Cyrillic & Oriental Typography in Rome at the End of the Sixteenth Century: An Inquiry into the Later Work of Robert Granjon (1578–90)

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Abbreviated Titles

BANDINI = A.M. Bandini, Lettera sopra i principi e progressi della Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, 1773.


BAUMGARTEN = P.M. Baumgarten, Neue Kunde von alten Bibliën, Rome, 1922.


DELLA VIDA = G. Levi della Vida, Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome, 1939 (Studi e Testi, 92).


KOROLEVSKY = C. Korolevsky, La typographie médiévale et les publications orientales à Rome à la fin du XVIIe siècle. Printed proof pro manuscrito in the Vatican Library (Stampe, Rés. III. 97). Cf. below, p. 9, n. 59.

KRAJCAR = J. Krajcar, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East; Santoro’s audiences and consistorial acts, Rome, 1966 (Orientalia christiana analecta, 177).

KUNTZE = E. Kunzke, (ed.), Alberni Bolognetti epistolae et aélae. II (1583), Cracow, 1938.
The investigation of the life and works of the French type designer and punch-cutter Robert Granjon and more particularly of his stay in Rome (1578–1590) brought me, in the course of a short stay in Italy, during the year 1965, to piece together some notes which were published in 1967 in the Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge à Rome. I made them from the point of view of typographical history, not from that of an orientalist. Evidently, a definitive history of Italian typography of the second part of the sixteenth century cannot be made without a more thorough examination of the Medicean, Vatican and Roman archives than I was able to accomplish. And a scientific and exhaustive edition of the documents of the Stamperia Medicea in the Archivio di Stato at Florence would be a most fruitful undertaking for Italian bibliography. Therefore, I should like to express the wish that a professional orientalist, interested in the history of the scholarship and typography of his discipline, will take up and enlarge the work begun.

This investigation aims to transcend the study of Italian typography and of orientalism. Principally in order to provide historical bibliography with a more exact and stable nomenclature of historical typefaces, it must investigate the first origins, the creation and the early uses of these.

The publisher of the present work has deemed that a revised edition of this paper was justified, first of all to provide access to the English reader, and, secondly, because the publication of the journal of Cardinal Santoro (ed. J. Kraicer, 1966) and the recent discovery by Francesco Barberi and Alberto Tinto of three specimens of Syriac, Cyrillic, and Arabic type cut by Granjon, happily confirm its thesis.
§1. Robert Granjon’s place in typographic history

Among the great names of French typography—those of Vérard, Tory, Estienne, de Tournes, Garamont, Fournier, Didot, come first to mind—that of Robert Granjon (1513–1590) is rarely cited. A few specialized works, it is true, give him a place of some honour as the cutter of excellent italic types and as the ‘inventor’ of a typically French, sixteenth-century cursive gothic, the Civilié. However, Granjon is never placed on a level with Garamont as a type designer nor with Estienne or de Tournes as a printer. He was never the subject of a good biography and such indications as the two principal French historical bibliographers, Baudrier and Renouard, give, are incomplete and sometimes inaccurate. Only in the last few years have specialized studies brought to light certain facts about his life. Granjon, however, did not merit this silence. As a punch-cutter he was Garamont’s equal. While it is true that the roman faces which he cut follow the unsurpassable model of Garamont, they are freer, richer, more calligraphic. If, in the history of roman typographic characters, Garamont’s represent the sober, static, immutable beauty of the Renaissance, Granjon’s for their part display the exuberance, ostentation, magnificent assurance and technical perfection of the Baroque. As ‘inventor’ of new graphic forms, he far surpassed Garamont. From this viewpoint, Granjon is more the ‘artist’, Garamont more the ‘artisan’. 

To illustrate this thesis, we need only refer to Granjon’s typographic fleurons, to his Civilié, and above all to his italics (Figs. 1, 2). Italic seems to have been a less than congenial type for Garamont. He chiefly made copies of the Aldine model and the ‘oldface’ italics which he cut often show strain. Those of Granjon, on the other hand, are extremely elegant; they were decisive in determining the subsequent form of these letters. If he wasn’t the first to cut inclined capitals, it was he, in any case, who popularized them in a form which we still accept today. Furthermore, far in advance of his contemporaries, and his confrères in the centuries to come, Granjon’s virtuosity revitalized gothic characters, left moribund since the beginning of the sixteenth century by the italicizing wave which swept Europe. He invented and cut these ‘lettres de civilié’, the ultimate and otherwise vain Gallican reaction to the inva-
sion of 'romans' and 'italics', two types whose names indicate their transalpine affiliation. As an engraver of music, Granjon is important, although not of the foremost. He became, nonetheless, one of the first to cut cursive notes, that is to say the round notes with which we are familiar today, and his tablatures for lute are a marvel of finish. Finally, as a cutter of exotic types, he not only made possible the Polyglot of Plantin (1568–1572) and the Stampaeria Medicae Orientale (ca. 1590–1614), but even excellent. If one surveys the typography of the sixteenth century, these two exploits constitute, along with the Theaurus lingue latina of Robert Estienne (1551), the highest expression of European humanistic erudition. Granjon, by his astonishingly abundant production, not only made them feasible (like other projects of lesser importance which without him would not have been achieved), but technically perfect.18

11. See R. Spey's appeal to the German princes, below, 80.
12. Granjon's presence manifestly influenced French orthography; it was doubtless he who was responsible for the special signs which the reformers insisted upon (J. Pelliot, 1550–1555; P. de la Ramée, 1571; J. A de Baïf, 1572; H. Rambaud, 1578). Each reforming wave corresponded exactly to a stay by Granjon, whether at Paris or at Lyons. Cf. N. Castex, L'orthographe française à l'époque de la Renaissance, Geneva, 1968, p. 216.
13. See P. Kirsten's essay, below, 66.
§ 2. Granjon’s biography

The facts of Robert Granjon’s biography, as they are scattered through a series of publications, are sometimes difficult to assemble. I shall summarize the essential.

Robert Granjon was born in Paris about 1513. He was the son of Jean Granjon, bookseller of Paris from 1524 to 1522. His family ties to Claude Granjon, the widow of the bookseller Thomas de Villiers (1528–ca. 1545) must be investigated; his sister, Genevieve Granjon, married the bookdealer Nicolas de Guignart (1530–1577). We have no precise details about Robert’s years of apprenticeship. We know only that in February 1545, he took an apprentice, Hubert d’Armilliers. From then on the particular ties that Granjon became more numerous. A. F. Johnson has pointed out that the first italics, attributable to Granjon with any certainty, are from 1543. In 1546, Granjon contracted his neighbours Jean Corbon and Dimanche Le Page to clear the mud and dispose of the refuse during his absence on his habitual trip to Lyons. These trips should be put in relation to Granjon’s well-known contract with Gaspar de Molina of 24 August 1547, in which the delivery of several sorts of types is explicitly mentioned. As this contract could have some bearing on the history of Italian typography, we shall pause a moment to consider it. Granjon there sold ‘diverse strikes of matrices and diverse sorts of types: St. Augustin, Nonpareilles… duly made, completed and perfect, to the judgment of the master printers, as those which Granjon has sold previously to Jehan de Tournois and Griffius.’ Gaspar de Molina, who is called ‘merchant, citizen of Lyons’, gave in exchange for this printing material a number of jewelled rings and gems: ‘rubies, diamonds, emeralds, turquoises and others.’ Witness were M. Morin, Jehan-Francois de Gabiano, booksellers, Pierre Fradin, and Michel Fézéand, Parisian book jobber.

Baudrier wondered who this Molina could be. One thing seems certain, he was not a printer, nor a man of the typographic trade since he had to be told that the delivered matrices were ‘perfect, to the judgment of the master printers’. He was rather a merchant who exported them; to which country? To Germany, to Spain, to Italy? To know more, one must scrutinize the typographic output of these three countries. For me, there is little doubt that he sent them to…

14. He is often called Parisienon; see for example the bibliographical ad- dresses of his workshop. A. F. Johnson [fig. 3] or Arabic [fig. 12] and Kenide Geroldian. See infra. § 7.
15. The exact date is unknown, but it seems to have been the year 1523, as the beginning of Granjon’s career.
17. Courcieux, I, 1546; II, 1640; Renouard, 1576.
21. Ibid., i, 13; ibid., v, 57–59.
22. The fact that Granjon was paid in precious stones, while none of the witnesses appeared to be specialists in this domain, leaves one to suppose…
that Granojon was acquainted with. Perhaps he had been apprenticed to a goldsmith which was not unusual for a type-caster of the sixteenth century. The Le Bœ memorandum confirms this deduction. Cf. Cartier, p. 20.


26. Ibid., p. 16.


30. Quod vero ad eleganter dig- niteraque voluminis munere per- tinet, obhuc prati typis venetae et germanicas superant; sic enim oculos meos decertat ut mineante fatigant. Hac nuncque librum Florentiae ex- cusam, quam de vita et rebus insignium virorum editoris, multa... cum voluptate percurgant... (Pauli Inst. opera, vol. III, ed. D. Vincenzo, Rome, 1557, p. 2).


32. Ibid., p. 50.


35. Parent, p. 335.

36. Coypelie ii, 1569.

37. Possibly the italic found in *Il nuovo testamento*, Lyons, Rouillé, 1558.


41. In that country, French types had begun to infiltrate since that time and to replace the older, noble but worn Italian characters, and their imitations from Basel. Two great Italian typographers of the mid-sixteenth century, Gabriele Giolito of Venice and Lorenzo Torrentino of Florence certainly employed Granojon’s types; the former from 1553, the latter from as early as 1539. It is tempting to put forward the hypothesis that Molina was the agent of the Medici, installed by Torrentino and paid with their treasures.

42. In 1552, Andrea Alciati, in a letter to Paolo Jovius, specifically commended Torrentino’s types as being more beautiful than Venetian or Swiss models.

43. A. F. Johnson, on the other hand, explored the allusion to de Tournes and Gryphius and discovered the first italics of Granojon in use at Lyons and Paris from 1543.

The first known publication of Granojon is dated 1549. It is a *New Testament* in Greek and Latin: *H νέας λαοτικών θεληματω*, Baudrier reproduces the title page which has the address Parisii. *Apud Robertum Granojon, in taberna Gryphiana.* 1549. The taberna Gryphiana, former residence of Franciscus Gryphius, was occupied from 1545 by Robert Granojon. Normally one would attribute the types employed in this edition to Granojon, but since there are examples of the same publication bearing the address of Jacques de Puisy and of Michel Fézendet, some caution must be exerted.

Granojon entered into association with the same Fézendet, printer-bookseller of Paris, in 1550; the apparently abrupt termination of this association is dated November 1551. The associates determined to stipulate quite clearly their respective commitments. Coypelie reproduces the bill of dissolution which is of major importance to typographic history and which, apparently, has never been investigated. Besides interesting notes on the technique of typefounders in the sixteenth century, one finds mention there of a nonpareil italic and a greek cut for Rouillé of Lyons, another italic cut for de Tournes, and a small music type cut for Fézendet.

Several years later, in 1557, Granojon found himself at the centre of typographical interest by the invention of the characters known as Civilité, a French cursive gothic, cut to counter the italic of the Italians (1501) and the fraktur of the Germans (1531). The history of this typographical curiosity is well known. A recent study attributes eight Civilité types to Granojon. The first came to light in Lyons in 1557, where he seems to have remained until around 1562. In any case, before 1559 Granojon married Antoinette Salomon, daughter of Bernard Salomon, named ‘le petit Bernard’, one of the great Lyonnais illustrators and wood engravers. In Bernard Salomon’s will of 15 October 1559, Granojon is called ‘master printer, citizen of Lyons’. Furthermore, his known books from this period all bear his Lyons address until 1562.

Marriage did not make Granojon a sedentary man; in the years which followed one finds him residing in Antwerp, Frankfurt, Paris, Lyons and Rome.

The exact date of his arrival in Antwerp is unknown. The Plantin archives mention contracts between Granojon and Plantin from the beginning of January, 1565, but by October, 1564, Plantin had already sold books to him. It is even possible that Granojon was in Antwerp from 1563, the date, in fact, of the appearance of a Civilité belonging to the Antwerp printer Gulielmus Silvius. Granojon’s activity in Antwerp is known well enough. The Plantin collection still possesses forty of Granojon’s types, which have been studied and commented upon.

The exact date of his departure from Antwerp is uncertain, but should be placed around 1570. That year, Plantin sent him payment to Frankfurt, through which city Granojon was probably passing. It was about this time that his new types appeared en masse in the typography of the German metropolis. In 1571 he was back in Paris. The sale catalogue of C. Nodier includes a copy (now lost) of the *Oedis d’Aenacreon*, published that year in Paris. The publications of his second Parisian period, which are known with more certainty, date from 1572 to 1574 approximately. Granojon paid him again in 1574 and 1575 through the intermediary G. Beys in Paris. Around 1575 and up to 1577 we find him back in Lyons. The last certain date there is 2 September 1577. A year later he was in Rome where he worked until November 1580. He died in the spring of 1590 and was buried in the church Trinity de Monti on 14 March 1590.
§3. Granjon in Rome

It is not easy to find precise information about Granjon's stay in Rome. Baudrier copied what Michaux had written\(^{56}\) and Michaux largely transcribed the Lettere sopra i principi e progressi della Biblioteca Laurenziana, (Florence, 1773) by Bernardo Bandini. Renouard says nothing about the Roman stay. He, and consequently most of the transalpine scholars remained ignorant of Saltini's 1860 paper\(^{57}\) in the Giornale storico degli archivi toscani, a rather rare periodical. The later publications of Bertolotti and Baumgartner\(^{58}\) suffered the same lacuna. Regrettably, an interesting study by Koroletsky\(^{59}\) was never published.

Nevertheless, Granjon's Roman sojourn is important. Firstly, in the biography of one of the greatest of all French typographers; then in the history of orientalism in occidental Europe during the sixteenth century, as well as in the history of Italian typography in the same period; and, finally, for the archaeology of the book in general, as this study will give us the opportunity to observe what was possible, typographically speaking, in a single decade with the talent of a Granjon and the backing of the pontifical court and of the Medici.

For a moment we will focus on the history of sixteenth-century Italian typography. From an international point of view it had, it seems to me, two culminating points: the first at the beginning of the century, with Aldo, Griffio, Soncino, Arrighi, and Blado; the other, towards its end, with the creation of the typographical societies – the Tipografia Camerale, the Stamperia del Popolo Romano, the Stamperia Vaticana, and, last and most important of all, the Stamperia Medicea, an enterprise undertaken at great cost and with a view to unequalled quality which enabled it to continue, in a certain sense, through the seventeenth century and until our time in the Press of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.\(^{60}\) Between these two peaks, one principally Venetian, the other Roman, one perceives a period of stasis or regression, beginning after the sack of Rome, around 1530, and not ending until 1560 when Granjon arrived in Rome. There are of course exceptions:

Gioiino in Venice, Torrentino in Florence, Manuzio in Rome; but, from an European perspective and compared with an Estienne or a Plantin, they were of moderate worth, albeit honest.

\(^{57}\) G. E. Saltini, Della Stamperia orientale medicea e di Giorgio Battista Rainaldi, in Giornale storico archivi toscani, IV, 1860, pp. 227–236. See also his La bibbia pelagiana medicea, in Bellatorin italiano degli studi orientali, N.S., XXI, 1888, pp. 390–409. Saltini mentions here his monograph on the history of the Medicean and the fact that he owned some proofs of the Medicean psalms. It would be important to retrieve this documentation.

\(^{58}\) A. Bertolotti, Le tipografie orientali e gli orientalisti nei secoli XVI e XVII, in Rundal europea, 32, 1896, pp. 101–126; F.M. Baumgartner, Neue Rundal roman alien Biblion, Rome, 1892.

\(^{59}\) C. Koroletsky, La tipografia medicea e le pubblicazioni orientali à Rome à la fin du XVIIe siècle, en article of 49 pp., written for the Micromerii Giornale Mercuris but never published. It contains many interesting details about oriental liturgical books printed in Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An annotated proof is preserved in the Vatican Library (Stampa, R. III.97).

With the Medicean press the Italian book found itself once more at the forefront of European typographic. Francesc Rabhengianus, son-in-law of Christopher Plantin, attests, in the preface to his _Alphabetum Carolinum_ that he copied the _caratteri elegansissimi_ of the Stamperia Medicea and, let there be no doubt, the founder of the school of oriental printing in the Low Countries never equalled them.

The man who was ultimately responsible for the technical perfection of Roman typography at the end of the sixteenth century—which even exceeded its philological achievements—was Robert Granjon.

In Rome, Granjon was the art master who was exploited to the full by Domenico Basa, technical director of the Stamperia Vaticana and Giambattista Raimondi, orientalist and scientific director of the celebrated oriental press of the Medici. Here Granjon found himself associated with the work, ardently undertaken by Gregory XIII, of reuniting the non-Roman Christians, particularly those of the Near East and Slav countries. This missionary goal was the origin of a numerous series of oriental publications, some of small scope, such as catechisms, prayers of faith, Gregorian calendars, psalters, and the conclusions of the Council of Trent, at other times more important, like missals, grammars and profoane works, such as _Liber de castigatione crucis et Avicenna_. The most important undertaking was the Arab edition of the New Testament 1590–91, realizing the old vision of Christian Europe: the transmission of Christ's words in the language of his then bitterest enemy; fulfilling the dream of French, German and Italian zealots, Catholics and Protestants alike.

And this project was little more, in the Roman scheme, than a preliminary step towards an immense polyglot bible in a dozen languages and running to thirty volumes, but which was never realized.
As I have indicated above, the last date, known with any certainty, of Granjon’s residence in France is September 1577. In 1579 we find him in Rome, in the entourage of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro. This dynamic and influential prelate22—he was papable in 1592—played an important role in the organization of an oriental press at Rome. Since 1577 he had been, with Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto and Filippo Vastavillino, named ‘protector’ of the Collegio dei Neofiti, a college intended for Mohammedan and Jewish neophytes; in this capacity he often had the opportunity to demonstrate his great interest in oriental studies. He left an autobiography27 and a diary, which was edited by Krajcar.28 Of the greatest relevance here, he mentions in a letter of 15 May 1579 the outcome of an interview with Gregory XIII: ‘... della stampa armenica, (reply:) Che li piace [As for Armenian publishing: he approves].29 A bald phrase, and at first glance inexplicable; but as I see it in the light of two subsequent facts, it should be interpreted as the Pope’s consent in principle to the cutting of Armenian punches. In fact, several months later,30 on 10 September 1579, Cardinal Santoro again notes: ‘Di Roberto Francesc iniattigatore di caratteri singolarissimi che vuol baciare i piedi a [Sua] Santità’; and, later, ‘Baciò i piedi, offrere il carattere Armeno, etc.’ [As for Robert, the extraordinary French type cutter, he sends his respects (literally, he wishes to kiss your Holiness’ feet).] He kissed the Pope’s feet and offered him the Armenian specimen, etc.]31

Here then is Robert Granjon from the outset of his stay in Rome32 in audience with Gregory XIII. He presented to the Pope the specimen of his Armenian types ‘nunc primum Romae incisi’ (now firstly cut in Rome),33 a copy of which was discovered in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome34 among Cardinal Santoro’s papers. The specimen is explicit enough: the title announces the ‘Armenici characteres Gregorii XIII. Pont. Opt. Max. Iussu nunc primum Romae incisi’; at the foot one finds ‘Rob. Granjon Parisiens. incidebat. Romae. 1579’. It displays an Armenian alphabet on a body of English35 with initials which we suppose are engraved on wood (Fig. 3). A complete showing of this Armenian alphabet is found in Rocca’s work36 on the history of the Vatican Library, printed at Rome in 1591. Granjon’s Armenian is a superb type, far superior to that ornamental that gives the Gran duce of Tuscany to Rome: as the index of libro manoscritti che si bollano, e nella lingua Arabica, Chaldae, Sirica, Persia, Etrusca, (British Museum, ms. Sloane 1506, fols. 99v-100r; L’abbé impressi liberavite et monachia civita di Ferdinando Medici); Bibl. Nat. Paris, ms. lat. 5395 (Pariscus fund), fol. 359v-355. It is doubtful one or other of these manuscript lists which was the origin of the bibliography compiled by P. Labbé, Nouveau bibliothèque litteraire, Paris, J. Renauld, 1653, Suplementum VI, pp. 290-296 and of G. Lips, Éléments des sciences mathématiques en Italie, 1, 1815, pp. 216-222. Cfr. also G. Gabrieli, Manuale di bibliografia musicale, Rome, 1910; ibid., ‘Manoscritti e carte orientali nelle biblioteche e negli archivi d’Italia, ’13, 1939, pp. 287-302; A systematic scrutiny of the Magliabechiana and of the Riccardiana in Florence could prove fruitful. Cf. Inventario e storia della libreria Raddi. Manoscritti e edizioni, Florence, 1880.

Finally, I will point out the appearance of two other Armenian fonts in Western Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century: the Milanese type of the Collegium Ambrosianum, in use around 1621 in the work of Fr. Rivola, and the Parisian type which was cut at the expense of Richelieu and employed by the well-known oriental printer of Paris, Antoine Vitray, from 1633 for the Officium Librorum Exsulciscorum.

4. Title-page of the Armenian calendar, printed with Granjon's types in 1654 by Domenico Basa (Vatican Library, R.G. Or. IV 596 [13]). The florins are possibly by Granjon (Early Imp., p. 36, no. MA. 188 f.).


89. No. 28 (157 pieces). The series clearly also contains printing-presses which were added later. The classification (from the beginning of the fourteenth century) does not make distinctions between different hands. This remark holds true for the majority of the series of printing-presses mentioned below. In view of the age—they figure among the most ancient which have been preserved—and of their importance to the history of typography, I may express the wish that they will be classified more scientifically and that someone will study them in more detail than has so far been possible.

Elsewhere, I believe I have seen several of Granjon's presses strayed among the Armenians of the Imprimerie nationale in Paris.

90. Granjon cut two series of Armenian, but in fact these constitute one font of majuscule and lower-case type. The Armenian (for) the Vatican (series) Armeno della Propaganda [pamphlet no. 187] and Armeno della BibliotecaVaticana [pamphlet no. 89] are probably of a later date, since, until the seventeenth century, the Propaganda press continued to use Granjon's Armenians. Possibly the matrices for these still exist among the Vatican Armenian matrices (nos. 14, 15, 16, 17).


92. The printing was finished in September 1583. Cf. Krajci, p. 77.

93. R. G. Or. IV, 596 597 598 (8th f.). Cf. Della Vida, p. 312, n. 1; Krajci, p. 77, n. 266. I have not seen the prefaces of the second edition of this work. Cf. Krajci, p. 77.

94. (Jean Abel), Une mission religieuse en Orient au xviie siècle. Relation adressée au Sixte Quint par l'archevêque de Sidon, translated by A. d'Avril, Paris, 1866, p. 36; Della Vida, pp. 100, 204, 81, 83.

95. In the inventory of Abel (ca. 1601) forty-seven copies were mentioned (Della Vida, Roderic, p. 251; Van Var., xx, f. 105), but I do not know whether this concerns the 1566 or an earlier edition.


97. See the passage in the address to

produced by a contemporary like Leonhard Thurneyser zum Thun,29 several years later in 1583, at his oriental press in Berlin.

One would suppose that the presses for this Armenian still exist in the Medici Library at Florence.28 Certain identifying features of the Laurentian printers prove to be important. It will allow, by the study of the exterior form of the punch (which is generally peculiar to each punch-cutter), the exact identification of the typographic treasures of the Vatican27 and the Medicean libraries.

The cutting of the Armenian should be placed—along with the other oriental types which followed—in the great campaign led by Pius V and his successors with a view to reaffirming the oriental Christians to the church and in the ultimately vain attempts of Gregory XIII to promulgate and promote his Gregorian calendar in the Near East.

The following note in Cardinal Santoro’s journal on 15 December 1581, should not therefore astonish us: ‘Del calendario in lingua armena gia tradotto e da sta[m]parsi. [Reply:] che si faccia[?]’ [As for the calendar already translated into Armenian and ready to be printed: let it be done].26 This Armenian calendar [Fig. 4] was actually printed by Domenico Basa in 1582.25 There are two copies in the Vatican Library.26 Towards the end of 1584 the calendar was delivered to the patriarch Azarias of the Armenians by Leonardo Abel, bishop of Sidon and special emissary of the Pope in the Near East.28 Normally the Roman legate would have delivered it at the same time a profession of faith in Armenian, but so far no copy of this has been uncovered.29

I noticed Granjon’s Armenian again in the Hydrologiologia sive de aqua benedicta by the Bishop of Salerno, Marco Antonio Marsili Colonna (1542–1589), printed at Rome, Ex typis Bartolomei Bonifatii, 1585.28 This work is dedicated to Sixtus V and to it the author appends the rites of the oriental liturgy, copied from a Pontificale Armencum of the Vatican Library, from the library of Cardinal Santoro.30 This connection explains why the pontifical types were put at the disposal of a printer other than Domenico Basa.31 One finds them, among other places, in later editions of this work.32 They are also to be seen in Rochau’s work [Fig. 5]. In 1596 the same types were employed in the Armenian profession of faith printed by the Stampenica Vaticana.33 Later uses of this type are of lesser significance to my attribution to Granjon. Nevertheless I note several uses during the seventeenth century.34 This list could be completed with items of Davian’s typography.35

[And, at my suggestion, the Pope ordered that the Church of St. Maria Egiziaca al poente Senatorio, assignata alla nazione armena, per celebrare secondo il rito loro; giacché erano dati in stampa non solo i caratteri dell’odierna armeno, ma anche l’ilirico, l’abissino, caldeo, arabo e cofano, accio tute le genti hannoessero li libri secondo il loro idonea.]24

82. The Le Rè Memorandum mentions December 1578 as the month of Granjon’s arrival in Rome. Cf. Carter, p. 5.

83. It is generally accepted that Armenian types were introduced into Europe by Teso Ambrogio (Padua, 1550) and in Rome, in 1562, by M.A. Aggar.

84. Ms. K, f. 175; Krajci, p. 20, n. 44.

85. Granjon clearly copied the roundhand Italico writing style, employed from the twelfth to fifteenth century and, for ecclesiastical works, even to the nineteenth century. This type of writing succeeded Uncial (eleventh century) and preceded curved scripts (thirteenth to fourteenth century). The most beautiful and the most painstakingly executed manuscripts are in Italic. See S. Macke, Catalogue des manuscrits du musée historique et historique de la Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1906, pp. xxv–xxvi.


88. This German humanist, whose career was notorious, cut an ancient Hebrew, an Ethic, a Syriac, an Arabic, an Armenian, a Glagolitic, a Cyrillic, a ‘Jacobite’ (Georgian), an ‘Egyptian’ (hieratic), an Indian, Per-
§5. Granjon’s Syriac (: 130 mm)

Immediately after finishing the Armenian type, Granjon must have commenced his Syriac. The Jacobite patriarch, Ignatius XVI N’mat Allah (Na’matallah), had arrived in Rome around the beginning of 1578 to negotiate with Cardinal Santoro and Leonardo Aebel the reunion of his church with that of Rome. The preparation for a Syriac press began in September 1579. Cardinal Sirleto transmitted the order, through Gaspar Viviano, Bishop of Anagni, to commence the “carattere chalde” 108. The original receipt for an advance of twenty-five gold crowns is in the Vatican archives. Even without other explicit proof, one can infer that Robert Granjon cut this Syriac [Fig. 6]; his rapport with the Vatican, with Domenico Basa, the accounts of Giambattista Raimondi, and finally, the absence of other punchcutters in Rome capable of attaining such a level would speak in favour of this hypothesis. Furthermore, Francesco Barberi later discovered in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana the original specimen [Fig. 6]. It has exactly the same layout as the Armenian specimen mentioned above, and its imprint mentions R. Granjon Parisinus incidentij. Rome, 1580.

This was not the first Syriac which Granjon had cut: he also cut the Syriac which Plantin had used in his great Polyglot Bible 109 (1568–1572), after models furnished by the French orientalist Guillaume Postel. 110 Later, the Plantinian types would turn up through the Raphelengius, at the oriental press of Thomas Erpenius 111 at Leyden. Compared to the Plantin types (which are on a slightly larger body) [Fig. 7], the Roman characters are cut more freely and have a decidedly more calligraphic aspect.

The first impression known to us of the Roman Syriac is the catechism 112 (attributed to Fabio Bruno) printed in Karšuni for presentation to the Lebanese Synod of 1580. 113 The book has no imprint but we can assume that it is by Domenico Basa, the usual custodian of the type. This publication is dated 7 April 1588, that is to say, about six months after the cutting had started and thus it corresponds to the time lapse established above. 114 The existence of the Syriac font had become common knowledge in Rome by 1581, when Francesco Zanetti mentions it in the epistle dedicating his edition of the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom to Gregory XIII. 115

108. In chronological order this would be the fourth Syriac in Europe; it is preceded by the Syriac of Teno Ambrosio (Pavia), J. M. Simonetta, 1559, of Zimmer- man (Vicenza, 1553), and that of Plantin’s Polyglot, 1568–1572.
110. The denomination of Syriac in texts of the sixteenth century incunabula. Della Vida (Romano, p. 132, n. 1) notes that the same term sometimes designates Ethiopian Syriac, (both soti or efranghale), or the Araamic, used by the Hebrews. In this paragraph I have included Arabic texts printed in karšuni, that is, with Syriac type.
111. Vatican Archives, ix, fol. 313; one must combine this decision with a note of Cardinal Santoro (Vatican Archives, Ar. 13, n. 23, fol. 32 of 25 October 1588; Kraiger, p. 53). ‘Della stampa della lingua malavar fatta nell’Oriente cristiano, dettamente della chiesa che desi- dessero. [Reply:] mostrano i libri di quegli ordini che si facessi la chiesa par mandare. ’The libe- retto’ would have been the Deebina Cirilka of the jesuit Marco Jorge translated into Tamil by Henrique Henriques, s. j. and Manuel de San Pedro, s. J. and printed in Quilon, 1598, G. Schuchhammer and G. W. Correll ascribe the types to Juan Gonzalves, s. j., or to another by de San Pedro, s. J. ‘The first printing in Indo charactere, in Harvard Library bulletin., vi, 1952, pp. 115–150, or the Far Samilarum of Father João de Faria (1578), which Sommervoeghel (III, 545; IX, 314) and J. Dalmann (Die Sprachgenüde und die Münzen, Freiburg, 1901, pp. 10–13) say was printed with the types of the author. See also J. Muller and E. Roth, Italienische Druckschriften im 16. Jahrhundert, Baden-Baden, 1956, p. 47–52.
112. Florence, Archiv. di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or. 1, 2, fol. 25 (the casting of ‘cads’); fol. 24 (June 1588) shows the ‘chaldic groste’ Raimondi’s report of 1 December
The second impression of this type was perhaps the Praefissa fidei, in die die & sine loco, which Leonardo Abel took with him to the Near East and, by 1583, had given to the Jacobite bishop Thomas, along with the Gregorian calendars mentioned below.120

The Gregorian calendars printed in karišni, are dated 1583; again, they bear no imprint: once more they can be attributed to Domenico Basa since one finds on them the same ornamentation123 as on the works which follow.

The Kitab as-sákā' al-saltani (Book of seven daily prayers ... Horologium monasticum), printed in karišni, is a well-known text.124 Schnurrer mentions it in his Bibliotheca Arabicca (no. 258). There are copies in the British Museum,125 the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the bibliothèque nationale in Paris,126 and in the Vatican Library.127 Its Latin colophon reads as follows: 'Sanctissimi D. N. Gregorii XIII. P. M. impensa [arms of Gregory XIII]. Rome, anno Domini 1584. Ex typographia Domenico Basa'.

In 1585, the following year, in the same Syriac of Granjon and from the same printer appeared the Officium defunctorum ad usum Maronitarum S. D. N. Gregorij XIII. Pont. Max. impensa Chaldaicae characteribus impressum128 [Figs. 8, 9]. In 1586 one finds this type in the already cited work of Marsili, in 1591 in that of Rocca,129 in 1605 in the third edition of Marsili, and in 1608 in Della Porta.130

From the accounts of Raimondi131 one can deduce that Granjon also cut a 'chaldeae grande'132 and a 'chaldeae piccolo'. At the moment it is impossible to determine which Syriacs might be hidden under these names. They could be the large and very beautiful titling type, the punches for which are preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea (under the allotment 20) and which I believe without having a ready means of comparison - are seen in the Rudimentum Syriacum, Roma, Ex Collegio Maronitarum, 1618 (Paris, coll. M. Bessoon), or they could well be those, only slightly larger than Granjon's first Syriac, which appear in Mediterranean impressions from around 1592,133 for example in the Missal for the use of the Maronites and in 1596 from Jac. Luna.134 More thorough research will be necessary to identify with any certainty the individual parts played by the succeeding engravers to the Medici and the Propaganda: Robert Granjon, Jean Cavaillon, Battista Sottile, Gennaro Antonio Mori, to whom Saltini and Bertolotti attribute the cutting of one or more Syriacs.135

It will be interesting to solve this problem so that account can be taken of the Syriac types - smaller than Granjon's - which appeared in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century, that is, in Kircher and Wemmers, cited above in footnote 10, in the Rudimentum Syriacum, 126 in Abr. Ecchelensis, Lingua Syriaca sive Chaldaica perennis institutio (Rome, Propaganda, 1628), in the Processo sanllianae Crucis (ibid., 1679),136 and in the Catalogus librorum Chaldaorum (ibid., 1653), etc.
7. Granjon's 'Syriac sur l'Augustine', cut for Planpin in 1569 after a design by Guillaume Postel, illustrated from Planpin's Folio specimen, ca. 1535. The second line is an Estrangelo Syriac, cut by Granjon for use with the serco Syriac. Cf. Verhét-Carter, p. 11, nos. 91–1.

128. Whereas the Vatican Press used Granjon's new types for Rocca's work, the concuring work of Mutu Pasca (Della libraia Vaticana, Rome, G. Martinelli, 1590) was restricted for the reproduction of exotic languages to the use of rather primitive woodcuts, with the exception, however, of this Syriac which figures on page 259.  
129. See above, p. 16, n. 12a.
130. See above, p. 17, n. 109.
131. Narraùah, p. 84, points out a letter of 1586, in which this type is mentioned.
132. Twenty lines measure 220 mm, against 160 mm for Granjon's first Syriac. It has yet to be established whether this type corresponds to the Syriac no. 2 (Medici, no. 8) of the Medican. Proofs may be found at Florence, Arch. di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., iv, 2.
134. Liber ministri misit iuxta ritum Basiliana Nationis Maronitarum, Rome, 1568; Bibl. Nat. Paris, B 182; and George M. Amira, Grammatica syriaca seu chaldaica, Rome, in Typographia Linguearum Externarum Apud Iosephum Lannum, 1596 (Vatican Library, R. G. Ori. X 588; Bibl. Nat. Paris X 1014 (1); Brit. Mus., Ellis, 1, 1902; Della Vida, pp. 341–349. One finds there on pp. 3–3 a complete alphabet of an 'estrange de duplicatus' (open), used of an oriental Syriac. (Nestorian). Again, it was Raimondi who was in the centre of these activities. Amira mentions him in his preface (fol. 1a 450) as follows: 'Hic accedebant multorum amicorum hortationes, inter quos praecipuus erat doctus, ac multis linguisarum peritius Ioannes Baptista Raymundus, qui sicet ex eo tempore, ex quo a Serenissimo, ac liberalissimo Principe Ferdinando Et- bernie magno Ducu novorum typorum conficiendorum, ac totius sive impressionis curam suscepit, summum labore, et industria eleganterissimos Orientium linguisarum caracteres exodi curavit, semperque huiusmodi linguinis quorum in se fuit prorsusivus'.  
135. Salmi, pp. 268–269, attributes to Granjon the 'calde gran Ariae code' (5. viii. 1553) and a type 'mezzone sinocaldano' (2810. 2230). In July 1570, Cavalloni cut a 'caldeaco secondo i Maroniti', Sotille in 1573 a 'caldeaco antico'. Bertolotti, pp. 38–40, attributes to Giacomo Antonio Mori the Syriac on a large body, made at the expense of Paul V and which was used in 1616 to print Grand Selene (Vatican Library, Stamp. Barba., B 3–6).  
137. British Museum, Ellis, 1, 959.

8, 9. Title-page and colophon of the Maronitic Officium defuntorum (Rome, Basa, 1595), printed with Granjon's Syriac. Pleasums are possibly also by Granjon (Vatican Library, R. G. Liturgia IV 30).
§6. Rūḥīrūʾ al-Kranyānī: the Arabics of Granjon

When Granjon arrived in Italy, at the end of 1578, Arabic typography had been practised there for more than half a century. In 1514, Gregorio de Gregorio had printed in Fano (a small town on the Adriatic coast south of Pesaro) the first book in Arabic types, a book of hours, the ‘Precatio borearum’ or ‘Horologium’. Two years later, in 1516, the learned bishop of Nebbio, Agostino Guasini and the Genoese printer Pietro Paolo Porro, produced the ‘Psalterium Hebraicum, Gregcum, Arabicum et Chaldeum’. For the third book in Arabic types one would cite the enigmatic Qur’an of Paganino de Paganinis (Venice, ca. 1517) — an enigmatic work because so far no one has seen a copy; its existence, however, is not in doubt: as proof there is the assertion of Guillaume Postel and that made by Paganino’s son, Alexander, possessor of his father’s Arabic types. At Rome, Arabic types appeared in 1566. Pius IV, eager to diffuse the conclusions of the Council of Trent in the Orient, charged the Jesuit Giambattista Eliano in 1564 to acquire oriental types at papal expense, and to incorporate them with the materials of the Typographia del Collegio Romano, the Jesuit press at Rome (1555–1615). Although in its later days it showed no more than sporadic signs of life, it produced under the impulse of Eliano a first Arabic work in 1566, the Fidei orthodoxae brevis et explicata confessio in Latin and Arabic [Fig. 1]. Korolevsky mentions a second edition of the same work, without date, but with the same types, which he dates between 1570 and 1578.

The third Arabic impression with these Jesuit types is the Musabaha or ‘Spiritual dialogue between Sinan and Ahmad’, a polemic attacking Islam. Its author is not identified; perhaps it was Eliano himself, or, more likely, Leonardo Abel. The date too is uncertain, but it must have been prior to 1580 when Granjon’s Arabic types, far superior to those of the press of the Roman college, became available.

A fourth impression with the same types appears with the imprint of the Roman printer Francesco Zanetti. In 1580 he published a third edition of the Brevis orthodoxae fidei professio, que ex prescripto Sancti Sedis Apostolicae ab Orientalibus ad sacramentum Romanae Ecclesiae unitatem venien-
tibus facienda proponitur.103 It is a small book, not a major production, but well printed and agreeably illustrated with copper engravings [Fig. 11].

A fifth and last impression is an anonymous proof, without date, preserved within a manuscript in the Vallicellian Library in Rome.104 In the same manuscript is found the Armenian specimen of a grant, which was possibly at the instigation of Cardinal Viviani) on oriental typography under Gregory XIII and other papers discussing the Greek College. The Arabic proof was clearly pulled from worn characters: it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that it was shown to Gregory XIII or Cardinal Santoro before the decision to cut new Arabic types was made or, perhaps, to compare them with the new Arabic cut by Granjon from 1580 on.

Arabic typography had interested Gregory XIII since 1578. On February 21, Cardinal Santoro noted in his journal105 that the Jesuit's Arabic types had to be 'refreshed', that Eliano would take them to Venice106 (for which the nonce would receive a credit of 150 crowns), and they would finally be delivered to Domenico Bana. On 24 January 1579 the matrices returned to Rome; the series appeared to be, however, incomplete and only usable at considerable extra cost.107 The arrival of Granjon in the Eternal City opened a whole new era for the work of Gregory XIII and Santoro. They would not miss the opportunity of acquiring new types to replace the old Jesuit models, which, a generation later, Thomas Erpenius, the renowned orientalist of Leyden and connoisseur of Arabic types, would call 'inelegantes typi Romæ'.108 Granjon arrived in Rome, as we have said, at the end of 1578. He had travelled a lot, having worked in Paris, Lyons, Antwerp, Frankfurt. His reputation in the field of typography was great. Bandini reports109 that he had been approached by Protestant printers and scholars about collaborating on their oriental publications. He subsequently became a pawn in the semi-political, semi-religious combat to which— at the same moment as their positions became fixed in Europe— Protestantism and Catholicism devoted themselves for the spiritual conquest of this immense domain of such importance, the Near East. Alternatively one might infer from Bandini's report that Granjon was dramatizing the situation to derive most profit from his presence in Rome. It is quite unlikely to suppose that this was the case.110 German orientalism had lost Caspar Kraft of Elwangen (1555–1562) — who cut the Syriac of Zimmermann and those of Raphael Hothaler111 through his emigration to Debreczen. On the other hand, one

and among the others, Robert Granjon of Paris, who excelled at cutting types in steel; for this Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici paid him, besides 150 scudi a month and the lodgings, one golden scudo per letter; and he was the best cutter who ever lived. On top of that, Pope Gregory XIII gave him 500 scudi for each alphabet and by his generosity prevented him from traveling to Germany, as some transalpinians wished. The Pope also ordered that the punches would not leave Rome, for fear that the heretics would try to spread their word by means of the Arabic alphabet, especially in those Oriental countries where the orthodox religion was not yet implanted or only just arising.112 Bandini is based on an undated report of Raimondi, explicitly mentioning the German demand. Florence, Archiv. di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or. III, 15.

10. The Breviarium Pontificum, printed in Latin and Arabic at Rome (1566) by the Jesuit Typographer del Collegio Romano.

must evaluate Bandini's information in taking account of the efforts of the German Protestant orientalists,113 of Jacob Christmann in 1582,114 of Rutger Spey in 1583,115 to develop an oriental press; such attempts were fruitless; the Germans had to be contented with less impressive woodcuts.

The Germans were bent on proselytizing among the non-Roman Christians of the Near East is explicit in the foreword of Spey's Epitaphia ad Galatam116 addressed to the Protestant German princes:

... Quamvis hic non tam rationem habedam existimam nostrorum commodorum... quam ut pur populus atque nationes, (quid enim est hodie Christianismus, si species gentes Mahometi) Nominium quod olum...
videmus quae idem non de Arabis exemplaribus sperabimus... Unico enim Novo Testamento semel Arabice impresso, et per artem typographicae multiplicato, per quos[...]. Asian atque Africam dispersa, plus apud illos efficiebatur, quam si aliquot millia contionatorum ling- guarum Arabicam ignorantem eo mitierentur. 165

We should not think here immediately of our own advantages, but rather to the aid which would be provided to so many (indeed, how small is Christianity, when compared with the peoples of the prophet Mahomet — not much more than Judea compared with the rest of the world), countries and nations, which are immersed in the darkest igno- rance, because they do not know the Holy Scripture and the word of God, in part because they miss the contact with our holy books. In my opinion, this aid can be best provided by printing and multiplying the holy books and by sending these to them, so that they may draw the true religion from them, and they may perceive the light of the true Evagile. If God looking to them, would incite among the Christian princes a new Isaias, which may take care to print and to divulgate the holy books, initially the New Testament, doubtless would this increase His fame.

Moreover a great part of the cost could be hoped to be recovered, when some thousand copies would be exported through booksellers or through Venice, and from there could be spread throughout Asia and Africa. If the Hebrew Bibles printed in Venice and in other places in Germany can be spread to the Jews of the whole Orient for their use, why not expect the same for copies in Arabic. Once the New Testament has been printed for the first time in Arabic and multiplied through the art of printing and spread over Asia and Africa, the result would be much greater than by sending several thousand missionaries, who do not know Arabic.

If I dwell a little longer on this interesting preface to an otherwise mediocre work, it is because I believe that Rome had taken this German menace to the letter. It was not by chance, in my opinion, that in the Vatican copy 165 of Spey's book this prefix is missing, as it is no more a chance that the proof of Granjon's small Arabic 166 on a body particularly fitting to a long text in a small format, exactly reproduces the first eight lines of the Arabic text chosen by Spey (St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians).

Such inferences would shed some light on the genesis of Granjon’s first Arabics and also on the first of the Medicean publications, the Gospels of 1590–91, which were not to be printed in pocket format with the piccolino of Granjon, but in folio, and with illustrations, and which proved as a result to be practically unusable. Granjon and the Medicean Arabs directly and markedly influenced oriental typographic in the seventeenth century. Francisco Raphelengius, the learned son-in-law of Plantin and predecessor of Thomas Erpenius, refers to them in the preface to his Alphabetum Arabum of 1592. 166 The influence was also felt in Germany where Peter Kirsten 167, had Peter von Selow’s copy not only the Arabic, 166 but also the roman and italic types of Granjon. The influence on French orientalism from Casaubon, impassioned collector of Medicean editions, 168 was Dominique Le Be 167 and Sav-
§7. The small Arabic
(on two-line Great Primer : 200 mm)

This first Arabic of Granjon datable with accuracy (1580) was clearly intended to replace that of the Jesuits. It is slightly larger (200 mm as opposed to 165 mm) and cut in a rather meager style, close enough to that of the Jesuits; it differs noticeably from the more calligraphic Arabics which Granjon cut during the period 1583–86.

An Arabic specimen, dated 1582, discovered by Alberto Tinto in the Biblioteca nazionale at Rome and composed in an analogous manner to the Armenian specimen, bears the imprint: 'Rob. Granlon Parisiens. Typographus Incidbat Romae. 1580.' The specimen is illustrated by the papal arms in copper- engraving; without doubt it was destined to be shown to the Pope (Fig. 12).

By the end of 1581, the new Arabic was cut and cast:
'Della stampa Arabica nova finita e chi si gettata per 100000 lettere sopra che Sua Santi[n]a presto 200 [scudi] per pigliare oper[e] e si attendera a stampare' [Concerning the new Arabic just completed and which was cast up in 100,000 letters for which Your Holiness made available 200 scudi to begin work and (with which) one will (soon) set about printing.]

I know of no Arabic impression made at Rome in 1582. Perhaps the difficulties28 which Basa experienced in finding convenient premises explain this. The 1581 type appeared only on rare occasions. Its first use discovered thus far is in the Kitāb al-Buṣīlān, a little treatise on geography, the first profane work which the Arabic press has left us (Fig. 13). One supposes that Giambattista Raimondi was its editor.288 This rare opuscule is known to us in only three copies,289 one in the Medican, another in the Marciana, and a third (incomplete) copy in the Bodleian.290 It has two bibliographic addresses, one in Arabic which Pinto291 translates as follows: 'Printed in Rome-the Great by Rūbitr al-Kra[yan] al-Parisiyyān in the year 1584 of the Incarnation'; the other, the colophon, is in Latin: 'Roma, ex typographia Domenici Basae. 1585.'

The book, which numbers one hundred and six folios, is decorated with several illustrations on copper, the simple style of which recalls those in the Arabic Professio fidelis of Zanetti (1580) and the Russian catechism of Basa (1583). Fleurons abound, and it is tempting to attribute them to

177. Misc. Valenti 1827/3; Tinto, p. 486.
181. Brockelmann, Geschichte der deuts. arab. Literatur, Berlin, Suppl. 11, 1912, p. 84.
Granjon. One also finds two Arabics: one on a large body which was later in the possession of the Medicean Library (see below §9), employed only for titles, and the small Arabic here under discussion.

I have never seen this type in a Medicean publication. On the contrary, it seems to me that the press of the Propaganda used it from time to time. In the sixteenth century I have only seen it in an anonymous and undated proof, preserved among the papers of G. B. Raimondi[^84] — a fragment of a geographic text, of the Cosmography of Qazwini.[^95]


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