands favoured by Le Bé and produced a manuscript very close in spirit to the Le Bé Hebrews.857

Fig. 5.23: Example of the title page heading from Aaron Wolf Herlingen, Seder Hagadah shel Pesach, Pressburg, 1726 (By permission of Adam Partridge Auctioneers & Valuers, The Cheshire Saleroom, Macclesfield Cheshire) Enlarged from original size.

Originality and progression in the Le Bé Hebrews

In An View of Early Typography, Harry Carter made the observation about some of Le Bé’s handwritten annotations that ‘these comments amount to a complete negation of designing as we should understand it, and they come from one of the most skilful of artists-punchcutters of the greatest school, that of Paris in the sixteenth century’. He also commented that any discussion of it (i.e. typography) must bring to light the belief on the part of the engraver that his work was a branch of calligraphy’.858

Carter was most likely speaking from the perspective of the mid-twentieth century, when the creation of typefaces and the role of typeface designer had long since achieved the status of an independent discipline, and thus his view was that Le Bé’s status was more of a skilled craftsman, who was following certain accepted calligraphic styles. These comments in fact fit in with Le Bé’s oeuvre, but do not give enough credit for the sheer originality and consistency of his output. Vervliet’s understanding of this statement is that Carter was ‘referring to the art of imitation, which was fully accepted during the Renaissance’. Vervliet has written elsewhere that ‘one should be aware that Renaissance aesthetics emphasized excellence over

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858 Carter, A view of early typography up to about 1600, pp. 43-44. The Le Bé annotations he was referring to are in Res X 1665 folios 2, 4 and 19 and in NAF 4528 folio 14-16.
individuality and fully approved of skilful or superior imitation’. The true mark of Le Bé’s originality is his use (and imitation) of the historical scribal Sephardic model as opposed to the Ashkenazic model of Hebrew letterforms, and his refinement of this model into an aesthetic whole and unified ‘schriftbild’. Although Le Bé would no doubt have seen examples of the Ashkenazic model both during his early days in Paris and his stay in Venice, the evidence from Jewish scribal practice in Italy during the sixteenth century shows that it was the Sephardic model that predominated and suggests a further reasons why Le Bé would have favoured this model.

The idea of imitation as practised in the Renaissance was the use and observation of models from classical antiquity, as exemplified in the Latin terms *imitatio* and *aemulatio*. It has been noted that ‘copying, education by imitation, created a particular type of stylistic development in the Renaissance. The sharp, swift changes in style (and in content) of the twentieth century were, of course, unknown. Instead, one finds the slow, gradual transformation of one style into another. Whole generations of artists, in retrospect, can be seen pursuing similar stylistic and iconographic goals. From generation to generation, from pupil to master, there is change, but it is modulated and slow’. This description seems an apt way to put into perspective the transformations of Hebrew type in the sixteenth century and Le Bé’s role in this process.

Carter put this idea into practice when he cut a specimen Hebrew typeface – called Bezalel – during his period as Deputy Chief Censor in Palestine during World War II. In an article he wrote for the *Palestine Post* in 1945 he wrote that ‘in matters Hebrew, the Sephardim are always right. I adhere to the school which will have nothing to do with the Ashkenazic tradition in lettering’. He mentions Le Bé as ‘one of the best Huguenot letter-cutters’, but he is clearly harking back to the idea of imitation when he writes that ‘we ought to give back to Hebrew letters what they have lost in beauty of form since the Renaissance’. He based his type on ‘15th and 16th century models written and printed in Southern Europe’. This would explain the two forms of the lamed, and the two versions of the shin, one with all three terminations pointing to the left, and one with the middle termination pointing right.

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859 Email correspondence 4 September 2013. See also Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces*, p. 165 (Vol. 161)

860 This untranslatable German term covers the ‘image’ of a typeface and the elements which distinguish it from other typefaces. See Jost Hochuli, *Das Detail in der Typographie* (München/Berlin: Deutscher Kunst Verlag GmbH, 1990), p. 15 where he speaks of a ‘harmonische Schriftbild’.

861 See page 351 of this thesis.

862 ‘Notes on Imitation and Forgery’(<http://www.umich.edu/~engtt516/forgerysource.html> [Accessed 4 September 2013])


864 Harry Carter, ‘Making a Printing-Type’, Palestine Post, December 14 1945. The mention of Le Bé as a Huguenot is of interest, although not sustained by any evidence to date. See also Martyn Thomas, John A. Lane, and Anne Rogers, *Harry Carter, typographer* (Bath: Old School Press, 2005), pp. 18-21, *ibid*. 

Stephen Lubell thesis final May 2014 400
Harry Carter’s comment about the Ashkenazic tradition in lettering raises the question as to what are these traditions as seen by those Jewish scribes who write the Torah scrolls, the prayers placed in the phylactery (tefillin in Hebrew) or in the doorpost case (Mezuzzah in Hebrew). These are all written by hand and follow certain very precise rules. A recent edition of these rules contains sections from five different texts describing the rules involved in writing the biblical texts and prayers.865 It should be noted that these are not historic alphabets based on scribal models, but are more contemporary in feel and show the influence of printed types in the flattening of the baselines. They also have the decorative ‘tagin’ on the upper strokes of the letters gimel, zayin, tet, nun, ayin, tsade and shin. Yet they do demonstrate the differences between the two hands and also the source of Le Bé’s models which he drew on for his typefaces. The shin has the three termination strokes pointing left, a style never used by Le Bé. The Ashkenazic alphabet shows the altered angle of the pen (closer to 90°) and the increased differentiation between the horizontal and vertical strokes. It can be argued that Le Bé’s contacts with Jewish scribes during his stay in Venice would have made him aware of these distinctions and provided him with reliable models to imitate. He may well have shared Harry Carter’s opinion as to the aesthetic merits of the Ashkenazic tradition in lettering.

865 Rabbi Ts. Cahane, Likut Sifrei Stam (the scribes’ handbook) (Jerusalem: Machon Daat Yosef, 1998)
One question which presents itself in such a study as this is whether there was a visible progression in the style or treatment of Le Bé’s Hebrew typefaces during the course of his working career. The two diagrams which follow, showing the main recognition characters from the Le Bé production enlarged to a common viewing size and displayed chronologically, demonstrate a consistent approach to various important elements, such as ratio of vertical to horizontal stems, treatment of termination strokes, treatment of ascenders and descenders, and placement of the middle termination stroke in the character shin. The same holds for the Rashi characters, in particular the final nun, which is a key recognition factor to distinguish the Le Bé Rashi typefaces from those used by Bomberg in his editions. The final specimens – HB 17 (S) and HB20 (R) – do display differences in some of the elements, yet it needs to be stressed that they were engraved in wood by Mahiel du Boys, probably following the original designs by Le Bé. 866

866 I am indebted to the study of the late Kay Amert on Simone de Colines, for the idea of a comparative presentation of the differences between different typefaces, for which she used a superimposition method. This method was not possible, hence I used a more conventional means to demonstrate the similarities. See Kay Amert and Robert Bringhurst, *The scythe and the rabbit: Simon de Colines and the culture of the book in Renaissance Paris* (Rochester, New York: Cary Graphic Arts Press, 2012), pp. 139-149
Thus it can be said with some certainty, that Le Bé did not vary his basic concepts in his Hebrews from the beginning of his career in Venice until his later years in Paris. He may have seen this model as his trademark, and one which clearly differentiated his typefaces from others in use or circulation during his lifetime.

Fig. 5.27: Comparison of Le Bé’s Hebrew Sephardic typefaces
Closing discussion

It is hoped that this thesis has been able to provide at least partial answers for some of the main questions relating to Guillaume I Le Bé. A major problem has been finding documentary evidence, especially concerning his apprenticeship, his stay in Venice and Rome, his court case against Giustiniani, his business links with other printers in Paris and the people to whom he supplied type either in the form of matrices or cast type. Due to lack of documentary evidence, provisional hypotheses have been made for many of these queries. As can be seen from the list of documents in Appendix E, there are more documents than originally known, which mention his name or family. Nevertheless much is still left to supposition. Given the present state of research and extant documentation, the best approach was to give as broad a picture as possible of his life, activities and contacts. The main aim of this thesis has been to provide a detailed description of the distinct Hebrew types identified in the two documents, which can give a firm basis for attributing Hebrew types found in
contemporary or subsequent publications by other printers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This follows the model set out by Vervliet in his major descriptive works.

His role was not only as a punchcutter, but also as a paper merchant, and to a lesser extent as a printer and publisher. These roles were continued by his son and successor, Guillaume II Le Bé. It is still not clear at what point the Le Bé foundry became a working entity, yet he appears to have juggled these various roles throughout his life.

By the next century Guillaume II Le Bé clearly viewed himself as a type founder. Three letters to founders in Lyons and Geneva dated from 1614 have survived in which Guillaume II Le Bé, Jacques de Sanlecque and Jean Méjat were actively attempting to protect the monopoly of Parisian type foundries against certain Booksellers who were trying to obtain type behind their backs.867 A further case was brought in December 1655 by ‘les Sindic et Adjoint des Marchands Libraires, imprimeurs et relieurs de cette Ville de Paris’ and Antoine Vitré (described a ‘imprimeur ordinaire du Roy et du Clergé de France’) against Guillaume II Le Bé (described as a ‘Marchand Libraire, fondeur de caractères d’imprimerie à Paris’) concerning the prices of type at what was claimed to be a ‘prix si exorbitant’ that they would be forced to ‘abandonner les presses et impressions’. This type of trade monopoly was not unknown in the sixteenth century and later, as can be seen in the complaints against the Ballard dynasty and their monopoly on the printing of music.868

It is also clear from his various properties outside Paris and his household contents that Guillaume I Le Bé had established himself in the Parisian bourgeoisie by the end of his life. Furthermore, he appears to have steered a middle path through the troublesome times of the French Wars of religion in the last part of the sixteenth century. He and his family led what was outwardly a ‘catholic’ existence, although he most certainly had both personal and professional contacts with people who were known Protestants.

The two documents are evidence of only one side of Guillaume I Le Bé’s professional activities. His interest in Hebrew must have stemmed from his early years as an apprentice with Robert I Estienne and subsequent years in Venice, where he met and was exposed to Jews and their scribal traditions and practices. His skill in punch cutting became evident as soon as he established himself in Venice and produced his first Hebrews.

867 Lettres escrites par les Fondeurs des ceste ville de Paris, pour la conservation du Monopole fait entre eux, au preuïdice des Marchands Libraires & Imprimeurs de ceste ville and Sentence du Lieutenant particulier relative à l’action indendée par Guillaume Le Bé, libraire et dondeur de lettres, contres Antoine Vitré, imprimeur ordinaire du Roi et du Clergé, et les syndic et adjoint”, BnF, Collection Anisson, 22117 (Graveurs et Fondeurs de caracteres (1583-1764)
868 See page 148 of this thesis.
APPENDICES
**Appendix A: Comparative chart of the Le Bé Hebrew typefaces sorted according to size**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Number</th>
<th>Size in mm</th>
<th>Specimen alphabet</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hb16 (R)</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb8 (R)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb46 (S)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb36 (R)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb49 (R)</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb47 (R)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Hb35 (S)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Hb38 (S)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb41 (S)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Hb43 (R)</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb6 (S)</td>
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<td>Hb29 (S)</td>
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<td>Hb37 (S)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Hb48 (S)</td>
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<td>Hb39 (S)</td>
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<td>Hb11 (S)</td>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Size in mm</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<td>Hb3 (S)</td>
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<td>Hb9 (S)</td>
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<td>Hb26 (S)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb28 (S)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb51 (A)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb23 (S)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type Number</td>
<td>Size in mm</td>
<td>Specimen alphabet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
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<td>אָבָנָה הָוִית בְּלָמָּסָמָס</td>
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</table>
## Appendix B: Comparative table of text and titling Body sizes

This table is based on the following sources: H. D. L. Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2010); T. B. Reed and A. F. Johnson, *History of the old English Letter Foundries: with notes Historical and Bibliographical on the Rise and Progress of English Typography*. Revised and enlarged edn (London: Faber, 1952); Giuseppina Zappella, *Il libro antico a stampa (Parte Prima)* (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 2001); Friedrich Bauer, *Handbuch für Schriftsetzer ... Dritte neu bearbeitete Auflage*, etc (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Klimsch & Co., 1910); Dr. Leon Voet and Raymond H. Kaye, *The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantinana at Antwerp*, etc, Vol. 2, (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co, 1972); Guillaume Le Bé, *Sixteenth-century French typefounders: the Le Bé memorandum*. ed. by Harry Carter, (Paris and Oxford: André Jammes, 1967), and Karl Lothar Wolf, *Terminologische Untersuchungen zur Einführung des Buchdrucks im französischen Sprachgebraut*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979), pps. 97-123. The sizes mentioned by Le Bé in his annotations and in the 1730 Inventory are given to provide a possible equivalency and the sizes in Pica points are intended only to show approximate size, as the actual sizes could vary quite widely. The colour coding refers back to the original source:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old English</th>
<th>Old French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Dutch/Flemish</th>
<th>Le Bé</th>
<th>Size in UK/US Typographic points</th>
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<td><strong>TEXT FACES (Body types) SIZES</strong></td>
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<td>Diamant</td>
<td>Parigina</td>
<td>Robijn/Diamant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pearl</td>
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<td>Joly/Jolie/Peel</td>
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<td>Nonpareille</td>
<td>Nonpariglia or Nonparigia</td>
<td>Nonparel or Nonpareille</td>
<td>Nonpareille</td>
<td>6/5.8</td>
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<td>Colonel/Coronelle</td>
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<td>Testino</td>
<td>Brever/Bible</td>
<td>Textin?</td>
<td>7.5/7.6</td>
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<td>Gaillarde</td>
<td>Garamoncino</td>
<td>Burgeois/Galjart/Colineus</td>
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<td>8.5/8.6</td>
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<td>Garamone</td>
<td>Garmond/Garamonde/Bourgeois/ Petite Ascendonica</td>
<td>Petit Romain</td>
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<td>Filosofia</td>
<td>Descendiana/Philosophia/Descendiana</td>
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<td>10.5/10.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Cicéro</td>
<td>Lettura</td>
<td>Mediaan/Mediana</td>
<td>Ciceró/Moyenne?</td>
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<td>Testo</td>
<td>Text/Teste/Vrai texte/Gros texte. Gros Romain/Gros Romain</td>
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<td>Dubbelde Descendiana</td>
<td>Gros Paragon</td>
<td>20 Voet</td>
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<td>Italian</td>
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<td>Le Bé</td>
<td>Size in UK/US Typographic points</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<td>Palestine</td>
<td>Canoncino</td>
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<td>Moyen Canon</td>
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<td>Kanon</td>
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<td>Corale</td>
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<td>Gros Canon</td>
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<td>Deux-points de Petit-texte</td>
<td>Lettres 2 points Petit-texte</td>
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<td>Lettres 2 points Petit-romain</td>
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<td>Two-line</td>
<td>Deux-points de Philosophie</td>
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</table>
Karl Wolf gives a slightly different tabular listing of the type sizes commonly used in the sixteenth century, based on the descriptions and sizes as used in the Plantin Inventories. His comparative type sizes are in Didot points.869

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designations and Size as used by Plantin</th>
<th>Typographic Points (Didot)</th>
<th>Designations and Size as used by in the 19th century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nompareille (Petite Nompareille)</td>
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<td>Diamant</td>
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<td>Jolie</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Perle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coronelle (Mignonne, Grosse Nompareille)</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Parisienne or sédanaise</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bible (Petit Texte), Bréviaire, Gaillarde</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nonpareille</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colineus (Bourjoise)</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>Mignonne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garamonde (Petit Romain, Petite Ascendonica, Bourjoise)</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>Petit texte</td>
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<td>Philosophie (Descendiane)</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Gaillarde</td>
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<td>Mediane (Cicero)</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Petite Augustine</td>
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<td>Philosophie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustine (Vraie Augustine, Grosse Augustine)</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
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</table>

869 Wolf, Terminologische Untersuchungen zur Einführung des Buchdrucks im französischen Sprachgebiet, pp. 100-101
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designations and Size as used by Plantin</th>
<th>Typographic Points (Didot)</th>
<th>Designations and Size as used by in the 19th century</th>
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<td>Texte(Vrai Texte, Gros Texte, Gros Romain)</td>
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<td>Ascendonica</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>Double Trismégiste</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Plus Grande Romain</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
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<td>88</td>
<td>Triple Canon</td>
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<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Grosse nonpareille</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Moyenne de fonte</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gros Flamand Lettre</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: Facsimiles, Transcriptions and Translations of the Le Bé document NAF 4528

This appendix contains a complete page-by-page facsimile of the Le Bé Document NAF 4528, together with a transcription of the annotations and a translation. The transcriptions are based on the two Omont articles of 1887 and 1889, but modified to make them more consistent with the actual spelling and style of the original. The transcription symbols used are a conflation of the ‘Leiden’ and ‘Scriptorium’ systems. Some symbols used by Le Bé are not available, such as the Renaissance ‘et’ sign, and thus other symbols have been substituted.

(xxx) = expanded abbreviations

<xxx> = textual omissions

((xxx)) = Textual interpolation

†xxx† = Problematical reading

[xxx] = cancellations

[[xxx]] = Accidental loss

/ signed used by Le Bé – most probably to indicate a comma (virgule), although it is not clear whether this was a typical characteristic of scribal hands in France in the sixteenth century.

I have used in part the transcription of these annotations as transcribed by Harry Carter in an undated manuscript in the Harry Carter papers in St Bride Library. These facsimiles are reproduced with the kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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871 Brown, *A guide to western historical scripts from antiquity to 1600*, pp. 5-7


873 Email dated 28 December 2011 from M. Philippe Bretagnon, Département de la reproduction (Pôle redevance), Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Towards the end of the year 1545 and the beginning of the year 1546 in the city of Venice, I engraved and cut this Hebrew letter, called a Texte du Talmuth, which is the first of my works, when I was 20 years and eight months old.

I began the above characters, called the text of the Talmuth, in November 1545, at the time of the election of the most serene Duke Francesco Donato, for the most exalted master Marco Antonio Giustiniani, Venetian nobleman, in his Hebrew print shop, then situated in the Rialto quarter, in the Calle dei Cinque near the Giustizia vecchia. It was directed by a Master Leon ... a Jew and partner in the costs and the works, an extraordinary person and particularly knowledgeable about the best shapes and figures of Hebrew script and of books in that language, although by profession he maintains a used- and new-clothing shop.

Hebrew source:

Babylonian Talmud, the Tractate Bava Batra, Chapter 1, Midrash 1. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
מוביל לְךָ

all Amelia novem בְּנָהלָה נֶשֶׂא אֶת הָהָלָ

יִרְדָּשׁ שֵׂפָה בְּיִרְדָּשׁ לֹּוָיָדָגָא

בְּגָלְדָּא יִבְּרָדָא בְּפָלָגָא דְּשֵׁמוֹ בָּשָּׁר

טְפָרָא בְּלָהָאָוָא שֵׁפָרָא גְּפָעָא

סִימָהוֹ בְּרָשָׁאָוָא זַיִּין חָפָּה

לְעַפּוֹס הָלָא יִקָּדֶשׁ לְפָרָשָׁהוֹת

עַפּוֹס לְהָלָא הָאָפָא בָּזָא אַשְׁנָאָה

שְׁפָרָא תָּבָא אַל נַחֲקָא לא רַעְשָׁא פֶּה אָחָא

יִקְּפֶּה אַלַּגְּוָה דָּשָּׁמָא אַלַּרְכָּב לָעַת

אַרְשָׁאָהל מָרָא בִּכְתָּבָה יֵקְפֶּה בִּדְלָנָא בֶּאָרָא

עָנֵרָל יֵשָׁשׁ עַל אַבְדָּאָבָא הָּאָפָא

ינָפַרָא לְבָאָסָאָה יֵקְפֶּה לָאָפָא

הָוָיָא הָאָפָא וּכְרֵנָא לְעַגָּנָא גָּפָעָא

טָבָא יִבְּרָדָא בְּפָלָגָא דְּשֵׁמוֹ בָּשָּׁר

נַכְּלָאָה חוֹלוֹת בָּן בָּמָוהָה

לָאָפָא יֵשָׁא אַלַּכָּב דָּשָּׁמָא אָפָא

יִרְדָּשׁ הָאָפָא אַלַּגְּוָה דָּשָּׁמָא

נָוָיָא לְלָאָלָא לְתוֹרָה וּדָוִד הָהָלָא
Transcription of the annotation
Ceste autre lettre cy dessoubz, nômee La Moyenne /est la seconde de mes ouvrages. Taillee aussi a Venise pour le predict Seign(eur) M(esser) / Marco Anthonio Justinian en l’an 1546

Translation of the annotation
The other character shown below called a Moyenne is the second of my creations, also cut in Venice for the aforementioned Signor Master Marco Antonio Giustiniani, in the year 1546.

Hebrew source:
Psalms 79: 1-5. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Transcription of the annotation
‘La 3e Lettre que jay taille et gravee est la glose cy dessoubz. Nõméel la coursive moyenne / Taillee pour Mazo, ou May de Parense, filz de Jacob de Parense, hebreux, au dit Venise, en l’an 1547.
Nayant pas justifie ceste lettre pour la fonte, je nen ay fait despreuve, partant(pourtant?) mon nom nest au dessoubz comme aux precendentes, ains cecy est d’un feuillet dun Livre de lad(itte) Lettre fondu p(ar) un Allemant et me fut cause ceste lettre d’un grand proces cl tre le seig(neu)r m(esse)r Marco Anthonio Justinian.

Translation of the annotation
The third character that I engraved and cut is the glose shown below, which is called a moyen cursive, cut for Mazo or May de Parense (i.e. Meir di Parenzo) son of Jacob of Parenzo, a Jew and cut in [the city of] Venice in the year 1547.
Not having myself justified the matrix for casting, I do not have a specimen of it showing my name at the end as with the previous specimens. Thus this specimen is from a leaf of a book of the same character cast by a German and was the cause of a major court case against the Nobleman Master Marco Anthonio Giustiniani.

Hebrew source:
Mishnah, Tractate Avot, Chapter four, a commentary on the Mishnah by Ovadia of Bartenura,
Ce petit texte suyvante est la 4e que jay taillee, et Ceste grosse glose est la 5e, q(ue) j’ay aussi taillee a Venise pour la predict Maggio ou Mazo, i(d est) May de Parense, côme ap(er)t p(ar) mon nom au dessoubz, 1547’.

Ces deux lettres taillees soubz l’adveu du Magnifique Messer Carlo Quirinj, pour luy et les Mazo de parensa en une maison, size au bout dune ruelle regardant sur le quay de la Madona de lorto

These two characters cut with the consent of the most excellent master Carlo Quirini, in a house situated at the end of a small street looking out of the quayside of Madonna dell’Orto.

Hebrew source:

Assembled text dealing with Halakhic rules of Kashrut and the salting of meat. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
La petite glose cy dessoubz est la 6e lettre dont jay taille et gravee les poinsons en acier, faicte a Venise pour ledit May de Parenza, en une [maison?] chambre que je tenoye a loyage a un ducat par moys/ayant veue sur le Camp de St.-Lio, a costé de l’église. 1548

Cette glose ditte la petite coursive; le nom de la ville et le mien sont au dessoubz

The small gloss below is the sixth character for which I engraved and cut the punches in steel, made in Venice for Meir di Parenzo, in a room which I rented at one Ducat a month looking out on the Campo St Lio next to the church.

This gloss is called small cursive and the name of the city and my name are found below.

Hebrew source:

*Mishnah*, Tractate Avot, Chapter Heh (6)? Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
La 7e lettre Hebraique taillee a Venise est un Texte de Talmuth, taillee pour May de Parense, duquel nen ay peu avoir despreuves /Il y en a icy dessoubz cinq ou six motz dun feuillet de son impression, q(ue) j’ay recouvertz p(ar) deça. taillee, 1549, en maditte chambre.

Il la fit fondre en l’an 1550, tandis q(ue) jallay au Jubilee a Rōme, ou je demeuray 6 moys, chez M(onsieur) Anthoine Blade, imprimeur de la Chambre Apostolique.

The seventh Hebrew character engraved in Venice is a Text for the Talmud, cut for Meir di Parenzo, for which there is no specimen. There are here below five or six words from a sheet printed by him (i.e. Meir di Parenzo) which I obtained from him [?]. Engraved in 1549 in my own chambers (workshop).

He had it cast in 1550 whilst I was away in Rome for the Papal Jubilee, where I stayed six months with Antonio Blado, printer to the Apostolic Chamber.)
Hebrew source:

A discussion of the Laws of the *Birkat Mazon* or the laws relating to the blessings and prayers recited before eating. The actual page consists of two specimens pasted down in the document, with the main body from *Sefer Orah Hayim* and a smaller bit containing the words *Migdal Oz* – a commentary on Maimonides by the thirteenth century Spanish Talmudist and cabalist Shem-Tov ben Avraham ibn Gaon.
וּדֶּרֶךְ הַמָּלֵךְ
בָּאָרָה מֶלֶךְ חָיוֹת וּרְזוֹת בְּעֵבֶּר מִלְּכָּה:
הֲדוֹאָה ינַפְּשֶׂה בוֹזֵב מֶלֶךְ
וַגְּדוֹה בָּאָרָה מֶלֶךְ יָשָׁב עַל.
כִּי רָדְתָּה בְּעֵבֶּר בְּעֵבֶּר יָהְדֶּה עַל
כִּי אָשֶׁר יִפְשֶׁה יָשָׁנָה: וְרָא אָה
וֹדֶּרֶךְ מֶלֶךְ עַשָּׁנָה:
הַקָּרָה שִׁפְטָת
ם וּרְזוֹת יִשְׁרֵי אֲשֶׁר: יָהְדֶּה
לֵמְבַעַר בְּמַלְּכָּה לֵמְבַעַר
הַסְּכָּנָה: בְּנַעֲשָׁנָה
וֹלָלָלָמָה לַמֶּרֶפֶת.:
1548. 25+9.
Transcription of the annotation

8e. Ceste lettre est une lettre nōmee en l'imprimerie Petit Canon, Taillee a Venise / Pour moy, en l'an 1548 / ou 49/ et justifiee quant et quant les lettres de Mazo / et a este ceste cy taillee avât la precedente du texte d'un Talmuth p(ou)r ledit Mazo.

Translation of the annotation

8th. This character is a character called by printers Petit Canon [and] was cut in Venice by me in the year 15489 or 49, and justified by and by for the characters of Mazo, and was cut before the previous one [following the example?] on the text for the Talmud for the abovementioned Mazo.

Hebrew source:

Text composed of various verses from Proverbs 16 and 22. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
In the summer of the year 1551 in the city of Paris, I engraved this ninth character for Monsieur Claude Garamond, cutter and engraver of Greek characters for the King, and this after my return from Italy and Troyes to Paris. This was done in his house in the rue des Carmes.

Of this character there is neither a beautiful nor good printed sheet, as this character is well provided with letters, dagesh points and accents, ‘common’ (i.e. normal width), large, extended and condensed letters to assist composition given the constraint of the ends of lines. Since the Jews do not divide words at the ends of lines, many printers have used these [additional] characters in an incorrect fashion for composition, using them in situations where they should not be placed except for ends of lines, thus adding confusion and mixing up the whole. And this is a character aesthetically made and well filed and polished (without boasting) and approved by those who understand more about it than me.

Upon the sale of his (Garamond?) household contents, Christophe Plantin bought the matrices and the moulds which he took to Antwerp to be used for his printing.
And André Wechel bought the punches which he took with him to Germany.

And I purchased a strike from his widow who loaned me the punches in order to make them before selling them on.

Hebrew source: *Musar HaSekhel* (Ethics of Morality), thought to have been written by the tenth-century Jewish scholar and commentator Hai Ben Sherir Gaon of Pumbedita in modern Iraq (939–1038).
Transcription of the annotations

Lan 1559. This large double Hebrew Canon which, being done during the first troubles, I sold the punches, the strikes and the mould to Christophe Plantin at a reduced price, due to the effects of the troubles.

Sold: 1562: The punches for 5 escus to 50 sous (?); the copper (i.e. strikes) at 3 livres 10 sous, the brand new mould at 4 livres.

1559 at Paris and sold to Monsieur Plantin, punches, mould and strikes of the matrices.

A small gloss (dated) 1570. I have the punches and matrices.

Hebrew source:
Miscellaneous characters

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875 The date 1562 was corrected by hand to 1559. See Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravés à Véniše et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592, p. 11

876 This annotation appears to have added in error on this sheet, hence the two oblique deletion lines across the text. It relates to the specimen on f. 9v which follows.
Transcription of the annotation
La Treizieme ((13e)) lettre que Jay taillee est la petite glose cy dessoubz faicte en Lan 1570, ceans pour moy, et en ay envoye une frappe a Venize.

Translation of the annotation
The 13th character that I engraved is this small gloss below, made in the year 1570, in this place for me, and of which a strike was sent to Venice.

Note: See the annotation on the previous folio (9) which relates to this specimen.

Hebrew source:
Mishnah (Masekhet Avot, Chapter 4). Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Transcription of the annotations
(Above) Jay taille a Paris p(ou) r moy ces trois lettres suvantes, et premierement ce texte, grossi de la Bible in 4º de Rob(ert) Estienne, est celuy duquel le s(ieu)r Plantain a imprime le texte de la grand Bible en cinq langues, du roy d’Espagne; est ma 11e. Et le canon duquel est l’intitulation est la 12e; faictz en lan 1566.
(Below) Ceste glose faci te ceans en lan 1574 est la 14e lettre hebraïque que Jay taillee.
Translation of the annotations
I cut in Paris the three following characters, and firstly this text, enlarged (?) from the Robert Estienne Quarto Bible, is the typeface in which Plantin printed his large Bible in five languages for the King of Spain. It is my eleventh typeface.
The Canon in which the titling is set is the twelfth, made in the year 1566.
This gloss made in my house in the year 1574 is the fourteenth Hebrew typeface which I engraved.
Hebrew source:
Psalms 65: 7-10. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Transcription of the annotations:
Cette lettre grosse nômee es imprimeries gros canô(n) est la 12e lettre hebr(aïque) q(ue) jay taillee, côme est dit cy devant faicte a Paris en lan 1566.

Cecy est ce que l’on veult. (from a different hand)

Translation of the annotations
This large character called by printers large Canon is the twelfth Hebrew character which I engraved, and as is noted in the specimen was made in Paris in the year 1566.

This is what is wanted.

Hebrew source:
The first three lines are from Ecclesiastes 11:1. The fourth and fifth lines may be from the Mishnah, Pirkei Avot (Sayings of the Fathers) 2:5. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Hebrew source:
Psalms 124. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
NAF 4528, folio 12

Hb15 (S)
Transcription of the annotation:
L’an 1569 et 70 en mars Jay acheve de tailler ceste petite lettre hebraique p(ou)r le s(ieu)r Christoffe Plantain laquelle est la Quinziesme sorte de poinsons de lettre hebraique q(ue) Jay taillee, et il m’avoit cőmande de la fayre la plus petite que je pourroye. Je n’en ay peu recouvrer dautre espreuve.

(By another hand) A Paris par Guil. Lebe 1569 & 70

Translation of the annotation
In the year 1569 or 70, in March, I completed the cutting of this small Hebrew character for Monsieur Christophe Plantin, which is the 15th type of punch of Hebrew letters which I have cut and he asked me to make it as small as I could. I was not able to obtain another specimen.

In Paris by Guillaume Le Bé 1569 & 70

Hebrew source:
Psalms 79:1-5 (A Psalm of Asaph)
Transcription of the annotation:
Lan 1579. Jay acheve de tailler ce petit texte hebreu, nôme a Venise le Textin, et est la 16e lettre hebraiqu(e) q(ue) Jay taillee.

Translation of the annotation
In the year 1579 in Paris. I completed the cutting of this small Hebrew text, called Textin in Venice, and which is the sixteenth Hebrew typeface which I cut.

Hebrew source:
Psalms 124. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
תורו בעבר הת(fm) לא ידעת אדם לקודת

לפי הס: והיה כשאחר החר ניחו

ועבר ידה יארו:

והיה טוב החיה, וסו Заוד סעדית וטפלותיו אופק

ונעך עליה ויהי גור הקדושифי impera. ערכו משה

שהלה ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושифי

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושифי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב וייטב יתבר oglf

אodesk. גם ויהי ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס ברחובו. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב וייטב יתבר oglf

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב וייטב יתבר oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס ברחובו. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב וייטב יתבר oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס ברחובו. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב וייטב יتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס ברחובו. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס ברחובו. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס ברחובו. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בدور ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס bahçe. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס bahçe. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס bahçe. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס bahçe. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס bahçe. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה כאשר בדור ויהי גור הקדושי

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ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

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וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

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ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס bahçe. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

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ככל פורק. ומכ סלא חיה חטא של כל אניה

ודרכיה: והיה ייס פחד: ויהי חוס חיות מייחר

היס bahçe. בעשרים גור הקדושי impera. ערכו משה

וככככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

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והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

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והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא يיטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו בא ייטב ויتبادل oglf

והיה יקר高额. ולא חיה gdyכככל, לא ייטב את בזיעו ב
Transcription of the annotation:

L'an 1592 /en Juin et Juillet, Jay taille une grosse glose hebraiq(ue) qui est la 17e sorte de lettre hebraiq(ue) que Jay taille, tant a Venise q(ue) a Paris, aagé de 68 ans, après le siège de Paris, pour passer l'ennui.

Laditte se peut fondre p(ou)r servir sur la lettre ditte le gros romain.

Translation of the annotation:

In June or July of the year 1592, I engraved a large Hebrew gloss which is the seventeenth Hebrew typeface which I have engraved in Venice as well as in Paris. [It was done when] I was then 68 years old, after the siege of Paris, to overcome the boredom.

It may be cast to be used for the size called Gros Romain.

Hebrew source:
Zechariah 14:6-7. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Hebrew source:
Hebrew alphabet

Portrait & designe en lan 1573 & taillé en partie & le reste fait tailler p(ar) Machiel du Boys & autr. Sur le boys.

Drawn and carried out in the year 1573 and engraved in part (by myself) and the rest engraved by Machiel du Boys and others. On wood.
Hebrew source:
Hebrew alphabet
In the year 1573 in Paris I undertook to design and draw the following Hebrew alphabet, by using the best and most acceptable forms from antiquity in the judgement of those most experienced in Hebrew letters of their nation and religion in the town and city of Venice, where I lived five years and more, and following the sketches and notes that I made when I was there.
In this town live many of this Jewish nation, some native Italians as well as Germans, Hungarian as well as Orientals from Pere (Galatia) in Constantinople, from Salonika as well as other places in Turkey, and as many Rabbis as merchants, with some from Rome, in which there had been few aside from those dealing in second hand goods, used clothes stalls and usury.

I engraved a part of the alphabet the rest was engraved in wood by Machiel du Bois, who was highly skilled in following the line of the letters as I had drawn them.
En l'an 1591, après le siège de la ville de Paris, durant les grandes troubles, je me suis amusé à portrait ces deux lettres grosses, L'une du texte et l'autre d'une glose qui est une lettre courante dont les Hebreux se servent en l'escription de leurs comptes et affaires ordinaires. Ladite cursive ou courante est un peu fardée suivant celle de laquelle on imprime leurs commentaires ou gloses en leurs livres suivant celle des Orientaux Levantins au Espagnolz antiques mais celle qu'ils écrivent à la main n'est pas si fardee et arrondie mais sent plus sa chicane /coppie et courante.

Ledit texte et glose ayant este mieux portaitz un peu comme la melancolie du temps le permettoit /ont este fort mal tailles par un qui n'a observe les traictz ny les corrections, n'ayant a cause du temps meilleur moyen de les fayer, se passerent aussi mal que le temps, et les despescha p(ou)r avoir de l'argent pour vivre. Je ne les ay point depuis fait raccoustrer, ayant la main trop pesante, aage de 67 a 68 ans.
Translation of the annotation

In the year 1591, after the siege of Paris, during the great disturbances, I took pleasure in drawing these two large letters, one of a text and the other of a gloss which is the type of handwritten letter used by Jews for writing their accounts and for everyday business. This cursive or courante is not so ‘painterly i.e. calligraphic and rounded following the model with which they print their [biblical] commentaries or glosses in their books, and also from the model of the Oriental Jews or older Spanish. The script with which they write by hand is not so ‘painterly’ and rounded, but shows more its ‘trickery’, its flow and everyday origins.877

The text and gloss were better drawn, as much as the sad times would allow, and were very poorly engraved by someone who neither observed the flow of the lines nor the corrections, not having at the time any better ways of doing it and thus proceeded as badly as the time, dispatched them in order to obtain money to live. I have done nothing since to improve them due to my uncertain hands. Aged 67 to 68 years of age.

877 The meaning of this last sentence is difficult to understand. Le Bé does not appear to find the Jewish Courant hand very attractive and is perhaps trying to explain why he never used it as a model.
Hebrew source:
Hebrew alphabet
Hebrew source:
Hebrew alphabet
...
Transcription of the annotation:
Espreuve dun Grec Ecclesiastique, taille a Venice en lan 1548 pour Christoffe Zanetti, pour imprimer des alphabetz, petites heures, qu’il nomme Horolog et aultres fatras et histoyres en grec vulgaires, pour apprendre les enfans a lyre.

Translation of the annotation
Specimen of an ecclesiastical Greek, engraved in Venice in the year 1548 for Christoforo Zanetti for printing alphabets, Books of Hours which are called Horologion and other trifles and stories in common Greek, which are used to teach children to read.

Greek source:
Ωρολόγιον/Horologion (Venice: Christophano Zanetti, 1546) ?

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878 See Layton, The sixteenth century Greek book in Italy: printers and publishers for the Greek world, pp. 521-535
879 A fatra or fatras is an ‘amas confus de choses frivoles et inutiles’ (Féraud, Dictionnaire critique de la langue française, 1787-88. It may be a term of abuse or simply a term to describe a ‘confused heape or bundle of trash, toyes, trifles’ etc as defined by Cotgrave in his 1611 dictionary. Vervliet translates it as ‘trifle’ in his Greek Printing Types of the Renaissance’.
880 A specimen of this Greek may be seen in the 1559 edition of Παρακλητική., printed by Cristoforo Zanetti in Venice. (BL 471d1). This was first noticed by Ellic Howe in his 1938 article on the Le Bé family. See Howe, ‘The Le Bé Family’, p. 3
Transcription of the annotation:
Grec ecclesiastic taille a Venise pour ce Christoffe Zanetti.

Translation of the annotation
Ecclesiastical Greek cut in Venice for the same Christoforo Zanetti.
Greek source:
Ωρολόγιον/Horologion (Venice: Christophano Zanetti, 1546)?
In the same time and year 1548 I engraved these Latin and Greek small caps for myself and for his use, of which I supplied him a small quantity, whilst waiting for him to obtain further Greek ‘Grotesques’ as these characters are called by some Greek/Latin, as the Romans have the flowing quality of the Greek.

Latin source:
Slightly garbled version of the Vulgate Latin text of Psalm 22:28 ? (reminiscentur et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae et adorabunt in conspectu eius universae familiae gentium)
D. HIERONIMVS
in x. Hieremiae.
Nec parentum nec, maiorum error, sequendus est, fed autho.
ritas scripturarum, & Deido-
centis imperium.
In the year 1546/47 I completed the engraving of this Large Canon in Venise, the majority of the punches having been completed by Jehan Arnoul (Le Picard). I sold a strike to Lorenzo Torrentino in Florence, the Ducal printer, and another strike to Tomaso Jontha (Giunta) in Venice. And since that I sold another strike which was sent from Paris to the same Jontha being the first after the burning of his press. And to see how this typeface looks when printed it is necessary to examine the first volume of the Consilia Doctorum, printed in Venice, in which there is a large letter entirely printed with this typeface at the beginning at the book.

Latin source:

From St Jerome’s commentary on Jeremiah I:12?

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881 This type can be seen in Torrentino’s 1549 edition Rettorica et Poetica d’Aristotile (BL 519d17) and in the 1551 edition of Aristotelis de Anima (BL 527m2). For further discussion see ibid., pp. 3-5

882 Tommaso and Giovanni were the sons and successors of the printer Lucantonio Giunta and active in Venice from 1538 to 1566. They signed themselves ‘apud Junta’ hence the form Le Bé used ‘Jontha’. Their firm went bankrupt in 1553 and was burned down in 1557. It is this event to which to which Le Bé is probably referring. I am grateful to Hendrik Vervliet for drawing my attention to this point. See Ascarelli and Menato, La tipografia del ’500 in Italia, p. 329. For more detailed discussion of the Giunti family, see Nuovo, The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance, pp. 51-70
Transcription of the annotation:
J’ay fait et taille ceste Musique grosse, en lan 1555, p(ou)r M. Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard, imprimeurs du Roy en musique. Il n’y avoit q(ue) ceci de taille quand ceste espreuve fut faitte, et faut veoir des Messes d’Orlande esquelles y a de telles sortes. – 1554 et 55

Translation of the annotation
I made and engraved this large music in the year 1555 for Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, printers for the King in music. There was only this type cast when this specimen was printed and it is necessary to see the masses composed by Orlande de Lassus where there are such types.

Music source:
Unknown edition of the Jean Mouton Chanson *En Venant de Lyon*
Music source:

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Music source:
An unknown edition of a setting of the Catholic Ecclesiastical chant *Gaudeamus omnes* etc.
Transcription of the annotation:
Pour lesdits s(ieux) Adrien Le Roy et Robert Ballard. Espreuve d’une grosse
Tablulature despinette pour imprimer a deux foys pour en fayre un essay, fait en lan
15...

Translation of the annotation
For Adrien Le Roy and Robert Ballard. Specimen of a large Tablature for Virginal to
be printed twice, a trial setting. Dated 15??

Music source:
An unknown edition of a setting for tablature for Virginal. Most likely printed by
Ballard.
Transcription of the annotation:
Espreuve dune petite tablature d’espinette sur la moyenne musique, commence en lan 1559, P(our) m(onsieur) Le Roy et Robert Ballard

Translation of the annotation
Specimen of a small tablature for virginal on the moyenne body, begun in the year 1559 for Monsieur Le Roy and Robert Ballard.

Music source:
An unknown edition of a setting for tablature for Virginal. Most likely printed by Ballard.
Music source:
An unknown edition of a setting for tablature for Virginal. Most likely printed by Ballard.
Music source:
An unknown edition of a setting for tablature for Virginal. Most likely printed by Ballard.
Appendix D: Facsimiles, Transcriptions and Translations of the Le Bé document Rés X 1665

This appendix contains a complete page by page facsimile of the Le Bé Document Rés X 1665, together with a transcription of the annotations and a translation. The transcriptions are based on the two Omont articles of 1887 and 1889, but modified to make them more consistent with the actual spelling and style of the original. 884 The transcription symbols used are a conflation of the ‘Leiden’ and ‘Scriptorium’ systems. Some symbols used by Le Bé are not available, such as the Renaissance ‘et’ sign, and other symbols have been substituted.885

(xxx) = expanded abbreviations
<xxx> = textual omissions
((xxx)) = Textual interpolation
†xxx† = Problematical reading
[xxx] = cancellations
[[xxx]] = Accidental loss
/ line or paragraph break used by Le Bé – probably used in place of comma (virgule)

These facsimiles are reproduced with the kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.886

884 Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé, 1546-1574. Omont, Specimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravés à Vénise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592.
885 Brown, A guide to western historical scripts from antiquity to 1600, pp. 5-7
886 Email dated 28 December 2011 12:50 from M. Philippe Bretagnon, Pôle redevance, Département de la reproduction, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Transcription of the annotation
Ce Canon ou grosse lettre est de mon ouvrage, fait à Paris, en lan 1565, et est la 12e des lettres de ma fasson. (Note: This annotation is placed in the fold of the document and thus not easily visible to the viewer).

Translation of the annotation
This canon or large character is my own work, made in Paris in the year 1565 and is the twelfth of the characters which I have produced.

Hebrew source:
The first three lines are from Ecclesiastes 11:1. The fourth and fifth lines are from the Mishnah, Pirkei Avot (Sayings of the Fathers) 2:5. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Ce grosse lettre est de la taille de messer Michel du bois qui tailla à Venise pour le magnifique messer Marco Antonio Justinian gentihomme venetien, laquelle messer Leon juif me voulut faire refaire.

Translation of the annotation
This large letter was cut by Michel du Bois, who made it in Venice for the most exalted master Marc’Antonio Giustiniani, Venetian gentleman, and which the Jew Master Leon asked me to recut.

Hebrew source:
A conflation of Biblical names followed by four nonsense words, and finally two lines of characters in a semblance of alphabetical order.
Ceste grosse lettre hebraique estoit a un juif, nôme Jacob de mantoue, jeune homme travaillant a l'imprimerie, lequel en bailla une frappe a Mazo dei Parenza, que je luy ay justifie estre de meilleur traitz de plume que la precedente, mais non si bien limee et polye.

This large Hebrew character belonged to a Jew named Jacob of Mantova, a young man who worked in printing, and who sold a set of strikes to Mazo di Parenzo, for whom I justified the matrices to be of a better hand than the previous ones, but not as well filed and polished.

A mixture of possible Talmudic text with errors and invented words to demonstrate the final characters
Transcription of the annotation
Ces deux grosses lettres, esquelles y a de hardis traitz, mais mal taillez, furent apportees de Constantinoble a Venise par un povre vieil Juif, pensant qu’elles fussent aussi rares a Venise comme en Levant.

Translation of the annotation
These two large characters, which have bold qualities but are poorly cut, were brought from Constantinople to Venice by a poor old Jew, who thought that they might be as rare in Venice as they were in the Levant.

Hebrew source:
A mixture of possible Talmudic text with errors and garbled characters to demonstrate the final characters
Transcription of the annotation
Ceste grosse lettre est de ma fasson, faicte a Venise, en lan 1548, sur l’eschantillon de
la precedente, taille pour moy; et celui a qui je laissay mesdits poinsons en garde en a
fait des frappes et tout mange, ayant vendue et poinsons et matrice a un Allemant
ainsy que de Dansi m’ont mande.

Translation of the annotation
This large character is of my making made in Venice in the year 1548 on the basis of
the previous character and cut by me. The person in whose care I had left my
punches made matrices from them and stole everything, having sold the punches and
matrices to a German from Danzig who sent me the specimen (?)

Hebrew source:
Text composed of various verses from Proverbs 16 and 22. Final line is Le Bé’s
imprint.
These five specimens are the characters of [[Robert Estienne]].. The characters for the text faces cut in Paris in 1542 by Jean Arnoul dit le Picard, the younger, and the gloss cut by another, well polished and finished, showing his hand.
Hebrew source:
Text composed of verses from Psalms 34:1, Psalms 34:2-7, Psalms 34:8-18, Psalms 34:19-23 and Psalms 125
Transcription of the annotation
Le gros texte de la Bible in quarto de Robert Estienne.

Translation of the annotation
The large text of the Quarto Bible of Robert Estienne.
Hebrew source:
Hebrew source:
Zechariah 14:6-7. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
ספר תהילים

פנימי הירח כלתו פאר בנים: שבשוחק
יומש סאתו בלהות והתים ולאים: רירא עיניים
נוקז מארוחתו מפי ארבע ערים: פקודת הארץ והשקדה רבדת העשונה פטל
אלוהים מכלו מפי תורנה כנאם חכום

ויקת: עטרא סנאט קוק חקר חינךเบית תבשיט עכלו עלא י önüne
נ遽רה וعلامات נברשות טיבי נצירה נזכית
נחלתו בלעת נבשיט תבשלות נברשות נברישה: עטרא סנאט קוק
ובפתחו נזירה נברשות נברשת טיבי נצירה נזכית יחזק

תקית: הסתר יזקוק: הינו נערך: נ גופו נושר בו ושער
בגלות נון שלך פסך חכם נברשת נברשת נברשת נברשת
נברשת נון שלך פסך חכם נברשת נברשת נברשת נברשת

יונק בורותה עיחם ווהלבנות סופר בורסת נברשת נברשת

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בגלות נון שלך פסך חכם נברשת נברשת נברשת נברשת

אליהו הושל מגפי תורנה כנאם חכום

1574

עלא יなのに מסלולו

Hb13 (S)
Hb14 (S)
Hb18 (R)
Transcription of the annotation
Ceste glose, faicte a Paris, 1574 pa(r) moy, est la 14e [[lettre]], et le texte fait sur l’eschantillon de la precedente p(ou)r la grosseur mais d’un meilleur art. Et du pres(en)t a este imprime la grande Bible de Anvers p(a)r Plantain, auquel jen vendis une frappe.

de ma 12e

de ma 14e

Translation of the annotation
This gloss was cut in Paris in 1547 by me and is my fourteenth characters. The main text type is done on the basis of the previous for size, but of a better quality. As of the present, it was used to print the Grand Bible of Anvers (the Biblia Regia) of Plantin to whom I sold a set of matrices.

Of my twelfth
Of my fourteenth

Hebrew source:
Zechariah 14:6-7. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Transcription of the annotation
Glose des Bomberges de Venise
Translation of the annotation
The Bomberg gloss from Venice
Hebrew source:
Part of the page from 2 Samuel: 1-6 the Ralbag commentary in the third Bomberg
Biblia Rabinica of 1548.
Transcription of the annotation

Texte et glose, impression des Bombergues de Venise.

Translation of the annotation
Text and gloss from Bomberg Venetian edition

Hebrew source:
Part of the page from 2 Samuel: 1-6 the Ralbag commentary in the third Bomberg Biblia Rabbinica of 1548.
Transcription of the annotation
Moyenne des Böbergues

Translation of the annotation
The Bomberg Moyenne text

Hebrew source:
An unidentified Bomberg quarto Bible and comprises part of Jeremiah, part of two Haftarot, those for ‘Shemot’ and ‘Mattot’ (Jeremiah 1:4)-12
Hebrew source:
An unidentified Bomberg quarto Bible and comprises part of Jeremiah, part of two Haftarot, those for ‘Shemot’ and ‘Mattot’ (Jeremiah 1:4)-12
Transcription of the annotation
Textin des Bombergues
Moyenne des Bombergues
Translation of the annotation
The Bomberg ‘textin’
The Bomberg ‘Moyenne’

Hebrew source:
Part of the page from 2 Samuel: 1-6 the Ralbag commentary in the third Bomberg
Biblia Rabbinica of 1548.
Hebrew source:
Part of the page from 2 Samuel: 1-6 the Ralbag commentary in the third Bomberg *Biblia Rabbinica* of 1548.
מこともある, לֵאָכָה
הָלָה הָאֶרֶב לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה
בָּלָה הַיְדָה לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה לְנֵבָּה לְנֵבָּה
לֵּבָּה הָלָה הָאֶרֶב לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה
לֵּבָּה הָלָה הָאֶרֶב לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה
לֵּבָּה הָלָה הָאֶרֶב לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה
לֵּבָּה הָלָה הָאֶרֶב לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה
לֵּבָּה הָלָה הָאֶרֶב לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה
לֵּבָּה הָלָה הָאֶרֶב לְנֵבָּה לַלֵּבָּה
לֵּבָּה הָלָה הָאֶרֶב L
לֵּבָּה H
לֵּבָּה H
Transcription of the annotation
Texte moyen que jay taille a Venise pour le Magnifique m[esse]r Marc Antonio Justinian, gentilhôme Venitien, qui est la 2e lettre que jay taillee, en lan 1546, age de 20 a 21 ans.

Translation of the annotation
‘Moyen’ text which I cut in Venice for the exalted Master Marco Antonio Giustiniani, Venetian Nobleman, which is the second character I cut in the year 1546 then aged 20 to 21 years

Hebrew source:
Psalms 79: 1-5. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Transcription of the annotation
Ceste espreuve est la mesma que la precedente a laquelle ont este adjoutez les pointz tout du long, n’estanz a l’autre que aux 3 premières lignes.

Translation of the annotation
This specimen is the same as the previous to which have been added throughout the vowels, as the previous specimen had them only on the first three lines.

Hebrew source:
Psalms 79: 1-5. Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Transcription of the annotation
Ceste impression est du petit texte que j’ay taille pour May de Parense a Venise, en lan 1547 aage alors de 22 ans / et est de la 4e lettre que jay taillee. Ceste glose aussi taillee pour ledit audit temps et les motz du tiltre plus gros.

Translation of the annotation
This specimens shows the petit texte which I cut for Meir di Parenzo in Venice in the year 1547 at the age of 22 and is the fourth character which I produced. The gloss was also cut for Meir di Parenzo at the same time and the larger words for the titles.

Hebrew source:
Section of page from the 1550 Bragadin edition of the Mishneh Torah; The first book Sefer Madda, Yesodey haTorah - Chapter 5
Transcription of the annotation
(Not legible and possibly in another hand than of Guillaume I Le Bé)

Hebrew source:

Genesis 9:9-27
Ce petit texte est de Justinian, taille pr un graveur de monnoye et cachetz a Venise.

Translation of the annotation
This Petit texte is from Giustiniani, cut by an engraver of coins and seals in Venice.

Hebrew source:
Genesis 8:13-22 and Genesis 9:1-8
Transcription of the annotation
(Above) †Dest ceminde?† ce Ce petit texte et glose grosse et ce mot de petit canō(n)
sont de mes ouvrages, faitz a Venise / le texte et glose faictz p(ou)r Mazo de Parenza,
cō(m)me est cy devant dit en lan 1547 les 4e et 5e lettres de mes fassons.

(Below) 1547 et 48
Translation of the annotation
This Petit Texte, large gloss and word showing the Petit Canon are typefaces by me,
cut in Venice. The Texte and the gloss cut for Meir di Parenzo, as it is stated
underneath in the year 1547 and these are the fourth and fifth typefaces of my
making.

Hebrew source:
Assembled text dealing with Halakhic rules of Kashrut and the salting of meat. Final
line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Transcription of the annotation
Ces lettres cy sont des precedents 4e et 5e lettres des mes ouvrages p(ou)r ledit Maggio.

Translation of the annotation
These typefaces are the fourth and fifth of my production for the aforementioned Meir (di Parenzo).
Transcription of the annotation
Lettre de Martin le Jeune de Paris, vieille letter mal faicte.

Translation of the annotation
Typeface of Martin le Jeune of Paris, an old and badly made character.

Hebrew source:
Psalms 119:40-51
Transcription of the annotation
(Above) La moyenne des Bombergues de Venise.
(Below) Textin ou petit texte
Translation of the annotation
The Bomberg ‘Moyenne’ from Venice
The ‘textin’ or ‘Petit Texte’
Hebrew source:
Isaiah 28:10-15
Translation of the annotation
The ‘Moyenne’ gloss which I cut in Venice for Meir (di Parenzo) in 1556, for which I had a court case against (Marco Antonio) Giustiniani.

The petit texte was cut by Jean (Arnoul) Picard of Paris, who died in Lyons.

This gloss was made by me in 1546 for Meir di Parenzo.

Hebrew source
Chapter 5 of the Pirkei Avot
Hebrew source
Commentaries from the Tractate Megillah
Hebrew source
Leviticus 1:1-10 (upper specimen) and mixture of correct and nonsense Hebrew (lower specimen)
Hebrew source
Exodus 36:17-29 (upper specimen) and Morning Prayers (Shacharit) for the Tzom Gedaliah FastDay (lower specimen)
Hebrew source
From Ruth 2 and 3
Transcription of the annotation
(In the hand of Christophe Plantin) Ceci est la sorte de letter dont je voudrois avoir les poinsons, tant les lettres de differentes largeurs, cő(m)me א ב que de toutes les sortes de points et accents accordants sur laditte lettre etc

(In the hand of Guillaume I Le Bé) Cest un memoyre q[ue] le S(ieu)r Plantain mescrivit pour avoir et luy tailler ceste lettre que neuz lors loisir de faire

Translation of the annotation
This is the type of typeface of which I would like to have punches, containing extended characters (א ב) as well as all the types of vowels and accents suitable for these characters.

This is a note from Plantin asking me to cut this typeface, but which I did not have the time to undertake.

Hebrew source
Commentary on Gen. 25: 29-34 from the Ben Asher Pentateuch printed by Bomberg in 1546 (upper specimen); Bomberg Jerusalem Talmud (lower specimen)
Hebrew source
From the Tractate Demai from the Jerusalem Talmud (Talmud Yerushalmi) printed by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1523
Hebrew source
From the Tractate Demai from the *Jerusalem Talmud* (Talmud Yerushalmi) printed by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1523
Hebrew source
From the Tractate Demai from the Jerusalem Talmud (Talmud Yerushalmi) printed by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1523
Hebrew source

From the Tractate Demai from the "Jerusalem Talmud" (Talmud Yerushalmi) printed by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1523
Hebrew source

Possibly a text From the Sefer Sha’arei Teshuva by the thirteenth century biblical scholar Yonah ben Abraham Gerondi, also known as Rabbenu Yonah.
Transcription of the annotation

(Above) dune glose hebraiq(ue) de messer Cornelio / Chretien Baptise, correcteur en limprimerie des Bombergues bien antiq[ue] et tailléee dun bon maistre

(Middle) Ceste glose est de Constantinople et y en dautre en ce livre.

Translation of the annotation

A Hebrew gloss for Master Cornelio (Adelkind), a baptised Christian and corrector at the Bomberg press, very old and cut by a skilled master.

This gloss is from Constantinople and there are others in this book (manuscript)

Hebrew source

From the edition of Sha’arei HaTeshuva (the Gates of Repentance) by the thirteenth-century Catalan rabbi and moralist Yonah ben Abraham Gerondi, printed by Gershom Soncino in Fano in 1505/6.
רֵס X 1665, פאlobe 20

הָבֵיָה 35 (S)

הָבֵיָה 40 (S)

הָבֵיָה 46 (S)

הָבֵיָה 37 (S)

(ה_reverse_side)
Transcription of the annotation
(Middle) Ce petit Hebreu est de Jehan Arnoul, dit Picard, decede a Lyons/ duql jeuz
la presente frappe que je vendis a Venise a Maz de Parenza.

(Below) Je ne scay dou est ce petit heb q[ue] je receu de Plantain p(ou)r luy en fayre
un plus petit. Il men envoya ce demy feuillet, et nen ay point veu a Venise ny Rom ny
autrep[art].

Translation of the annotation
This small Hebrew is by Jean Arnoul, Le Picard, who died in Lyons, and from whom
I received these matrices which I sold to Meir di Parenzo in Venice.

I do not know where this small Hebrew is from, which I received from Plantin (as a
model) to produce a smaller typeface. He sent me this half sheet and I have not seen
anything similar in Venice, Rome or elsewhere.

Hebrew source
Genesis 35: 27 (Top specimen), Deuteronomy 11:31 (Middle specimen), Psalms
34:19-end, followed by Psalms 90-91:1 (Lower specimen)
Transcription of the annotation

(Above) Ceste glose imprimee aux marges de ce Sepher Hassarasim est de la moyenne glose des Bombergues. Qui est tres belle et bien taillee, avec meilleurs art q[ue] celles du Justinian et aultres.

(Below) In a different hand and not deciphered. Possibly belongs to a reader’s notes.

Translation of the annotation

This printed gloss from the margins of the Sefer HaShorashim is the Bomberg ‘Moyenne’ gloss. It is very nice and well engraved, done in a better style than those of Giustiniani or others.

Hebrew source

Text from David Kimchi’s Sepher HaShorashim
Hebrew source
Text from David Kimchi’s *Sepher HaShorashim*
Transcription of the annotation
petite glose dont sont faictes des additions a la grand Bible des Bombergues de Venise telle quelle.

Translation of the annotation
A small Gloss which are used for additional (material) in the large Bomberg Bible in Venice.

Hebrew source
Text from Bomberg Bible? (Upper specimen), text from the Pirkei Avot (Lower specimen). Final line is Le Bé’s imprint.
Hebrew source
Page 70 from the 1529 edition of Nicolas Clénard’s *Tabula in grammaticen hebraeam*, printed by Theodore Martens in Louvain.
Hebrew source

Undetermined Hebrew text and individual characters (Upper specimen), Text from an Ashkenazic Machzor and is a fragment from the selihah (To your holy sanctuary our hands are raised) and bottom text is from a fragment of an Ashkenazic selihah for Yom Kippur.
## Appendix E: List of archival documents relevant to Guillaume I Le Bé

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notaries or signatories</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AdS Venezia Notaio: Marc'Antonio (de) Cavagnis (1543-1595), Atti 193-197 Busta 3251</td>
<td>17 Marzo 1547</td>
<td>Affittanza di Johannes di Juventibus (?) filies (?) Ser Guglielmi de Burgundis impressor librorum C. 78r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs etc p. 154 AN Y3448 f. 330</td>
<td>Le 3 novembre 1548</td>
<td>’Guillaume Le Bé, papetier à Troyes, saisi d’une maison à Gentilly sur Claude Duboys, papetier a Paris, pour 411 l. 10 s.t. et 298 l. 18 s.t. en vertu des deux obligations dont l’une souscrite ès foires de Champagne de Brie le 23 décembre 1543’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Be14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1548 dattée datte et an, du xxvii eme (27) mil Vc xL viii</td>
<td>Ainsi avec lesquelles estoient deux titres nouveaux prisséz de ladite rente. Inventoriéz sur lesdits biens deux seuls pour le tout sept - Item, unes lettres de vente du Chatelet de Paris, signée Deprast, dattée datte et an, du xxvii eme (27) mil Vc xL viii (1548) contenant avoir esté adjudiqué à Guillaume Lebé ... une petite maison et lieux assis a Gentilly, comme plus offrant et dernier encherisseur pour la somme de deux cens livres tz .............. estoit le proces verbal de distribution des deniers de ladite vente. Inventorizez sur lesdites lettres de vente, pour le tout huict</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Be14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1551 en datte 30. du xxix eme (29) fevrier (29) fevrier (1552 n.s.?)</td>
<td>Ung contract dudit Chatellet signé Vallet et Crozon, en datte 30. du xxix eme (29) fevrier mil Vc cinquante un (1551) contenant Claude Dube marchant papetier a Paris, avoir vendu et promis garantir audit deffunct Guillaume Lebe, ung quartier de vignes ou ..... une piece assise au lieudit les Los Genade au terroir de Gentilly. Et ladite vente avoir esté faicte aux charges et moienant la somme de xxi (21) livres qu'il en avoit recu ainsi et au dos duquel est la saisine de ce payé. Inventoriez audit dos dix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN ET/LXXIII/17 Marriage contract</td>
<td>1er Mars 1551 (1er Mars 1552 n.s.)</td>
<td>Furent presens en leurs personnes, honnestes personnes Maistre Nicole Lambert M° barbier chirurgien liqué/, bourgeois de Paris et Marguerite Moriset sa femme, de luy aucthorisée en ceste partie, tant en leurs noms que comme stipulans en ceste partie pour Loyse Lambert leur fille a ce presente et de son consentement, dune part/ Et Guillaume Lebé l’aisné marchand papetier ... demeurant a Troyes en Champagne, tant en son nom que comme stipulant en ceste partie pour Guillaume Lebé le jeune/ aussi papetier demeurant a Paris rue St Jehan de Beauvais, son fils aussi a ce present et de son consentement, dautre (part). Lesquelles parties de leurs bons grez recougnèrent et confessèrent en la presence et par devant lesdits notaires comme en droit ....... et aussi en la presence de .... hommes (en marge) avoir faict, feront et font entre eux et en noms de bonne foi et lune delles avec lautre, les traicte, accordz, douaire, promesses et obligations que ensuyt, pour raison et a cause du mariage que au plaisir de Dieu sera de brief fait et solempnisé en face de Ste eglise, desdits Guillaume Lebé le jeune et Loyse Lambert, Scavoir est: lesdits xxx Lambert et sa femme avoir prims et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Notaries or signatories</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Be14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1551 du premier mars mil Vc Li (1551) (1552 n.s.)</td>
<td>Chappellan et Arnor</td>
<td>Ung contrat du Chatellet de Paris, signé Chappellan et Arnor en datte du premier mars mil Vc Li (1551) contenant les promesses de mariage faictes, traitées et accordées entre lesdits deffunctz Guillaume Lebé et Loise Lambert jadis sa femme aux conventions et douaire portez par ledit contrat, inventorié sur icelluy ung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Be14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1551 en datte du troisieme jour de mars mil Vc cinquante ung (1552 n.s.)</td>
<td>Garnyer et Pechon.</td>
<td>Avec lesquelles lettres estoit les antienes lettres dacquisition de ladite maison faicte par Guillaume Lebé laisné, de Marie Racyot en datte du troisieme jour de mars mil Vc cinquante ung (1551), signé Garnyer et Pechon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie Charon Les Métiers du Livre p.</td>
<td>18.7.1551</td>
<td>ET/LXXIII/17</td>
<td>Guillaume le Bé est rentré en France au moins avant le 18 Juillet 1551, date à laquelle il prend en location un</td>
</tr>
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</table>
ouvrir repondant sur les rues Saint Jean de Beauvais et Saint Jean de Latran .. moyennant 50 l. par an.
Also named in this document is Jacques Glanne, Maitre patissier/ Bourgeois de Paris
Le Bé is described as Papetier (Marchand) and Imprimeur Libraire, Paris

Honneste homme Jacques Glanne M° paticier bourgeois de Paris confesse avoir ballé et delaissé a tiltre de loyer dargent, du jour St Remy prochain venant, jusques a quatre ans prochains apres ensuyvans, finiz et accomptez et promect garentir dans ledit temps a Guillaume le Bé le jeune, marchant papetier \imprimeur/libraire demeurant a Paris, a ce present, prendre audict tiltre pour luy ses hors, ung ouvrer (atelier) respondant sur les rues St Jehan de Beauvais et St Jehan de Latran, salette derrier, dans dessoubz ledit ouvrer et sallette, avec la premiere chambre estant au dessus desdits ouvrer et sallette et faisons pour trois dune maison, assize en ladite rue St Jehan de Beauvais que ledit bailleur tient de dame Marye Racyne. De plus ample declaration, ledit preneur sest tenu pour conten, pour en jouyr, etc...
Cestz bail et prinse faictz, audit tiltre, moyennant la somme de cinquante livres tournoiz que de loyer, pour et par chacune desdites quatre années. Ledit preneur en promect et gaige rendre, bailler et payer audit bailleur ou au porteur. Aux quatre termes a Paris accoustumés, premier terme de payement escheant au jour de noel prochain venant et continuer etc..
Lesquelz biens bailléz, ledit preneur promect attenir de toutes menues reparations, aux us et coustumes de Paris et les garnir de biens meubles exploittables pour seuretté dudit loyer, sortissant nature dicelluy. Et ne pourra bailler ne esporter son droict sans le consentement dudit bailleur qui au surplus le tiendra cloz et couvert ausdits us et coustumes. Et en ce faisant, nestre accordé que ou ledit bailleur estoyt contrainct vuyder de ladite maison suyvant la clause contenue au bail quy faict ainsy a esté dicelle par ladite Racyne. en ce cas ledit preneur sera aussy tenu vuyder dudit lieu de present baille . Len advertissant toutesfoys troys moys devant et sans autre sommation ne signification de vuyder luy faire, ne autre solemnité de justice y garder ne observer et sans povoir par luy pretendre ne demander aucungs dommaiges et interestz. Et neantmoings poura ledit bailleur contraindre en veu du dit present bail a luy payer ce qui pouroyt encores debvoir a cause dudit louage. Car ainsy etc... Prometans etc.. Obligeans chacun en droit soy, etc... Renoncans etc... Fact et passé double, lan mil cinq cens cinquante et ung, le samedy dix huitiesme jour de juillet.

Minutier Central via Annie Charon 10 novembre 1551 ET/LXXIII/045 Guillaume Le Bé is named as a Libraire/Paris in a document concerning an apprenticeship for a Libraire for Jacques Asselin.

Archives nationales ET/LXXIII/17 (GG-C) 1er mars 1552 Guillaume Le Bé, libraire, graveur, papetier fils de G. Le Bé lainé, papetier jure Mariage le Loyse, fille de N. Lambert (maître barbier)
<table>
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<th>Source</th>
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<th>Notaries or signatories</th>
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<td>(cité par A. Parent, Les métiers du livre, p. 194-195)?</td>
<td></td>
<td>chirurgien, bourgeois de Paris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs etc p. 154 AN: S. 1652, fo. 22 verso, 3e série. See also SM’s notes in CU Library.</td>
<td>15 mars 1552 (n.st.) selon Genevieve Guilleminot (Email)</td>
<td>Guillaume Le Bé l’aîné, papetier, bourgeois de Troyes, achète de Marie Racyne, veuve de Pierre Alexandre, grenetier (au grenier-à-sel) de Paris, pour 3,050 l.t. deux maisons contiguës, rue Saint-Jean-de-Beauvais. L’une faisant le coin de la rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran, tenant par derrière à M. le Cîtier, à cause de sa femme. NB Grenetier= nm celui qui commercialise des semences, des graines, organes provenant de végétaux et aptes à germer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Annie Charon Les Métiers du Livre p. 66</td>
<td>28.6.1552 (n.s.) ET/LXXIII/18</td>
<td>Honneste personne Guillaume le Bé marchand papetier demeurant a Paris rue St Jehan de Beauvais, confesse avoir baillé et delaissé a tilte de loyer dargent, du jour St Remy prochain venant jusques a huit ans et demy prochains apres ensuivans finiz. Et promet garentir dans ledit temps, a Simon Calvarin? marchant libraire demeurant a Paris, a ce present, prenant audit tilte pour luy, ses heoirs, c’est ledit temps durant le deuxiesme corps dhostel de la maison ou ledit bailleur est demeurant, assise en ladite rue St Jehan de Beauvais, estant au dessoubz de celuy faisant le coing de ladite rue St Jehan/de Beauvais et de la rue St Jehan/ de Latran. Ledit demy corps dhostel, comme il se comporte, de fons en comble, sans en aucune chose excepter - fors et reservé la premiere chambre dudit corps dhostel de premier bailh que ledit bailleur a reservée a luy - pour en joy par ledit preneur audit tilte, ledit temps durant. Cestz bail et prinse, audit tilte faictz, moyennant la somme de quarante cinq livres tornois que deloyer par chacun an, durant ledit temps. Ledit preneur promect et gaige rendre, bailer et payer audit bailleur, de biens meubles exploitables sortissans nature dudit loyer, pour la seureté dicelluy et lentretien sera de menues reparations. Et ainsi plus, ledit bailleur le tiendra cloz et couvert aux us et costumes de Paris/ Et ne pora ledit preneur bailer ni exporter son droict a autre, sans le consentement dudit bailleur. Et sera la moicité et premier h.... dicelle, servant ausdits deux corps dhostelz, commune entre lesdits bailleur et preneurs et cetz gens. Aussi sera tenu ledit preneur laisser avaler (faire descendre) par la trappe estant en louvroir dudit corps dhostel du premier bailh, tout ce que ledit bailleur vouldra descendre et faire avaler en sa cave, estant audit premier corps dhostel. Ensemble tout ce quil vouldra faire lyvrer de sadite cave, a toutesfois comme bon luy semblera. Car ainsin promettent lesdites parties de ce faire. Renoncant. Fait et passé double, lan mil Vc Lii (1552) le lundi xxviiie (28eme) jour de juing.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pichon and Vicaire 1895, Documents pour servir à l’histoire des libraires à Paris</td>
<td>5 Juin 1556</td>
<td>Inventaire après deces de Marguerite la Porte, femme de Sire Gaudefroy Roussel, Lists Guillaume Le Bé as one of several libraires “qui etoient ses debiteurs lors du deces de sa femme en 1556” For 118s. 6</td>
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<td>Source</td>
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<td>Archive de Contesse, Notaire</td>
<td></td>
<td>apothicaire, bourgeois de Paris</td>
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<td>Pichon and Vicaire 1895, Documents pour servir à l’histoire des libraires à Paris Archive de Cothereau, Notaire</td>
<td>12 Octobre 1558</td>
<td>Arch de Cothereau, notaire</td>
<td>Bill of sale Mentions Henri Le Bé, libraire demeurant rue des Sept-Voies prés S. Hilaire enseigne du Griffon Blanc and Jehan (Jean) Le Bé marchand hostelier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie Charon Les Métiers du Livre p. 66</td>
<td>29.6.1560</td>
<td>ET/LXXIII/25</td>
<td>Guillaume Le Be, le jeune, papetier, bourgeois de Paris, loue a son pere Guillaume le Be, aine, deux corps d’hôtel et deux ouvrours dans la maison ou il demeure au coin des rues Saint Jean de Beauvais et Saint Jean de Latran</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Honorable homme Guillaume le Bé le jeune, marchant papetier, bourgeois de cette ville de Paris, demeurant en la maison cy apres decrite, confesse avoir prins et retenu a titre de loyer dargent – de honeste homme Sire Guillaume le Bé laisné, marchant papetier juré, cy .......... de Paris, demeurant a Troyes en Champagne, son pere absent, les notaires au Chatelet de Paris soubzsigné, stipulant et acceptans pour luy - du jour de Pasques prochain venant, que lon comptera mil Vc soixante et ung, jusques a neuf ans prochains apres ensuivans, fins et accomplys, une maison contenant deux corps dhostel entretenans et joignans lun a lautre et deux ouvrours (ateliers) .....ans sur rue, le lieu comme il se comporte, de fondz en comble, assis en ceste dite ville de Paris, ...... et faisant un des coings de la rue St Jehan de Latran, en laquelle ledit Guillaume Lebé le . jeune est de present demeurant, comme dict est. Ceste . prinse ainsi faicte moyenant la somme de cent dix livres tournois que de loyer, pour et par chacune desdits neuf ans. Ledit preneur en promect ........... bailler et paier a sondit pere et aporter aux quatre termes a Paris acustomés. Premier terme de paiement escheant au jour Saint Jehan Baptiste de ladite année mil . Vc soixante et ung. Et continuer de ladite année ledit paiement par chacune desdits neuf annees, ausdits quatre termes. Laquelle maison et corps dhostel, ledit preneur sera tenu entretenen de menues reparations et sondit pere des grosses. Le tout aux us et costume de Paris ................ Obligent etc.. Renoncent etc.. Faict et passé Lan mil cinq cens soixante, le sabmedy xxix (29) et penultieme jour de juing. Le tout 9. selon et ainsi que declaré par le bail que luy va/ fait sondit père de ladite maison, passé audit Troyes par Sr Bartelamy Balesauls et Jehan Cystan notaires audit Troyes, en datte du xxe (20e) jour de jung vc Lx (560).</td>
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<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1561</td>
<td>en date du huitiemesm jour de septembre m Vc Li</td>
<td>Unes (au pluriel = une paire, deux ) lettres faictes soubz le scel de la ville de Paris, signées Baretton, en date du huictiesme jour de septembre m Vc Li (1561) par Lesquelles le Sr Noel Lebé marchant drapier demeurant audit Troyes avoyt baillé et transporté par titre deschange et audit deflunct Guillaume Lebé, la moictié divisée dune maison, droitz, aissances et apartenances dicelle, comme elle se poursuit et comporte, assise a Paris Rue de Beauvais, faisant le coing de ladite rue et de la rue St Jehan de Latran *,</td>
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<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Dans le quartier de la Sorbonne. correspond à l'actuelle rue des Ecoles) dont l'auteur moitié apartenoit audit deffunct Guillaume Lebé par la succession de feu son pere, ainsi que le tout est plus au long conté audites lettres, inventoriéz sur icelles trois</td>
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<tr>
<td>From SM’s notes in CU Library And James Mosley list February 2011 See also Renoud, Documents sur les imprimeurs etc p. 105 Mentionné dans Bib. Nat. Ms Fr 22117</td>
<td>18 novembre 1561</td>
<td>Le Bé, Jean le Sueur drew up the inventory of Garamond’s foundry, of which André Wechel was the executor. Plantin bought the matrices and moulds; Wechel bought the punches; Le Bé had a strike from some punches unspecified, before he sold them to Wechel. Also he had other punches from the widow Garamond. 8. Inventory of the foundry of Claude Garamond 1561 Jean-Pierre Fournier wrote, ‘J’ai entre les mains cet inventaire en original’. (‘Lettre de M. Fournier, l’aîné’, Mercure de France, mai 1756, p. 123). This is his description of the docu-ment: L’inventaire, la prisée &amp; la vente que Guillaume le Bé &amp; Jean le Sueur, autre fondateur de caractères, firent de la fonderie de Garamond après son décès, le 18 Novembre 1561, à la Requête de Dame Isabeau Lefèvre, veuve de feu sieur Claude Garamond, en son vivant, Graveur de lettres, &amp; Maître à Paris, &amp; de sieur André Wechel, Marchand Libraire, Juré au dit lieu, executeurs du Testament dudit défunt. Location of original: unknown.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pichon and Vicaire 1895, Documents pour servir à l’histoire des libraires à Paris</td>
<td>20 janvier 1563</td>
<td>Arch de Brûlé, notaire Henry Le Bé, libraire, Jehan d’Aumale, aussi Libraire, a cause de Geneviève le Bé, sa femme. Première acquisition par Pierre Le Bé, leur père le 24 mars 1506-1507 de 57 arpens de terre à Villeras arpens: Formerly, a measure of land in France, varying in different parts of the country. The arpent of Paris was 4,088 sq. yards, or nearly five sixths of an English acre. The woodland arpent was about 1 acre, 1 rood, 1 perch, English. villeras (91190) in department Essonne (91) of region Île-de-France in Franc</td>
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<td>Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs etc p. 94 Arch Nat. Y3464, fo. 691, and Y3465, fo. 219</td>
<td>16 Mars 1564 (n.st)</td>
<td>La veuve et les héritiers de Galliot Du Pre (libraire) poursuivent les vente et criée d’une maison sise rue Mouffetard, et de deux maisons ru Coippeaulx ayant appartenu a Charles Estienne (Guillaume Le Bé (fondeur) is mentioned as a créancier of Charles Estienne, among others.</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Archives nationales, MC étude LXXIII, 58] Genevieve Guilleminot Chrésien/BNF</td>
<td>8 avril 1564</td>
<td>Jehan Anastaze, demeurant chez Guillaume Le Bé, rue Saint Jean de Beauvais, ...bourgeois de Genève, à cause de Jeanne Estienne sa femme, vend à Robert (II) Estienne... le 1/5 de l’imprimerie, matrices, caractères, presses, figures, moules... déclarés en l’inventaire dont la délivrance a été obtenue de Vascosan, par arrêt de la cour, ... moyennant le prix auquel elle a été estimée il y a huit jours par Oudin Petit et Charles Périer, Guillaume Le Bé et J. Le Sueur...</td>
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<td>Genevieve Guilleminot Chrésien/BNF</td>
<td>16 mars 1565</td>
<td>Guillaume Le Bé créancier de Charles (P. Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs... 1901, p. 95)</td>
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<td>[Renouard, Documents manuscrits, Réserve des livres rares] Genevieve Guilleminot Chrétien/BNF (Archives nationales, X1A 1622, f. 59 v°)</td>
<td>2 janvier 1568</td>
<td>Estienne</td>
<td>Guillaume le Bey (sic) marchand, bourgeois de Paris [fondeur de lettres] contre Charles Estienne, appelant d’une sentence des juges et consuls des marchands</td>
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<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>Chappellain et Chappellain</td>
<td>Unes (au pluriel = une paire) lettres dudit Chatellet signée Chappellain et Chappellain, en datte du septiesme jour de mars mil Vc Lx viii (1568) par lesquelles Sr Jacques Marchant, marchant bourgeois de Paris et Ysabeau le Fevre sa femme, auroit vendu, constitué et promis garantir, paier et continuer chacun pour le tout, sans division, audit defunct Guillaume Lebe, vingt livres tz de rente sur les heritages et biens, soubz la faculté de rachat et moienant la somme de ic x (210) livres tz quiz en auroidt lors receu dudit defunct.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1569</td>
<td>Chappellain et Chappellain</td>
<td>Ung contract du Chatellet de Paris, en datte du xxvi eme (26) jour de fevrier mil Vc soixante neuf (1569), signé Chappellain et Chappellain contenant, Noel Darthins marchant demeurant a Gentilly avoir vendu et promis garantir audit defunct Guillaume Lebe une maison ainsi quelle se comportoit, assise audit Gentilly au lieudit le Clos Benilde. Ung petit jardin et vigne contenant deux quarte xxx ou environ, joignant ladite maison xxxx et ung demi arpent de vignes assis derrier ledit jardin. Et ladite vente avoir esté faicte aux charges et moienant la somme de deux cens huict livres deux solz quil en avoit recu dudit defunct, ainsi qu'il est escript audit contract. Inventoriez sur icelluy neuf</td>
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<td>Renouard, Imprimeurs parisiens 1898 p. 217</td>
<td>1571</td>
<td></td>
<td>Guillaume Le Bé taxé à 4 livres (No document cited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN, ET/CXXI/39</td>
<td>8 June 1571</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marriage contract of Charles Perier Cited by Barbara Diefendorf The marriage contract is in the minutier central of the AN, CXXII 39 (8 June 1571). It is a contract between Charles Perier, marchand libraire et imprimeur, bourgeois de Paris, on behalf of his daughter Marie Perier, and Guillaume Aubray, also a libraire, living in Paris, the son of Guillaume Aubray, living in Normandy, who gives permission for the wedding. The promise to marry &quot;en sainte eglise&quot; follows recognizably Protestant formulas, and the dowry arrangements (which I won't give you in detail) basically turn Perier's properties and merchandise in his house and shop on the rue St. Jean de Beauvais over to Aubray, reserving just a room for himself, with an estimated value at 1073 livres, in exchange for Aubray's promise to pay the money owed to several people. The first listed is &quot;Guillaume Le Be, marchant pappetier a Paris,&quot; whom he owes 80 livres. The second is [Mamert?] &quot;Patisson, correcteur en la maison de feu Robert Estienne,&quot; whom he owes 60</td>
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<td>Source</td>
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<td>AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1572 jeudy dixieme jour 6. de janvier mil Vc Lxxii And 1572 du xeme (10) jour davril audit an ml Vc Lxxii</td>
<td>Franquelon et Croisot</td>
<td>un contract du Chatellet de Paris en datte du jeudy dixieme jour de janvier mil Vc Lxxii (1572), signé Franquelon et Croisot. contenant Messire Anthoine le Cirier eveques d'Avranches doie, de leglise de Paris, de Guillaume le Cirier son frere escuier gentilhomme servant ordinaire de Monseigneur le duc d'Allancon, avoir vendu, ceddé transporté et promis garantir audit defunct Guillaume Lebé une maison, petite cour et appartences, en laquelle pend pour enseigne &quot;la Grosse Escripoire&quot; assise a Paris en la rue St Jehan de Latran et ladite vente avoir esté faicte aux charges et moienant le pris et some de dix huict cens livres tz qui en auroyt esté lors paieé, ainsi en fin duquel est la saisine de ce prinse, signée Foullon et la ratification dicelle vente faicte par ledit Guillaume le Cirier, en datte du xeme (10) jour davril audit an ml Vc Lxxii (1572) signé desdits Franquelon et Croiset, inventoriés sur ledit contract quatre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs etc p. 154 AN: S. 1653, fo. 64, 3ieme serie</td>
<td>Le 10 janvier 1572</td>
<td>Guillaume Le Bé, papetier (et fondeur) bourgeois de Paris, achète pour 1,800 l.t. la maison de la grosse escriptoire, contiguë a une maison qui appartenant déja rue Saint-Jean de Latran. Le vendeur est Guillaume Le Cirier, représenté par Antoine Le Cirier évêque d'Avranches.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pichon and Vicaire 1895, Documents pour servir à l'histoire des libraires à Paris Archive de Cothereau, Notaire</td>
<td>2 Juillet 1574</td>
<td>Document mentions sire Guillaume Le Bé, marchand papetier demerurant en l'Universite de Paris in a matter of lodgings?</td>
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| AN ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598 | 1576 en datte du samedi xxieme (22) jour de septembre mil Vc soixante seze | Belot et Nynlon | Le premier signé Belot et Nynlon, en datte du samedi xxieme (22) jour de septembre mil Vc soixante seze (1576), par lesquelles apert: messire Francois le Cirier, conseiller du roy en son privé conseil et court de Parlement et president es requestes dicelluy et dame Jehanne Jacquet sa femme, avoir baillé et transporté a
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<tr>
<td>Renouard, <em>Documents sur les imprimeurs etc</em> p. 155 AN: S. 1654, fo. 28, ler serie</td>
<td>22 septembre 1576</td>
<td>Guillaume Le Be, marchant papier a Paris, et Loys Lambert, sa femme, achètent deux corps d'hôtel contigus, rue Saint-Jean-de Beauvais a l'enseigne de la Pomme de Terre (sic) entre l’Eschiquier a Aymon Marot et une maison leur appartenant, au prix de 100 l.t. de capital et 160 l.t. 4 den. T. de rente. Les vendeurs sont François le Cirier, président des enquêtes au Parlement de Paris, et Léonne Jacquet, sa femme.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 <em>Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</em></td>
<td>1577 en datte du mardy second de juillet mil Vc soixante dix sept (1577), par laquelle apert ledit Sieur conseiller le Corier et sa femme avoir baillé et transporté par exchange aux chanoynes et chappelains de Saint Maur des Fossez lesdites huitc vingtz (160) six livres treze solz quatre deniers tz de rente pour les ... si ainsi qu'il est contenu esdites lettres</td>
<td>Cayard et Boreau</td>
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<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 <em>Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</em></td>
<td>1581 premier jour de janvier mil Vc iii xxi (1581)</td>
<td>Chappellan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 <em>Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</em></td>
<td>1583 datte du mardy premier fevrier mil Vc iii xx trois</td>
<td>Dubois et Chappelain</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161 <em>Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</em></td>
<td>1585 datte du deux janvier mil Vc iiixx cinq (1585)</td>
<td>Perier</td>
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<td>AN ET/LVX/161 <em>Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</em></td>
<td>1586 en datte du</td>
<td>le Vasseur et .... le Rey</td>
<td>Et ledit contract signé le Vasseur et .... le Rey, en datte du septiesme jour de janvier mil Vc iii xx six (1586),</td>
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Stephen Lubell thesis final May 2014 533
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<th>Source</th>
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<th>Notaries or signatories</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Lambert, Anne Lambert</td>
<td>par lequel ledit M° ..... Lambert docteur en medecine, Anne Lambert et en leurs noms ledit defunct Guillaume Lebe, audit nom et comme tuteur de ses enffans et de ladite feue Loise Lambert jadis sa femme et encore tous chacun eux faisant fôr de M° Nicolas Lambert leur pere xxxxx chirurgien et varlet de chambre du roy et Mr Ysmael Lambert leur frere, auroient baillé et transporté à titre de rente audit ...... Corier boullanger, une maison, lieux, apartenances, assise es faulx bourgts St Jacques en la grand rue et ce moienant aseze escus deux tiers de rente annuelle et perpetuelle que ledit Corier en avoyt promis paier et continuer aux termes, selon et ainsi que le tout est plus au long contenu et ... audit contract, inventorié sur les deux susdites lettres, si sus inventorisées, lesquelz contractz lesdits Lebé et Andrenas.(deux lignes trop pales, illibles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Richet</td>
<td>Item une ceddulle (a bill or IOU) en papier, signée Richet, en datte du xix eme (19) jour de juillet mil Vc iii xx sept (1587), par laquelle le Sieur Jehan Richet marchant libraire et M° imprimeur a promis debvoir audit defunct Guillaume Lebe, la somme de soixante escus vingt solz et neuf deniers tz pour les causes et a prendre au terme declarz en ladite ceddulle. Inventorié au bas dicelle unze</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Richet</td>
<td>Item, une autre ceddulle signée comme la precedente, en datte du xxii eme (24) jour dudit mois de juillet mil Vc iiiix sept (1587) contenant ledit Jehan Richet debvoir audit defunct Guillaume Lebe la somme de cent quatre vingtz sept livres dix solz tz pour les causes et a paier au terme declaréz en ladite ceddulle. Inventoriée au dessoubz dicelle douze</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Jacques le Noir</td>
<td>Deux contractz du Chatelet de Paris, lung daté du xxeme jour de may mil Vc iii xx huict (1588) signé Jacques le Noir, contenant ledit defunct Guillaume Lebé. au nom et comme tuteur et curateur des enffans myneurs xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx d'ans, de luy et de ladite feue Loise Lambert, Claude Andrenas et Madelaine Lebé sa femme et Jehan Canelat et Margueritte Lebé sa femme, avoir recu de Ysmael Lambert chirurgien et varlet ordinaire du roy, la somme de vi xx (120) livres et xx solz sur et tant moings de la somme de iii c xxx (333) escutz pour la quatrieme partie et portion apartenant aux enffans de ladite feue Loise Lambert, au pris de la vente faicte audit Ysmael Lambert dune maison, court et jardin assise pres la ville Saint Denis en France et pour le surplus desdits iii c xxxiii (333) écus xx solz, ledit Ysmael Lambert auroit baillé, cédé et transporté audit defunct Lebe et ses enfans seze escus deux tiers de reste que luy estoient 'deubz' par .... Cornet xxxxx boullanger demeurant au faulx bourgs et Jacques Aneson.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Fardeau and Charles</td>
<td>Item, trois obligations du Chatelet de Paris. La premiere signée Fardeau and Charles, en datte du xxvi eme (26) jour de septembre mil Vc iiiixx huict (1588). La seconde, signée Belot and Fardeau, en datte du neufviesme jour doctobre mil Vc iiiixx xii (1592). Et la</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1592</td>
<td>Belot et Fardeau</td>
<td>Troisième signée Charles et François, en datte du xiii eme (13) juillet mil Vc iiiixx seize (1596). Par lesquelles le sieur Denis Binet M° imprimeur a Paris debvoit audit deffunct Guillaume Lebe la somme de soixante escus dix neuf solz tz pour les causes et a paier au terme y declaréz. Inventoriéz sur lesdites trois obligations, lune comme laitre. vingt ung - En inventoriant lesdites trois obligations, lesdits Lebe et Andrenas ont declaré qu'il ne reste deub du contenu dicelles sinon que la somme de trente cinq escus quinze solz six deniers, ainsi qu'il apert sur le papier journal dudit deffunct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>Estienne Prevosteau, Charles et Fardeau,</td>
<td>Item, ung brevet dudit Chatelet, signé Prevosteau, Charles et Fardeau, en datte du sixiesme jour de juillet mil Vc iiiixx neuf (1589), contenant Estienne Prevosteau imprimeur libraire a Paris, debvoir audit deffunct de cinquante sept escus treze solz pour les causes et a paier au terme declarëz audit brevet. Inventorië sur iceluy vingt Au dos duquel apert avoir esté sur ce receu trente sept escus treize solz tz, a plusieursfois. Davantage, lesdits Lebe et Andreas ont declaré que outre le contenu audit brevet, ledt Prevosteau doibt encore audit deffunct Lebe leur pere, la somme de quinze escus sol, ainsi qu'il apert sur son papier journal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET/LVX/161</td>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Lusson et Leynoir</td>
<td>Item, ung contract du Chatelet de Paris, en datte du xiii eme (13) octobre 3. mil Vc iiiixx dix (1590), signé Lusson et Leynoir, par lequel apert 4. Simon Calvin marchant, bourgeois de Paris et Anthoinette 5. Leynoir sa femme, chacun pour le tout, debvoir audit deffunct Guillaume Lebe, la somme de cent trente escus dix sept solz neuf deniers tz pour les causes et a paier au termes declarëz audit brevet. Inventorië sur iceluy xxiiii (24) Avec lequel sont attachez plusieurs exploictz precedans, sentences, .......... de biens et declarations de despans et autres pieces. En inventoriéant lequel contract, lesdits Le-be et Andrenas ont declaré qu'il nest plus deub de tout ce, sinon que la somme de cent trente huict escus dix sept solz neuf deniers. Davantage, lesdits Lebe et Andrenas ont declaré que par le papier journal dudit deffunct, il apert estredeub ce que disent. - Scavoir par ledit Jacques Dupuis, cinq escus douze solz. - Par Pierre Fieffe marchant libraire, ung escus quarante cinq solz. - Par Pierre Luillier marchant libraire, cinq escus vingt sept solz. - Par ung Mr Lesleu marchant de biens, six escus quarante solz. - Par Pierre Bourgeois et parties, quatre escus. - Par le Sieur Leger Delas marchant imprimeur, vingt six escus trente ung. - Par Arnoul Titan et par parties, trente six escus dix solz. Par le Sieur Baptiste Dupins, quatre escus sol. Par le Sieur Michel Souyns et parties, seize escus cinquante ung solz. Par Arnoulottier M° imprimeur, neuf escus vingt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source</td>
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<td>Notaries or signatories</td>
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<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td></td>
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<td>quatre solz. Par le Sieur Philipes Dupin marchant libraire, la somme de unze escus deux solz six deniers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1591 en datte du cinquiesme jour de septembre mil Vc iiixx xi (1591)</td>
<td>Adrian le Roy</td>
<td>Item, une ceddulle en papier, signée comme la precedente, escripte au dos de quelques parties, en datte du cinquiesme jour de septembre mil Vc iiixx xi (1591), par laquelle le soubzsigné confesse devoir audit defunct Lebe la somme de vingt neuf escus quarante solz a paier au terme declarez en ladite ceddulle. Inventoriée au bas dicelle quatorze - Davantage, lesdits Lebe et Andrenas ont declaré que le papiers journal dudit defunct leur pere, il apert que ledit Adrian le Roy doibt encore, outre ce, la somme de dix escus. vingt cinq solz .</td>
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<td>AN</td>
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<tr>
<td>ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1591 en datte du xxixeme jour de juillet mil Vc iiixx xi (1591)</td>
<td>Jehan Corbon</td>
<td>Item une ceddulle en pappier, en datte du xxixeme (29) jour de juillet mil Vc iiixx xi (1591) signée Jehan Corbon, contenant le soubzsigné Jehan Corbon libraire à Paris, comme tuteur des enfans de feu Thomas Bremet, vivant aussi libraire, devoir audit defunct Lebe la somme de soixante six livres pour les causes et a paier au terme declarez en ladite ceddulle. Inventoriée au bas dicelle .... quinze Au dos de laquelle apert avoir esté sur ce recu huict escus quarante huict solz</td>
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<td>AN</td>
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<tr>
<td>ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1591 en datte du xxvieme jour de juin mil Vc iiixx xi (1591)</td>
<td>Denis Duval</td>
<td>Item, ung brevet dudit Chatellet, en datte du xxvieme (26) jour de juin mil Vc iiixx xi (1591), signé Denis Duval ............ et ............ contenat Denis Duval marchant libraire a Paris devoir audit defunct Lebe la somme de quarante escus quarante solz tz pour les causes et a paier au terme contenuz audit brevet. Inventorié au bas dicelluy dix huict</td>
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<td>AN</td>
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<tr>
<td>ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1591 en datte du vingtiesme jour de fevrier mil Vc iiixx xi (1591)</td>
<td>Mamert Patisson</td>
<td>Item, une sentence des juges et consulz de ceste ville de Paris, en datte du vingtiesme jour de fevrier mil Vc iiixx xi (1591), signée Mamert Patisson marchant libraire a Paris avoir esté condampné paier audit defunct Lebe la somme de deux cens vingt ung escus six solz contenu en sa ceddulle du xxixeme (29) juin mil Vc iiixx cinq (1585) et vingt sept escus dix solz pour vente de fonte dimprimerie et avoir esté condampné es despens, taxéz a seze solz. Avec laquelle sentense estre la susdite ceddulle, inventorizée sur icelle et sur ladite sentence, lune comme lautre dix neuf</td>
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<td>AN</td>
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<tr>
<td>ET/LVX/161 Inventaire après décès Guillaume Le Bé le 14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>1591 en datte du xxviieme jour de mars mil Vc iiixx xv</td>
<td>Genres</td>
<td>Item, la sentence donnée des juges et consulz de ceste ville de Paris, en datte du xxviieme (27) jour daoust mil Vc iiixx xi (1591), signée Genres, contenat ledit Consolat avoir esté condampné paier audit defunct Lebe la somme de .... escus tz pour les causes et au terme declairéz, au bas de laquelle apert quavoit esté receu par ledit defunct la somme de huict escus sol . Inventorié vingt trois. Lesdits Lebe et Andrenas ont dit que outre ladite somme, ledit Leon Camelat doibt encores audit defunct trois escus sept solz, ainsi quiel est escript sur le papiers journal dudit defunct. (bas de page très pale et flou, mais barré )</td>
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| Juillet 1598 | (1595) | vins, demeurant Rue St Martin, chacun pour le tout, debovir audit deffunct Guillaume Lebe, la somme de quatre vingt escus sol, pour les causes et a paier au terme declariez audit brevet, au dos duquel apert avoir esté sur ce receu a plusieurs fois, jusques a soixante escus sol. Inventorié audit. 
| AN ET/LVX/161 | 1596 en datte 14. su xixeme (19) jour davril mil Vc iiixx xvi (1596), | Adrian le Roy | Item, une cedullette en papier, signée Adrian le Roy, en datte 14. su xixeme (19) jour davril mil Vc iiixx xvi (1596), contenat le soubzsigné debovir audit feu Guillaume Lebe la somme de soixante deux escus pour les causes contenues en ladite cedullette. Inventoriée au dessoubz dicelle treize.
| AN ET/LVX/161 | 1598 en datte du xxvii eme (27) jour de mars mil Vc iiixx xvii (1598), | René Nyvelle et R. Nyvelle, | Item, une cedullette en papier, signée René Nyvelle et R. Nyvelle, en datte du xxvii eme (27) jour de mars mil Vc iiixx xvii (1598), par laquelle apert les soubzsignéz debovir audit feu Lebe, la somme de trente cinq escus pour les causes (suit in, law?) et a paier au terme declariez en ladite cedullette. Inventoriée sur icelle dix sept.
| AN ET/LVX/161 | 1598 datté du xxiii eme (23) jour de juillet mil Vc iiixx xviii (1598), | Lois Rion | Item, deux fueilles de papier attachées ensemble, dont les deux premiers fueilletz sont escriptz entierement et quelque sur le troisieme, signé Lois Rion, datté du xxiii eme (23) jour de juillet mil Vc iiixx xviii (1598), contenat la description et prisée faicte par ledit Rion de toute la marchandise de pappier qui sest trouvée apres le decez dudit deffunct. Inventoriéz au dessoubz du seing vingt six.
| AN ET/LVX/161 | 1598 datté du vingtiesme juillet audit an mil Vc iiixx xviii (1598), | Jacques Duclos et Jacques de Sanlecque | Item, ung cahier de papier contenant quatre fueilles de papier attachées ensemble. Dont les six premiers fueilletz sont escriptz entierement et presque la moicté du septiesme, datté du vingtiesme juillet audit an mil Vc iiixx xviii (1598), signé Jacques Duclos et Jacques de Sanlecque, contenat la description et prisée par euxx faicte des matrices, moulles, poinçons et autres ustancilles servans a la fonte de lettres dimprimeries, trouvéz apres le decez dudit deffunct. Inventoriéz audessoubz des seings vingt sept conté lesquelles descriptions lesditz Lebe et Andrenas nont voulu estre escriptes par .... et se sont absentéz...... Inventoriéz toutes lesquelles matrices, marchandises, papiers et .. livres, lesdits Lebe et Andrenas nont voulu estre mis . par ...... au present inventaire et se sont contentéz que desdites descriptions et prisées soient ainsi inventoriéez/. Lesquelles esté paraffées par ledit le Noir notaire, en la fin des susdites pages. Lesdits Lebé et Andrenas ....................... a cause des successions de feuz M° Nicolas Lambert et Margueritte (illisible)

La quatriesme partie et portion dune maison assise a rue Ma...... parolles. 

Item une maison assisse es fauboulx Notre Dame des Champs, ou souloit pendre pour enseigne "les VerdzGallandz".

Item une arpen de prey xxx prins en une piece contenant quatre arpons.

Item la moicté dun pré contenant ung arpen, nommé le pré Saint Martin.

Item, ung arpen dix neuf perches de terre.
<table>
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<th>Source</th>
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<th>Notaries or signatories</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AN ET/LVX/161</td>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Jehan Carbon</td>
<td>Item, ung cahier de papier contenant huict feuilletz escriptz, escriptz fort prez et quelque peu sur le neufieme, signé sur iceluy Jehan Carbon, en datte du sixiesme jour de aoust mil Vc iiii xiii (1598) contenant l'inventaire par luy mené, description...... (trop pale, illisible) . et estimation faicte par ledit Jehan Carbon de tous les livres trouvéz apres le decez dudit defunct, inventoriés sur ledit neufviesme feuillet, audessouz dudit seing vingt cinq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archives nationales,</td>
<td>14 Juillet 1598</td>
<td>Inventaire après deces</td>
<td>Les Le Bé sont sans doute plus riches que Robert Estienne, au moins en propriétés. Sur les niveaux de fortune, voir: P. Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs... 1901, p. 154-155, achats de plusieurs maisons par les Le Bé: montant à comparer avec les legs et sommes variées que je cite dans mon article sur Garamont (Mélanges Henri-Jean Martin).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Bé</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Mosley list 2011</td>
<td>c. 1599</td>
<td></td>
<td>7. The Le Bé–Moretus collection of fragments c. 1599 Guillaume II Le Bé sent these annotated examples of printing in some of the types for which the foundry had materials to Jean Moretus, son-in-law of Christophe Plantin (d. 1589). The notes give the names of the punchcutters. They were reproduced in Type specimen facsimiles II: reproductions of Christopher Plantin’s Index sive specimen charac-terum, 1567, and Folio specimen of c. 1585, together with the Le Bé–Moretus specimen c. 1599; with annotations by H. D. L. Vervliet and Harry Carter (London, 1972). Location of originals: Museum Plantin–Moretus, Antwerp. Inserted in a volume (No. 153) of the archives. And photocopy in BnF</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Guillaume II</td>
<td>B.N. M.F. 11, 692 21, 872</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>type founder and paper</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>merchant opened a shop</td>
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<td>in the rue Jean de</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Beauvais and joined the</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Confrererie de St. Jean</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 septembre 1600</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guillaume Le Be (sic)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(imprimeur et fondeur de lettres) paye la taxe d'ouverture de boutique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.N. M.F. 11, 692</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Guillaume II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From SM’s notes in CU Library</td>
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<td>type founder and paper</td>
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<td>merchant opened a shop</td>
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<td>in the rue Jean de</td>
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<td>Beauvais and joined the</td>
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<td>Confrererie de St. Jean</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jean l’Evangeliste</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.N. MF 22, 117</td>
<td>1614</td>
<td>Three letters by G. II</td>
<td>Lettres escrites par les fondeurs de ceste cille de Paris pour la conservation du monopole fait entre eux, au</td>
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<tr>
<td>From SM’s notes in CU Library</td>
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<td>to typefounders in Lyons</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Notaries or signatories</td>
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<tr>
<td>Library Mentioned in BnF 22117 (Inventaire de la collection Anisson)</td>
<td>and Geneva asking them not to sell good type to Jacques Aumont</td>
<td>prejudice des marchands libraires et imprimeurs de ceste ville; Première lettre: « Au sire Pierre Mourier, maistre fondeur de lettres, demeurant a Genève, signée Le Be (sic) Paris 16 Novembre 1614; Deuxièmme: Au Sire Denis de Lorne, maistre fondeur de lettres pour l'imprimerie, demeurant rue Paradis, à Lion, signée Jacques de Sanleccque, Guillaume Le Bé et Jean Meijat (meme date); Troisieme: Au Sire Sébastien Bouillant, a Lyon, signée Le Bé (meme date)</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Mosley list of documents February 2011</td>
<td>c.1617</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>1. Le Bé Inventory c.1617 Compiled by Guillaume II Le Bé about 1617. There is a reference by Jean-Pierre Fournier (l'aîné) to an inventory of the Le Bé foundry in his possession, compiled by Guillaume II Le Bé, that, if it ran to 32 or more pages and in-cluded the text transcribed below, was clearly far more extensive than the document of 1730, of which it was presumably an edited summary. Fournier l’aîné wrote (Mercure de France, mai 1756, p. 123–4), ‘Guillaume le Bé vendit à Plantin des frappes de ses caracteres Hébreux, mais il en garda les poinçons; ce qui se justi-fie premiérement par l’inventaire de la fonderie de G. Le Bé, dressé par son fils, dans lequel inventaire on lit ces mots page 32, &amp; en la même boîte (ou est l’Hébreu canon) est l’Hébreu Parangon: il est gros comme celui de la Bible in-4o de Robert Estienne: &amp; celui-ci est celui de la grande Bible de Plantin, mon Pere lui en ayant vendu une frappe. La Bible de M. le Jay en est imprimée. Cette frappe ci est garnie de points et accens... Les poinçons sont cé-ans. On voit par cet inventaire dont je suis possesseur, que les poinçons des caracteres Hé-breux qui servirent à imprimer la belle Bible de Plantin, ne furent point vendus à Plantin, mais qu’ils passèrent au fils de Guillaume Le Bé, aussi bien que tout le fonds de Garamond.’ Location of original: unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mosley list of documents February 2011</td>
<td>c. 1617 transcribed and edited 1730</td>
<td>2. Le Bé Inventory c.1617, transcribed and edited 1730 A summary transcription of 8 pages made from the inventory originally compiled by Guillaume II Le Bé in about 1617 (See above) for insertion in the sale document of the Le Bé foundry to Jean-Pierre Fournier, signed and dated 23 December 1730. This inventory was published as: L’inventaire de la fonderie Le Bé, selon la transcription de Jean Pierre Fournier. Paris: Imprimé à petit nombre pour André Jammes, 1957. 30 pp. Foreword, ‘The inventory of the Le Bé foundry’, pp. 7–17, by Stanley Morison. (Documents typographiques français, I.) In the printed text of 1957, there are no reproductions of the original document, except for one paragraph with signatures appended which is reproduced in line on p. 28. The wording of the paragraph is not transcribed. Morison wrote in his foreword (p. 11), that ‘the Deed of Sale was signed before the notary Laideguive, on 20 December 1730, by Angélique and Marie Le Bé, and Mme Veuve Fournier, née Guion, who signed as guarantor in behalf of her son. Annexed to the Deed of Sale is a priced inventory of the punches, matrices,</td>
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</table>
moulds, etc. which comprised the property. This is the document which it is now our business to introduce to the reader.

The signatures reproduced on p. 28, which also appear elsewhere in the document, appear to be: Angelique Le Bé, M M (for Marie Marthe) Le Bé, Anne Catherine Diou veuve Fournier, Jean Pierre Fournier, and the two lawyers’ signatures, one of which is illegible and the other is the name given by Morison (presumably following Abbot) as ‘Laideguive’. The family name of Anne Catherine, veuve Fournier, was given by Morison in his introduction of 1957 as ‘Guion’. Olive Abbot, who was searching in Paris for materials on Morison’s behalf, gave it as ‘Dion’ in a letter to Morison dated 25 March 1950, Morison Papers, ULC. Jammes also queried Morison’s spelling in a letter. The written date appears to be ‘Ce vingt trois Decembre mil sept cent trente’.

Morison’s introduction states that the inventory ‘consists of seven leaves [in fact it comprises eight pages] of 18th century current script which purport to list the contents of the foundry as they existed at the time of the transfer from the Le Bé sisters to Jean Pierre Fournier’, and that ‘there can be no doubt ... that the particulars [of] the Le Bé – Fournier inventory of 1730 are based upon an original inventory drawn up by Le Bé II’. The complete document has sixteen pages, consisting of an eight-page legal contract relating to the sale of the foundry written on two folded sheets of stamped paper with a leaf size of 33 × 22 cm, and, inserted in the centre of the contract, the eight-page inventory, written on four leaves, comprising two folded sheets of a larger unstamped paper, sheet size 40 × 50 cm, which gives a leaf size of 40 × 25 cm. Each leaf has been folded at the sides and bottom in order to align with those of the contract and the other documents in the liasse or bundle.

An unsigned note in French on p. 29, added by the publisher (André Jammes), begins thus: ‘Dans cette transcription, l’orthographe fantaisiste a été scrupuleusement respectée. Certainement Saint Augustin romain « pour Cuime » veut dire « povre cuivre », ... Nous avons attaché beaucoup d’importance au dessin des signes qui servaient à marquer les boîtes des matrices ou de poinçons ...’

The signs are carefully and professionally redrawn and reproduced in line. The printed text does not reproduce the capitalisation and punctuation or even the wording of the original document with complete fidelity.

Photographic copies of original: Photographs were made by JM of the whole document in August 2010. The current location of the photographic copy used for the printed transcription of 1957 is not known.

Location of original: Minutier central des Notaires, Étude lxv, liasse 229. The unsigned note on p. 29 of the printed edition, which has been quoted in all later studies, gives this erroneous côté: Minutier central des Notaires, Étude lxv, liasse 324. (This liasse or ‘bundle’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stephen Lubell thesis final May 2014
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notaries or signatories</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archives nationales Vé96. From Paul-Marie Grinevald</td>
<td>30 mai 1634</td>
<td>Arrêt du Conseil d'État privé ordonnant à Guillaume Le Bé, fondeur de lettres, de déposer les matrices des « Grecs du Roi » entre les mains de François de Thou, conseiller de Sa Majesté &amp; grand maître de sa Bibliothèque.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mosley list of documents February 2011</td>
<td>1643?</td>
<td>4. Le Bé Memorandum Published as: Sixteenth century French typefounders: the Le Bé memorandum. Edited by Harry Carter, with a foreword by Stanley Morison. Paris: Privately printed for André Jammes, 1967. (Documents typographiques français, III.) On pages 6 and 7 of Carter's Introduction there is the following description of the document, apparently based on the photographs made for Morison (See below): “Four different handwritings occur in the 13 pages written on 7 sheets of paper (335 × 220 mm Half sheets of Teillere), except the last two, which are half as long. The penultimate leaf is written on one side only. (I have not been able to see the original. The paper used for the continuation might help to date it.) One is the semi-Gothic Ronde used for the 7½ pages of the Memorandum proper. On these pages is the text composed professionally (and quite probably) in 1643 by someone who refers to Guillaume Le Bé as his father. The hand is the copying hand of Guillaume II Le Bé or, perhaps more likely, of an amanuensis to whom he dictated. A second hand, a sixteenth-century Gothic cursive, is responsible only for a marginal note on page 8 about the excellent moulds made by Jean Le Sueur. It is found also on some specimens of type at the Museum Plantin–Moretus in explanatory notes referring to Guillaume I Le Bé as ‘feu mon père’ and assignable to correspondence between Guillaume II Le Bé initiated in 1598. This is the ordinary business hand of Guillaume II Le Bé. A third hand contributes the continuation of the Memorandum from the point where the first leaves off half-way down page 8. It also added interlinear and marginal glosses on pages 5, 6, and 7. This same hand transcribed the Inventory of the typefoundry and added the signature of Jean-Pierre Fournier to the notary’s act ceding the property in it to him. This undistinguished example of the Italienne bâtarde as it was practised early in the eighteenth century must, therefore, be attributed to Fournier l'Aîné in his prime. A fourth hand, more crabbed, occurs in marginal comments on pages 7 and 8. It resembles one found in marginal notes on specimens of types offered by Fournier l'Aîné which were among the papers of Jean Anisson. This I take to be the writing of Fournier l'Aîné in later life. He died in 1783.” The quality of Carter’s transcription as printed in 1967 is very high. In his foreword to the Inventaire (1957) Morison wrote, ‘I am further indebted to M. de Vaux for permitting me to examine and to photograph for purposes of publication, the Le Bé II memorandum.’ Photographic copies of original: The set of...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
photographs that Morison used and from which (or copies of them) Carter made his transcription were returned to André Jammes in Paris. Jammes passed them to JM in December 2010.

**Location of original:** Uncertain. In 1957 the document was in the possession of Jacques Guérin de Vaux. Perhaps it still belongs to descendents of the Fournier family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
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<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dic. His.</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>Guillaume II, died in Paris about that date.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.N. M.F. 21, 819 From SMs notes in CU Library</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Guillaume III (presumed son of above) was given charge of punches and matrices in place of Robert Estienne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dic. His.</td>
<td>1685</td>
<td>Guillaume III died leaving only daughters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mosley list of documents February 2011</td>
<td>16 September 1685</td>
<td>3. Le Bé Inventory 1685</td>
<td>Dated 16 September 1685. Included with the inventory of the property at his death of Guillaume III Le Bé. Of this document, which came to light after the publication of the Inventaire in 1957, Carter wrote (Le Bé Memorandum, introduction, p. 13), 'The inventory of 1685, interesting as the last description of the collection made by Guillaume II Le Bé of the work of the most famous artists in letter-cutting, discloses few changes in the stock of the foundry since the second Guillaume made his inventory some sixty years before.' JM has copies of manuscript and typescript transcripts of the inventory made by Harry Carter, and also a comparison made by Carter of the contents listed in the two inventories. <strong>Photographic copies of original:</strong> Photographs were made by JM in August 2010. The original set of copies used by Carter and others has not been located. <strong>Location of original:</strong> Archives nationales, Paris, Minutier central des Notaires, Étude lxx, liasse 182.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>Guillaume III's widow died and Jean Claude Fournier managed the foundry on behalf of the daughters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXV 229</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Le Bé Inventory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Jean Pierre Fournier, eldest son of above bought the Le Bé foundry from the daughters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventaire après décès de Pierre-Simon Fournier AN ET/LXIV/400</td>
<td>14 Octobre 1768</td>
<td>Inventory of Jean-Pierre Fournier's foundry</td>
<td>This inventory was made at the request of his son (?) Jean-Pierre Fournier - also listed as a graveur et fondeur de caractères d'imprimerie. The total inventory comprises 50 pages, in the usual format and style. At end are 11 pages comprising the inventory of the Foundry, estimated by Jean de Sanlecque and Vincent Denis Cappon. The names and estimations are given, and there is a set of Hebrew punches - no size given however.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Le Bé Chronological List
(Typewritten notes by Miss O. A. Abbott, Stanley Morison’s researcher in Paris for over 20 years. Cambridge University Library, Morison Papers XXVI.3) 887

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1525</td>
<td>Guillaume I born at Troyes (Champagne) son of a paper merchant known as Guillaume l'aîné</td>
<td>Dic. His. Lalanne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1539/40</td>
<td>Guillaume I apprenticed to Robert Estienne</td>
<td>De Vaux MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1541</td>
<td>First date on Guillaume I’s Livret Typo.</td>
<td>De Vaux MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1542</td>
<td>Started to cut Hebrew type</td>
<td>De Vaux MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1545</td>
<td>Apprenticeship ended. Left for Venice and started to work for himself</td>
<td>De Vaux MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1549</td>
<td>Guillaume I - ninth Hebrew for Garamond?</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>Guillaume I was present at the Jubilee in Rome and returned to Paris via Geneva after visiting his old master</td>
<td>De Vaux MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1551</td>
<td>On his return from Italy Guillaume I. lived for a year chez Garamond, Maison de la Boule, rue des Carmes. Then he took up bookselling and the paper trade.</td>
<td>De Vaux MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1552</td>
<td>Guillaume I established as independent craftsman and founder</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1552</td>
<td>His father Guillaume l’aîné bought two adjoining houses in the rue St Jean de Beauvais</td>
<td>A. Nat. S-1652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1554</td>
<td>Music types cut for Robert Ballard and Adrien Le Buy (?) (Musique grosse, grosse tablature and petite tablature)</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>Cut double canon Hebrew for Plantin</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1561</td>
<td>Le Bé, Jean le Sueur drew up the inventory of Garamond’s foundry, of which André Wechel was the executor. Plantin bought the matrices and moulds;</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

887 Dic. His. = Marie Ludovic Chrétil Lalanne, Dictionnaire historique de la France, etc (Paris: Hachette, 1877) and De Vaux MSS = The original manuscript of the Le Bé Memorandum, owned by M. Jacques Guérin de Vaux, a descendant of the Fournier family.
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<th>Date</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1565</td>
<td>Le Bé cut a very small Hebrew for Plantin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1592</td>
<td>Last date in Guillaume I's livret Typographque</td>
<td>X-1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Guillaume I died in Paris</td>
<td>Dic. His.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Guillaume II typefounder and paper merchant opened a shop in the rue Jean de Beauvais and joined the Confrererie de St. Jean l'Evangeliste</td>
<td>B.N. M.F. 11, 692 21, 872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td>Three letters by G. II to typefounders in Lyon and Geneva asking them not to sell good type to Jacques Aumont</td>
<td>B.N. MF 22, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643</td>
<td>Guillaume II wrote his MSS re printers</td>
<td>De Vaux MSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650</td>
<td>Guillaume II, about that date, died in Paris</td>
<td>Dic. His.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Guillaume III (presumed son of above) was given charge of punches and matrices in place of Robert Estienne</td>
<td>B.N. M.F. 21, 819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685</td>
<td>Guillaume III died leaving only daughters</td>
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<tr>
<td>1707</td>
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<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Jean Pierre Fournier, eldest son of above bought the Le Bé foundry from the daughters</td>
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Appendix F: Transcription of the *Inventaire après décès* of Guillaume I Le Bé of 1598
(Archives nationales de France, Côte: ET/LVX/161)

The transcription of this document was undertaken by PaléoFGW (http://www.francegenweb.org/) and in particular by Mme. M-Françoise who was able to decipher and transcribe a particularly difficult text. The Transcription was produced and authorised by FranceGenWeb.org. The line numbers relate to the original documents as transcribed including crossed out or deleted lines. The original orthography has been retained with some explanatory notes added. The footnotes with explanatory notes for old French terms were added by the transcriber.

888 The original of this document is available at 'Inventory After Death (ET/XLV/161)' (<http://www.geneanet.org/archives/actes/view/?idacte=131663&p=1> [Accessed 6 November 2013]
1. Lan mil cinq cens quatre vingtz dix huict, le mardy avant midy,
2. premier jour de juillet et autres jours ensuivans, a la
3. requete dhonnorables personnes Guillaume Lebé \marchant bourgeois/ en son
   nom,
4. Claude Andrenas, marchans, bourgeois de Paris ....
5. a cause de Madeleine Lebé sa femme et de Marie le Bé
6. fille usante et joyssante de ses droictz. Lesdits Guillaume, Madele[ine]
7. et Marie Lebé frere et soeurs, enfans et habiles a eulx dire,
8. porter et nommer heritiers de defunctz honorables personnes
9. Guillaume Lebé marchant et bourgeois de Paris et de Loyse
10. Lambert, jadis sa femme, par nous Jehan Lusson et Nico[las]
11. Le Noir notaires du roy notre Sire en son Chatelet de Paris,
12. faict inventaire et description de tous et chacuns les
13. meubles, ustanciles dhostel, marchandise, vaisselle,
14. debtes et creances, ...., tiltres, papiers et enseignement
15. demeurez du decez et trespas dudit defunct Guillaume Lebé leur
16. pere. Lequel seroit decedé depuis ung mois en ca, ayant
17. survescu ladite defuncte Loise Lambert par longue espace
18. de temps, sans avoir faict aucun inventere. Iceulx biens
19. trouvez et estant en la maison en laquelle \iceulx desfunctz/ demouroient
20. et ou ilz seroient decedez, assise au cloz Bruneau,
21. monstréz, enseignéz et mis en evidence par lesdites partyes
22. et par Guillemette Chauvet servante dudit defunct qui a xxx
23. tousjours demeuré en ladite maison, apres serment par eulx
24. et chacun deulx faict. Et est iceulx notaires, diceulx biens
25. monstrer et enseigner sans aucuns en cacherne latitter
26. sur les peynes de lordonnance que leur ont esté dictes
27. et exprimés,\iceulx biens/ priséz et estiméz. Scavoir les meubles et
28. ustanciles dhostel, par Jacques Moze sergent priseur,
29. vendeur de biens meubles au Chatelet, prevosté et universitez
Page 2
1. de Paris. La marchandise xxx de matrices, moulles (+)
2. Marchant papetier a Paris, aussi apres serment et eulx
3. et chacun deulx faict, de tous et chacun icedux biens priser et
4. estimer en leur conscience, sans faveur aucune a leur esgard, au cours
5. quilz ont de present. Ce fait, les ont priséz et estiméz aux sommes
6. de deniers et en la forme et maniere que ensuit.
7. Signatures
Guillaume Le Bé (II)
Andrenas Claude
Marie Le Be
Lemoine?
Cisbourg?

8. (+) p????.... et avec ustancilles
9. servant a lart de fondeur de
10. lettres d'imprimerie, par Jacques Delos et Jacques
11. Senlogne Maitres fondeurs de lettres
12. a Paris. Et la marchandise de
13. la Librairie.... xxxxxxxxxxxxx par
14. xxxxx Jehan Corbon marchant libraire.
15. La marchandise de papier par Lois Rica.
16. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
17. 18. Premierement a esté trouvé en la cave dudit hostel
19. huit cens -------- de thuille de grand moule\textsuperscript{889}
20. vieille, prisé le millier six escuz, cy iii (4) escuz 8 solz tournoiz
21. Item, une xxx voie \textsuperscript{890} de buches de .......... de bois de chesne
22. prisés ii (2) escuz xx(20) solz tz
23. Item, ung chantier \textsuperscript{891} et \ trois/ boutz de chantier de bois de
24. chesne vieulx, avecq deux demy muidz ( en marge: et ung petit bary a
verguz) a gueule baye \textsuperscript{892} priséz
25. ensemble xxx (30) solz tz
26. Item, ung cent de fagotz ou environ, avecq quelque peu de souches
27. de bois de chesne, prisé ensemble i (1) escu xxx solz tz
28. Item, a esté trouvé en une cuisine de apertenance dudit hostel,

\textsuperscript{889} de 13 pouces de long dont un millier couvre 7 arpents de toit, alors que celles de petit moule ont 9 à
10 pouces de long
\textsuperscript{890} 2 stéres = 1 cubic metre
\textsuperscript{891} support de tonneau
\textsuperscript{892} qui n’a qu’un fond, utilisé debout
29. quarante ais 893 de bois de chesne, hestre et autre bois de plusieurs
30. grandeurs, prisés ensemble cinq escuz, cy v escus
31. Item, une huche de bois blanc servant a pestrir xxxxxxxxxxxx,
32. ung sousflet, ung boisseau servant a mesurer grains, \deux/ petits
33. barylz, quatre bouteilles de verre couvertes dozier, une
34. lanterne garnie de corne, une petitte eschelle de bois,
35. deux paniers dozier, deux sallieres de bois et ung picotin 894 dozier,
36. prisé le tout ensemble xL (40) solz tz
37. Item, une petite paire de chesnetz de fer, garnye chacune de leurs pommes de
38. cuivre
39. et de leur feu 895 deux chevrettes, 896 une cremaillere, deux petits contre rotiers
40. et ung petit trepier ... le tout de fer, prisé le tout ensemble i ecu xx(20) solz tz
41. Item, en une bouticque joignant ladite cuisine, a esté trouvé deux petittes xxxxx
42. homoirres servants a mettre livres, de bois de haistre,
43. prisées ensemble xL(40) solz tz
44. Item, quatorze grandz ais servans a mettre livres, de bois de haistre et
45. autre bois, priséz ensemble ii (2 écus)
46. Item, une eschelle de bois blanc, deux petitz baris, deux hottes, une
47. petite tinette, \quatre /panniers, ung picotin. Le tout dozier. Ung rouet,
48. ung devidouer, une paire de tournettes 897 et ung petit esgoutoir dozier .
49. Prisé le tout ensemble, trente solz xxx (30) solz tz
50. Item en la sallette dudit hostel a esté trouvé ung grand banc a hault
51. dossier et a coffre xxx fermant a clef, garny de son marche pied,
52. prisé i écu xL (40) solz tz
53. Item une paire de chesnetz de fer a ruelle et contre rottiers garnis
54. de leur pommes de cuivre, une cramailliere et ung accoste-pot.898 Le
55. tout de fer prisé ensemble i écu xx (20) solz tz
56. Item, ung tappis de cheminée, contenant deux aulnes ou environ a menue
57. verdure, bestes et oyseaux, prisé avecq ung orellier
58. de tapisserie xLv (45) solz tz

893 planche
894 panier
895 ensemble de pince, pelle, etc
896 trépied à braise
897 bobines
898 demi-cylindre pour repousser les braises et maintenir un pot dans l’atre
24. Item, une paire dhomoires de bois de chesne, fermant a quatre
guychet et a clef, prisé ii écus xL (40) solz tz
25. Item, ung buffet de bois de chesne fermant a ung guychet et a
clef, garny de sa layette 899 coulisse, xxx tel quel,
26. prisé xL (40) solz tz
27. Item deux chaises caquetoires, 900 deux placets 901 et une autre chaise
28. basse garnie de tapisserie facon de drap dor, prisés
29. ensemble xxxv (35) solz tz

Page 4
1. Item une table de bois de chesne ploiante, assise sur son treteau, une
2. forme longue servant a sasseoir a table, trois chaises et trois
3. scabeaulz de bois de noier et chesne, prisé le tout ensemble iii (3) escuz sol
4. Item une autre petite paire homoires de bois de noier, a quatre guichetz
5. fermans a clef, prisée ii (2)écuz
6. Item ung tableau peinct sur toille, sans bordeure, 902 ou est depeincte la Nativité
de Notre Seigneur, ung damier garny de ses dames, prisé ensemble L (50) solz tz
7. En la cuisine dudit hostel joignant ladite sallette, a esté trouvé une
8. paire dhomoires de bois de chesne a quatre estages et a deux
9. guychetz, servans a mettre vaisselle, priséz i écu
10. Item ung verrier de bois de chesne fermant a deux guichetz, a jour,903
11. une selle 904 basse, ung petit placet, ung ais/ et trois boutz d'ais
12. de bois de chesne, ung petit rondeau,905 une jatte de
13. bois, ung autre verrier et une cage servant de garde
14. manger, prisé le tout ensemble xxx (30) solz tz
15. Item une fontaine de cuivre jaune tenant trois sceaulz ou environ, garnie
de son couvercle et robinet, prisée i écu xL (40) solz tz
16. Item, deux coquemars 906 de franc cuivre, tenant lung une carte 907 et
17. lautre trois demy septiers,908 priséz ensemble ung écu i écu

899 petit tiroir pour cacher des papiers
900 chaise basse à haut dossier = causeuses
901 tabourets
cadre
902 cadre
903 ajouré
904 banc
905 banc
906 rond-d'eau = baquet
907 ± 15 litres
908 1demi sétier = 0, 25 litre
20. Item, huit chodrons de plusieurs grandeurs, garnis de leurs cercles et anses de fer, prisé ensemble i écu
21. Item, douze chandeliers de cuivre tant grandz que petitz, prisé ensemble i écu
22. Item une bassinoire, une couloire, ung poislon, ung petit chodron sans ance, (en marge: une petite poisle) et quatre reschaulx, le tout
23. de cuivre, prisé ensemble ung escu dix solz i écu x solz
24. Item, sept potz de fer de plusieurs grandeurs, garnys de leur couvercle, prisé ensemble xLv (45) solz tz
25. Item, quatre poesles et ung poeslon, six cuilliers, quatre broches, deux gryot?, deux leschesfrites et ung martinet 910
26. le tout en fer, prisé ensemble ung escu, cy i escu sol
27. Item, en potz, platz, escuelles et autres ustanciles d'hostel, le tout daitin, 911
28. a esté trouvé la quantité de cent soixante et dix sept livres, prisé la livre trois solz tz, pour ce item: viii (8) escus Li (51) solz
29. En la premiere chambre dudit hostel et en laquelle ledit defunct est decédé, a esté trouvé une grande couche de bois de noyer a hault dossier
30. et pilliers tournéz canneléz, ung lict et traversin garny de plumes, une couverture de castelogne verd, telle quelle, ung ciel de tapisserie verte, blanche et rouge, trois custodies et une contenance (housse?) de serge brodé, garnies de passementerie et molletz de laine verte, blanche et rouge
31. de serge brodé, garnies de passementerie et molletz de laine blanche et verte, avecq une paillasse de canevas, prisé le tout
32. ensemble, douze escuz sol, cy xii (12) escuz sol
33. Item, ung buffet de bois de noyer fermant a deux guichetz et a clefz, garny de ses deux laiettes coulissant, vermoulu, prisé deux escuz, cy ii écu
34. Item, une paire de petitz chenestz de fer, garnis chacun de leur pomme

909 passoire
910 bougeoir à accrocher au mur
911 d'étain
912 laine tissée en Catalogne, d'où le nom
913 en l'état
914 rideaux de lit
915 franges
916 tiroir
18. de cuivre, avecq une paire de molletz,\textsuperscript{917} priséz ensemble xxv(25) Solz
19. Item, ung tableau ou est depeinct ung personnage, sur bois
20. garny de sa bordure \textsuperscript{918} dorée, prisé 1 escu
21. Item, ung tapis de buffet de drap verd, contenant ung aulnée
22. ou environ et demye aulne de large ou environ, tel quel
23. prisé xxx solz tz
24. Item \textit{\huict/} chaises caquetoires et trois placetz, couvertes de
25. tapisserie, priséz ensemble deux escuz ung tiers, cy ii escuz xx solz tz

Page 6
1. Item une table de bois de noier contenant quatre piedz de long ou environ, assise
2. sur deux treteaux, une chaise servant a sasseoir en table, garnie de
3. maroquin de Levant, a cloudz doréz et \textit{\quatre/} scabeaux aussy
4. de bois de noier, prisé le tout ensemble ii (2) escus xL(40) solz
5. Item, ung tapis de table contenant ung aulne et demie ou environ,
6. prisé i escu
7. Item, ung petit tableau ou est depeinct sur bois la Nativité
8. de Notre Seigneur, garny de sa bordure dorée, avecq ung autre viel
9. tableau ou est depeinct sur toille le Presche St Jehan Baptiste,
10. sans bordeure, une petitte laiette de bois blanc, une
11. petitte paire dhomoires a quatre estages servant a mettre
12. livres, peincte de verd, ung petit bureau de bois de
13. chesn et une petite selle
14. basse de bois de haistre, prisé i escu
15. En une autre petite chambre joignant, a esté trouvé ung grand
16. coffre de bois de chesne, contenant six piedz de long ou environ,
17. fermant a une serrure et a clef, prisé i escu xx (20) solz tz
18. Item, ung autre cosfre de bois de chesne, contenant trois piedz de
19. long ou environ, fermant a une serrure a clef, deux chaises
20. caquetoires et ung scabeau aussi de bois de chesne,
21. prisé le tout ensemble i escu
22. Item, une couchette de bois de noier a hault dossier et
23. pilliers tournéz, ung lict et traversin de plumes,
24. une couverture de Casteloigne brodé, telle quelle,

\textsuperscript{917} pincettes
\textsuperscript{918} son cadre
25. ung ciel de tapisserie a locange, 919 trois custodes
26. et une contenance de serge verde et rouge et de
toille rouge xxxxx et une paillasse de canevas,
28. prisé le tout ensemble iii (4) escuz sol
29. Item, une grande custode de serge verde et jaulne et
30. quatre oreillers garniz de plume, tant grandz que petitz,
31. priséz ensemble i escu

Page 7
1. Item, ung pett verrier a deux estages, de bois de hesne, une petitte
2. selle de bois de noier tourné, une carte de toile ou est depeincte
3. la ville de Troye, ung autre tableau ou est peint sur toile Notre
4. Seigneur en croix, sans bordure, deux petites albalestres, 920 une
5. pistolle, 921 ung fourniment, 922 ung bandage dalbalestre xxxxxxx
6. xxxxxx et une partuisane, 923 le tout tel quel, prisé le tout
7. ensemble i escu xx solz tz
8. Item, une grande couche de bois de noier, a hault dossier et pilliers
9. tournez, ung lict et traversin garni de plume, une couverture
10. de castelougne \blanche/; ung ciel de tapisserie a roze et
11. escailles, trois custodes et une contenance de serge
12. bleue et jaulne et une paillasse de canevas, prisé
13. le tout ensemble viii (8) escuz
14. Item, ung grand bancq a hault dossier et a couche, garny de
15. son marchepied, prisé i escu sol
16. Item, ung cosfre de bois de chesne de trois piedz et demy
17. de long ou environ, godronné, 924 prisé xxx (3) solz
18. En une petitte garderobbe joignant ladite petitte chambre, a esté
19. trouvé ung paire dhomoires de bois de chesne fermans
20. a trois guichetz et a clef, prisée L( 50) solz tz.
21. Item, ung xxxxxx lict et traverssin garny de plume,
22. couverture de drap couleur de minime 925 et une paillasse de

919 losange
920 arbalette
921 petite arquebuse
922 étui à poudre
923 halebarde
924 sculpté de plis arrondis, comme sur les colsfraises
925 gris très sombre, comme la robe des religieux Minimes
23. canevas, prisé le tout ensemble i escu
24. Item, ung viel petit coffre et une petitte table de noier servant
25. a manger enfans et quatre et quatre petitz boutz d'ais et ung baston
26. de vieillesse de Brezil 926 garny dyvoire, prisé le tout
27. ensemble xx solz tz
28. Item, en une autre chambre au dessus xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
29. xxxxxxxx a esté trouvé une table de bois de chesne
30. de quatre piedz de long ou environ, assise sur deux treteaux,

1. une chaise de bois de noier, servant a sasseoir a table, une
2. autre chaise de bois de chesne, percée et deux autres chaises
3. caquetoières (en marge: de chesne) dont lune couverte de tapisserie, prisé le tout
4. ensemble i escu xx(20) solz
5. Item, une grande table contenant huict piedz de long ou environ, sans treteaux
6. avec une grande ruele platte (en marge: une forme de bois de chesne servant a sasseoir a table) et une grande paire dhomoires
7. servant a mettre livres, a trois estages, prisé le tout ensemble i escu xv (15) solz
8. Item, ung buffet de bois de chesne fermant a deux guichetz
9. et a clef, garny de deux laiettes coulisses, tel quel
10. prisé ung escu, cy i escu sol
11. Item, une petite paire de chesnetz de fer, priséz xv(15) solz
12. Item, ung coffre de bois de chesne de quatre piedz de long
13. ou environ, fermant a clef, prisé xxx (30) solz
14. Item, une couchette de bois de noier, a hault dossier et pilliers
15. tournéz, une paillasse de canevas, ung lict et traversin
16. garny de plume, une couverture de castelougne rouge,
17. ung ciel, trois custodes et une contenance de serge rouge,
18. le tout tel quel, prisé ensemble iii (3) escuz xx (20) solz tz
19. Item, une autre couche de bois de noier a hault dossier et
20. pilliers tournéz, cannéléz, garniz de son enfonceure 927 de latte,
21. ung lict et traversin garny de plume, une couverture de
22. castelougne verde, ung ciel de tapisserie façon de drap
23. dor, garny de ses franges et crespine de laine blanche,

926 bois rouge originaire du Brésil
927 fond de lit
24. verde et rouge, trois custodes et une contenance de
25. serge verde, prisé le tout ensemble viii (8) escuz sol
26. Item, une grande couche de bois de chesne a hault dossier
27. et pilliers tournéz, par pieces, sans enfonceure, prisé
28. quarente solz, cy xL (40) solz
29. Item, deux boisseaux et demy de pois/, priséz
30. ensemble xxx (30) solz tz

Page 9
1. Item, ung tapis ou est peinct sur toile Notre Seigneur en croix et
2. autres figures, prisé i escu xxx (30) solz tz
3. Item, ung tableau peinct sur toille ou est depeincte l’Anonciation
4. Notre Dame xxxxx et ung autre viel tableau peinct sur toille i escu
5. Item, en une autre chambre a costé, a esté trouvé une table de
6. bois de chesne contenant six piedz de long ou environ, sise sur
7. deux treteaux, une selle servant a sasseoir a la porte
8. et trois ais, le tout de bois de chesne, prisé i escu
9. Item, au grenier dudit hostel a esté trouvé une table de bois
10. de chesne assise sur deux treteaux, contenant six piedz de
11. long ou environ, deux autres petittes tables aussi bois de
12. chesne, deux scabeaux, une autre grande table, ung ais
13. fort, de huict piedz de long, deux petittes homoires servant a
14. a metcre livres, faictes d’aix et deux petitz ais, prisé
15. le tout ensemble ii (2) escuz
16. Item deux ais de bois de chesne contenant douze piedz de long
17. ou environ, ung salloir garny de son couvercle, une cassa
18. de bois de haistre, prisé le t6ut ensemble xLv (45) solz
19. Item, une table quarrée servant a attacher contre la muraille,
20. de bois de haistre, ung berceau de bois de noier,
21. ung viel lendier,928 une paillasce de canevas et
22. \six/ pieces de corde servant a estendre du linge ( en marge: deux barres bois
    garnies et clouéz a hochetz)
23. prisé le tout ensemble i escu L(50) solz
24. Item, cinq futailles de demye queue 929 a geule baie, ung

928 grand chenet de cuisine
929 d’un demi muid
25. auge de bois servant au metier de masson et
26. plusieurs ferailles, prisé le tout ensemble i escu x(10) solz
27. Item, ung matelas de futaine 930 et toile, garnie de cotton,
28. prisé i escu
29. Item, ung viel chaudron rompu, ung paire de tenailles,
30. une paisle,931 ung moulinet 932 a hauser vin et ung vent 933
31. a vanner grains, prisé le tout ensemble xxx (30) souz tz

Page 10
1. Item une paire dhomoires de bois de haitre, faicte d'ais servant
2. a mectre livres, a quatre estages, et deux ais de cinq
3. pieces de long ou environ, prisé le tout ensemble
4. cinquante solz L (50) solz
5. Ensuivent les habitz.
6. Item une robbe de drap tané,934 fourrée, a usage dhomme, telle quelle,
7. prisée i escu
8. Item, deux juppes, lune de serge, lautre camelot noir, aussi
9. telz quelz, priséz ensemble xxx solz
10. Item, une autre vielje juppe de serge noire, ung pourpoinct
11. de serge noire, une paire de bas de chausses de felin
12. rouge et deux paires de chausses garnies de leur bas
13. de serge noire, le tout tel quel, prisé ensemble xxx solz
14. Item, ung saye 935 de veloux pelé, doublé de bouccasin 936
15. noir passementé de passement de soye noire, prisé i escu xx solz
16. Item, dune ostade937 a usage de femme doublée de toille
17. blanche par le corps, bandée allentour dune
18. petite bande de veloux, telle quelle, prisé xL(40) souz
19. Item, deux pentes 938 de ciel, de tapisserie en meme
20. verdure, bestes et oyseaux ( en marge: tel quelles), prisé i escu xx(20) solz
21. Item, une grande pente de ciel, de serge rouge

930 étoffe de fil et coton
931 pelle
932 treuil
933 ventoire
934 couleur tan = marron
935 casaque
936 doublure de coton
937 vetement d'étame ou serge
938 bande de retombée du ciel de lit
22. garnie de ses franges de laine, une grande
custode
garnie de ses molletz de laine, avec une petit
tapis de toile verte, imprimé et une autre pente
del, de tapisserie facion de locenge, prisé le tout ( en marge: tel quel)
ensemble i escu xx(20) souz
28. Item, ung sacq de toile de chanvre, dans lequel
a esté trouvé la quantité de neuf livres de fil
Page 11
1. de chanvre. dune bande de satin noir et arriere pointée, prisée iii escu
5. Item, ung manteau de serge de l... doublé par le collet
de veloux noir, aussi a usage dhomme, prisé ii escu xL( 40) solz
7. Item, ung autre manteau de drap noir, aussi a usage dhomme
et doublé par le collet de veloux noir, tel quel, prisé i escu xL solz
9. Item, une robbe a usage dhomme de serge d’Orleans, doublée
10. de reveche noire et par le collet, de veloux, prisée ii escuz xL(40) souz
11. Item, une robbe de drap noir garencé a jayx (en marge: a usage de femme) de
veloux et a
12. queue, doublée de taffetas par bas allentour et par le
corps de toille, prisée viii (8) escuz xx(20) solz
14. Item, une autre robbe de drap d’Usseau, noire, aussi a usage de
femme, a queue doublée de taffetas, bandée et
bordée allentour de veloux, avecq deux xxxx chenettes
de soie dessus et doublée an teste par dedans de toille
18. et reveche, prisée vi (6) escuz
19. Item, une paire de poignetz de veloux doublé de serge et
en partie de satin, prisée trois escuz, cy iii escuz
21. Item, ung tapis de drap de ver contenant deux aulnes
et demye, lité allentour, prisé ii escuz xx(20) solz
23. Item, ung autre tapis de table tapisserie contenant
deux aulnes et demye, facon de drap dor, prisé iii escuz
25. Item, ung drap de deux lais de toille jaulne imprimée,

939 hemp
940 étoffe de déchets de laine
941 traité à la garance pour briller comme du jais
942 Ussel
26. prisée trente solz, cy xxx solz
27. Item, une juppe de taffetas noir, a usage d'homme,
28. doublée de reveche noire, prisée ii escuz
Page 12
1. Item, deux paires de \mancherons/ a usage de femme. Lung
2. de veloux rouge et lautre de satin gris, deux bonnetz
3. quarréz descarlatte rouge, avecq ung petit bonnet (en marge: a enfant)
4. de veloux cramoisy, galonné de galon dor. Et ung
5. petit chapeau de castol 943 a usage d'homme, prisé le
6. tout ensemble i écu xxx(30) solz
7. Item, deux pentes de ciel de tapisserie rehaussée
8. de soie, a bestes et oyseaux et meme verdure,
9. garny de ses franges de laine et crespine et molletz
10. de soye jaulne, prisées iii (4) écuz
11. Item deux pentes de ciel, de tapisserie, faictz de
12. drap dor, non parfaict 944 ny garnie, avecq la garniture
13. dune grande chaise servant a sasseeoir a table et la
14. garniture dune autre chaire caquetoire. Ladite grande
15. chaise, réhaussée de soye, prisée ensemble iii (4) écuz
16. -Item, ung morceau de camelot xxx de Turquie, noir, contenant
17. quatre aulnes, prisé iii (3) écuz
18. Item, trois morceaux de veloux, lung noir a fondz de
19. satin figuré, contenant trois quartiers. Le deuxiesme
20. de veloux rouge cramoisy, contenant demye aulne
21. et le troisieme de veloux jaulne et bleu raié, contenant
22. demye aulne, prisé le tout ensemble ii écu xx solz
23. Item, ung morceau de taffetas, picqué de soye jaulne
24. sur du cotton, contenant ung aulne trois quartz, prisé i écu
25. Item, deux paires de brassieres de femmes en couches,
26. lune de taffetas blancq bandé de veloux blanc
27. par le collet et par les manches, lautre de taffetas
28. blanc picqué de soie sur du cotton, avecq deux pieces
29. de pareilles estoffes, aussi a usage de femme et

943 castor
944 finie

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30. un petit corps de satin de Burges, prisé le
31. tout ensemble xL (40) solz

Page 13
1. Item, un petit juppon de camelot de soye noire, garny de
2. ses manches de taffetas noir moucheté, avec un petit
3. hault de chausses, façon de greques de satin moucheté,
4. prisé xL (40) souz tz
5. Item, un tour de cheminée de tapisserie, façon de drap dor,
6. garny d’une petite frange de laine rouge, bleue et blanche,
7. avec une autre petite pente de ciel, de tapisserie
8. façon de locenge, garny d’une petite frange rouge, prisé
9. le tout ensemble xL (40) souz tz
10. Item, deux morceaux de drap verd, lung contenant un aulne et demy
11. et l’autre un aulne trois quarts de demye aulne de long
12. chacun ou environ, prisé ensemble i écu
13. Item, une paire de brassieres de creze blanc, a usage de
14. femme, bandé allentour de veloux blanc et doublée de fuze
15. blanche, prisée xxx solz
16. Item, un tour de cheminée de drap verd, contenant deux aulnes
17. ou environ et de demy quartier de large ou environ. Une coquille
18. de veloux cramoisy garnye de toille dor et de son .....
19. prisé ensemble xxx(30) solz
20. Item, un feutre de chapeau garny de son crespe et doublé de
21. reveche noire, avec deux calottes, lune de soye
22. noire et la autre de taffetas noir, tel quel,
23. prisé ensemble xx(20) solz
24. Item, un tapis de table, de drap verd, contenant deux
25. aulnes et un quart, prisé xL (40) solz
26. Item, une petite couverture de drap rouge, prisée xii (12) solz
27. Item, une robbe de drap tané, a usage d’homme, non doublé,
28. telle quelle, prisée xx(20) solz

Page 14
1. Ensuyvent les bagues et joyaulx,
2. vaiselle dargent, trouvées audit hostel

945 coiffure de femme
3. Premierement ung chappellet garny de sa croix et perle. Une
4. paire de brasselets. Une chesne, une oualle?, six
5. bouttons, huict marques, quatre anneaulx, lung ung
6. mariage auquel est enchassé un saphi et ung petit
7. rubi, lautre ung petit diamant, au troisiesme
8. ung petit rubi et au quatrieme une perle, avecq
9. une estruite.  
10. ung marc, trois gros, prisé lonce: huict
11. escus cinquante cinq solz tz Lxxiiii (79) écus xL (40) solz tz
12. Item, deux coupes, une petite escuelle et trois
13. fourchettes, le tout dargent et doré par les
14. garnisons. Huict cuilliers dont l’une xxx
15. ayant une ratissoire au bout, une monstre, trois
16. chaines de demy ceinct. Et ung hochet garny de
17. sa chaine et trois sonnettes (en marge: avec quinze petitz boutons). Le tout aussi
dargent
18. et poisant ensemble xxxxxxx six marcs moings
19. ung once, prisé le marc a six escus trente cinq
20. solz tz xxxviii (38) écus xL (40) solz

21.
22. Ensuit le linge
23. Et p... six chemises de toille de chanvre, a usage
24. dhomme dont quatre a colletz a freze et les autres deux
25. a bande, prisez ensemble i écu xL (40) solz

Page 15
1. Item, unze chemises dont huict de chanvre et trois
2. de lain, telles quelles, prisées ensemble i écu xx(20) solz
3. Item, six nappes de toille de chanvre, contenant chacune deux
4. aulnes de long, prisées ii écuz
5. Item, douze taies dorilliers de chanvre, telles quelles,
6. prisées ensemble xxv (25) solz
7. Item, dix serviettes de toille de chanvre, prisées L (50) solz tz
8. Item, trois serviettes de toille de lain ouvrées, telles

946 désigne un bijou
947 lin
948 ouvragées
9. quelles et trois couvrecheufz de toille de chanvre;
10. prisé ensemble xx solz
11. Item, dix sept mouchoirs de toille de chanvre et lain,
12. prisé ensemble xx solz
13. Item, quatorze coiffes de nuit, a usage d’homme,
14. quatre petites calottes de toille blanche et
15. trois frezes de colletz, le tout de toille de chanvre
16. a usage d’homme, prisé ensemble xxx solz tz
17. Item, une douzaine de draps de toille de chanvre
18. de cinq aulnes chacun, prisé ensemble vi (6) écus
19. Item, six autres draps de toille de chanvre, de deux
20. lays xxxxxxxx, noeufz, prisé iii écus xL (40) solz tz
21. Item, quatre autres draps de chanvre de deux
22. lays, prisé ensemble i écu xx solz
23. Item, une douzaine d’autre draps de toille de chanvre,
24. de lan et demy, telz quelz, prisé ensemble iii écu

Page 16
1. Item six autres drapz de toille de chanvre noeufz,
2. prisez ensemble ii écus xL (40) solz
3. Item, deux autre drapz de toille de chanvre, telz quelz,
4. de lay et demy, priséz xL (40 solz)
5. Item, ung manteau destuve de toille de chanvre
6. prisé xv (15) solz tz

7.
8. Du mercredy xveme jour dudit mois de juillet
9. continuant ledit inventaire, a esté par lesdits notaire
10. inventorié ce que dessous.
11. Item, six nappes de toille de chanvre de deux aulnes
12. de long, prisées ensemble ung escu et demy, cy i escu v (5) deniers
13. Item, trois autres bappes de deux aulnes de long ou
14. environ, aussi de toille de chanvre, prisées xxx solz
15. Item, deux douzaines de serviettes aussi de toille de chanvre,
16. prisées i écu xL (40) solz
17. Item, trois douzaines de serviettes aussi de toille de
18. chanvre, prisées ensemble ii écu
19. Item, deux douzaines de petites serviettes de toille de chanvre, telles quelles, prisées ensemble xL (40) solz
20. Item, une petite robe et trois paires de brassières de futaine, ung petit garde robe de toille de chanvre,
21. de futaine, trois chemises et brassières, deux tours 949
de laine et cinq tabliers enfant, huit bavettes
22. le tout de toille. Et trois petits bonnets de futaine
23. aussi servans a enfant, prisé le tout ensemble xL (40 ) solz
Page 17
1. Item, cinq chemises a brassieres de toille de chanvre a usage de femme, telles quelles et quatre couvrechefz aussi de toille de chanvre a usage de femme, avec une vieille chemise a homme,
2. le tout tel quel, prisé le tout ensemble xxx solz
3. Item quatre douzaines de chauffoirs de toille de chanvre, telz quelz,
4. prisé ensemble xxx solz
5. Item, deux autres douzaines de petitz chauffoirs aussi de toille de chanvre, telz quelz,
6. prisé ensemble viii solz
7. Item, une douzaine de touailles a mains 950 et six tabliers de cuisine
8. de toille de chanvre et estoupe, prisé ensemble xx(20) solz
9. Item, une piece de toille de chanvre, contenant vingt aulnes de long et aulnée de large, prisé l’aulnée xuxxxx douze solz,
10. pour ce, cy iii (4) escuz
11. Item, une piece de toille de chanvre, contenant ung aulne de long et ung aulne de large, prisée xvii (18) solz
12. Item, trois drapz de toille de chanvre de lay et demy. Et
13. deux autres de parelhe toille et de deux lays, priséz ensemble ii écu
14. Item, ung grand coutty 952 de lict, facon de Flandres, prisé avecq

949 écharpe
950 essuie mains
951 alése
952 coutil

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23. le coutty dung orillier iii écu
24. Item, cinq petites chemises a garçon et cinq a usage de fille, le tout de toille de chanvre, prisées ensemble i écu
25. Item, deux vieilles nappes, avec six ailezes et ung chauffoir, le tout de toille de chanvre et tel que, prisé ensemble xL solz
Page 18
1. Item, deux douzaine de serviettes ouvrées en pieces. Et une autre douzaine aussi de toille de lain et en pieces plaine,953 prisé le tout ensemble iii écu ...
4. Item, deux douzaines de serviettes de lain ouvrées, a demy
5. usées, prisées ensemble ii écu
6. Item, deux autres \douzaines/ de serviettes de lain, plaines, prisées ii écu xx solz
7. Item six nappes xxxxx de toille de lain dont cinq ouvrées et lautre plaine, prisé ensemble i écu xL (40) solz
9. Item, trois drapz de toille de lain, de douze lays chacun, priséz
10. ensemble iii écu
11. Item, trois nappes de toille de chanvre, noeufves, contenant chacune
des aulnes de long ou environ, prisées i écu
13. Item, six serviettes de lain, de collation,954 prisée ii écu
14. Item, trois autres serviettes de colleur, de lain, damassées avec
deux autres aussi de toille de lain plaine, prisées i écu
16. -Item quatre serviettes de buffet de toille de lain ouvrées
17. prisées ensemble xL (40) solz
18. Item, deux bavettes de lict, lune toille de lain et lautre de toille de chanvre, avecq deux taies dorillier aussi de
toil de lain, prisé le tout ensemble i écu
21. Item, cinq mouchoirs de toille de lain, arriere pointe 955 et a houpettes, avecq une couche . Une testiere, ung tour de de lange, le tout servant a porter enfans au fondz,956 prisé le tout ensemble xL (40) solz
25. Item quatre colletz de toille de lain plissez, sans freze. Ung autre aussi de toille de lain, ung mouchoir de toile

953 unie
954 de table
955 fichu d’épaules, pointu dans le dos
956 au fondement, aux fessas
27. de lain ouvragé de soie noire, prisé ensemble x solz
28. Item, quatre drapz de toille de chanvre, de deux layes, uséz
29. prisé ensemble ii écuz

Page 19
1. Item, quatre autres draps aussi de toille de chanvre, de lay x (dix)
2. et demy chacun, prisé ensemble i écu x deniers
3. Item, huict nappes de toille de chanvre, de plusieurs grandeurs,
4. prisé ensemble ii écuz x deniers
5. Item, six serviettes et une nappe de toille de lain, ouvrées,
6. prisé le tout ensemble ii écuz v (5) solz
7. Item, une nappe de gros lain et neuf serviettes aussi de
8. lain et chanvre, plaines et ouvrées, prisé le tout ensemble i écu x deniers
9. Item, ung morceau de thoile noeufve contenant ung aulne, avecq
10. trois serviettes aussi de thoille de chanvre et deux
11. couvrecthefz dhomme, prisé le tout ensemble xix (19)
12. Item, ung manteau destuve avecq une chemise a usage dhomme
13. le tout de thoille de chanvre et tel quel, prisé ensemble xx solz
14. Item, a esté trouvé en la bouticque dudit hostel ung contour de
15. bois de chesne de xxx trois piedz et demy de long ou environ,
16. garny de deux laieties coulisses, prisé i écu
17. Item, vingt quatre ajs servant a mettre livres et marchandise
18. de papier, tant grandz que petitz, prisé ensemble xx solz
19. Item, ung grand scabeau, une selle longue de bassin
20. avecq deux autres petites selles servant a sasseoir
21. aupres du feu, le tout de bois de chesne et haistre,
22. prisé le tout ensemble xv(15) solz
23. Item, deux ...baux servant a .........., ung grand
24. et ung petit, prisé ensemble xxv (25) solz
25.
26. Ensuivent les meubles trouvéz en une maison sise
27. au village de Jantilly lez Paris 957
28. Premierement une couche de bois de poirier a hault dossier et
Page 20
1. pilliers tournéz, une paillasse de cont..., une couverture de

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2. tapisserie en même broderie, ung ciel de thoile peincte au dessus,
3. garny de frange et de laine, trois custodes et une contenance de serge
4. jaulne, rouge et bleue, prisé le tout ensemble ii écuz
5. Item une table de bois de chesne, contenant trois piedz et demy de
6. long ou environ, assise sur sa chaise a coffre, deux formes
7. et deux scabeaux, aussi de bois de chesne servans a
8. sasseeoir a table, prisé le tout ensemble i écu xx solz
9. Item, ung grand banc servant a sasseeoir a table, garny de
10. sa barre. Une forme et une chaise, le tout de bois de
11. chesne, servant aussi a sasseeoir a table, prisé le
12. tout ensemble xL (40) escuz
13. Item, une petite dhomoire de chesne fermant a
14. deux guichetz et a clef . Une petite forme basse, ung
15. petit coffre et ung placet, le tout aussi de bois de
16. chesne, prisé le tout ensemble x L (40) solz
17. Item, une paire de chesvetz a ruelle et contre cottiers,958
18. ung gryot, une lescheffrite et des molletz, le tout de
19. fer, prisé le tout ensemble xL (40) solz
20. Item, une couchette de bois de chesne a hault dossier
21. et pilliers tournéz, ung lict garny de plume, une couverture
22. de thoile verde et bleue et ung ciel de serge verde
23. et rouge, garnye de ses franges, prisé le tout ensemble i écu xx(20) solz
24. Item, ung petit tapis de cheminée de camelot bleu, jaulne
25. et blanc, une thoilette rouge et une contenance de serge
26. rouge, avecq ung reschault, prisé le tout ensemble vii (7) solz vii deniers
27. Item, une couchette de bois de chesne a hault dossier et des
28. pilliers, une table de six piedz de long ou environ, assise
29. sur deux treteaux de bois de chesne et ung verrier dozier,
30. prisé le tout ensemble xL (40) solz
31. Tous lesdits meubles cy dessus, telz quelz.
32. Item, en potz, platz, escuelles et autres ustanciles dhostel,
33. a esté trouvé la quantité de sept livres, prisé la
34. livre: trois solz. Pour celuy xxi(21) solz tz

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1. ( 1 paragraphe barré et repris ensuite )

2.

3. Du jeudy xxvii eme (27) jour du mois davril ..... audit an,
4. continuant ledit inventere, a esté inventorié ce que ensuit.
5. Scavoir les lettres et titres.
6. -Item, ung contrat du Chatellet de Paris, signé Chappellan et
7. Arnor en datte du premier mars mil Vc Li (1551) contenant les promesses
8. de mariage faictes, traictées et accordées entre lesdits deffunctz
9. Guillaume Lebé et Loise Lambert jadis sa femme xxxxxxxx
10. xxxxxxxxxx aux conventions et douaire portéz par ledit contrat,
11. inventorié sur icelluy ung
12. Item, ung autre contract xxxxxx du Chatellet de Paris signé Chappellan,
13. en datte du premier jour de janvier mil Vc iii xxi (1581) contenant les
14. promesses de mariages faictes et accordées entre lesdits Claude
15. Andrenas et Madeleine Lebé sa femme, en faveur du quel et
16. pour y parvenir ledit defunct Guillaume Lebé son pere auroit promis
17. xxxxx leur donner, bailler et paier la somme de neuf cens escus
18. sol en deniers comptant pour les causes et ainsi qu'il est conté
19. audit contract, en fin duquel est le quictement de ladite somme
20. de neuf cens escus sol, signé dudit Chappellan, daté du
21. xix eme (19) jour dudit mois de janvier audit an, inventorié sur ledit
22. contrat deux
23. Item, unes 959 lettres faictes soubz le scel de la ville de Paris, signées
24. Baretton, en date du huictiesme jour de septembre m Vc Li (1561) par lesquelles
25. le Sr Noel Lebé marchant drapier demeurant audit Troies avoyt
26. baillé et transporté par tiltre deschange et audit deffunct Guillaume
27. Lebé, la moictié divisée dune maison, droictz, aisances et
28. apartenances dicelle, comme elle se poursuit et comporte, assise a Paris
29. Rue de Beauvais, faisant le coing de ladite rue et de la rue St
30. Jehan de Latran,960 dont lautre moictié apartenoit audit deffunct
31. Guillaume Lebé par la succession de feu son pere, ainsi
32. que le tout est plus au long conté audites lettres, inventoriéz

959 au pluriel = une paire, deux
960 Dans le quartier de la Sorbonne. correspond à l'actuelle rue des Ecoles
33. sur icelles trois
Page 22
1. Avec lesquelles lettres estoit les antienes lettres dacquisition
2. de ladite maison faicte par Guillaume Lebé laisné, de Marie Racyot
3. en datte du troisieme jour de mars mil Vc cinquante ung (1551), signé Garnyer
4. et Pechon.
5. Item, ung contract du Chatellet de Paris en datte du jeudy dixième jour
6. de janvier mil Vc Lxxii (1572), signé Franquelon et Croisot, contenant Messire
7. Anthoine le Cirier evesque d'Avranches doie, de leglise de Paris,
8. .... de Guillaume le Cirier son frere escuier gentilhomme servant
9. ordinaire de Monseigneur le duc d'Allancon, avoir vendu, cedé
10. transporté et promis garantir audit deffunct Guillaume Lebé une maison, petite
11. cour et apartenances, en laquelle pend pour enseigne 'la Grosse Escriptoire'
12. assise a Paris en la rue St Jehan de Latran et ladite vente avoit
13. esté faicte aux charges et moienant le pris et some de dix huict
14. cens livres tz qui en auroit esté lors paiée, ainsi en fin
15. duquel est la saisine de ce prinse, signée Foullon et la
16. ratification dicelle vente faicte par ledit Guillaume le Cirier, en datte
17. du xeme (10) jour davril audit an ml Vc Lxxii (1572) signé desdits Franquelon et
18. Croiset, inventoriés sur ledit contract quatre
19. Item, trois pieces xxxxxxx et parchemin attachés ensemble. Le premier
20. signé Belot et Nynlon, en datte du samedi xxiieme (22) jour de septembre mil Vc
21. soixante seze (1576), par lesquelles apert: messire Francois le Cirier, conseiller
22. du roy en son privé conseil et court de Parlement et president es requestes
23. dicelluy et dame Jehanne Jucquet sa feme, avoir baillé et transporté
24. a tiltre de vente et promis garantir ausdits deffunctz Guillaume Lebé et Loise
25. Lambert, lors sa feme, deux corps entretenans et jognans lun
26. laultre, assis a Paris rue St Jehan de Beauvais ou soulloit pendre
27. pour enseigne 'la Pomme de Pin’ et ledit bail avoir esté faict
28. aux charges et moienant huict vingtz (8x20 = 160) six livres treze solz quatre
29. deniers tz de rente annuelle que lesdits Lebé et sa femme en auroient lors
30. promis paier et continuer aux termes, selon et ainsi que le tout
31. est plus au long contenu et décrit audit contract, en fin duquel est
32. la saisine de ce prinse, signé Foullon.
33. La seconde signée Cayard et Boreau en datte du mardy second
34. de juillet mil Vc soixante dix sept (1577), par laquelle apert ledit Sieur conseiller le Corier et sa femme avoir baillé et transporté par exchange aux chanoynes et chappelains de Sainct Maur des Fossez lesdites huit vingt (160) six livres treze solz quatre deniers tz de rente pour les .... si ainsi quil est contenu esdites lettres.

Page 23
1. La troisieme signée Dubois et Chappelain, en datte du mardy premier fevrier mil Vc iii xx trois (1583) contenant les .... chanoynes et chappelans de Sainct Maur des Fossez avoir receu dudit deffunct Guillaume Lebé, tant en son nom que comme tuteur de ses enfans et de ladite feu Loise Lambert, la somme de xxxx six cens soixante six escus deux tiers pour le rachapt et admortissement desdites huit vingt (160) six livres treze solz quatre deniers tz de rente. Ainsi inventoriés sur lesdites trois pieces cinq.

9. Item, deux contractz du Chatelet de Paris, lung datté du xxeme jour de may mil Vc iii xx huict (1588) signé Jacques le Noir, contenant ledit deffunct Guillaume Lebé.

11. au nom et comme tuteur et curateur des enfans myners xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx d'ans, de luy et de ladite feue Loise Lambert, Claude Andrenas et Madelaine Lebé sa femme et Jehan Canelat et Margueritte Lebé sa femme, avoir recu de Ysmael Lambert chirurgien et varlet ordinaire du roy, la somme de vi xx (120) livres et xx solz sur et tant moings de la somme de iii c xxxiii (333) escutz pour la quatrieme partie et portion apartenant aux enfans de ladite feue Loise Lambert, au pris de la vente faitce audit Ysmael Lambert dune maison, court et jardin assise pres la ville Sainct Denis en France et pour le surplus desdits iii c xxx iii (333) écus xx solz, ledit Ysmael Lambert auroit baillé, ceddé et transporté audit deffunct Lebe et ses enfans seze escus deux tiers de reste que luy estoient \deubz/ par .... Cornet.

20. baillé, cédé et transporté audit deffunct Lebe et ses enfans seze escus deux tiers de reste que luy estoient \deubz/ par .... Cornet.

22. xxxx boullanger demeurant au faulx bourgs et Jacques Aneson.

23. Et ledit contract signé le Vasseur et .... le Rey, en datte du septiesme jour de janvier mil Vc iii xx six (1586), par lequel ledit M° ...... Lambert docteur en medecine, Anne Lambert et en leurs noms ledit deffunct Guillaume Lebe, audit nom et comme tuteur de ses enfans.
27. et de ladite feue Loise Lambert jadis sa femme et encres tous chacun
28. eulx faisant fors de M° Nicolas Lambert leur pere xxxxx chirurgien
29. et varlet de chambre du roy et Mr Ysmael Lambert leur frere,
30. auoient baillé et transporté a tiltre de rente audit ......
31. Corier boullanger, une maison, lieux, apartenances, assise es faulx
32. bourgts St Jacques en la grand rue et ce moienant a
33. seze escus deux tiers de rente annuelle et perpetuelle que ledit
34. Corier en avoyt promis paier et continuer aux termes, selon
35. et ainsi que le tout est plus au long contenu et ... audit
36. contract, inventorié sur les deux susdites lettres, si
37. sus inventorisées, lesquelz contractz lesdits Lebé et Andrenas ...
38. ...........
39. ...........
40. (deux lignes trop pales, illisibles)

Page 24
1. Item, unes lettres dudit Chatellet signée Chappellain et Chappellain, en
2. datte du septiesme jour de mars mil Vc Lx viii (1568) par lesquelles Sr Jacques
3. Marchant, marchant bourgeois de Paris et Ysabeau le Fevre sa femme,
4. auoit vendu, constitué et promis garantir, paier et continuer chacun pour
5. le tout, sans division, audit deffunct Guillaume Lebe, vingt livres tz
6. de rente sur les heritages et biens, soubz la faculté de rachat
7. et moienant la somme de iic x (210) livres tz quilz en auoient lors receu dudit
8. deffunct. Ainsi avec lesquelles estoient deux titlres
9. nouveaux prisséz de ladite rente, Inventoriéz sur lesdits biens
10. deux seulz pour le tout (#) sept
11. Item, unes lettres de vente du Chatelet de Paris, signée Deprast, dattée
12. datte et an, du xxvii eme (27) mil Vc xL viii (1548) contenant avoir esté adjugé
13. a Guillaume Lebé .... une petite maison et lieux assis a
14. Gentilly, comme plus offrant et dernier encherisseur pour la
15. somme de deux cens livres tz .......... estoit
16. le proces verbal de distribution des deniers de ladite vente. Inventoriez
17. sur lesdites lettres de vente, pour le tout huict
18. Item, ung contract du Chatellet de Paris, en datte du xxvi eme (26) jour de
19. fevrier mil Vc soixante neuf (1569), signé Chappellain et Chappellain
20. contenant, Noel Darthins marchant demeurant a Gentilly avoir vendu et
21. promis garantir audit deffunct Guillaume Lebé une maison
22. ainsi quelle se comportoit, assise audit Gentilly au lieudit
23. le Clos Benilde. Item ung petit jardin et vigne contenant deux
24. quartes xxx ou environ, joignant ladite maison xxxx et
25. ung demi arpent de vignes assis derrier ledit jardin. Et ladite
26. vente avoir esté faicte aux charges et moienant la somme de deux
27. cens huict livres deux solz quil en avoit recu dudit deffunct, ainsi quil
28. est escript audit contract. Inventoriez sur icelluy neuf
29. Item, ung contract dudit Chatellet signé Vallet et Crozon, en datte
30. du xxix eme (29) fevrier mil Vc cinquante ung (1551) contenant Claude Dube
31. marchant papettier a Paris, avoir vendu et promis garantir audit deffunct
32. xxxxx Guillaume Lebe, ung quartier de vignes ou .... une piece
33. assise au lieudit les Los Genade au terroir de Gentilly. Et ladite vente
34. avoir esté faicte aux charges et moienant la somme de xxi (21) livres quil en avoit
35. recu ainsi et xxxxxxxxxxx au dos duquel
36. est la saisine de ce payé. Inventoriez audit dos dix
( en marge: ) En inventoriand
lesquelles lettres, lesdits
Lebe et Andrenas
ont dict que les
arrerages de ladite rente
leur sont deubz
depuis le premier
juillet iiiix et
neuf (89)
jusques au dernier
decembre iiiix
xiii (93) et depuis le
premier jour mil
Vc iiixx xvii (1597).
Paraphes
Page 25
1. Item une ceddulle en papier, signée Richet, en datte du
2. xiix eme (19) jour de juillet mil Vc iii xx sept (1587), par laquelle
3. le Sieur Jehan Richet marchant libraire et M° imprimeur a promis
4. debvoir audit deffunct Guillaume Lebe, la somme de soixante neuf escus vingt solz et neuf deniers tz pour les causes et a prendre au terme declaréz en ladite ceddulle. Inventorié au bas dicelle unze
5. Item, une autre ceddulle signée comme la precedente, en datte du xxiii eme (24) jour dudit mois de juillet mil Vc iiiixx sept (1587) contenant ledit Jehan Richet debvoir audit deffunct Guillaume Lebe la somme de cent quatre vingtz sept livres dix solz tz pour les causes et a paier au terme declaréz en ladite ceddulle. Inventorié au dessoubz dicelle douze
6. Item, une ceddulle en papier, signée Adrian le Roy, en datte du xixeme (19) jour davril mil Vc iiixx xvi (1596), contenant le soubzsigné debvoir audit feu Guillaume Lebe la somme de soixante deux escuz trente trois solz tz pour les causes contenues en ladite ceddulle. Inventoriée au dessoubz dicelle treize
7. Item, une ceddulle en papier, escripte au dos de quelques parties, en datte du cinquiesme jour de septembre mil Vc iiiixx xi (1591), par laquelle le soubzsigné confesse debvoir audit deffunct Lebe la somme de vingt neuf escus quarante solz xxx a paier au terme declarez en ladite ceddulle. Inventoriée au bas dicelle quatorze.
8. Davantage, lesdits Lebe et Andrenas ont declaré que sur le pappier journal dudit deffunct leur pere, il apert que ledit Adrian le Roy doibt encores, outre ce, la somme de xxx dix escus vingt cinq solz.
10. Au dos de laquelle apert avoir esté sur ce recu huict escus quarante huict solz.
2. deux janvier mil Vc iiiixx cinq (1585), par laquelle apert: Come
3. Perier debvoir audit deffunct Lebe la somme de trente ung
4. escus et trente solz tz pour les causes et a paier au terme
5. declaréz en ladite ceddulle. Inventoriée au dessoubz dicelle seize
6. Item, une ceddulle en papier, signée René Nyvelle et
7. R. Nyvelle, en datte du xxvii eme (27) jour de mars mil Vc iiiixx xviii (1598),
8. par laquelle apert les soubzsignéz debvoir audit feu
9. Lebe, la somme de trente cinq escus pour les causes et
10. a paier au terme declaréz en ladite ceddulle. Inventoriée
11. sur icelle dix sept
12. Item, ung brevet dudit Chatellet, en datte du xxvieme (26) jour de juin
13. mil Vc iiiixx xi (1591), signé Denis Duval .......... et ..........
14. xxx contenant Denis Duval marchant libraire a Paris debvo[ir
15. audit deffunct Lebe la somme de quarante escus quarante
16. solz tz pour les causes et a paier au terme contenez audit
17. brevet. Inventorié au bas dicelluy dix huict
18. Item, une sentence des juges et consulz de ceste ville de Paris,
19. en datte du vingtiesme jour de fevrier mil Vc iiiixx xi (1591), signée
20. L......, contenant Mamert Patisson marchant libraire a Paris
21. avoir esté condampné paier audit deffunct Lebe la
22. somme de deux cens vingt ung escus six solz contenu en sa
23. ceddulle du xxixeme (29) juin mil Vc iiiixx cinq (1585) et vingt sept
24. escus dix solz pour vente de fonte dimprimerie
25. et avoir esté condampné es despens, taxez a seze
26. solz. Avec laquelle sentense estre la susdite ceddulle,
27. inventoriée sur icelle et sur ladite sentence, lune comme lautre
28. dix neuf
( en marge:) Davantage, lesdits
Lebe et Andrenas ont
declaré que oultre
le contenu en ladite sentence,
ledit Mamert Patisson
deboit audit deffunct
Lebe leur pere, la
somme de quinze livres,
ainsi qu'il apert par son papier journal.

1. Item, un brevet dudit Chatelet, signé Prevosteaup, Charles et Fardeau, en datte du sixiesme jour de juillet mil Vc iiiixx neuf (1589), contenant Estienne Prevosteaup imprimeur libraire à Paris, debvoir audit deffunct de cinquante sept escus treze solz pour les causes et a paier au terme decliarez audit brevet. Inventorié sur icelluy vingt.

7. Au dos duquel apert avoir esté sur ce receu trente sept escus treize solz tz, a plusieurs fois.

9. Davantage, lesdits Lebe et Andreas ont declaré que outre le contenu audit brevet, ledit Prevosteaup doibt encore audit deffunct Lebe leur pere, la somme de quinze escus sol, ainsi qu'il apert sur son papier journal.

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En inventoriant lesquelles trois obligations, lesdits Lebe ont declaré quil ne reste deub du contenu sinon que la somme de trente cinq escus quinze solz six deniers, ainsi qu'il apert sur le papier journal dudit deffunct.

15. Item, un brevet dudit Chatelet, signé Felesac et de Saint Vaast, en datte du xv eme (15) jour de mars mil Vc iiiixx xv (1595) contenant Guillaume Anuray marchant libraire a Paris et Gaspart Cure marchant de vins, demeurant Rue St Martin, chacun pour le tout,
19. debvoir audit deffunct Guillaume Lebe, la somme de quatre
20. vingtz escus sol, pour les causes et a paier au terme declairéz
21. audit brevet, au dos duquel apert avoir esté sur ce receu a
22. plusieurs fois, jusques a soixante escus sol. Inventorié audit
23. dos vingt deux
24. Item, la sentence donnée des juges et consulz de ceste ville de Paris,
25. en datte du xxvii eme (27) jour daoust mil Vc iiiixx xi (1591), signée Genres,
   contenant
26. ledit Consolat avoir esté condamné paier audit deffunct Lebe
27. la somme de .... escus tz pour les causes et au terme declaréz, au bas
28. de laquelle apert quavoit esté receu par ledit deffunct la somme
29. de huit escus sol . Inventorié vingt trois
30. Lesdits Lebe et Andrenas ont dit que outre ladite somme, ledit
31. Leon Camelat doibt encore audit deffunct trois escus
32. sept solz, ainsi qu'il est escript sur le pappier journal dudit
33. deffunct.
34. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
35. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
36. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
37. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
38. (bas de page très pale et flou, mais barré )
Page 28
1. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
2. Item, ung contract du Chatelet de Paris, en datte du xiii eme (13) octobre
3. mil Vc iiiixx dix (1590), signé Lusson et Leynoir, par lequel apert
4. Simon Calvarin marchant, bourgeois de Paris et Anthoinette
5. Leynoir sa femme, chacun pour le tout, debvoir audit deffunct Guillaume
6. Lebe, la somme de cent soixante dix huit escus quarante
7. sept solz neuf deniers tz pour les causes et a paier
8. au termes declaréz audit brevet. Inventorié sur iceluy xxiii (24)
9. Avec lequel sont atachezplusieurs exploitz precedans,
10. sentences, .......... de biens et declarations de despans
11. et autres pieces. En inventoriant lequel contract, lesdits Le-
12. be et Andrenas ont declaré qu'il nest plus deub de tout ce,
13. sinon que la somme de cent trente huit escus dix sept
14. solz neuf deniers.
15. Davantage, lesdits Lebe et Andrenas ont declaré que par le papier journal dudit deffunct, il apert estre deub ce que disent.
19. Par Pierre Fieffe marchant libraire, ung escu quarante cinq solz.
21. Par ung Mr Lesleu marchant de biens, six escus quarante solz.
22. Par Pierre Bourgeois et parties, quatre escus.
23. Par le Sieur Leger Delas marchant imprimeur, vingt six escus trente ung.
24. Par Arnoul Titan et par parties, trente six escus dix solz.
25. Par le Sieur Baptiste Dupins, quatre escus sol.
26. Par le Sieur Michel Souyns et parties, seize escus cinquante ung solz.
27. Par Arnoul Cottrier M° imprimeur, neuf escus vingt quatre solz.
28. Par le Sieur Philipes Dupin marchant libraire, la somme de unze escus deux solz six deniers.
30. Item, ung cahier de papier contenant huict fueilletz escriptz, escriptz fort prez et quelque peu sur le neuvieme.
32. signé sur iceluy Jehan Carbon, en datte du sixiesme jour de aoust mil Vc iiiixx xviii (1598) contenant xxxxxxxx linventaire par luy mené, description ...... (trop pale, illisible)
Page 29
1. et estimation faicte par ledit Jehan Carbon de xxxxx
2. tous les livres trouvész apres le decez dudit deffunct,
3. inventoriés sur ledit neufviesme fueillet, audessoulz dudit seing vingt cinq
4. seing vingt cinq
5. Item, deux fueilles de papier attachés ensemble,
6. dont les deux premiers fueilletz sont escriptz entierement et quelque sur le troisieme, signé Lois Rion, datté du xxiii eme (23) jour de juillet mil Vc iiiixx xviii (1598), contenant la description et prisée faicte par ledit Rion de toute marchandise de pappier qui sest trouvée apres le decez dudit deffunct. Inventoriez au dessoubz du seing vingt six
13. Item, ung cahier de papier contenant quatre fueilles
14. de papier attachées ensemble. Dont les six premiers
15. feuilletz sont escriptz entierement et presque la moictié
16. du septiesme, datté du vingtiesme juillet audit an
17. mil Vc iiiixx xviii (1598), signé Jacques Duclos et Jacques de
18. Sanlecque, contenant la description et prisée par eulx
19. faicte des matrices, moules, poinçons et autres ustancilles
20. servans a la fonte de lettres dimprimeries, trouvéz apres
21. le decez dudit deffunct. Inventoriéz audessoubz des seings vingt sept
22. conté lesquelles descriptions lesditz Lebe et
23. Andrenas nont voulu estre escriptes par ....
24. et se sont absentéz xxxxx ..... Inventoriés
25. toutes lesquelles matrices, marchandises, papiers et
26. livres, lesdits Lebe et Andrenas nont voulu estre mis
27. par ...... au present inventaire et se sont contentéz que desdites
28. descriptions et prisées soient ainsi inventoriéez/
29. Lesquelles ont esté paraffées par ledit le Noir notaire, en
30. la fin des susdites pages.
31. Lesdits Lebé et Andrenas ....................... a cause
32. des sucessions de feuz M° Nicolas Lambert et Margueritte
33. ................................. (illisible)
Page 30
1. La quatriesme partie et portion dune maison assise a rue Ma.......  
2. parolles. Item une maison assise es faulboulx Notre Dame
3. des Champs, ou soulloit pendre pour enseigne 'les Verdz
4. Gallandz'. Item une arpen de prey xxx prins en une 
5. piece contenant quatre arpens. Item la moictié dun pré
6. contenant ung arpen, nommé le pré Sainct Martin. Item, ung
7. arpen dix neuf perches de terre . Et trois arpens
8. unze perches, en une piece. xxxxxxxxxx Le tout assis
9. près leglise Sainct Remy les Sainct Denis en France.
10. Item, ung arpen de terre que soulloit estre en vigne,
11. assis au terroir de Pierefonts.
12. Signatures
Page 31 (page de couverture)
Inventaire des biens
de feu Guillaume
Lebé.
Année 1597
Appendix G: The evidence of type distribution from the examined editions

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Stephen Lubell thesis final May 2014 582
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<td>Alphabetum Hebraicum/Alphabetum Graecum</td>
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<td>Schwarzfuchs No. 84 Renouard/Annales 1539/No. 2</td>
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<td>Schwarzfuchs No. 99</td>
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<td>Schwarzfuchs No. 100</td>
<td>In BL 1a12-15, 1a14</td>
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<td>Schwarzfuchs No. 101</td>
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<td>Malachias</td>
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<td>Schwarzfuchs No. 105</td>
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<td>Schwarzfuchs No. 106</td>
<td>In BL 1a12-15</td>
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<td>The first 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica [Hb 4 mm] or Gros-Parangon (1539).</td>
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<td>New revised edition of 1532 (Schwarzfuchs No. 42)</td>
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<td>Josue/Juges/Samuel 1-2/Rois 1-2</td>
<td>Hb30 (S)?</td>
<td>Schwarzfuchs p. 112</td>
<td>See Schwarzfuchs No. 145</td>
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<td>Alphabetum Hebraicum</td>
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<td>Schwarzfuchs No. 132</td>
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Stephen Lubell thesis final May 2014 591
Appendix J: Analysis of vowel points and cantillation mark combinations and their frequency

This appendix presents an analysis of the possible combinations and frequencies of the main Hebrew glyphs, glyphs with dagesh points, the vowel points and cantillation marks for two biblical passages. These passages are found in the Le Bé specimens and give an idea of the types of combinations that a punch cutter would have needed to take into account when cutting a pointed fount of Hebrew. It also gives an indication of the combinations that a compositor would have needed to set for these types of text. See page 270 for a fuller discussion of these implications. See page 51 for the names of these glyphs, the vowels and cantillation marks.

Genesis (Bereshit) Chapter 1
http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/tan/gen001.htm#001

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<tr>
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<th>Details of vowel/cantillation combination and frequency</th>
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| aleph | 1.                 | דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ גּ יִ הִ וּ רּ דָּ galer estc POTENT 270 for a fuller discussion of these implications. See page 51 for the names of these glyphs, the vowels and cantillation marks.

Genesis (Bereshit) Chapter 1
http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/tan/gen001.htm#001

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The Original text in Hebrew

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606
וַתּוֹצֵ֨א הָאָ֜רֶץ דֶּשֶּא עֵשֶׂב מַזְרִיעַ זֶ֙רַע לְמִינֵ֔הוּ וְעֵ֧ץ עֹֽשֶה־פְּרִי

הִ֖ים כִּי־טֽוֹב׃

אֲשֶׁ֥ר זַרְעוֹ־ב֖וֹ לְמִינֵ֑הוּ וַיַּ֥רְא אֱ几

וַֽיְהִי־עֶ֥רֶב וַֽיְהִי־בֹ֖קֶר י֥וֹם שְׁלִישִֽׁי׃ פ

12 וַֽיְהִי־מְאֹרֹת בִּרְקִ֣יעַ הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם לְהַבְדּِ֕יל בֵּ֥ין הַיּ֖וֹם וּבֵ֣ין הַלָּ֑יְלָה וְהָי֤וּ לְאֹתֹ

13 וַֽיְהִי־כֵֽן׃ וְהָי֤וּ לִמְאוֹרֹת בִּרְקִ֣יעַ הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם לְהָאִ֖יר עַל־הָאָ֑רֶץ וַֽיְ

14 הִי־כֵֽן׃ וְהָי֤וּ לִמְאוֹרֹת בִּרְקִ֣יעַ הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם לְהָאִ֖יר עַל־הָאָ֑רֶץ וַֽיְ

15 וַיַּ֣עַשׂ אֱ几

16 הִ֖ים נַֽעֲשֶׂ֥ה אָדָ֛ם בְּצַלְמֵ֖נוּ כִּדְמוּתֵ֑נוּ וְיִרְדּוּ בִדְגַ֨ת הַיָּ֜ם וּבְע֣וֹף הַשָּׁמַ֗יִם וּבַבְּ

17 וַיָּלָ֣שׁ אֱ几

18 וַיָּלָ֣שׁ אֱ几

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The Original text in Hebrew

1. כללו בְּשָׁנַוָּהוּ וַיִּלַֽד בְּשַׁנּוֹת֣וֹ אֶת־טַ֭עְמוֹ לִפְנֵי אֲבִימֶ֑לֶל
2. אֲבָרֲכָ֣ה אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה בְּכָל־עֵ֑ת תָ֝מִ֗ל תְּֽהִלָּת֥וֹ בְּפִֽי׃
3. בַ֭יהוָה תִּתְהַלֵּ֣ל נַפְשִׁ֑י יִשְׁמְע֖וּ עֲנָוִ֣ים וְיִשְׂמָֽחוּ׃
4. גַּדְּל֣וּ לַיהוָ֣ה אִתִּ֑י וּנְרוֹמְמָ֖ה שְׁמ֣וֹ יַחְדָּֽו׃
5. דָּרַ֣שְׁתִּי אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה וְעָנָ֑נִי וּמִכָּל־מְ֝גוּרוֹתַ֗י הִצִּילָֽנִי׃
6. הִבִּ֣יטוּ אֵלָ֣יו וְנָהָ֑רוּ וּ֝פְנֵיהֶ֗ם אַל־יֶחְפָּֽרוּ׃
7. הִשְׁמֹת֮ אֲלִילֵי יֶחְסֵף וַיהוָֽה אַֽשְׁרֵ֥י יְ֝הוָ֗ה אֵין מַ֝חְס֗וֹר לִירֵאָֽיו׃
8. יַחְסְר֥וּ כָל־טֽוֹב׃
9. כְ֭פֶרְעֶ֣ים רָשִׁ֑וּ וְרָעֵ֑בוּ וְדֹרְשֵׁ֥י יְ֝הוָ֗ה
10. אוֹרָא־יהוָ֧ה עַל־פָּנָיְ֝הוּ לְפִֽי׃

Stephen Lubell thesis final May 2014

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לְֽכוּ־בָ֭נִים שִׁמְעוּ־לִ֑י יִֽרְאַ֥ת יְ֝הוָ֗ה אֲלַמֶּדְכֶֽם׃

מִֽי־הָ֭אִישׁ הֶחָפֵ֣ץ חַיִּ֑ים אֹהֵ֥ב יָ֝מִ֗ים לִרְא֥וֹת טֽוֹב׃

ס֣וּר מֵ֭רָע וַעֲשֵׂה־ט֑וֹב בַּקֵּ֖שׁ שָׁל֣וֹם וְרָדְפֵֽהוּ׃

עֵינֵ֣י יְ֭הוָה אֶל־צַדִּיקִ֑ים וְ֝אָזְנָ֗יו אֶל־שַׁוְעָתָֽם׃

פְּנֵ֣י יְ֭הוָה בְּעֹ֣שֵׂי רָ֑ע לְהַכְרִ֖ית מֵאֶ֣רֶץ זִכְרָֽם׃

צָעֲק֣וּ וַיהוָ֣ה שָׁמֵ֑עַ וּמִכָּל־צָ֝רוֹתָ֗ם הִצִּילָֽם׃

—ר֥וּחַ יוֹשִֽׁיעַ׃ קָר֣וֹב יְ֭הוָה לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵ֑ב וְֽאֶת־דַּכְּאֵי

רַ֭בּוֹת רָע֣וֹת צַדִּ֑יק וּ֝מִכֻּלָּ֗ם יַצִּילֶ֥נּוּ יְהוָֽה׃

שֹׁמֵ֥ר כָּל־עַצְמוֹתָ֑יו אַחַ֥ת מֵ֝הֵ֗נָּה

תְּמוֹתֵ֣ת רָשָׁ֣ע רָעָ֑ה וְשֹׂנְאֵ֖י צַדִּ֣יק יֶאְשָֽׁמוּ׃

ףּוֹדֶ֣ה יְ֭הוָה נֶ֣פֶשׁ עֲבָדָ֑יו וְ}
Appendix K: Typefounder’s tools

The following list is part of a ‘rough essay’ compiled by Harry Carter in 1964 and was recently discovered amongst his papers in St Bride Library in London. He also commissioned a series of line drawings to complement the list for the three separate operations, which comprise tools known to him for punchcutting, typefounding and justifying. The earlier descriptions are to be found in Moxon and Fournier, both of which Harry Carter edited and which he drew on for this list.961 Those marked with an asterisk* are peculiar to the operation. Carter also notes that ‘a few were made in quantity and sold to typefounders, but most were home-made and belonged to the workmen’, and furthermore that most of these were used at OUP during the period when Carter worked there. This list most likely reflects nineteenth-century practice, whereas the Fournier illustrations are more accurate representations of the type of tools available to Le Bé during the sixteenth century. A more recent list can be found in Paput, La lettre/La Gravure du Poinçon typographique, 1998. He lists the following tools and equipment required for cutting punches: files of various sizes, gravers of different sorts and sections, an Arkansas polishing stone, a polishing square, a drawing or tracing box, a magnifying glass on a stand with enlargement of about three times and a diameter of 3.5 cm which is reduced to 1.5 cm with a mask in order to eliminate distortion within the field of vision, a wooden peg, a vice, a metal saw, a T Square, an adjustable square, a type scale calibrated in points, a burnisher, an eyepiece (jeweller’s loop), a brush, sharpening stones, a small sheet of gelatine or ‘rhoidoid’ (cellulose acetate Plastic), modelling clay or wax, a kiln capable of heating up to at least 800 degrees centigrade, pouncing powder, wine vinegar and a cork.962

Punchcutter’s Tools

- Hacksaw
- Files: flat and pillar coarse files; Medium files; flat, half-round, three cornered, donkey back, needle, and knife-shaped fine files
- *Gauges for the face; also Italic Gauges: A piece of thin brass with slots used for testing the sizes of various letters and the slope of italics. The standing italic gauge is a piece of brass cut with the right angle. A good surviving example is from the Athias Cabinet in Amsterdam.
- Stones and slates
- *Facing tool: For grinding the faces of punches on stones
- Gravers and scrapers
- Chisel
- Scriber

961 Moxon, Carter, and Davis, Mechanick Exercises, pp. 88-98 and Fournier and Carter, Fournier on Typefounding, pp. 301-303, Plates III and IV
962 Paput, La lettre/La Gravure du Poinçon typographique pp. 22-23
- Twist (or pump) drill
- Eyeglasses
- Counterpunches
- *Counterpunch placer: A device used by some punchcutters for driving counterpunches into punches
- Emery and emery sticks
- Stone slips
- Blowpipe
- Wig: This is most probably an implement made of twisted and folded wire, and was used to hold a punch over a heat source during tempering. After a punch is hardened it is cleaned and then gradually heated until the surface shows a pale straw yellow, at which time it is quenched for a second time in water.\textsuperscript{963}
- Seager cones: A series of cones used to indicate the temperature inside a furnace or kiln. The cones are made from different mixtures of material each of which softens at a different temperature. The drooping of the vertex is an indication that the known softening temperature has been reached and allow the furnace temperature to be estimated. However, the punchcutter also knows the correct temperature for tempering the steel punch by the colour of the steel. See above.
- Flattening (?) punch
- Script punch
- Smoking tool for positioning smoke proofs
- Candle or lamp for producing smoke proofs

\textit{Typefounder's tools}
- *Moulds
- Copper hammers for justifying the mould
- *Ladles
- Rubbing stones
- *Letter sticks: Device used to hold type between operations
- *Ploughs
- Nicking plough
- Bearding plough

\textsuperscript{963} Email clarification from Stan Nelson, November 2013. I am grateful for his input on this list.
• *Height to paper gauge
• *Thickness gauge, body gauge
• Dressing sticks*

Justifier’s Tools

• Files: flat, coarse, fine
• York stone
• *Striking stake. Matrices formerly had the punches struck in with a hammer. In the nineteenth century various striking tools were used to force the punch into the copper matrix.
• Hammers
• Emery powder
• Gauges: depth*, overlap*, turning, Height to paper, Italic*. The depth gauge is used to test the depth and horizontality of the strike. The overlap gauge was used to test the position of the strike in relation to the side and head of the matrix. The turning gauge was a device to test whether the sides of the matrix were parallel. The Justifier’s gauge was used to test the flatness of the face and the height of type cast during justification.

• (Set) Square
• Eyeglasses
• Moulds and Ladles: For justifying trial types

Fig App. K.1: Face gauge as described by Harry Carter (St. Bride Library)

Fig App. K.2: Face gauge with type sizes marked from the Athias Cabinet (Drawer 33) Original size of each brass is about 9 cm. This is most probably from the seventeenth century. (The University of Amsterdam Special Collections)
Fig. App. K.3: Illustrations and descriptions from Harry Carter’s Typefounder's tools (St. Bride Library)
Fig. App. K.4: Illustrations and descriptions from Harry Carter’s Typefounder’s tools (St. Bride Library)
Appendix L: Names of the books of the Masoretic Bible


The Bible in Hebrew has various names: *Torah*, *Esrim ve arba‘ah sepharim* (24 books), *Tanakh* (an abbreviation of the Hebrew words *Ketuvim*, *Nevi‘im* and *Torah*) and *Mikra* (a general term for the Prophets and Hagiographia). The Jewish canon is composed of the five books of the Pentateuch (the *Chumash*), the eight books of the prophets (the *Nevi‘im*) and the eleven books of the Hagiographia (the *Ketuvim*). The early modern editions of the Prophets are often divided into the twelve Minor Prophets (*Prophetae Minores*) and the Greater Prophets (*Prophetae Majores*). These terms reflect the Hebrew terms ‘Earlier Prophets’ and ‘Later Prophets’ as introduced by the Masorah.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of the Bible</th>
<th>Hebrew Name</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Title in the Vulgate</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pentateuch (Chumash)</td>
<td>בְּרֵאשִׁית</td>
<td>Bereshit</td>
<td>Liber Genesis, Hebraice Beresith</td>
<td>Genesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentateuch (Chumash)</td>
<td>שְׁמוֹת</td>
<td>Shemot</td>
<td>Liber Exodus, Hebraice Veelle Semoth</td>
<td>Exodus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pentateuch (Chumash)</td>
<td>וַיִּקְרָא</td>
<td>Vayyikra</td>
<td>Liber Leviticus, Hebraico Vaicra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>בָּאָרָא</td>
<td>BeMidbar</td>
<td>Liber Numeri, Hebraico Vaedabber</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
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<td>דְּבָרִים</td>
<td>Devarim</td>
<td>Liber Deuteronomi, Hebraico Elle Haddebarim</td>
<td>Deuteronomy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prophets/Nevi‘im</td>
<td>יְהוֹשֻׁעַ</td>
<td>Yehoshua</td>
<td>Liber Iosue, Hebraico lehosua</td>
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<tr>
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<td>שׁוֹפְטִים</td>
<td>Shoftim</td>
<td>Liber Iudicum, Hebraico Sophetim</td>
<td>Judges</td>
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<td>שְׁמוּאֵל א</td>
<td>Shmu‘el aleph</td>
<td>Liber Primus Samueld, Quem Nos Primum Regum Dicimus</td>
<td>1 Samuel</td>
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<td>שְׁמוּאֵל ב</td>
<td>Shmu‘el bet</td>
<td>Liber Secundus Samueld, Quem Nos Secundum Regum Dicimus</td>
<td>2 Samuel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prophets/Nevi‘im</td>
<td>מְלָכִים א</td>
<td>Malakhim aleph</td>
<td>Liber Regum Tertius, Secundum Hebraeos Primus Malachim</td>
<td>1 Kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophets/Nevi‘im</td>
<td>מְלָכִים ב</td>
<td>Malakhim bet</td>
<td>Liber Regum Quartus, Secundum Hebraeos Secundum Malachim</td>
<td>2 Kings</td>
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<td>Hoshea</td>
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<td>Propheta Osee</td>
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<td>Joel</td>
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<td>Canticum Canticorum Salomonis, Quod Hebraice Dicitur Sir Hasirim</td>
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<td>Debrei Hayamim aleph</td>
<td>Liber Primus Paralipomenon, Hebraice Dibre Haiamim</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Debrei Hayamim bet</td>
<td>Liber Secundus Paralipomenon, Hebraice Dibre Haiamim</td>
<td>2 Chronicles</td>
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Abbreviations

(A) = Ashkenazic
AdS = Archivio di Stato
AN = Archives nationales de France
BL = British Library
BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France
BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek/Digitale Bibliothek
c. = circa
e-rara.ch = Swiss Electronic library/Elektronische Bibliothek Schweiz
fl. = floriut (flourished or active)
JNUL = The Jewish National and University Library
Lt = Livres tournois
Lambeth = The Lambeth Palace Library
MC = Le Minutier central des notaires de Paris
MPM = Moretus Plantin Museum, Antwerp
NAF = Les nouvelles acquisitions françaises at the BnF
n.s. = new style calendar (See Glossary)
OUP = Oxford University Press
(R) = Rashi Script
Rés X = Réserve X (Rare Books Reserve at the BnF)
(S) = Sephardic
SM = Stanley Morison
STC = British Museum Short title Catalogue
UCL/SC = University College Library Special Collections
VD = VD16 or Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts
? = Uncertain attribution for punchcutter or volumes examined
Glossary of terms
Adapted from the online version of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and other sources as indicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Côte         | Symbole servant à l'identification et au classement de documents dans une bibliothèque; document portant ce symbole.  
[964](http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/cote/19600) [Accessed 6 November 2013] |
| Cursive      | A rapid ductus, with fewer pen lifts and with devices to increase speed, such as linking of letters and perhaps loops. (Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts*, 2007). |
| Dagesh       | The diacritical point placed in the centre of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet to indicate either their intensified (doubled) pronunciation, or, in the case of the letters בְּהַלּוֹכָת (b, d, k, p, t), their hard (unaspirated) pronunciation. |
| Didot        | Didot point sizes for types cast in continental Europe equal 0.0148 inch or 0.376 mm and are slightly larger point-for-point than the Anglo-American point of 0.01383 inch or 0.351 mm. Thus a Didot font cast on an Anglo-American body size is likely to require extra depth. (Williamson, *Methods of Book Design*, 1983). |
| Échevin      | Officier élu ordinairement par les Bourgeois, pour avoir soin de la police & des affaires communes d'une ville pendant un certain temps (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th Edition (1762)). |
| Exotics      | A term applied to non-Latin typefaces, such as Amharic, Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, Coptic, Cyrillic, Ethiopian, Georgian, Greek, Hebrew, Hieroglyphics and Syriac. |
| Forme        | Type matter and blocks assembled into pages and locked up in a chase ready for printing. The impression taken from it is called a signature. (Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, 1996) |
| Fount        | A complete array of type characters designed and made up as a set. It normally includes upper and lower case, numerals, punctuations marks, accents, ligatures etc. A type family includes founts of roman, sloped roman, italic, bold, condensed, sanserif and sometimes Greek, Cyrillic etc (Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, 1996) |
| Get/Gittim   | A Jewish bill of divorce |
| Glyph        | Un caractère est une unite d’information utilisée pour coder du texte, alors qu’un glyphe est une forme géométrique (une collection homogène de telles formes constitue une police) utilisée pour présenter un texte. Le processus de présentation nécessite une application (par nécessairement bi-univoque) des caractères vers des glyphes. En fait cette notion correspond à celle d’œil en typographie française. (André et Goossens, *Codage des Caractères et Multi-Linguisme: de L’ASCII à Unicode et ISO/IEC-106, 1995*) |
| Haftara/Haftarot | That portion of the Prophets read immediately after the reading of the Torah in the morning services on Sabbaths, feast-days, and the Ninth of Ab, and in the afternoon services on fast-days. The passage chosen usually contains an explicit reference to some event described in the section previously read from the Torah. The haftarot are definitely fixed and consist of from ten to 52 verses. They are read by the last person called upon by the prayer-leader or the rabbi to read from the Torah. |
| Hagadah (shel Pessach) | Ritual texts read for the eve of Passover (Pessach) Seder |
| Halakha      | The collective body of Jewish law |
| Hamishah humshe Torah | Name for printed versions of the Torah (as opposed to a Torah Scroll) literally the 'five five-sections of the Torah'. |
| Hanukiah     | Hanukkah lamp, also called a Menorah |
| Hazakah, law of | This term has various meanings in the Talmud; the closest to the original meaning of the Hebrew root is that of "taking possession," which act constituted acquisition with regard to both movable and immovable property. But it is more frequently used to cover the acquisition of property by continued and undisturbed possession during a period of time prescribed by law. |
| Horologion   | The Greek 'book of hours' containing the office for the canonical hours in the Greek Orthodox Liturgy. (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 1988) |
| Humash       | Informal name for a Hamishah humshe Torah |
| Kashrut      | The body of Jewish dietary laws. |

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Kerning: Type faces in which part of the letter projects beyond the body, e.g., an italic f which is kerned on both side or the ascender of the character Lamed in Hebrew (Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, 1996).

Ketubah/Ketubot: A Jewish marriage contract, containing among other things the settlement on the wife of a certain amount payable at her husband's death or on her being divorced. This institution was established by the Rabbis in order to put a check on freedom of divorce, to obtain which no consent is required on the part of the woman.

Littérae dilatatales: Extended Hebrew characters, normally the aleph, dalet, heh, lamed, mem, resh.


Massorah: (From the Hebrew meaning ‘tradition’). The system of critical notes on the external form of the Biblical text. The Masoretic annotations are found in separate works and in the form of notes written in the margins and at the end of codices. The first word of each Biblical book is also as a rule surrounded by notes. The latter are called the Initial Masorah; the notes on the side margins or between the columns are called the Small or Inner Massorah (Massorah Parva) and those on the lower and upper margins, the Large or Outer Masorah (Massorah Magna). The name ‘Large Masorah’ is applied sometimes to the lexically arranged notes at the end of the printed Bible, usually called the Final Masorah.

Matrix (Plural = matrices): A metal die from which a single type is cast. In the fifteenth century matrices may have been made of lead, however copper came be used given that it is a more durable material. (Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, 1996)

Midrash: A term denoting ‘exposition’, ‘exegesis’, especially that of the Scriptures. In contradistinction to literal interpretation, subsequently called ‘peshat’, the term ‘midrash’ designates an exegesis which, going more deeply than the mere literal sense, attempts to penetrate into the spirit of the Scriptures, to examine the text from all sides, and thereby to derive interpretations which are not immediately obvious.

Mishnah (plural Mishnayot): The oldest collection, apart from the Pentateuch, of Jewish legislative writings, which covers the whole range of Jewish legislation and tradition, comprising the religious and ritual as well as legal and ethical elements, not omitting historical traditions. (Valentine’s *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 1938)

Mishneh Torah: Written by Moses Ben Maimon or the RaMBaM, usually called Maimonides (1135-1204). In this book Maimonides planned a complete legal system which should give in a brief but clear form the final decision in the case of each law, so that ..., every regulation, law, and custom of religious life might be learned without any other manual. He named the work the ‘Mishneh Torah’ or the ‘Second Law’, since it was only necessary to read first the written Torah and then this work in order to acquire the entire body of the so-called ‘oral law’. The book contains all definitions of the Law together with all traditional explanations, statutes, and regulations, as well as the traditions and explanations of the Geonim and the customs which were given, introduced, or recognized from the time of Moses to the conclusion of the Talmud. It includes also the ethical ideas, the moral teachings, and the doctrinal principles which were traditional or which had been established by the sages or adopted by general consent.

Musaf: Additional offering or prayer. Besides the regular morning and afternoon sacrifices offered in the Temple, the Law provided for additional offerings to be brought on Sabbaths, New Moons, the three festivals, New-Year, and the Day of Atonement.

Nikkud/Nekudot: The vowel points in Hebrew Biblical texts

Oeil: En Typographie, l’œil d’un caractère est sa partie imprimante, le signe en relief qui reçoit l’encre à

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965 'La livre Tournois monnaie Française du 13° siècle.' (<http://tournois.alain.pagesperso-orange.fr/livre_tournois.htm> [Accessed 29 October 2013])
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<td>déposer le support d'impression.</td>
<td>(Dreyfus et Richaud, <em>La Chose Imprimée</em>, 1977) The closest English term would be 'appearing size'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old and new style calendars</td>
<td>The terms Old Style and New Style are applied to dates from two different historical periods. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII decreed that in order to correct the calendar then used – the Julian calendar – the days 5-14 October of that year should be omitted and no further centennial year (e.g. 1700, 1800, 1900) should be a leap year, unless it was divisible by 400 (e.g. 1600, 2000). This reformed Gregorian calendar was quickly adopted in Roman Catholic countries, more slowly elsewhere. Dates in the Julian calendar are known as Old Style, while those of the Gregorian are New Style. (New Hart's Rules, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 194). The Gregorian calendar was adopted in France in 1582. During the sixteenth century in France the style de Pâques or mos gallicus was also used, as well as other systems, such as the style de la Circoncision; the style de Venise and the style de l'Annonciation. (See <a href="http://theleme.enc.sorbonne.fr/cours/livres_imprimes_ancrets/date">http://theleme.enc.sorbonne.fr/cours/livres_imprimes_ancrets/date</a> Accessed 26 November 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OpenType</td>
<td>OpenType is a cross-platform font file format developed jointly by Adobe and Microsoft. The two main benefits of the OpenType format are its cross-platform compatibility (the same font file works on Macintosh and Windows computers), and its ability to support widely expanded character sets and layout features, which provide richer linguistic support and advanced typographic control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parashah</td>
<td>A section of the Pentateuch. The Sephardim apply the word to each of the fifty-four weekly lessons into which the Torah is divided in the one-year cycle, as well as to smaller sections; the Ashkenazim call the week's lesson a Sidra, giving the name 'parashah' to the smaller portions that are read on festivals or to one of the seven subsections in which the week's lesson is read on Sabbath mornings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia</td>
<td>A system used from the thirteenth century on, in which university-approved exemplars of texts were divided into sections and were hired out by stationers to scribes for copying (pecia means 'piece' in Latin). Not all books, even those for school use, were subject to the pecia system. The sections often carried an abbreviation of the word pecia (for example, pa) and a numeral, written inconspicuously in the margin. (Michelle Brown, <em>Understanding illuminated manuscripts: a guide to technical terms</em> (London: J. Paul Getty Museum in association with the British Library, 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puncta extraordinaria</td>
<td>Also called Ezra's points. These are lozenge-shaped dots which are found over (53 times) and under (3 times) certain letters. These dots predate the Masoretic system, and seem to be preserved but ignored by the Masoretes. They are also written in unvocalized texts. Probably the original meaning was to denote that the indicated letters are uncertain, perhaps have to be removed. (Such use of dots is known from the Qumran scrolls.) See <a href="http://www.win.tue.nl/~aeb/natlang/hebrew/hebrew_bible.html">http://www.win.tue.nl/~aeb/natlang/hebrew/hebrew_bible.html</a> [Accessed 23 November 2013] However Emanuel Tov has argued that, despite the fact that 'masoretic texts and ancient sources sometimes differ in the details of paragraphing', 'it stands to reason that all these Masoretic phenomena were carefully transferred from an early scroll or scrolls'. (Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible and Qumran: collected essays, p. 200).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rashi</td>
<td>Rashi (Solomon bar Isaac): French commentator on Bible and Talmud; born at Troyes in 1040; died there July 13, 1105. Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch was first printed without the text at Reggio in 1475 (the first dated Hebrew book printed); five years later it was reprinted in square characters. Its first appearance with the text was at Bologna in 1482, the commentary being given in the margin; this was the first commentary so printed. Since that date there have been published a great many editions of the Pentateuch with Rashi's commentary only. At different periods other parts of the Old Testament appeared with his commentary: the Five Scrolls (Bologna, c. 1484); the Five Scrolls, Daniel, Ezra, and Chronicles (Venice, 1517). The <em>editio princeps</em> of Rashi on the whole of the Old Testament was called &quot;KÌ mikra'ot Gedolot&quot; (ib. 1525), in which, however, of Proverbs and the books of Job and Daniel the text alone was given. Owing to its importance, Rashi's commentary was translated into Latin by Christian scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some parts several times. The most complete Latin translation is that of John Frederick Breithaupt, which appeared at Gotha: on the Pentateuch, 1710; on the Prophets, the twelve Minor Prophets, Job, and Psalms, 1713; on the Earlier Prophets and the Hagiographa, 1714. The whole commentary on the Pentateuch was translated into German by L. Dukes (Prague, 1838), and parts of it were translated into Judeo-German by Judah Löb Bresch in his edition of the Pentateuch (Cremona, 1560), and likewise by Jacob b. Isaac in his &quot;Sefer ha-Maggid&quot; (Prague, 1576).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renvoi, signe de</td>
<td>Signe conventionnel ou lettre de l'alphabet figurant simultanément en un point du texte (appel) et en tête d'une glose (renvoi), d'une addition, d'un autre passage, pour signaler que le lecteur doit se reporter de l'un à l'autre. (Bobichon, <em>Le lexicon: Mise en page et mise en texte des</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Responsa</td>
<td>She'elot u'Teshuvot (questions and answers) is the Hebrew designation for the 'responsa prudentium', which are the written decisions and rulings given by eminent rabbis, teachers, or heads of academies to questions addressed to them in writing. These responsa constitute a special class of Talmudic and rabbinical literature, which in form differs both from the commentaries and from the codifications of rabbinical Judaism, yet in content is similar to both.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosh HaShanah</td>
<td>The Jewish New Year (literally 'the head of the year').</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schriftbild</td>
<td>The concept of the letter as form = De Letter als vorm beschouwd (Van Krimpen, <em>Grafisch Zoekboek</em>, 1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sefer</td>
<td>The word for Book in Hebrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selihah</td>
<td>Penitential prayers; perhaps the oldest portion of the synagogal compositions known under the term of Piyyutim. The word “selihah” (from ‘salah’ = ‘he forgave’) is particularly used in the Hagioth and as meaning ‘forgiveness’; in the Middle Ages it was employed to designate penitential prayers and invocations for God's clemency and forgiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set</td>
<td>The width of a type body also used to indicate the comparative width of a Monotype type design (Glaister, <em>Encyclopedia of the Book</em>, 1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shulhan Arukh</td>
<td>A the code of rabbinical Judaism for all ritual and legal questions that obtained after the destruction of the Temple. This book was written by Joseph ben Ephram Caro, the last great codifier of rabbinical Judaism, who was born in Spain or Portugal in 1488; died at Safed, Palestine, in 1575. Caro wrote the Shulhan Arukh for the benefit of those who did not possess the education necessary to understand his earlier work 'Bet Yosef'. The arrangement of this work is the same as that adopted by Jacob ben Asher in his 'Arba'ah 'Turim', but more concise; nor are any authorities given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddur</td>
<td>An Ashkenazic term for the collection, in one book, of the year's prayers for weekdays, Sabbaths, holy days, and fast-days is generally known as the 'Seder Tefilot', or simply the 'Siddur'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoke proof</td>
<td>(En France) An impression of a punch made with the soot of a flame on paper or a transparent film (Paput, <em>La lettre: La Gravure du Poinçon Typographique</em>, 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strike</td>
<td>(Une Frappe in French) The state of the matrix before it is justified. It was normal practice in the sixteenth century to sell rough strikes to printers, such as Plantin, who then had them justified. (Carter, <em>A View of Early Typography</em>, 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta'am</td>
<td>Cantillation marks (from the word ‘ta’am’ meaning taste) used in the Hebrew Bible to mark the various degrees of logical, or sense, pausation and each symbol is equal to several musical notes. This method of pauses led to the development of a half-singing style which is called Cantillation; and is used in the reading of the Bible in Jewish synagogues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talmud</td>
<td>Name of two works which have been preserved as the product of the Palestinian and Babylonian schools during the amoraic period, which extended from the third to the fifth century C.E. One of these compilations is entitled ‘Talmud Yerushalmi’ (Jerusalem Talmud) and the other ‘Talmud Babli’ (Babylonian Talmud). Used alone, the word ‘Talmud’ generally denotes ‘Talmud Babli’, but it frequently serves as a generic designation for an entire body of literature, since the Talmud marks the culmination of the writings of Jewish tradition, of which it is, from a historical point of view, the most important production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanach</td>
<td>Tanakh תָּנָכָּה (also Tanach or Tenach) is an acronym that identifies the Hebrew Bible. The acronym is based on the initial Hebrew letters of each of the text's three parts: Torah הִסְכָּנָה meaning one or all of: &quot;The Law&quot;; &quot;Teaching&quot;; &quot;Instruction&quot;. Also called the Chumash מַעְשֶׁר meaning: &quot;The five&quot;, &quot;The five books of Moses&quot;. It is the &quot;Pentateuch&quot;. Nevi'im נְאֵו meaning: &quot;Prophets&quot; Ketuvim קְטֻעִים meaning &quot;Writings&quot; or &quot;Hagiographa&quot;. The Tanakh is also called <a href="http://www.bibliahebraica.com/the_texts/tanakh.htm">הִסְכָּנָה, Mikra or Miqra.</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang</td>
<td>The excess casting or shank on the end of the typeface character which is broken off at the finishing stage to make the character the precise type height required for printing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tefilah/tefilot</td>
<td>The word for Prayer in Hebrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehilim</td>
<td>Books of Psalms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetragrammaton</td>
<td>The quadriliteral name of God, יְהֹוָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titling alphabet</td>
<td>A fount of capital letters set without shoulders as the head of chapters so that the strokes of the character extend to the limit of the body, there being no beard. Does not include lower case letters, but does include ranging numerals and punctuation. (Glaister, <em>Encyclopedia of the Book</em>, 1996)</td>
</tr>
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[^966]: [Tanakh](http://www.bibliahebraica.com/the_texts/tanakh.htm) [Accessed 01 November 2013]
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<th>Term</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Torah</td>
<td>Name applied to the five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tosafot</td>
<td>Critical and explanatory glosses on the Talmud, printed, in almost all editions, on the outer margin and opposite Rashi's notes. The authors of the Tosafot are known as Tosafists ('ba'ale ha-tosafot').</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xylography</td>
<td>Xylography means wood engraving, and is the oldest known relief printmaking technique. Using a block of wood in somewhat the same manner as a rubber stamp, a xylographer cuts or carves wood away from those parts of the design that will not be inked. The printing of block books by xylography also means &quot;not typography&quot;, when used to print texts or illustrations from woodblocks. <a href="http://arthistory.about.com/od/glossary/g/x_xylography.htm">http://arthistory.about.com/od/glossary/g/x_xylography.htm</a> [Accessed 11 April 2014]</td>
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In addition to the British Library and UCL Special Collections, Hebrew editions were examined in the BnF in Paris, and the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, as well as on such online digital databases as the Jewish National University Library Digitised Book Repository, Google Books, Archive.org, VD16 and e-rara.ch.
Index to technical matters discussed in this thesis

Given the structure chosen for this thesis, the descriptions of technical matters relating to production of punches, matrices and text composition have been incorporated into the main discussion at relevant points throughout the text. The following index provides an alphabetical listing of these topics and where they can be found within the text.

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Primary sources

Note: Wherever possible, the original title in Hebrew characters has been included, such as from the collections of the British Library. Otherwise the transcription of the Hebrew follows the style used by the library where the relevant volume was examined. See Appendix I for a more complete listing of the Estienne Hebrew editions. Please note that not everything edition listed in this bibliography of primary sources is mentioned in the thesis text, as the Le Bé typefaces were not found in all editions examined.

Editions without stated author:
Alfa beta de-Ven Sira: meshalim... (Venice 1544)
Alphabetum Graecum/Alphabetum Hebraicum (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1528)
Alphabetum Hebraicum (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1539)
Alphabetum Hebraicum (Parisis: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, typografi Regii, 1543/4)
Alphabetu[m] Hebraicum (Lutetiae: Ex Officina Roberti Stephani, 1550)
Alphabetum Hebraicum (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1533 and 1553)
Alphabetum Hebraicum (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1563)
Alphabetum Hebraicum (Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1569)
Alphabetum Hebraicum decerptum è quadrilingui Grãmatica ... (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1543)
Alphabetum Hebraicum. De pronuntiatione literarum Heb., ... decem ... Domini præcepta, Hebraicè & Latinè, etc. (Alphabetum Graecum. Precatio Dominica. Salutatio Angeli ... Græcè & Latinè Omnia (Parisis: Ex officina R. Stephani, 1539)

Arba'ah ye-esrim [Pentateuch] [Pesaro: Gershom Soncino, 1511-17]
Arba'ah ye-esrim [Pentateuch] (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1570)
Bible OT Minor Prophets (Joel/Amos/Abdias/Jonas) (Geneva: Robert Estienne, 1556)
Bible. O.T. Hebrew. ... Hamishah humshe Torah (Antwerp: al yede Krystoforo Planten, 1573-74)
La Bible qui est toute la saincte escriture [La Bible d’Olivétan] (Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, 1535)
Biblia Hebraica (Paris: Antoine Claude Briasson and Laurence Durand, 1753)
Biblia. (Hebraica, Chaldaea, Graecaque et Latina nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum quæ in Biblij ... sparsa sunt ... hoc volumine comprehenduntur, cum interpretatione latina, (Parisiis: Ex officina R. Stephani, 1528 and 1532)
Biblia/Sefer Habucuc (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1559)
Biblia Sacra (Paris: Ex officina Simonis Colinaei, 1541)
Biblia Sacra Hebraea (Leiden: Georg Nissel, 1613)
Biblia Sacra/Regia (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1569-73)
Biblia Sacra juxta vulgatem quam sicunt editionem ... [Secunda Editio] (Paris: Guillaume Des Bois/Charlotte Guillard, 1552)
Birkat HaMazon (Basle: Waldkirch, 1598/99)
Duodecim Prophetae (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1539)
Figures des Histoires Thomade la Saincte Bible (Paris: Guillaume Le Bé, 1666)
Halakhot gedolot (Vinitsiah be-vet Marko Antoniyo Yushtiniyan, 1548)
Hamishah humshe Torah Bible (O.T. Hebrew) (Venetsiyah nidfas reviit al yede Daniel Bombergi, 1522-33)
Hamishah humshe Torah ve-Hamesh megilot ve-haftarot (Bible. O.T. Pentateuch. Hebrew) (Venetsiah: Zoan Digma, 1597)

Stephen Lubell thesis final May 2014
Hamishah hamshe Torah. [Nidpas sheni] (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1521)
Hamishah hamshe Torah: ve-hamesh megilot. Venice; Giovanni di Gara, 1525-28 and 1597)
Hamishah hamshe Torah. [Nidpas shelishit] (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1525-28 and 1597)
Hamishah hamshe Torah: ṿe-ḥamesh megilat. Venice; Giovanni di Gara, 1525-28 and 1597)
Hamishah hamshe Torah. [Nidpas reviit] (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1533)
Hamishah hamshe Torah. [Nidpas hamishit] (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1544-45)
Hamishah hamshe Torah. (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1539-1544)
Hamishah hamshe Torah (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1544-1546)
Hamishah hamshe Torah. [Nidpas shelishit] (Venice: Bomberg, 1525-28)
Hamishah hamshe Torah. [Nidpas hamishit] (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1544-45)
Hamishah hamshe Torah (Paris: Giovanni di Gara and Alvise Bragadin, 1590-91)
Hamishah hamshe Torah (Venice: Giovanni di Gara and Alvise Bragadin, 1590-91)
Hebraica Biblia Latina planeque nova Sebast. Munsteri translatione (Basileae: Ex officina Bebeliana, impendii Michæilis Isingrinii et Henrici Petri, 1534)
Helek rishon meha-Mahazor kefi minhag k.,k. Roma: im perush Kimha de-avshuna [a. y. Yohanan ben Yosef Ish Trivish] u-masekhet ... ha-Rambam ve-im perush ... (Siddur (Roman rite). Bolonya: Ovadyah Sforno, 1541.)
Horologion (Venice: Christophano Zanetti, 1546)
Humash `im Targu[m] (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1543)
Index Librorum in hac officina impressorum (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1552)
Isroua imperfectior historia illustrata explicate ab Andrea Masio (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1574)
Isagoge Gil. Genebrardi (Paris: Apud Aegidium Gorbinum, 1587)
Islam. Literæ Illustris. (Parisis: Apud Antonium Vitray, 1636)
Kohelet = L‘Ecclesiaste di Salomone: nuouamente dal testo hebreo tradotto, et secondo il vero ... / Hussaue imperatoris historia illustrate explicate ab Andrea Masio (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1574)
Kol-Bo. Sefer Kol Bo: ... shem sefer zeh Kol bo mevoar al ki shemo be-kerbo. Ve-hu sefer kilel yofi. Lo yehsar bo shum shemets va-rofi. Bo yitbaer kol mitsvah ve-din Torah ve-hukah (Venice: Zorzi di Kavali, 1567)
Liber Psalmorum Davidis (Geneva: Robert I Estienne, 1556-57)
Linguarum Orientalium, Hebrewae, Rabinice, Samaritanae, Syriacae, Graecæ, Arabicae, Turcicae, Armenicæ, alphabeta (Parisiis: Apud Aegidium Gorbinum, 1587)
Literæ Illustris. Principis Ludovicii Borbonii ... ad Carolom IX. Galliae regem, quibus ejus fidem implorat ... Ejusdem Testificatio causarum quæ eum arma sumere coegerunt ... Literæ Regiae Navarræ ad regem Galliae ... quibus causas exponit cur sese principi Coësaco cojuxerit ... Narratio cædis in Lud. Borboniæ ... perpetratæ ... Varia variis linguis scripta in eundem epitaphia. (Venice, Henery Estienne, 1569)
Luah [A Jewish calendar for the year of the creation, 1597-98] (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1597/8)
Mahzor mi-kol ha-shanah ke-minhag yitbarakh shem ha-bore k.k. Romi (Italy: 1500?)
Mahzor mi-kol ha-shanah (Pesaro:?, 1520?)
Tefilah mi-khol ha-shanah (Venice, 1529?)
Tefilot shel Yamim nora im ye-shel Sukot (Prague: 1533-34)
Torah with Persian and Arabic Targum (Constantinople: Eliezer ben Gershon Soncino, 1546)
Zot ha-Torah asher katav Mosheh li-vene Yisrael: ... od Hamishah megilot (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1544)

Editions with stated author:
Aaron, ha-Levi of Barcelona, Sefer ha-hinukh (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1523)
Aaron of Pesaro, Sefer menorat ha-ma‘or / hibro Yitsḥak Abobah Sefardi (Venice: Giustiniani, 1545)
Aboah, R. Isaac the elder, Sefer Sefer Zevah Pesali: ha-ma‘amar ha-zeh hu perush be-hagadot ha-Pesali (Venice: Giustiniani, 1545)
Abrasanel, Isaac, Toviyah Foah, and Azariah ben Moses dei Rossi, Sefer Shaare dimah (Venice: Bragadin, 1552)
Albelda, Moses ben Jacob, Sefer Toledot Aharon: ... (Hanau: Hans Jakub Henne, 1566)
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