‘SEE THIS BOOK AND READ IT’

Reading the Typography of English 1509–1592

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ABSTRACT

This thesis gives a timeline of English typography between 1509 and 1592, and uses it to examine some ways sixteenth-century typography could and can be read. It is founded on a database of typographic descriptions of 10,645 books printed in England or English between 1509 and 1592, representing 82% of known editions for this period.

Chapter 1 applies the data to interrogate the truism that blackletter signified English, while also showing correlations for other languages. The broad developments in the relationship between the English language and the three typefaces are described. The second half of the chapter zooms in to the imperfect manifestation of language on the page. Chapter 2 begins with hypotheses that connect typography to certain religious movements. It shows that typographically anomalous books are often those written by dissident authors, and in this group we find the first English book in roman, the first English roman W, and the first English book in italic. The continental design of English books printed by the Marian exiles in Geneva is read as an index of their enfranchisement in a transnational Calvinist community.

The topic of Chapter 3 is subject. A broad statistical picture of the relationship between typography and subject is given. Two distinct groups of books are considered in this context, both involving the reprinting of extant works. The first shows a fresh enthusiasm for roman type in humanist books between 1519 and 1522; the second argues that William Copland consciously archaized his vernacular reprints of the 1550s and 60s. Chapter 4 applies the concept of skeuomorphism to early modern book history in order to demonstrate how printers evoked engraved texts in printed books. The inscriptional origins of uppercase roman were exploited to evoke certain connotations of that medium, both in paratexts and endotexts. In light of the significance of typography explored in these chapters, Chapter 5 surveys the various strategies used to remediate typography in the present day, often causing its transformission.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements i

Conventions ii

Abbreviations iii

Introduction 1

1 Language: The Shape of English 33

2 Religion: ‘The Face of an English Church’ / ‘The Face of Christ’s Church’ 94

3 Subject: Old Works in New Books 144

4 Material: ‘The subtile deuise of the Workmen in those dayes’ 186

5 ‘Graphic Peculiarities’: The Transformission of Typography 229

Conclusion 270

Appendix A 275

Appendix B 279

Appendix C 280

Appendix D 301

Appendix E 305

Appendix F 306

Bibliography 308

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CONVENTIONS

Quotations from early modern books have conserved original capitalization, italics, and spelling, including the use of i/j and u/v, except for long s and ragged r. Virgules have been reproduced with a slash (/). Contractions have been expanded in square brackets. Lineation is not preserved. Generally, all typefaces have been translated to a roman typeface, but occasional inline quotations reproduce blackletter or sans serif where relevant. For legibility's sake, block quotations do not do likewise.

Citations of early modern books include their STC or Wing numbers or, if not in those catalogues, their USTC number.

ABBREVIATIONS

BMC XI	Lotte Hellinga, ed., *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Library* (Part XI: England) (‘t Goy Houten: Hes and De Graaf, 2007)
EBBA	English Broadside Ballad Archive (University of California, Santa Barbara) <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>
EEBO	Early English Books Online (ProQuest) <https://search.proquest.com/eebo>
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue (British Library) <http://estc.bl.uk/>
MED	*Middle English Dictionary* (University of Michigan, 2019) <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/>
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2020) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/>
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2020) <https://www.oed.com/>
STC	Alfred W. Pollard and Gilbert R. Redgrave, eds, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1473-1640*, 2nd edn, rev. William A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue (University of St Andrews, 2020) <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/>
Wing	Donald Wing, ed., *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700,* 2nd ed. (New York: MLA, 1972–78)

INTRODUCTION

1. ‘how ye shall be gouerned in redyng of this Boke and of all other bokes.’

In 1530, Richard Faques printed the *Mirror of Our Lady*, ‘at the desyre and instau[n]ce’ of the Abbess of Syon Abbey.[1] The *Mirror*, based on a fifteenth-century text, mostly contains descriptions and translations of the masses that were practised at the abbey,[2] but embedded within these descriptions is a guide that instructs the reader ‘how ye shall be gouerned in redyng of this Boke and of all other bokes’. The passage holds neglected significance for sixteenth-century book history, and epitomizes the rationale for this thesis. Though it begins theologically, advocating reading as a means of spiritual edification, it goes on to offer the following practical guide to itself, which includes a rare early reference to typography:

> Also in thys seconde parte, the fyrste worde of eche Antempne [i.e. Anthem], and of eche hympne, and of eche responce, and verse, [and] so fourthe of all other/is writen in latyn with Romeyne letter that ye may know therby where yt begynneth. And the selfe englyshe of all the same latyn folowynge, is imprynted with a smaller letter. And that ys the exposycyo[n] of the latyn. And by this dyfference ye may knowe which is the bare englysshe of the latyn/and whyche ys putte therto for to expounde yt. And there fore they that se this boke and rede yt/ may better understande yt, then they that here yt/and se yt not.[3]

Roman type, which had made its first appearance in England in 1509, here has a deliberately systemized, linguistic application: to distinguish the Latin text from the English, which appears in what we now call blackletter type. This linguistic convention is explored fully in Chapter 1; to introduce this work, I wish to focus on the final line of the above quotation: ‘they that se this boke and rede yt/may better understande yt, then they that here yt/and se yt not.’

There are obvious affinities between this line and the maxim popularised by Marshall McLuhan that, with writing, ‘man had been given an eye for an ear,’[4] and that this process was expedited by print — that the proliferation of print had moved culture away from orality and towards visual modes of communication. In the *Mirror* we see this acknowledged in the thick of the technology's development, and what is twentieth-century theory becomes sixteenth-century practice. A text that was written for the oral/aural, and therefore communal, shared experience of the mass is recontextualized to the visual and therefore individualized experience of reading.[5] But the book, candid and aware of its recontextualizing function, presents this not as depreciation, but as augmentation, and typography as the means of this augmentation.

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[1] This acknowledgement is made on the book’s final page, above its colophon. *Here after folowith the boke callyd the myrroure of Oure Lady* (London: Richard Faques, 1530), STC 17542, fol. Clxiiii^{r}.

[2] *The myroure of oure ladye*, ed. by John Henry Blunt, EETS Extra Series no. 19, (London: N. Trübner, 1873), p. vii.

[3] *The myrroure*, fol. xxxiiii^{v}.

[4] McLuhan depends on the work of Henry J. Chaytor to reach this conclusion, quoting a passage more specifically applicable to the extract from the *Mirror*: ‘the history of the progress from script to print is a

As the *Mirror* suggests, typography can, with a little instruction, allow readers to 'better understande' not just that book, but 'all other bokes' likewise augmented. The purpose of this thesis is much the same as the *Mirror*'s guide: to acknowledge the significance of sixteenth-century English typography (both its importance and its capacity to signify) and to provide an apparatus with which it can be interpreted. Generally speaking, modern books are typographically homogenous; we have therefore lost much sensitivity to a print culture which, in Chapter 1, I characterize as multigraphic. But we can 'cultivate new (old) ways of seeing', as Claire Bourne does, and rediscover the legibility of typography beyond its letters.[6] I do this primarily via a foundation of data gathered for the purpose of this thesis, recording the use of blackletter, roman, and italic in 10,645 books printed between 1509 and 1592. (A full description and methodology of this database is given in the second half of this introduction). The chapters use these data to test three broad topics which have consistently been connected by book historians and literary critics to typography (language, religion, and subject), as well as one that is not widely recognized — materiality. Outlines for these chapters are given below. Each of them zooms from distant reading to close reading, analysing the database as an object of study in itself, but also applying it to give historically informed readings of typography on a local scale, often in those books that are revealed as statistically anomalous.

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history of the gradual substitution of visual for auditory methods of communicating and receiving ideas.' Henry J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1945), p. 4; quoted in Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*: *The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 100. For similar arguments, see Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1988).

[5] For a contrast between private and public reading practices, see Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 34–43.

[6] Claire M. L. Bourne, *Typographies of Performance in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 3.

So, though this database provides a historical framework from which to work, its purpose is not only to provide a timeline of English typography, but to apply it to the sociology of texts — Donald F. McKenzie's term for a reconceived bibliography, taking into account the field's increasing attention to the social and institutional structures that governed a text's production, and their meaningful contribution to a book's 'expressive form.'[7] McKenzie's renewal of bibliography in these terms contradicted the 'orthodox view' that bibliography's purview was quasi-scientific,[8] evidenced in Walter Greg's notion that the meaning of 'certain written or printed signs' is 'no business of' a bibliographer.[9] In its former guise, bibliography therefore denied typography any meaning: it 'has no significance to students of literature', as Fredson Bowers bluntly put it.[10] But McKenzie recognized that the practice of bibliographers was becoming increasingly interpretive, and that 'significantly informative readings may be recovered from typographic signs as well as verbal ones.'[11] Independently, Jerome McGann was observing similar principles, writing that 'every documentary or bibliographical aspect of a literary work is meaningful, and potentially significant' — aspects that could be read as what he calls 'bibliographical codes.'[12] In other words, those who see a book and read it may better understand it than those that hear it, and see it not.

Though McKenzie intended his formative lecture as a description rather than a manifesto,[13] it has rallied early modern historians and literary critics to an approach that has more recently gained momentum under the auspices of 'the material text' — a field in which the properties of a text's medium are used to inform its reading. The productive application of this to early modern English literature was demonstrated by Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass and many other critics cited throughout this thesis,[14] but in other fields, similar work develops independently: linguists working in social semiotics have used the field of

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[7] Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[8] McKenzie, p. 7.

[9] Walter Greg, 'Bibliography – an Apologia', *The Library*, 13 (1932), 113–43.

[10] Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographic Description* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1994), p. 300.

[11] McKenzie, p. 18.

[12] Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 78.

[13] McKenzie p. 9.

[14] Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, 'The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 44 (1993), 255–283.

‘multimodal stylistics’, which considers simultaneous ‘modes’ of meaning making, to explore typography.[15] (Their approach, however, is inhibited by its ahistoricism — a point that Stephan Kurz, one of its practitioners, makes.[16]) Given this well-established foundation, it could well be presumed that literary studies and the sociology of texts are already generously furnished with work on typefaces; certainly a glance at the titles of recent publications indicates a burgeoning typographical interest.[17] But this has mostly been occupied with what Bourne calls the ‘capacious sense’ of *typography,* meaning any ‘arrangement and appearance of printed matter on the page,’ rather than typefaces per se.[18] One of Bourne’s studies, for instance, shows the affinities between the use of theatre architecture and the use of scene divisions on the printed page, thereby generating ‘disorder, violence, volatility, and obstacles’ in both media.[19] Recent interest in typography has also encompassed what might have once been referred to as orthography or punctuation. Erika Boeckeler’s article recognizes the significance of graphic similarities between early modern words in their original forms, such as ‘the typographically expressed logic between distance and the preservation of virginity: Ofelia must ‘keepe a **loofe’** (C2r), since “that we thinke / Is ſureſt, we often **loo**ſe’ (D4r).”’ — an ‘important visual connection’ contingent on early modern spelling and the long-s, mediated by typography, but not necessarily defined by it.[20] Likewise, Bourne’s work on the ‘typography of action’ illustrates the semantic and gestural potential of glyphs that, while typographic, are not exclusively so: dashes and brackets — punctuation marks — can also be scribal.[21] This recent omission of

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[15] E.g. Theo van Leeuwen, ‘Towards a Semiotics of Typography’, *Information Design Journal*, 14 (2006), 139–155; Nina Nørgaard, ‘The Semiotics of Typography in Literary Texts’, *Orbis Litterarum*, 64 (2009), 141–160; Stephan Kurz, ‘There’s More to It Already. Typography and Literature Studies: A Critique of Nina Nørgaard’s, ‘The Semiotics of Typography in Literary Texts’, *Orbis Litterarum*, 66 (2011), 409–422.

[16] Kurz, p. 410.

[17] A sample from the past four years includes Claire M. L. Bourne, *Typographies of Performance in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); Rachel Stenner, *The Typographic Imaginary in Early Modern English Literature* (London: Routledge, 2019); Erika Boeckeler, ‘The *Hamlet* First Quarto (1603) & the Play of Typography’, *Early Theatre*, 21 (2018), 59–86; Claire McGann, ‘“To print her discourses & hymmes”: The Typographical Features of Anna Trapnel’s Prophecies’, *The Seventeenth Century,* (2020) <doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2020.1721312>; Laurie Maguire, ‘Typographical Embodiment: The Case of *etcetera*’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. by Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 527–48.

[18] Bourne, p. 2.

[19] Bourne, pp. 137–184 (p. 184).

[20] Boeckeler, p. 63.

[21] Bourne, pp. 77–136.

'typeface' from 'typography' is surprising, but not unprecedented: McKenzie's foundational and much-cited article on the potential of typography to contribute to meaning makes no mention of typefaces, instead focusing, like Bourne, on the 'disposition of space';[22] nor does McGann's work on bibliographical codes include typeface variation, mentioning it only briefly as a hypothetical source of meaning, before focusing mostly on mise-en-page.[23]

Absent from these 'capacious' studies, then, is the 'narrower sense' of *typography*,[24] meaning typefaces and their variation. This is my focus, and the sense that I intend by my use of the words *typography* and *type*. The latter is also commonly used to refer to the physical piece of type — 'type is something that you can pick up and hold in your hand'[25] — but my use of the word usually refers to a typeface as design (occasionally, to dispel ambiguity, I specify *type sort* or *typeface*).[26] Specifically, this means the designs of blackletter, roman, and italic, and the dynamics between them. A handful of important articles have pursued this narrower sense by closely attending to the potential meanings and associations of early modern typefaces — research which provides a crucial foundation for each of my chapters, and to anyone considering type alongside other topics. It has rightly become de rigeur to cite Zachary Lesser on the 'typographic nostalgia' of blackletter,[27] Steven K. Galbraith on blackletter signifying English, Mark Bland on the use of roman in the 1590s,[28] and, to a lesser extent, Joseph F. Loewenstein on the authorial connotation of italics.[29] Likewise, the more recent work of A. E. B. Coldiron and Guyda Armstrong on the appearance of English multilingual texts,[30] and

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[22] Donald F. McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve', in *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 198–236 (p. 226).

[23] McGann, p. 12.

[24] Bourne, p. 2.

[25] Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 5.

[26] Bourne, p. 2.

[27] Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Playreading, Popularity and the Meanings of Black Letter', in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Marta Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 99–126.

[28] Mark Bland, 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England', *Text*, 11 (1998), 91–154.

[29] Joseph F. Loewenstein, '*Idem:* Italics and the Genetics of Authorship', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 205–224.

[30] A. E. B. Coldiron, *Printers Without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Guyda Armstrong, 'Coding Continental: Information Design in Manuals and Translations', *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 78–102.

Marjorie Rubright on the blackletter of stage Dutch will be as indispensable to future studies as they are to this one.[31]

While the works listed in the paragraph above ameliorate the lack of attention to typefaces, they share with the 'capacious' studies a preoccupation with books printed in the 1590s and after. The spotlight of critical typographical study is attracted to Shakespearean drama, and books in roman type, and neglects the bulk of the sixteenth century. When the sixteenth century does receive attention, it is usually via a limited canon of Elizabethan examples: as Chapter 1 shows, Galbraith's attention to the blackletter of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1579) is much reproduced, and three of the above critics independently reach similar conclusions on a 1588 translation *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio*. Though much useful bibliographical work has been done on type in the Tudor period, it is rarely discussed critically or alongside texts.[32] The lacuna risks denying the sixteenth century its typographical sophistication, though it has recently begun to be filled by Coldiron and Bourne in the works cited above, and by Tamara Atkin's work on early printed drama.[33] As well as returning to the typefaces of 'typography', then, this thesis joins Coldiron, Bourne, and Atkin in widening the field's historical vista. Its broad argument is firstly that, despite the truism that 'blackletter = English', the typography of sixteenth-century English was richly multigraphic — a term borrowed from palaeography to refer to the use of multiple scripts (here typefaces) in the same context. This multigraphy is demonstrated statistically in Chapter 1. Secondly, that in a multigraphic culture, where several typefaces have currency, the use of any one of them augments its text, either intentionally (like the *Mirror*) or incidentally. Throughout the thesis, these augmentations are explored on three levels: statistics, groups of books, and individual books. These levels of focus are employed to avoid the cherry picking that is endemic to previous studies, and Chapters 2–4 identify groups of books that are shown by the data to be statistically significant, and individual books are in turn examined as representative of that group as a whole.

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[31] Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

[32] Especially by Frank Isaac in *English Printers' Types of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936) and *English & Scottish Printing Types, 1501-58 * 1508–58: 1501-35 * 1508–41* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930).

[33] Tamara Atkin, *Reading Drama in Tudor England* (London: Routledge, 2020).

Before outlining these chapters in greater detail, it is worth defining and reviewing the history of the three typeface families that determine a multigraphic print culture. The omission of typeface variation from McKenzie and McGann's work is attributable to the typographic homogeneity of their respective periods. In the sixteenth century, however, three families of typeface had currency, which we now classify as roman, italic, and blackletter. A healthy scepticism towards typeface classification abounds in the literature on type, with Robert Bringhurst regarding it as 'neither good science nor good history.'[34] Sigfrid Steinberg is, however, overly cautious in including 'roman' in a list of terms that are 'fanciful inventions of later writers'[35] — as the *Mirror* shows us, this taxonomy has in fact remained atypically stable. Nor is the *Mirror* the only evidence of a type-conscious culture: in each chapter, my close and distant reading is guided by sixteenth-century paratexts that explicitly draw attention to the differences between typefaces, sometimes by name.

This thesis groups three distinct but related typeface styles into the family of 'blackletter',[36] as is conventional.[37] The earliest fonts used in England by William Caxton were blackletters, but of a different type to that used for most of the sixteenth century. As Harry Carter describes, these French *lettre bâtardes*, or bastardas, were themselves modelled on Burgundian scripts.[38] In England, these continued to be used into the sixteenth century, but became scarce, used mostly for law texts in French.[39] Similarly occasional in its use was a small Italian rotunda blackletter, sometimes called fere-humanistica, used most consistently by Thomas Berthelet, and in large Latin volumes.[40] Galbraith's account of blackletter's origins in England skips a step, stating that England's blackletter was a direct inheritance of 'the black-letter style of Cologne and Bruges' that Caxton had brought with him. In fact, the blackletter which dominates sixteenth century English printing is closer to the French texturas designed later, in the early 1490s. This became, according to Carter, England's 'national idiom in type' for the sixteenth century.[41]

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[34] Robert Bringhurst, *The Elements of Typographic Style* (Vancouver: Hartley & Marks, 2005), p. 121.

[35] Sigfrid H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1996), p. 11.

[36] Both 'black letter' and 'blackletter' are current; generally speaking 'black letter' is used in bibliography, and 'blackletter' in modern typography and design. I prefer 'blackletter', if only to anticipate any ambiguities over letters which are black but not blackletter.

[37] For a critique of blackletter as a modern classification, see Joseph Dane, 'Paleography Versus Typography', in *Blind Impressions: Methods and Mythologies in Book History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 11–36.

[38] Carter p. 64.

[39] Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume III*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Joseph Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 65–108 (p. 75).

[40] Hellinga, p. 75.

Roman type first appeared in a book printed in Subiaco, Italy, in 1465 — an edition of Cicero's *Oratore*, printed by Arnold Pannartz and Conrad Sweynheym.[42] It is something of a proto-roman, with thick strokes that perhaps demonstrate the influence of the blackletter used in the printers' native Germany. Carter described this as 'a German's idea of Italian humanism',[43] and according to Stanley Morison, this book (and the two others printed at Subiaco with the same font) was an intentional imitation of the style of humanist manuscripts of the first half of that century.[44] These manuscripts had been written in a script that was itself reproducing that found in Carolingian manuscripts of classical texts — a form named by Niccolo Niccoli, one of its practitioners, as *littera antiqua*.[45] (The geneaology between this script and modern roman is present in the German word for roman type, *Antiqua*.) The vogue for this script began at the end of the fourteenth century, and reached its height in the work of both Niccoli and Poggio Bracciolini. (The latter was considered by Ullman as the 'inventor' of the script).[46] Though the diffusion of humanist scripts has historically been seen as a slow spread from its epicentral Italy, David Rundle has recently shown, through its adoption in England, that 'it would be better to say that this cosmopolitan tradition itself constituted a conceptual centre which was geographically diffuse.'[47] A roman apparently inspired by Sweynheym and Pannartz's is found soon after, in 1470, in the first book printed in Paris.[48] The roman form is usually thought to have been elevated from this proto-roman by the much-lauded type designer Nicolas Jenson

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[41] Carter, p. 63.

[42] Cicero, *De oratore* ([Subiaco: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannarts, 1465]), USTC 995737.

[43] Carter, p. 47.

[44] Stanley Morison, 'Early Humanistic Script and the First Roman Type', *The Library*, 24 (1943), 1–29 (p. 20).

[45] Morison, p. 6.

[46] Berthold L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of the Humanistic Script* (Rome: Edizioni di toria e Letteratura, 1960), p. 21.

[47] David Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book in Britain: The English Quattrocento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 275.

[48] Steinberg, p. 13.

(from 1470), and later by the type designers who collaborated with Aldus Manutius (from 1495). It is these that set the standard for roman type, and which were still being closely followed in French designs of the 1530s and 1540s.[49] In the Elizabethan period, several different roman typefaces were being used, each with an identifiable origin and conjectured designer; their differences are discernable with a keen typographical eye, but these are unlikely to have been noticed by the average reader.[50] The romans used in England were imports, as shown by Alfred Johnson's work, who identified earlier continental appearances of the romans used by printers in England.[51] The same is true of italic fonts. Italic has always had a less central role in histories of typography, which is often presented as a battle between blackletter and roman — a trope explored in Chapters 1 and 2. Its marginalization is perhaps appropriate (as far as English books are concerned), since it was the least used of these three families. Its earliest design was by Francesco Griffo, Aldus Manutius's typecutter, and was printed first in 1500. Its design is based on the *cancelleresca corsiva* — cursive chancery — script.[52]

Before their appearance as a typeface, roman letterforms had appeared in other media in fifteenth-century England. As well as examples in manuscripts, Rundle identifies the humanist capitals on the seal of Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham, as the 'earliest English humanist sigillographic example' he is aware of (first appearing in 1498).[53] In print, the currently accepted timeline of English blackletter, roman, and italic may be summarized as follows. Roman first appeared in print on 8 September 1509, in the headings of a Latin sermon printed by Richard Pynson.[54] Pynson is also the first to set English in roman, in William Horman's

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[49] E.g. in those of Claude Garamont (Gaskell, p. 21).

[50] W. Craig Ferguson has made a study of these, purporting to provide means of identifying each (*Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989)), but any reference to this book must be accompanied by the caveat that its reviewers have found it to be 'based upon misconceptions of the type-production and printing processes, the nature of typographical evidence available in the originals, and the actual complexity of typefaces and fonts.' Adrian Weiss, review of *Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England* (1989), *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 83 (1989), 539–546 (p. 539).

[51] Johnson finds two exceptions — a roman used by Thomas Berthelet — with no continental precedent, though he concludes that in this case 'one must assume that the search has not been wide enough [...] rather than that the type was cut by Berthelet', and an italic used by John Charlewood. Alfred F. Johnson, 'Sources of Roman and Italic Types Used by English Printers in the Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, s4–XVII (1936), 70–82 (p. 70).

[52] Stanley Morison, 'Notes on the Development of Latin Script', in *Selected Essays on the History of Letter-Forms in Manuscript and Print*, ed. by David McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 274.

[53] Rundle, p. 291.

[54] Girolamo Savonarola, *Sermo Fratris Hieronymi de Ferraria in vigilia Natiuitatis domini* (London: Richard Pynson, 1509), STC 21800; Bland, p. 93.

Vulgaria, printed in 1519, in which English roman translations follow Latin roman phrases.[55] Bland and Galbraith have independently ascertained that 'roman type did not overtake black letter until 1590/1591',[56] though Bland's study is comprised of only playbooks,[57] and Galbraith's work is unpublished, alluded to only in a tantalizing endnote. Italic was first introduced by Wynkyn de Worde, though some sources give 1524,[58] and others 1528 as its earliest appearance.[59] It is thought that English was first set in italic from 1551.[60] We have only a blurry impression of the interim between roman's first appearance in 1509 and the claimed tipping of the balance between roman and blackletter in the early 1590s — the milestones that therefore circumscribe the period of this thesis. As Carter writes, 'not one of the well-known historians of printing or publishing has committed himself as to the first book in English set wholly in Roman', though the earliest he identifies was printed in 1555.[61] Sarah Werner usefully writes that 'Britain used black letter up until the 1550s and thereafter primarily in certain categories of texts, including Bibles, legal texts, and proclamations,'[62] (a statement whose compatibility with Bland and Galbraith's date is uncertain), but others have noted that 'scholars have not yet determined the process by which roman type replaced black letter.'[63]

The data gathering process for this quantitative work has allowed for all of the above dates to be checked, and some of them to be corrected. Evidence for this is presented throughout the chapters, and a revised timeline is offered in the Conclusion. The first half of Chapter 1 sets the scene by bringing the broad diachronic shape of English typography into focus, presenting the data through the lens of language — a foundation on which the subsequent three chapters are built. It interrogates the widely applied equation between typography and language — what I call a 'typolinguistic system' — in the links between English and blackletter, and Latin and roman, as well as investigating the appearance of other languages in books printed in Britain. Britain's print culture is shown to be multigraphic, but conforming to certain conventions that shift over three distinct phases. By introducing the variable of geographic location, Chapter 1 then questions how much agency printers had in blackletter's Englishness; the chapter's second half examines how a font may resist its text and thwart typographical agency on a local level, revealing English's limited compatibility with an imported technology.

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[55] William Horman, *Vulgaria uiri doctissimi Guil. Hormani* (London: Richard Pynson 1519), STC 13811; Hellinga, p. 76.

[56] Galbraith, p. 37.

[57] A sample of '576 editions printed between 1570 and 1623'. Bland, p. 105.

[58] E.g. David C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), p. 238, and Joseph Lowenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 290.

[59] E.g. Morison, 'Notes on the Development of Latin Script', p. 279.

[60] Hellinga, p. 77.

[61] Leonard Digges, *Prognostication of right good effect* [...] *to judge the weather for ever* (London: Thomas Gemini, 1555), STC 6860; Carter, p. 92.

[62] Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450–1800* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), p. 39.

[63] Dan Mills, *Lacan, Foucault, and the Malleable Subject in Early Modern English Utopian Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2020), p. 187.

In Chapter 2, I investigate hypotheses made by Carter and others that connect typeface to religion. Here, location again proves to be a determining factor of a book's appearance, and it is shown that many of the earliest English books to go against typographical convention were printed abroad. All of them contain banned Protestant works, and I argue that the dissidence of their texts caused their foreign appearance via their authors' exile, and that their radical typography can therefore be read as an index of their radical ideology. Two groups demonstrate this principle: a group printed in Antwerp, in which I identify the earliest English books printed entirely in roman and italic, and those books produced by the Marian exiles in Geneva, whose typography I read as an expression of their alignment with the supranational Calvinist movement. In the second half of the chapter, the link between portable, concealable dissident literature and typography is shown by the correlation between typography and size.

Chapters 1 and 2 therefore begin with previously hypothesized associations of type (language and religion) and show that these are contingent on codependent variables (location and size). Chapter 3 follows this method of testing a hypothesis by introducing a secondary variable. Here, the associations between typefaces and genres or subjects are examined alongside the secondary variable of time: how did the appearance of certain books change over time? After a general statistical overview, two vaguely defined 'genres', not easily represented by the data, are investigated: humanism, and medievalism. A group of humanist works reprinted around 1520 is read as evidence for a desire to update the design of previous editions according to a newly available style. Contrastingly, a group of books printed by William Copland actively resists the turning typographical tide in their exclusive use of blackletter, which is shown to be a deliberate attempt to archaize those books.

The meaning of roman type investigated in Chapter 4 is, unlike the hypotheses of previous chapters, not widely considered: the chapter shows how the type was used to evoke an engraved text in printed books. In applying the concept of skeuomorphism to sixteenth-century books, Chapter 4 demonstrates how the subtext provided by a text's material could be conveyed even in the absence of that material — the connotations of the native stone of uppercase roman are projected onto certain kinds of texts. This is shown to be suitable to paratexts, especially those of Thomas Berthelet, as their inductive and deictic functions mirror the inscriptions of architecture or tombs. But roman's engravenness is also exploited by what I here define as endotexts: texts within texts that use typography to represent an absent material — a technique used in a work by John Leland, among others.

Finally, having explored the meaningful multigraphy of sixteenth-century books, I turn to the modern handling of early modern texts. Chapter 5 is a survey of the various strategies used to remediate early modern typography today — that is, how it is converted into the media of editions, facsimiles, and digitizations. The institutions and technologies that remediate them are shown to be ill equipped to handle multigraphic books, leading to the suppression or imperfect translation of the meanings I have argued for in the previous chapters. Typography is shown to be especially susceptible to transformission — a term coined by Randall McLeod to describe how a text is transformed as it is transmitted.

Throughout these chapters, I encounter a range of terms used to express the relationship between type as a signifier and its purported signified. Their range shows that the precise nature of typography's capacity to signify is mercurial: blackletter has been described as *signifying* English, to which it is *assigned*, as well as being *suffused* with nostalgia and a *marker* of popular reading, two of its *meanings*, alongside its *connotation* of authority.[64] Type can

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[64] Galbraith, p. 16; Coldiron, p. 27; Lesser, p. 99; Coldiron, p. 241.

code, or *encode* a text.[65] Roman type was *associated* with Humanism, italic a *representation* of speech.[66] All of these terms are fulcra between type and its object of representation, but each with a subtly different mechanic. Besides those somehow inherent in the typefaces, meaning can also be derived from the difference between them: as the *Mirror* describes, the reader can distinguish translation from exposition 'by [the] dyfference' between their two typefaces. Coldiron has shown how such instances bring about 'visual alterity' that demands interpretation from the reader, often via an 'implicit transnational heuristic.'[67] Johanna Drucker proposes a similar approach, seeing the page not as a collection of discrete 'graphic entities' with separate meanings, but a 'quantum field': 'Think of the page as a force field, a set of tensions in relation, which assumes a form when intervened through the productive act of reading.'[68] Typographic meaning is therefore 'quantum' in the sense that it is unstable and relative until produced by the introduction of a reader. Constitutive of this production, as Drucker shows through her reading of white space in William Morris' edition of *Consolatione*, is the relational equilibrium of the 'field': meaning is derived from visible contrast. Drucker intends this approach not as a corrective to associative or connotative readings, which she lauds the importance of, but as a method to be used alongside these techniques.

Typography's semiotic slipperiness is exacerbated by its indeterminate relationship to the book and the text. *Book Parts*, which contains essays on the 'components of the book', does not include type in a physical or abstract sense, excluding it (along with binding and paper) as part of 'the construction, the engineering' of the book.[69] *Book Parts* does, however, include visual features like engravings and woodcuts, alongside which we might expect typeface. While de Grazia and Stallybrass have included 'old typefaces' as a constituent of the 'materiality of the text',[70] typefaces are also abstract designs, immaterial and symbolic — like text, they must first be materialized. Nor does type have a clear role in Gérard Genette's definitive model of paratexts. While 'almost all' paratexts are textual, he says, 'we must at least bear in mind the paratextual value that may be vested in other types of manifestation.' He includes among these manifestations 'everything that originates in the sometimes very significant typographical choices that go into the making of a book'.[71] Genette returns to the subject only to state that 'typographical choices may provide indirect commentary on the texts they affect', but his discussion here dwells not on typeface but the 'capacious' typography of mise-en-page.[72]

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[65] Adrian Weiss, 'Casting Compositors Foul Cases, and Skeletons: Printing in Middleton's Age', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 195–225 (p. 201); Armstrong, p. 78.

[66] Hackel, p. 130; Bland, p. 98.

[67] Coldiron, pp. 160–198.

[68] Johanna Drucker, 'Graphical Readings and the Visual Aesthetics of Textuality', *Text*, 16 (2006), 267–276 (p. 274).

[69] *Book Parts*, ed. by Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 6.

[70] De Grazia and Stallybrass, p. 256.

While type might have a somewhat vague 'paratextual value', its exclusion from these models of extra-textual features is appropriate: type is not beside the text (as paratexts are), nor under the text (as a substrate is), nor enclosing the text (as binding is): type is coextensive with the text. There are no letterforms without letters, no letters without letterforms, and if you removed the typography from a book, the text goes with it. Type therefore not only affects the text (as Genette says), it also *effects* the text — it brings text about. And yet, text is not type: text can shapeshift, able to appear in a different typeface without its substance altered — examples of which are explored in Chapter 2. The *Mirror* acknowledges typography's capacity to be both textual and visual, to appeal to both sight and literacy at once: we must both 'se [...] *and* rede yt' to 'understande' it (my emphasis). Bringhurst alludes to this characteristic, which for him is a process of seeing and *then* reading: 'typography must often draw attention to itself before it will be read. Yet in order to be read, it must relinquish the attention it has drawn.'[73] If type's purpose is to 'honor content', as Bringhurst has it, then it must be paradoxically arresting and self-effacing. But, while a text is read, its typeface is constantly immanent: though it might be out of mind, it's never out of sight.

It is not the business of this thesis to pin down and codify the semiotic mechanics of typography in general — whether it signifies, connotes, or associates. (Attempts have been made to do so within the field of social semiotics; they are invariably ahistorical).[74] We can expect as many fulcra as readers, and the more interpretative techniques we have available, the better. I do, however, sometimes try to determine which of these terms may be most appropriate for different claims made of typography. This is occasionally done with reference to the semiotic system proposed by Charles Peirce, of symbols, indexes, and icons. Nor is it my aim to resolve the paradoxes of type — its simultaneous materiality and abstraction, its mutually immanent visual and textual states. Type's ability to flicker between them is not a failing of its critics to adequately define it, but its definitive characteristic — a characteristic that is the cause of the frustrated remediations surveyed in Chapter 5.

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[71] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Janet E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 7.

[72] Genette, p. 34.

[73] Bringhurst, p. 17.

[74] E.g. van Leeuwen.

A further complication for typography's interpretation is the matter of intentionality. Attention to material texts has struggled with the binary of intentional or non-intentional features, with Boeckeler careful to establish that her argument 'necessarily takes a readerly approach' due to the irrecoverability of a compositor's intent.[75] Adam Smyth actively seeks this approach, discovering 'symbolic meanings that the agents (whether printers, binders, publishers or authors) never imagined'.[76] Book history has been well served by the principle that, if a printer can be shown to have a variety of fonts, the appearance of their books must have been an active choice — a principle whose limits are tested later in this thesis. McKenzie is therefore right to emphasize that a book's formal and physical presentation are simultaneously collaborative (between authors and publishers) and the product of a 'specific historical context'.[77] Both of these lie on a spectrum of possible causes of meaning, through which this thesis passes: known authorial intention (as in Horman's contract with Pynson in Chapter 3), known printer's intention (as in the *Mirror)*, the printer's intention thwarted by material exigency (as in the kludges described in Chapter 1), the printer's intention to follow convention and the printer's unconscious adherence to convention (as evidenced by statistical trends in typeface use) all lie somewhere on this spectrum, but the divisions between them are often blurred.

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[75] Boeckeler, p. 60.

[76] Smyth, p. 14.

[77] McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, p. 90.

2.1 Distant reading typography

If we can read bibliographical codes, we can distant read them. 'Distant reading' is Franco Moretti's term for a statistical approach to large quantities of literature abstracted as data. It is, he writes, a '*specific form of knowledge*: fewer elements, hence a sharper sense of their overall interconnection', requiring not immediate engagement with text, but 'shapes, relations, structures. Forms. Models.'[78] Moretti's methodology is a corrective to our disproportionate attention to certain works favoured by a canon, resulting in a skewed knowledge of literary history based on works which are 'by definition not representative.'[79] Though Moretti and his useful phrase have become the figureheads of this approach, it is one that book historians had already been practising. Katherine Bode has demonstrated how Moretti's preoccupation with escaping the canon was already integral to book history, with Robert Darnton, for instance, describing a canonical model of literary history as bearing 'little relation to the actual experience of literature in the past'; he therefore encourages work of a more 'empirical character'.[80] Likewise, statistics were already in the book historian's toolkit, applied to 'bibliometric' studies like Maureen Bell and John Barnard's, who, in 1992, published a 'Provisional count of *STC* titles, 1475–1640'. Their work included graphs and tables that represented the year-to-year production of books in London and the British Isles.[81] But modern applications of distant reading now aim towards something more complex than counting books, or counting books of a certain genre, as Moretti does so in his landmark work.[82] Studies like those contained in Ted Underwood's *Distant Horizons* show how complex textual analysis tools can be used to get inside texts rather than quantifying their existence or external features — for instance, to measure how different verbs become gendered in Victorian novels.[83]

This study is not quite as complex as that, quantifying typography rather than text. These data are, however, cross-referenced with features that are textual — most obviously language and genre. In doing so, this thesis shares Moretti's vision for distant reading as a way of redressing a balance tipped by the canon: as described above and developed in Chapter 1, much of the work on typography so far has focused on the same handful of books, often for their especially pronounced use of typographic augmentation, or because they contain canonical works. A quantitative approach, therefore, is both able to include books regardless of their present esteem, and to ascertain what was 'normal'. As well as including average books, this method includes average typography. While the *Mirror* notes its 'Romeyne letter', its blackletter is not mentioned by name (and only by size as 'a smaller letter') — a suggestion of how specialized the former and how ubiquitous the latter was in 1530. In this year, at least, blackletter was the 'zero degree of typography' — a phrase used by Joseph Dane to describe roman's status in the eighteenth century.[84] The zero degree of typography, be it blackletter then or roman now, aspires towards invisibility, treading the line of convention in order to efficiently convey content. In doing so, it risks its own erasure as historical evidence, like the unspecified blackletter in the *Mirror*. By considering many books in aggregate, then, we can reclaim a sense of convention, and thereby identify books that were typical, or anomalous.

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[78] Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees* (London: Verso, 2005), p. 1.

[79] Katherine Bode, *Reading by Numbers: Recalibrating the Literary Field* (London: Anthem Press, 2014), p. 8.

[80] Robert Darnton, quoted in Bode, p. 9.

[81] Maureen Bell and John Barnard, 'Provisional Count of STC Titles 1475–1640', *Publishing History*, 31 (1992), 48–64.

[82] Moretti, *Graphs*, pp. 3–33.

[83] Ted Underwood, *Distant Horizons: Digital Evidence and Literary Change* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), pp. 111–143.

Quantitative typographical study risks implying that a typeface's associations or meanings can be inferred from a majority — that if most of English is printed in blackletter, for instance, then blackletter must mean English. This is, of course, not true on the scale of the individual: sixteenth-century readers were not cognisant of the shape of the entire corpus, and if they encountered only anomalous uses of typography, that could inform their sense of typographic meaning. As McKenzie noted, no matter what meanings we might conclude, 'for better or worse, readers inevitably make their own'.[85] Just because, as Chapter 1 shows, the majority of English was set in blackletter does not necessarily mean that 'blackletter = English' in any one book. Nor should we aspire to such an equation. As Smyth describes, just as 'few literary

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84 Joseph Dane, *Out of Sorts: On Typography and Print Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 88. Similar words have been written by Matthew Butterick of the prevailing roman font of the twenty-first century: 'Times New Roman is not a font choice so much as the absence of a font choice'. 'Times New Roman', *Butterick's Practical Typography* <http://practicaltypography.com/times-new-roman.html> [accessed 14 April 2017]

85 McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, p. 11.

critics would be content to reduce a poem, play, or novel to a single pronouncement', so too must we resist such reductivism in our interpretation of bibliographic codes.[86]

The model of sixteenth-century typography that distant reading reclaims, therefore, is not of individuals, but of a culture. As Underwood writes, data can reveal the 'historical patterns too large to be explored through the narrow aperture of a single reader's memory'.[87] This is not, however, to deny the possibility of data telling us anything about readerly reception, but any ascription of this is premised on the familiarity of that reader with the culture. Printers, too, in having a professional as well as readerly attention to typography, might be thought of as engaging with this culture: as Boeckeler notes, 'publishers are also readers',[88] and their professional attention to and reception of typographic convention must therefore have influenced their books. The reception of typography is, therefore, not one-way, but a generative cycle of consumption and production, and the typographical decisions of printers are reflections of books which they themselves have seen.

2.2 A database of sixteenth-century typography

In Leo Lahti, Niko Homäki, and Mikko Tolonen's quantification of books about history between the years 1472 and 1800, they describe a model for an 'analytical eco-system' which supplements a 'full database' with 'supporting data sources'.[89] In their case, this means combining the ESTC (specifically its author's name field) with a pre-existing, open-source database of gender by name, in order to produce statistics about authorship and gender. Similarly, my 'eco-system' combines the ESTC with another data source, only here the latter was not pre-existing but had to be created. The ESTC was used as an ideal corpus, with those ESTC books present on EEBO given detailed typographical descriptions, which are then combined with some of the ESTC's fields. A description of the ESTC and these supplementary data is given here, followed by the method used to gather data. Quantitative bibliography is at risk of shrouding itself in provisos, and, while the following continues that tradition, it is necessary to make the principles of a data source transparent, to show its limitations and potential, if it is to be usefully interpreted.

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[86] Smyth, p. 13.

[87] Underwood, p. 169.

[88] Boeckeler, p. 60.

[89] Leo Lahti, Niko Homäki, and Mikko Tolonen, 'A Quantitative Study of History in the English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC), 1470–1800', *Liber Quarterly*, 25 (2015), 87–116 (p. 93).

2.3 The ESTC

The English Short Title Catalogue, available online,[90] combines three existing catalogues: Alfred Pollard and Gilbert Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue* of books printed between 1475 and 1640 (*STC*),[91] Donald Wing's *Short Title Catalogue* (books printed between 1641 and 1700),[92] and the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue.[93] It was first made available electronically in 1994, and has been hosted online since 2006.[94] The period examined by this thesis is covered by the *STC*, which was first proposed in 1918, and published in its current form between 1976 and 1991.[95] Its full title summarizes its principles of inclusion: *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books printed Abroad, 1475–1640.* Scholars have lauded the *STC* for its meticulousness and quality, with Peter Blayney describing it as an 'indispensable, glorious fact of life.'[96] Of the books covered by the *STC*, the ESTC provides a description of the ideal copy, as Stephen Tabor describes: 'the most complete and correct manifestation of that edition as the printer and publisher intended it.'[97] The information it gives includes title, author, transcribed colophons, format, holding institutions, some subject headings, as well as MARC tags — 'MAchine Readable Catalogue' tags — that encode various standardized data such as locations.[98]

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[90] <http://estc.bl.uk/>

[91] Alfred W. Pollard and Gilbert R. Redgrave, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2nd edn, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91).

[92] Donald Wing, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700,* 2nd edn, 3 vols (New York, 1982–94).

[93] Now subsumed into the ESTC.

[94] Ian Gadd, 'The Use and Misuse of *Early English Books Online*', *Literature Compass*, 6 (2009), 680–692 (p. 683).

[95] Gadd, p. 683.

[96] Peter W. M. Blayney, 'The Numbers Game: Appraising the Revised *STC*', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 88 (1994), 353–407 (p. 407).

[97] Stephen Tabor, 'ESTC and the Bibliographical Community', *The Library*, 8 (2007), 367–386 (p. 369).

[98] A full guide to MARC tags is available at <https://www.loc.gov/marc/bibliographic/> [accessed 28 March 2020]

Stephen Karian anticipates the great potential in examining the ESTC 'as a database rather than merely as a large-scale online library catalogue,' writing that such projects could 'challenge widely held views that are based more on legend and assumption than on fact.'[99] Nevertheless, the ESTC is not a perfect representation, and it must first be established how it deviates from the culture it represents. In doing so, a sense of the extent of approximation inherent to my data may be gained. The paragraph above has already demonstrated the boundaries of the *STC*: as Gadd explains, because it (and therefore the ESTC) does not contain non-English language books that were imported into Britain, 'one cannot read *STC*'s contents as a full representation of Britain's print culture prior to 1641.'[100] It can, however, be read as a representation of English *language* print culture, containing all known extant books of that category. The remaining differences between the ESTC as a corpus and the culture it represents fall into three main categories: survival, units, and dating.

Lost books are not listed in the ESTC, even when their existence is known through other means.[101] Alexandra Hill's work on the survival of British books has given us a sense of this loss. She does so by comparing those books in the ESTC to those listed in the Stationers' Company Register — a record of books authorized to be printed between 1557 and the 1640s. Hill's figures are chastening: of the 11,011 books she identifies in that period, 5001 have, she claims, been lost.[102] A more localized study likewise finds that 'roughly half' of those books entered into the registry in the 1590s are not present in the ESTC.[103] We might, however, best see this as a worst-case scenario: Blayney has taken issue with Hill's methodology, casting doubt on these figures and thus allowing a more optimistic outlook (but offering no correction).[104] While the issue of lost books is — like many of the following problems — somewhat relieved by my data being normalized as percentages, this does not circumvent the skewing of proportions that survival rates can cause in different books. In other words, certain kinds of books are more losable. As Hill describes, cheap books that were 'widely disseminated or poorly made' are easily lost, whereas 'expensive works locked away in private libraries' are conserved.[105] If, as might reasonably be hypothesized, there is also a correlation between price and typeface, then their discrepant survival rates will distort any typographical data gathered. Likewise, any other possible variable that contributes to survival — genre, author, date —also skews my typographical data. The problem is unresolvable: conclusions can only be drawn from the evidence that exists, and so we can only proceed in the knowledge that we do not have the whole picture.

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[99] Stephen Karian, 'The Limitations and Possibilities of the ESTC', *The Age of Johnson*, 21 (2011), 283–297 (p. 289).

[100] Gadd, p. 683.

[101] While this may seem axiomatic, the *USTC* does aim to account for such lost books, including in its search function an option to 'Include Lost Books' in its results. <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/search> [accessed 7 March 2020]. Furthermore, this general principle of inclusion is not universally applied in the *STC*: several *STC* books were destroyed by Nazi bombing during WWII before its publication, but remain in it. Blayney, 'The Numbers Game', p. 371.

[102] Alexandra Hill, *Lost Books and Printing in London, 1557–1640: An Analysis of the Stationers' Company Register* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 3.

[103] Alexandra Hill, 'Lost Print in England: Entries in the Stationers' Company Register, 1557–1640', in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. by Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 144–159 (p. 151).

It is not always clear what exactly constitutes an ESTC record — the unit being counted in this study. While it is tempting to describe each one as a 'book', this is too vague, but nor is it strictly true that the ESTC separates books into editions. As Karian and Blayney separately note, variants and issues are further subdivisions which are often given separate records, so that there may be more than one record for a single edition.[106] Karian concludes that 'since the ESTC does not rely in a consistent manner on any of [edition, issue, or title], for its unit of classification, one should refer instead only to the ESTC record.'[107] In his quantitative study of the eighteenth century, Michael Suarez encounters this problem, and corrects it by 'scrutiniz[ing] each ESTC record, eliminating those that were merely bibliographical variants and did not, in fact, represent different editions.'[108] This study has not done likewise. While the 'astonishingly laborious process' of doing so would have made this project impossible in the time available,[109] this inflation of results was deemed less critical to sixteenth-century books than it is to those of the eighteenth: besides printers simply not printing as many variants, the lower survival rates of sixteenth-century books has presumably removed many of these variants, if they did exist, from the pool of available evidence. The inverse of this inflation is the reduction of several books into one record: though the ESTC and *STC* tend towards 'over-generous inclusion' in its willingness to separate variants into multiple records,[110] Chapter 2 contains an example of several books reduced into one that may have contributed to a typographical landmark being overlooked.

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[104] Peter W. M. Blayney, 'If it Looks Like a Register...', *The Library*, 20 (2019), 230–242. Blayney's criticisms include the practice of entering more than one work under the same entry (p. 233), works printed several years after their entry that are identified by Hill as lost (p. 234), and the repetition of licenses after they have gone unused and thereby passed to new owners (p. 240).

[105] Hill, *Lost Books*, p. 2.

[106] Peter W. M. Blayney, 'STC Publication Statistics: Some Caveats', *The Library*, 8 (2007), 387–397 (p. 390).

[107] Karian, p. 289.

[108] Michael F. Suarez, S.J., 'Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record, 1701–1800', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume V*, ed. by Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 37–65 (p. 42).

ESTC records, then, do not equate to books. The consequence of conflating these is illustrated by Lahti, Homäki, and Tolonen's study. They purport to answer the question 'Who wrote history?', presenting a bar chart showing 'Early modern authors who published the most titles on history according to the ESTC catalogue data.' Along the X axis is 'title count', with author names down the Y axis.[111] Their 'title-count' is derived from the number of 'documents in the ESTC catalogue that include the word "history" in any of the catalogued subject fields.'[112] This count, however, does not adjust for multiple editions, reprints, variants, or issues: we are not, therefore, seeing an answer to the question 'who wrote history?', which aspires to quantify the work; instead, the question being answered is 'which authors of history with complete ESTC entries were printed and reprinted the most?'

All this being said, my studies consistently refer to their data as 'books', as do most quantitative studies. It must be understood throughout that this refers to ESTC records, but to consistently refer to them as 'ESTC records' would both make for difficult reading and abstract my conclusions from their intended realm of book history. While the distortion of ESTC records on the corpus may be less consequential for my period than it is for Suarez's, there are occasions in which this inflation does occur in my data, and I have drawn attention to these in my analysis, so that they do not influence any of the consequent conclusions.

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[109] Karian, p. 291.

[110] Blayney, 'The Numbers Game', p. 372.

[111] Lahti, Homäki, and Tolonen, p. 93.

[112] Lahti, Homäki, and Tolonen, p. 100.

Though it may be a leap from 'ESTC record' to 'book', there remains a question of whether 'book' is even the most appropriate measure of typographic features. This unit does not take into account the relative sizes of books: a broadside of 1 sheet, for instance, is given the same statistical weighting as a folio of 200 sheets, despite the latter containing 400 times as much typography. But even if discrepancies in size were accounted for, this would still be reductive, as it would not also take into account print-runs. In a scenario in which that hypothetical broadsheet was printed 400 times, whereas the 200-sheet folio only once, their differences would be balanced out. Counting by 'book' is therefore, as Suarez admits, 'deeply flawed'.[113] However, the difficulty or (more likely) the impossibility of acquiring and normalizing data on formats, length, and print-runs for thousands of books means that these critiques of the abstract book as a unit can only ever be theoretical rather than practical suggestions for better quantification.

When the ESTC is searched by date, the total results are often more than those printed in that year. However, unlike the inflation of edition counts via many records described above, this has been easily corrected as the data have been gathered. An ESTC date may include a false or incorrect date, as given by the book's colophon, and an actual date, as provided by the *STC*, and these will appear in searches for both the false and actual years. In these cases, the latter is supplied in square brackets.[114] I have counted such records under the supplied year. If an accurate conjectured date was not possible, the ESTC sometimes gives date spans.[115] These I have assigned to the earliest year of the span. Conjectured dates and *circa* dates are taken at face value. Finally, as Karian notes, many of the ESTC's conjectured dates are 'the closest year possible, which often means the year at the nearest five- or ten-year interval', following British Library cataloguing rules.[116] The consequences of this are visible in my results: slight jumps in quantity around the turns of decades and their midpoints show the clustering of conjectured dates. These peaks are mitigated when the data are normalized as percentages.

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[113] Suarez, p. 44. Benjamin Wardaugh is likewise candid about this flaw in his own quantitative study: 'Nor do the statistics tell us about the population of printed works actually in circulation in any early modern year or decade: the unit for this research has been the work, not the copy, and the variable — and often unknown — sizes of early modern print runs make it impossible to reason from one to the other.' Benjamin Wardaugh, 'Mathematics in English Printed Books, 1473–1800: A Bibliometric Analysis', *Notes & Records of the Royal Society*, 63 (2009), 325–338 (p. 336).

[114] E.g. <estc.bl.uk/S96094>, '1526 [i.e. 1527]'.

[115] E.g. <estc.bl.uk/S124559>, '1526-1530?'.

[116] Karian, p. 292.

The final gate through which these books must pass before becoming data is Early English Books Online, a more detailed history and critical analysis of which appears in the final chapter. In order to describe the typography of these books, they must appear on EEBO, and the usual link from the ESTC record to the EEBO page must be present. EEBO now claims to cover 'nearly all the 26,000 titles' listed in the *STC*.[117] This, however, is its state after its latest major update in mid-2019; the research for this project was begun in 2016 and completed in September 2019. In my corpus, of the ideal corpus of 12,945 eligible ESTC records of books printed between 1509 and 1592, 2291 did not link to a corresponding EEBO page — either because they did not have one, or because its link had not been supplied. Many of these do not appear on EEBO because they are those issues and variants which differ only slightly from another book which does appear on EEBO — the absence of which allows EEBO's truthful claim of comprehensive 'title' coverage. The difference does not, therefore, significantly alter the typographical data when they are normalized, and my final corpus is therefore representative of extant books. The remaining 10,645 — 82% of ESTC records — have been described typographically using the system described in the following section.

2.4 The typographical data

How, then, to turn typography into data? The aims of this database are to measure typeface use against the variables of content, language and *kind* of text — headings, colophons, prefaces, and so on. In order to do so in a quantifiable way, the typography must be described with defined categories. Such standardization is necessary when analytical tools are applied to the data gathered, and some terminology must therefore be established. 'Kind' of text is here used to avoid confusion with 'type'. The identification of different text kinds takes its cue from work on the early modern paratext: *heading*, *folio number*, and *colophon* are all paratextual text kinds, and what is here consistently referred to as *text* (that part of the book which is not a paratext) is also a text kind.[118] Throughout, text kinds appear in italics, and by this difference *headings* may be distinguished from references to a specific heading, for instance, or headings in general.

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[117] EEBO, 'About Early English Books Online' <https://search.proquest.com/eebo/productfulldescdetail?accountid=13042> [accessed 7 July 2020]

[118] John Carter and Nicolas Barker, *ABC for Book Collectors* (London: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2004) remains the best glossary, but for more critical analysis see *Book Parts*, and *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Each book is therefore represented by what might be termed a 'typolinguistic profile': a three-tiered description of what typefaces it uses, for what languages, and for what text kinds (in that order of precedence). The structure of this may be visualized:

Type
  ⌊ language
    ⌊ text kind

A simple hypothetical book entirely in blackletter with Latin headings and an English text can therefore be visualized as:

Blackletter
  ⌊ Latin
    ⌊ *headings*
  ⌊ English
    ⌊ *text*

Whittington's *Vulgaria*, printed by de Worde in 1523,[119] has the following profile:

Roman
  ⌊ Latin
    | *title-page*
    | *running heads*
    ⌊ *text*
Blackletter
  ⌊ Latin
    | *headings*
    | *running heads*
    | *folio numbers*
    | *text*
    | *margins*
    ⌊ *colophon*
  ⌊ English
    ⌊ *text*

Put prosaically, it contains texts in both blackletter English and roman Latin, Latin that is both in blackletter and roman, a Latin colophon that uses blackletter, and so on. Within a profile, the order of typefaces, or languages, or text kinds has no significance.

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[119] Robert Whittington, *Vulgaria* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1523), STC 25573.

As a final example, a more typographically and linguistically varied collection of legal acts printed in 1549 is represented in this way:[120]

Blackletter
  ⌊ English
    | *title-page*
    | *headings*
    ⌊ *text*
Roman
  ⌊ English
    | *TITLE-PAGE*
    | *HEADINGS*
    | *DROP CAPS*
    | *quotations*
    ⌊ *LEAD INS*
  ⌊ Latin
    | *TITLE-PAGE*
    | *RUNNING HEADS*
    ⌊ *folio numbers*
Italic
  ⌊ French
    ⌊ *quotations*
  ⌊ Latin
    | *colophon*
    | *imprimatur*
    ⌊ *quotations*

'Type' is always one of three options: roman, blackletter, or italic (the rare occasions of Greek type in the ESTC are not counted in this study). 'Language' was expanded as different languages were encountered; English, Latin, French, Welsh, Italian, Spanish, German, Greek (in Latin alphabet), Dutch, Swedish, and Anglo-Saxon are all represented in the database. Law French is subsumed under 'French', and Scots under 'English'.

The text kinds are listed below. Few of them describe anything beyond what is conventionally understood by the term, and those that do are described in more detail here. In a book's profile, the case of the text kind (upper or lower) indicates whether it appears in uppercase or lowercase in the book itself; i.e., if the profile contains *COLOPHON*, its colophon is in uppercase. The title-page of the example above has, then, uppercase roman English, uppercase roman Latin, and lowercase blackletter English. Though most text kinds are here expressed in the plural, the inclusion of *HEADINGS* in the books profile could, for instance, indicate only a single heading in that type and language.

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[120] *Anno secvndo et tertio Edovardi Sexti. Acts made in the session of this present parliament...* (London: Richard Grafton, 1549), STC 9423.

Captions

Any short text that accompanies an image.

Chapter numbers

Chapter numbers (and *folio numbers*) are only recorded when the word ‘folio’ or ‘chapter’ (or their abbreviations) appear, as the typographic status of numerals in this period is not strictly classifiable as ‘blackletter’, ‘roman’, or ‘italic’.

Colophons

The text identifying printer/publisher and usually location and date, usually at the end of the book or on the *title-page*.

Devices

Any text that appears (normally in woodcut) on the printer’s device.

DROP CAPS

The first word of *text* at a larger font size than *text*, often decorative but also plain (sometimes called an ‘initial’). As they are always in uppercase, they are always recorded as *DROP CAPS*. *DROP CAPS* were only recorded in books from 1535, and are therefore excluded from the final results.

Epigraphs

Any short text that usually comes after a heading and precedes the main text, giving, for instance, introductions, summaries, or arguments of the text following.

Explicits

Any typographically differentiated text marking an end, such as a sign-off to a dedication, or the very common ‘FINIS’. (Recorded only from 1556 onwards.)

Folio numbers

Headings

Head words

In dictionaries, those headings that identify the word being defined (the definitions themselves are considered *text*).

Imprimaturs

Lead ins

If the first few words or first line of *text* are in a different typeface, as is common, it is recorded as *lead ins*.

Margins

Names

Any proper nouns (e.g. people, places, or book titles) embedded within *text* in a different typeface. *Nomina sacra* is a subsection of these, recording the use of the names of God.

Prefaces

Generally any prefatory matter, including dedications and notes ‘to the reader’, which appears in a different typeface to *text*. If it is in the same typeface as the rest of the book, it is subsumed into *text*. (Recorded only from 1556 onwards.)

Quotations

This is a catchall and flexible category for any text that appears in a different typeface embedded in *text*. This can be for reasons of highlighting and salience, or linguistic/textual distinction. It most commonly refers to instances of intertextual reference, e.g. when a bible verse is quoted, or to signify direct speech in a narrative. Its use necessitates contrast: any quotations that are in the same typeface as *text* go unnoticed.

Running heads

Sometimes known as ‘running titles’.

Speech headings

Names, sometimes embedded in *text*, that identify the speaker or author of the following text, e.g. in playbooks.

Stage directions

Text

The main body-text of the book, usually coinciding with the work it contains.

Title-page

If a colophon is on the title-page, both *colophon* and *title-page* will be listed, with the same typographic and linguistic attributes.

Woodcuts

Any text that appears in a woodcut or illustration, i.e. not produced with movable metal type.

2.5 Gathering the data

Contrary to the tacit diligence of their counterparts in fields from which they borrow their methods, quantitative bibliographers typically belabour the pains taken in the 'laborious undertaking' of bibliometric analysis.[121] Programming languages can reduce the labour of moving, organising, and analyzing data, but for this project they cannot do much towards creating it. I explored options for computational methods of identifying the typefaces on EEBO's images, but, with the current resources, this is impossible. The reasons for this are much the same as why the *Text Creation Partnership* relies on human readers to key the texts from EEBO images, rather than using optical character recognition (OCR): 'OCR software is improving all the time. It works very well on modern books, but the older the book, the more the software struggles. For books printed before 1700, and for images that are blurry, spotty, or have other quality issues, it fails almost entirely.'[122] Even with OCR software perfectly attuned to sixteenth-century typography,[123] the quality of EEBO's images makes it an insufficient source: they are low-resolution, monochromatic, often distorted, and their quality is too varied to apply a one-size-fits-all solution. The identification of typefaces often, therefore, relies on contextual clues like the shapes of words (rather than individual letterforms), the general aspect or typographic 'colour' of the page, and intuition: every book must therefore be eyeballed.

The online interface for the ESTC is the starting point for collecting data. Unfortunately, it does not allow for browsing records without first limiting them with a search term, so searches were done by year and worked through chronologically.[124] I typed the target year into the 'Year' search bar on the 'advanced search' page. When entered, the 'total number of records' shows the number of total entries with that date in ESTC's 'publisher/year' field. For the period in question, this 'publisher/year' is usually simply the book's colophon, or the *STC's* conjectured colophon (indicated by square brackets). The number that arises from such a search does not therefore truly reflect the number of books printed in this year, as outlined above, as some will have inaccurate or misleading colophons. For instance, the ESTC record of a reprint that reproduced the date printed on its first edition gives '[London : by T. Powell], Anno. M.D.XLIX. [1549, i.e. 1557?]]' in its 'publisher/year' field. This would appear in the search results for both 1549 and 1557. Those that are not in fact from the target year are ignored when they are encountered.

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[121] These are the two final words of Samuli Kaislaniemi in 'Code-switching, Script-Switching and Typeface-Switching in Early Modern English Manuscript Letters and Printed Tracts', in *Verbal and Visual Communication in Early English Texts*, ed. by Matti Peikola, Aleksi Mäkilähde, Hanna Salmi, Mari-Liisa Varila & Janne Skaffari (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 165–200 (p. 200). Suarez describes plans being curtailed by slower than expected progress and the 'years' taken to produce his numbers (Suarez, p. 41, p. 65); Karian describes checking every record in the ESTC as 'an astonishingly laborious process' (Karian, p. 291). The work is sometimes described in surprisingly corporeal ways: Simon Eliot did 'a hell of a lot of page turning and a mind-bruising amount of counting' ('Very Necessary But Not Quite Sufficient', *Book History*, 5 (2002), 283–293 (p. 286)), and Tabor acknowledges the necessity of balancing 'a zeal for exhaustiveness against the burden it imposes on human frailty.' (Tabor, p. 572).

[122] <https://textcreationpartnership.org/using-tcp-content/results-of-keying/> [accessed 11 July 2020]

[123] Such as that envisaged by the Early Modern OCR Project (eMOP). <https://emop.tamu.edu/> [accessed 4 February 2020]

When the 'total number of records' is clicked, ESTC shows the full list of results (with a maximum of ten to a page). I opened the first record by clicking on its title, which opens the 'full record', including bibliographic information and a link to its EEBO reproduction, if available. Clicking on the EEBO link opens a new window directly to the digitization. The first 20 of EEBO's 'images' (usually 39 pages) of every book are looked at, and their typographic features recorded via a shorthand in an Excel workbook as they appear. If the *text* of the book has not been reached by this point, I continued through the images until it is, as a book's typography often changes between its prefatory material and the main text. From there, every tenth page is viewed (using the 'Go to image number' input field) as are all of the last ten. From 1580, this system was changed to checking the first 10 EEBO images, and every twentieth image. More typographically complex books were given closer attention, and more images were viewed when confirming doubts over assigning a text kind. Though it is not common for books to change their typographic styles mid-way through the main text, the elision of EEBO images may cause features to be missed. This risk is considered necessary and slight: though not everything within the book is necessarily included in its profile, everything included in its profile is generally representative of the book.

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[124] Lahti, Homäki, and Tolonen also find this problematic: 'Such arbitrary restrictions on data availability place severe limitations on how the data can be used, and create a significant bottleneck for data-driven research.' (Leo Lahti, Niko Homäki, and Mikko Tolonen, p. 88). Karian notes the existence of a more open ESTC interface, 'available on a limited basis', though it is unclear whether this is still available (Karian, p. 288). Ultimately the obstacles to easily accessing the ESTC's data are here negotiated with the Python programming language, as described below.

With the data for the typographic profile now in the Excel workbook, I closed the EEBO window. I copied the ESTC record's 'permalink' from the top right corner of the book's record, and pasted it into column A of the workbook. Anything especially remarkable, or pertinent information not recorded elsewhere was entered into a general notes column. The next book was then navigated to by the 'next record' button, which opens the full record for the next result for the search by year already performed, and the process is repeated until all the results for that year have been viewed and profiled. If the book has no EEBO file linked from the ESTC, 'NOT ON EEBO' is entered into column I of the workbook.

The workbook now contains the books' profiles, a URL to their ESTC records, and any notes, but no other information. Using a script written in the coding language Python,[125] the ESTC records for those books are automatically accessed via the URL, and their relevant fields imported into columns of the workbook. This imports the STC number (if it has one), ESTC number, uniform title, full title, author (if any), colophon, physical description, and MARC 702 (giving its location of printing). Having done so, the entries for that year are complete. When this process had been completed for all years, the files were analysed using Python's Pandas library — a widely used tool for data analysis.[126] The results obtained through Pandas were then visualized using the Matplotlib library.[127]

It must here be noted that this research took place in an ideal window of EEBO's history — a window that has now closed. The method described above is tailored towards EEBO's Chadwyck-Healey interface, which was EEBO's main point of access since the year after its inception in 1998.[128] The simple, bare-necessities design of that interface was intended to accommodate the speed of dial-up connections; when accessed with modern broadband, loading times were therefore almost imperceptible. This allowed the rapid viewing of thousands of images that was necessary for the completion of this project. The Chadwyck-Healey interface was discontinued on 7 July 2020, and EEBO is now hosted on a ProQuest website that conforms to modern conventions of web design. Though the new design has many advantages over the old one, speed is not one of them: early users have complained that it is extremely slow.[129] The large-scale research outlined here, therefore, would be impossible on EEBO in its current form without an unrealistic amount of time and patience.

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[125] Scripts and raw data may be found at <https://github.com/jamesmisson/typography1509-1592>

[126] <https://pandas.pydata.org/> [accessed 2 September 2020]

[127] <https://matplotlib.org/> [accessed 2 September 2020]

[128] See Heather Froehlich's forthcoming review in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America.*

It is a trope of quantitative bibliography to invoke, by way of caveat, the metaphor of a map.[130] Just as a map is an abstraction of the land, so too have books undergone 'a process of deliberate reduction and abstraction' in their conversion to statistics.[131] But maps are not the territory, and abstraction is always accompanied by a compromise in accuracy. A map is only useful *because* of this abstraction, and the statistics and conclusions drawn from this database are useful because of the generalizations inherent in representation; unlike the cartomanic civilization in Borges' short story *On Exactitude in Science*, quantitative bibliographers recognize the uselessness of a map as large as the territory. An inevitable by-product of abstraction is error. Though all precautions have been undertaken to prevent them, mislabelled text kinds, misdated books, and misread ESTC records all become more likely the more data are gathered. Our approach to the following statistics is therefore best guided by the words of Priya Joshi: though 'statistics, like maps, are indeed lies to some extent [...] they are lies that tell a truth that would not otherwise be evident.'[132]

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129 E.g. 'The new EEBO is so. very. slow.' @onslies, 11 July 2020 (tweet) <https://twitter.com/onslies/status/1281899168814952448> [accessed 11 July 2020]

130 Suarez 'think[s] of [his] study as a series of hand-drawn maps, surveys — made from a great distance and in fading light — of a vast and complex terrain' (p. 64). Priya Joshi quotes Darnton's essay on book production in India: his statistics were 'something comparable to the early maps of the New World, which showed the contours of the continents, even though they did not correspond very well to the actual landscape' (Priya Joshi, 'Quantitative Method, Literary History', *Book History*, 5 (2002), 263–274 (p. 263)). Tabor says that 'some people prefer to explore the world through books of photographs, with occasional schematic maps. ESTC, on the other hand, provides the equivalent of a detailed topographic map, but no pictures' (p. 368).

131 Moretti, p. 1.

132 Joshi, p. 264.

CHAPTER 1: LANGUAGE

The Shape of English

1.1 Introduction

The premise of this chapter — that a correlation exists between the typefaces and the languages used in early English print — is neither controversial nor new. To reduce this to a simple relationship based on the general critical consensus, blackletter is the typeface of the English language, whereas roman and italic are the typefaces of mainly Latin, but also romance languages. This system is often expressed as a combination of co-dependent factors that also correlated with language in the early modern period — genre, for instance, or form. Harry Carter writes that roman types 'were used at first chiefly for editions of classical authors, gothic types being preferred for printing religious and vernacular works.'[1] 'Classical authors' here implies Latin texts (of either Latin works or Greek works translated into Latin), and 'vernacular' is grouped with the generic 'religious', as well as itself being loaded with associations of genre. With such a tangle of variables, questions are left unanswered: are these texts set in roman/blackletter because of their genre, or their language? If both, which takes precedence? Would, for instance, a translation of a classical text into English also require a 'translation' into blackletter, or would Latin passages in otherwise English works require a change to roman?

These blurred lines have been brought into focus by more recent studies that limit the scope to the relationship between typeface and language regardless of content. Most influential of these are Mark Bland's 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England' and Steven K. Galbraith's '"English" Black-Letter Type and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*' — two articles that provide a foundation for much of this chapter. Both Bland and Galbraith are unequivocal in their connection of blackletter to English. For Bland blackletter 'remained the predominant English language typeface until [...] the years between the Armada of 1588 and the plague of 1593.'[2] With similar confidence, Galbraith states that 'Simply put, black-letter or "English" type signified the English language.'[3] He therefore seems to be suggesting a relationship between blackletter and English that is, in Peircean terms, 'symbolic': an arbitrary signifier tethered to its signified only by common acceptance and convention. The studies in which Bland and Galbraith draw these conclusions are critiqued below. Though A. E. B. Coldiron has described 'language-based type assignments' as being 'much disputed,' this is nowhere in evidence for English.[4] Instead, the connection between English and blackletter is received with little to no dissent — as John N. King notes, it, along with the complementary association between roman and Latin, is a 'historical truism.'[5]

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[1] Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography: up to about 1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 20.

[2] Mark Bland, 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England', *Text*, 11 (1998), 91–154 (p. 94).

The arguments of this chapter do not contradict this; the truism is true. Instead, one of its aims is to refine the truism by gauging the strength of the relationships between typefaces and languages in English books by means of new quantitative evidence described in Section 2 — evidence that provides the backdrop for the remaining chapters of this thesis. As well as visualizing these relationships, this chapter will give them a diachronic nuance that previous studies have lacked, tracing their dynamics across the sixteenth century. This quantitative, macroscopic aspect is complemented by a microscopic study in Section 3, qualifying how typography manifests language in individual books and within individual words. Like Bland and Galbraith's studies, language is here isolated as a subject as far as possible, distilled, somewhat artificially, from variables such as genre or form, introduced in subsequent chapters. However, as will be shown, the variable of geographical location is inseparable from language and typography.

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[3] Steven K. Galbraith, '"English" Black-Letter Type and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*', *Spenser Studies*, 23 (2008), 13–40 (p. 16).

[4] A. E. B. Coldiron, *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 27. Coldiron gives no citation for the disputation here, but later states that Guyda Armstrong and Adrian Weiss have separately 'challenged elements of this idea' (p. 47). However, evidence of this cannot be found in the articles cited. Guyda Armstrong, 'Coding Continental: Information Design in Manuals and Translations', *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 78–102; Adrian Weiss, 'Casting Compositors, Foul Cases, and Skeletons: Printing in Middleton's Age', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 195–225.

[5] John N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 105.

1.2 Typolinguistic systems

The idea that different typefaces are for different languages can, for convenience's sake, be referred to as a 'typolinguistic system'. It is necessary to determine the notion of a typolinguistic system because it is at odds with modern conceptions and uses of typography: present-day readers and writers of English take for granted that a font's primary function is aesthetic rather than linguistic (and most modern fonts are designed as such). Our nearest practical acquaintance with typolinguistic systems is in the italicization of foreign words, the *Chicago Manual of Style*, for instance, prescribing italics for 'isolated words and phrases from another language unless they appear in *Webster's* or another standard English-language dictionary.'[6] This is itself a vestige of an early modern practice — as Joseph Loewenstein puts it, italics 'retained their alien aura.'[7]

A correlation between a text's appearance and its language is not peculiar to the medium of print, with precedents in manuscript, nor is it peculiar to the period at hand, having been in use elsewhere both before and after the sixteenth century. Lotte Hellinga has written that, 'In vernacular texts written in the Middle ages (and much later) one can immediately perceive script-features linked to the use of a particular language, which express its identity, in graphic form, almost as strongly as the language itself.'[8] Likewise Daniel Wakelin, who writes that 'Scribes and readers had culturally informed notions of which genres, languages or types of book suited which scripts.'[9] Contemporaneous writings on scribal practice prescribe linguistic use of scripts beyond just the incidence of location: as expressed in a dialogue by Erasmus on the subject, if one were to 'Write out a speech of Cicero's in Gothic script, [...] you will say it is outlandish and barbarous.'[10] Later in this dialogue, the relative difficulties of various hands, categorized by language, are compared: ‘in bygone times the gothic hand was harder to learn than the Latin and how nowadays the French and German hands more difficult than the Italian.’ The linguistic context here established by ‘Latin’ induces the same interpretation of ‘French’ and ‘German’: languages, not nationalities.

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[6] 'Unfamiliar words and phrases from other languages', *Chicago Manual of Style Online*, 7.53 <https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/book/ed17/part2/ch07/psec053.html> [accessed 4 January 2020]

[7] Joseph F. Loewenstein, '*Idem:* Italics and the Genetics of Authorship', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 205–224 (p. 224).

[8] Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume III*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Joseph Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 65–108 (p. 72).

[9] Daniel Wakelin, 'Writing the Words', in *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34–58 (p. 37).

[10] Translated in A. S. Osley and Berthold Wolpe, *Scribes and Sources: Handbook of the Chancery Hand in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), p. 29.

A corollary to the typolinguistic system this chapter explores is found in the only relatively recently dissolved system of German and its two main forms of blackletter, schwabacher and fraktur. The ultimate severance of German and blackletter is the textbook example of typography and ideology intersecting. In 1941, a Nazi decree ordered the discontinuation of blackletter in favour of roman, the former being denounced, with little explanation, as *Judenlettern*: Jewish letter. As Robin Kinross notes, the rapid and effective implementation of this aesthetic would have been unimaginable in a democratic state.[11] This edict was a response to a recurring debate over the appearance of German in either *antiqua* (roman) or blackletter — the so-called ‘Antiqua-Fraktur dispute’, which had been brewing since at least the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.[12] The resolve of the blackletter traditionalists, and their commitment to a typolinguistic binary, is usually portrayed via an anecdote of Otto von Bismarck returning German books printed in roman with a note that shares the haughty prescriptivism found in Erasmus’s dialogue above: ‘I do not read German books set in Latin letters.’[13] While the German typolinguistic system was evident in the majority of books, the results of one study suggests that, in its last few decades at least, this was not an overwhelming one. Blackletter was used for ‘approximately 57 percent of all books and 60 percent of all magazines in 1928, figures that were virtually unchanged from 1891.’[14] Philipp Luidl here suggests that the system was in place for certain genres and forms of text. This accords with the conventional narrative of the German typolinguistic system: Steinberg identifies its origin in ‘the preponderance of theological over humanistic writings in Germany’ dating back to the

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[11] Robin Kinross, *Modern Typography: An Essay in Critical History* (London: Hyphen Press, 2004), p. 122.

[12] A thorough account of this pivotal episode in typographic history can be found in Silvia Hartmann, *Fraktur oder Antiqua*: *der Schriftstreit von 1881 bis 1941* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1998).

[13] Paul Shaw and Peter Bain, ‘Blackletter vs. Roman: Type as Ideological Surrogate’, in *Blackletter: Type and National Identity*, ed. by Peter Bain and Paul Shaw (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. 10–15 (p. 14).

[14] Philipp Luidl, ‘A Comparison of Fraktur and Roman Type: A German Study’, in *Blackletter: Type and National Identity*, ed. by Peter Bain and Paul Shaw, pp. 16–21 (p. 21).

'Thomist teachings of Cologne and later by the Lutheran theology of Wittenberg, two [...] busy centres of printing.'[15] As with Carter's connection of blackletter to religious texts and roman to classical texts, Steinberg's (perhaps speculative) account defers the explanation of typeface choice along to the concomitant factor of genre. Even German's former typolinguistic system, then, is a matter of degree rather than a universal standard.

Alongside these patterns of convention, a myriad of cultural arguments were proposed for the conservation of blackletter German from positions of tradition, and national identity, but arguments also took a linguistic approach. According to some, including Stanley Morison, 'Fraktur is peculiarly adapted for the German language' — on a microtypographic level, the design of fraktur is more accommodating to German words than roman is. Morison qualifies this only by saying that fraktur 'produces the factors of economy, legibility, and suitability for the German language',[16] but Luidl has more recently attempted to develop Morison's claim of inherent suitability. In short, Luidl's three arguments are: the comparative narrowness of blackletter means that more German words, typically longer than other languages, can be accommodated in a line; blackletter's uppercase letters are more aesthetically coherent with their lowercase counterparts, suitable for the more frequent grammatical use of capital letters in German; the ascender of the long s in fraktur typefaces produces a visual divider that splits long German words into their lexical and etymological components, easing comprehension and legibility.

An awareness of the Germanic flavour of blackletter is evident in early-modern English books: several playbooks printed in the seventeenth century set conspicuously Germanic speech in this typeface. Three such settings of Dutch are identified and close read by Marjorie Rubright: *Northward Hoe* (Thomas Dekker and John Webster, 1607), *The Roaring Girl* (Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, 1611), and *Masque of Augures* (Ben Jonson, 1621). Each playbook contains characters speaking either a comic variety of 'stage Dutch' or a

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[15] Sigfrid H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, ed. by John Trevitt (London: British Library, 1996), p. 17.

[16] Stanley Morison, *Politics and Script*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 323.

Dutch-inflected form of English. In all cases, it is the only use of blackletter in the otherwise entirely roman book (the typical typeface of playbooks in this period).[17] Significantly, this is not a projection of a character's national identity, but a linguistic identity that is learnable and transferable. In *Northward Hoe*, for instance, the main speaker of blackletter is the Dutch caricature Hans van Belch, but when the English character Doll responds to him in imitation of his speech, her words switch from roman to blackletter and back with her code-switch: '**Ick vare well God danke you:** Nay Ime an apt scholer and can take.'[18] Likewise, the Dutch inflected or accented speech of the Englishman Van Goose appears in blackletter in Jonson's *Masque of Augures*. It is immediately followed by other characters' commentary on his manner of speech: though he is 'Brittaine borne', he 'hath learned to misuse his owne tongue in travell, / and now speakes all languages in ill English.'[19] Here, blackletter 'signifies an infection of the tongue due to travel.'[20] Rubright is right to describe this feature as 'largely overlooked' by past scholarship: though they are beyond the period covered by this study, they warrant more critical attention of the sort Rubright has given as a ludic application of typographic convention. Here it suffices to add the example of the 1654 edition of *The tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperour of Germany*,[21] in which the sometimes rapid code-switching between English and German is accompanied by a switch from roman to blackletter.

These seventeenth-century blackletter 'performances' of Dutch and German are contrasted against their surrounding English roman text. For these books, English is not typographically encoded as Germanic. Nor does English share with German any of those orthographic and etymological qualities of German that Luidl identifies as being especially accommodated by blackletter typefaces. Being thus excluded from a typolinguistic system that assigns blackletter to Germanic languages, we might think of the sixteenth-century system as being aesthetic rather than linguistic, but the contemporaneous terminology suggests otherwise. In our earliest source for printing terminology in English, Joseph Moxon codifies a connection between typeface and language despite the system having fallen out of practice by the publication of his *Mechanick Exercises* in 1683. He writes that by 'Language is understood Letter [...] so that the Word *Letter*, is in *Compositers* Dialect, understood by naming the Language.'[22] Galbraith looks to Moxon for evidence for his argument that 'black-letter literacy and English-language literacy were basically the same thing,'[23] citing his use of another word for blackletter type: *English*.[24] However, while the use of Moxon as a source has become commonplace in studies of early-modern typography due to its distinction as the earliest comprehensive document on the technicalities of printing,[25] the field's easy but disproportionate dependence on this work should be questioned, given that it was published two centuries after printing arrived in England, and nearly a century after the conventions it describes here began to break down. We must be alert, then, to the possibility that the assignation of 'English' to blackletter by Moxon and those who cite him is retrospective, perhaps even itself bibliographical: a description of a trend rather than the prescription of a rule.

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[17] Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p. 113.

[18] Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *North-ward hoe* (London: G. Eld, 1607), STC 6539, sig. D$^{\text{r}}$.

[19] Ben Jonson, *The masque of augures* (London: 1621), STC 14777, sig. A3$^{\text{v}}$.

[20] Rubright, p. 134.

[21] George Chapman, *The tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperour of Germany* (London: 1654), Wing C1952A.

Instead, those scarce documents that are contemporaneous to the period at hand offer a more convincing suggestion of a codified typolinguistic system for English. Galbraith identifies an early instance of the use of 'English' for blackletter, explicitly contrasting it with roman type. It appears in a prefatory note to a printed sermon, used to clarify the source of quotations taken from a previous sermon with which it is in dialogue: 'There being diuers Impressions of the Frutefull Sermon, it is to be obserued, that al the Quotations, are taken out of the

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[22] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683–4)*, ed. by Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 218

[23] Galbraith, p. 21.

[24] Moxon, p. 123.

[25] See, for instance, King's use of Moxon (King, p. 105, p. 108). Elsewhere, King, Joseph Dane and Alexandra Gillespie separately make it clear that their application of *Mechanick Exercises* to sixteenth-century books relies on an 'assumption' of its relevance. John N. King, 'Introduction', in *Tudor Books and Readers*, ed. by John N. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1–14 (p. 3); Joseph A. Dane and Alexandra Gillespie, 'The Myth of the Cheap Quarto', in *Tudor Books and Readers*, ed. by John N. King, pp. 25–45 (p. 31). Adrian Johns has warned against the risk of Moxon's influence on bibliography: '[*Mechanick Exercises*] betrays an intense awareness of how different representations of that domain [i.e. printing], including Moxon's own, could serve not just to mirror reality, but to create it.' Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 79.

Booke printed in the English Pica, not in the Romane letter.'[26] Galbraith uses this quotation to conclude that 'in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries black-letter type was referred to as "English"' — a fact 'neglected' by modern book history, which consequentiality neglects the inseparability of the English language and blackletter.[27] But this sole sixteenth-century example is from the tail end of the century, exposing it to the same scepticism applied to Moxon above: 'English' may be a description of more than a hundred years of usage rather than a codification of prescription. By antedating Galbraith's evidence, this concern can be circumvented. The phrase 'English letter' is also used in the envoy to John Skelton's *Garland of Laurel*, first printed in 1523, as a reflexive description of the book's own text:

> So litill quaire
> demene you faire
> Take no dispare
> Though I you wrate
> After this rate.
> In englysshe letter
> So moche the better
> welcome shall ye
> To sum men be
> For latin warkis
> Be good for clerkis[28]

Given the passage's contrasting of English and Latin and their respective readerships, it's unclear whether 'englysshe letter' refers specifically to the letterforms of its text or just the general practice of writing in English (cognate with phrases such as 'Latin letters' to denote literature in Latin, for instance). However, given that this book generally (but not entirely) sets English in blackletter and Latin in roman, the text's immediate material context proposes a typolinguistic system that therefore accommodates a reading of 'englysshe letter' as referring to the letterforms themselves. This reading is likewise prompted by Skelton's narrator's earlier attention to both letterforms and languages, in which he observes the 'wrytyng' above a series of gates:

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[26] Thomas Rogers, *A Sermon Vpon the 6.7. and 8. Verses of the 12. chapter of S. Pauls epistle vnto the Romanes* (London: John Windet, 1590), STC 21240, sig. [A1]^{v}.

[27] Galbraith, p. 16.

[28] John Skelton, *A ryght delectable treatyse upon a goodly garlande or chapelet of laurell* (London: Richard Faques, 1523), fol. 25^{r}.

> sum greke / sum ebrew
> Some romaine letters as I vnderstode
> Some were olde wryten / sum were writen new
> Some carectis of caldy / sum frensshe was full good
> But one gate specyally where as I stode
> Had grauin in it of calcydony a capytall. A

The *OED* also contains an earlier piece of evidence from a printer's indenture of 1539: 'The englyshe letter the grete prymer letter the small letter.'[29] This, however, is somewhat ambiguous given the combination of two easily-confused meanings under one definition, *English* as a size of type, and *English* as a style of type:

> 7. *Printing.* A size of type (approx. 14 point), smaller than Great Primer and larger than Pica; (also) a style of black-letter type; = Old English n. 3. Frequently *attributive*. Now *hist.*

1.3 Applications

The presence of a typolinguistic system in the sixteenth century has been variously applied by researchers to interpret books and their texts based on the appearance of their pages. According to John N. King, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was 'the most physically imposing, complicated, and technically demanding sixteenth-century English book.'[30] Part of this technicality is the exhaustive array of type used by its printer John Day, entailing blackletter for its English sections, and roman and italic for extracts of Latin text embedded within the body text. In presenting the *Book of Martyrs* as a product of a typolinguistic system, John N. King reveals its complex typographical hierarchy to be an index of its equally complex socio-linguistic status. As a book mostly comprising of blackletter English, it is one explicitly aimed at vernacular readers. For King, however, this status is somewhat fraught, as Foxe's acknowledgement of the book's readership occurs in a Latin preface with what King describes as 'considerable uneasiness': 'this work is not given for your ears, but for the men of my crowd, a rather crass group of people, by whom books are more easily read than judged.'[31] The book includes many extracts from Latin texts, and these are fastidiously set in roman and italic by Day, often without translation, in stark contrast to the blackletter of the main text. In drawing this connection between socio- and typo-linguistics, King appropriately accounts for the book's typography without misrepresenting it as anything more remarkable than an adherence to convention: Day is 'quite conventional in identifying particular typefaces with specific languages and literacy levels, a practice that reflects the fact that blackletter remained in common use in England and northern Europe long after italic and roman typefaces became standard in France, Italy, and Spain.'[32] The book, then, is shown to be representative of the prevailing English typolinguistic system, albeit an especially complex example.

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[29] 'English, adj. (and adv.) and n.', *OED*.

[30] King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, p. 81.

[31] King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, p. 108.

King thereby picks out Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* as a pronounced instance of a practice that underlies its contemporaries more latently: its exceptionality is one of degree, not of kind.[33] Others have less modest applications of a typolinguistic system to blackletter books. Having established a strong link between English and blackletter, Galbraith goes on to exploit it by reading significance into the blackletter type used in the first edition of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*. Here, he proposes that the use of blackletter is not only a conscious choice, but one that supports a 'nationalist argument.'[34] He bases this conclusion on a selection of evidence from the context of the book's production; first, that the bibliographical model for the book was Sansovino's 1571 edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Of the many features that are borrowed by the *Calender* from this *Arcadia*, type is not one of them: the *Arcadia* is set in roman and italic, whereas the *Calender* is mostly in blackletter — a difference that Galbraith presents as a conspicuous and conscious deviation. Secondly, as Singleton, the printer of the *Calender*, seems to have owned roman and italic types, blackletter, Galbraith argues, was a choice. As further evidence for this choice, Galbraith cites the publication in the same year of an English book printed (unusually) in roman: John Stubbs' *The Discouerie of a Gaping Gulf Whereunto*

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[32] King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, p. 103.

[33] A similar distinction is astutely made by Peter Cambell in his discussion of Hobbes' *Leviathan*: 'The typography of *Leviathan* is not unique. [...] The fact that similar layouts were thought appropriate both for Burton's discursive text and Hobbes's avowedly axiomatic one [...] shows what any consideration of any representative group of seventeenth-century books makes clear. What we are observing is not a solution to a specific problem, but a set of typographic conventions.' Peter Campbell, 'The Typography of Hobbes's *Leviathan*', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV*, ed. by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 645–647 (p. 646).

[34] Galbraith, p. 22.

England is Like to be Swallovved by Another French Marriage. If Singleton decided to use roman for this text, Galbraith asks, why didn't he do so for Spenser's? His answer concerns the linguistic agenda of the poem: 'The imposition of black-letter or 'English' type in place of italic and roman connotes the imposition of the English vernacular onto Italian [...] we find a conscious move to *English* (i.e. to translate) an Italian literary model.' This agenda is also shared by its preface, which 'articulates a nationalist argument centered on the vernacular language', discussing, for instance, Spenser's conscious archaisms. Ultimately, then, Galbraith concludes that 'the choice of this type for *The Shepheardes Calender* is a part of an overarching promotion of Englishness.'[35] Galbraith goes further: by considering the evidence for authorial involvement in the printing process, he speculates that the choice could even have been Spenser's.[36] Galbraith's argument has been influential; cited, accepted, and adapted in many discussions of Spenser.[37]

Galbraith, then, misleadingly presents this blackletter as embodying a consciously transformative and nationalist intent that went into the production of the book. This distinction is offset by the context offered earlier in his article: 'Approximately 78% of books published in 1579 were set in blackletter.'[38] This study, detailed below, finds 90% of English books set in blackletter in 1579. Furthermore, as Galbraith observes, 'Hugh Singleton was almost exclusively a black-letter printer.' The *Shepheardes Calender*, then, is by no means an unusual book. This immediate contradiction is symptomatic of the article's overall flaw of having two halves seemingly at odds with each other. The first half successfully argues for a near-ubiquitous convention that inextricably unites the English language and blackletter; the second half seeks to distinguish a single book as somehow intentionally meaningful or evocative in its typography, despite it conforming precisely to the convention laid out. Furthermore, as described above, Galbraith uses John Stubbs' book, printed by Singleton in roman type, to ask why Spenser's book was not also in roman. Galbraith is clearly pulled by the gravity of a canonical work — but we should instead be asking why John Stubbs' book is visually unconventional considering the uniform context in which the *Shepheardes Calender* participates.

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[35] Galbraith, p. 28

[36] Galbraith, p. 32

[37] Among the many examples is Abigail Shinn: 'The English almanac tradition thus afforded Spenser a useful template that would consolidate his interrogation of the value attributed to English poetry, not only through an association with a geographically specific form but by allying his work to a culturally resonant aspect of print which conflated the popular with the national.' 'Spenser's Popular Intertexts' in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern* England, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 157–168 (p. 161); Jessica C. Beckman likewise writes that 'the black-letter eclogues foreground the *Calender's* nationalist efforts to elevate England's vernacular poetry', 'Time, Reading, and the Material Text: Revising Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*', *Spenser Studies*, 33 (2019), pp. 161–185 (p. 166).

[38] Galbraith, p. 23.

Like Galbraith, A. E. B. Coldiron is concerned with the formal ways in which works are 'Englished' as they are translated, undergoing a 'parallel sort of translation, involving the material re-mediation and visual redesign of medieval manuscripts and/or contemporary foreign editions.'[39] Nevertheless, Coldiron resists the symbolic connection between blackletter and English perceived by Galbraith, writing that 'The letter-form *may* have encoded English authority' (my emphasis). The source of her caution is an awareness of synchronic and diachronic variance: diachronically, 'associations attached to letter-forms have changed along with the kinds of works they tended to carry, and that over time, such associations must have also shifted readers' perceptions of a page's residual presences.' Likewise, synchronically, 'Any sampling of polyglot books [...] reveals considerable variation in the handling of columns and the assignment of types to languages.'[40] Coldiron's moderation furnishes her case study's argument for intentionality with a sounder foundation than Galbraith's. The focus of her chapter is Thomas Hoby's 1588 translation *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio.*[41] It is, for Coldiron, a quintessential vehicle of '"englished" literary nationhood', 'built chiefly on appropriative translation and on the foreign-born printing technologies that made possible wider distribution.'[42] A trilingual book, it displays the work in three languages in three columns on each page; the verso of each opening bears (from left to right) a column of English blackletter, a column of French roman, and a column of Italian italic (the original text). The recto contains the same in the reverse order, so that each opening has two adjacent columns of

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[39] Coldiron, p. 3.

[40] Coldiron, p. 179.

[41] (London: John Wolfe, 1588), STC 4781. This book is the focus of Coldiron's chapter 'Compressed transnationalism: John Wolfe's trilingual *Courtier*'. Coldiron, pp. 160–198.

[42] Coldiron, p. 169.

Italian over the gutter, and English on the farthest edges of the pages. Multilingual, multi-type pages such as these, Coldiron states,

> demand an immediate acknowledgement of alterity and then invite judgements about the relations between the native and the foreign (for even a polyglot reader will locate her own 'native' text on such pages). Multilingual books put readers through an implicit transnational heuristic: what are these differently shaped letters, and to what language do they belong?[43]

For Coldiron, then, the Englishness of the blackletter column is primarily a result of conspicuous contrast to other languages, and contact with alterity, rather than any inherent symbolism. Like Galbraith, Coldiron cites the existence of other, similarly multi- or trans-lingual works that do not use the same sort of system to argue that this specific instance of typolinguistics is a choice. Unlike Galbraith's, however, her conclusion is not offset by an insistence on a symbolic connection that undermines the idea of individual intention: having given examples of books that do not conform to Wolfe's particular typolinguistic system, she concludes that 'Wolfe's column arrangement and type assignments represent a choice, not an unthinking adherence to fixed convention.'[44]

Coldiron's verdict on Wolfe's type assignments raises the first of several difficulties inherent to these kinds of analyses. Clearly Coldiron's dichotomy of 'a choice' versus 'an unthinking adherence to fixed convention' is a false one: a printer can make a choice to adhere to a fixed convention in a thoughtful way, and the exploitation of convention is even upheld as good typographical practice — 'we read best what we read most', goes the maxim.[45] Here we reach the limits of Galbraith's and Coldiron's analyses, where the line between an individual's choices and a culture's conventions becomes blurred, and an individual is both reinforcing and responding to a convention. Empirically determining the extent of this convention — what was statistically normal — through a quantitative study will allow future work on individuals' choices to be better informed. Likewise, the reasonable caution practised by Coldiron above with regards to diachronic changes in typography is obviated by a comprehensive quantitative survey of this period.

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[43] Coldiron, p. 175.

[44] Coldiron, p. 179.

[45] As invoked by type designer Zuzana Licko, *Emigre*, 15 (1990), p. 13.

Another significant problem for which quantitative analysis provides some relief is the effect of isolating individual works. A limited range seems endemic to current scholarship on sixteenth-century typography: the 1588 *Courtier* is used by both Galbraith and Coldiron as an illustrative example of a typolinguistic system, but also by Armstrong, who independently reaches similar conclusions via the same book.[46] As well as relying on those especially pronounced examples, evidence is also often selected, consciously or not, for its canonicity. Such narrow focus risks meaning being sought in every accident of production. This is not to say that Galbraith's reading of blackletter as a constituent of the book's socio-linguistic or nationalist significance is not legitimate — it is, but the book must be understood as the product of a wider cultural, not authorial, phenomenon in which English is manifested as blackletter. Nor does the presence of the other 90% of blackletter English books printed in this year devalue such a reading: when read alongside the text's nationalist, socio-linguistic concerns, the national, linguistic convention of blackletter in which the book participates can meaningfully augment the *Shepheardes Calender*, far more significantly than it could, say, a book of prayers printed in blackletter in the same year. Coldiron touches on the importance of this sort of context in her description of English translation as an 'appropriative or 'intake'' practice: 'by means of translation, foreign texts were to be brought in and 'made denizens' or naturalized as English, to become English, to enrich the national literary culture, and/or to appear as if they already were and always had been English.'[47] Rather than an isolated incident of conscious appropriation, the *Shepheardes Calender* being set in blackletter is symptomatic of a process that is occurring on a much larger scale.

2. Quantitative study

2.1 Previous work

Samuli Kaislaniemi is right to observe that, for language, 'quantitative studies of typeface-switching are rare':[48] were it not for Kaislaniemi's own study, they might be non-existent.

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[46] Armstrong, pp. 91–99.

[47] Coldiron, p. 166.

[48] Samuli Kaislaniemi, 'Code-switching, script-switching and typeface-switching in Early Modern English manuscript letters and printed tracts', in *Verbal and Visual Communication in Early English Texts*, ed. by Matti Peikola, Aleksi Mäkilähde, Hanna Salmi, Mari-Liisa Varila & Janne Skaffari (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 165–200 (p. 172).

Both Galbraith and Bland perform some quantitative work in which they both independently arrive at around 1590 for the point at which the majority of English books are set in roman, but their data are respectively unpublished, and limited by genre. Both are concerned with a 'tipping point' between roman and blackletter. Galbraith's allusion to this work is confined to a tantalizing endnote: 'A more exhaustive census that I conducted of the years 1579–92 demonstrates that roman type did not overtake black letter until 1590/1591'[49]). Bland's study is dependent on Greg's survey of printed drama (which recorded the use of blackletter type), offering 'a sample of 576 editions printed between 1570 and 1623.'[50] He finds an 'abrupt' change from blackletter to roman in plays between the years 1590 and 1591. Kaislaniemi examines typeface switching within books, in the *Lampeter Corpus of Early English Tracts* — 120 texts from the years 1640–1740 — which 'happily has encoded typeface- and code-switches.'[51] In this corpus, he looks for changes in typography that coincide with changes in language — as the body-texts of these documents are in roman type, these switches are to italic or blackletter. He concludes that 'nearly all of the code-switches in the material are marked by typeface-switching' (only 7 out of 396 do not).[52] Instead of presenting any one typeface as inherently English or foreign, his study relies on typographic contrast to draw a strong correlation 'between the visual appearance of the text and the language.'[53]

My survey was designed with a larger sample size to answer two broad questions with regard to language's synchronic and diachronic variation: how widespread and strong is the typolinguistic system in the period as a whole, and when and at what rate did it change. The following description of the data gathered gives a general picture of how blackletter, roman, and italic were applied to languages in the period between 1509 and 1592. No reference is made here to specific books, those details being introduced in subsequent chapters.

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[49] Galbraith, p. 37.

[50] Bland, p. 105; W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama,* 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939–59).

[51] Kaislaniemi, p. 184.

[52] Kaislaniemi, p. 187.

[53] Kaislaniemi, p. 190.

2.2 English

Figure 1.1 shows two bars for each year, the blue representing blackletter, and the orange roman. Each bar gives the total number of books that contain English in that typeface, of *any* text kind.[54] So, a hypothetical book in which the only English is its roman colophon would here be counted in the orange bar. This entails that the bars are not mutually exclusive: books that contain both roman English and blackletter English are counted in both bars. Figure 1.2 normalizes these raw numbers, presenting them as a percentage. The total number of books counted is here shown as a percentage of the total number of books containing English: in 1509, for instance, 100% of books that contained English, contained blackletter English, and 0% contained roman English; in 1584, for instance, 73% of books that contained English contained blackletter English, and 98% contained roman English.[55]

Both charts show that until 1529 English appeared in roman rarely and sporadically — 1 book in 1519, and 2 in 1525. But after 1529, roman English saw a surge, from appearing in only 1 book to appearing in most books within a decade (39 books, or 61%, in 1539). This majority was then sustained with only three gaps (dipping below 50% in 1540, 1548–1552, and 1560) until the end of this period (and, probably, until the present day). Within an overall increase from 1529, three peaks can be discerned in the proportion of English books using roman: in the late 1530s/early 1540s, the mid 1550s, and a final rise in the late 1560s that levels off at 1574, from which year the number of books containing roman English never drops below 97%. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 show that, for the first half of this period, almost all English books contained at least some English set in blackletter. This began to decrease gradually from the end of the 1540s, before seeing a significant decline in proportion from around 1575, and in real terms from 1580. From this date, the number of books containing blackletter English falls, despite the number of books being produced increasing: the increase in total books from 1580 is caused by books containing roman English. The overall implication of this pair of charts is clear: roman English appeared regularly from 1529, and in almost every book from 1574 — facts that would seem to contradict the notion of a strict typolinguistic system.

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[54] Not including *Drop Caps* (see Introduction).

[55] Full numerical data for these charts are included in Appendix A.

FIGURE 1.1

English by Typeface

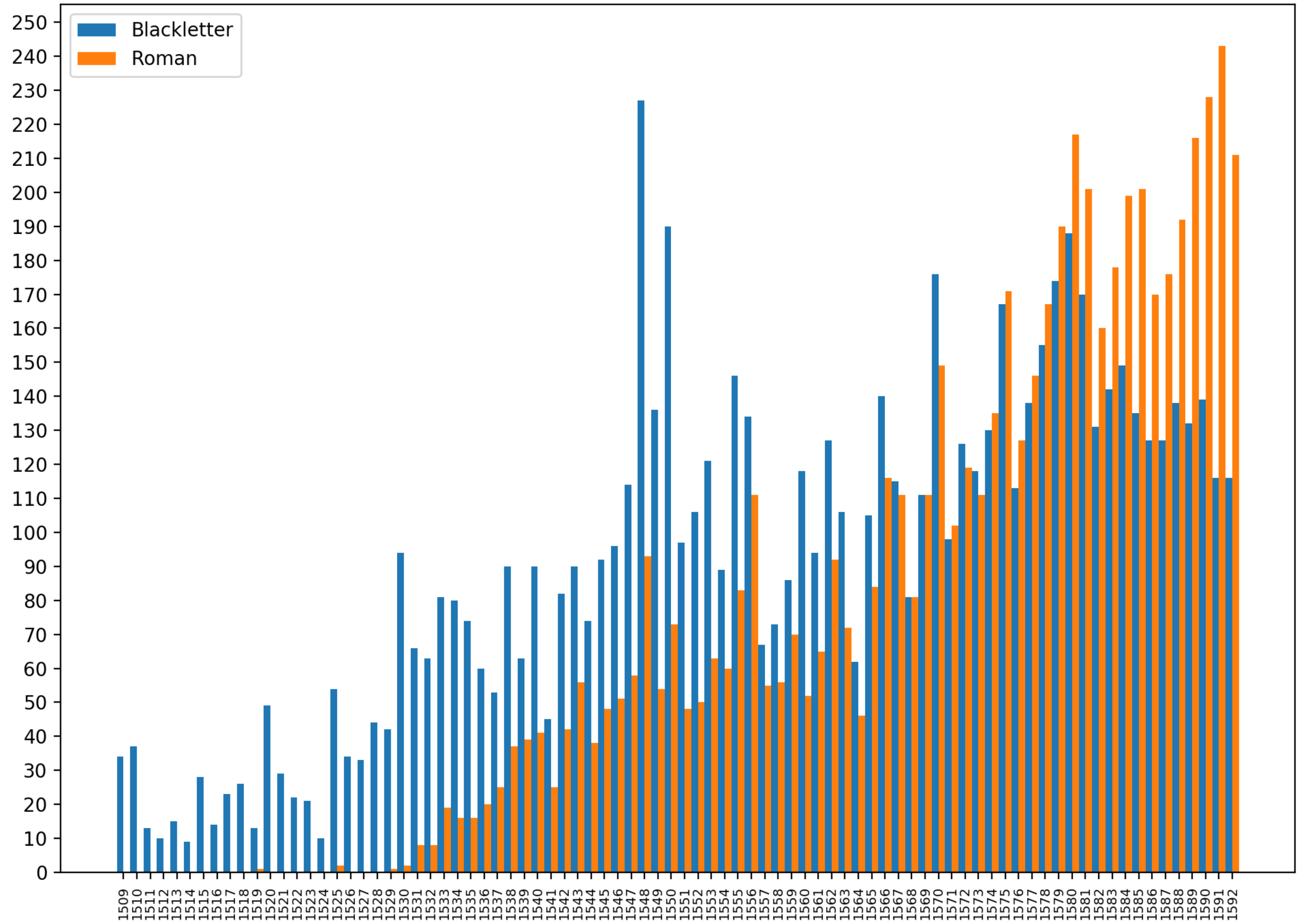
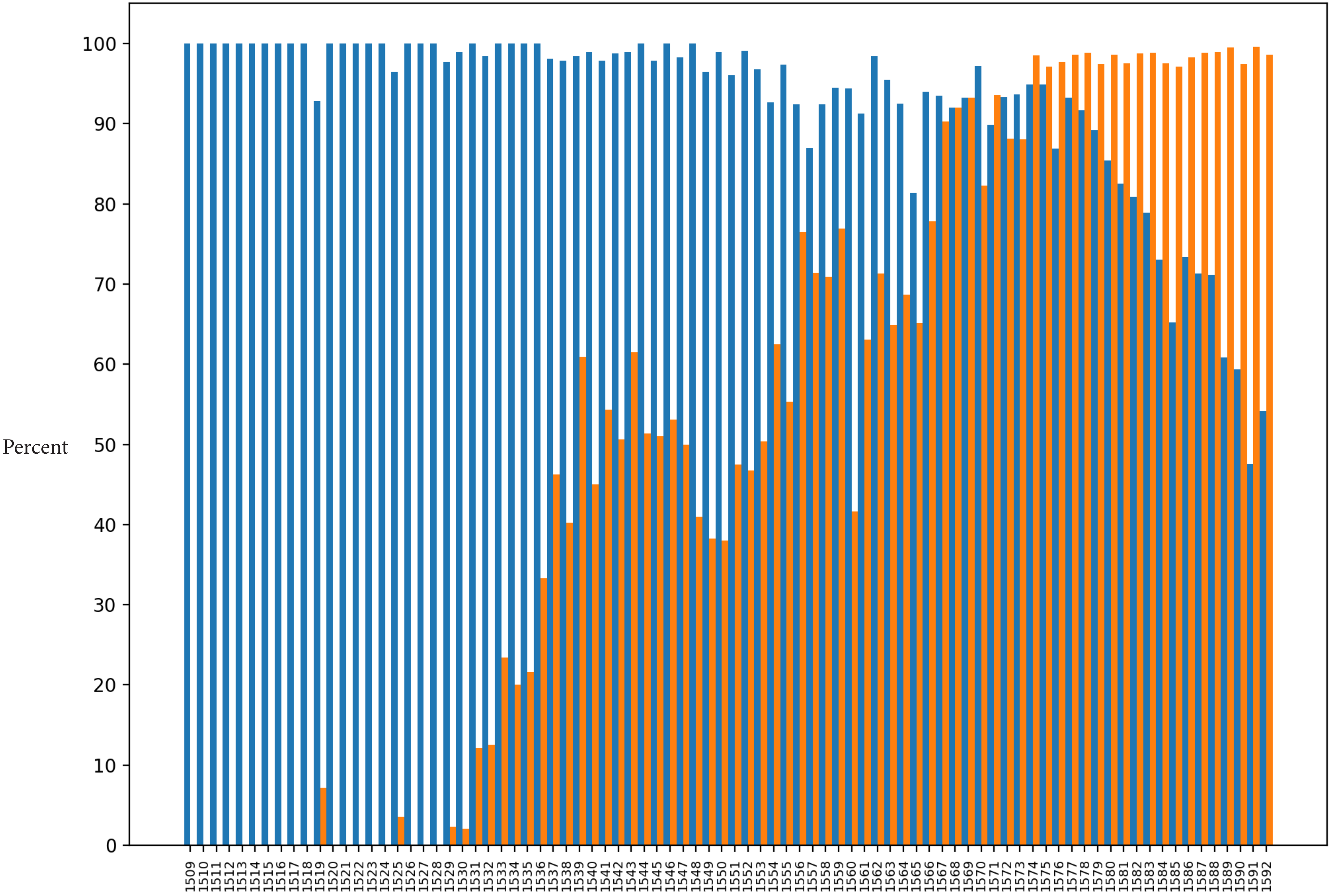


FIGURE 1.2

English by Typeface (Percent)



However, Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2 count all text kinds, including even the most minor instances of English roman and English blackletter such as *headings* and *running heads*. In these instances typeface variation may be decorative, or employed to distinguish paratexts from the main text, a practice analysed in Chapter 4. In Figures 1.3 and 1.4, these paratextual text kinds are filtered out, leaving only *text* — the most sustained application of a font that characterizes the core content of the book. As with Figures 1.1 and 1.2, Figure 1.3 shows the total count of books containing English *text* by typeface, and Figure 1.4 expresses this number as a percentage of all books containing English. Again, these data are not mutually exclusive: in occasional cases, a book's *text* will switch between roman and blackletter (in a dialogue, for instance). The difference between this pair of charts and Figures 1.1 and 1.2 is stark. Comparing Figure 1.3 to Figure 1.1, and Figure 1.4 to Figure 1.2, the appearance of English *text* is far more stable across the period than English of all text kinds. Perhaps the most obvious difference here is the complete absence of the initial rise from 1529 seen in Figures 1.1 and 1.2: though an unbroken sequence of roman English *text* appears from 1533 to 1537, this amounts to a total of only 7 books. The proportion of books with roman English text never exceeds 10% until 1557 (14%, 9 books), as part of the same mid-1550s peak seen in Figure 1.2. So, apart from this persistent but low level of anomalies, these charts show a polarization: blackletter was overwhelmingly used for English *text* in this period, and roman was not. This begins to change in the last third of the century: in these charts we again see a rise from the early 1560s that grows exponentially to the 1590s when, in 1591, the number of books containing roman English *text* exceeds those containing blackletter English *text* for the first time (roman: 109 books, 51%; blackletter: 104 books, 49%). This rise is comprised of a relatively stable period from 1564 to 1575 (with even a very slight declination in proportional terms), followed by an accelerated rise from 1576. As in Figures 1.1 and 1.2, this exponential growth in roman English *text* has a mutually rapid fall in blackletter English *text* as a percentage. This is occasioned by a decrease in real terms of books containing blackletter English *text*, which, in this period, do not return to the peak of 180 books reached in 1580. To summarize, Figures 1.1–4 indicate three distinct phases in the appearance of sixteenth-century printed English. The first, up to *c.* 1530, sees only blackletter used for English, with only 3 or 4 exceptions. The second phase, from *c.* 1530, sees a growth in roman English restricted to paratext; *text* remaining in blackletter except for occasional anomalies and a cluster that peaks in the late 1550s. The third phase, from *c.* 1562, sees this division beginning to break down, with the exponential rise in roman English *text*, and the fall in blackletter English *text* following from *c.* 1580.

FIGURE 1.3

English *Text* by Typeface

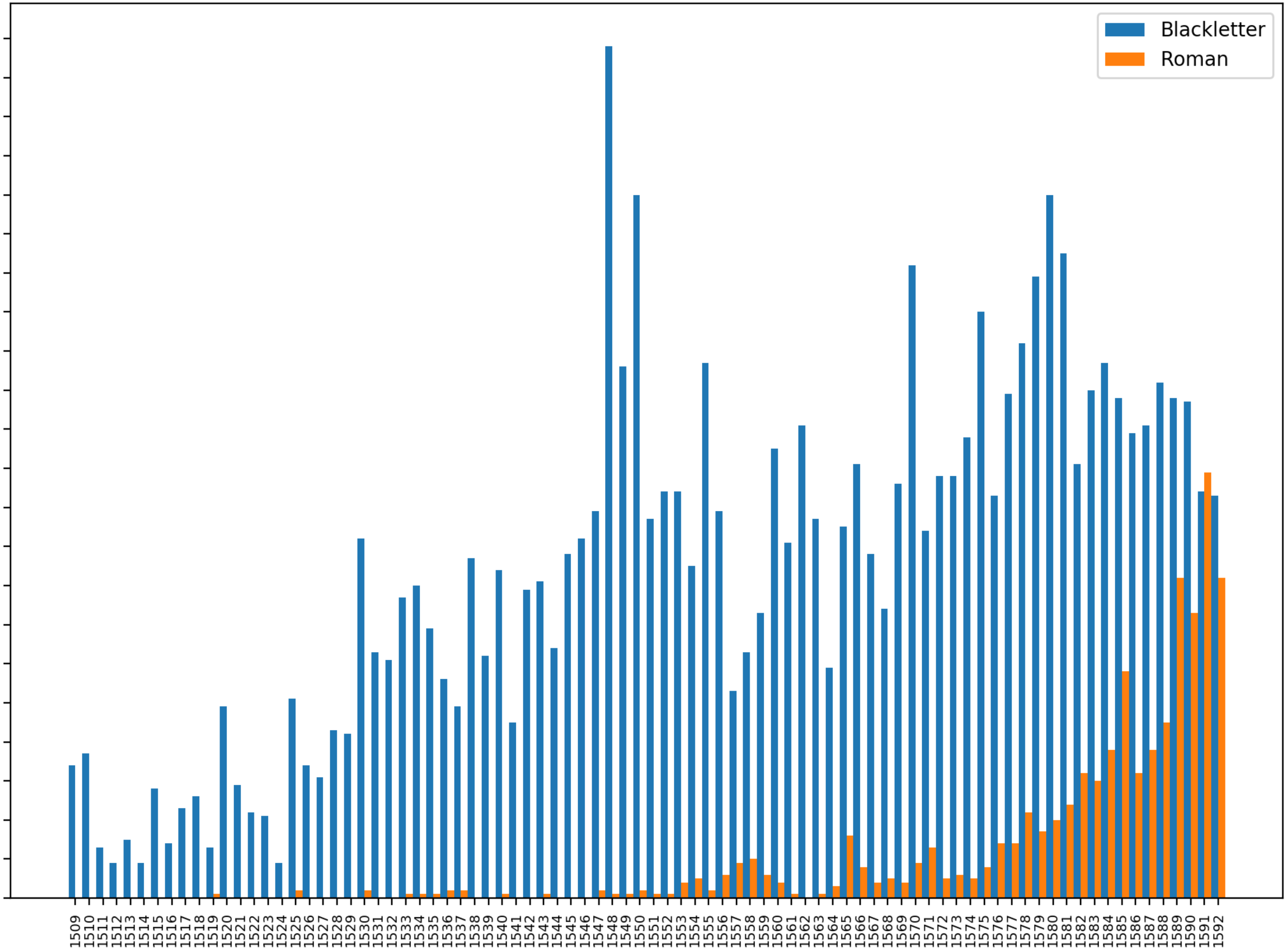
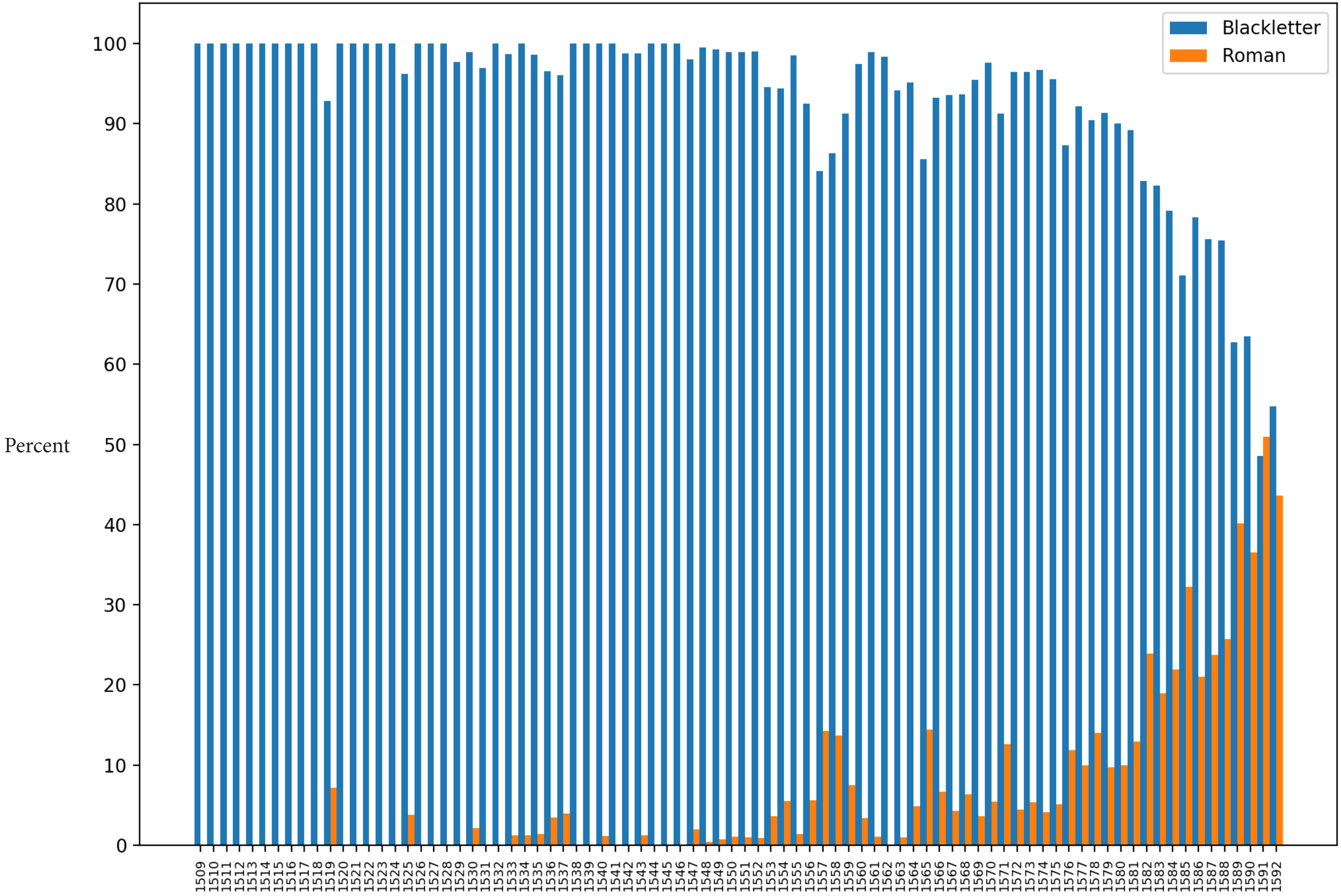


FIGURE 1.4

English *Text* by Typeface (Percent)



2.2 Latin and French

Galbraith's statement that 'black-letter or "English" type signified the English language'[56] is contradicted by the regular appearance of other languages in blackletter. Figures 1.5–8 show the appearance of Latin equivalent to Figures 1.1–4, i.e. Latin of any text kind (Figure 1.5, expressed as a percentage in Figure 1.6), and Latin *text* (Figure 1.7, expressed as a percentage in Figure 1.8). Like those for English, these charts show three distinct phases: an initial phase in which blackletter was overwhelmingly used for Latin lasting until the early 1530s; a mixed phase in which both blackletter and roman were used for Latin until the early/mid 1560s, during which roman Latin generally exceeds blackletter Latin (from the first time in 1533); and a third in which blackletter Latin has almost completely fallen out of use, following a sharp cut off of blackletter being used for Latin *text* from 1563 (only 15 books contain blackletter Latin *text* after that year). Within the first phase, roman Latin *text* sees a very sharp spike in both proportion and real terms in the early 1520s, rising from 1 book (3%) to 9 books (19%) — a rate which then declines gradually into the early 1530s. Across the period as a whole, a typolinguistic system is universally manifest in those books that contain both English and Latin *text*: all 402 books that contain *text* of both languages set the English in blackletter, and the Latin in either roman or italic. Figure 1.9 shows the total number of French *texts* by typeface, which are overwhelmingly set in blackletter throughout this period. French *text* is set in roman regularly from 1566 (with only two years in which no roman French texts appear, 1571 and 1589), and roman French outnumbers blackletter French from 1588.

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[56] Galbraith, p. 16.

FIGURE 1.5

Latin by Typeface

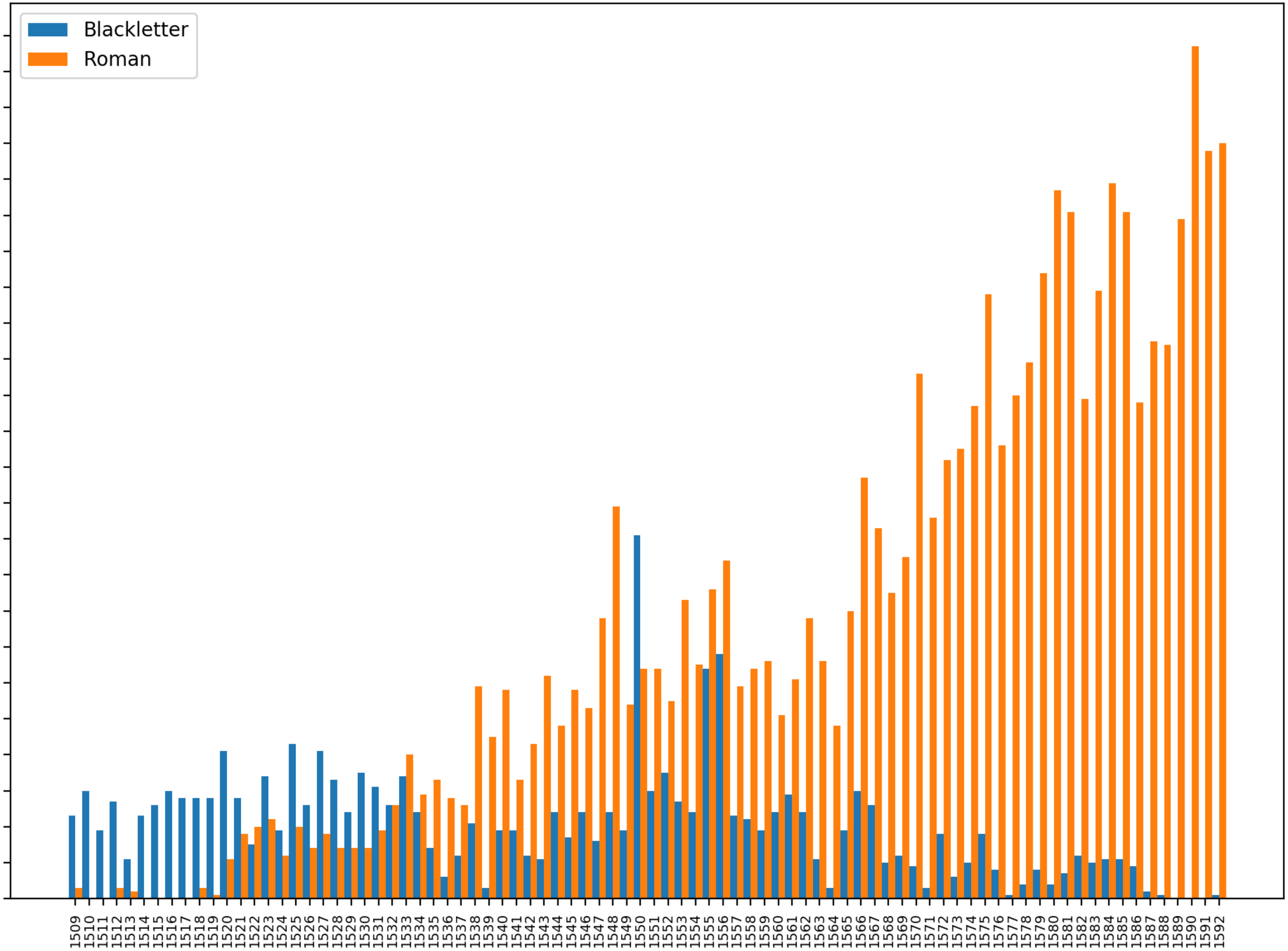


FIGURE 1.6
Latin by Typeface (Percent)

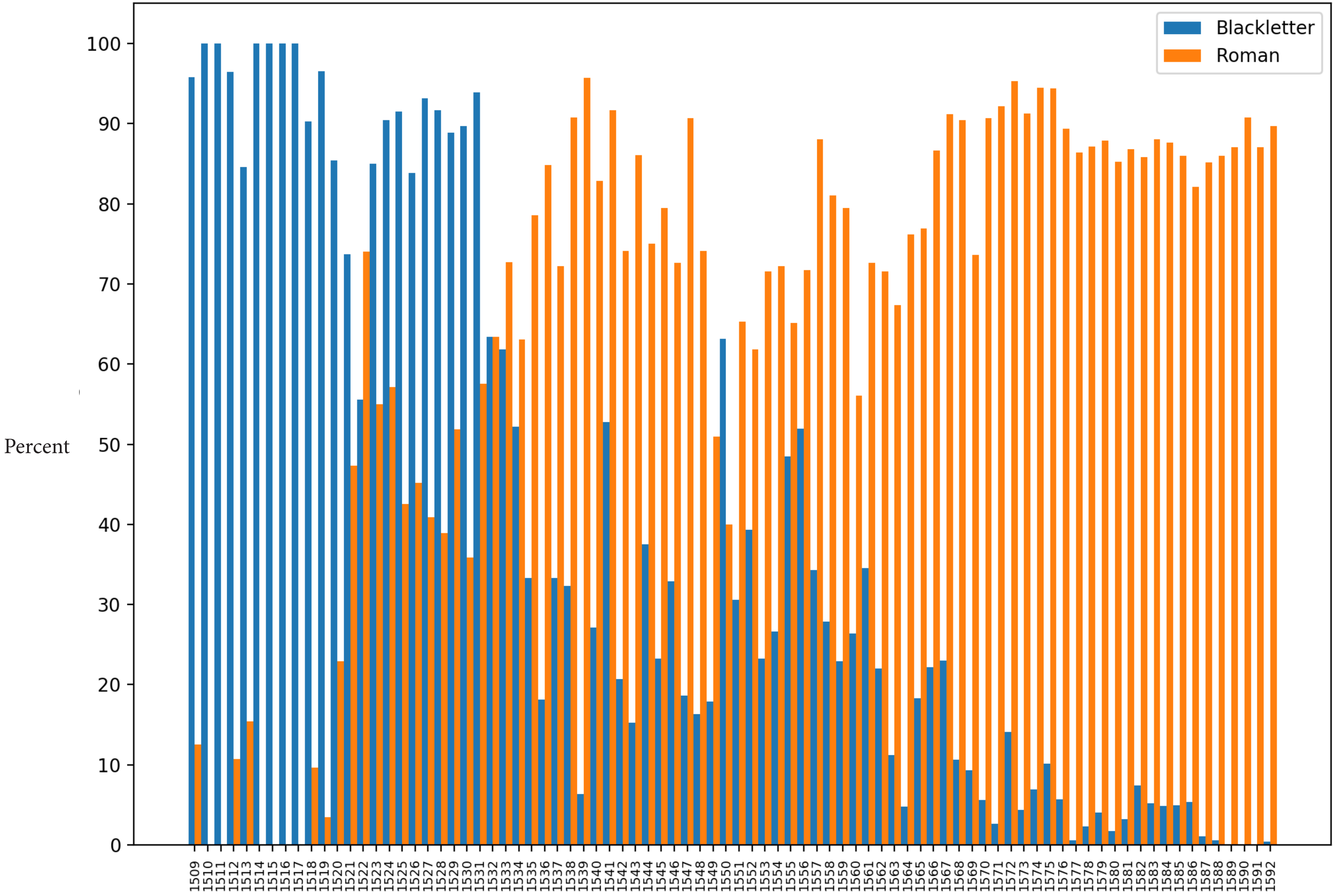


FIGURE 1.7
Latin *Text* by Typeface

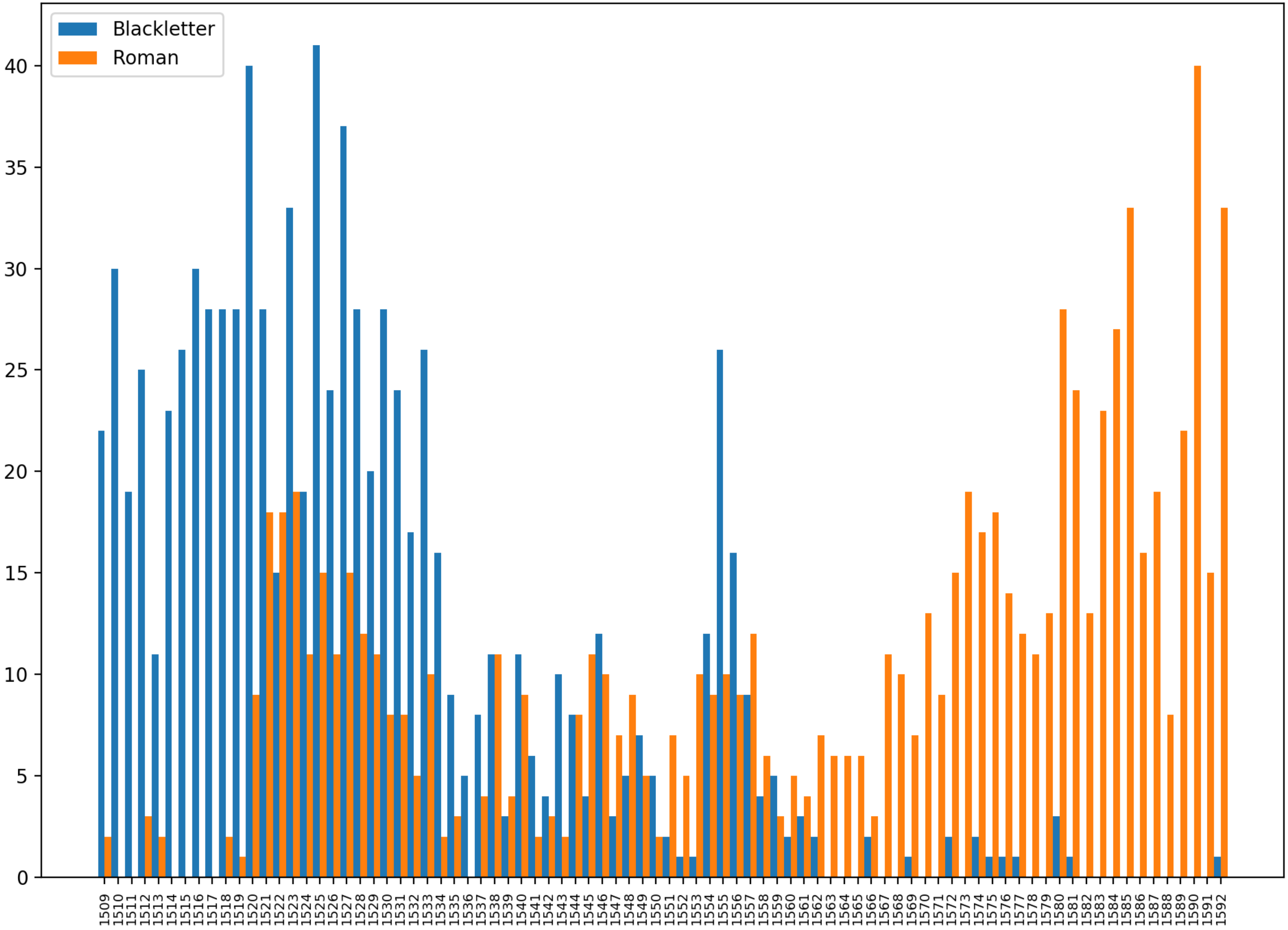


FIGURE 1.8

Latin *Text* by Typeface (Percent)

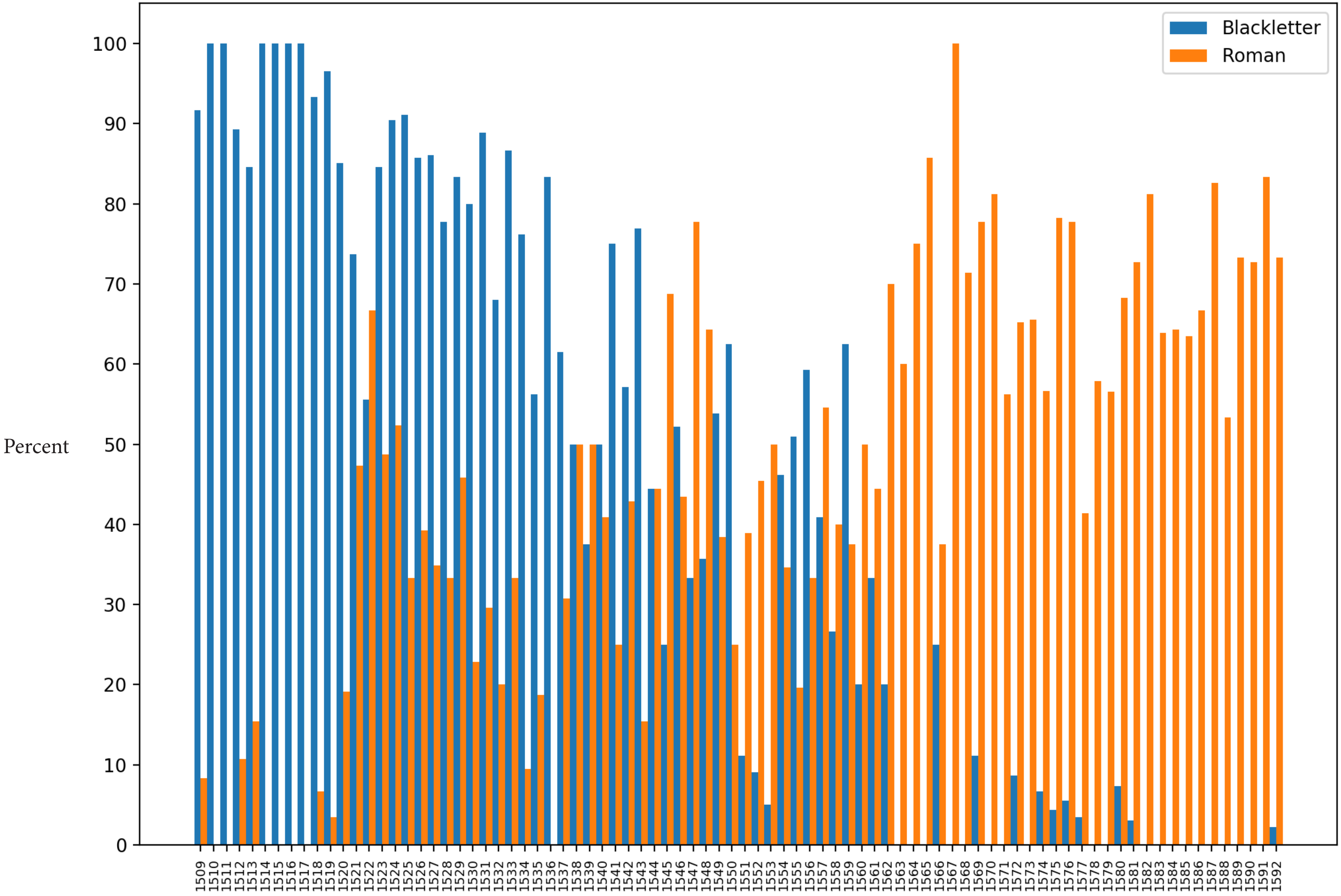
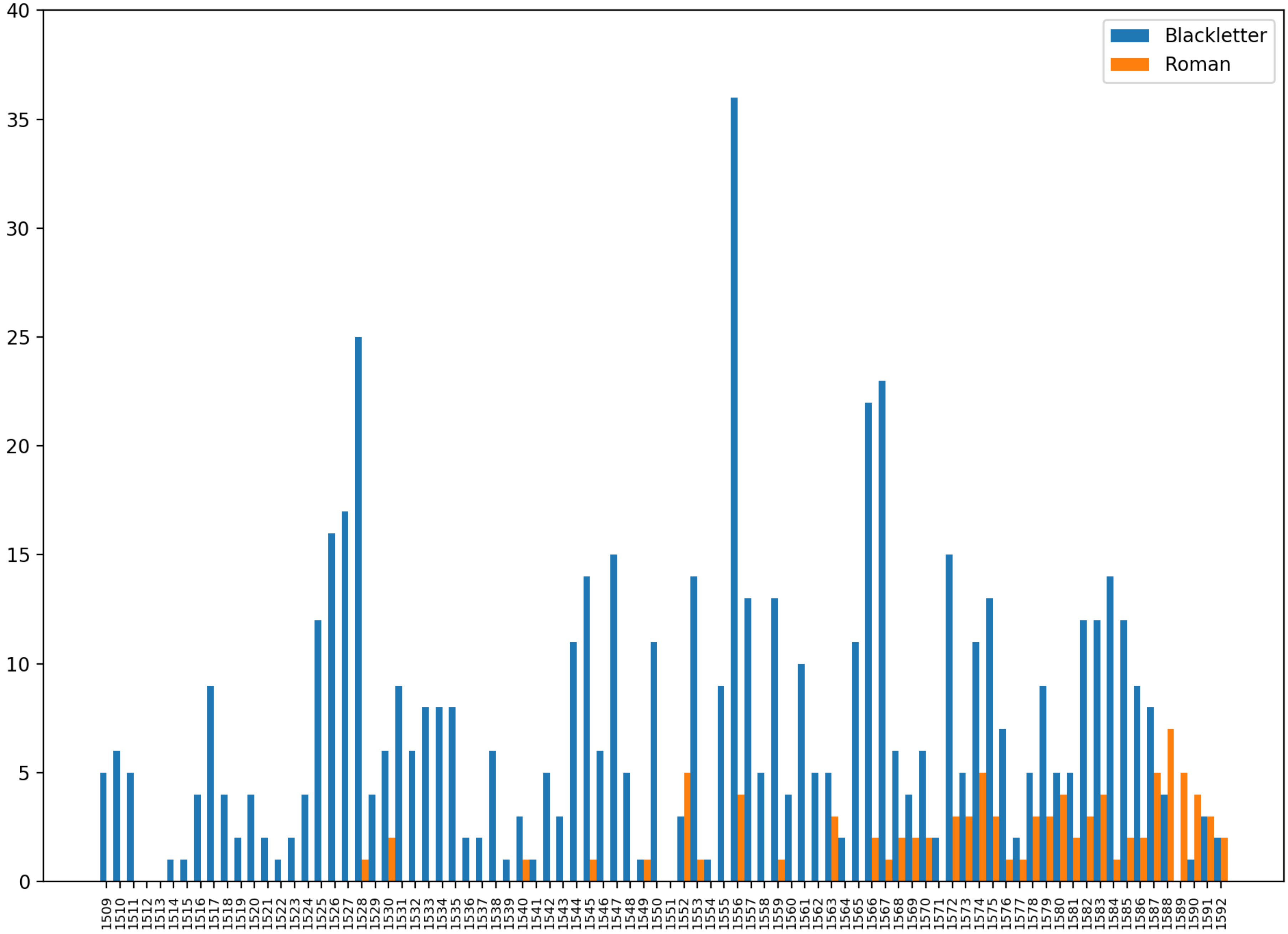


FIGURE 1.9

French *Text* by Typeface



2.3 Other languages

Books containing text in other languages occasionally appear in the ESTC if they are printed in Britain. Those that use the Latin alphabet are listed in Table 1, with the number of books containing *texts* of each typeface. Though none are exclusively in any one typeface, each has a clear majority with the exception of German — perhaps a product of low sample size. Welsh is generally set in blackletter, Italian in italic, Spanish in roman, and Dutch in blackletter.

	Blackletter	Roman	Italic	Total
Welsh	14	1	5	20
Italian	3	18	33	54
Spanish	5	18	4	27
German	6	4	3	13
Dutch	23	10	4	37

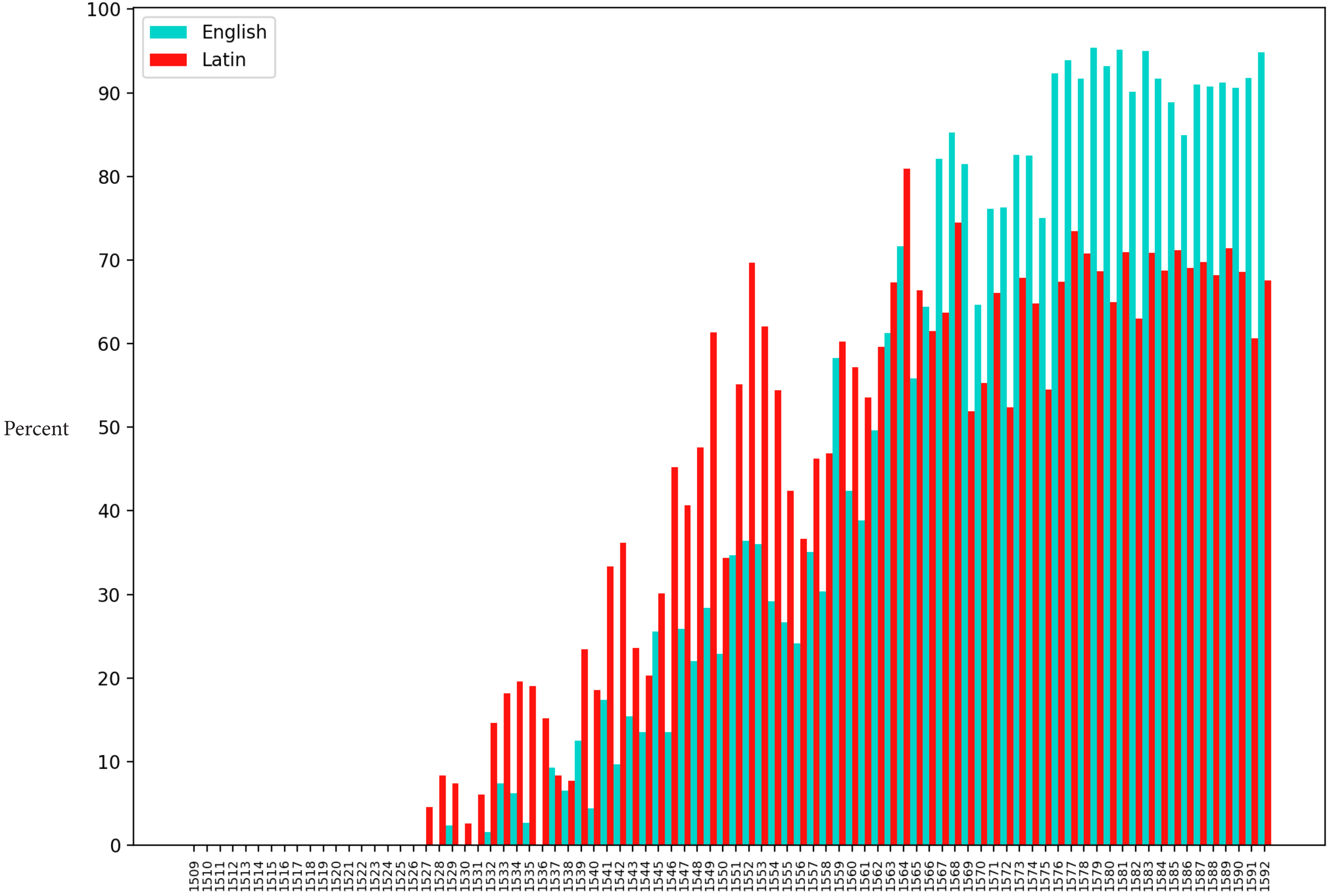
TABLE 1.1

2.4 Italic

English and Latin italic have been condensed into two graphs which, unlike those graphs above comparing typefaces, set the two languages side by side, though this is not necessarily to compare them. Figure 1.10 shows percentage of books containing Latin italic (in red) and English italic (in turquoise) of any text kind. Italic first appears in 1527 in Latin, and English italic soon after in 1529. The proportion of books containing italic increases steadily year on year in both languages. From 1562, most books in English contained some English italic every year, and from 1576 this does not drop below 85%. Perhaps surprisingly, from 1567, a higher percentage of English books consistently contained italic than Latin books. When the data are filtered by text kind, keeping only *text*, the picture is once again very different. Figure 1.11 shows the percentage of books in English and in Latin that contain English *text* and Latin *text* respectively. It is clear that italic was primarily used to set Latin *text*, and rarely used to set English *text* throughout the century. Though English italic *text* first appears in one book in 1529, this remains anomalous until 1542. From 1542, a regular but tiny proportion of books print English *text* in italic, usually between 0 and 4%, though it sees the same mid/late 1550s spike as roman English did. Like those graphs for roman described above, the discrepancies between Figure 1.10 and Figure 1.11 demonstrate that the appearance of English italic was primarily paratextual. Unlike roman English *text*, however, italic English *text* does not see an exponential rise beginning in the early 1560s.

FIGURE 1.10

Italic by Language (Percent)



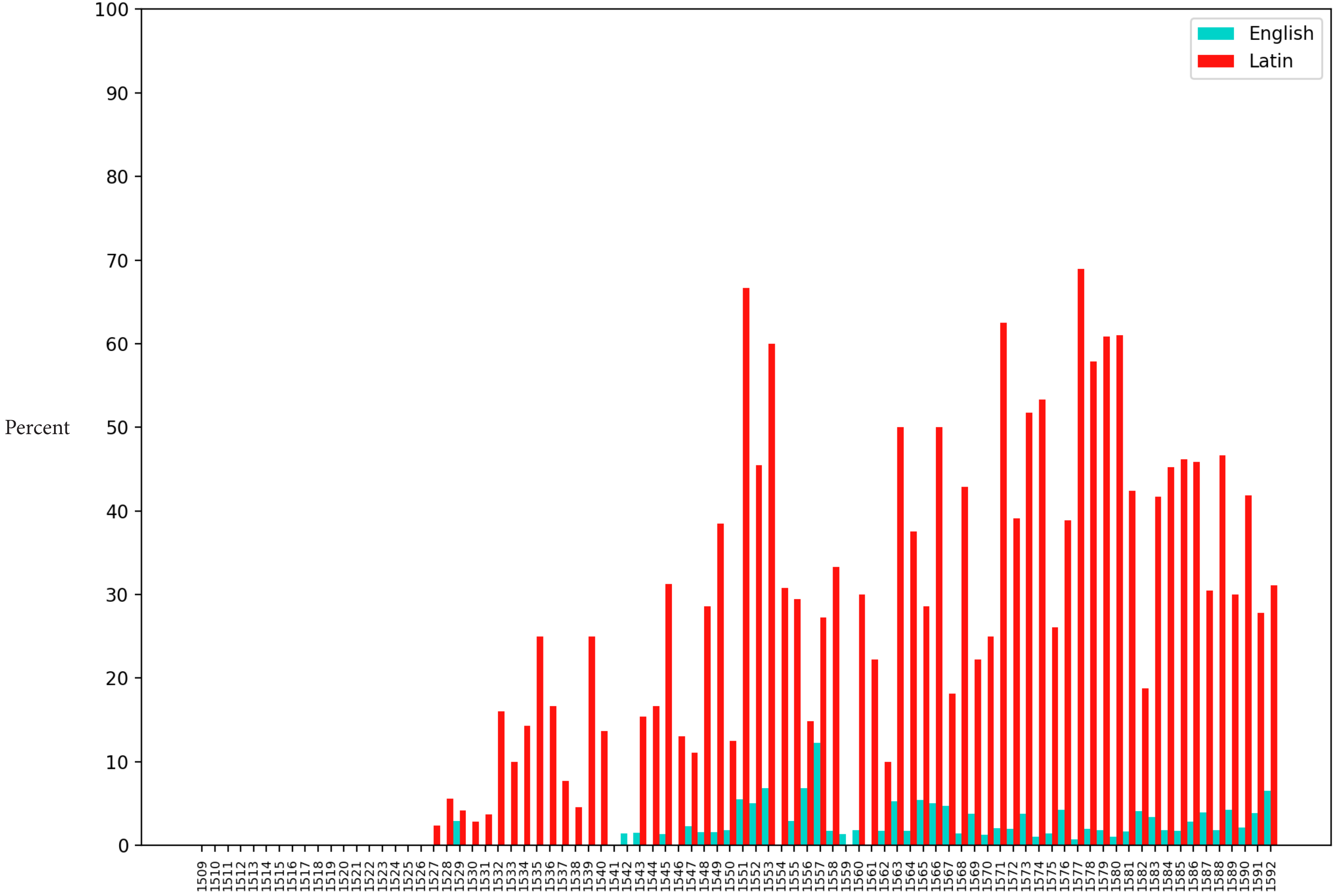


FIGURE 1.11

Italic *Text* by Language (Percent)

2.5 Conclusions and causes

What broad typolinguistic conclusions can be drawn from these charts? They show that, until the mid 1530s, a general typolinguistic system is not applied to blackletter throughout the corpus: the majority of English, Latin, and French *texts* all used blackletter alike, and some Latin, roman. But, as Chapter 3 shows, the majority of blackletter Latin in this phase is partly a product of the extensive reprints and editions of grammars — duplicates of the same, or similar, texts. The explosion in roman Latin around 1520 is not seen also in English: when roman first makes a significant appearance, then, it is limited to Latin (an event tied to a so-called 'arrival' of Humanist printing in England, explored in Chapter 3), suggesting a strict typolinguistic application of roman. English sees a similarly sudden application of roman from the early 1530s, but, as the differences between Figures 1.2 and 1.4 show, this applies almost entirely to paratextual English — particularly those books printed by Thomas Berthelet, whose contribution is discussed in Chapter 5 — thereby broadly maintaining the exclusivity of roman for Latin *text*. Likewise italic, which sees rapid growth from the early 1530s, but limited to paratexts. So, the system of these first (1509–*c.* 1530) and second phases (up to the early 1560s), may be described as asymmetrical: English *text* is set in blackletter, but Latin *text* is set in roman, italic, or blackletter. This asymmetry balances out across the second phase, with a slow decrease in blackletter Latin. Given the presence of Latin and French in blackletter, a fact ignored by those equating English and blackletter, this asymmetrical system might best be summarized by English's *exclusion* from roman and italic, rather than its adherence to blackletter: though Galbraith says that blackletter 'signified the English language', it is more accurate to say that, in these first two phases, roman and italic *didn't* signify the English language, unless it was paratextual. Within the first two phases, we see a sharp rise and fall in roman English *text* in the mid/late 1550s, which can be ascribed to the Marian exiles on the continent, whose books are treated in Chapter 2. Another peak in 1565 is likewise attributable to Catholic exiles. The third phase, from the early 1560s, begins with a highly polarized, symmetrical typolinguistic system: Latin is overwhelmingly set in roman, and English is overwhelmingly set in blackletter. But as this phase progresses, it sees the beginnings of the breakdown of this system. As the upward curve in roman English *text* is exponential, it is difficult to pin down its origin or significant moment, but it rises from nothing from 1562.

Within 30 years, the system has been depolarized: as many books contain roman English text as blackletter English text for the first time in 1591. This third-phase rise in roman is seen to a lesser extent in French *text*, which rises from the early 1560s to outnumber blackletter first in 1588. Generally, then, we see an exponential rise in roman *text* of all languages between the 1560s and the 1590s, but this is most consequential for English, as its rise resists a by then well-established system that excludes it from roman except for paratext.

It is worth appraising current information on the transition from blackletter to roman in light of these data. Most recently, Sarah Werner has written that 'Britain used black letter up until the 1550s and thereafter primarily in certain categories of texts, including Bibles, legal texts, and proclamations.'[57] This is consistent with the data in that blackletter use started to decrease after the 1550s, but during the transitional third phase the majority of books still appeared in blackletter, and so is unlikely to be limited to the categories listed. Werner's identification of the 1550s is concordant with Philip Gaskell's, who wrote that 'Books in English began to be set in roman from the late 1550s.'[58] The consistency between this and the data depends on how 'began' is interpreted: two alternatives are 1519 (the first English *text*), and 1533–1537 (the first unbroken yearly sequence of English *text*). The concentrated spike of English *text* in the 1550s supports Gaskell's identification, but if these and their antecedents are anomalies (as Chapter 2 argues), then 'late 1550s' can reasonably be nudged to 'early 1560s'.

Information on the tipping point between blackletter and roman has likewise had general accuracy. Bland gives 1588–1593 as the span within which the typography of 'literary publications' changed,[59] and Galbraith finds that 'roman type did not overtake black letter until 1590/1591.'[60] The data corroborate this, 1591 being the first year in which roman English *text* exceeds blackletter English *text*. However, the data also allow some necessary refinement of the nature of this milestone. Firstly, it is a very marginal majority, with only 5 books in it (104 blackletter, 109 roman). Secondly, blackletter regains the majority the following year

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[57] Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450–1800* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), p. 39.

[58] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 20.

[59] Bland, p. 94.

[60] Galbraith, p. 37.

(103 blackletter, 82 roman) — though, knowing that blackletter decreases further into the seventeenth century (Weiss putting its end as a text face in the 1620s),[61] roman English's curve must continue upwards. Finally, this is not a milestone of extremity, of roman 'beating' blackletter, but of the offsetting of extremity: a depolarization, or equilibrium.

The transition from blackletter to roman is often caricatured by triumphalist discourse. Writers casually reference the 'victory' of roman type,[62] and the 'demise' of blackletter,[63] painted by Warren Chappell as some sort of medieval villain when he describes English's 'release from the thraldom of the black letter.'[64] This Whiggish approach to the historiography of typography is perhaps motivated by a desire to understand the teleology of today's roman type — 'our' roman type — rather than that of the early modern period, as well as expressing a latent prejudice of the medieval as primitive.[65] Bland marks the early 1590s milestone as being part of this victory, counting it alongside the increasing use of leading and blank space as contributing to 'the definitive triumph of white over black' in book design.[66] But if there is any triumph here, it is not a triumph of roman, but a triumph of typographic diversity: after more than a century of polarization, in 1591 roman and blackletter have an equal stake in the English language. We might think of this typographical culture as being 'multigraphic', in the sense of having diverse printed forms. The term 'multigraphism' is borrowed from palaeography, where it is used to describe 'the use of different scripts, alphabets, or writing systems in the same time and place.'[67] Armando Petrucci has encouraged the study of multigraphism in light of the pervasive assumption that textual cultures are 'absolutely monographic'[68] — an assumption that also pervades typography via Galbraith and others' characterization of English as a monographic linguistic culture. We see otherwise in the third phase outlined above, which sees the transition of English print from a multigraphic culture weighted towards blackletter to an evenly multigraphic culture. But as well as multigraphy existing on an inter-book level — in the difference between a book printed in roman and another book printed in blackletter — multigraphy also occurs within books, in those that employ more than one typeface. The second phase of English print outlined above can be characterized as multigraphic on this intra-book level. As Figure 1.2 shows, from the 1530s, an increasing percentage of books contain roman English, even though the percentage of books containing blackletter English remains at 100%, or thereabouts. This indicates that many of these books are counted in both the blackletter and roman column, i.e. they contain English in both blackletter and roman. Figure 1.12 makes this clearer, showing the percentage of books containing English *text* that are multigraphic. Its sharp ascent from nothing in 1528 to most books from 1537 onward shows multigraphy to be a characteristic of books printed in this second phase of English typography. This multigraphy was normally distributed between text and paratext, until the third phase, when roman English *text* began to increase. Overall, then, these graphs and their three phases demonstrate English print culture's transition from its pre-1509 monographism to a multigraphism that peaks in 1591, rather than from a blackletter- to a roman-dominated culture: English becomes as hybrid visually as it is linguistically. As McKitterick has noted, 'the interplay of all three [i.e. blackletter, roman, and italic] gave printers opportunities for textual orchestration unavailable to previous generations and neglected by most of those subsequently.'[69] 1591 can be seen as the peak of such interplay, both within books and between books, that is the defining characteristic of early modern English typography.

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[61] Weiss, p. 105.

[62] Steinberg, p. 9.

[63] John Boardley, *Typographic Firsts*, (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019), p. 13.

[64] Warren Chappell, *A Short History of the Printed Word* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1972), p. 74.

[65] For an explanation and critique of Whiggish historiography, see Ernst Mayr, 'When Is Historiography Whiggish?', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 51 (1990), 301–309.

[66] Bland, p. 94, quoting Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteen Centuries*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 11.

[67] Peter A. Stokes, 'Scribal Attribution across Multiple Scripts: A Digitally Aided Approach', *Speculum*, 92/S1 (2017), S65–S85 (p. S66).

[68] Armando Petrucci, 'Funzione della Scrittura e Terminologia Paleografica', in *Palaeographica, Diplomatica et Archivistica: Studi in Onore di Giulio Battelli* (Rome, 1979), pp. 3–30 (pp. 21–23), quoted by Stokes, p. S66.

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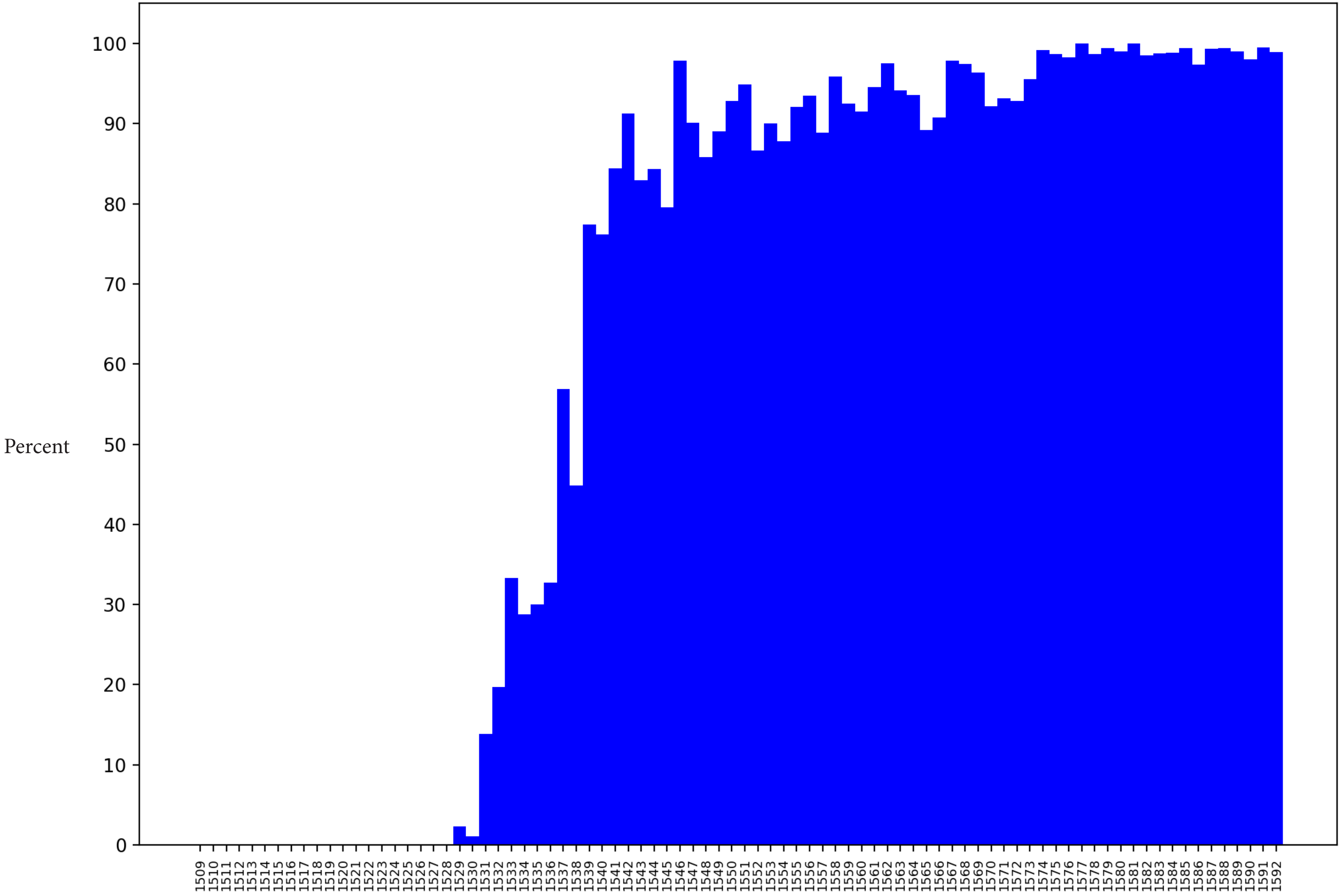
[69] David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992–2004), I (1992), p. 12.

FIGURE 1.12

Multigraphic English books (Percent)



Though these charts show that the use of roman for English was limited until well into the third phase, we must be alert to the possibility that a typolinguistic system was a consequence of necessity. It is clear from the extent of French and Latin *texts* in blackletter that blackletter was not so much the standard typeface for English as it was the standard typeface for British books. Books in English happen to make up a majority of British books because that demand was not supplied by imports from the continent, unlike the demand for Latin books. By demonstrating the ubiquity of certain kinds of foreign books in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, Margaret Lane Ford's quantitative work confirms that 'early English printers, with a few exceptions, directed their publications not at the universities, but rather at an English-reading, principally non-Latinate, public.'[70] It would be easy, therefore, to conflate a 'typeface of England' and an 'English language typeface'. We see these coinciding variables of content and location at play in those French blackletter books that disrupt the conventional notion that romance languages appeared in roman (Figure 1.9). These are mostly legal texts, specific to the legal system of the nation in which they were printed. They therefore also cater to a market not supplied by continental imports, those European printers having little reason to print the laws of another country. Likewise, that majority of Latin *texts* that appear in blackletter in the first phase appear in grammars that are intended for an English-speaking audience, with paratexts and translation appearing in English. The shared blackletter appearance of these English, French, and Latin texts, therefore looks to be more a product of their mutual provenance than any symbolic relationship between language and typography.

It is probable that this provenance was limited in its resources. Britain's print industry lagged behind Europe in trends and technical expertise, leading to its various descriptions as a 'backwater' in the 'main European current of typographical development',[71] and 'the outer ring of a two-speed Europe.'[72] This is certainly true for the provision of type in Britain:

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[70] Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume III*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Joseph B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 179–201 (p. 192).

[71] Nicolas Barker, 'The Old English Letter Foundries', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV*, ed. by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 602–619 (p. 604).

[72] Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 299.

there is little to no evidence of early punchcutting or typefounding in England, and print historians agree that fonts were unlikely to have been produced there on any scale. Instead, printers were reliant on equipment manufactured on and imported from the continent.[73] The specialized skill of punchcutting— the process by which new designs could be introduced into the typographical milieu — is nowhere in evidence until after the first two phases described above. A letter written by Archbishop Parker in the late 1560s gives an insight into the state of the art, and England's international reputation:

> I have spoken to Daie the printer [i.e. John Day] to caste a newe Italian letter which he is doing and it will cost him xl marke, and both he & other printers be to print my lattin booke, because they will not heare be offered, and for that Bookes printed in England, be in suspition abroade.[74]

Parker's letter demonstrates the contrast between English books and those of the continent — a perceived deficiency that is a product of their blackletter. It also gives a sense of the prohibitive expense of hiring a typefounder (Day is here hired as a go-between, rather than casting the letter himself)[75] to introduce new letterforms into a printer's portfolio, 'marks' being a denomination reserved for substantial expenditures like land, worth two-thirds of a pound.[76] This financial barrier was encountered earlier by John Hart in his attempts to improve the orthography of English in 1551. Having designed, in manuscript, a new phonetic alphabet to more efficiently and accurately transcribe English, Hart cites the high manufacturing costs of punches as a limit to its distribution in print:

> Mani wil say that it were impossible to frame our commune writen hand [...] in souch a iust uniformite, as it mought be easili prynted [...]. The cause of theis fayned impossibilities, is [...] (for the making of new punchons) the lak of the first disbursing of (at most) one hundred pounds.[77]

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[73] Hellinga, 'Printing', p. 73; Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 12; Barker.

[74] British Library, MS Lansdowne 15, fol. 99^{r}, cited in John N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 86.

[75] Christopher L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, Bodleian Library, 1975), p. 35.

[76] 'mark, n.2', *OED.*

[77] *The opening of the unreasonable writing of our inglish toung*, London, British Library, MS Royal 17.C.vii, cited in Peter J. Lucas, 'Sixteenth-Century English Spelling Reform and the Printers in Continental Perspective: Sir Thomas Smith and John Hart', *The Library*, 1 (2000), 3–21 (p. 7).

But by 1569, around the same time as Day's 'new Italian letter', the punches for Hart's alphabet were cut, its matrices struck, and a font cast — used to print *An orthographie*.[78] Other new designs appearing around this time, the beginning of the third phase described above, mark this as a moment of increased typefounding skill applied to exclusively English concerns: in 1565, Archbishop Parker commissioned from Day a font imitating early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon minuscule, used in the first of a series of Anglo-Saxon texts — a font that 'had a subliminal ability to authenticate the antiquity and authority' of its text.[79] Likewise, by 1571, an anonymous Irish font had been designed and cast — the first of its kind — appearing in a broadside and the *Aibidil Gaoidheilge ⁊ Caiticiosma*.[80] It is preceded by evidence for unfulfilled plans to print a more ambitious Irish language book: in 1567, Queen Elizabeth had paid 'for the making of Carecter to print the New Testament in Irish'.[81]

With Hart's orthography, Parker's Anglo-Saxon and italic, and the new Irish type, the second half of the 1560s brought new forms to the languages of Britain and Ireland in print. Cutting-edge typography wielded by migrant craftsmen afforded new expressions of the English language, offering a look back into its past, and an eccentric vision of its possible future. It is tempting to connect the third phase — the phase in which English *text* becomes multigraphic — to this moment. It seems likely that the exponential rise in roman English from the early 1560s was enabled by the arrival in Britain of immigrant typefounders. Though the extant information about them is scant, denization documents tell us when seven people associated with the typefounding trade came to England: Hubert Danvillier (in 1553), Paul Rotteford (1557), Antonius D'Anvilliar (1562 or 1563), Charles Tressell (1566),[82] François Guyot and his son Gabriel (1568), and Jerome Haultin (1568).[83] Of these, at least Haultin and François

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[78] John Hart, *An orthographie, containing the due order and reason, howe to write or paint thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature*, (London: [Henry Denham for] William Series, 1569), STC 12890.

[79] Richard W. Clement, 'The Beginnings of Printing in Anglo-Saxon, 1565–1630', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 91 (1997), 192–244 (p. 206).

[80] [*Gaelic Alphabet and Catechisms*] (Dublin: Sheón User, 1571), STC 18793.

[81] Bruce Dickins, 'The Irish Broadside of 1571 and Queen Elizabeth's Types', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol. 1 (1949), 48-60 (p. 49).

[82] The typefounding abilities of both Paul Rotteford and Charles Tressell have been questioned by John A. Lane: review of W. Craig Ferguson, *Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England* (1989), *The Library*, s6–14 (1992), 357–365 (p. 361).

[83] See Ernest J. Worman, *Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period* (London: Printed for the

Guyot were also punchcutters,[84] and one of the Guyots 'almost certainly' the designer of Day's Anglo-Saxon type.[85] It is probable that either Haultin or Gabriel Guyot were the designers and punchcutters of Hart's phonetic type.[86]

Figure 1.13 shows the same data as Figure 1.4, but with books printed on the continent filtered out — that is, it shows books printed in Britain that contain English *text* in roman or blackletter.[87] With foreign books removed, the two spikes up to around 14% in the mid 1550s and mid 1560s are gone. The beginnings of the upward curve in roman English *text* is also more clear-cut, rising from 1565 (with only one gap in 1567), contemporaneous with those innovations in type design discussed above. Bland attributes the switch of English playbooks from blackletter to roman between 1590 and 1591 to four main causes: the increase of demand for playbooks due to the opening of the Rose Theatre (1587); a rise in the popularity of Italianate fashions; the deaths of several major printers between 1583 and 1590 allowing a new generation to take over, combined with a large increase in average income in the 1590s that allowed this new generation to buy new type; and the popularity of *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene,* both printed in roman in 1590. Figure 1.13 shows this shift in the style of playbooks to also be part of a wider trend in English books that begins in 1565; it seems likely that this was enabled by the arrival of typefounders, whose influence on the appearance of English is seen not only in the extreme forms of Anglo-Saxon and Hart's orthography, but also in the increased availability of roman type of an appropriate size and volume to set *text*.

In this context, the typolinguistic system that excludes English from roman, but also sets

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Bibliographical Society, by Blades, East & Blades, 1906); Oastler notes Worman's omissions, amending them via the Huguenot Society of London's publication *Returns of aliens*, and giving a useful summary of the known typefounders' movements. Oastler, pp. 33–39.

[84] Harry Carter, 'Foreword to the Dissertation', in Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies (1778)*, ed. by Harry Carter and Christopher Ricks (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1961), pp. lix–lxxix, (p. lxviii).

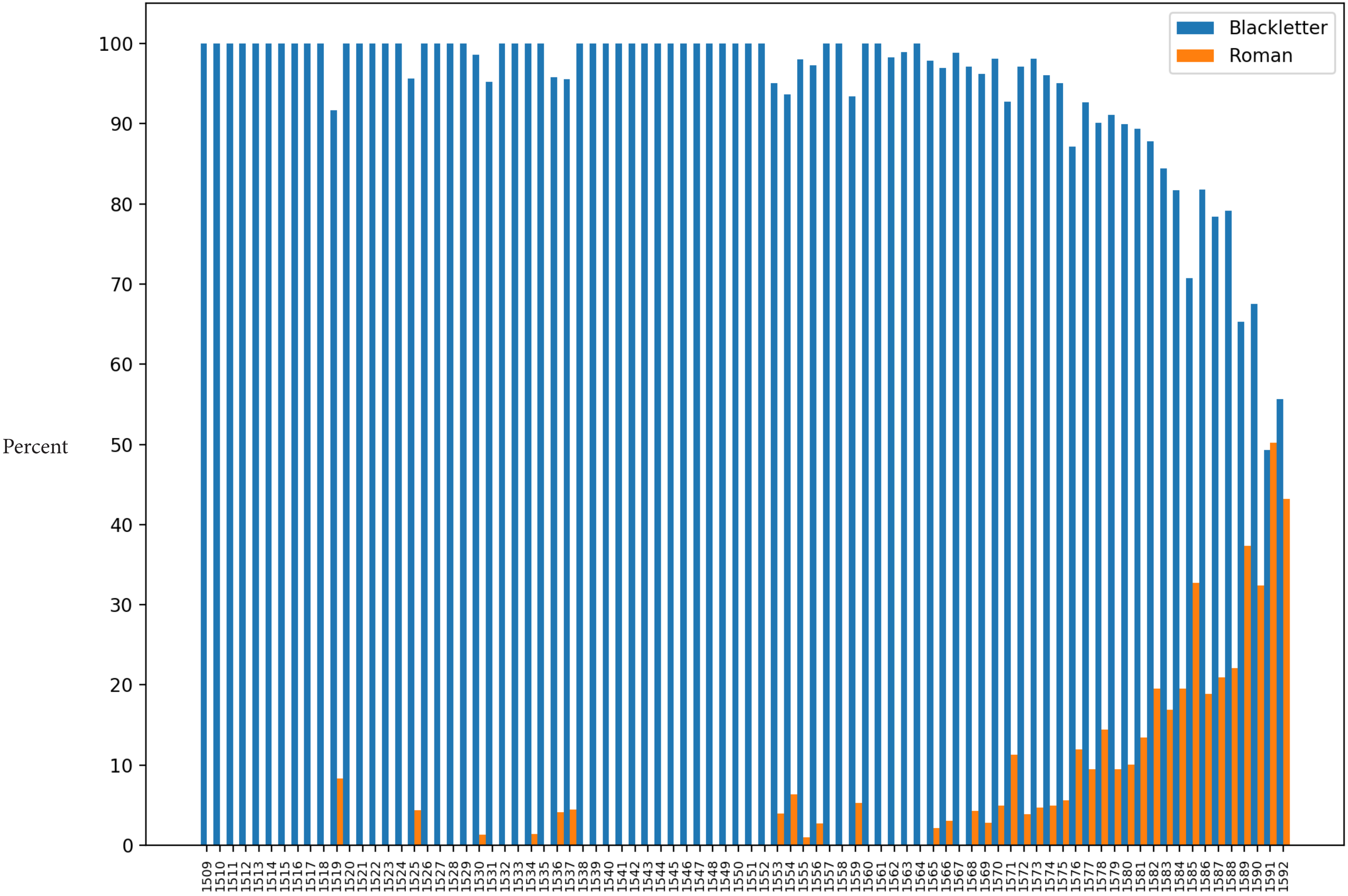
[85] Clement, p. 207.

[86] Peter J. Lucas, 'A Testimonye of Verye Ancient Tyme? Some Manuscript Models for the Parkerian Anglo-Saxon Type-Designs', in *Of the Making of Books* ed. by Pamela R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 147–88 (pp. 165–68).

[87] Data for the book's places of printing were taken from the ESTC's MARC tags; the 752 tag is a 'Hierarchical Place Name' that usually gives at least the country and city of printing, e.g. '|a Great Britain |b England |d London' (STC 12150). *752-Added Entry-Hierarchical Place Name*, <https://www.loc.gov/marc/bibliographic/bd752.html> [accessed 5 April 2020]

FIGURE 1.13

English *Text* printed in Britain by Typeface (Percent)



Latin and French texts in blackletter, seems to be more a product of location than of language: blackletter is not the appearance of the English language, but the appearance of books printed in England, most of which happen to be in English. This system was not inviolable: after the arrival of advanced typefounding skills in the 60s, English's appearance began changing. What Galbraith and many others have presented as a symbolic relationship between English and blackletter may therefore be an indexical relationship between Britain and its books — a conservatism that reproduces the appearance of its earliest books necessitated by its limited type manufacturing skills. The lack of these skills until the third phase did not, however, entirely stop printers in Britain from mixing languages, alphabets, and letterforms: as the remainder of this chapter shows, local instances of linguistic diversity make the resistance between typography and minor languages, including English, conspicuous on the page.

3. 'When man can not do as he would, he must do as he may.'

3.1 'Exotic' typography

A 1556 edition of Thomas More's *Utopia*, translated into English by Ralph Robinson and printed in London by Richard Tottel, came with an apology. On the last page, above the printer's colophon, a paragraph entitled 'The Printer to the Reader' admits that something is missing from the book: 'The Utopian Alphabete, good Reader, which in the aboue written Epistle is promised, herunto I haue not now adioyned, because I haue not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters.'[88] The Utopian Alphabet was devised by More in collaboration with Peter Giles as the writing system of More's fictional island society, appearing in the prefaces of the work's first editions (1516, Louvain; 1518, Basel). Essentially a cipher, it represents 23 letters of the Latin alphabet with new symbols — simple geometric constructions that give the alphabet an appearance unlike any 'organic' European writing system. [89] In those early editions, the symbols are set out beneath their corresponding Latin letters, and a stanza of Utopian verse set in the fictional alphabet with an interlinear transliteration in a roman font, followed by a Latin translation.[90] In an intricate and effective piece of worldbuilding, this paratext participates in the conceit of the book, presenting a fiction as fact beyond the bounds of its text. Its immediate juxtaposition with the familiar letterforms of the Latin alphabet bring its alterity, its foreignness, into sharp focus — a typographic synecdoche for the exploration of foreignness that follows it.

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[88] Richard Tottel, 'The Printer to the Reader', in Thomas More, *A frutefull pleasaunt, [and] wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Vtopia*. trans. by Ralph Robertson (London: Richard Tottel for Abraham Vele, 1556), STC STC 18095, fol. S.viii^{r}.

[89] J. Duncan M. Derrett, 'The Utopian Alphabet', *Moreana*, 12 (1966), 61–6; Stanley M. Burstein, 'The Source of the Utopian Alphabet: a Suggestion', *Notes and Queries*, 56 (2009), 26–27.

The production of this page would have been no small effort: in those editions, the Utopian Alphabet is printed using metal type, manufactured especially (and, presumably, exclusively) for *Utopia*. It is this font — the 'true characters' — that Tottel is missing in 1556. Nor does he have the matrices — the 'fourmes' — with which he could cast it. The book's incompleteness is therefore a result of a technical deficiency. Tottel goes on:

> [the alphabet's absence is] no marueill: seyng it is a tongue to us muche straunger than the Indian, the Persian, the Syria[n], the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the cipria[n], the Scythia[n] [et]c. Which to[n] gues though they be nothing so straunge among us, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we haue not.[91]

By listing these languages, Tottel describes the limits of his equipment: though he can manage texts in Latin alphabets, anything that uses non-Latinate characters is impossible. His technology implicitly excludes certain texts — the hardware, to put it in modern terms, does not support the software. By including the Utopian Alphabet among this list of unsupported languages, Tottel's paratext, like those of *Utopia*'s earlier, more elaborate editions, playfully engages with and augments the text: Utopian culture is presented in a non-fictional, material context, and the Alphabet's absence from the book (the printer feigns) is therefore not because it is fictional, but because it is 'strange' — a term used twice in the short paragraph that alludes not to the alphabet's visual weirdness but to its foreign origin.[92] At the point where language and technology are meant to intersect, we instead have a disconnect; a culture's representation is supressed by the limits of a technology. The text itself draws attention to this fact and, rather than tacitly omitting the Alphabet (as the first English edition of *Utopia* did in 1551) this edition makes its exclusion conspicuous. But by counting the language among others that are likewise missing from his compositor's cases, Tottel regains a sense of typographic exoticism that would otherwise be lost along with the alphabet. So, by demonstrating the Utopian Alphabet's incompatibility with domestic, English technology, Tottel others Utopian culture and accentuates its strangeness, while blurring the line between reality and fiction.

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[90] A typographic facsimile is given in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More,* ed. by Edward Surtz, S.J. and Jack H. Hexter, 15 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963–1997), IV (1965), 18–19.

[91] Tottel, fol. S.viii^{r}.

[92] See the *OED*'s first sense of the adjective *Strange*: 'Of persons, language, customs, etc.: Of or belonging to another country; foreign, alien.' 'strange, adj. and n.', *OED*.

Given that Utopia is a fictional island, this may seem a special case; it's certainly an extreme one. It is, however, not unique, and this paratext epitomizes a characteristic of early British print culture whereby foreign languages were excluded by the limits of its print technology — specifically, the absence of a font, or a deficit of characters within a font. The first half of this section explores a trope in which printers and authors addressed a language's absence or flawed presence, and gives a survey of attempts to overcome these limitations. These examples will show how the strangeness of foreign languages is made conspicuous by typography. But, to the imported, continental technology of printing, the languages of the British Isles were strange too. This led to English also being conspicuously othered on the page in ways that expose the sociolinguistic identity of these books and the individuals who produced them — the subject of this section's second half. Coldiron has shown how both the textual and visual aspects of multilingual typography render a page a 'contact zone', requiring comparative and contrastive reading. They demand, as she says, 'an immediate acknowledgement of alterity' and then 'invite judgements about the relations between the native and the foreign.'[93] In that vein, this section offers close readings of typographic alterity, combining both visual and textual analysis. Coldiron's examples, however, are often suggestive of the printer's intent: 'the printer may elide or enhance the work's foreign elements with choices of *mise-en-page*, ornaments, initials, and typography.'[94] As will be shown by the *kludges* that deviate from normative typography, choice sometimes comes second to necessity, and the agency of a printer can be diminished by the affordances of their tools.

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[93] Coldiron, p. 175.

[94] Coldiron, p. 173.

3.2 For lack of letters

Section 2.5 above has demonstrated the lack of domestic typefounding skill in Britain until the second half of the century — a lack which contributed to the general monography of English books, and the 'suspition' they elicited on the continent. But it was not only readers abroad who held English books in suspicion for their homogeneous typography; those involved in their production were conscious of it too. As Adam Smyth notes, authors' and printers' complaints about a lack of type were common,[95] and this was especially true for what have historically been called the 'exotic types'. This is a recurrent trope throughout sixteenth-century English paratexts — a trope in which Tottel's *Utopia* participates, lending a realism to its typographical deficiency and making it an especially English rendition of *Utopia*. A non-fictional example is found in Robert Wakefield's preface to his printed lecture on Arabic, Chaldean, and Hebrew.[96] Though short Arabic and Hebrew texts are present throughout the book (printed using wooden type, discussed below), the promised third section of the book is missing: it was, as Wakefield explains, omitted 'because the printer has no Hebrew characters.'[97] This was a common problem for would-be printers of Greek, such as Richard Pynson, who in 1524 printed an edition of Thomas Linacre's *De emendata structura Latini sermonis*.[98] Linacre's text is one of his two grammars of the Latin language laid out by humanist principles, and contains occasional Greek.[99] Though Greek type first appears in a book printed by Fust and Schoeffer in Mainz in 1465, and was developed and popularized by Aldus Manutius in the 1490s,[100] it was not widely used in England during the sixteenth century except in short passages or single words — a characteristic that points towards a short supply. *De emendata* is an early example of this practice: though consisting almost entirely of Latin set in roman type, Greek text is sometimes embedded into the book's body-text, and appears in longer quotations in its final section. The first text the reader encounters, however, prepares the reader for the book's typographic flaws. Immediately overleaf from the title page, a note addressed 'to the reader' says

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[95] Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 89.

[96] Robert Wakefield, *Oratio de laudibus & utilitate trium linguarum* (London: Wyknyn de Worde, [1528?]), STC 24944.

[97] 'tertiam partem propter inopiam hebraicorum characterum quibus impressor caret'. Robert Wakefield, *On the three languages*, trans. by G. Lloyd Jones (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts, 1989), p. 45.

[98] Thomas Linacre, *De emendata structura Latini sermonis* (London: Richard Pynson, 1524), STC 15634.

[99] Kristian Jensen, '*De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*: The Latin Grammar of Thomas Linacre', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), 106–125.

[100] Carter, p. 112.

> Of your candour, most excellent reader, excuse it if any letters in the Greek quotations lack accents, breathings, or marks. The printer was not sufficiently equipped with them, since Greek characters have been recently cast by him, and he had not prepared enough necessary for this work.[101]

The problem identified is one of both quality and quantity: not only does the Greek font lack the accents and diacritics necessary for its accurate notation, but also there is simply not enough of it. The reader is given an explanation, but it is ambiguous as to whether this specific font was a last-minute job, 'recens ab eo fusis' (recently cast by him), or that Pynson is generally a newcomer to casting Greek type. Either way, Linacre gives the impression that Pynson is somewhat inexpert in its manufacture. The reader, he hopes, will excuse it.

English printers and authors continued to attempt to print Greek despite their limited equipment, prefacing their texts with similar apologia. That these were often given alongside more conventional requests that the reader forgive any textual mistakes presents the lack of appropriate fonts as something erroneous: the technical deficiency has caused an aberration from the book's ideal state. Such is the case for a 1561 edition of John Dolman's translation of Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*. Having accounted for the book's errata in the preface, Dolman continues with 'yet other faultes.' These include 'the yll printing of some greeke wordes, in latin letters, [and] of the verses also, otherwyse then they shoulde be red.'[102] These faultes, he writes later, 'were caused by necessitie, The one for lacke of a Greek letter, and thother for want of a smaller letter'.[103]

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101 'Pro tuo candore optime lector aequo animo feras, si quae litterae in exemplis Hellenismi uel tonis, uel spiritibus, uel affectioribus careant. Iis enim non satis erat instructus typographus uidelicet recens ab eo fusis characteribus graecis, nec parata ea copia, qua ad hoc agendum opus est.' Linacre, fol. 1^{v}.

102 John Dolman, 'To the Reader', in *Those fyue questions, which Marke Tullye Cicero, disputed in his manor of Tusculanum*..., (London: Thomas Marshe, 1561), STC 5317, fol. 5^{v}.

103 Dolman, fol. 6^{r}.

While the problem did not entail the absolute abandonment of Greek printing in England, authors (like Linacre) remained transparent about their printers' Greek deficit, even into the second half of the century. John Baret, the compiler of a dictionary, set out to include in his definitions the Greek translations of his English headwords. In the finished product, however, Greek appears only sporadically. Baret, like Linacre before him, describes the issue in his preface: 'As for Greek I coulde not ioyne it with euery Latin worde, for lacke of fit greeke letters, the printer not hauing leasure to prouide the same.'[104] It is notable that the realization of the printers limitations seems to have come at quite a late stage in the dictionary's conception: the plan to include Greek was so determined that it is described in a prefatory poem by Arthur Golding:

> Of truth the skill and labor was not small
> To set eche Inglish phrase in his dew place,
> And for to match the Latin therwithall
> Of eyther Language keeping still the grace,
> And orderly the Greeke to interlace,
> And last of all to ioyne the French thertoo:
> Theis things (I say) requyrde no small adoo.[105]

Golding's poem describes a rich linguistic tapestry woven with great labour. But the past tense of 'requyrde', of a task already performed, is belied by Baret's note 'To the Reader' that precedes the poem, explaining the limited Greek. There is a conflict, then, between these two paratexts: the versified plan versus the prose reality. We get the impression that Baret did not know about the printer's Greek shortage until the book was well underway. The sense that this lack of type came as a surprise to Baret is not unique to this book, and might be thought of as a key characteristic of these complaints. We have seen how Wakefield's *Oratio* billed itself as having three sections before compromising to two. Likewise, *Utopia*'s Alphabet is 'promised' 'in the aboue written Epistle' before the printer's admission of its absence. Common to this trope, then, is a sense of frustrated potential — that the best-laid plans made for the authors' ideal texts were hindered. In each case, the completed, ideal texts are shown to exist only notionally, and these material books portrayed as their imperfect manifestations.

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[104] John Baret, *An aluearie or triple dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin, and French* (London: Henry Denham, 1574), STC 1410, fol. 4^{v}.

[105] Baret, fol. 5^{r}.

3.3 Solutions

Despite Dolman's obstacles, he does not simply omit the Greek text. Instead, by deferring to the Latin letters, he and the printer find a solution, and though it causes the Greek words to be 'ill-printed', it's apparently preferable to them not being printed at all. The same is true for many of the above authors and printers: Wakefield's *Oratio* and Tottel's edition of *Utopia* are consciously imperfect due to a language's absence; Whittington, Linacre, and Baret's books are imperfect due to a language's flawed presence. Whether their secondary languages are printed sporadically, imperfectly, or both, they are nonetheless represented, but in doing so these languages are displayed as typographical and linguistic others. Their imperfections betray their incompatibility with the Latinate typographic system used to produce the book.

Further examples of solutions to a lack of type manifest this otherness in very visible ways on the page. Most commonly, this entails a resort to alternative media, such as manuscript or wooden type — both far easier to produce than metal type, but each with associated disadvantages. In Scotland, printer Robert Lekpreuik demonstrates this through a strategy of going beyond the limits of a font with script. In 1563, he printed *The confutation of the Abbote of Crosraguels masse*. Its preface takes the form of another message from 'The Prenter to the Reader', describing the setbacks encountered in producing the book.[106] Such was the obstacle posed by the text's Greek words that it threatened the book's existence from the start: the author had 'used some Greik wordes':

> which wordes I had no Carracters to expres: this moued me somwhat at the beginning, yet finding them few in nomber, and so seruing to the mater, as I could not well suffer them to be taken away, yea, and no impediment to the vnlearned, the sentence being maste plaine, I could not thole [i.e. suffer] the learned to be frauded of so great a help, and so vndertuke the mater.[107]

Lekpreuik goes on to say that he used 'the help of a moste excelle[n]t young ma[n], wel exercised in the tongue' as well as 'the laboure of some Scollers, whome I iudged to be moste expert' in order to render the Greek text for which he had no type. It is not made explicit in this preface how this was actually performed, but the method becomes obvious from the main text overleaf: the printer has left blank spaces in the body-text, and a scribe has subsequently written the Greek text into these spaces.

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[106] Robert Lekpreuik, 'The Printer to the Reader', in George Hays, *The confutation of the Abbote of Crosraguels masse* (Edinburgh: Robert Lekpreuik, 1563), STC 12968.

[107] Lekpreuik, fol. 1^{v}.

On these pages, the resistance between language and materials is made evident. The regularity of the surrounding blackletter English text is juxtaposed by the Greek script: the latter is cramped by the limited space made available to it; longer passages often undulate below the typographical baseline, overwriting the printed text beneath it. The script's irregularity is idiosyncratic across copies, and each ostensibly identical printed book is made unique by the manuscript additions. Seeing these books today, the technological exclusion of Greek is yet more conspicuous, as the brown pen ink of the script has faded significantly, while the printing ink remains black and clear. The extent of this is such that some of the Greek words are now illegible; others have faded almost entirely, leaving what at first glance appear to be gaps in the text.[108] We might consider also the relative labour involved in these juxtaposed media as a function and consequence of Greek's otherness. Lekpreuik's account of finding a Greek scholar makes this explicit: though he initially relied on an individual, his 'travel' (i.e. travail, labour) was 'wearisome in the hait of his occupatio[n]s', and so he is ultimately 'driuen' by necessity to 'the laboure of some Scollers, whome I iudged to be moste expert'. Not only, then, is Greek visually distinct, but it also entails a difference in labour in both quantity and kind. Nor is this exclusive to the scholars drafted in by Lekpreuik — it would have also required the special attention of his compositors to estimate the correct amount of space to leave free, created by blank type or larger furniture.[109] Lekpreuik's compositors would have had to turn to these blanks every time they came to a Greek passage in their manuscript copy-text — a work process that conceptualizes Greek as entirely *un*alphabetic, representing it by strings of identically featureless type, performing a temporary erasure of Greek.

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[108] These observations are based on two copies examined, Bodleian Library Ashm. 1188 (1) and Bodleian Library D 12.6 (11) Linc.

[109] Gaskell, p. 43.

Another strategy used by printers to make up for their lack of non-Latinate fonts was the *ad hoc* manufacture of wooden type. These were usually created especially for a specific book, and are unlikely to have been re-used. As such, they were 'expensive and, compared with cast type, irregular.'[110] They usually take the form of logotypes — whole words cut into single pieces of wood, rather than an individual piece for each letter. Like Lekpreuik's scribal workaround, the appearance of these woodcut letters distinguishes them from the conventionally produced print that surrounds them. This is in part due to the nature of their medium: Talbot Baines Reed reports an eighteenth-century founder stating that 'No engraver is able to cut separate letters in wood in such a manner as they retain their quadrature'.[111] They are therefore typically irregular, and bear traces of the wood's grain. Though Wakefield abandoned the third section of his *Oratio* due to the printer's lack of Hebrew characters, its first sections made an attempt to render short Hebrew and Arabic phrases in wooden type. As such, it is the earliest extant use of Hebrew and Arabic in an English printed book. This experimental nature is evident in these languages' appearance, which is irregular — a characteristic that has led to qualitative interpretations of them as 'crude and badly formed [...], cut without any good model' or 'rudely cut.'[112]

Like Pynson, de Worde had made early experiments with mixing Greek type set in a Latin text in a grammar printed in 1517 — the earliest extant instance of printed Greek from England.[113] Without any Greek font, de Worde resorted to type cut from wood, and it only appears in one line of the book's final page: θεosis φιλος αθανατο (Figure 1.14).[114] Its appearance disrupts the otherwise visually uniform text: irregular letterforms betray that it was manufactured to a different standard to the precise, uniform blackletter that surrounds it. The incongruity is made all the more conspicuous by the text's scale: much larger than the surrounding text, its letters are forced below the baseline. In the copy examined, a space between the words 'sit' and

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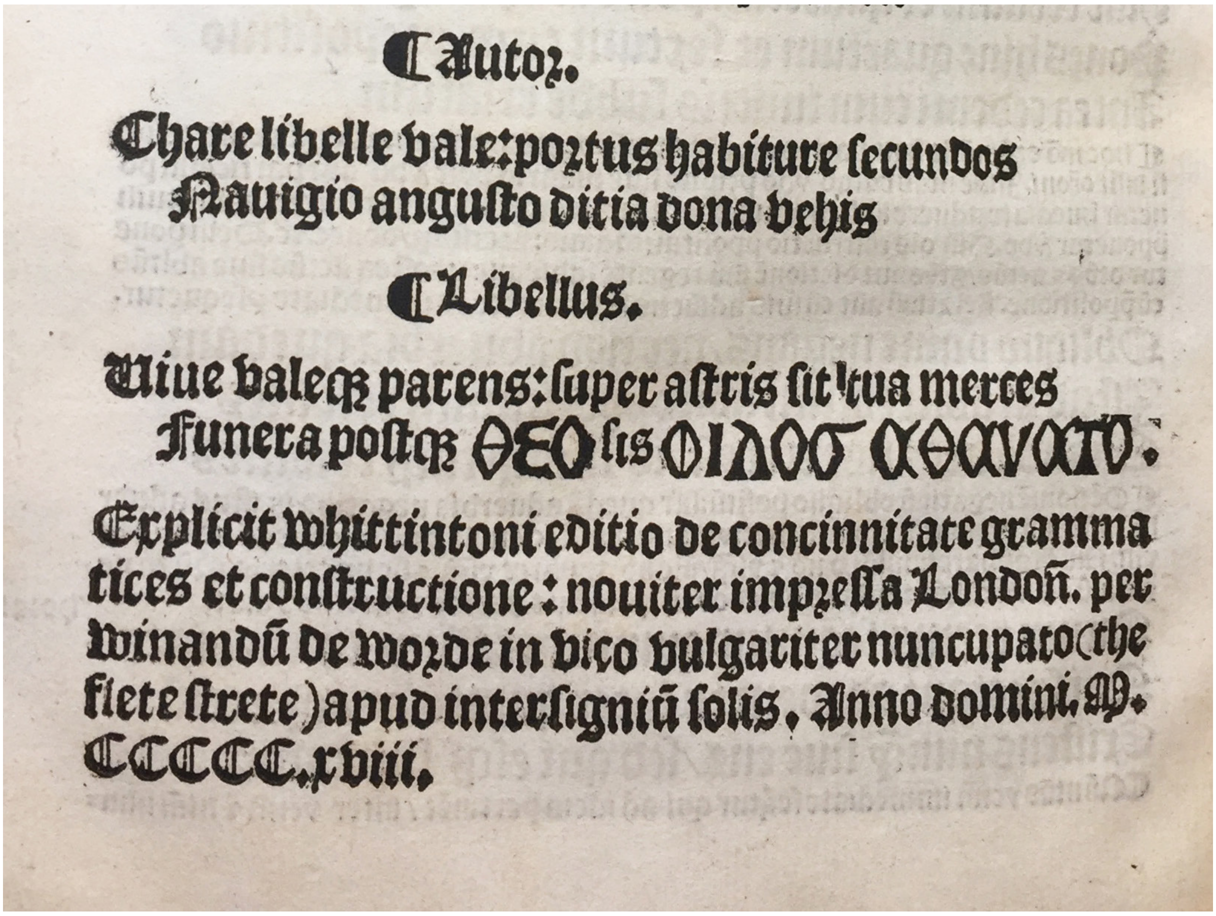
[110] Gaskell, p. 209.

[111] Talbot Baines Reed, *The Old English Letter Foundries* (London: Faber & Faber, 1952), p. 4.

[112] G. Lloyd Jones, 'Introduction', in Robert Wakefield, *On the three languages* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts, 1989), p. ix; Reed, p. 56.

[113] Robert Whittington, *Syntaxis* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1517), STC 25543, fol. 25^{v}.

[114] A grammatically unclear phrase but which may be translated as 'deification of eternal love.' I am grateful to Geri Della Rocca de Candal for his assistance with this line.



¶ Autor.

Chare libelle vale: portus habiture ſecundos
Nauigio anguſto ditia dona vehis

¶ Libellus.

Viue valeꝫ parens: ſuper aſtris ſit tua merces
Funera poſtꝫ ΘΕΩ ſis ΦΙΛΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩ.

Explicit whittintoni editio de concinnitate grammatices et conſtructione: nouiter impreſſa Londoñ. per winandū de worde in vico vulgariter nuncupato (the flete ſtrete) apud interſigniū ſolis. Anno domini. M. CCCCC.xviii.

FIGURE 1.14
Robert Whittington, *Syntaxis* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1517), STC 25543, fol. 25v.

'tua' on the line above the Greek text has become loose, rising enough for it to be inked and make an impression on the paper. It is probably that this misprint was caused by the wood type's imperfect 'quadrature' and softer material preventing the forme of type from being locked up sufficiently tightly, allowing a piece of type to slip out.[115]

A final technique of remedying a lack of letters, of which we will see more in the following section, sees compositors finding a character's likeness in the creative combination of other type sorts. The top half of Figure 1.15 shows the first English translation of Bernardino Escalante's *Discurso de la navegacion*, printed in 1579 by Thomas Dawson. The Spanish first edition, printed two years before, contained information about China, including renderings of phonetic and written Chinese. Though in the original, new sorts were cast or cut to print the Chinese characters in-line with the Spanish text, it seems that this was not feasible for

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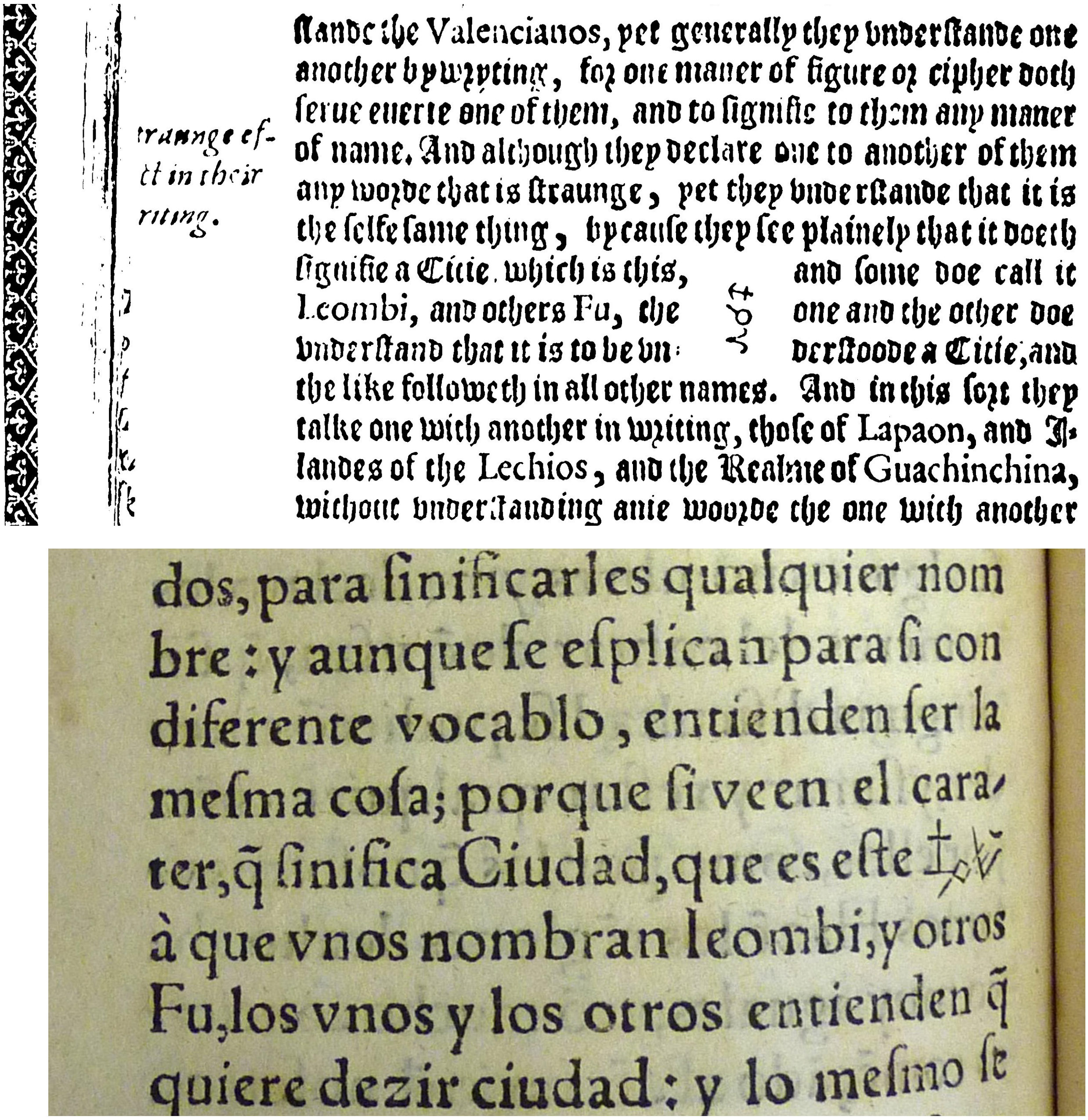
[115] Bodleian Library, Mason H 20, fol. 25v.



traunge ef-
ct in their
riting.

ſtande the Valencianos, yet generally they vnderſtande one
another by wryting, for one maner of figure or cipher doth
ſerue euerie one of them, and to ſignifie to them any maner
of name. And although they declare one to another of them
any worde that is ſtraunge, yet they vnderſtande that it is
the ſelfe ſame thing, bycauſe they ſee plainely that it doeth
ſignifie a Citie, which is this, and ſome doe call it
Leombi, and others Fu, the one and the other doe
vnderſtand that it is to be vn- derſtoode a Citie, and
the like followeth in all other names. And in this ſort they
talke one with another in wryting, thoſe of Lapaon, and I-
landes of the Lechios, and the Realme of Guachinchina,
without vnderſtanding anie worde the one with another

dos, para ſinificarles qualquier nom
bre: y aunque ſe eſplican para ſi con
diferente vocablo, entienden ſer la
meſma coſa; porque ſi veen el cara-
ter, q̃ ſinifica Ciudad, que es eſte
à que vnos nombran leombi, y otros
Fu, los vnos y los otros entienden q̃
quiere dezir ciudad: y lo meſmo ſe

FIGURE 1.15
Top: Bernardino de Escalante, *A discourse of the nauigation which the Portugales doe make to the realmes and prouinces of the east partes of the worlde...*, trans. by John Frampton (London: Thomas Dawson, 1579), STC 10529, fol. 30^{v} (EEBO).
Bottom: Bernardino de Escalante, *Discurso de la navegación que los portugueses hazen a los reinos y provincias del oriente, y de la noticia que se tiene del reino de China* (Sevilla: Alonso Escribano, 1577), USTC 336107, fol. 62^{v}.

Dawson. Instead, the compositor has offered an approximation of the Chinese character for ‘City’ using a combination of three astrological symbols — usually used in almanacs and astrological works — embedded in the middle of the body-text. Comparing the English to the Spanish book (Figure 1.15, bottom), the approximation is surprisingly close — evidence of a concerted study of the original — but would certainly not be recognized as Chinese by any native reader.

3.4 Visual shibboleths of English

The examples shown so far have demonstrated how the early printing of foreign languages in Britain was characterized by their conscious exclusion, or conspicuously imperfect integration. The wood type and scribal workarounds show that this was not a case of all or nothing: solutions were found, but they were far from seamless. In turning now to English, a language that (unlike Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Chinese, or Utopian) uses the Latin alphabet, it becomes apparent that the compatibility of a font and a language is also one of degree. From the high volume of vernacular printing in England, it's clear that the English language was generally supported by print technology, but it too was occasionally othered by the limited affordances of European typography in much the same way as those 'exotic' languages.

Early English print culture, according to Coldiron, was 'something like a francophone subculture.'[116] Carter's summary of the sources of England's type, for instance, shows that the first two generations of English printers imported theirs from France: Caxton, Pynson, and de Worde's typefaces are found also in the books of contemporaneous French printers.[117] Carter mentions a consequence of this foreign origin: 'A lower-case l followed by ragged r deputizing for k in several early London founts is evidence that not a single letter was cut and struck here [i.e. England].'[118] His discussion of this phenomenon is limited to this single sentence but deserves developing, and Pynson's 1493 edition of *Dives and Pauper* provides a case study.[119] The text is a Middle English dialogue between the allegorical rich man, 'Dives', and poor man, 'Pauper', discussing the Ten Commandments. Throughout the text, the interlocutors discuss various 'skylles' — reasons or rationalizations behind certain virtuous behaviours.[120] Though this word's second letter is a k, in this edition it is often represented by combining an l and an 'r': *slrylles*.[121] The reason for this is not a complete lack of k sorts in the font — the letter also appears in its conventional form throughout the text. It is, however, done to mitigate a

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[116] Coldiron, p. 5.

[117] Carter, p. 63.

[118] Carter, p. 63.

[119] *Here endith a compendiouse treetise dyalogue. of Diues [et] paup[er]...* (London: Richard Pynson, 1493), STC 19212.

[120] 'skil', *MED.*

[121] The 'ragged r' (sometimes called *r rotunda*) which Carter describes is a variant form of blackletter 'r' resembling the numeral '2'. See Daniel Updike, *Printing Type — their History, Forms, and Use*, Vol. I (Boston: 1922), p. 109.

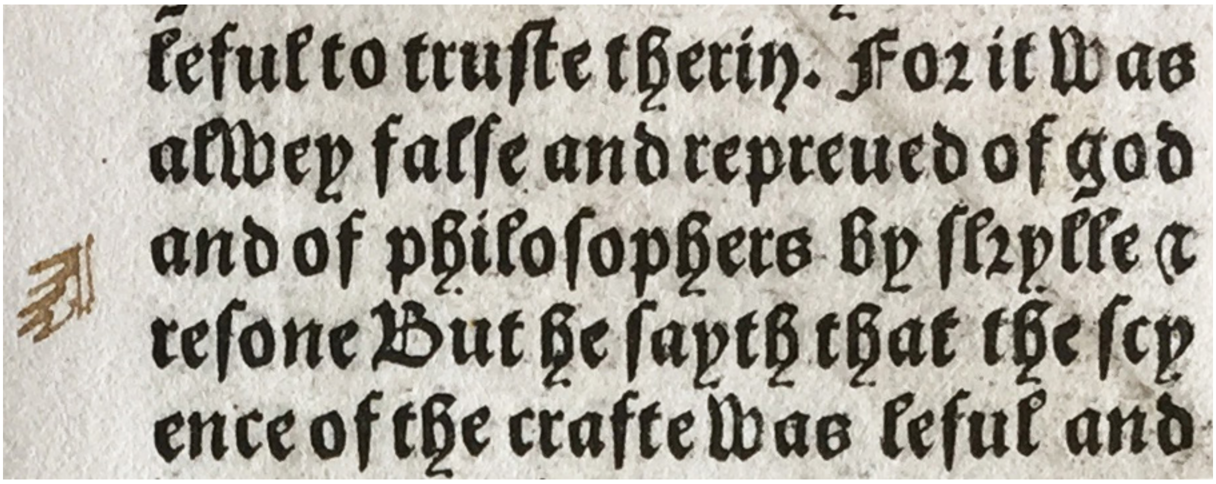

FIGURE 1.16
Here endith a compendiouse treetise dyalogue. of Diues [et] paup[er]… (London: Richard Pynson, 1493), STC 19212, fol. Dii.r.

shortage. A font designed and manufactured in France would have reflected French and Latin orthography; the rarity of k in these languages (restricted to infrequent loan words) entails its limited representation in the font, with far fewer pieces of k type than letters of normal frequency.[122] This becomes a problem when using these fonts to set a text in Middle English, in which k has a far more prominent orthographical role. By approximating the shape of a k with an l and r, the compositor averts a critical deficit of ks by delegating its role to more plentiful letters.

In this book, the compositor has isolated each lr pair to this word, *skilles,* or its variants (such as *skilful*), which arise frequently in *Dives and Pauper* as one of the work's major themes. In doing so, some consistency is maintained across the text, facilitating the reader's correct but unintuitive interpretation of these letters as a k. Furthermore, the compositor purposefully acclimatizes the reader to the substitution. It first appears in the contents, in which each of the book's chapters are summarized. The word 'skilles' appears in the summaries several times — first using a conventional k, and again soon after using the l and r.[123] The resemblance is established through their proximity, and the reader learns to reinterpret the combination of the letters lr. But despite these methods, the substitution causes interference — a frequent subversion of English orthography that stalls smooth reading and demands that the reader misread. It is also visually deviant, with the combination of two characters taking up more lateral space, stretching the imagined k and undoing its proportional coherence with the letterforms of the same font. Like Lekpreuik and de Worde's workarounds, then, Pynson's makes the tension between the language and its technology conspicuous.

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[122] For a discussion of proportionality in fonts, see Werner, p. 41.

[123] Fol. 4v.

Pynson's solution to a lack of ks is just one example of a practice observable in early English printing of repurposing type. Such instances are always an expedient solution to the absence of a letter in a font, either because its high frequency in the text has exhausted supply, or because it was never in the font to begin with. Though specific examples of this phenomenon are occasionally mentioned, the general practice has not been analysed to much depth, despite its frequency.[124] Before discussing other examples, it is worth defining and theorizing the practice itself. Smyth describes how his print experiments 'frequently relied on acts of improvisation, or botching,' aligning this with Derrida and Lévi-Strauss' discussions of *bricolage*:

> The *bricoleur*, says Lévi-Strauss, is someone who uses 'the means at hand', that is, the instruments he finds at his disposition around him, those which are already there, which had not been especially conceived with an eye to the operation for which they are to be used and to which one tries by trial and error to adapt them, not hesitating to change them whenever it appears necessary, to try several of them at once, even if their form and their origin are heterogeneous.[125]

Certainly, then, Pynson is a *bricoleur*: he adapts an l and an r, heterogeneous forms, towards new operations, like Dawson and his Chinese character. We might also think of these instances as *kludges* — a term borrowed from computing, but equally applicable to the earlier information technology of print. A kludge is an improvised solution to a problem using tools or materials for a purpose other than the one for which they were designed. In a humorous article published in 1962 Jackson Granholm offered an ironic definition of 'kludge' taken from a fictional dictionary: 'An ill-assorted collection of poorly-matching parts, forming a distressing whole.'[126] To this, the *Oxford English Dictionary* adds 'a machine, system, or program that has been improvised or 'bodged' together.'[127] The circumstances that lead to the kludge are not always the fault of the kludger: they give the impression of an expedient last resort, of someone making the best of a bad situation. We are reminded here of Dolman's preface, discussed above, whose 'erroneous' font selections 'were caused by necessitie.' In such situations, then, the agency of the printer is diminished, and their choice is limited by material circumstance. The printer John Lyon conveys this more explicitly in his use of the word 'forced': in another note from 'The Printer to the Reader', he explains that, because of a lack of type, he was 'forst to vse one Character' for two different kinds of text. The concluding sentence of this paratext epitomizes the philosopher of the kludger: 'Remember that when man can not do as he would, he must do as he may.'[128]

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[124] Hellinga, for instance, describes an upside-down 'Q' playing the role of a 'd' (*BMC XI*, p. 272).

[125] Smyth, p. ix.

[126] Jackson W. Granholm, 'How to Design a Kludge', *DATAMATION*, 8, February 1962, pp. 30–31 (p. 30).

Despite Granholm's ironically negative definition, the discourse around kludging shares with *bricolage* a wry reverence for ingenuity: 'The building of a Kludge,' Granholm writes, 'is not work for amateurs. There is a certain, indefinable, masochistic finesse that must go into true Kludge building.'[129] This is carried across in the folk-etymology which relates the term to the German *klug* and Yiddish גולק (*klug*) meaning 'clever'. Kludging is not, therefore, a naive or amateurish misuse, but a deliberate appropriation borne out of expertise, demonstrating knowledge of a tool or material's potential beyond its normative, prescribed use.

As shown by Pynson's lr for k, a kludge can be read as an index of a language, and the relationship of a language to its materials. The most common kludge in English printing shows that they can also mark an individual's linguistic, and therefore national, identity within a book. While a supply of k may be drastically low in a font designed in France, the letter w was entirely missing from any font designed for Latin due to its absence from the Latin alphabet. Generally speaking, this was not a problem: ws were included in blackletter fonts, used for Germanic languages in the broad typolinguistic system discussed in Section 1. Roman fonts, however, did not typically contain w.

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[127] 'kludge, n.' *OED*.

[128] John Lyon, 'The Printer to the Reader', in Richard Bristow, *A reply to Fulke, In defense of M. D. Allens scroll of articles, and booke of purgatorie* (1580), STC 3802, p. 416.

[129] Granholm, p. 30.

As Chapter 3 discusses, the early sixteenth century saw an association between roman type and humanist writing and learned treatises. The typography of James Whytstons' *De justicia & sanctitate belli* (1512) is a part of this milieu.[130] Whytstons' short Latin treatise was part of what Franklin B. Williams has called 'the first major English propaganda campaign to utilise the press':[131] having allied himself with Pope Julius II and militarily against Louis XII of France, Henry launched a campaign that attempted to stir up anti-French sentiment. Written in dense, humanist Latin, Whytstons' text deploys 'a great array of scholastic and legal authorities' to justify war against France.[132] It was written, therefore, for an exclusive, highly educated readership, and appropriately set almost entirely in Pynson's recently acquired roman type (with blackletter marginal notes and occasional Lombardic drop caps).[133] But three letters deviate from this system. James Whytstons is named as author three times in the book: once after the main text, and twice again in a laudatory poem addressed to him at the end, each time giving his name in a Latinate form ('Iacobus Whytstons').[134] In each appearance, the compositor has solved the lack of W in the roman font with a kludge, and set the first letter of his surname in uppercase blackletter.

Modern typographers talk of a page of text as having *colour* — the density of darkness on the page, and the texture of the page taken as a whole. Achieving a balanced and even colour eliminates visual distractions from reading: 'once the demands of legibility and logical order are satisfied, *evenness of color* is the typographer's normal aim.'[135] Here, the blackletter W has

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[130] James Whytstons, *De justicia & sanctitate belli* (London: Richard Pynson, 1512), STC 25585.

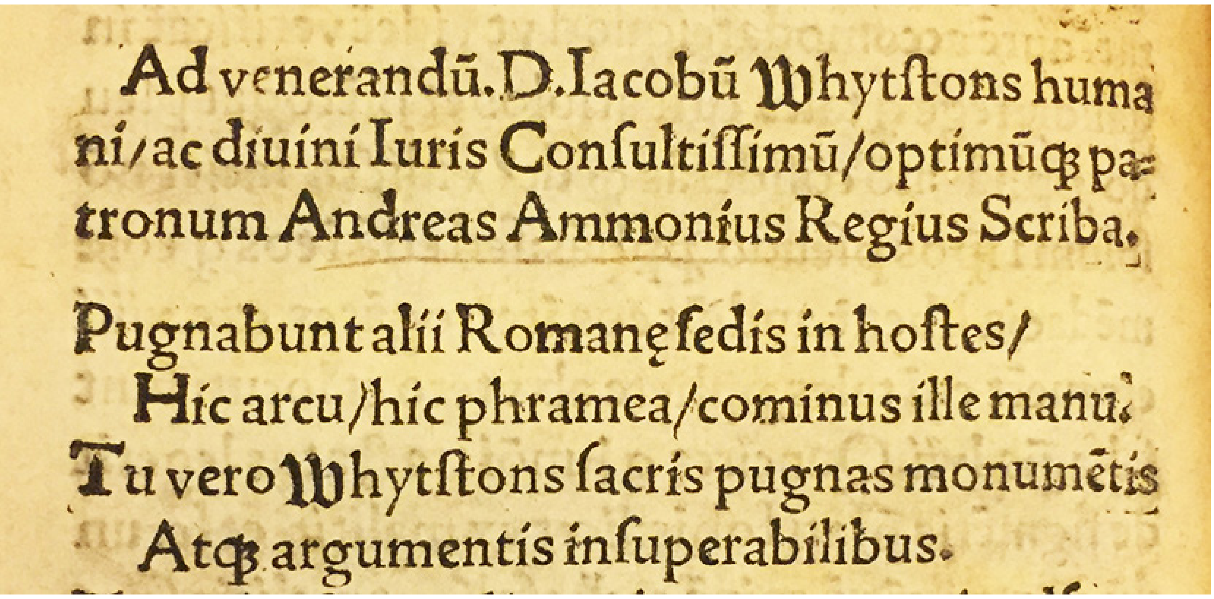
[131] *The Gardyners Passetaunce*, ed. by Franklin B. Williams (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1985), p. 18.

[132] Pamela Neville-Sington, 'Press, Politics and Religion', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume III*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Joseph B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 576–607 (p. 581).

[133] Pynson printed a counterpart book in the same year that gave some of Whytstons' argument in English verse: *The Gardyners Passetaunce*. It is, typically, set in blackletter throughout. Like *De justicia*, it employs explicitly nationalist strategies such as invoking Saint George, ending: 'And saynt George assistynge our valiau[n]t Englysshmen / Fraunce shall haue a fall our lorde saye Amen.' For an account of the political context of the two books, see Williams, pp. 15–25.

[134] Fol. G.iii^{r}, fol. 51^{v}.

[135] Robert Bringhurst, *The Elements of Typographic Style* (Vancouver: Hartley & Marks, 2005), p. 25; Malcolm Parkes evokes a similar notion when he describes the density of a page of script as having a *chiaroscuro* effect, balancing lightness with darkness (Malcolm B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 138.



Ad venerandũ.D.Iacobũ 𝔚hytſtons humani/ac diuini Iuris Conſultiſſimũ/optimũq; patronum Andreas Ammonius Regius Scriba.

Pugnabunt alii Romanę ſedis in hoſtes/
Hic arcu/hic phramea/cominus ille manu.
Tu vero 𝔚hytſtons ſacris pugnas monumẽtis
Atq; argumentis inſuperabilibus.

FIGURE 1.17
James Whytstons, *De justicia & sanctitate belli* (London: Richard Pynson, 1512), STC 25585, fol. 51^{v}.

more colour than its surrounding text, its strokes being much wider than the roman font. Borrowed from a font of a different size, it also descends below the baseline, encroaching on the line below it. This density of colour makes the letter, and therefore Whytstons' name, immediately conspicuous; it risks drawing the eye to the centre rather than the top left of the page, short-circuiting the linear progression of reading.

By this kludge, '𝔚hytstons' (and therefore Whytstons) is shown to be incompatible with the Latinate idiom of roman type due to his name's English orthography and etymology: here is a text going against the grain of its materials. In a book that asserts English national identity by its contradistinction to the French, a visual reminder of the author's nationality breaks through its otherwise continental appearance. As Coldiron has described, multilingual books 'put readers through an implicit transnational heuristic' — so too, then, do books with heterogeneous typography, requiring that readers ask 'what are these differently shaped letters, and to what language do they belong?'[136] If Lotte Hellinga has compared the experience of early English readers of texts in continental fonts as 'something akin to hearing their language spoken with a foreign accent,' here we have a momentary lapse back into an English accent.[137]

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[136] Coldiron, p. 175.
[137] *BMC XI*, p. 335.

The kludge of Whytstons' name is not an isolated case: in the first half of the sixteenth century, Ws in otherwise roman books must frequently be set in blackletter. This is common in multilingual books set in roman or italic. A herbal printed in 1538 by John Byddell, for instance, is in Latin and set in italics, but gives the English names for each plant after their definition. While the compositor has begun by setting these English words entirely in blackletter, they discontinue this scheme after the second page, deciding instead to save the extra labour and set them in the same italic as the Latin. But the absence of italic w necessitates the kludge throughout — one page includes 'Banwort', 'Colewortes', 'Clowes', 'Water cresses', and 'Carawayes' set in italic but for their distinctive Ws.[138] Kludged Ws are common too in Latin legal texts that contain Latinized English proper nouns — the names of people or places. A legal text printed by Robert Redman, for instance, contains the names 'Robert Wood', 'William Ely', and 'Thomas Adowne'.[139] Title-pages are likewise susceptible if the book's author's name contains a W, especially those of the second phase outlined in section 2, in which roman type is widespread in paratexts. An edition of Xenophon translated by William Barker demonstrates this, with the first letter of the translator's name being set in blackletter, juxtaposed against the uppercase roman in which the rest of his name is set (Figure 1.18).[140]

Such is the frequency of the blackletter W kludge that we might consider it a shibboleth of English. Normally an oral phenomenon, a shibboleth is any linguistic feature that is idiosyncratic to a sociolinguistic group, and so may be used to identify an individual as belonging to that group. Typically, shibboleths deviate from normative use. As the *OED* defines it, it is 'A peculiarity of pronunciation or accent indicative of a person's origin.'[141] In these books, then, we see a peculiar visible 'pronunciation' of W that marks these proper nouns as English visually as well as linguistically. Likewise, those authors and other individuals named in these texts are identified as English by their Ws, all the more

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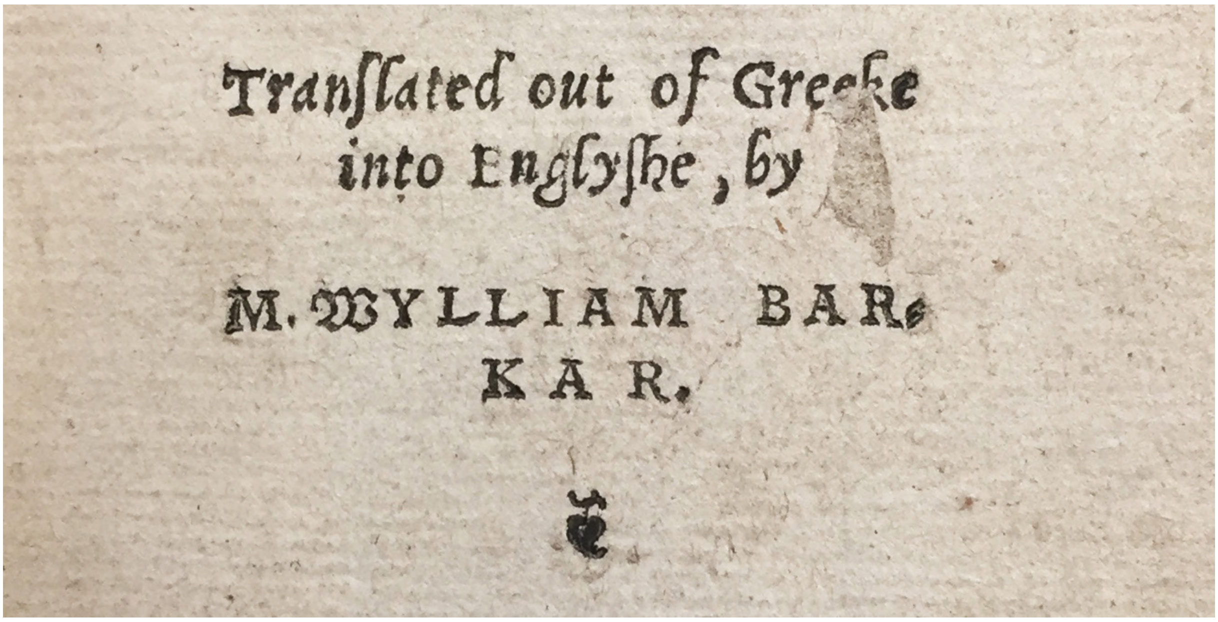
[138] William Turner, *Libellus de re herbaria novus*... (London: John Byddell, 1538), STC 24358, fol. 3^{v}.

[139] *Articuli ad narrationes nouas pertim[entes] formati* (London: Robert Redman, 1539), STC 818, sigs [D6]^{v}, D5^{v}, D4^{v}.

[140] Xenophon, *The bookes of Xenophon*, trans. by William Barker (London: Reynolde Wolfe, 1552?), STC 26066.

[141] 'shibboleth, n.', *OED*.



Tranſlated out of Greeke
into Engliſhe, by

M. WYLLIAM BAR-
KAR.

FIGURE 1.18
Xenophon, *The bookes of Xenophon*, trans. by William Barker (London: Reynolde Wolfe, [1552?]), STC 26066, fol. 1^{r}.

pronounced for their change in font. Occasionally, like in Whytstons' case, the context of this shibboleth imbues it with greater significance. In 1519, Pynson printed William Horman's *Vulgaria*, a book of English phrases translated into Latin, used for teaching. It is the first extant book that sets English in roman type, and therefore a typographic anomaly that goes against the typolinguistic convention discussed above (discussed further in Chapter 3). As such, Pynson depended on W kludges, one of which is found in the phrase 'Wycliffe brought vp a myschevous heresy.'[142] John Wycliffe, known for his advocacy for and translation of the Bible in vernacular English during the fourteenth century, is here visually distinguished by a text crossing a similar linguistic boundary. Just as English was proscribed by the Church from scripture, so too was English systematically excluded from roman, Latin fonts. By including Wycliffe's heresy in the *Vulgaria*, Pynson and Horman unwittingly mark this tension between languages and the systems that accommodate them through the appearance of his name as a typographical hybrid of Latinate and English forms. Given the ubiquity of these shibboleths, the first roman W used in an English text would mark a significant threshold on the way to the normalization of roman English text seen in the third phase of typographic development. This threshold is identified and discussed in the following chapter.

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[142] William Horman, *Vulgaria* (London: Richard Pynson, 1519), STC 13811, fol. 23^{r}.

The British Isles' situation as a 'backwater' insulated its typography from the rest of Europe. Until the arrival of foreign typefounders, encounters with alterity in English typography were thereby characterized by conscious deficiency, and the attempts to overcome this made the 'strangeness' of foreign languages all the more conspicuous. But English was likewise poorly supported by the imported European technology — the language of the British Isles was, like that of the island of Utopia, exotic. Through kludging, this exclusion became conspicuous. Further study of kludging would reveal that, while English was made prominent on the page through typographic bricolage, other languages of the British Isles underwent a flattening. William Salesbury's Welsh Bible, printed in 1567, for instance, had to substitute 'C for K, because the printers have not so many as the Welsh requireth.'[143] Likewise, the absence of a ʒ (yogh) in those fonts imported to Scotland led to the substitution of its nearest visual equivalent, a Z, when typesetting Scots. These orthographies were changed to fit the system, rather than the system being adapted to fit them. Nor is this issue limited to the sixteenth century and letterpress printing: many languages' alphabets are still poorly represented or entirely unsupported by modern technology. Figure 1.19 shows an example on the mobile website of *The New Yorker*, whose headlines are set in their bespoke font — a font for which no Ğ (g with breve) was designed. For Turkish names such as Erdoğan's, the website falls back to its secondary font, Helvetica Neue, as an automated kludge.

These workarounds and shibboleths must be read in the context of the data described in the first half of this chapter. They demonstrate a will to render language in way that is not accommodated by the means, both implicitly in kludges and the irregular appearance of individual letters, and explicitly in those paratexts that cite a lack of letters. The third phase, in which a typolinguistic system begins to depolarize and a multigraphic culture reaches a zenith, is preceded by the arrival in Britain of typefounders and punchcutters whose skills could realize printers' and authors' vision. This phase therefore saw the proliferation of both new typographic forms (in Hart's orthography, Irish type, and Anglo-Saxon type), but also the proliferation of English text in roman, dissolving a convention that had seen roman used

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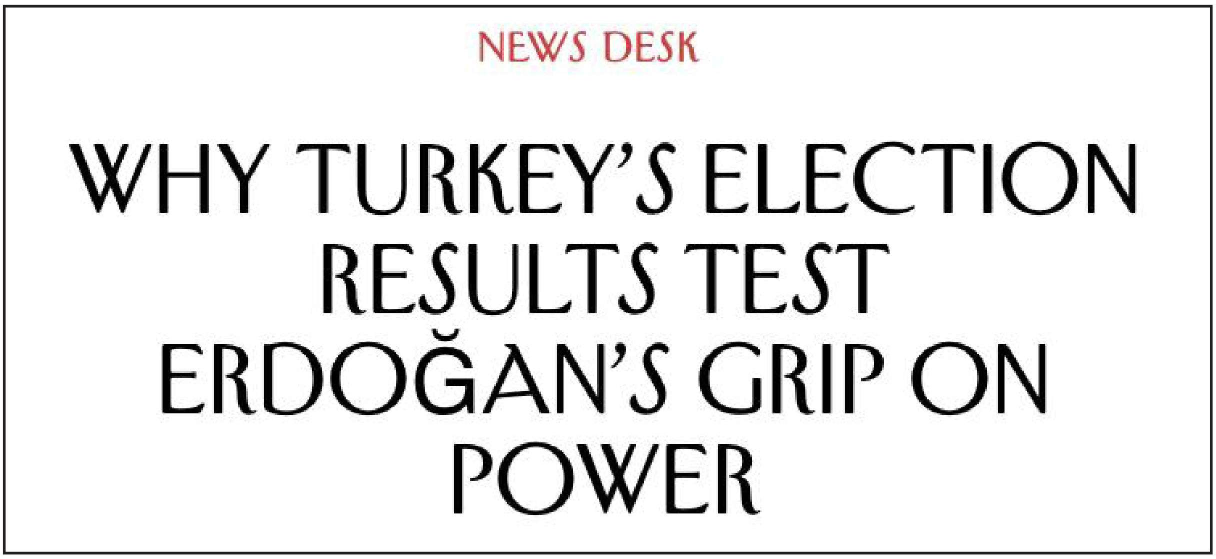
[143] J. R. R. Tolkien, 'English and Welsh', in *The Monsters and the Critics, and Other Essays* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp. 162–197 (p. 165).



NEWS DESK

WHY TURKEY'S ELECTION RESULTS TEST ERDOĞAN'S GRIP ON POWER

FIGURE 1.19
Kaya Genç, 'Why Turkey's Election Results Test Erdoğan's Grip On Power', *The New Yorker*, 2 April 2019 <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/why-turkeys-elections-results-test-erdogans-grip-on-power> [accessed 2 April 2019]

mostly for English paratexts in the second phase after around 1530. But although it seems likely that these migrant craftsmen were bringing skills to Britain that printers had previously complained of lacking, the coincidence of these two events may be just that: causality could be argued only via detailed comparison of those roman fonts with their continental counterparts. Sitting in the middle of this third phase, *The Shepheardes Calender* seems an exemplar of multigraphy, rather than of any deliberate application of blackletter. In his discussion, Galbraith mentions that, besides the blackletter text on which he focuses, 'the "argument" is in italic, the text of the eclogue in black-letter, the emblem most often in italic, and the gloss in roman'. The book is therefore an exemplar of the multigraphic idiom which was then gaining momentum. Just as King described Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* as an especially consummate execution of convention, so too is *The Shepheardes Calender*.

CHAPTER 2: RELIGION

'The Face of an English Church' / 'The Face of Christ's Church'

1. Introduction

The history of sixteenth-century English reformers is written through texts — a genealogy that threads Tyndale's translations and commentaries (1525–1536) to the King James Version (1611) via the various translations and prayer books issued between.[1] This genealogy straddles the typographic shifts illustrated in Chapter 1. It is apt, then, given the central role of texts to both sixteenth-century reformers and book historians, that connections between religion and typography have been suggested. For Ian Green, who has performed a quantitative study showing the 'Proportion of Editions of Complete Bibles in English Printed in Blackletter 1535–1640', this is of only enumerative, factual significance.[2] Green's study shows that, by the end of the century, blackletter bibles were a minority — less than half of bibles printed in the 1590s were set in blackletter. This figure, he says, is perhaps misleading, as most of these books are popular octavo and duodecimo bibles printed in roman, whereas the proportion of blackletter folios and quartos 'never fell below a half, and [...] most of the time it was three-fifths or above.'[3] Green stops short of making any explicit associative or qualitative connection between bibles and their typefaces, but Harry Carter had already made such a semiotic leap. Reflecting on the roman type of the Geneva Bible, he wrote that 'The officially sponsored Bishop's Bible and its successor the Authorized Version of 1611 being Blackletter books, it is probable that Roman type had in British minds associations with puritanical Calvinism, or perhaps rather with dissent, for the Romanists favoured it too.'[4] If, as Carter characterizes it, roman type is anti-establishment, blackletter is often portrayed in the opposite light — especially that of the King James Version of 1611, which, according to David Norton, 'promot[ed] a sense of ecclesiastical splendour in the first edition.'[5] Similarly, Paul Gutjahr discusses that Bible's retention of blackletter after a general shift to roman: 'the eternal, changeless nature of God's words was reflected in the changeless nature of the type used to convey those words.'[6]

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[1] It is incorrect, though expedient, to speak of an 'English Reformation': as Peter Marshall shows in his historiography, historians now tend to view it as a protracted, pluralistic, and diffuse process rather than any one 'event', with social, cultural, political, and episcopal reformations advancing and retiring throughout the early modern period and beyond. Peter Marshall '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 564–586.

[2] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 63.

[3] Complete figures are given in Green, p. 63, Table 2.7.

[4] Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 92.

Broadly speaking, the aim of this chapter is to ask whether such impressionistic readings were possible, and which ones were likely, for the books' contemporaneous readers. It focuses on books produced by exiled reformers in Antwerp and Geneva, revealed as typographically anomalous. These Protestants rallied around the 'call-to-arms' of *sola scriptura* — the belief that the true religion can be determined by scripture alone.[7] But their adherence to the word of God was necessarily mediated through material texts, which, as a form of representation, was seemingly at odds with Protestant iconophobia.[8] This paradox has been explored by James Kearney, who argues that the spurning of materiality led to a 'crisis of the book' for sixteenth-century Christian readers:[9] 'How', Kearney imagines them asking, 'can Christianity reconcile faith in a text that can only be apprehended in some material form with a profound distrust of all material forms?'[10] Through print, their texts only seemed to accrue extraneous materiality even as they advocated *sola scriptura*: Orlaith O'Sullivan argues that the numerous hermeneutic paratexts, maps, and marginal notes that accompanied Protestant books in the period 'sought to restrain free interpretation of the Bible' by guiding their readers' correct interpretation of scripture.[11] While these apparatuses have recently received much scholarly attention,[12] little has been given to the typefaces of these books beyond Carter's suggestion of their association with Calvinism. If, for the emergent theologies of the multigraphic sixteenth century, the 'preeminence of autoritye onelye belongeth to the word of god',[13] then it mattered what font that word was in.

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[5] David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 47.

[6] Paul C. Gutjahr, 'The Letter(s) of the Law: Four Centuries of Typography in the King James Bible', in *Illuminating letters: Typography and Literary Interpretation*, ed. by Paul C. Gutjahr and Megan Benton (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), pp. 17–44 (p. 19).

[7] Orlaith O'Sullivan, 'Introduction', in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. by Orlaith O'Sullivan (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 1–40 (p. 1).

[8] On the iconoclasm of early sixteenth-century English reformers, see Philip Schwyzer, 'Fallen idols, Broken Noses: Defacement and Memory after the Reformation', *Memory Studies*, 11 (2018), 21–35.

[9] James Kearney, *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 8.

[10] James Kearney, p. 72. Andrew Pettegree addresses a related paradox regarding illustrations in 'Illustrating the Book: a Protestant Dilemma', in *John Foxe and his World*, ed. by Christopher Highley and John N. King (Routledge: 2002), pp. 133–144.

[11] O'Sullivan, p. 3.

[12] See Ezra Horbury, 'The Bible Abbreviated: Summaries in Early Modern English Bibles', *Harvard Theological Review*, 112 (2019), 235–260; Thomas Fulton, 'Toward a New Cultural History of the Geneva Bible', *Journal of*

Above, I characterize Carter's association of roman with puritanical Calvinism or dissent as a 'semiotic leap'. By this I mean that he moves from a material condition (roman type) to an ideological one (puritanical Calvinism); from a signifier to an abstract signified. With sparse reasoning and minimal supporting evidence, the link between the two appears arbitrary. Here, I aim to build a bridge of evidence that allows us to follow Carter's leap from materiality to ideology with measured steps. Like Chapter 1, this requires considering co-dependent variables — location is again revealed to be a key factor (Section 2), and the variable of size a supporting one (Section 3). In doing so, I hope to demonstrate a model of typographic meaning that is contingent on the social circumstances of the books' production.

2. Geographical location

2.1 Location data

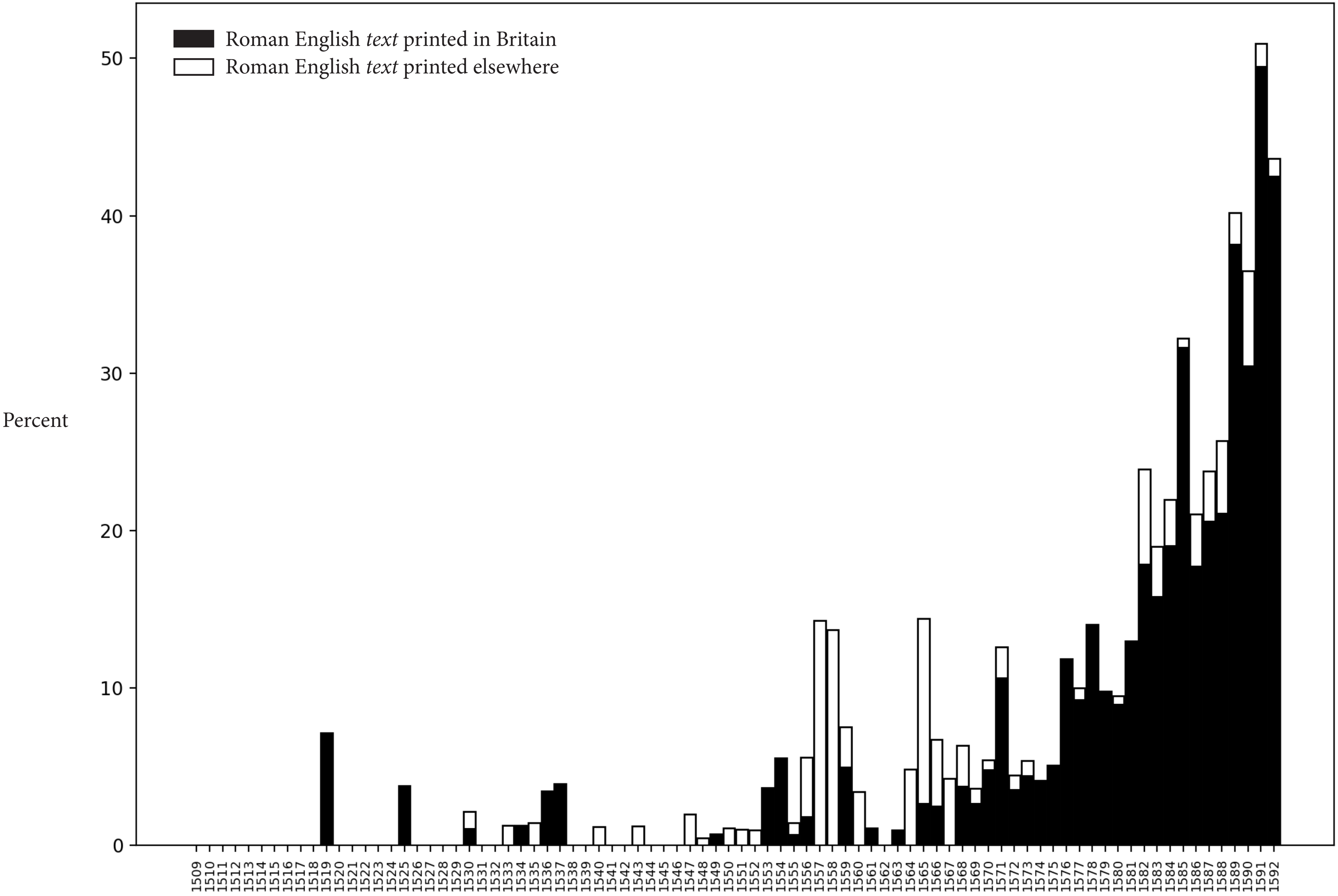
In Chapter 1, Figure 1.4 showed the percentage of books containing English *text* by typeface, the blue bars representing the proportion of such books with *text* set in blackletter, and the orange the proportion of them with *text* set in roman. As described there, roman English *text* was seen occurring anomalously and irregularly from 1519, but spiked suddenly in the second half of the 1550s, before rising exponentially from nothing in the 1560s. Figure 2.1 isolates roman English *text* from Figure 1.4 — blackletter is therefore not represented here.

Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 47 (2017), 487–516; Femke Molekamp, 'The Geneva and the King James Bibles: Legacies of Reading Practices', *Bunyan Studies*, 15 (2011), 11–25; Aaron T. Pratt, 'The Trouble with Translation: Paratexts and England's Bestselling New Testament', in *The Bible on the Shakespearean Stage: Cultures of Interpretation in Reformation England*, ed. by Thomas Fulton, and Kristen Poole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 33–48; Justine Walden, 'Global Calvinism: The Maps in the English Geneva Bible' in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*, ed. by Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 187–216; Thomas Furniss, 'Reading the Geneva Bible: Notes Toward an English Revolution?', *Prose Studies*, 31 (2009), 1–21.

[13] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day, 1570), STC 11223, p. 113. For the emphasis put by English reformers on scripture, see John N. King, ''The Light of Printing': William Tyndale, John Foxe, John Day, and Early Modern Print Culture', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 52–85. For a European perspective, see John T. McNeill, 'The Significance of the Word of God for Calvin', *Church History*, 28 (1959), 131–146.

FIGURE 2.1

Roman English *text* by location



In this chart, the data for each year have been divided into two groups: roman English *text* printed in Britain, and roman English *text* printed elsewhere. The location data are derived from the MARC information contained in each ESTC entry. Domestically printed books are represented in black, and the ones printed in other countries stacked on top of these in white. The height of each bar is therefore the same as in Figure 1.4, but we can now clearly see the proportion of foreign-printed books in this subset. From 1530, books printed both in Britain and abroad were going against the convention of setting English *text* in blackletter. The earliest of these foreign books (1% in 1530, 1.2% in 1533 and 1.4% in 1535) were all printed in Antwerp, and are investigated in the following section. Figure 2.1 also demonstrates that the spike in roman English *text* that occurs between 1556 and 1560 — peaking at 14.3% in 1557 — is comprised almost entirely of books printed abroad, specifically Geneva, and these books are featured in Section 2.3.

2.2 Antwerp

To readers familiar with English print, the earliest books not set in blackletter must have seemed a radical and challenging departure from convention. Besides the data in Chapter 1, we can look to a different vernacular to infer this impact. The printer Joos Lambrecht had a preference for roman,[14] and in 1539 offered a remarkable defence of its application to vernacular languages. Jan Middendorp translates:

> I am ashamed about the uncivilized attitude of so many people in our country, who are unable to read our low-Dutch or Flemish tongue when printed in Roman type, saying that they do not recognize the letters, and that it seems Latin or Greek to them. Having noticed this, I have printed this booklet in Roman type, which surpasses all other Flemish letter-forms in clarity and grace, and I intend (by the grace of God) to print more in the same letter [...] Just as we see now that the Walloons and the French are having their own language printed in Roman rather than Bastardic typefaces more and more every day.[15]

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[14] Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: Brill, 1968), p. 61.

[15] *Refereynen int Vroede, op de vraghe, wat dier ter waerelt meest fortse verwint.* (Gent: Joos Lambrecht, 1539), USTC 402963, sig. A1.^{v}; Jan Middendorp, *Dutch Type* (Berlin: Druk Editions, 2018), p. 17.

This is followed by the roman alphabet set alongside a blackletter one to offer Lambrecht's readers a key to understanding it. For English, the corresponding moment of the first wholly roman book has been tentatively dated to the 1550s. The elusivity of this fact puzzled Ernst Goldschmidt, who thought it 'strange that I should have encountered great difficulty in gathering information on the earliest use of Roman type for English texts [...] on the exact date for the initiation of the change-over and on the title of the first precursor of the later practice [of setting English in roman], I have no clear convictions.' He suggests ('as a starting point for future discussions') that Reyner Wolfe's 1556 edition of Robert Recorde's *Castle of Knowledge* 'may claim the distinction of being the first English book in Roman type.'[16] Though Carter reiterates the uncertainty that surrounds the matter, he antedates Goldschmidt's provisional suggestion, identifying a roman prognostication by Leonard Digges.[17] In addition to this milestone, the first roman W to be used for English also marks an important threshold of the naturalization and normalization of the vernacular in roman, by demonstrating an investment in skilled labour and materials in order to include vernacular orthography into a typographic system from which it had been excluded, as shown in Chapter 1. Will Hill states that W 'first emerges as a Roman letter in its own right in the Double Pica Roman of John Day in 1574 (Reed 1887: 92)', but his cited source says nothing on the matter.[18] Both Carter's and Hill's suggestions can be antedated by the English books printed in Antwerp described below.

The first English *text* encountered in my database is in Horman's *Vulgaria*, printed by Pynson in 1519. Its pre-eminence has been noted, and this book is accounted for in the next chapter. But this (and that book printed in 1525 visible in Figure 2.1) do not conform to the criteria Carter and Goldschmidt sought: 'the first book in English set wholly in Roman'.[19] Its short English texts make up only half the book, comprising translations of the book's Latin phrases.

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[16] Ernst P. Goldschmidt, *The Printed Book of the Renaissance: Three Lectures on Type, Illustration, and Ornament* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 1950), p. 25.

[17] Leonard Digges, *Prognostication of right good effect* [...] *to judge the weather for ever* (London: Thomas Gemini, 1555), STC 6860; Carter, p. 92.

[18] Will Hill, 'Typography and the Printed English text', in *The Routledge Handbook of the English Writing System*, ed. by Vivian Cook and Des Ryan (Routledge, 2016), pp. 431–452 (p. 436).

[19] Carter, p. 92.

Instead, their suggestions contain continuous prose body-texts of roman English. As Figure 2.1 shows, between the *Vulgaria* and Carter's 1555, a small percentage of books contain English *text* in roman: 31 entries, representing 27 actual books. The majority of these were printed abroad: three in Paris, two in Venice, two in Zurich, and seven in Antwerp. Of the remaining books, five can be identified as London books with certainty, but a further eight, printed in 1553 and 1554, are of indeterminate provenance, possibly printed by John Day from a clandestine press whose location is unknown.[20] Seven are conjectured to have been printed in Antwerp:

- [*The Pentateuch*], trans. by William Tyndale (Malborow in the lande of Hesse [i.e. Antwerp]: Hans Luft [i.e. Johan Hoochstraten], 1530), STC 2350
- William Tyndale, *An exposicion uppon the. v. vi. vii. chapters of Mathew* ([Antwerp: printed by J. Grapheus?, 1533?]), STC 24440
- William Tyndale, *The firste boke of Moses called Genesis newly correctyd and amendyd by W.T* ([Antwerp: M. de Keyser], 1534), STC 2351
- Henricus Bomelius, *The summe of the holye scrypture* ([Antwerp: s.n., 1535?], STC 3036a
- *A brefe apologye or answere to a certen craftye cloynar* ([Antwerp: for M. Crom, 1540]), STC 22880.7
- John Bale, *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe* ([Imprented at Zurik [i.e. Antwerp]: By Olyuer Iacobson [i.e. A. Goinus], 1543]), STC 1309
- John Bale, *An answere to a papystycall exhortacyon* [Antwerp: S. Mierdman, ca. 1548], STC 1274a

All of these books contain dissident texts: early Reformation literature was no less significant for the status of the vernacular than it was for its appearance, and Antwerp's clandestine contribution to dissident English literature also manifested as typographic dissidence. In

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[20] Most of these claim to have been printed in Roane, but are assigned MARC location tags of '|a Great Britain |b England |d London' by the ESTC, so appear as books printed in England in Figure 2.1. However, as Elizabeth Evenden writes, 'the actual location from whence Day might have issued any surreptitious works remains unknown.' (Elizabeth Evenden, 'The Michael Wood Mystery: William Cecil and the Lincolnshire Printing of John Day', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35 (2004), 383–394 (p. 384)). If printed in England, these books deserve a detailed study as potentially attempting to portray a European provenance via their roman typeface.

October 1524, Bishop of London Cuthbert Tunstall gave an official warning to all booksellers and printers, excluding the domestic print industry from dealing in reformist literature. Further, no books were allowed to be imported unless consent was given from a board of censors.[21] Two years later, this mandate was extended to the production of any books in English. The restrictions on domestically produced books were apparently effective: only Robert Wyer was charged for printing something without license, though Loades believes that Tyndale had 'secret discussions' with John Rastell for printing two books.[22] Andrew Hope connects the restriction on books in 'the vulgar tongue' to the production of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, suggesting it was a direct outcome of that book's publication.[23] Tyndale's illegally English book, first printed in Cologne in 1525, marked, according to David Loades, the beginning of Protestant printing for an English market.[24] The repression of reformist literature is one of three key factors that synthesized to make Antwerp a 'dissident typographical centre' — so called in the title of a 1994 exhibition at the Plantin-Moretus Museum. In addition to Henry VIII's repressive reign, the strong trade links between Antwerp and England and the 'small scale of English typography' made Antwerp 'a very important production centre for banned literature destined for the English market.'[25] Due to similarly controlled industries in other countries, the city's activity was not limited to the English market: books in French, Spanish, Italian, and Danish also left Antwerp.[26] It was here, for instance, that the first complete French translation of the Bible was printed (translated by Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples and printed by Tyndale's printer, Martin Lempereur). For this period, then, Antwerp had and has a reputation as a hotbed of clandestine typographic activity.

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[21] David Loades, 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558', in *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. by Jean-François Gilmont, trans. by Karin Maag (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 264–291 (p. 267).

[22] Loades, p. 279.

[23] Andrew Hope, 'The Printed Book Trade in Response to Luther: English Books Printed Abroad', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 272–289 (p. 274).

[24] Loades, p. 268.

[25] Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre* (Antwerp: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1994), p. 14.

[26] Jean-François Gilmont, 'Three Border Cities: Antwerp, Strasbourg and Basle', in *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. by Jean-François Gilmont, trans. by Karin Maag (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 184–188 (p. 185).

Generally speaking, the books produced in Antwerp for the English market are conventional in their appearance and format. As Anthea Hume notes in her bibliography of 'English Protestant Books Printed Abroad, 1525–1535', 'Quasi-facsimile transcription is not appropriate for title pages where the majority of type faces belong to the 'bastard' category.'[27] Likewise, Andrew Johnston notes that 'the majority of Protestant works followed a simple model. They were printed in gothic type, in octavo, on poor quality paper.'[28] He later goes on to attribute their cheapness and small format to ease of distribution and concealment.[29] In this group of otherwise homogeneous protestant books produced in Antwerp, those listed above defy convention, not only within Hume's group, but against all books printed so far, by not setting English *text* in blackletter. The earliest three of them, each printed by a different printer, are by William Tyndale, including his translation of the Pentateuch. Here, Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy are set in roman. In his edition of Tyndale's translation, Daniell has described this as 'unexpected',[30] which is perhaps understating things: these are the earliest extant English roman books. Considering the book's context and purpose, it is tempting to immediately ascribe an ideological intent to their radical typography, as English is here vying against Latin for acceptance within a religious context — to give English the appearance of Latin, therefore, is a powerful statement and visual rendition of Tyndale's mission of translation. However, material exigency probably played a role. It is generally agreed that the production of the Pentateuch was, in Steele's words, 'somewhat troubled.'[31] It is not difficult to speculate on the pressures that covert operations might put on the printing process: if speed was of paramount importance to avoid detection, whatever fonts were to hand would have been used. With two compositors, using two fonts could have halved the lengthy composition process. Though they appear in one ESTC entry, the five books of the Pentateuch are more reasonably thought of as separate: each has its own title-page, prologues, pagination, and register. Daniell sees this, and the typographic differences between the books (Genesis and Numbers are in blackletter), as evidence of them being printed and transported separately.[32] The theory is supported by E. Gordon Duff's work on Tyndale's books, who wrote that 'The five books of the Pentateuch were apparently issued separately,' noting their separate entries in an early list of prohibited books.[33]

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[27] Anthea Hume, 'English Protestant Books Printed Abroad, 1525–1535: An Annotated Bibliography', in *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. by Louis Schuster, Richard Marius, James Lusardi, and Richard Schoeck, 8 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963–1997), VIII (1973), pp. 1065–91 (p. 1066).

[28] Andrew G. Johnston, 'Printing and the Reformation in the Low Countries, 1520–c.1555', in *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. by Jean-François Gilmont, trans. by Karin Maag (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 154–184 (p. 161).

[29] Johnston and Gilmont, p. 211.

[30] Daniell, p. xxiv.

[31] R. Steele, 'Hans Luft of Marburg: A Contribution to the Study of William Tyndale', *The Library*, 6 (1911), 113–131 (p. 203).

Tyndale's initials appear at the top of every verso and recto in the running headings of this book: a kludged blackletter W, and a roman T. This pair of mismatched capitals can be read as a synecdoche for the book itself, or even Tyndale's agenda, as a visual reminder that English is not yet fully supported by the Latinate typographic systems it uses, just as the 'vulgar tongue' was not supported by the Latinate systems of the Church. Like Tyndale's works themselves, which defy the law by translating Latin into English to reformist ends, the typography of the book defies a linguistic code. It is appropriate, then, that Tyndale's presence within the book takes this form, framing the text in every running heading as a presiding reminder of the unresolved dynamic between Latin and English, and the deviance of the text at hand. While all three of Tyndale's books in this list use blackletter W kludges, these books also contain the earliest appearances of roman W in English. The occasional blackletter W shows that this was still in short supply, and the slight aesthetic incongruity with the rest of the font suggests that it was not manufactured to the same standards — probably a later addition, specially cast for the printing of vernacular works. This W first appears in English in *An exposicion uppon the. v. vi. vii. chapters of Mathew*, printed by Johannes Grapheus. It is shown in Figure 2.2, highlighted in red, above blackletter Ws highlighted in blue. It cannot be said that this roman W was cast especially for English: it appears earlier on the title-page of a book printed by Grapheus in 1532, in the Latin word 'Wpsalen[sis]' — an unusual spelling of *Vpsalensis* ('originating from Uppsala').[34] This is, however, probably its first application to a vernacular language. Its significance for vernaculars in general holds true: this W is a specially cast piece of type in order to solve the exclusion of vernaculars from the roman system, marking

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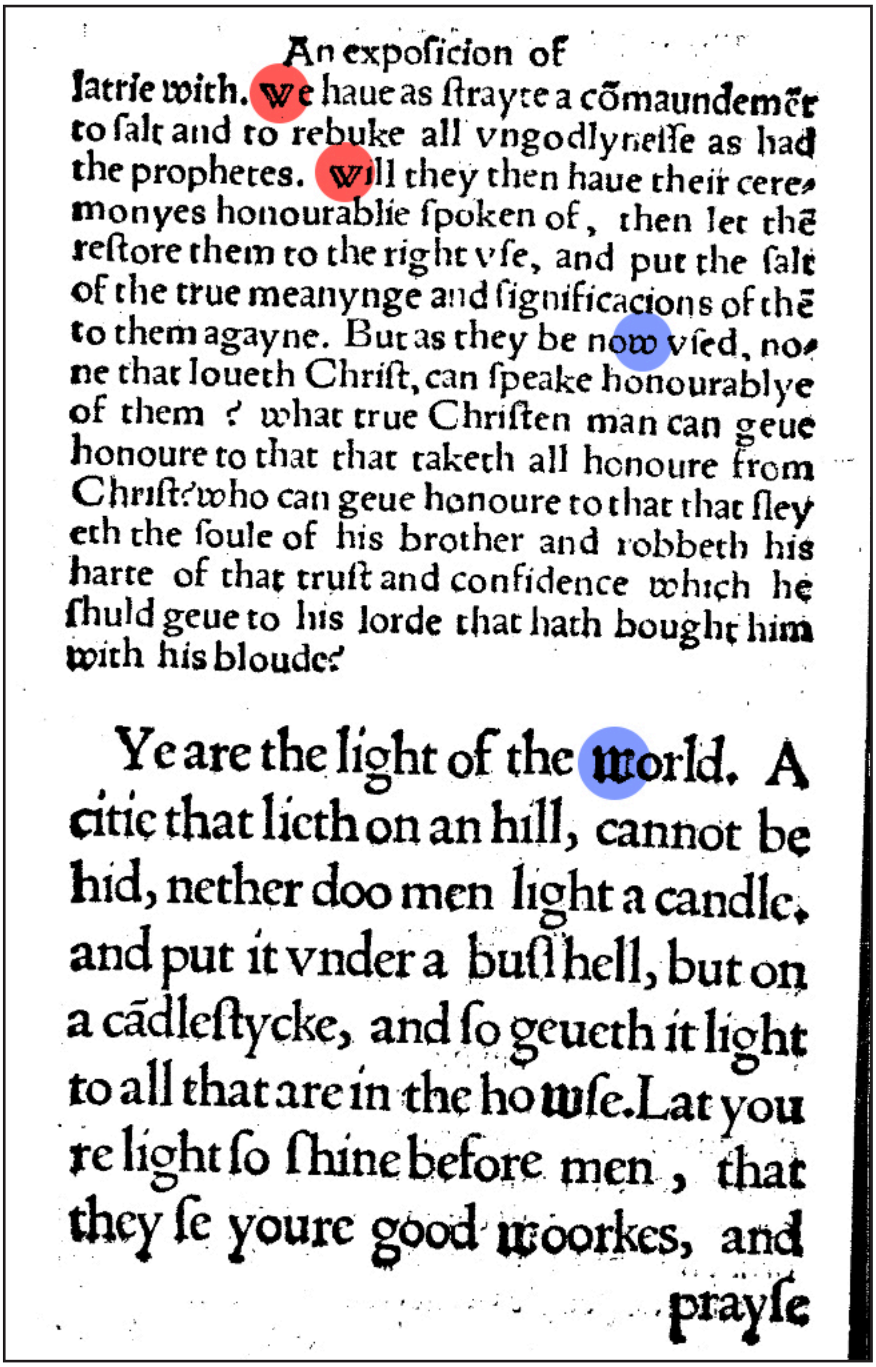
[32] David Daniell, *Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 283.

[33] E. Gordon Duff, *A Short Account of Tindale's Pentateuch, 'Marburg' 1530* (London: Chiswick Press, 1910), p. 16.

[34] Damião de Góis*,* *Legatio Magni Indorum imperatoris presbyteri Ioannis* ([Antwerp]: Johannes Grapheus, 1532), USTC 400518.



An expoſicion of

latrie with. We haue as ſtrayte a cõmaundemẽt to ſalt and to rebuke all vngodlyneſſe as had the prophetes. Will they then haue their ceremonyes honourablie ſpoken of, then let thē reſtore them to the right vſe, and put the ſalt of the true meanynge and ſignificacions of thē to them agayne. But as they be now vſed, none that loueth Chriſt, can ſpeake honourablye of them? what true Chriſten man can geue honoure to that that taketh all honoure from Chriſt? who can geue honoure to that that ſleyeth the ſoule of his brother and robbeth his harte of that truſt and confidence which he ſhuld geue to his lorde that hath bought him with his bloude?

Ye are the light of the world. A citie that lieth on an hill, cannot be hid, nether doo men light a candle, and put it vnder a buſſhell, but on a cãdleſtycke, and ſo geueth it light to all that are in the howſe. Lat youre light ſo ſhine before men, that they ſe youre good workes, and

prayſe

FIGURE 2.2
William Tyndale, *An exposicion uppon the. v. vi. vii. chapters of Mathew* ([Antwerp : printed by J. Grapheus?, 1533?]), STC 24440, sig. c[viii]^{v} (EEBO).

a turning point in European printer's handling and presentation of vernacular texts. English texts, a couple of years behind, are swept up in this development via their exile.

These radical typographic experiments have so far escaped the notice of studies in both Continental and British bibliography, perhaps because they are impossible to see for what they are until the books are arranged quantitatively and chronologically. Hendrik Vervliet's survey makes no mention of the additional and pre-eminent roman Ws, nor is it discussed in the works of Paul Blouw.[35] Though the ascription of ideological intent is one of interpretation, the ideological response is more certain: these unorthodox books are unorthodox in appearance, and this would have been immediately obvious to English readers, whose response may have been similar to Lambrecht's Dutch readers several years later. The conditions which have led to their unorthodox typography share the dynamic of exclusion that led to the typographical deviation inherent to blackletter kludges, but on a larger scale. There, the exclusion of vernacular, demotic content by an established orthographic system led to the irregularity of kludges; here, the exclusion of protestant literature from an industry by the ruling establishment results in typographic unorthodoxy, and the typography thereby becomes as dissident as its content.

The benefit of identifying these books as 'firsts' therefore lies not in antedating for its own sake, but in seeing them through the eyes of their first readers. John Boardley's book *Typographic Firsts* is representative of a modern bibliophile culture that interprets books by their origins.[36] The culture has a presentist bent: it seeks the first roman, or the first illustrated book, or the first colour printing, because these are the features with which we are today familiar. We might also reasonably suspect that the quest for firsts is a function of the antiquarian book trade: identification as such in a book's description piques the interest of collectors (the annual book fair of the Antiquarian Bookseller's Association is even entitled 'Firsts').[37] The identification of these unprecedented books is not primarily intended to fit them into either of these cultures; it is intended to recuperate their strangeness. Furthermore, while a 'first' can only be identified by contrast to its antecedents, it can only be understood by its successors. As Figure 2.1 shows, and Chapter 1 described, it was not until the 1560s that English roman *text* started to increase exponentially. Though these books were firsts, they were not beginnings, remaining anomalous for three decades. With the principle that religious dissidence can lead to a text's visual deviance now established, the spike of roman English *text* in the 1550s can be addressed.

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[35] Paul Blouw, *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century: The Collected Works of Paul Valkema Blouw* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[36] John Boardley, *Typographic Firsts: Adventures in Early Printing* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2018).

[37] *Firsts: London's Rare Book Fair* <https://www.firstslondon.com/> [accessed 28 March 2020]

2.3 Geneva

We return here to Carter's belief that 'the Geneva Bible of 1560 must have accustomed a great many Englishmen and Scots' to roman type, and his linking of religion and typefaces in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: 'it is probable that Roman type had in British minds associations with puritanical Calvinism'.[38] Beyond Carter's premise, the only other connections that have been drawn between Calvinism and typography are in studies of the Geneva Bible, which is routinely upheld as another 'typographic first' as the first (full) bible printed in roman.

On the face of it, Carter's tentative equation between Calvinism and roman type seems to be a simple coupling: these texts were printed in this type, therefore an association arose. More detailed study finds that location is not just a coincident factor, but, as it was with Tyndale's books, one that is codependent with the ideological context of the texts themselves. The anomalous spike in the mid to late 1550s has the rate of English roman text increasing from 5.61% in 1556 to 14.29% in 1557, and dropped again towards the end of the decade. As Figure 2.1 shows, this is caused by books printed abroad. Table 2.1 gives the geographical distribution of these books, printed between 1550 and 1560:

Italy, Venice	1
France, Strasbourg	1
Switzerland, Basel	1
France, Paris	3
Germany	3
Germany, Wesel	7
Switzerland, Geneva	18

TABLE 2.1
Books containing English roman text printed abroad 1550–1660 by location

This section focuses on those 18 records representing 16 books from Geneva that are the cause of this spike in English roman text — books written and printed by Protestant exiles who had fled to Geneva during Mary I's reign from 1553 to 1558. The group is mostly religious in its content: it contains the Geneva Bible, and its preceding New Testament translation, a catechism, psalm books and prayer books. It also includes six polemical tracts, the most famous of which are John Knox's *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstruous regiment of women* and Christopher Goodman's *How superior powers oght to be obeyd of their subiects.* Three editions of Lily's grammar appear (though as will be seen this would more accurately be counted as two). The following discussion takes this group as a whole, and it is intended to apply to all of them, though some are not discussed specifically. A full list of the books can be found in Appendix B.

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[38] Carter, p. 92.

Reflecting on the events of the previous decade, the author of the preface to the first Geneva Bible (1560) describes a time 'most dangerous': the persecution that was exacted under Mary's anti-Protestant regime was 'sharpe' and it was 'furious.'[39] John Rogers — an editor involved in the production of the Matthew Bible — was the first to be burned at the stake on 4 February 1555, and by Mary's death in November 1558 around 300 others had been similarly martyred.[40] Two months after Mary's coronation, British Protestants were already making plans to migrate to the continent. The first wave of these left their home on 1 October 1553,[41] and many more would follow — it is thought that between 700 and 1000 refugees left during Mary's reign.[42] It should be noted that there has been some debate regarding the nature of this flight — or 'migration', as Christina Garrett favours in one of the few books solely devoted to Marian exiles. Considering their chronology (a community at Zurich a 'full six months before the first martyr suffered at the stake'[43]), Garrett presents the movement of Protestants out of Britain not as forced, but as 'one of the most astute manœuvres that has ever carried a defeated political party to ultimate power.'[44] As summarized by Dan Danner, Garrett believed that the Marian exiles 'constituted a radical opposition party to Elizabeth' and their migration was a way of preserving a religious-political party that would return to pressure Elizabeth into more a ‘purified’ religion upon her becoming Queen.[45] This not being the forum to engage with such debates, I accept the now received interpretation that Marian exiles were religious refugees fleeing persecution, siding with Danner’s characterization of Garrett’s conclusions as ‘speculative.’[46]

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[39] 'To Our Beloved in the Lord the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.', in *The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1560), STC 2093, sigs ⁂iiii.^{r}—⁂iiii.^{v} (sig. ⁂iiii.^{r}).

[40] David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 277.

[41] J. D. Alexander, 'The Genevan Version of the Bible: Its Origin, Translation and Influence' (D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1957; Bodleian MS.D.Phil.d.1810), 2.

[42] Foxe wrote that 'well near to the number of 800 persons, students and others together' fled, corroborated by Garrett who finds evidence for 788 (Christina Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 31). For upper estimates of 1000 see Alexander.

[43] Garrett, p. 10.

[44] Garrett, p. 1.

The circumstances of the refugees in Geneva are inextricable from the year that preceded their arrival on 13 October 1555. The first twenty-eight had been based in Frankfurt, but split from that group after an episode of infighting that has since become known as the ‘Troubles at Frankfurt’, after the title of its first account.[47] ‘It would be an Iliad,’ wrote John Foxe in a letter, ‘to describe the raging of the storm’ between the exiles there — the following summary therefore necessarily passes over details.[48] In short, the schism was caused by disagreement over the content of the Frankfurt church’s order of worship — a question of fidelity to the Prayerbook authorized by Edward VI in 1552. On 2 June 1554, some 200 refugees led by William Williams and William Whittingham arrived in Frankfurt from England. On 14 July, their request for permission to organize a church was granted by the Frankfurt authorities: they were to alternate services with those of a French church, so long as they accepted the same doctrine of said church, differing, crucially, from the 1552 Book of Common Prayer. According to Danner, ‘the litany, surplice and other details’ had to be omitted[49] — edits made happily by William Whittingham, who opposed much of the book’s content. These differences sparked disagreement within the congregation, stoked by John Knox’s arrival, who also opposed the Prayerbook. One of the arguments made by those in favour of it was that altering the Prayerbook would be an offense, even demeaning, to those Protestants now imprisoned in England.[50] Seeking support, Knox and Whittingham wrote a paraphrase of the Prayerbook, sending it to Calvin for his authoritative take (a biased abstract that Dawson calls a 'caricature'[51]). His response was that, although it contained objectionable features, it should pragmatically be tolerated for the time being.[52] A succession of committees were established that made unsuccessful attempts at compromise, before finally, Richard Cox arrived in March, gaining immediate favour among the congregation for his pro-Prayerbook position. Knox was soon dismissed, even accused of treason, and left Frankfurt on 26 March.[53] Not far behind him were the Frankfurt 'Knoxians', who suffered an ignominious exit: they were, according to a letter sent by the 'Coxians' to Calvin, 'a disgrace to their country.'[54]

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[45] Dan G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555–1560* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), p. 5.

[46] See Danner, pp. 5–11 for a full historiography of this debate.

[47] *A brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford* ([Heidelberg: M. Schirat], 1574), STC 25442.

[48] Quoted by Jane Dawson, *John Knox* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 98; the details of this series of events may be found in Dawson’s biography of Knox, which takes advantage of newly discovered letters to augment our understanding of them (Dawson, pp. 90–108).

[49] Danner, p. 17.

[50] Danner, p. 19.

Fifteen families totalling twenty-eight people arrived in Geneva on 13 October, 1555. On 1 November, their church was founded, and on the 11th the Council of Geneva granted them the use of the Church of Marie-la-Neuve — a space shared with Italian Protestant exiles.[55] They were welcomed, 'received with great favour and much courtesy, both of the magistrates, Ministers, and people.'[56] The city they arrived in was one in flux — many more exiles from elsewhere were incoming and it had seen a pro-French refugee faction take control after a revolt shortly before the English exiles' arrival.[57] The experiences of the English exiles are key to our understanding of this group of books printed in Geneva: doubly exiled, forking into ever-narrower subsets of Protestantism, the cause of which was an argument with a book at its centre, the exiles arrive into a city full of others with similar backgrounds.

In England, meanwhile, a progressively oppressive series of regulations on the book trade were enacted during Mary's reign.[58] The first of these edicts, made on 21 August 1553, was aimed specifically at English texts, condemning the 'playinge of Interludes and pryntynge of false fonde bookes, ballettes, rymes, and other lewde treatises in the englyshe tonge' concerning

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[51] Dawson, p. 95.

[52] Danner, p. 20.

[53] Alexander, p. 4.

[54] Danner, p. 22.

[55] Alexander, p. 7.

[56] *A brieff discourse,* p. LIX.

[57] Robert M. Kingdon, 'International Calvinism', in *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. by Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Brill, 2018), pp. 229–247 (p. 232).

[58] The following account is condensed from that given in Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), II, pp. 825–831.

Christian doctrine. Printers were thereby not to produce any book without the 'licence in [the Queen's] writynge for the same'.[59] A document printed the following February criticized the 'multitude of euyl disposed persones' who had migrated to England, requiring that they must leave in the next twenty-four days, or be imprisoned.[60] Preachers, printers and booksellers were the only specific occupations associated with these migrants. In March 1554, an injunction to Mary's bishops allowed them to actively seek out and repress 'corrupt and naughtye opinions [and] vnlawfull bookes,'[61] and in October a series of raids were organized against 'people suspected of circulating or possessing imported books.'[62] By December, punishments installed for those who 'devise write printe or set forthe any maner of Booke' encouraging insurrection included the loss of the right hand, as well as the 'revival' of *De haeretico comburendo*.[63]

Incredulous that the threat of being burned alive did not stem the flow of contraband books into the country, Mary issued a proclamation on 13 June that banned twenty-four specific authors.[64] Among them are Tyndale, Calvin and, of the Geneva exiles, Miles Coverdale. 1556 brought heresy commissions that invigorated the active pursuit of these books, but they were still being smuggled 'dayly', and so a final proclamation on 6 June (in what Blayney calls 'an angry outburst') stated that anyone found in posession of 'sayde wycked and seditious bokes [...] shall without delay be executed.'[65] The extremity of these measures taken by the Marian regime against 'seditious' books mirrors the scale of the smuggling operations: Blayney is right to imply that this relentless litigation against the book trade was a response to the mutually relentless influx of contraband heedlessly smuggled into the country. Given this scale, we could safely assume that books produced by the exiles in Geneva were smuggled into England — no market for English books existed elsewhere except among the exiles themselves. But we need not assume: Foxe gives evidence that a Geneva New Testament was in London by 1558. He records it, as Daniell says, 'almost as a matter of course':

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[59] *By the Quene* (London: John Cawood, 1553), STC 9440.8, fol. 1^r.

[60] Blayney, p. 825.

[61] *A copie of a letter wyth articles* (London: John Cawood, 1554), STC 9182, fol. 3^r.

[62] Blayney, p. 826.

[63] Blayney, p. 828.

[64] *By the Kynge and the Quene* (London: John Cawood, 1555), STC 7865; Blayney, p. 828.

[65] Blayney, p. 30.

> In 1558, a priest named William Living was interrogated because he was found to have a scientific book, of astronomy (causing the beadle to blame him, as being a conjurer, for the queen's sickness) and then accused by Bishop Bonner's chancellor of being 'a schismatic and a traitor' because he prayed in English. Living reported that, on his way to the coalhouse and the stocks, he was robbed by an underling 'of my purse, my girdle, and my Psalter, and a New Testament of Geneva'.[66]

A sermon preached at Mary's funeral contains a similarly resonant evocation of these books' reputation. Francis White warned that 'The wolves be coming out of Geneva and other places of Germany [. . .] and hath sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy, and heresy, to infect the people.'[67]

Much has been written on the reception history of these texts; my concern is the reception of their typographic appearance. One of their paratexts gives a rare insight. In this otherwise ideologically charged group of books, the three pirated editions of William Lily's *A short introduction of grammar* seem anomalous. Although these appear as three data points because of their three separate ESTC entries, they would more accurately be considered two (Blayney demonstrates that two are 'not distinct editions but variants differing only in quire d';[68] the third must have been printed after 1560).[69] 'Lily's grammar' had been developing through different states regularly augmented since 1513, but this was the 'definitive form', first appearing from the press of Reyner Wolfe in 1548.[70] As the first Latin grammar royally authorized for use in schools in England, this version became the standard, defining Latin education in the early modern period and beyond.[71] It is therefore a surprisingly pedestrian presence among these radical polemics and landmark Biblical editions. But its newly added preface (anonymous, though presumably by the exiles who produced the edition) contains a piece of evidence that is crucial to our understanding of the entire group of books. In a prefatory note characteristically titled 'The Printer Wisheth the Feare of God to all Ouersears and Instructers of youth', the 'printer' thanks God for the gifts of knowledge and advocates the study of Latin. In describing how the book has been produced, they say that new marginal notes have been added to the text for clarity, under the consultation of those 'vpon whom God hathe bestowed his good gifts of knowledge and long experience in teaching.' This is followed by a comment on the typography of the book: 'As touching the lettre, howe apt it is for this purpose, and what diligent circu[m] spection hathe bene vsed in the printing herof, I hade rather ye shulde your selues trie by co[m] paring it with others than know it by my reporte.'[72]

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[66] Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 289; John Foxe, *Actes and monuments* (London: John Day, 1563), STC 11222, p. 1755. Though Daniell applies this anecdote to the New Testament only, 'of Geneva' may generously be read as modifying 'my Psalter' too. A Psalter of Geneva was published in the same year as the New Testament, also translated (in part) by Whittingham (*The psalmes of Dauid* ([Geneva: M. Blanchier], 1557), STC 2383.6.

[67] As recorded by John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1816), VII, p. 404; see Jane E. A. Dawson, 'John Knox, Christopher Goodman and the "Example of Geneva"', in *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*, ed. by Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 107–137 (p. 113).

[68] ESTC S106921 and S109455; Blayney, p. 821. Blayney promises an account of the 'incident' that led to this book being pirated in a forthcoming sequel.

[69] ESTC S125077; Blayney, p. 821.

[70] 'Lily, William', *ODNB*.

[71] William Lily, *Lily's Grammar of Latin in English: An introduction of the eyght partes of speche and the construction of the same*, ed. by Hedwig Gwosdek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1–2.

This cryptic line demands close consideration, not least for its relevance to the Geneva books as a group, but also for the scarcity of such comments on typography in any sixteenth-century English book. Like those references to typography discussed elsewhere, 'the lettre' refers to the typeface in which the book is set. It is understandable that the author might want to avoid the term 'roman' letter, which risks making counterfactual association with the Roman church. Attention is drawn to this typeface, and the elephant in the room addressed: 'As touching the lettre', which the reader has been staring at for twenty-seven lines, and will be for many pages more. In doing so, the author, much like Joos Lambrecht before him, anticipates a reaction — resistance, surprise, delight? — predicated on the expectation that diverse typefaces accord to distinct purposes: is this typeface 'apt' for an English text? That the question is pre-empted serves as an acknowledgement that something disagreeable, potentially subversive, is going on. This is followed by the author's omission of their 'reporte' on roman type — in fact, a pretence of omission that gives the comment a rhetorical verve. Their endorsement, however, is implicit in its use, and the author is confident that readers will be persuaded of its aptness by its quality in comparison to other typefaces. Most obviously, this applies to the blackletter in which all previous editions of this text had been, and would continue to be, set: Wolfe's near-contemporaneous edition used blackletter in 1558, as do many editions since.[73] This invitation to compare and contrast seems to be one that the author has already undertaken themselves, leading not to a rash decision, but one made with 'diligent circu[m]spection'. The use of roman is therefore implied to be a deliberate choice.

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[72] 'The Printer Wisheth the Feare of God to all Ouersears and Instructers of youth', in William Lily, *A short introduction of grammar generallie to be vsed* ([Geneva: C. Badius, 1557), STC 15611.7, fol. a.i^{v}.

The contrast between this book and its former blackletter editions is a microcosm of the Geneva books' relationship to English print as a whole. If the author of this paratext anticipated the reader's cognitive dissonance for Lily's grammar (why does the English look like Latin?), the roman typography that distinguishes all of these books would have elicited the same reaction — and should still elicit a dissonance in those of us reading and studying them today. The single sentence that recognizes this in the preface to Lily's grammar is a very human expression of what the data recover: these are strange-looking books. By considering the radical content of these books alongside the consequent conditions of their production, their roman English can be read as an index of their ideology, a signature or brand that conspicuously signified the 'wolves' of Geneva in the books they sent before them. This signification can be considered under two qualities that these books share, their location and their format, which are considered in the following two sections. As in Chapter 1, by 'strange' I mean to evoke not only the contemporary sense of 'unusual', but also the early modern sense of 'foreign'. In encountering the smuggled Geneva books, readers would have experienced the uncanny frisson of seeing their vernacular mediated through a foreign idiom. This section argues that, like those from Antwerp, these books' roman typography is a condition of, and therefore an index of, their authors' exile, and that these aesthetics of exile had a distinctively Genevan and cosmopolitan association in line with the character of the Calvinist church.

To understand their typography as a signifier of exile, we must understand the uniquely international milieu of Geneva as a place of asylum and unification. In the words of John Bale,

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[73] William Lily, *A shorte introduction of grammar generally to be vsed* (London: Reyner Wolfe, 1558), STC 15613.3.

> Geneva seemeth to me to be the most wonderful miracle of the whole world: so many from all countries come thither, as it were unto a sanctuary [...] Is it not wonderful that Spaniards, Italians, Scots, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, disagreeing in manners, speech and apparel, sheep and wolves, bulls and bears, being coupled with the only yoke of Christ, should live so lovingly and friendly, and that Monks, Laymen, and Nuns, disagreeing both in life and sect should dwell together, like a spiritual and Christian congregation? Using one order, one cloister, and like ceremonies.[74]

According to some counts, by 1560, nearly half of Geneva's population was made up of refugees from all over Europe.[75] We have already seen that the English congregation cohabited a church with a group of Italian exiles. It was these, and the groups of French and Spanish exiles also in Geneva, who had turned the city into a center of fervent biblical scholarship through their precedent vernacular translations during the 1550s. As Alexander describes, Giovanni Luigi Paschale's Italian New Testament was translated and published there in 1555 and a Spanish version by Juan Ferez followed in 1556.[76] French translations were especially abundant, with 'no less than 22 editions of the whole Bible and 4 of the New Testament' in this decade.[77] The Marian exiles in Geneva were therefore operating in an environment of pan-European vernacular evangelism, and it is from this context that their books emerge.

The consequent affinity between these English books and their non-English counterparts can be witnessed in their textual apparatus. In the 1557 New Testament, the text is divided into verses, each given a number. Alexander attributes this to the influence of Robert Estienne's Greek New Testament, printed in Geneva in 1551, though it was mediated first through other vernaculars.[78] This feature was to become standard in the English Bible, but this is its first appearance, as many have described. It is also often noted that numbered verses made the Geneva Bible and New Testament books to be referenced and studied in a more scholarly, accessible way — 'this is a text not only to be read, but to be studied', writes Francis Higman.[79]

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[74] 'Epistle Dedicatorie' in John Bale, *The Pageant of Popes*, trans. by John Studley ([London: Thomas Marshe], 1574), STC 1304, sigs [d.4]^{v}–*e^{r}; quoted by Alexander, p. 6–7.

[75] Kingdon, p. 232.

[76] Alexander, p. 6.

[77] Alexander, p. 6.

[78] Alexander, p. 68.

[79] Francis Higman, '"Without Great Effort, and with Pleasure": Sixteenth-Century Geneva Bibles and Reading Practices', in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. by Orlaith O'Sullivan (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 115–122 (p. 117).

It is not just the biblical texts of Geneva, though, that employ this strategy: Knox 'admonish[es] the reader' in another preface that he has 'deuided myne answers into certen sections,' assigning them 'the figure of 1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.'[80] Another device that aligns the text to a philological, scholarly approach is the occasional use of italics. The English New Testament and Geneva Bible set in italics those interpolated words not present in the original Greek or Hebrew texts. Their prefaces explain the technique:

> whereas the necessitie of the sentence required any thing to be added (for such is the grace and propritie of the Ebrewe and Greke tongues, [...]) we haue put it in the text with another kynde of lettre, that it may easely be discerned from the common lettre[81]

Like the numbering of verses, this is borrowed from continental practice. Walter F. Specht has identified Sebastian Münster as the originator of this technique, whose Latin translation of the Old Testament (1534–1535) set in roman (among blackletter) those words added to make the text more fluent. It was Theodore Beza's Latin New Testament, printed in Geneva in 1556, that brought Münster's technique to Geneva.[82] Other apparatus shared with precedent vernacular bibles abound, including the types of paratexts, e.g. tables for 'the interpretation of the proper names' of the Old Testament, and the marginal notes for which the Geneva Bible is famous. If there was any doubt that these features exist in a multilingual scholarly environment, Whittingham cites the sources of his translation in the preface to the New Testament. The text is 'diligently reuised by the moste approued Greke examples, and conference of translations in other tonges'.[83] The Geneva Bible also proclaims itself as a product of this supranational synergy, stating on its title-page that it is 'translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers langages.'

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[80] John Knox, *An answer to a great nomber of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1560), STC 15060, sig. A.i.^{v}.

[81] Sig. ⁂iiii.^{v}. Similarly, the 1557 New Testament has 'And because the Hebrewe and Greke phrases, which are strange to rendre in other tongues, and also short, shulde not be so harde, I haue [...] put to that worde, which lacking made the sentence obscure, but haue set it in such letters as may easely be discerned from the commun text.' *The Newe Testament*, trans. by William Whittingham (Geneva: Conrad Badius, 1557), STC 2871, sig. **.ii.^{v}. The Psalm book of 1559 has 'therfore we haue put those wordes that are not in the Ebrewe, in an other kinde of lettre, because we wolde reserue to the tongue the due reuere[n]ce therof.' *The boke of Psalmes* (Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1559), STC 2384, sig. [Bb.vii]^{v}.

[82] Walter F. Specht, 'The Use of Italics in English Versions of the New Testament', *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, 6 (1968), 88–109 (p. 91).

[83] Sig. **.ii.^{v}.

These coexisting features are evidence for a shared textual culture; they are not, therefore, entirely dependent on a shared location, but are certainly cultivated by one. Those features which are absolutely contingent on their location are the typographical ones: not only did the exiles share churches, they shared presses too. Stanley Morison, in his typographical description of the Geneva Bible, somewhat misleadingly talks of 'Whittingham's choice of type'.[84] My reading of Lily's grammar above has sided with Morison by taking the printer's claim of 'diligent circumspection' at face value — that their typography represents a decision. In fact, all evidence points towards this decision being made for them by circumstance: it seems there was no blackletter in Geneva. A catalogue compiled of books printed in Geneva between the years 1550 and 1600 lists only three books 'en caractères gothiques' from 1550 to 1560.[85] One of these entries expresses doubt as to a Genevan provenance due to its blackletter ('C'est peu probable étant donné que cet ouvrage est pesque entièrement impr. en caractères gothiques').[86] All three have since been supplied places of publication in the ESTC which are not Geneva.[87]

Of the seven individual printers who produced the group of English books, the only one without a back catalogue of bibles, Calvinist sermons, psalms and tracts printed in Latin, French, and Italian is the English Rowland Hall.[88] Many of these refugee printers who transformed Geneva from a 'provincial backwater supporting only three printers of substance'[89] to a prodigious source of Calvinist and vernacular books had had long careers as 'scholar-printers' of humanist texts. Alexander counts Robert Estienne, Jean Girard, Nicholas Barbier, Thomas Courteau and Jean Rivery in this category, as well as the printers used by the English congregation, Jean Crespin and Conrad Badius.[90] Alexander identifies in their books a 'style worthy of the high standards set by the tradition of humanist scholar-printers',[91] and it seems that this was achieved using brand new equipment designed especially for the job: Vervliet identifies 'more than a dozen new typefaces, coherently and brilliantly designed,' that appear in Genevan books from 1552',[92] in fonts used by the printers with whom the English exiles collaborated.

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[84] Stanley Morison, *The Geneva Bible* (London: London School of Printing and Graphic Arts, 1955), p. 5.

[85] Paul Chaix, Alain Dufour and Gustave Moecklie, *Les Livres Imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600* (Genève: Librarie Droz, 1966), pp. 27, 29, 30.

[86] Chaix, Dufour, and Moeckli, p. 27.

[87] S115973 (Emden), S106838 (Wesel?), S2300 (Emden).

[88] For an overview, see the index to Chaix, Dufour, and Moeckli.

[89] Elizabeth M. Ingram, 'Maps as Readers' Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles', *Imago Mundi*, 45 (1993), 29–44 (p. 29).

[90] Alexander, p. 8.

In presenting their circumstances as limited, I do not intend to suggest that the Marian exiles lacked typographical agency, as if they begrudgingly played the hand that was dealt. Chapter 1 showed that readings of typography have sometimes depended on the principle that if a printer can be shown to have a variety of fonts, the appearance of their books must have been an active choice. But its opposite is not true: a lack of variety does not mean that they would have chosen differently, if they could have; Whittingham, Hall, and Knox would not necessarily have used blackletter, if they could have. In this case, the roman typography of the exiles' books aided the projection of their identity not only as exiles, but as members of 'a brotherhood in a faith which transcended national boundaries', as Justine Walden describes them.[93]

Exile was a consciously cultivated component of the identity of the English Protestants in Geneva, projected via their book design; the title-page of the crowning glory of their endeavours, the Geneva Bible, demonstrates this. Its printer chose to add a woodcut depicting the Israelites, pursued by the Egyptians, gathered on the coast of the Red Sea (the scene from Exodus 14). The woodcut first appears on this book, and its carved English text suggests that it was commissioned especially for it. The typological association between the Israelites and the Marian exiles was one frequently drawn in Knox's sermons,[94] and the comparison was maintained through Protestant depictions of England as an Egypt from which to be fled (*A brief discrouse* tells of a sermon preached in Buckinghamshire: '/ yff thow wylte obstinately returne into Egipte [...] then assuredly (O England) thow shalt be plaged and brought to desolation'[95]). The image, labelled in woodcut roman capitals, shows the 'EGYPTIANS' in the foreground, the 'ISRAELITES' in the middle-ground, and 'THE RED SEA' in the background. The viewer looks out over this sequence from their perspective in 'Egypt', gazing across the Red Sea to the horizon and a possible hint of land on the other side. When viewed by its target audience, people in England, the ground on which they stand is thereby implicated in the image, cast as a modern day Egypt, and the English Channel as the Red Sea, beyond which salvation lies — salvation which is not only abroad, but also perspectivally 'into' the book itself. Though the crossing of the sea made for a compelling equation between the English congregation and the Israelites, the spirit of exile was common to all religious communities coming to Geneva — as Alastair Duke points out, 'the experience of exile confirmed the Reformed character of the *émigrés*. Few of the dissidents would ever have encountered confessional Calvinism before they left their native cities.'[96]

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[91] Alexander, p. 8.

[92] Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 245.

[93] Walden, p. 210.

[94] See Dawson, *John Knox*, pp. 101, 126–127.

While the depiction of Exodus 14 is exile illustrated, symbolic means were also used to convey this, dependent on the letterforms of roman type. Two of these books, the catechism and *The forme of prayers*, bear a device used by the exiled French printer Jean Crespin. It depicts a large roman capital Y, surrounded by the text 'INTRATE PER ARCTAM VIAM' — 'enter through the narrow way' (Figure 2.3). On the title-page of the latter book, a quotation from the gospel of Matthew is set in type: 'The way to life is streicte [i.e. strait, narrow] and fewe finde it'. The Christian notion that the path of true Christianity is arduous and rare is visually expressed in the design of the Y: when written with a flat brush or a broad nib pen held at an angle, the left arm (the 'way') is much wider than the right (a difference exaggerated on this device to make the message clear). A different design of the same visual metaphor appears again in the 1558 *How superior powers oght to be obeyd*. The connection between this design and the Marian exiles in Geneva is clear: having not only left their home and set out on a path, this path split at Frankfurt, where a minority took the 'streicte' way, finally finding Geneva. For this to be expressed so straightforwardly relies on the design of the roman typeface — though the right arm of the blackletter y used in most English books is narrow where it meets the tail, the two

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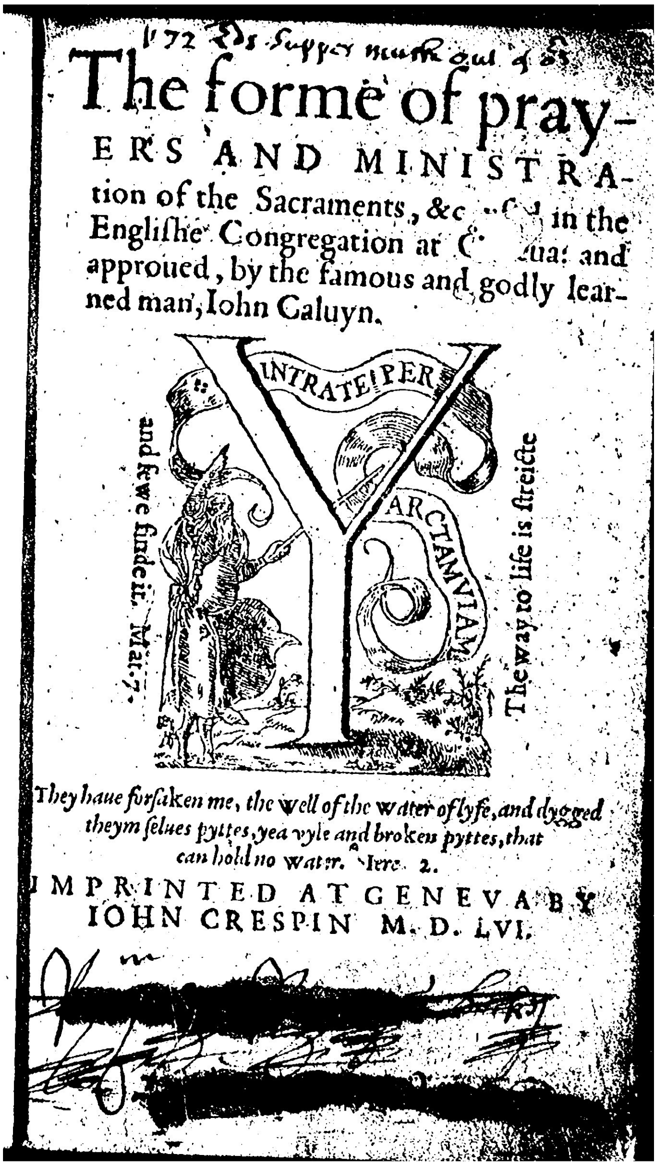
[95] *A brieff discours*, p. XLIII.

[96] Alastair Duke, 'Perspectives on International Calvinism', in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge Univerity Press, 1994), pp. 1–21 (p. 5).



172 [illegible] Supper [illegible]

The forme of pray-
ERS AND MINISTRA-
tion of the Sacraments, &c. [illegible] in the
Englishe Congregation at G[illegible]ua; and
approued, by the famous and godly lear-
ned man, Iohn Caluyn.

INTRATE PER
ARCTAM VIAM

and fewe fynde it. Mat. 7.

The way to life is streicte

They haue forsaken me, the well of the water of lyfe, and dygged
theym selues pyttes, yea vyle and broken pyttes, that
can hold no water. Iere. 2.

IMPRINTED AT GENEVA BY
IOHN CRESPIN M. D. LVI.

FIGURE 2.3
The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments (Geneva: Jean Crespin, [1556]), STC 16561, sig. [A.i.]^r (EEBO).

minims are the same width at their tops. Here, then, roman is interpreted and presented as a signifier of exile.

While the performance of exile in these images looks out towards a vaguely imagined elsewhere ('Europe', or 'not England', or the 'narrow path'), these books also present their provenance with specificity: they are explicitly from Geneva, to England. This was a curated provenance that sought to proclaim the English congregation's allegiance to a larger, international, church — the one which inspired Bale's opinion of Geneva as 'the most wonderful miracle of the whole world', in which people of all nations 'disagreeing in [...]

speech' dwell together 'like a spiritual and Christian congregation.' A survey of the colophons of any English book printed abroad in this decade confirms this — the only ones which cite an accurate location are those printed in Geneva. Those not printed in Geneva either give a false imprint, or none at all. The books' provenance and unusual typography is thereby not only correlated in the data, but explicitly correlated on their title-pages. As Blayney notes, the appearance of their printers' names on these books implies that the printers and authors 'evidently considered themselves out of range of Mary and her husband'.[97] Their names, however, are accompanied with their location, and they thereby assert their association with Geneva as a facet of the authors' and texts' collective identity. With this contrast between specified and unspecified provenance, Francis White's ominous prognostication of the 'wolves' of Geneva acquires extra significance: 'The wolves be coming out of Geneva' but only the vague '*other places* of Germany' because those 'other places' were never named in the books they sent before them, unlike Geneva. Any sense of pride in the city that we can read into these colophons is reinforced by the preface of the New Testament, which describes the 'learning & iudgeme[n]t, which so abundeth in this Citie of Geneua, that iustely it may be called the patron and mirrour of true religion and godlynes.'[98] These books specifically *from* Geneva are likewise *to* England, projecting a distance between the two locations: most begin with a letter 'To our bretherne in Englande'.

In her study appropriately titled 'Global Calvinism', Justine Walden examines the five maps contained in the Geneva Bible, setting them in the context of contemporaneous cosmography and cartography. She argues that the newly added maps (a product of Geneva) assert cosmopolitanism, give the Genevan Calvinists historical legitimacy, and mirror the 'new Protestant imperative of displaying one's religious convictions outwardly.'[99] Her study thereby offers a strong foundation on which to conclude the geographical interpretation of these books' unusual roman typography. Our understanding of the English congregation's commitment to an outward looking, international Calvinism is inextricable from the troubles at Frankfurt that led them towards Geneva. As Walden narrates, using the evidence found in

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[97] Blayney, p. 821.

[98] Sig. **.ii.^{r}.

[99] Walden, p. 193.

A brieff discours, during the dispute over the Book of Common Prayer,

> Cox insisted that worship revert to those forms used in the Edwardian prayer book, for 'they would do as they had donne in Englande, and that they would have the face off an English churche.' The Whittingham group retorted that Cox and his affiliates were 'too precise in enforcing the English ceremonies, and unreasonably partial to our own country'[100]

As seen above, Whittingham and his followers were accused by Cox of betraying and disgracing their native country.[101] In a letter to Cox regarding the matter, Calvin suggested that he was 'more geven and addicte to your countrie then reason woulde.'[102] Walden's depiction of the Geneva arm of the Marian exiles' prioritization of church over nation is consistent with the position of the early Calvinist church as a whole, as explored in the volume *International Calvinism*, which demonstrates that Calvinism was 'marked by a sense of international solidarity.'[103] The tendency towards cosmopolitanism observed in the Calvinist church has led some historians to refer to a 'Calvinist international.'[104] Calvin himself had developed this principle in his *Institutes*, in which he describes the church as the 'whole multitude of men spread over the earth who profess to worship one God and Christ.'[105]

Walden ultimately argues that the maps of the Geneva Bible 'unapologetically asserted a transcendent loyalty to an international Protestantism and universal brotherhood of all men'.[106] The typography of these books asserts the same thing: just as their Protestantism 'transcended national boundaries', so do they transcend national typefaces. If this was implicit in their statistically anomalous appearance, another prefatory reference to typography makes it explicit. As discussed above, three of these books adopt the textual apparatus of setting interpolated words in italics, and instruct the reader how to interpret these in their prefaces. This function relies on differential typographical meaning — the italics serve only to distinguish the words from the surrounding roman type, so it can 'easely be discerned'. But in telling the reader what the italics differentiate *from*, the Geneva Bible uses the determiner 'common': 'the common lettre'. Studies of the Geneva Bible have usually ignored this significant phrase, or, tacitly, read it as referring to the typeface in which the majority of the book is set. Certainly it does refer to this — roman is the 'common letter' of the Geneva Bible, the letter 'Of general application', as the *OED* defines it (sense I.4.), or 'of frequent occurrence' (sense II.10.a.).[107] But 'common' also has, and had, a more sociological sense: something that is shared by many, 'belonging to all mankind alike', 'of or belonging to the community at large'.[108] We can read it, then, as referring to roman as a universal standard to which all languages in Geneva accord — the standard to which books in Latin, French, Italian, and many other European languages had since adopted, leaving other English books with an appearance that deviated from this standard. The context in which the word is used supports such a reading: 'common' is a term used frequently by the English congregation in Geneva to mean something that is shared by the wider community — Whittington's translation of Acts 4:32 is illustrative, both of its meaning, and the unifying purpose it serves: 'And the multitude of them that believed, were of one heart, and of one soul: neither any of them said, that anything of that which he possessed, was his own, but they had all things common.' We might also compare the contexts of liturgical unification in which the word appears: the 'Book of Common Prayer', which had the opposite effect on those exiles in Frankfurt, and 'The forme of common praiers vsed in the churches of Geneua', an early English version of the prayers and catechisms of Calvin's church.[109] It must be noted that this reading is annulled in subsequent editions of the Geneva Bible. Though many set the text in blackletter, both roman and blackletter editions alike retain 'the common letter' in their prefaces.[110] It is therefore a reading that is tethered to its historical moment, applicable only to these English books that eschewed convention by sharing their appearance with Latin, French, Italian and Spanish books as a constituent of a supranational movement. In reference to the content of the prayerbooks and tracts produced by the Marian exiles, Dawson writes that 'rather than maintaining a distinctive Englishness,' the congregation of exiles in Geneva 'preferred to demonstrate solidarity with the Reformed communities of Europe'[111] — this, then, is also expressed visually in the appearance of English in the roman 'common letter' instead of the idiomatically English blackletter. The typeface thereby manifests Knox's response to Cox's accusation that they would have the face of an English church: 'The Lord grant it to have the face of Christ's church.'[112]

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[100] Walden, p. 209.

[101] Walden, p. 209; Danner, p. 22.

[102] *A brieff discourse*, p. LII.

[103] Menna Prestwich, 'Introduction', in *International Calvinism*, ed. by Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 1–15 (p. 5).

[104] E.g. Duke, p. 2.

[105] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. by John T. McNeill, trans. by Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 4.1.7.

[106] Walden, p. 210.

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[107] 'common, adj. and adv.' *OED*.

[108] 'common, adj. and adv.', senses I.1.b, I.5.a, *OED*.

[109] *The forme of common praiers vsed in the churches of Geneua* (London: Edward Whitchurche, 1550), STC 16560.

[110] For instance, *The Bible* (London: Christopher Barker, 1584), STC 2136.5.

3. Size

3.1 The size of contraband

William Living's report of his arrest tells us of more than just the presence of the Genevan books in London soon after their publication. On his way to the stocks, Living recalls that he was robbed of 'my purse, my girdle, and my Psalter, and a New Testament of Geneva.' The picture painted emphasizes the portability of these banned books — small enough to have about your person alongside your purse — but also implicitly connects this format to the heterodoxy for which Living was on his way to the stocks. Scholars have conventionally developed the fact of the Geneva New Testament's size into two qualities: its ability to be smuggled, and its use as a personal, rather than institutional, book.[113]

The first of these attributions is self-evident: smaller things are easier to conceal, and are more portable. Blayney finds that of eighty-three books illegally imported during Mary's reign, 'more than three-quarters are in octavo and the rest in sixteens — as one might expect, small books being easiest to hide.'[114] There seems to be some uncertainty over the exact methods of smuggling these books, perhaps unsurprisingly, given its covert nature. Aaron Pratt and John N. King say that 'prohibited books of this size [octavos and sixteenmos] lent themselves to smuggling in the form of unbound sheets concealed in barrels, among unbound sheets of permissible books, and other secret places.'[115] It is not clear whether Pratt and King mean to imply that the 'unbound sheets' are here folded into their final form — if not, the advantages to smuggling, say, octavos over folios is called into question, as unbound, unfolded folio sheets and unbound, unfolded octavo sheets are the same size, if printed from the same paper stock. Anecdotally, at least, the books' small sizes aided the evangelism of their content. To Foxe's account of William Living we can add a story of the reception of Genevan protestant books in the French city of Laon, which Vervliet translates from Higman's description. Higman says that people came 'secretly' into Laon from Geneva, 'bearing numerous booklets, very well bound and arranged and printed in handsome letters':

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[111] Dawson, p 93.

[112] John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. by David Laing, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Society, 1846–1864), IV (1855), p. 42.

[113] For example, Femke Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies: The Making of the English Geneva Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, ed. by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 38–53 (p. 41).

[114] Blayney, p. 820.

> These men secretly threw these books at night through windows into basements and cellars, so that a short time afterwards a good number of inhabitants who were curious and drawn to novelty, gave up the Catholic religion of Rome and took the new one, called at the time Lutheran, and this came about as a result of these little booklets.

These booklets were typically Genevan and Calvinist, containing 'the Psalms of David in French and in verse, […] instructions and other things made and composed by the ministers in Geneva.'[116] Whether or not we are to believe the story, it conveys the books' size (small enough for ballistic accuracy) and cost (cheap enough to distribute without charge). That cost has some bearing on access to and evangelism of English books is borne out in the Dean of Wells Cathedral, William Turner's letter to Foxe criticizing the huge size, and therefore expense, of *Actes and Monuments*: 'Printers generally prefer their books to be big for the sake of the big profit that they can make from them, rather than small and easily available to the small and wretched flock of Christ.'[117] Generally speaking, larger religious books seem to have been targeted at institutional markets. With the Bishops' and King James versions as his examples Green shows that more folios were produced than smaller formats, 'presumably on the assumption that most copies would be sold to cathedrals, parish churches, and collegiate institutions that would want and could afford the larger size.'[118] Contrasting the size of the Geneva Bible, which continued to be printed in smaller formats even after its production in England began, Green connects small size to private use: 'since this version was not supposed to be used for readings in church, the smaller size suggests that these small folios, like the ubiquitous Geneva quartos, were aimed at the private readers or perhaps colleges and schools'[119] — a qualitative interpretation of format that is shared by Molekamp, among others.[120]

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[115] Aaron Pratt and John N. King. 'Bibles as Books: The Materiality of English Printed Bibles from the Tyndale New Testament to the King James Bible', in *The King James Bible after 400 Years: Literary, Linguistic & Cultural Influences*, ed. by Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 61–99 (p. 64).

[116] Vervliet, *Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, p. 246; Francis Higman, 'Le Levain de l'Evangile', in *Histoire de l'Edition Française,* ed. by Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1983), I, pp. 305–326 (p. 321).

[117] Quoted by Elizabeth Eisenstein, *Devine Art, Infernal Machine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 40.

The connections between small size and both contraband and personal reading drawn above are here taken as a given; the question explored by this section is whether the unusual roman type of these books can be seen as a function of size (and thereby both contraband and personal reading) in the same way that it can be read as an index of their provenance (and therefore their heterodoxy). In other words: are small dimensions a component of the aesthetics of roman typography?

3.2 Size data

The database of typographic profiles can be combined with the ESTC's 'physical description' field to test correlations between size and typeface. Format is a variable that bibliographers are often and rightly admonished not to equate with size.[121] This warning holds true for discussions of single books, where only a combination of the calculated original paper size and the format would lead to a decent approximation of the book's original size before any later trimming as part of binding or conservation processes. However, when discussing books in groups, format is not only a reliable indicator of *relative* size (folios will almost always be bigger than quartos,

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[118] Green, p. 59.

[119] Green, p. 59–60.

[120] Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 18. For further accounts linking format 'to classes of readers', see Joseph A. Dane and Alexandra Gillespie, 'The Myth of the Cheap Quarto', in *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*, ed. by John N. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 25–45 (pp. 25–29).

[121] Sarah Werner, for instance, writes 'it is tempting, but incorrect, to think of format as referring to size.' *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450–1800* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), p. 42.

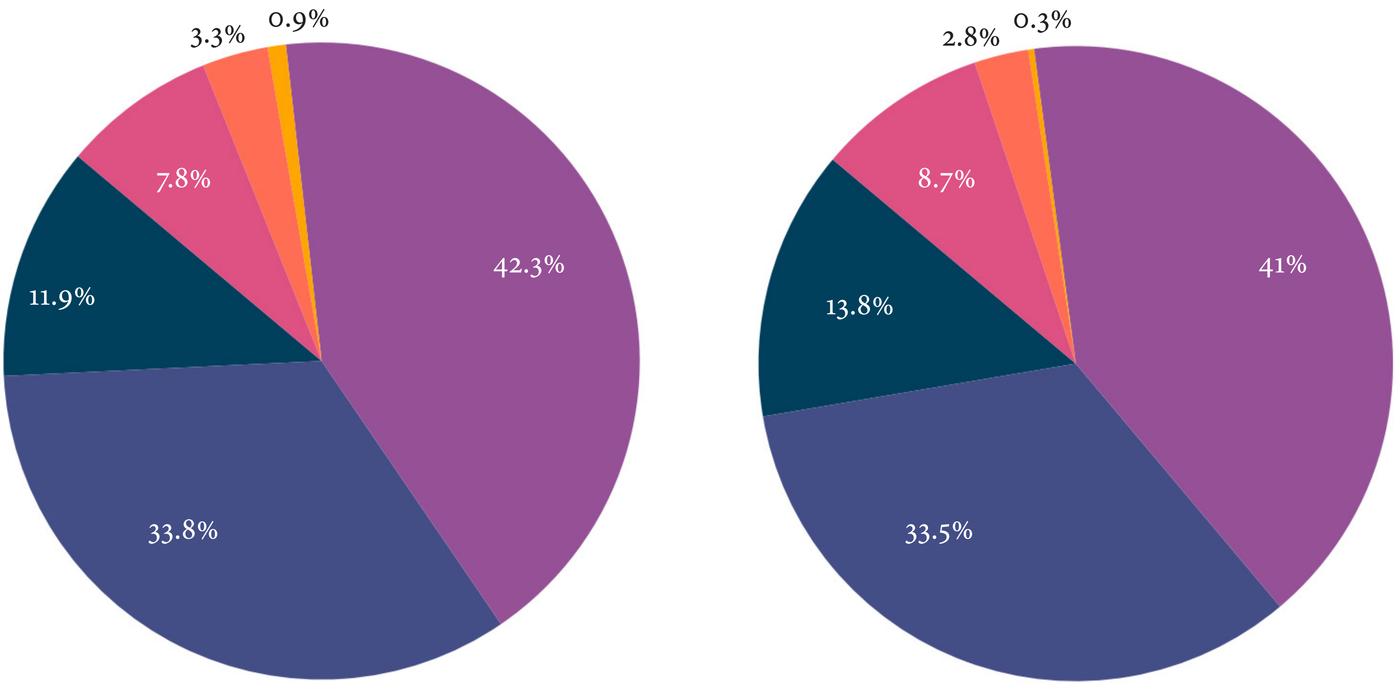
quartos than octavos, for instance), but the only means available of quantifying size as data, original size not generally being something catalogued in edition catalogues, and specifically not recorded in the ESTC. For the Genevan books, the connection between type and format could be answered by simply noting their coincidence: all of these unusual roman books are octavos or sixteenmos, with the exception of the 1560 Bible, printed after the period of exile (a quarto). All of Tyndale's books printed in Antwerp are octavos. But is this specific coincidence reinforced by a more general connection between roman type and smaller formats, or blackletter and larger formats?

Each ESTC record has a 'physical description' section that (usually) gives the format, as well as the number of leaves. This has been combined with the typographic data, and simplified into five categories: sixteenmos, duodecimos, octavos, quartos, folios, and sheets. The last of these applies to any 'book' recorded in the ESTC which consists of a single sheet (broadsheets, for instance), though this is not necessarily a reliable indicator of the sheet's dimensions as it also includes those occasional single-sheet items that are halves or quarters of the sheet — those recorded in the ESTC as '1/2°' or '1/4°' (such as some proclamations).

Figure 2.4 shows four pie charts, the first (2.4.1) showing the proportions of formats for all books in the corpus — our control group. It shows that, between 1509 and 1592, the most common format was octavo, followed by quarto, folio, sheets, sixteenmos, and duodecimos. Any correlation between typeface and format is seen in the difference between this chart and those that follow, which show proportions of formats for books containing blackletter, roman, and italic *text*. 2.4.2 shows that blackletter books deviate only slightly from these proportions, with a maximum difference of 1.9% (13.8% of blackletter books are folios, whereas 11.9% of all books are folios).

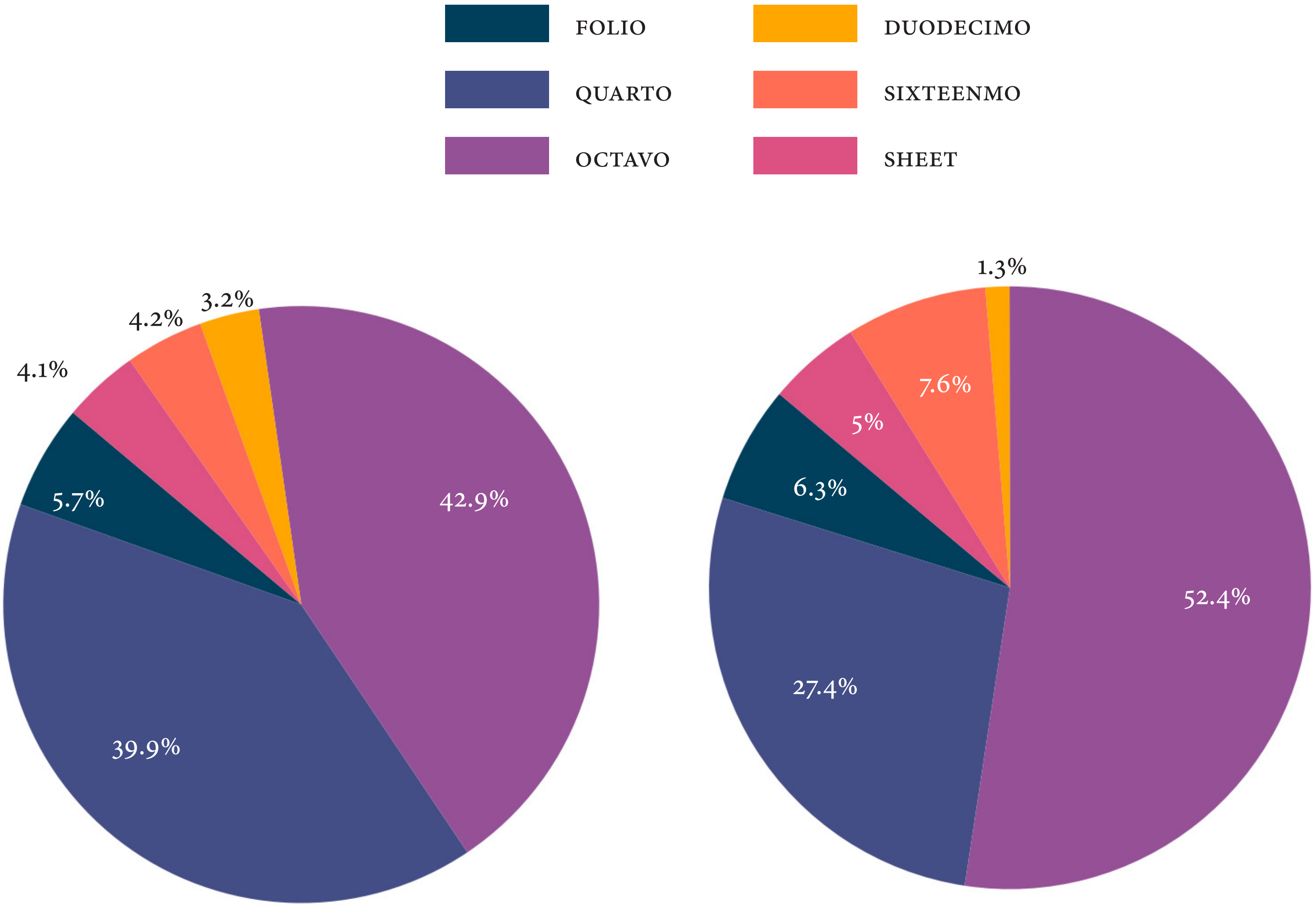
2.4.3 shows that a lower proportion of roman books were folios than the overall proportions: only 5.7% of roman books were folios. Conversely, there were more roman quartos: a rise in around 5% on the proportion of quartos in all books, and blackletter books. The proportion of octavos remains similar across the three charts so far. The most significant difference

FIGURE 2.4
Format of books by typeface, 1509–1592



2.4.1 All books

2.4.2 Blackletter



2.4.3 Roman

2.4.4 Italic

here is in the smallest formats, duodecimos and sixteenmos. While only 0.9% of all books were duodecimos, 3.2% of roman books were in this format; while 2.8% of blackletter books were sixteenmos, 4.2% of roman books were in this format. So, blackletter books are more likely than roman books to be in the largest format, folio; roman books are more likely than blackletter books to be in the smallest formats.

2.4.4 shows the same for italic. Here, the differences are starker. The majority of italic books are octavos — a majority not present in either blackletter or roman books. While italic folios have a very slightly higher proportion than roman folios, both are much less than blackletter folios. Italic books are less likely to be quartos than both blackletter and roman books. The most significant difference here is the increased proportion of sixteenmos, at 7.6% compared to their 3.3% share of all books, and their 2.8% share of blackletter books. In other words, italic books are more likely to be octavos than roman and blackletter books, less likely to be quarto books, and much more likely to be sixteenmos than blackletter books.

To summarize, these charts show that roman and italic books are more likely to be in the smallest formats — sixteenmo, duodecimo, and octavo — than blackletter, and blackletter books are more likely to be in the largest format than roman and italic. The most significant differences from the control group are the higher proportion of italic sixteenmos, and the lower proportions of roman and italic folios. But nowhere are these differences extreme. Though the variation they show across typefaces is not overwhelming, it does show that roman and italic books are, generally speaking, smaller than blackletter books.

3.3 Compressing the text?

Size has often been connected to typography by hypothesizing the relative economy of different typefaces: can more roman text be fitted into the same space as blackletter text, or vice versa? The question has long been a point of contention for bibliographers, as shown by Joseph Dane, who draws the conclusion that roman is not more economical than blackletter. Dane's investigation is prompted by the return to blackletter by Italian humanist printers of the fifteenth century. According to Dane, the fact of this reversion stands at odds with the conventional narrative that connects an ascension of roman type with the 'myth' of the 'Rise of Humanism' — an apparently troubling paradox for historians of print. One such historian, Horatio Brown, attempted to account for the presumed regression by attributing Nicolas Jenson's later use of blackletter to economic pressure from customers desiring cheaper books. Brown writes that 'there certainly was a large economy in space, and therefore in cost, secured by the use of Gothic type.'[122] To support the claim, Brown cites an earlier study by Giacomo Sardini, who claims to have calculated that one of Jenson's books would have run to over twice the length if printed in 'the equivalent Roman character.' Sardini gives a description of blackletter via its more condensed characteristics:

> Each [blackletter character] has minute and distinct parts, and many abbreviations. If you have special regard for the smallness of the letter, and the thickness of them, which because of the abbreviations themselves shorten the material not a little, thus it becomes possible to compress in a small volume that which, in roman character, would require a much greater one.[123]

Sardini's description, translated by Dane, is somewhat difficult to parse. Though it's obvious how a broader selection of abbreviations could compress a text, the condensing function of its 'distinct parts' and its thickness is unclear: is this only a comment on the available character set of a blackletter font, or also something inherent to the typeface's design? Opacity aside, Dane anecdotally presents this perception of blackletter as received — he knows of 'no bibliographers who have flat-out denied this notion' that blackletter takes up less space, 'and many who have referred to it vaguely enough to suggest that it is considered common knowledge.'[124] Nonetheless, there are still those who assert the direct opposite: Green, for instance, approaches 'flat-out denial' by suggesting that the continued production of Geneva bibles in roman type after their initial printing was 'perhaps because roman type takes up less space on the page than blackletter and so required fewer sheets and so less expense in production.'[125]

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[122] Quoted by Joseph A. Dane, *Out of Sorts: On Typography and Print Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 57.

[123] Translated by Dane, p. 61.

[124] Dane, p. 61.

[125] Green, p. 60.

With characteristic scepticism, Dane attempts to reproduce Sardini's experiment and interrogate the received view with something approaching empiricism. Using Microsoft Word, Dane reproduces a page from Jenson's *Mammotrectus,* changing the font from the blackletter of the original to see if the newly typeset text takes up more or less space than the original's 38 lines. The first experiment, using the font Courier, gives a text of 62 lines, reduced to 56 with some 'very amateurish typesetting': he concludes that 'to set Jenson's *Mammotrectus* in a comparable Courier thus would require at least 50 percent more space.'[126] The second experiment does the same thing with Times New Roman, which filled 39 lines in comparison to Jenson's 38. Dane gives his 'simple' conclusion in unequivocal terms: 'gothic type is not more economical than roman type. Period. Those who claim otherwise are mistaken; either they are citing the wrong authorities, or perhaps they have performed a different kind of experiment.'[127]

The flaw of Dane's experiment is not that it is, as he professes, 'idiotically simple', but that it is typographically naive enough to invalidate its attempt to have the final word. The fonts Dane selects are inappropriate for his experiment. Generally speaking, most fonts are 'proportional': different letters have different widths, and so the letters like i and l are much thinner than w and m, for instance. Some fonts, however, are not proportional, but monospaced (or fixed-width): each character occupies the same amount of space, and those thin characters such as i and l are broadened and surrounded by more white space to equal the width of the widest characters. Courier is a monospaced font, designed as such to imitate the appearance of typewriter characters, whose proximity is determined not by their own width, but by the regular movement of the typewriter's carriage. Dane does not explain his choice of Courier. In switching to Times New Roman, his only qualification is that he 'generally print[s his] own papers' in it, and acknowledges that it is 'a somewhat more compressed font.'[128] Here, though, we have the opposite problem: Times New Roman was explicitly designed to be condensed, intended for the narrow columns of newspapers.[129]

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[126] Dane, p. 63.

[127] Dane, p. 63.

[128] Dane, p. 63.

[129] Nicolas Barker, *Stanley Morison* (London: Macmillan, 1972), p. 291.

> Take, for instance, this sentence, which is set twice, once in Times New Roman, and again in Palatino, a typeface more closely modelled on sixteenth-century roman type.

> Take, for instance, this sentence, which is set twice, once in Times New Roman, and again in Palatino, a typeface more closely modelled on sixteenth-century roman type.

But even if Dane had selected more historically comparable fonts, the results would still be untenable. Any digital font has been kerned by its designer: glyphs are programmed to adjust their spacing on a microscopic level depending on their context. The space either side of the letter r in the word 'microscopic', where the o undercuts the terminal of the r, for instance, is not the same as its spacing in the word 'Bridge'.[130] Students of bibliography are taught to bear in mind the physical behaviour of type as a 3D object — the necessity of tight tessellation and the impossibility of superimposed forms — to prevent conclusions borne out of applying the behaviour of digital typography to print typography.[131] Here, the error occurs in reverse, and the nuances of type as software are neglected to draw conclusions about print. Given this range of problems, we cannot rely on Dane's conclusion. Granted, Dane couches his chapter in qualifications: this section is subtitled 'A Less Exact Experiment',[132] and he says that it is 'hardly what could legitimately be called "a most diligent calculation"'.[133] But the misleading absoluteness of his concluding remarks voids any deprecation: 'gothic type is not more economical than roman type. Period.' Readers may have a disorienting suspicion that this blunt facticity is invoked jokingly, followed as it is by 'those who claim otherwise are mistaken; either they are citing the wrong authorities, or perhaps they have performed a different kind of experiment.' If this is irony or sarcasm, its place within Dane's oeuvre of otherwise good-faith bibliographical myth-busting is misleading, and does a disservice to his commitment to setting records straight; if his confidence is sincere, its wrongness is all the more misleading for it.

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[130] Robert Bringhurst, *The Elements of Typographic Style* (Vancouver: Hartley & Marks, 2005), pp. 203–206.

[131] Most famously, 'type is something that you can pick up and hold in your hand.' (Carter, p. 5).

[132] Dane, p. 62.

[133] Dane p. 63.

3.4 Roman and Thomas Norton's shrinking *Institutions*

The sample of work given so far shows an enduringly polarized conversation: we have Brown and Sardini saying that blackletter is more economical; Dane arguing from compromised evidence that it is not (but that bibliographers tend to believe it is); and Green saying that roman, not blackletter, is. Whether or not this question is answerable, a sequence of editions of a text connected to the Geneva books provides evidence that their contemporary readers and writers were sensitive to typography's compressive function, and at least one of them prescribed to the view that roman is more economical, supporting its association with smaller books evident from the data.

In the preface to his second edition of his translation of Calvin's *Institution of Christian religion,* printed in 1562, Thomas Norton reflects on his first edition, printed the year before, and the arduous undertaking of translation. Noting the complexity and density of Calvin's style, Norton lauds his ability to 'packe great plenty of mater in small roome of wordes.'[134] Compared to the lexical and grammatical density of Latin, and especially Calvin's Latin, Norton depicts his own English as baggy and insufficient. He faced a dilemma: follow the Latin as closely as possible in English, or offer a more liberal translation. The first method leads to a bloated and difficult text: 'If I should folow the wordes, I saw that of necessitie the hardnesse in the translation must nedes be greater than was in the tong wherein it was originally written.' But the second is more critically injurious to Calvin's words, leading to not only textual, but theological, oversight: Norton 'playnly perceiued how hardly [he] might escape error' if he paraphrased, 'and on [that] other syde in thys matter of fayth and religion, how perilous it was to erre.' Settling on the first option, Norton envisions a possible solution to an engorged English text:

> In the end, I rested vpon this determination, to folow the wordes so nere as the phrase of the English tong would suffer me. Which purpose I so performed, that if the English booke were printed in such paper and letter as the Latine is, it shuld not excede the Latyn in quantity.

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[134] Jean Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion,* trans. by Thomas Norton (London: Richard Harrison, 1562), STC 4416, sig. a.i.^{v}.

By subverting the linguistic convention illustrated in Chapter 1, by printing English *text* in roman, Norton planned to condense the text, counterbalancing the linguistic inefficiencies of the English language. For Norton, at least, roman is more economical. But Norton's plan didn't immediately materialize, and this book in which he first lays it out is printed entirely in blackletter — a hefty folio of 538 leaves (an increase on the first edition's 522 leaves, in part caused, ironically, by the preface itself). The discrepancy between the plan and the reality is not explained in Norton's preface, leaving us to speculate. Was the linguistic convention still so ineluctable (recall the Genevan preface to Lily's *grammar* that anticipated his reader's dissonance four years earlier) that the idea was dismissed? Was it attempted, and found, like Dane's experiment, not in fact to condense the text? Norton's equation between roman's visual density and Latin's lexical density does, after all, seem an oversimplification. In the absence of answers, the paratext becomes another example of those unrealized typographical intentions discussed in Chapter 1.

However, 12 years later, a solution was found. The third edition of Norton's *Institutions*, now printed by Joan Wolfe, shrunk from a folio to a quarto of 590 leaves despite containing the same text. The main text is in a blackletter, but of a smaller size. The newly augmented preface, now printed in roman, adds insight into the economic and social consequences of this more compact form:

> that the volume being smaller, with a letter fayre and legible, it is of more easie price, that it may be of more common vse, and so to more large communicating of so great a treasure to those that desire Christian knowledge for instruction of their faith, & guiding of their duties.[135]

Norton's description of this sequence, therefore, accords with our modern associations of early modern format: smaller books are cheaper, more user-friendly, and facilitate the transmission of texts — a feature especially valuable to the Protestant cause. A fourth edition completes the sequence, finally realizing the plan of Norton's original preface, possibly facilitated by a change in printer occasioned by the death of Joan Wolfe in 1574. In 1578 the text appears, at last, in roman throughout; it is a long book at 760 leaves, but, crucially, an octavo. The parts of Norton's preface extracted above are left in, and so the 'letter fayre and legible', written to describe a smaller blackletter font, now describes a roman one. Norton also adds more: 'And noue at this last publishinge, my friendes by whose charge it is nowe newely imprinted in a Romaine letter and smaller volume' — a smaller volume, despite there being 'no change at all in the worke, but altogether as it was before.'[136]

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[135] Jean Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion,* trans. by Thomas Norton (London: Joan Wolfe, 1574), STC 4417, sig. *.ii.^{v}.

Norton's progress from a large folio blackletter book to a small octavo roman book via a medium multigraphic quarto is a case study that illustrates that type was deliberately employed to alter a book's size — or at least claimed to. Still, though, we have no conclusive answer to Dane's question: the shrinking of Norton's book is performed by both blackletter and roman type. Similarly confounding is the lack of an explicit causal link: though Norton seems to imply a connection between typeface and size in his two descriptions — 'the volume being smaller, *with* a letter fayre and legible', 'imprinted in a Romaine letter *and* smaller volume' — he falls short of saying it is a smaller volume *because* of the letter. Finally, his switch to roman in 1578 (maintained by the subsequent three editions printed in the sixteenth century) is coherent with the general trend towards roman *text* illustrated in Chapter 1: the decision may have been a response to fashion as much as it was economy.

With so many variables in play, the only reasonable answer to whether roman or blackletter are more economical is 'it depends': depends on the size and design of the roman and blackletter available to the printer; depends on their stock of abbreviations; depends on the typesetting style of the compositor; depends, even, on the text. Such an ambiguous answer suggests that we are asking the wrong question. Instead, we should be asking 'which is a more viable design at small sizes?' Green touches on this when he suggests that the design of blackletter is difficult to reproduce at a certain scale: 'perhaps [...] the fussier shapes of very small black-letter founts tended to clog up with ink at the printing stage.'[137] The question deserves further study. It suffices here to mention that, among the 'coherently and brilliantly designed' new typefaces that appear in Geneva is an unprecedentedly small roman type designed by Pierre Haultin.[138] Twenty lines of this type take up just 42mm (the equivalent of today's 6pt). According to Vervliet, Haultin's typefaces start to appear in England from the 'end of the 1560s' — the beginning of the rise in English roman *text*, and the same time as Haultin's nephew, the typefounder Jerome Haultin mentioned in Chapter 1, migrates to London.[139]

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[136] Jean Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion,* trans. by Thomas Norton (London: Humfrey Toy, 1578), STC 4419, sig. *.iii.^{r}.

[137] Green, p. 60.

3.5 Italic and *A Supplicacyon for the beggers*

The attempts, described above, by Goldschmidt and others to plot the beginnings of roman English type rely on a teleological magnetism towards English as it now appears — its roman aesthetic that is now ubiquitous. With efforts so focussed, the timeline for the less relatable appearance of English in italic has been relatively neglected (Sigfrid Steinberg, for instance, has sections on 'Roman' and 'Gothic type', but subsumed italic into the former).[140] We do not think about English italic in the way that we think of Pynson's edition of Horman's *Vulgaria* (1519) as being the first convention-breaking English roman, or in the way that Goldschmidt seeks 'the first English book in Roman type'.[141] It is true that italic has a less prominent role in sixteenth-century English books compared to blackletter and roman — the weight given to each in this thesis resembles that given by Steinberg, Goldschmidt, and any other historian of type. Yet, in the context of the powerful linguistic conventions established in Chapter 1, the visual contrast of italic English and its effect on sixteenth-century books is no less significant than roman English.

For italic type, one milestone is canon: its earliest design was by Francesco Griffo for Aldus Manutius, who printed it first in 1500 for only two decorative lines. This was followed by what Martin Davies calls italic's 'manifest destiny': an octavo edition of Virgil printed by Manutius in 1501, which used it for the entire text.[142] This book was part of a series of similarly printed editions of classical texts. Davies states that the innovation here lay not in the book's size itself, but in the application of this size to this kind of literature, which had formerly appeared in large folios. In doing so, Aldus catered to customers who, in the words of Pollard, 'wanted books which they could put in their pockets and their saddlebags',[143] or, as in the words Aldus used to advertise them, 'libelli portatiles' — little portable books.[144] The implication is often that these little books were enabled by the spatially economic italic type — a 'hard-boiled argument' with which Joseph F. Loewenstein agrees.[145] Daniel Updike takes this special economy of italic as a given, talking of 'the invention of a new condensed type' permitting 'a good deal of matter to be printed on a page.'[146] Davies follows suit, though with a diminished implication of intentionality: 'The narrow set of the type is also very economical of paper.'[147] As Boardley points out, type was just one factor of several that allowed these books to be small — Aldus also omitted paratextual material such as commentaries.[148] Beyond Boardley's temperance, the idea that italic created a more compact text has also been outrightly denied: Carter says unequivocally that, although it is often said that Aldus employed italic type to condense his texts, he himself never explicitly said this, and 'he must have been disappointed by the result' if that was his intention, as 'a Roman type on the same body gets in just as much.' He offers no comparison, however, between italic and blackletter.[149] The relative economy of italic, it appears, is just as disputed as the economy of roman. Regardless of the reality, there was at least a perceived correlation between italics and format for early sixteenth-century printers and readers that reflected that found in Figure 2.4: Vervliet recounts that in an edition of *Biblia sacra*, printed by Jan Thibault in 1526, a foreword boasts that 'now at last you see the volumes of the Scriptures issued in the form most convenient for carrying about printed in the very elegant [italic] types of Jan Thibault'.[150]

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[138] Vervliet, *Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, p. 245.

[139] Vervliet, *Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, p. 257.

[140] Sigfrid H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1996), p. 14.

[141] Goldschmidt, p. 25.

[142] Martin Davies, *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (London: British Library, 1995), p. 46.

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[143] Quoted by Daniel B. Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922), II, p. 125.

[144] Davies, p. 46.

[145] Joseph F. Loewenstein, '*Idem:* Italics and the Genetics of Authorship', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 205–224 (p. 217).

[146] Updike, p. 125.

[147] Davies, p. 42.

[148] John Boardley, *Typographic Firsts* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019), p. 46.

[149] Carter, p. 74.

[150] 'Et ecce qua potuerunt commodiori ad circumferendum forma his elegantissimis Ioannis Tibaldaei typis excussa, tandem prodeunt [volumina sacrorum bibliorum]'. Vervliet, p. 308.

While the history of the Aldine italic is well researched, some uncertainty seems to surround italic's first use in England. Though all agree it was first used by Wynkyn de Worde, some sources give 1524,[151] and others 1528 as its earliest use.[152] Others tactfully avoid specifics. Pamela Robinson, for instance, seems to imply it first appeared in 1528 while circumventing any outright assertion of precedence: 'De Worde also acquired roman and italic founts. His edition of Lucian's *Complures dialogi* (1528, STC 16891) was printed in italic.'[153] Likewise the *Oxford Companion to the Book* simply states that 'de Worde used one at London in 1528.'[154] During the data collection, italic was found in none of de Worde's books printed before 1528, and appears in two of that year (one dated, one conjectured) so, as far as de Worde is concerned, 1528 seems a likely candidate for his earliest italic. But it is not the earliest italic in England if we are to give credence to the STC's supplied dates: it is perhaps antedated by an edition of the *The iudycyall of vryns*, which is attributed to one of de Worde's associates in the previous year: '[Southwark : P. Treveris, 1527?]'.[155] This book contains Latin quotations, headings, and proper nouns in italic, set in an otherwise blackletter English text. These early instances by de Worde and Treveris applied italic to Latin, not English. On English italic, Lotte Hellinga writes that 'Italic remained in use for Latin only until [Reyner] Wolfe's disregard for the linguistic barrier.'[156] If Hellinga is here still discussing Wolfe's 1551 edition of Robert Recorde's *The pathway to knowledge*, as she seems to be, then this is inaccurate, as 296 books contain English italic before this date (from various printers including Wolfe). If she means an unmentioned earliest use by Wolfe (which would be his 1543 edition of Recorde's *The ground of artes*[157]), there are still at least 54 books that contain English italic before this one. These are mostly (39 of them) printed by Thomas Berthelet, who can therefore be thought of as the first printer with a programmatic use of italic for English, though 3 books by William Rastell predate his (printed in 1532 and 1533). Berthelet and Rastell both use italic paratextually. Only 9 extant books printed in the first half of the century contain italic English *text*, and the earliest of them, dated to 1529, is Simon Fish's *A supplicacyon for the beggers*.[158]

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[151] E.g. David C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), p. 238; Joseph Lowenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 290; the error appears in several editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

[152] Stanley Morison, 'Notes on the Development of Latin Script', in *Selected Essays on the History of Letter-Forms in Manuscript and Print*, ed. by David McKitterick, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), I, p. 279; Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume III*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 65–108 (p. 77).

[153] Pamela Robinson, 'Materials: Paper and Type', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476–1558* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 61–74 (p. 71).

[154] 'Italic', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book,* ed. by Michael F. Suarez and Henry R. Woudhuysen (Oxford: Oxford University Press), II, p. 827.

[155] *The iudycyall of vryns* ([Southwark: Peter Treveris, 1527?]), STC 14836.

[156] Hellinga, p. 77.

[157] Robert Recorde, *The grou[n]d of artes* (London, Reyner Wolfe, 1543), STC 20797.5.

As I argued above, 'firsts' risk mischaracterizing an anomaly as a beginning, even though it may remain anomalous for some time. They must therefore be understood by what comes after as well as what precedes them. Though *A supplicacyon* introduced italic *text* to English, the next book to share this feature does not appear until thirteen years later in 1542.[159] The point here is that these earliest books that contain italic *text* are visual anomalies in the history of English, *A supplicacyon* the first of them. This book's unusual appearance is, like those discussed above, attributable to its religious content, and can thereby be read as an index of this content. It is an octavo of eight leaves printed entirely in italic, probably by Johannes Grapheus in 1529.[160] On the only remaining copy, held in the British Library, someone has copied out the title, carefully imitating the letterforms of the printed font in manuscript with impressive accuracy — perhaps evidence of a reader's fascination with, or at least interest in, the unusual type (Figure 2.5). This pamphlet belongs to the same group of books with which this chapter began: it is the product of the author's exile to Antwerp, necessitated by the stringent measures Henry's regime brought against the burgeoning presence of reformist sentiment in England. Much of our knowledge of the text and its author, Simon Fish, is gained from the 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments* (and should therefore be approached with the same caution as those extracts discussed above). We learn from Foxe that Fish had fled the country twice: once to escape the consequences of his appearance in a satirical play that ridiculed Cardinal Wolsey, and a second time for smuggling illegal Protestant literature into England.[161] It is during his first escape that he is presumed to have encountered Tyndale, in

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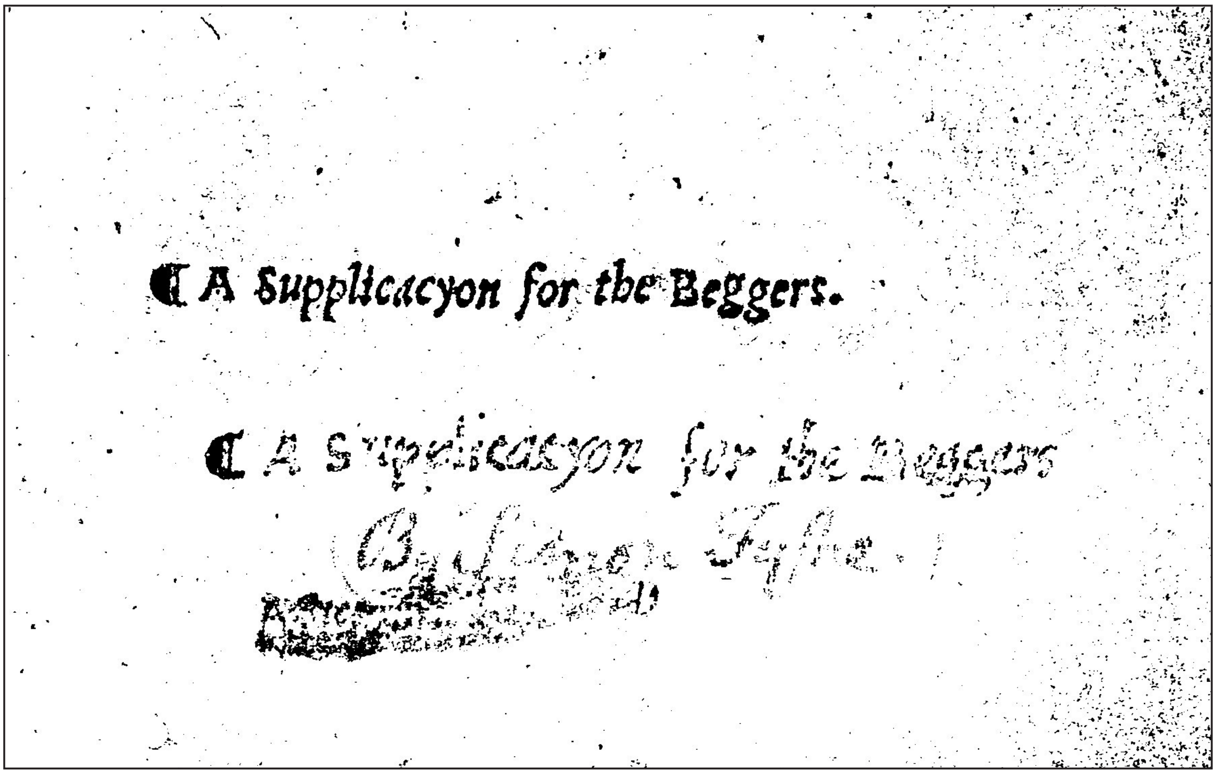
[158] Simon Fish, *A supplicacyon for the beggers* ([Antwerp?: J. Grapheus?, 1529?]), STC 10883.

[159] Henry Brinkelow, *The complaynt of Roderyck Mors* ([Strasbourg, Wolfgang Köpfel, 1542?]), STC 3759.5.

[160] For the identification of Grapheus, see Wouter Nijhoff and Maria E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, (s'Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1923–61), no. 3032.

[161] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570), p. 1191.



❡A Supplicacyon for the Beggers.

❡A supplicacyon for the beggers

By Symon Fyshe

FIGURE 2.5
Simon Fish, *A supplicacyon for the beggers* ([Antwerp?: J. Grapheus?, 1529?]), STC 10883, British Library C.21.b.45, fol. 1^{r} (EEBO).

Antwerp, whose *Obedience of a Christian Man*, Steven Haas shows, directly influenced Fish — even to the point that *A supplicacyon* may be considered a paraphrase of some of Tyndale's ideas concerning purgatory.[162] During his second exile, in Antwerp, Fish had the text printed.

The notoriety and significance of *A supplicacyon* is widely recognized. William Clebsch has described it as 'the most inflammatory and probably most widely read libellus of the early years of the English reformation,'[163] echoed by Steven Haas who notes its 'tremendous impact.'[164] Ostensibly addressed to Henry VIII, this pamphlet exposes the excesses of the church, and deplores the discrepancy in wealth between the church and the secular population. Fish offers some radical solutions to this, including the total abolition of religious orders, forcing monks and friars into ordinary employment. Those who resist, he writes, should be tied to carts and 'whipped naked about euery market towne til they will fall to laboure'.[165] Its 'truculent and hectoring'[166] language is interspersed by a sort of empiricism via dubious statistics: 100,000 women, it says, have been corrupted by monks, so that men live in the uncertainty of their children's parentage.[167] While this is obviously rhetorical, other numbers have a proximity to truth, Rainer Pineas writing that Fish's estimation of the Church owning a third of the land is generally thought to be accurate (but the amount of profit in tax Fish attributes to this is again overstated).[168] Fish provides a solution to all of these societal ills: dissolve the monasteries. It is therefore understandable that *A supplicacyon* is variously considered a herald, trigger, or threshold of the Reformation in England. For Pineas and Haas, *A supplicacyon* posed a very credible threat to the clergy and the Catholic faith — evident in the response to the book's (illegal) arrival in England. Before the end of the same year, Thomas More had written and published a ninety-one-page folio in response to these sixteen pages, in which he deprecates *A supplicacyon*'s size: 'ye shall fynde in hys boke not half so many leuys as lyes / but almost as many lyes as lynes.'[169] *A supplicacyon* was listed on the index of prohibited books compiled by More and Tunstall in 1530, along with 'diuers other bokes made in the englisshe tonge, and imprinted beyonde [the] see.'[170]

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[162] Steven W. Haas, 'Simon Fish, William Tyndale, and Sir Thomas Mores "Lutheran Conspiracy"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 23 (1972), 125–136.

[163] William Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 146.

[164] Haas, p. 125.

Despite the widely recognized importance of the text as a piece of radical propaganda, the significance of the material text as the earliest English italic has been unacknowledged: the two, however, are codependent. Like Tyndale's works, *A supplicacyon* was an exiled book, therefore printed in a country where a wider variety of type was available. As Anne Rouzet notes, Grapheus, who printed the book, had an unusual habit of applying roman and italic to vernacular languages.[171] But in addition to availability and inclination, it is possible that this unprecedented English italic was chosen by Fish or Grapheus to make the text more easily smuggled and therefore more accessible. Allowing for a title-page and blank back cover to protect the internal pages from damage,[172] the text fills up both sides of the whole sheet without much room to spare. Conventionally, books would have (and still have) their text begin on a recto page, but this one begins on the verso preceding the first recto — every spare inch of the inside is filled. As the book is an octavo, these fourteen pages of text plus one front and one back cover perfectly fill a single sheet. If we side with Updike, Davies, and others in considering italic a condensed typeface — or, at least, a condensed typeface *in comparison* to blackletter — its clear why the conventional blackletter may not have been used here. Doing so would risk having the text run over on to a second sheet, requiring more paper stock, but also breaking the text into composite parts, complicating its format and risking their separation. As it is, the pamphlet can be smuggled unbound, as flat sheets, each one a full text — no assembly required. Of course, Fish was probably composing the text with a single sheet octavo in mind (as Roberts suggests),[173] so we should not conceive the use of italic as an expedient way of packing in a slightly too large text, but as a way of allowing Fish to say as much as he can while maintaining the easily smuggled, unified form.

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[165] Fol. 8^r.

[166] Dunstan Roberts, *EEBO Introduction to Simon Fish, 'A Supplicacyon for the Beggers'*, <https://media2.proquest.com/documents/eebo_intro_17.pdf> [accessed 2 March 2018]

[167] Fol. 5^r.

[168] Rainer Pineas, 'Thomas More's Controversy with Simon Fish', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 7 (1967), 15–28 (p. 20).

[169] Thomas More, *The supplycacyon of soulys* (London: William Rastell, 1529), fol. iiii^v.

[170] *A proclamation made and diuyed by the kyngis highnes* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1530), STC 7775.

[171] 'Il fut un des premiers imprimeurs des Pays-Bas à utiliser des caractères typographiques romains et italiques pour les livres en langues modernes.' Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des Imprimeurs, Libraires et Éditeurs des XVe et XVIe Siècles dans les Limites Géographiques de la Belgique Actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1975), p. 80.

We can see how this single sheet format would be advantageous in Foxe's depiction of the book. Apparently, upon surreptitiously receiving it, Anne Boleyn delivered it to Henry, who 'kept the booke in his bosome 3. or 4. dayes.' — a close personal proximity afforded by the book's size, used by Foxe to represent Henry's introspection and careful consideration of the text. The entirety of *A supplicacyon* is reprinted in the 1583 edition of *Actes and Monumentes*, but Foxe supplies the following title:

> A certaine Libell or booke intituled the Supplication of Beggars, throwne and scattered at the procession in Westminster on Candlemas day, before king Henry the 8. for him to read and peruse, made & compiled by M. Fish.[174]

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[172] On the use of blanks to protect an internal text, see Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460–1510* (London: British Library, Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 17–20.

[173] Roberts.

[174] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day, 1583), STC 11225, p. 1038.

So, like that projectile propaganda distributed in Laon, *A supplicacyon* was perhaps designed to be scattered. This could have been done with unbound sheets without compromising the text's completeness. As Haas reminds us, 'Tyndale's careful efforts to reach as many levels of English society as possible with shortened and popularised versions of his doctrinal treatises has been recognised. Simon Fish played a small part in this drama.'[175] For *A supplicacyon*, then, italic type may have also played a small part.

Although we cannot prove a book in Grapheus' blackletter would have run onto a second sheet (short of conducting a comprehensive survey of the measurements of his type stock), a later edition of *A supplicacyon* provides compelling evidence that this is likely. The text was printed again in England in 1546, by John Day and William Seres.[176] Using a typical English blackletter, the text now runs to eighteen pages, and so runs into a second octavo gathering. Spatially, the blackletter text is longer than the italic. This later edition makes several other changes: it is added to a new text, a similar work titled *A supplication of the poore commons* — this text presumably piggy-backing off the success of the first. But while this uses the indefinite article in its title, the title of *A supplicacyon for the beggers* now uses the definite article: 'The supplication of Beggers, compyled by Symon Fyshe'. The definite article (first introduced by More on the title-page of his response) here suggests its history, the prior knowledge readers had of the text, and therefore its notoriety. Its new attribution to Simon Fish likewise gives it specificity and removes any sense of criminal anonymity. So, in its original form, the text was an active piece of propaganda, designed for stealth and maximum distribution despite its illegality; in this second form, it has become a historical object, legitimized through its new context and presentation. The typefaces of these books, and the *change* of typefaces across these books, is a symptom of this transition.

A supplicacyon is an exemplar of the anti-establishment material texts that have been described here: a radical, illegal text; a therefore necessarily foreign provenance through the exile of the author; the consequent application of non-English typographic idioms to English text; and the affordance of this typography for smaller books. This chapter has developed the correlation between location and typography introduced in Chapter 1, but rather than refuting Carter's connection between roman and Protestantism, it has strengthened it by connecting the two via material conditions. The consequences of these material conditions were legible and visible on the page. Though the English Word of God was a text in exile, the aesthetics of exile were embraced by its authors, marking their books apart from those of their compatriots.

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[175] Haas, p. 136.

[176] *A supplication of the poore commons* ([London: John Day and William Seres, 1546]), STC 10884.

CHAPTER 3: SUBJECT

Old Works in New Books

1. Introduction

Gérard Genette described how the material features of publication can take on paratextual qualities by 'strongly indicat[ing] a type of book'. His example is the yellow covers of 'licentious French books' printed at the beginning of the twentieth century, which were quickly associated with their scandalous content.[1] Such associations even become embedded in our language: it is widely understood that certain genres or types of text can be referred to by their material components with synecdoche. When certain kinds of fiction were referred to as *pulp* or *yellowback*, the terms took a physical part to represent a more abstract whole. When we likewise refer to *broadsheets*, *tabloids*, and *red tops*, we are distinguishing not between newspaper formats, but between different types of text. As Leah Price has noted, such formulations are often used to disparage the text: 'a newspaper isn't called a "rag" if the speaker thinks it worth reading.'[2] Her example is also illustrative of a linguistic fossilization that occurs with such terms. While *rag* retains its currency, still referring to the same textual qualities today, the method of paper production to which it literally refers has long fallen out of use. The above examples turn on the size, colour, or quality of paper, but typography is also used to synecdochally taxonomize text. Type size is cited in our suspicion of *the small print* — a phrase which anticipates the opaque legalese of terms and conditions. Text colour is equated with instruction in *rubric*, or with a branch of biblical hermeneutics in *Red-Letter Bibles* and *Red-Letter Christians*. Likewise typefaces: *blackletter law* refers to 'established legal principles such as appear in old printed texts', and, like *red letter*, is even used attributively for individuals known as *blackletter lawyers*.[3] All of these terms equate the material features of a text with its participation in a particular genre, subject, or mode of writing.

In the early modern period, the equation is sometimes reversed: typography was referred to by the typical kind of text for which it was used. The terms give us an insight into readers' associations between typeface and genre in the seventeenth century. Large blackletter was sometimes called *proclamation print*, used by Thomas Nashe to illustrate the size of a kitchen, 'about the compasse of a Parenthesis in Proclamation print.'[4] By the seventeenth century, the association between Genevan Calvinism and roman type illustrated in the previous chapter had become embedded in the phrase *Geneva print*. This was not simply 'another name for roman type', as Heidi Brayman and David McKitterick describe it,[5] but especially tiny roman type. So it is that Dudley North can say, in roman type, that 'A Geneva print weakens the sight', comparing the strain of focussing on it to 'hold[ing] your bow ever bent, or your horse streight rained.'[6] Elsewhere, the use of glasses allows 'every Poreblind *Tory* [to] plainly read [the fanatic's] *Plots*, and Intrigues, tho' close set in a Geneva Print.'[7]

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[1] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts*, trans. by Janet E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 24.

[2] Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 5.

[3] 'black letter, n', *OED*.

This chapter explores such links between typography and books' subjects or genres. Its second and third sections investigate two commonly cited and frequently opposed associations of roman and blackletter — humanism and medievalism. Again, the spotlight is guided by the data, and settles on two groups of books whose unusual typography deliberately advertises their content. Whereas location and size were shown to be secondary factors in the signification of language and religion, here the variable of time is instructive: the comparison between multiple editions of the same work is here the key to discovering printers' intentions for typography, and in a period during which conventions changed, diachronic difference and similarity are both equally revelatory. Zachary Lesser has described the typography of early modern England as 'extremely conservative': 'books rarely changed from black letter to roman (or vice versa) from one edition to the next.'[8] Mark Bland has likewise described the conservatism of printers at the end of the sixteenth century, who 'simply followed previous editions' for their typography.[9] In the seventeenth century, this conservatism is contributed to by what Lesser calls 'typographic inevitability'[10] — an ineluctable influence of convention that might undermine any ascription of intent to typography. The group discussed in Section 2, of humanist books that reset a blackletter text in roman, is an especially focused and concerted exception to the rule. But when books do follow previous editions, they do not always do so 'simply'. In this period of flux, resisting typographic change could be more significant than yielding to it; typographic conservatism is not semiotically inert. Such significance is read in a group of books in Section 3, which use typography to evoke the past.

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[4] See Rachel Stenner, *The Typographic Imaginary in Early Modern English Literature* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 183.

[5] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 97; David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), I, p. 115.

[6] Dudley North, *A forest of varieties* (London: Richard Cotes, 1645), Wing N1283, p. 5.

[7] Robert Ferguson, *A third dialogye between the Pope and a phanatick* (London: J.P. for William Oliver, 1684), Wing T907A, p. 35.

[8] Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Playreading, Popularity and the Meanings of Black Letter', in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Marta Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), p. 99–126 (p. 102).

First, though, a general picture of subject and typefaces can be drawn for the period as a whole. This can be done by combining the typographical data with the Universal Short Title Catalogue's 'Subject Classification' system. Each entry in the USTC is assigned subject classifications from a list of 38, which have recently also been imported into EEBO. The list includes terms which are considered formal or generic (*Drama*, *Religious*) and also very specific types of text (*Funeral orations*), and a book is often assigned more than one classification. John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* is thus assigned only *Religious*, whereas William Bourne's 1577 *A regiment of the sea* has three classifications: *Science and mathematics*, *History and chronicles*, and the single classification, *Travel, topography, maps and navigational manuals*.[11] There is very little information available about the USTC's system of classification; the methods by which books were classified are unpublished, and EEBO contains only generalist descriptions of each subject. This is a critical oversight, given the potential ambiguity and subjectivity inherent to the exercise: in a similar project of mass categorization, Alan Farmer and Lesser explain that 'no two scholars will categorize every book exactly the same way.'[12] Nevertheless, the USTC classifications provide a premade and accessible system for dividing the typographical data by subject.

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[9] Mark Bland, 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England', *Text*, 11 (1998), 91–154 (p. 104).

[10] Zachary Lesser, 'Walter Burre's The Knight of the Burning Pestle', *English Literary Renaissance*, 29 (1999), 22–43 (p. 31).

[11] The full list of classifications and their descriptions can be found at <https://proquest.libguides.com/eebopqp/USTCDefinitions> [accessed 2 March 2020]

[12] Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'What is Print Popularity? A Map of the Elizabethan Book Trade', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 19–54 (p. 22).

Appendix C contains charts for the twenty subjects that have a substantial presence in sixteenth-century English books, showing their percentages of roman, italic, and blackletter. Like Figure 1.4, the charts show only books with English *text* printed in Britain. The aim behind these charts is therefore to view correlations between typefaces and the subjects of English books, rather than Latin books or those printed with continental type. With these charts, we can see which sort of books were the first to start shifting towards roman typography in the 1560s. Of those clearly participating in the rise of roman English *text*, the earliest are *Religious* (mid 1560s), *History and Chronicles*, and *Bibles* (both around 1570). These are followed in the mid to late 1570s by *Poetry*, and *Literature*. Last to join the English roman wave are books of a scientific nature, with *Medical texts* and *Travel, topography, maps and navigational manuals* increasing in the 1580s, along with *Science and mathematics* (though this also saw a cluster around 1570). Perhaps more revealing are those subjects which staunchly resist the shift. While the increase in roman *text* for those subjects listed above is accompanied by a corresponding decrease in blackletter *text*, the following subjects are seemingly unaffected by the phasing out of blackletter: *Classical authors*, *Culinary arts*, *Educational books*, *Jurisprudence*, '*Ordinances, edicts, proclamations*', and '*Calendars, almanacs and prognostications*'. *Drama* and *News books* are perhaps also in this group, though ambiguously so due to a smaller sample size (as the work of Bland discussed in Chapter 1 shows, drama follows suit suddenly between 1591 and 1592). This conforms with the received information regarding legal texts, which are often said to have retained blackletter after a general transition to roman.[13]

2. 'Lyghtly prouoked and taughte / to deuyse better.'

The presence of *Classical authors* in this group of lingering blackletter subjects is perhaps surprising, given that humanism is one of the most consistently recognized associations of roman type. For Harry Carter, the English typolinguistic system that sets Latin in roman was conditional: roman was 'commonly used for Latin if it savoured of the New Learning.'[14] Lotte Hellinga likewise links roman to 'modern learning'.[15] Both epithets are somewhat paradoxical, given that roman's connection to humanism was originally via archaism — the conscious emulation of a pseudo-classical *littera antiqua* by fourteenth-century humanist scribes.[16] The union between classical text and letterform was continued by those using the earliest typographical versions of *littera antiqua*.[17] The chart showing English *Classical author*'s retention of blackletter over the sixteenth century answers a question posed at the beginning of Chapter 1, of which takes precedence over subject or language: here, the linguistic conventions of blackletter take precedence over the classical associations of roman, even as those conventions were changing at the end of the century. The connection of roman to humanism is instead most evident in the Latin texts of the first half of the century. According to David Carlson, the union of *littera antiqua* and humanist texts was still strong around the time roman type arrived in England: the typography of the *Epigrammata Lilii*, printed by de Worde in 1522, 'was a sign, for those educated to read it, of the humanist proclivities of the book's content.'[18]

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[13] E.g. by Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450–1800* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), p. 39.

[14] Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 92.

[15] Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: The British Library, 2010), p. 128.

Humanism has been defined by Daniel Wakelin as 'a self-conscious commitment to return to the classics'[19] — a commitment that especially affected schools and universities, whose 'whole institutional and curricular framework was radically revised [...] by the first decades of the sixteenth century', as James Carley and Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby describe.[20] This not only entailed an increased emphasis on classical grammar and rhetoric, but also the 'removal of medieval authors from the curriculum.'[21] Given this context, schoolbooks were an important conduit of humanism in England, printed for use in newly founded institutions such as Magdalen College School (1480) and St Paul's School (1509). John Anwykyll, a master of

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[16] Stanley Morison, 'Early Humanistic Script and the First Roman Type', *The Library*, 24 (1943), 1–29 (p. 20).

[17] In Cicero, *De oratore* ([Subiaco: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannarts, 1465]), USTC 995737. Though Morison acknowledges a technical quibble over whether this book is printed in a true roman, he concludes that the type is certainly humanist. Morison, p. 26.

[18] David Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscripts and Print, 1475–1525* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 123.

[19] Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature, 1430–1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 8.

[20] James P. Carley and Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, 'Survey of Henrician Humanism', in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature, Volume I: 800-1558*, ed. by Rita Copeland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 515-40 (p. 517).

[21] Carley and Juhász-Ormsby, p. 517.

Magdalen College School, produced some early examples: his *Compendius totius grammaticae* and *Vulgaria* were both printed in Oxford in 1483, and mediated the teaching of Italian standards of grammar and phrases through authors such as Terence and Cicero.[22] Schools therefore established a reliable demand for books that was capitalized on by England's earliest generation of printers, especially Wynkyn de Worde. De Worde enjoyed an especially prodigious partnership with the grammarian Robert Whittington, whose books he printed for more than twenty years.[23] A staggering 194 ESTC records represent Whittington's works, printed between 1511 and 1534 almost exclusively by de Worde — a figure inflated by the books' many variant states and reprints.

But, on an international scale, the early production of Latin and humanist texts in Britain was limited — a fact that Margaret Lane Ford describes as a 'truism': 'early English printers, with a few exceptions, directed their publications not at the universities, but rather at an English-reading, principally non-Latinate, public.'[24] As Ford demonstrates, quantitative study of book imports lends credence to the truism by showing that, even before Caxton's first press, Britain had a 'considerable' demand for printed books met by a healthy supply.[25] One such study by Hellinga shows that Italy was the dominant source of imported incunabula, making up 40% of a sample of books imported between 1465 and 1500.[26] Ford's extension of Hellinga's data to the mid sixteenth century corroborates this, showing a particular spike in Venetian books in the 1490s, but allowing her also to emphasize Basel as a major source of books which 'rise sharply in the 1520s', dominating until the 1540s. Ford attributes this to a demand for humanist books, with Erasmus's presence and collaboration with printers in Basel making it a humanist hub: 27% of all books imported to England and Scotland from Basel after 1515 were authored or edited by Erasmus, many of them printed by his collaborator Johann Froben.[27] With these books from Venice, Basel, and elsewhere came their typography, ensuring that roman type reached Britain in print long before it arrived in metal. As Wakelin notes, an emphasis on importation can occlude the 'English internationalism' that contributed to humanist culture: this was not a one way street, as English authors also chose to export their texts.[28] Most famous among these are Thomas More's *Utopia*, first printed in Louvain by Dirk Martens, and then by Froben in Basel, but other examples abound.[29] That these books are all well printed in roman type of a variety of sizes then unavailable in England suggests that superior typography was a factor in their authors' decisions to print abroad — as Wakelin hints via the 'fine roman type' of Thomas Linacre's translation of Proclus, printed in Venice in 1499.[30]

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[22] Wakelin, pp. 134–136. For further examples of early printers fulfilling the demand of the 'textual community' of the classroom, see Wakelin pp. 131–132.

[23] See H. S. Bennett, 'A Check-List of Robert Whittinton's Grammars', *The Library*, 7 (1952), 1–14.

[24] Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, III, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Joseph B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 179–201 (p. 192).

[25] Ford, p. 179.

[26] Lotte Hellinga, 'Importation of Books Printed on the Continent', in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520*, ed. by Sandra L. Hindman (London: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 205–224 (p. 210).

In this section, I discuss some books printed between 1518 and 1522 that align with Carlson's identification of those years as the moment of the domestic print industry's marketization of humanism — 'as if by this point it had arrived.'[31] But Carlson's arrival thesis risks neglecting the foothold humanism gained in English culture in the previous century. I will therefore offer a reinterpretation of this moment in light of its typography, but Carlson's belatedness is first demonstrated by Wakelin and David Rundle's expositions of fifteenth-century English humanism. Wakelin corrects a tendency, influenced by Roberto Weiss, to belittle the evidence of humanist activity in fifteenth-century England, finding instead a 'small but fertile field' even in vernacular literature and beginning as early as the 1430s.[32] While Wakelin exposes the humanist practices at work in and on texts in the period, Rundle has shown that the material text in England was likewise humanist in the same period.[33] Nor was English humanism completely unrepresented in print between Caxton's first book and the arrival of roman type in England. Though Carlson writes that 'until 1518–22, England's printers [...] had had little to do with humanists,'[34] the schoolbooks described above demonstrate consistent relationships between domestic printers and humanist grammarians. By including English texts in a fifteenth-century humanist corpus, Wakelin has increased Carlson's count of fifteen English incunabula of humanist interest to thirty-eight.[35] Though schoolbooks most obviously fulfill the criteria, a humanist impulse can also be recognized in some of Caxton's paratextual additions to his 1478 edition of *Boece*, for instance.[36]

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[27] Ford, p. 186.

[28] Daniel Wakelin, 'Humanism and Printing', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476–1558*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 227–247 (p. 230).

[29] See Wakelin, 'Humanism and Printing', pp. 229–230.

[30] Wakelin, 'Humanism and Printing', p. 229.

[31] Carlson, p. 141.

[32] Wakelin, *Humanism*, p. 5.

[33] E.g. David Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain: The English Quattrocento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 51–88.

If humanism was represented in Britain before 1518, what exactly is it that Carlson identifies around this time? He argues for a 'shift in the English printers' attitude towards the publication of humanist writings.'[37] Such books, Carlson says, were printed more frequently and more regularly, beginning between 1518 and 1522, but the character of these books changed too. De Worde's 1522 book, *Epigrammata Guil. Lilii*,[38] is representative of this new character: it is a compilation of three texts, all of which were 'already in the public domain.'[39] Their previous editions lead Carlson to conclude that the book was a piracy created under de Worde's own volition rather than through any collaboration with their author, as had previously been typical. If the book is 'a case of piratical printerly speculation', then it demonstrates a new 'belief that the book by itself could turn a profit, without authorial subvention or any other form of patronage.'[40] Humanism, in other words, had become mainstream enough to warrant its own busy corner of the domestic print industry.

But given humanism's prior residence in England, this shift is not characterized by an 'arrival' of humanism, as Carlson describes it, but by the arrival of roman fonts — a crucial component, glossed over in Carlson's account. Though he hints at it only by describing the *Epigrammata Lilii*'s roman type as 'an unusual [choice] for de Worde',[41] its unusualness is shared by most of the books he considers part of this shift, contrasting to their previous blackletter iterations. Coinciding exactly with Carlson's window, roman first gained a significant role in the English print industry between 1518 and 1522. The weight of this moment is evident from the charts described in Chapter 1: Figure 1.6 (showing Latin by typeface) shows a rapid rise in the use of roman beginning in 1518 and peaking in 1522 — accelerating from 0 to 74% in 4 years. For books containing roman Latin *text* (Figure 1.8), this goes from 0% in 1517 to 67% in 1523. The sudden increase contrasts to a period of rare and sporadic use in the nine years before. This period of roman's scarcity, made evident by the data, is something of a mystery: why, having purchased the first roman font in England, would Pynson use it for only eight books over nine years? Whatever the reasons, this decade reaffirms the principle suggested in the previous chapter that firsts are not necessarily beginnings, though they are easily mistaken as such. Though a sermon printed by Pynson is conventionally pedestalled as the first appearance of roman type in England,[42] the roman explosion was not to happen for another decade.

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[34] Carlson, p. 130.
[35] Wakelin, *Humanism*, p. 127.
[36] Wakelin, *Humanism*, p. 127, pp. 147–157.
[37] Carlson, p. 136.
[38] William Lily, *Epigrammata Guil. Lilii. Angli.* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1522), STC 15606.5.
[39] Carlson, p. 127.
[40] Carlson, p. 124.
[41] Carlson, p. 123.

This fresh enthusiasm for roman type was accommodated and marked by the arrival of several new fonts to England. Between 1509 and 1519, the roman font used by Pynson to print Savonarola's sermon, taxonomized by Frank Isaac as roman 114, was seemingly the only one in the country, but in 1519 Pynson added to his portfolio a smaller roman (roman 80).[43] The following year, de Worde used his first roman font — the same design as Pynson's new one, and probably derived from the same punches but cast on a slightly taller body (roman 81). The typeface was common to Paris, as Alfred Johnson's identification of its French precedents shows.[44] While de Worde and Pynson were acquiring new romans of an appropriate size to set text, John Siberch was being recruited from Germany to set up his press to serve the University of Cambridge, where he printed from 1519 to 1523. Otto Treptow's study of Siberch has shown that his press was, to begin with, 'devoted entirely to the cause of humanism':[45] the first nine of his thirteen extant books were the works of the English humanist milieu, among them what Ernst Goldschmidt called 'the most explicit manifesto of the humanist movement', Thomas Elyot's *Hermathena*.[46] The roman font used to print all of these humanist works was probably designed and cut by Peter Schoeffer the Younger, who made his career designing type for printers in Basel.[47]

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[42] Girolamo Savonarola, *Sermo Fratris Hieronymi de Ferraria in vigilia Natiuitatis domini* (London: Richard Pynson, 1509), STC 21800; Bland, p. 93.

[43] In these classifications, the number indicates the height in millimetres of twenty lines. Frank Isaac, *English & Scottish Printing Types, 1501-58 * 1508–58: 1501-35 * 1508–41* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930).

[44] Alfred F. Johnson, 'Sources of Roman and Italic Types used by English Printers in the Sixteenth Century', *The Library,* s4-XVII (1936), 70–82 (p. 72).

[45] Otto Treptow, *John Siberch: Johann Lair von Siegburg*, ed. by John Morris and Trevor Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 21.

We can see from the stark difference between Figure 1.4, showing English *text* by typeface, and Figure 1.8, showing Latin *text* by typeface, that the application of these new fonts strictly conformed to a typolinguistic system: the corpus of books with *text* in new roman type is almost entirely made up of Latin works. The exception is a single book, William Horman's *Vulgaria*, which collected short phrases of exemplary Latin, accompanied by their English translations.[48] Among the many insights into everyday life found in these phrases is a reflection of the books Hellinga and Ford show were being imported from Venice and Basel. Horman esteems their exemplary typography:

> Frobenyes [i.e. Froben's] prynt is called better than Aldus: but yet Aldus is neuer the lesse thanke worthy: for he began the fynest waye: and he lefte sau[m]ple / by the whiche other were lyghtly prouoked and taughte / to deuyse better.[49]

Like Savonarola's sermon, Horman's *Vulgaria* is canonized as a first, unprecedentedly setting English in roman type. The milestone has been noted, but two factors diminish its significance in the *longue durée* of type: it was an anomaly, and it was, maybe, unintentional. Its anomalousness is shown by Figure 1.4 and the context developed in Chapter 1: short of ushering in a new idiom, the union of roman and English *text* that distinguishes Horman's *Vulgaria* would not begin to catch on until the 1560s, and would not be shared by a majority of books until 1591. The second factor, the possibility of it being unintentional, is raised by Horman's contract with Pynson. The unlikely survival of this document has made it 'well known that William Horman stipulated the use of different typefaces for different languages.'[50] Horman's stipulation in the contract has been used to conclude that the unprecedented typography was 'not accidental',[51] and that 'this was the first time in English printing that roman type was deemed suitable for children's reading matter.'[52] But while the stipulation may be well known, the discrepancies between the stipulated typography and the book's typography have not yet been noted — differences that preclude the contract as evidence of intent behind the printed typography. The relevant passage in the contract specifies 'thre dyverse letters/ on for the englysh/ an other for the laten/ and the thyrde of great [i.e. capital] romayne letter/ for the tytyllys of the booke.'[53] The book which Horman imagines seems to be multigraphic and typolinguistically conventional: three *diverse* letters, specifically distinguishing the English from the Latin, so probably involving blackletter too. The book that was printed is monographic — far from diverse — using roman not just for titles, as specified, but for English and Latin text alike. I therefore think it likely that, for unknown reasons, Horman's intentions were not realized on the page, and so this milestone of the first roman English is incidental, even accidental, rather than representing a concerted rebranding of the English language. It must be noted, however, that a more sympathetic reading of the contract could find in it the book that Pynson printed: English and Latin are in slightly different sizes of roman, which might just fulfil the criteria of 'dyverse'; that Horman specified roman only for the headings does not *necessarily* preclude its use elsewhere. But a more undeniable discrepancy between the contract and the book confirms that Horman's plan was not followed to the letter: the number of chapters stipulated is 'fyve and thyrty',[54] whereas the number printed is thirty-seven. Perhaps the unplanned roman English, set using Pynson's new small type, freed up some room for extra material at the same cost as a shorter, blackletter text.

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[46] Ernst P. Goldschmidt, *The First Cambridge Press in its European Setting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 16. It was once thought that Siberch's output was entirely roman (see Isaac, *English & Scottish Printing Types*), but four blackletter books have since been identified as his. That these are grouped at the end of his career led Treptow to the conclusion that Siberch's tenure as the humanist printer of the University had come to an end, and, 'left to fend for himself', he pivoted his attention towards vernacular literature and indulgences (Treptow, pp. 28–29).

[47] Treptow, p. 28; Johnson, p. 73.

[48] William Horman, *Vulgaria uiri doctissimi Guil. Hormani Cæsariburgensis* (London: Richard Pynson, 1519), STC 13811.

[49] Horman, fol. P.iii.^{r}.

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[50] Daniel Wakelin, 'Possibilities for Reading: Classical Translations in Parallel Texts ca. 1520–1558', *Studies in Philology*, 105 (2008), 463–486 (p. 467).

[51] Wakelin, 'Possibilities for Reading', p. 467.

[52] Hellinga, p. 77.

[53] Transcribed in Frederick J. Furnivall, 'Pynson's Contracts with Horman for his Vulgaria, and Palsgrave for his *Lesclaircissement*, with Pynson's Letter of Denization', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 12 (1867), 362–374 (p. 364).

[54] Furnivall, p. 364.

Horman's specification of 'great romayne letter/ for the tytyllys' is at least consistent with the enthusiasm for roman seen between 1518 and 1522. As Carlson suggests via his example of the *Epigrammata Lilii*, these years saw a flurry of books that had already been published in some form. When considered in the context of roman's simultaneous turning point, this moment appears to be a coordinated update in the design of these already extant Latin works. Thanks to de Worde and Pynson's new fonts, they could now fully participate in the humanist typographical idiom seen in imported books, and renewed their back catalogue accordingly. Above, I discuss the received notion of typographical stability, where 'the trade [...] never altered the typography.'[55] Most of these books demonstrate an active contravention of this general practice, showing a concerted and urgent application of roman to humanist works: for the years following their acquisition of new roman fonts, de Worde and Pynson applied them mainly to established humanist works, formerly printed in blackletter, causing a polar contrast between editions that would have been no less stark to contemporaneous readers as it is when they are compared now.

Illustrative examples are found in Whittington's series of grammars, which was updated by de Worde with roman from 1520 after a voluminous run in blackletter since 1511. Before de Worde's acquisition of a roman font, the title-pages of these books usually took the form of a several-line blackletter title following a paraph, ranged left, above a woodcut. One of the earliest of Whittington's works set in roman is the *Syntaxis*,[56] and the differences between this and its precedent edition, printed in 1519,[57] are typical of the changes made to this corpus as a whole. The title-page of the newer edition is entirely in centered roman, and ornamental borders frame the page, the top and bottom of which feature a 'WC' emblem inherited by de Worde from William Caxton. We might reasonably read a sense of pride in this feature: the emblem makes clear to readers that the book, despite its updated continental appearance, is a product of an English press, as if de Worde now considered his business equipped to compete in an international market. Inside the book, the textura blackletter of the previous edition has been excised entirely, and roman replaces it, providing a starker contrast between the grammatical precepts (in roman) and their following exposition and exemplars (in rotunda). This increased contrast afforded by roman type better accommodates the preceptive method of Latin pedagogy which Whittington famously advocated in opposition to Horman's teaching by example: the visual subordination of the exemplar to the precept signifies its conceptual subordination too — a subordination with which Horman and Lily took issue with in the so-called Grammarian's War.[58]

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[55] Bland, p. 95.

[56] Robert Whittington, *Syntaxis* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1521), STC 25547.

[57] Robert Whittington, *Syntaxis* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1519), STC 25546.

Another book that exemplifies these typographical changes is *Bucolica Virgilii cum commento familiari* (1522),[59] first printed by de Worde in 1512 and again in 1514.[60] The 1514 edition of Virgil's *Bucolica* is a reprint of that printed in 1512, according with the principle of typographic conservatism by using the same fonts and closely following lineation and pagination. With the 1522 edition came many changes, most significantly its title-page, which formerly set the title in blackletter inside a banderole, over a woodcut of three students and their teacher. In the 1522 edition, the title is set in roman over a woodcut, both surrounded by elaborate ornamental borders of a classical model, the bottom of which contains William Caxton's emblem. In the first two editions, Virgil's stanzas are set in a large textura font, followed by a small rotunda for the lengthy commentary and gloss sections. The 1522 edition prints the main text in roman — replacing textura, as in Whittington's works — and retains the rotunda used for the commentary. Again, this change visually subordinates the smaller text to that which it is commenting on, discerning it as paratext, and makes Virgil's poetry the dominant text on the page. This diachronic change facilitates an emphasis on the synchronic signification in the book: the transliteration of Virgil's text from blackletter to roman is consistent with the classical connotations of roman as *littera antiqua*, aesthetically illustrating the classical antiquity implicit in the language and genre of the poetry itself, and so reprinting the rotunda type, a more current design, also emphasizes the historical disparity between the two texts. The new roman text is not just an aesthetic change, but gains a more authentically classical orthography afforded by its font, which incudes the ligature œ and diphthong æ. Likewise, the compositor has generally expanded abbreviations from the blackletter versions, and so, for instance, 'Sepe malu[m] hoc nobis/si mens non leua fuisset' becomes 'Sæpe malum hoc nobis (si mens no læua fuisset).' Proper nouns, too, are given further visual distinction by beginning with an uppercase letter, where they have been left in lowercase in the blackletter edition. The result of this increased grammatical and orthographical specificity, afforded by de Worde's new roman, is a more fine-tuned, discerning product, offering precision in line with the humanist mission and concern for the accurate transmission of classical texts and rejuvenation of classical Latin.

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[58] On which, see David R. Carlson, 'The "Grammarians' War" 1519–21', in *Humanist Careerism in Early Tudor England, and Printing*, *Medievalia et Humanistica* 18 (1992), pp. 157–181.

[59] Virgil, *Bucolica* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1522), STC 24814.5.

[60] Virgil, *Bucolica* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1512), STC 24813; Virgil, *Bucolica* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1514), STC 24814.

All of these books use imported typefaces to participate in roman typography — de Worde and Pynson use roman, but they, like most printers, don't design it. However, some of the books' features demonstrate that people in England were actively engaging with and reproducing roman as a design at this time. It seems that after having his *Vulgaria* printed, Horman once again requested from Pynson a roman letter for his next book, the *Antibossicon*,[61] a collection of critiques written with Lily levied against Whittington. The book's title-page bears roman capitals of a size not yet used by any printer in England — the only feature of this starkly minimal design (Figure 3.1). The title is not set with metal type, but is a xylographic rendition of uppercase roman. This seems to be an imitation of the sort of great roman letter that Froben had begun using in 1517, thought by Hendrik Vervliet to have been cut by Peter Schoeffer the Younger. Known as 'Basel capitals', Froben's signature letters were 'so much appreciated that it was not long before they were imitated' all around Western Europe.[62] As William Kemp notes, they were 'by far the most popular titling for humanist publications.'[63] Vervliet records a series of imitations in the 1520s — some of them also woodcut — from Basel, Cologne, Paris, and Zurich,[64] to which this much more approximate London version can be added. The title-page therefore demonstrates Pynson and Horman's conscious engagement with and imitation

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[61] William Lily and William Horman, *Antibossicon* (London: Richard Pynson, 1521), STC 15606.

[62] Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1968), R9.

[63] William Kemp, '*Petit-Canon* Types in France, 1542–1548 and After', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, forthcoming.

[64] Vervliet, R12.

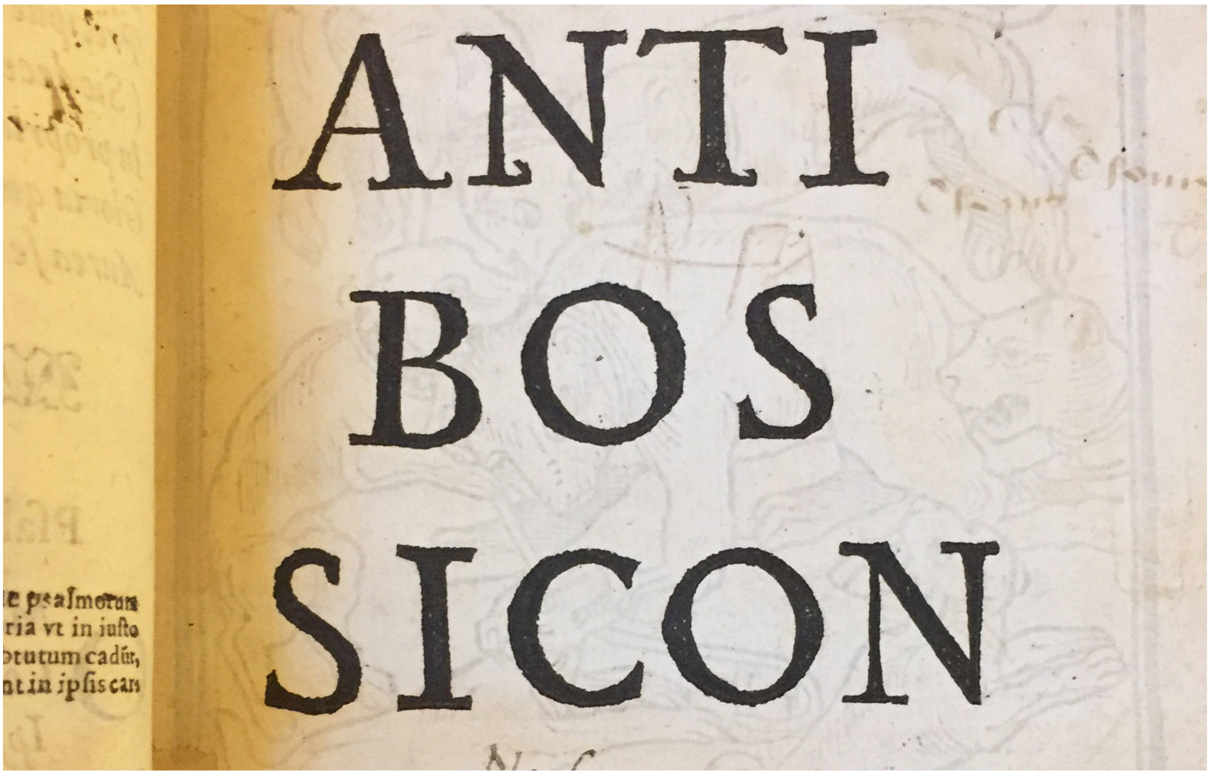

FIGURE 3.1
Irregular xylographic imitation of 'Basel capitals' with idiosyncratic curled serifs; William Lily and William Horman, *Antibossicon* (London: Richard Pynson, 1521), STC 15606, fol. 1^{r}, Bodleian Library, 4° F 33(2) Art.

of imported humanist books. Their appearance on Horman's *Antibossicon* manifested the admiration the author had expressed for 'Frobenyes prynt' in his *Vulgaria* two years earlier, and perhaps what he had in mind when he requested 'great romayne letter/ for the tytyllys' of that book. But in contrast to the originals and their better copies, finely crafted by trained professionals, this could be considered 'naive' typography which, like naive art, is 'lacking conventional expertise in representational skills.'[65] Its stroke widths are irregular, tapering unusually or betraying the grain of the wood in their edges; no two letters are identical, such as the Ss, the second bottom-heavy; its details are idiosyncratic, especially the calligraphic curling serifs of the A, N, and T. Such features perhaps reveal a woodcutter getting to grips with an unfamiliar letterform. That they are xylographic is also a testament to the absence of typefounding skills explored in Chapter 1. Aside from its naivety, the woodcut demonstrates much the same as de Worde's new roman editions: at this point, roman had become a desirable feature for English humanist books, to the extent that printers' old equipment was insufficient, and new forms had to be acquired; and if they could not be acquired, they must be created.

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[65] 'naive art', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists* <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191782763.001.0001/acref-9780191782763-e-1710.> [accessed 27 August 2020]

A similar expression of interest in roman letters is found in the manuscript additions to three of de Worde's roman reprints. Chapter 2 noted that the title-page of the first English italic book, Simon Fish's *A supplicacyon for the beggers*, had been used to practise an italic hand: its printed title has been copied just below it, with impressive diligence given to emulating the letterforms of the italic typeface. I interpreted the owner's impulse to copy as a fascination with a new, or at least interesting, letterform. So too in de Worde's first roman copy of *Carta Feodi*,[66] printed in 1523 after at least eight previous blackletter editions published between 1505 and 1521. As Figure 3.2 shows, someone has imitated the running heading 'FEODI'. The copyist is clearly motivated not by the words content, but the appearance of the letters: this is not writing, but drawing. Like the owner of *A supplicacyon*, they have carefully replicated both the size and the proportions of the letterforms; the characteristic serifs of roman uppercase have likewise been deliberately added, rather than the strokes' terminals displaying the inherent dynamics of the pen used to make them. Similarly, in a copy of *Bucolica*, discussed above, someone has imitated the signature mark 'B', attempting to draw the letterform six times (Figure 3.3). A copy of *Epigrammata Lilii*, the very book described by Carlson as using 'unusual' roman on its title-page, bears similar inscriptions.[67] Here, someone has started to draw the letterforms of the title, leaving 'ANGLI', and two aborted attempts at 'EPIG[RAMMATA]', the second defaulting finally to a secretary R, as if yielding to the muscle-memory of a familiar form (Figure 3.4). Again, this demonstrates an interaction with de Worde's new roman type on a purely visual level: the text being reproduced is fragmentary and out of sequence, suggesting it is of no consequence to the copyist, but the letters' proportions and size have been observed, and the serifs deliberately added. These examples of interest in the letterforms suggest an unfamiliarity with constructing them — a conclusion also drawn from the repeated attempts made (six 'B's in *Bucolica*, and two 'EPIG's in *Epigrammata*), and their incompleteness. Unfamiliarity is also exhibited in their irregularity and their imprecision. That the 'A' of 'ANGLI' is given vertical sides rather than the triangular frame of the roman 'A' is, for instance, perhaps a vestige of the influence of blackletter scribal letterforms constructed with minims. Not only, then, are these books evidence for the printers' interest in roman letterforms, newly substituting blackletter, but also, consequently, their readers'.[68]

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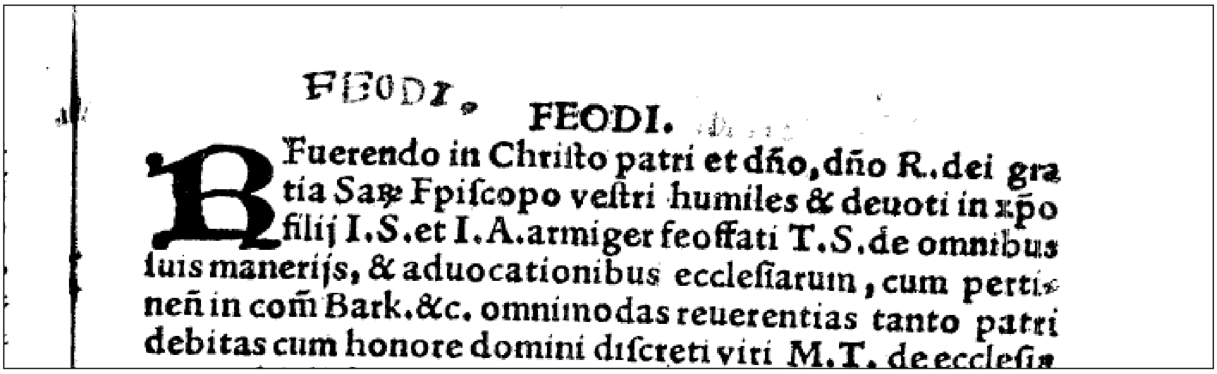
[66] *Carta Feodi* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1523), STC 15581.

[67] London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1521.4, fol. 1^{r}.

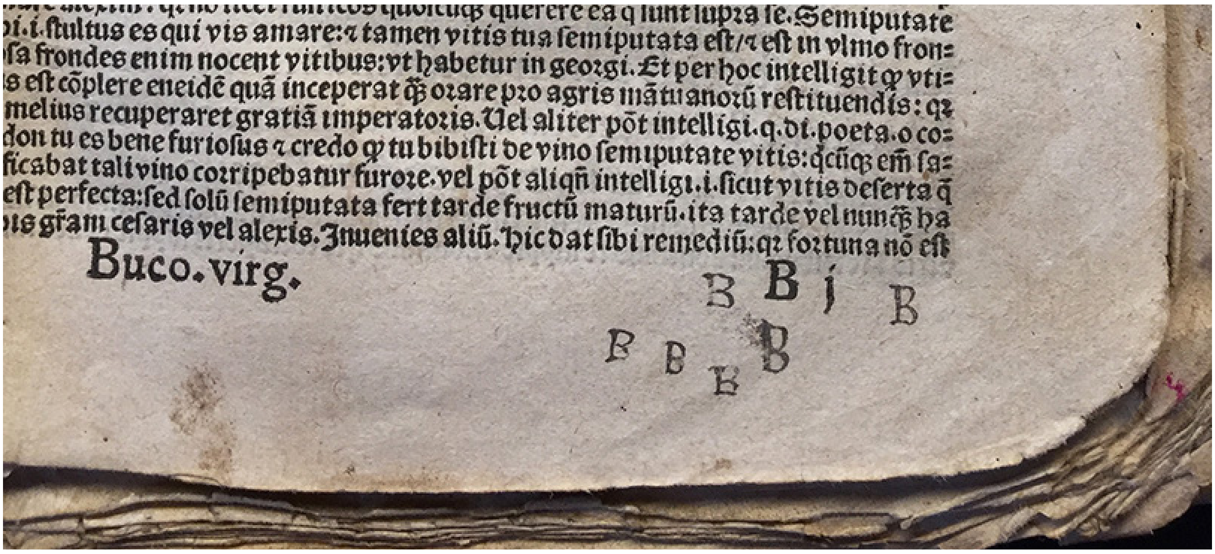
[68] A coincidence of the interests of the printer and the reader is obviously only possible if we are to assume



FEODI. FEODI.

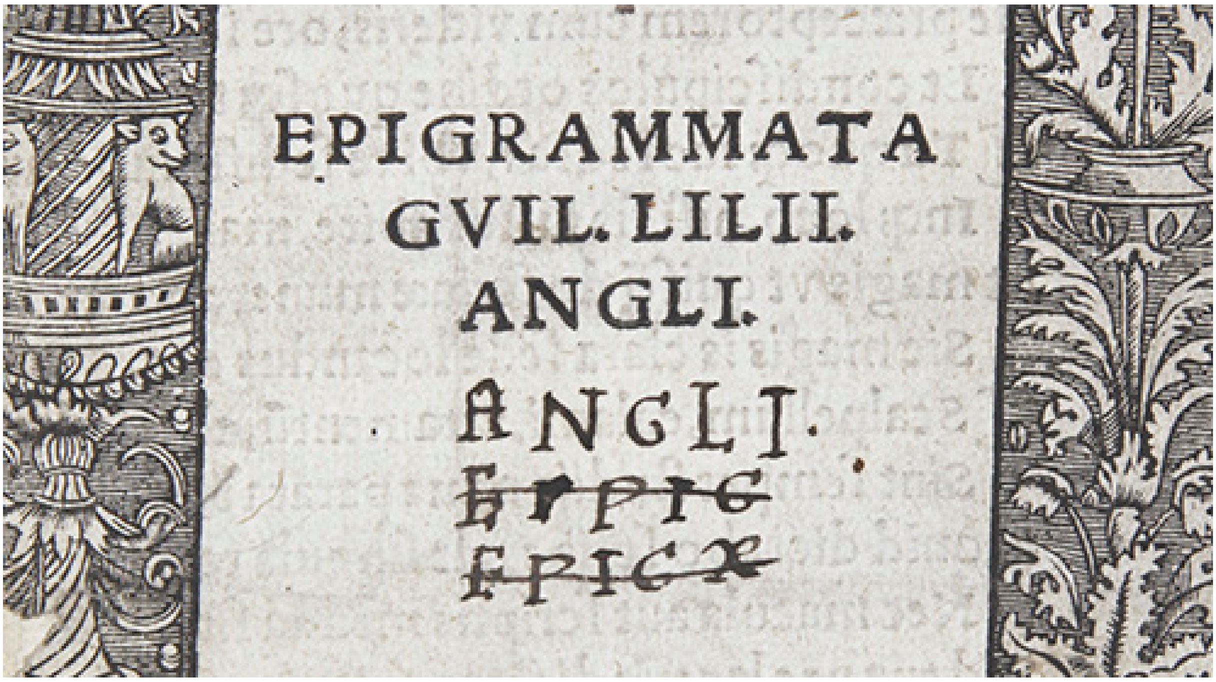
REuerendo in Chriſto patri et dño, dño R. dei gra
tia Saꝝ Epiſcopo veſtri humiles & deuoti in xp̄o
filij I.S. et I.A. armiger feoffati T.S. de omnibus
ſuis manerijs, & aduocationibus eccleſiarum, cum perti=
neñ in cōm Bark. &c. omnimodas reuerentias tanto patri
debitas cum honore domini diſcreti viri M.T. de eccleſia

FIGURE 3.2
Carta Feodi (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1523), STC 15581, fol. 25^{r} (EEBO).



querere ea q ſunt ſupra ſe. Semiputate
di. i. ſtultus es qui vis amare: ⁊ tamen vitis tua ſemiputata eſt/⁊ eſt in vlmo fron=
ſa frondes enim nocent vitibus: vt habetur in georgi. Et per hoc intelligit ꝙ vti=
s eſt cōplere eneidē quā inceperat ꝙ̄ orare pro agris mātuanorū reſtituendis: qꝛ
melius recuperaret gratiā imperatoris. Uel aliter pōt intelligi. q. di. poeta. o co=
don tu es bene furioſus ⁊ credo ꝙ tu bibiſti de vino ſemiputate vitis: q̄cūq; em̄ ſa=
ficabat tali vino corripebatur furore. vel pōt aliqñ intelligi. i. ſicut vitis deſerta q̄
eſt perfecta: ſed ſolū ſemiputata fert tarde fructū maturū. ita tarde vel nunq̄ ha
bis grām ceſaris vel alexis. Inuenies aliū. Hic dat ſibi remediū: qꝛ fortuna nō eſt
Buco. virg.
B Bj B
B B B B

FIGURE 3.3
Virgil, *Bucolica* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1522), STC 24814.5, Bodleian Library, 4 Rawl. 206, fol. 9^{r}.



EPIGRAMMATA
GVIL. LILII.
ANGLI.
ANGLI.
~~EPIG~~
~~EPIGR~~

FIGURE 3.4
William Lily, *Epigrammata Guil. Lilii. Angli.* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1522), STC 15606.5, Lambeth Palace Library, 1521.4, fol. 1^{r}.

So, after something of a false start with Pynson's first roman type, the few years following 1518 saw a surge of enthusiasm for roman in England that had printers updating their back catalogue of humanist works accordingly. This enthusiasm also manifested on these books through amateur interpretations of roman letterforms. The influx of roman type that was both an enabler and expression of the roman turn equipped England's print industry for the multigraphic phase that followed these years. But humanism's multigraphy was typographically polarized, intending to set only Latin in roman. As the chart for *Classical authors* in Appendix C shows, vernacular translations of classical works remained in blackletter for the entire period, even though they are humanist in nature. The polarization is entirely consistent with the ideals of humanism: as discussed in Chapter 1, Erasmus prescribed a typolinguistic system, thinking its contravention 'outlandish and barbarous.'[69] That blackletter Latin was quickly seen as passé is perhaps evident inside the *Antibossicon*, where Whittington is ventriloquized in blackletter among an otherwise modern roman text. As Jane Griffiths has described, the blackletter associates him with a 'clumsy native tradition'[70] — but a native tradition that had only very recently been renounced. Carlson notes also that the blackletter 'contribute[s] to [Whittington's] disgrace,'[71] but this mockery is not reliant on any inherent risibility of blackletter (after all, de Worde continued to print many books with it), but of Latin blackletter, contrasting to the new roman scene.

3. 'Folishe fabulous bokes of olde prynte'

The title-pages discussed above would have been the most conspicuous difference between those books and their previous blackletter incarnations. The xylographic letters of *Antibossicon*'s title-page especially show a commitment to a new idiom by the investment

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that these annotations are near-contemporaneous with the books' publication dates. These annotations resist palaeographic dating methods because of their conscious replication of letterforms. However, in the case of the copy of *Bucolica*, the colour of the ink and stroke-width is the same as that of an early sixteenth-century hand elsewhere in the book. Neither the *Epigrammata Lilii* or the *Carta Feodi* have any further annotations.

[69] Translated in A. S. Osley and Berthold Wolpe, *Scribes and Sources: Handbook of the Chancery Hand in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), p. 29.

[70] Jane Griffiths, 'The Grammarian as "Poeta" and "Vates"', in *Self-Presentation and Social Identification: The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter Writing in Early Modern Times*, ed. by Toon van Houdt, Jan Papy and Gilbert Tournoy (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), pp. 317–336 (p. 325).

[71] Carlson, 'The "Grammarians' War" 1519–21', p. 163.

of labour they represent. For de Worde and Pynson, then, title-pages were an important component of their roman humanist campaign. In the introduction to her book on the subject, Margaret M. Smith illustrates how title-pages have long been regarded by historians of typography as significant embodiments of the books behind them. Oliver Simon, for one, sees the title-page as providing the 'general tone of [the book's] typographical treatment.'[72] Smith develops this notion by describing the early title-page as 'part of a text's macro-articulation, presenting its general nature to the reader or purchaser by its layout, its style of letterform and level of ornamentation.'[73] Title-page typography, in other words, was used to epitomize the book — a fact that informs the title of Alastair Fowler's study of pictorial title-pages, *The Mind of the Book*.[74] Smith shows how this evolved into a marketing function: by studying the title-pages of incunabula and books of the first decade of the sixteenth century, she traces their development from a blank sheet used to protect books in storage, to 'effective enticements to buy the book':[75] 'once the title-page advanced from the modest label-title to a more informative and decorative form,' she writes, 'its function grew from mere identification to promotion.'[76]

Title-page typography, then, serves to both epitomize and advertise, and for this reason it is worth interpreting the typographical data of title-pages in isolation from the rest of their books. Querying the data for title-pages that use blackletter, roman, or italic yields much the same charts as those in Chapter 1 which showed three phases, and the rise in multigraphy in the 1530s. A tighter focus can develop these results, and in light of the culture of multigraphy, significance may be found in monography: which books used *only* blackletter or *only* roman on their title-pages? Such exclusivity could suggest a deliberate application of a typeface by its shirking of a multigraphic convention. Furthermore, being free from the limits imposed by type supply and copy-fitting, the title-page could offer a canvas on which typographical intention is more readily and visibly articulated.

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[72] Oliver Simon, 'The Title-Page', *The Fleuron*, 1 (1925), 93–109 (p. 93); quoted by Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460–1510* (London: British Library, Oak Knoll Press, 2000), p. 15.

[73] Smith, p. 23.

[74] Alastair Fowler, *The Mind of the Book: Pictorial Title-Pages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[75] Smith, p. 146.

[76] Smith, p. 22.

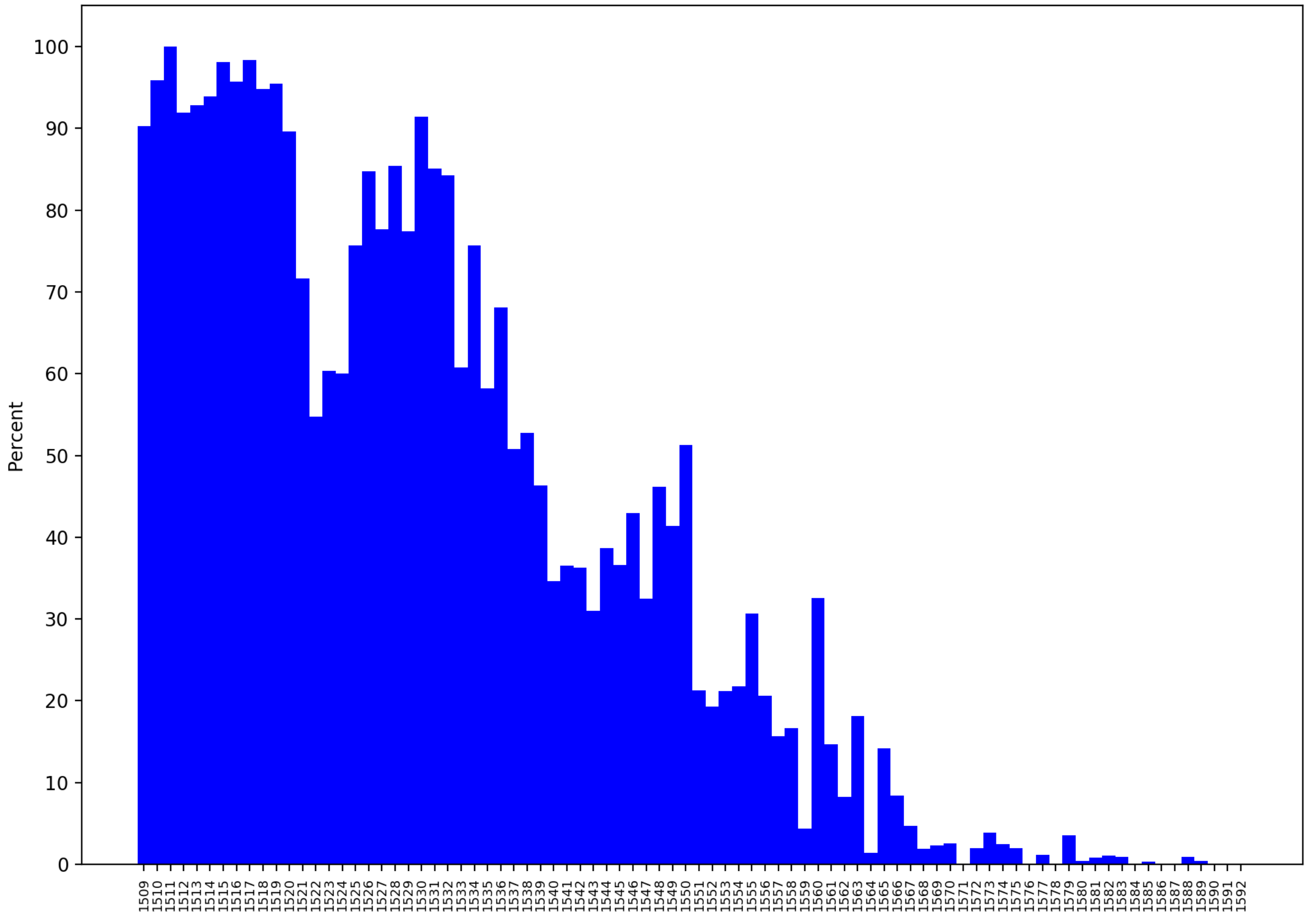

FIGURE 3.5
Books with monographic blackletter title-pages

Title-pages that use only roman are explored in the following chapter; here, I focus on those which use only blackletter. Figure 3.5 shows the percentage of books, printed anywhere and in any language, which use only blackletter on their title-page. It follows the same three broad phases described in Chapter 1. The dent that occurs from around 1520 to 1524 is attributable to the same 'arrival' of humanism discussed above. A notable decrease occurs after 1550, and in the second half of the century they always make up a minority, becoming increasingly rare and sporadic. This minority is probably in fact extant from 1539 onwards: the spike in 1550 is attributable to many undated books being assigned that misleadingly specific year by the STC, if thought to be of the mid-sixteenth century.

After this artificially inflated spike in 1550, 366 books use only blackletter on their title-pages (discounting duplicate ESTC records), out of a total of 8702 records. In this set of unusually monographic title-pages, several printers' names are regular occurrences: John Day, Robert

Wyer, John Cawood. Among these is William Copland, whose 49 books with monographic title-pages seem to be applying blackletter to a specific purpose. If we count also those books printed by Copland in the 3 years in which he was active before 1550, this total is 60, listed in Appendix D. In this section, I focus on these books, arguing that Copland's monography is a 'macro-articulation' of their texts, a deliberate archaization used to epitomize and advertise a type of text perceived as belonging to a culturally distant past — a past that printers and readers thought unfit for the present.

William Copland was likely the son of the printer-poet Robert Copland, inheriting Robert's business under the 'sign of the Rose Garland' after his death in 1547. After moving shop twice, the last phase of William's career, from 1563 until around 1567, was located in Lothbury.[77] Not much has changed since A. S. G. Edwards wrote in 2002 that 'the career of William Copland has received only cursory study.'[78] Copland's exclusion from early bibliography is perhaps attributable to a disregard for his sometimes scrappy books: Isaac briefly acknowledged him as 'an example of the poorer class of printer who used old and mixed types.'[79] More recently, however, Jane Griffiths has provided a corrective to this unfair dismissal by emphasizing Copland's attention to typographic detail in his editions of two works by Gavin Douglas: their designs 'give the impression that considerable thought has been given to the reader's pleasure and convenience'[80] — a diligence that we might expect to see in his other books too. Griffiths' study of Copland's glosses in Douglas' *Eneados*, used to draw out moral instruction from the text, has begun to fill the lacuna in our knowledge of the printer's books. Adam Fox does likewise, recently describing Copland as 'perhaps the most prolific producer of vernacular literature in England' during his activity between 1547 and 1567, identifying many of Copland's books in a contemporaneous Edinburgh bookseller's inventory.[81]

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[77] 'Copland, William', *ODNB*.

[78] A. S. G. Edwards, 'William Copland and the Identity of Printed Middle English Romance', in *The Matter of Identity in Medieval Romance*, ed. by Phillipa Hardman (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), pp. 139–147 (p. 139).

[79] Frank Isaac, *English Printers' Types of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 27.

[80] Jane Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities: Experimental Glossing Practices in Manuscript and Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 92.

[81] Adam Fox, *The Press and the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland, 1500–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 83.

Copland's output is represented by 'about a hundred and fifty' extant editions.[82] The corpus is notable for its range: after an early career in reformative literature, including a 1549 edition of Tyndale's English New Testament, he printed medical and astrological works, and books on venery.[83] But it is his series of romances for which he is most noted, and on which Edwards focuses. Copland's commitment to the genre was at 'an untypical scale', with 22 editions of 13 romances surviving from 1553 to the mid 1560s, most of them (11) in verse.[84] That the first of these was printed in 1553 has led Wilson-Lee to attribute Copland's choice of romances over his previous Protestant works to the former's 'inoffensive' nature to the new Catholic regime.[85] His choice, however, was not likewise made by other printers: Edwards demonstrates that Copland's romance corpus is unusual 'in both its extent and chronological span in the second half of the sixteenth century' by comparing the numbers to those of his contemporaries.[86] Thomas East, for example, printed only three romances over his career of forty years, out of a total of 300 editions, and yet, 'after Copland, [East] is the printer who produced the most surviving editions of romances in the second half of the sixteenth century.'[87] Nor did romances see such scale again for some time, with Copland's being 'the last coherent voice through which romance could be heard until the end of the eighteenth century.'[88]

All of those books which Edwards lists as Copland's romances are contained in those 60 books of his with unusually monographic title-pages — except for two absent from EEBO,[89] and two whose title-pages are lost from their EEBO copies.[90] We might assume, however, given the consistency across the group as a whole, that these are also monographic, and so it is likely that all of Copland's romances consistently use only blackletter on their title-pages: a genre unusual for its time, paired with typography unusual for its time. Edwards identifies an apparently intentional uniformity of format across the verse romances, showing that, in his regular use of title-page woodcuts, a single column of text, and quarto format, Copland has 'systematized a regular feature of production.'[91] A monographic blackletter title-page can be added to this list of features: Copland has deliberately and consistently avoided the use of other letterforms in their design. If their title-page woodcuts show 'a basic awareness of marketing strategy [...] derived from the controlling assumption that purchasers were likely to judge such a book by its title-page',[92] then their atypically exclusive use of blackletter is a component of this strategy too. True to the dictum that the title-page conveys the 'general tone' of the book's typography, the inside of these books are also, generally speaking, monographic: roman is limited to the occasional drop cap, except for *The recuile of the histories of Troie*, which also contains roman headings. The *Morte d'Arthur* avoids roman drop caps entirely — a seemingly concerted omission, given the length of the book, Copland's stock of them, and their ubiquity in this period (90% of books (75 of 83) printed in this year contain roman drop caps).

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[82] Edwards, p. 139.

[83] The fact of Copland's range is emphasized by Edward Wilson-Lee, 'Romance and Resistance: Narratives of Chivalry in Mid-Tudor England', *Renaissance Studies*, 24 (2010), 483–95 (p. 484).

[84] Edwards, p. 139. Edwards lists the following works as Copland's romance corpus: *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* (1553), *Guy of Warwick* (1553, c. 1565), *Four Sons of Aymon* (1554), *Eglamour of Artois* (c. 1555, 1565), *Valentine and Orson* (1555, c. 1565), *Knight of Courtesy* [1556?], *Morte Darthur* (1557), *Arthur of Little Britain* [1560?], *Squire of Low Degree* [1560?], *Bevis of Hampton* [1560?, 1565?], *Helyas* (c. 1560), *Sir Triamour* [1561?, 1565], *Sir Degarre* [1565?], *Sir Isumbras* [1565?].

[85] Wilson-Lee, p. 487.

[86] Edwards, p. 139.

[87] Edwards, p. 140.

[88] Edwards, p. 147.

[89] *The history of Guy of Warwick* (London: William Copland, c. 1553), STC 12541.5; *Sir Tryamoure* (London: William Copland, c. 1565), STC 24303.3.

[90] [*Sir Eglamour*] (London: William Copland, c. 1565), STC 7544.5; [*Guy of Warwick*] (London: William Copland, c. 1565), STC 12542.

Whereas for other printers such consistency is often attributable to the available fonts rather than intention, Copland's other books rule this out. His monographic blackletter title-pages represent less than half of his total corpus, and elsewhere, we see a wide portfolio of fonts in evidence — what Blayney has called Copland's 'extraordinary mixture' of type.[93] An architectural border woodcut combined with an uppercase roman, for instance, allows Copland to do a convincing impression of the printer Thomas Berthelet in *The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius*, printed in the same year as his monographic blackletter *Morte d'Arthur*.[94] The book shares with Berthelet's editions (printed between 1537 and 1553) his characteristic inscriptional uppercase roman paratexts explored in the next chapter. That title-page is multigraphic, but Copland also produced monographic roman title-pages, as witnessed by an edition of *The palis of honoure*, printed around 1553 — the same year as his monographic blackletter title-page to *The recuile of the histories of Troie*.[95] Isaac's description of Copland as one of the 'poorer class of printer who used old and mixed types' may have something to do with this range: his acquisition of second-hand fonts from the previous generation of printers may have afforded him a chameleon-like ability to adapt to a range of typographic modes appropriate to the range of his texts. Crucially, the evident diversity of type licenses an interpretation of intent behind Copland's title-page typography.

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[91] Edwards, p. 143.

[92] Edwards, p. 143.

[93] Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), II, p. 612.

[94] Antonio Guevara, *The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius* (London: William Copland, 1557), STC 12442.

I have so far focused on Copland's romances, given that the genre has dominated previous work on him, but this group is not precisely coincident with Copland's unusually monographic title-pages: while all of his romances have monographic blackletter title-pages, not all of his monographic blackletter title-pages are for romances. It is not, therefore, the argument of this section that 'blackletter = romance' — a connection once made for seventeenth-century romances by Charles Mish, in order to associate the genre with his conception of a lower class of readers.[96] Instead, another common denominator must be sought within this group, the remainder of which are listed in Section 2 of Appendix D. All of Copland's monographic blackletter title-pages may be categorized into three types of book: those 9 reformist books that appear until 1553; a group of 5 contemporaneous interludes or plays; and — the overwhelming majority — 46 books that were either written in the time of, or first printed by the first generations of printers in England, among which are the romances.

Jordi Sánchez-Marti points out that Copland is dependent on Wynkyn de Worde for his romance texts — all of them are editions of extant older works except for *The Knight of Curtesy*.[97] As Edwards puts it, 'breaking new ground seems to have been less a concern for him than the cultivation of that already tilled.'[98] De Worde, like Copland after him, had created and dominated a market for verse romance, printing twelve romances in nineteen editions,[99] emerging 'in the early part of the sixteenth century as the figure who made the most decisive contribution to the printed diffusion of the Middle English verse romances'.[100] After de Worde's death in 1534 or 1535, the publication of romances had a hiatus of nearly twenty years until it was taken up again by Copland — a dormant period which, Sánchez-Marti points out, has been wrongly interpreted by scholars as a 'demise'.[101] The gap is indeed sudden and extreme, and is seen by Wilson-Lee as indicative of 'a sharp departure from the tastes sensed and generated by the fledgling print market' led by de Worde.[102] But with Copland we see something of a revival — what Sánchez-Marti calls a 'second round of romance publication' that lasted until his death.[103] However, it is not only romance that sees this 'second round': though it has received attention from those, like Edwards and Sánchez-Marti, studying the genre in the sixteenth century, this narrative of historical revival applies also to the remainder of the 46 books that are also products of the early sixteenth century. Among them are the works of John Skelton, first printed by de Worde and Pynson from the 1500s. Likewise, the *The booke of haukyng huntyng and fysshyng*, which had first been printed in St Albans in 1486 and was printed at least twice by de Worde (in 1496 and 1518), was next printed by Copland. Popular works such as the *Mery geste of Robyn Hoode*, *Adam bel*, and the *Propre treatyse of a marchauntes wyfe* had also been printed by de Worde in the early sixteenth century, and before Copland's editions in the 1560s were last printed in 1515, 1536, and 1518, respectively. These books, then, are also part of a 'second round' which was not limited to the romances Sánchez-Marti and Edwards discuss, but also saw the reprinting of other vernacular texts disseminated via print in the early sixteenth century.

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[95] Gavin Douglas, *The palis of honoure* (London, William Copland, 1553?), STC 7073.

[96] Charles C. Mish, 'Black Letter as a Social Discriminant in the Seventeenth Century', *PMLA*, 68 (1953), 627–630.

[97] Jordi Sánchez-Marti, p. 12.

[98] Edwards, p. 142.

These books share the same house style that Edwards ascribes to Copland's romances, and to which I add blackletter monography: they are typically quartos, entirely in blackletter but for some roman drop caps, with a title-page that bears blackletter over a woodcut.

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[99] Jordi Sánchez-Marti, p. 19.

[100] Jordi Sánchez-Marti, p. 10.

[101] Sánchez-Marti cites Helen Cooper's mischaracterization of verse romance's 'recrudesecence in the late 1550s under Mary' followed by 'increasing spars[ity] after Elizabeth came to throne'. Sánchez-Marti, p. 12.

[102] Wilson-Lee, p. 482.

[103] Sánchez-Marti, p. 12.

Typographically speaking, Copland grouped these works with the romances. Rather than using his range of type to redesign old books for the multigraphic present, as de Worde and Pynson did for their humanist works, Copland chose to model his typography on the prior generation of printers whose work was predominantly monographic. His romances, therefore, were constituents of a wider revival that saw him emulating both the typography and the catalogue of 30 to 50 years prior. It is notable also that the woodcuts used by Copland on these title-pages were products of the earliest decades of the century too. Sara Smythe, in her catalogue of woodcuts in English books printed between 1536 and 1560, identifies two distinct styles in use: those of 'Contemporary Design', which were influenced by 'German, Dutch, and Flemish woodcut designers' and first appeared in the Coverdale Bible in 1535,[104] and an 'Early Design' style, of woodcuts produced before 1500.[105] Smythe describes how, with the appearance of a group of new English printers in the 'more relaxed political environment' that followed the death of Henry VIII, the 'antiquated style' was widely abandoned.[106] Copland, however, is one of a handful of printers who continue to use the 'Early Design' in these books,[107] pairing them with the blackletter monography of that era to create a coherently 'early' aesthetic.

Blackletter was therefore used to evoke a bygone era, but it was not the vague and idealized medievalist past found in romance, but the more recent past of the monographic early sixteenth century. This typographic emulation of a past generation is bolstered by Copland's explicit reference to these printers in his paratexts. Take, for instance, Copland's colophon to his 1554 edition of *The foure sonnes of Aimon*, first printed by de Worde around 1505:

> Imprinted at London, by Wynkyn de Worde, the .viii. daye of Maye, and [the] yere of our lorde.M.CCCCC.iiii. at the request and commaundement of the noble and puissant erle, the Erle of Oxenforde, And now Imprinted in the yere of our Lorde.M.CCCCC.liiii. the vi.daye of Maye, By Wylliam Copland, dwellyng in Fletestrete at the Signe of the Rose Garland.[108]

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[104] Sara Smythe, 'Woodcuts in English Books, 1536–1560' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1973), p. 15.

[105] Smythe, p. 8. Features given by Smythe as characteristic of the 'Early Design' are a 'flat' rather than a 'deep' space, 'giving the impression that the designs was built up from the lower border to the upper border' rather than from the foreground to the distance; a 'general, diffused light, hitting all surfaces equally', and no shadows cast; the absence of foreshortening; heads of large proportion; and often blank backgrounds (Smythe, pp. 9–10).

[106] Smythe, pp. 15–16.

[107] Smythe, p. 53.

[108] *The right pleasaunt and goodly historie of the foure sonnes of Aimon* (London: William Copland [1554]), STC 1011.5, fol. clxxiii.

Here, Copland links his edition to de Worde's, explicitly grounding it in the past — an extremely unusual feature for a colophon. Edwards interprets this colophon as 'more than a form of bibliographical *pietas*', writing that 'it seems designed to authorise his own edition by invoking a distinguished precedent for printing a work that does not seem to have been reprinted for over forty years.'[109] But when considered in the context of the book's anachronistic typography, the colophon seems less like a cultural license to print a romance, and more like a conscious act of historicism, explicitly contrasting the book to the 'now' of 1554. The book's colophon therefore verbally communicates that which its monographic blackletter title-page says visually: this is a book from another time. The same message is conveyed by Copland's conservation of historical prefaces. Rather than updating them, several of these books reprint the original prefaces to the books regardless of their irrelevance to their present day. In the preface to *Valentyne and Orson*, for instance, printed around 1555 and again around 1565, the words of the translator Henry Watson refer to the long-dead printer as if living: 'The whiche historye I Henrye Watso[n] symple of vnderstandynge haue translated out of French into our maternall tonge of Englyshe, at the Instaunce of my worshypfull mayster Wynkyn de Word'.[110] These paratexts, like the books' typography, therefore anchor them in the past.

Copland therefore uses typography to archaize his popular, vernacular books. The archaizing potential of letterforms has received attention from palaeographers, especially Malcolm Parkes, who describes an archaizing script as 'one that attempts to imitate a script current at a date earlier than that at which the scribe was writing.'[111] This is most famously seen in the fourteenth-century *littera antiqua* from which roman type was derived, but the practice was alive also in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, as witnessed by Archbishop Parker's restoration of Old English manuscripts, and addition of frontispieces that followed thirteenth-century models.[112] In some ways, archaizing script is more easily discerned than archaizing type: the 'most obvious characteristic of archaizing hands is an element of at best artificiality, at worst clumsiness, located in the duct of the handwriting.'[113] As typography is not vulnerable to these faults, any archaistic application becomes difficult to spot until typographic trends are considered quantitatively and diachronically, as above. But the general consequence of archaizing type is similar to that of archaizing script: just as the latter 'confirm that importance could be attached to the image of handwriting in the middle ages,'[114] so too does archaizing type confirm the significance of the 'image' of type in the sixteenth century.

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[109] Edwards, p. 141.

[110] *The hystory of the two valyaunte brethren Valentyne and Orson* (London: William Copland [c. 1555]), STC 24571.7, sig. A.ii.^{r}.

[111] Malcolm B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 141.

[112] Malcolm B. Parkes, 'Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts', in *Books and Collectors 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. by James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London: The British Library, 1997), pp. 101–144 (p. 124).

Archaizing type has not been studied to the same depth as its palaeographical counterpart, but book historians have occasionally identified instances, mostly confined to the seventeenth century. McKitterick, for instance, discusses editions of romances printed in blackletter. 'These publications', he writes, 'are the closest typographical link to England's earliest printers — printers whose work was by the second half of the seventeenth century beginning to exercise a fascination for collectors.'[115] For McKitterick, this 'allusive' typography caters to bibliophilic and antiquarian tastes, but Lesser has shown a dominant meaning of blackletter that is less specialized: it conveyed, in the seventeenth century, a 'powerful combination of Englishness [...] and past-ness' that he calls typographic nostalgia.[116] In the sixteenth century, suggestions for archaism are more ambiguous. Ronald McKerrow, for instance, shared in a footnote that he 'suspect[ed] that the use of black letter in the *Shepheardes Calender* of 1579 was an intentional bit of antiquarianism'[117] — a suspicion that Steven Galbraith rightly refutes.[118] While McKerrow, Galbraith, and Lesser seek past-ness in the abstract design of blackletter, Copland's books show that archaism was indeed performed with blackletter, even as early as the sixteenth century, but through a blackletter monography that contrasted to an overwhelmingly multigraphic culture. It is the *exclusive* use of blackletter that makes it archaic, alluding to a time before roman and italic were used in Britain. Just as some scribes archaized by 'opting to recreate only the visual impact of their earlier models' rather than minute details of scripts,[119] so too does blackletter monography recreate an aspect rather than facsimileing the exact appearance of their models. As Rundle describes the practice of *littera antiqua*'s scribes, Copland's blackletter monography is 'not replication but evocation.'[120]

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[113] Parkes, 'Archaizing Hands', p. 127.

[114] Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, p. 144.

[115] David McKitterick, *Old Books, New Technologies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 80.

[116] Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia', p. 107.

[117] Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 297.

[118] Steven K. Galbraith, '"English" Black-Letter Type and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*', *Spenser Studies*, 23 (2008), 13–40 (p. 23).

Though the archaizing capacity of blackletter monography is hard to spot until understood in a diachronic, quantitative context, another of Copland's archaizing tools is more obvious to modern eyes. Above, I have counted the title pages of Copland's *Recuile* as 'monographic blackletter'. While this is true within the broad category of 'blackletter', closer inspection reveals two kinds of blackletter at work on the page: as well as the idiomatic textura in which the title is set, there is a *lettre bâtarde*, also known as bastarda or bastard type, in which Copland's imprint is set (Figure 3.6). Alfred Johnson described four features of bastarda, by which it can be distinguished from textura. Its descenders are typically pointed, including those of the long s and f; its ascenders are 'frequently looped'; its g has an open tail. One of its most easily identified characteristics is its 'one-storeyed' a, which it shares with italic.[121] Other distinctive letters are its x, whose lower-left stroke is a hairline emerging from its top right; its k, whose lower-right stroke takes the form of a crossbar and its upper a loop; and its v and w, whose leftmost minims also ascend into loops. Bastarda's general aspect is much less vertical than textura, with more diagonal strokes (in the ascender of the d, for instance) and a slight curve to some of its minims (as in the second of the n, or first of the o). Given these features, its use alongside textura is conspicuous. Histories of English typography have consistently limited the lifespan of English bastarda to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Johnson, for instances, wrote that 'Caxton's Burgundians' (a variety of bastarda) did not 'survive into the sixteenth century', and that 'Rastell's *Grete Abridgement*, printed about 1535 by Robert Redman, is one of the latest examples' of bastarda.[122] Philip Gaskell likewise sees its expiry as having occurred 'by the mid sixteenth century'.[123] Hellinga notes that the bastarda of

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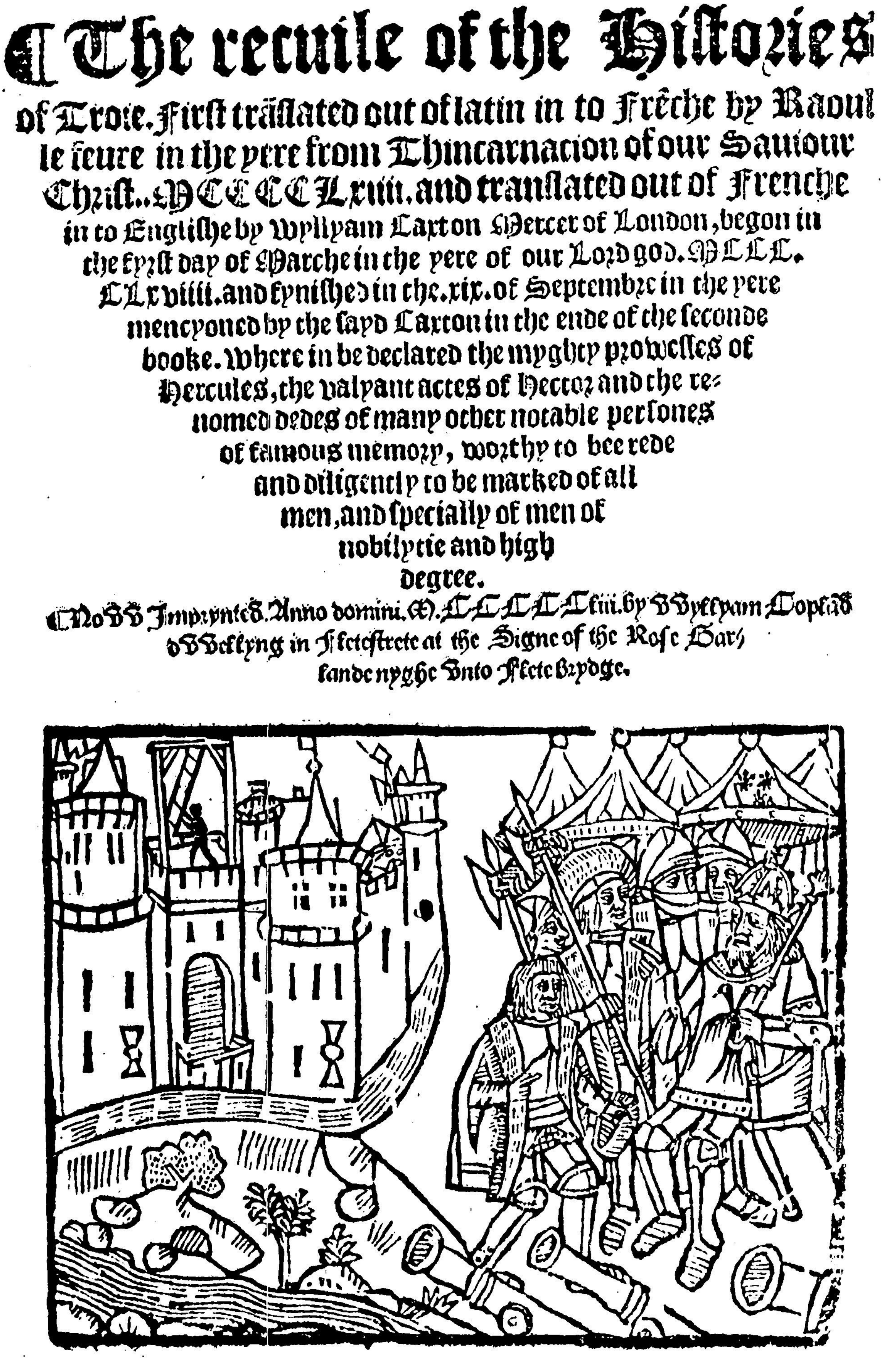
[119] Parkes, 'Archaizing Hands', p. 129.
[120] Rundle, p. 12.
[121] Alfred F. Johnson, *Type Designs: Their History and Development* (London: Grafton & Co., 1959), p. 26.
[122] Johnson, p. 30.
[123] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 19.



¶ The recuile of the Hiſtories
of Troie. Firſt trãſlated out of latin in to Frẽche by Raoul
le feure in the yere from Thincarnacion of our Sauiour
Chriſt. MCCCCLxiiii. and tranſlated out of Frenche
in to Engliſhe by Wyllyam Caxton Mercer of London, begon in
the fyrſt day of Marche in the yere of our Lord god. MCCC.
CLxviii. and fyniſhed in the. xix. of Septembre in the yere
mencyoned by the ſayd Caxton in the ende of the ſeconde
booke. Where in be declared the myghty proweſſes of
Hercules, the valyant actes of Hector and the re-
nomed dedes of many other notable perſones
of famous memory, worthy to bee rede
and diligently to be marked of all
men, and ſpecially of men of
nobilytie and high
degree.
¶ Now Imprynted. Anno domini. M.CCCCC.liii. by Wyllyam Copland
dwellyng in Fleteſtrete at the Signe of the Roſe Gar-
lande nyghe vnto Flete brydge.

FIGURE 3.6
The recuile of the histories of Troie (London: William Copland [1553]), STC 15378, fol. 1r (EEBO).

Caxton's first two fonts 'set a pattern which lasted for over ten years', copied by the St Alban's printer, John Lettou, and William de Machlinia in the 1480s before textura instead became the norm.[124] After this, the style was used mostly for legal works until the 1530s,[125] but the 'occasional late appearance' has been interpreted by Hellinga as 'indicat[ing] the antiquity of the text,' as in her example of Thomas Godfray's 1532 edition of Chaucer's works.[126]

Copland's use of bastarda on the title-page of the *Recuile* in 1553, therefore, is a surprisingly late appearance, and one that exploits bastarda's outmodedness to archaize the book: like the blackletter monography of this group, it marks the text as a product of the past. Furthermore, it seems not to be a general gesture to an earlier print culture, but a specific typographical reference to Caxton himself, whose first edition of the *Recuyell* was printed in bastarda in 1473. Like those direct references to de Worde's earlier editions in his verse romances, Copland reinforces the connection via the book's paratexts. The title-page reads:

> translated out of Frenche in to Englishe by Wyllyam Caxton Mercer of London, begon in the fyrst day of Marche in the yere of our Lord god.MCCC.CLxviiii and fynished in the.xix. of Septembre in the yere mencyoned by the sayd Caxton in the ende of the seconde booke.

Below this textura text appears Copland's imprint in bastarda: 'Now Imprynted Anno domini.M.CCCCCliii.by Wyllyam Copla[n]d dwellyng in Fletestrete at the Signe of the Rose Garlande nyghe vnto Fletebrydge.' Like Copland's historicizing colophon described above, this contrasts the text's historical origins with its revival, turning on the explicit 'Now'. That this is the earliest appearance of Copland's bastarda suggests that he acquired it especially for Caxton's text, using it in tandem with an 'Early Design' woodcut to project not just the age of Caxton, but Caxton himself, via the association of Caxton and bastarda that was held throughout the century. Joseph Dane notes that 'as early as 1598' Francis Thynne characterized Caxton's type as 'a ragged letter'.[127] According to Dane, 'the term is descriptive, not judgemental, and indicates that Caxton's type was very early seen as eccentric.'[128] It is bastarda's eccentricity, and therefore idiosyncracy, that Copland is exploiting when reuniting Caxton's text with its native type, affirming his identity through both textual and visual means. It is possible that this typographic choice expressed Caxton's identity at the expense of legibility: I do not think, as Dane does, that 'ragged' is used uncritically by Thynne. In 1533, Thomas More had equated the term with illegibility when he advised teachers not to 'teche vs our lesson in a small ragged hande, wherin a yonge begynner can scante perceyue one letter from an other.'[129] Closer to Thynne's time, an editor apologized for errors introduced into a text via 'the wrong orthography committed by the copiars of my vnlegible and ragged hand.'[130] The phrase gains metaphorical weight in Shakespeare's sixth sonnet, which warns of 'winter's ragged hand' defacing 'thy summer'. We can infer from this consistently pejorative use of 'ragged' that Thynne, and possibly Copland's customers before him, *were* judgemental of bastarda, and found it difficult to read. Certainly Copland's sparing use of it suggests it is now inappropriate for the main text: in this book it appears only on the title-page and in the Latin verse that ends the *Recuile*. Compounding this unfamiliarity, Copland's use of bastarda exaggerates its raggedness. His font seemingly lacked ws, as witnessed by their substitution with double v in 'Novv', 'vvyllyam', and 'dvvellyng'. The v's otiose ascending strokes, jutting leftwards, dilate the 'w' and introduce a space between the vs that discourages smooth reading, exaggerating the eccentricity of 'Caxton's' font.[131] Copland would go on to use this font for just two other works. In *thystory of the seuen wyse maysters of Rome*, printed around 1555, bastarda is used for headings and running headings in contrast to the textura text.[132] In 1556, it was used for two lines of the title-page of *The treasuri of helth*.[133] Though Copland also used the font for headings in this book, he seems to have thought better of it, as in 1558 he reset them in textura (but retained the bastarda on the title-page).[134]

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[124] Hellinga, 'Printing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume III*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Joseph Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 65–108, p. 74.

[125] Johnson, p. 30.

[126] Hellinga, 'Printing', p. 75. Joseph Dane notes that this book was the last time Chaucer was printed in bastarda. *Who Is Buried in Chaucer's Tomb? Studies in the Reception of Chaucer's Book* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998), p. 66.

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[127] Caxton 'first printed Chaucers tales in one colume in a ragged letter'. Francis Thynne, *Animadversions Uppon the Annotacions and corrections of some imperfections of impressiones of Chaucer's workes (sett downe before tyme, and nowe) reprinted in the yere of our lorde 1598)*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, O.S. 9 (London: N. Trübner & Co, 1865), p. 71.

[128] Dane, p. 61.

[129] Thomas More, *The Second Parte of the Co[n]futacion of Tyndals Answere* (London: William Rastell, 1533), STC 18080, p. cii.

[130] 'The author to the reader', in *His Maiesties poeticall exercises at vacant houres* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1591), STC 14379, sig. a^{v}. Additional apologies for illegible, 'ragged' copy may be found in Henry R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 112.

[131] It is possible that this lack of ws is due to their use as kludges elsewhere — and consequent loss from the font — during the font's previous use. Blayney has described how John Rastell, when out of sorts, frequently supplemented his textura with bastarda sorts from the 1510s onwards. Blayney, p. 191.

With Copland's next revival of a Caxton work, he uses another form of bastarda that takes the blackletter title-page from archaism to pastiche. In 1557, Copland printed Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, first edited and printed by Caxton in 1485 (and subsequently reprinted twice by de Worde in 1498 and 1529).[135] Its title-page shares the hallmarks of Copland's early sixteenth-century reprints: here, a monographic blackletter title is set above a woodcut of a knight on horseback (Figure 3.7). The first line of this title is in bastarda, but of a form that was never available to Caxton — a large display font in the style developed in Germany that would later be known as fraktur.[136] This same design of fraktur had been used for the running headings of the Apocrypha of a 1549 edition of the Great Bible — a fact which contributes to Blayney's identification of Germany as the Apocrypha's probable location of printing. Blayney thinks it likely that the sheets and the equipment used to print them were then brought to England.[137] Copland's use of it accords with Isaac's description of him as a user of 'mixed types': the a is not the form that appears in the Great Bible, and the m and ns are imported from a textura font. The use of this fraktur to represent a Caxtonian bastarda is medievalist rather than medieval. Since Caxton's fonts, the 'ragged' features have been amplified: the capital T is more ornament than letter, wrapped up in its own hairline loops; at this size, a greater contrast is possible between the maximum width of bastarda's strokes and the sharp points of its descenders; a sharp calligraphic kink is added to the the a's left minim and the curve of the o (one of two available forms). An alternate, Germanic form of y, more closely resembling the textura n, exacerbates any unfamiliarity and illegibility. Bastarda as it

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[132] *Here beginneth thystory of the seuen wyse maysters of Rome* (London: William Copland, c. 1555), STC 21299.

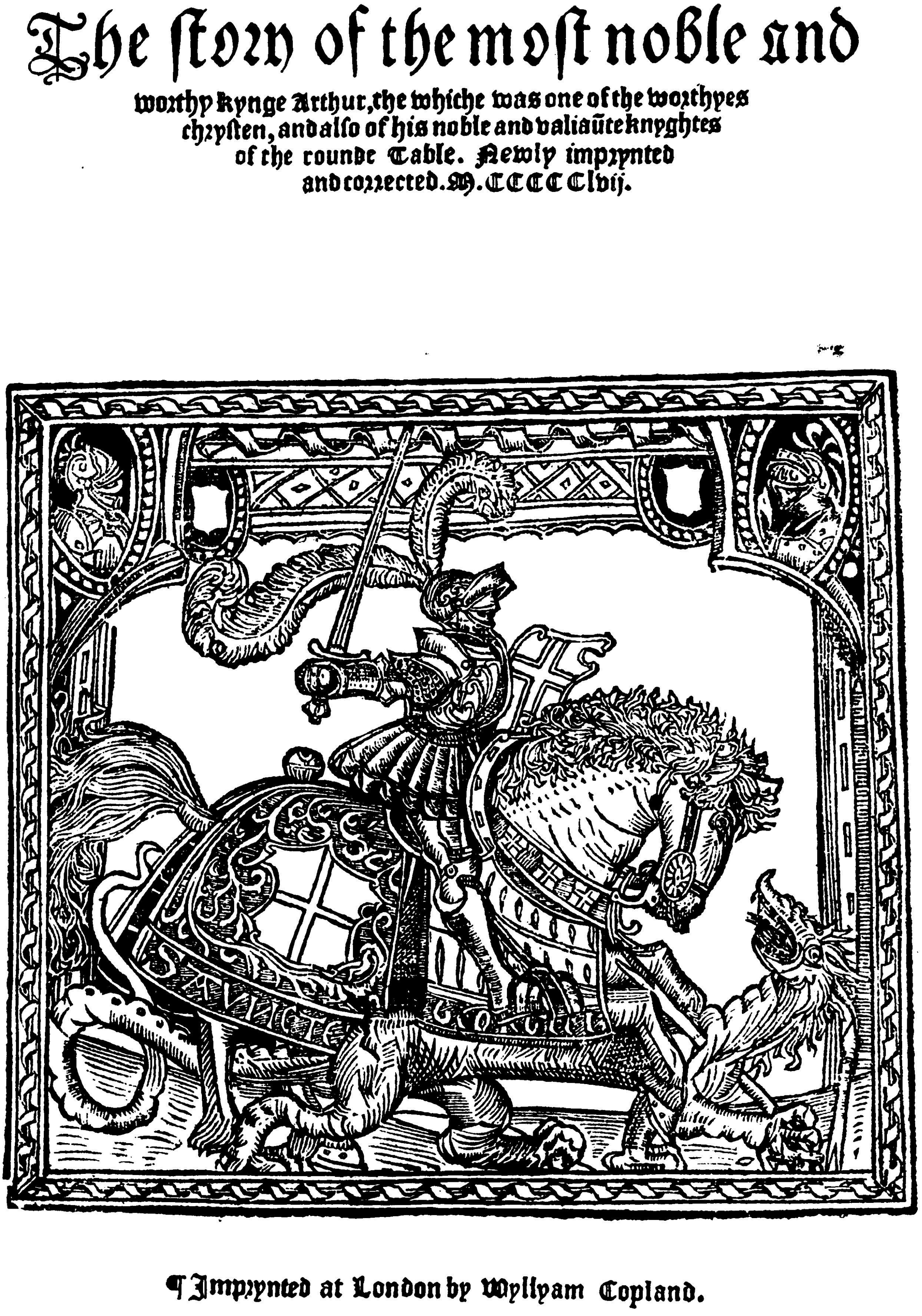
[133] Pope John XXI, *The treasuri of helth* (London: William Copland, c. 1556), STC 14652.

[134] Pope John XXI, *The treasuri of helth* (London: William Copland, 1558), STC 14653.

[135] Thomas Malory, *The story of the moste noble and worthy Kynge Arthur* (London: William Copland, 1557), STC 804.

[136] Daniel B. Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 139.

[137] Blayney, p. 639.



The ſtoꝛy of the moſt noble and
woꝛthy kynge Arthur, the whiche was one of the woꝛthyes
chꝛyſten, and alſo of his noble and valiaũte knyghtes
of the rounde Table. Newly impꝛynted
and coꝛrected. M.CCCC Clvij.

¶ Impꝛynted at London by Wyllyam Copland.

FIGURE 3.7
Thomas Malory, *The story of the moste noble and worthy Kynge Arthur* (London: William Copland, 1557), STC 804, fol. 1r (EEBO).

appeared in England is therefore extremified in this fraktur, and when applied to a Caxton text the effect is of medievalist pastiche that verges on a caricature of the 'ragged letter' of a past generation, rather than their realistic emulation. It appears that the use of this type for the work was irresistible, even into the 1580s by which time it was extremely dated: the next edition of it, printed by Thomas East in 1582, reproduces Copland's title-page.[138]

If Copland's revival of the verse romance sought to present those books as products of the de Worde era with blackletter monography, these two prose romances hark back further to the very beginnings of English print by augmenting their blackletter monography with bastarda. Like Copland's verse romances, they refer to a textual culture cultivated by the printer whose typography they emulate — typography that was itself inherent to this culture. The appearance of Caxton's books was visibly Burgundian, his first two fonts based on the scripts developed there. Dane presents the style and the culture from which it was derived as inseparable, emphasizing not only bastarda's 'origins in Burgundian culture', but reading in it an 'artisocratic allusion that is maintained when [bastarda] appears in Caxton's early books.'[139] This connection between bastarda and Burgundian aristocratic culture is shared by the genre of prose romance which Caxton cultivated, and Copland revived: Diane Bornstein has described 'Caxton's love for knightly deeds and chivalric themes' as constituting a 'Burgundian renaissance' in England.[140] Bornstein's argument notes that Caxton was printing translations of works held in the Burgundian ducal library, and that his selection of texts and the 'tone, attitude, and phrases' of his accompanying paratexts were derived from the 'Burgundian literary milieu'.[141]

Copland therefore actively archaized these books by synthesizing anachronistic typography with the revival of a group of works not seen in print for two to five decades, reinforced by their historicizing paratexts. Having established this, the question remains of why he would

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138 Thomas Malory, *The storye of the most noble and worthy kynge Arthur* (London: Thomas East, 1582), STC 805.
139 Joseph A. Dane, *Blind Impressions: Methods and Mythologies in Book History* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 16.
140 Diane Bornstein, 'William Caxton's Chivalric Romances and the Burgundian Renaissance in England', *English Studies*, 57 (1975), 1–10.
141 Bornstein, pp. 3–5.

do so. A plausible explanation might suggest that Copland was using the promotional function of title-pages to market his books to customers who simply had a taste for an older idiom — those readers who, in the 1550s and 60s, wished to indulge their nostalgia for the early decades of the century, a time before the break from Rome, before the turbulence of extreme regime changes, and before the 'arrival' of 'new learning' to the domestic print industry. To do so with authority, Copland exploits his status as the 'the fourth in a direct line of succession from England's first printer.'[142] By referencing Caxton and de Worde in his books, both verbally and typographically, Copland flaunts a typographical pedigree that none of his peers could boast of. Just as de Worde had once called Caxton 'master', inheriting much of his business, so too had Robert Copland worked for de Worde.[143] In the year in which William Copland began to print with his father Robert's device and equipment, one author described Robert in the most venerable of terms that confer on the family business the authority of precedence and experience: the book was printed at 'old Robert Coplands the eldist printer of Ingland'.[144]

But for some authors and readers, the connection may have not been a cause for much pride, and the aesthetics of the century's early print culture an undesirable one. As Norman Blake has described, in the sixteenth century Caxton's reputation was the victim of changing tastes: 'he who follows one fashion will fall before the next fashion; and such was to be Caxton's fate.'[145] William Copland of all people was aware of this. In 1553 — the same year in which he seemingly endorsed Caxton's work by printing the *Recuile* — Copland printed a sustained and slanderous attack on Caxton, in Gavin Douglas's translation of the *Aeneid*, completed in 1513. Its preface describes in no uncertain terms how Caxton 'So schamefully, the storie did peruerte' in his own translation of the *Aeneid* in 1490. Douglas's main point of contention is Caxton's many errors in translation, and thereby presents his own as 'fulfilling a need for an accurate vernacular *Aeneid* that Caxton's does not meet', as Jacquelyn Hendricks summarizes.[146] In Copland's edition of the work, attention is drawn to the tirade, glossed in the margin as 'Caxtouns faultes'.[147] Douglas's opprobrium was shared by Robert Braham, whose 1555 preface to Lydgate's *Troy Book* admonished Caxton's 'beastly' boldness in attempting to translate Virgil 'w[ith]out eyther wyt or any learning'. Likewise, Caxton's 'leawde recueil of Troye' was, for Braham, a 'longe tedious and brayneles bablyng [...] proceadynge therin as an ydyot in his follye.'[148]

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[142] 'Copland, William', *ODNB*.

[143] Robert Copland, *Poems*, ed. by Mary C. Erler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 3–4.

[144] Andrew Boorde, *The pryncyples of astronamye* (London: Robert Copland, 1547?), STC 3386, sig. A2^{v}. Quoted in Copland, p. 10.

[145] Blake, p. 194.

[146] Jacquelyn Hendricks, 'Gavin Douglas's Aeneados: Caxton's English and "Our Scottis Langage"', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 43 (2017), 220–236 (p. 220).

Similarly, the other vernacular works archaized by Copland were besmirched by his contemporaries. It is a commonplace in histories of the romance genre to describe its fall from grace over the sixteenth century. This is first in evidence in the 'sharp departure' of taste that Wilson-Lee identifies in their conspicuous absence between de Worde and Copland, but their status was characterized by more than just a passive lack of demand: as Andrew King describes, they were increasingly thought to be 'inferior on moral, social, and literary grounds.'[149] For Braham, their ill repute had enough currency to provide the ultimate insult to Caxton's work: any right-minded reader of the *Recuyell*, he writes, 'shall rather thyncke [Caxton's] doynges worthye to be nu[m]bred amongest the trifelinge tales and barrayne luerdries of Robyn Hode, & Beuys of Hampton.'[150] This attitude towards these texts was widespread, and a search on EEBO-TCP for 'Beuys' quickly demonstrates that the title, alongside others, had become a byword for trash. Lancelot Ridley, for instance, used a similar combination of titles as the *ne plus ultra* of deplorable texts. Those that 'contempneth and despiseth' the word of God, he wrote, 'and estemeth it no better, then a foolishe tale of Robyn Hoode, Guye of Warwicke, or Beuis of Hampton' have no hope of a heavenly afterlife.[151] Such instances are commonly cited to illustrate a sixteenth-century distaste for romances, but they commonly group alongside them those other works also archaized by Copland. *Robin Hood*, for instance, appears alongside verse romances in the examples above; another repudiation, by Nathan Baxter, likewise includes *Howleglas* alongside four romances printed by Copland in its checklist of 'prophan & friuolous bokes'.[152] In 1589, even Skelton is numbered among them by George Puttenham. Criticizing the use of short lines and frequent rhyme in verse, Puttenham describes them as the techniques of 'blind harpers or such like tauerne minstrels' whose matter is 'for the most part stories of old time, as the tale of Sir *Topas*, the reportes of *Beuis of Southampton*, *Guy of Warwicke*, *Adam Bell*, and *Clymme of the Clough* & such other old Romances or historicall rimes' — all but *Sir Thopas* printed monographically by Copland; 'Such were the rimes of *Skelton*.'[153]

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[147] Virgil, *The xiii. bukes of Eneados*, trans. by Gavin Douglas (London: William Copland, 1553), STC 24797, sig. B.iii.^{r}.

[148] Robert Braham, 'To the Reader', in *The auncient and onely trewe and syncere cronicle of the warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans*, trans. by John Lydgate (London: Thomas Marshe, 1555), STC 5580, fols 1^{r}–1^{v} (fol. 1$^{v)}$.

[149] Andrew King, *'The Faerie Queene' and Middle English Romance: The Matter of Just Memory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 29.

[150] Braham, fol. 1^{v}.

[151] Lancelot Ridley, *An exposicion in Englishe vpon the Epistle of .S. Paule* (London: Richard Grafton, 1548), STC 21039, sig. C.iii^{r}.

The list of stigmatized books, therefore, closely resembles that given in Appendix D — this group of 'old Romances or historicall rimes' which Copland actively archaized. Several criticisms are common: these books are 'lewd', trifling or frivolous, and almost always 'old'. As many have noted, this hostility towards Caxton and romance was promoted by humanists, even constituting a 'humanist campaign against chivalric romances'[154] The thesis was first treated in detail by Arthur Ferguson,[155] and the campaign is famously epitomized by Roger Ascham's damnation of *Morte d'Arthur*: 'the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye.'[156] Douglas and Braham's criticisms of Caxton cited above likewise caricatured him as the antithesis of humanist endeavour, lacking in learning and heedlessly corrupting a source text. Robert Adams finds further evidence in the many political and ideological contentions with romance implicit and explicit in the texts of More, Erasmus, and Vives.[157] But the ideological incompatibilities between humanism and romance were accompanied by more serious accusations of blasphemy. Via a survey of sixteenth-century responses to the genre, Alex Davis has interrogated the thesis that humanism caused romance's decline, by arguing that 'more often, critics of the chivalric romances take their stand on moral or theological issues.'[158] The books among which Baxter lists *Howleglas* and the romances are, for instance, 'vile & blasphemous'; they 'manifestly shew that gods word is either shamefully neglected, or despitefully condemned.'[159]

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[152] Nathan Baxter, 'The Epistle Dedicatorie', in *The lectures or daily sermons, of that reuerend diuine, D. Iohn Caluine* (London: J. Charlewood for Edward White, 1578), STC 4432, sigs A.ii.^{r}–B.i.^{v} (sig. A.ii.^{r}).

[153] George Puttenham, *The arte of English poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), STC 20519, p. 69.

[154] Wilson-Lee, p. 482.

[155] Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1960).

[156] Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster* (London: John Daye, 1570), STC 832, p. 27.

[157] Among them are the opposition of the tyranny celebrated in the genre, and the incompatibility of a 'war-ridden and disintegrating late-medieval society' with the 'desired renaissance social order of peace and Christian justice.' Robert P. Adams, 'Bold Bawdry and Open Manslaughter: The English New Humanist Attack on Medieval Romance', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 23 (1959), 33–48 (p. 34).

Though these may be the words of an extremist minority, evidence suggests that prejudices against such books were wielded by authorities towards the condemnation of their readers. In 1569, the antiquary John Stow's library was raided by order of Bishop Grindal — an indication of 'the growing hostility towards Catholics after the Northern Rebellion and a foreshadowing of their open persecution in the years to come.'[160] The raid found a large library of Catholic books, forty of which were itemized in a report that concluded 'His bokes declare him to be a great fauv[oure]r of papistrye' (though no further action was taken against Stow).[161] After the itemized books — recusant and anti-Protestant treatises and sermons — there appears a general note of the remainder of Stow's library: 'He hath a great sorte of folishe fabulous bokes of olde prynte as of Sir Degorye, Tryamour etc.'[162] Though the phrases 'bokes of olde prynte' may refer to books that are actually old, in light of Copland's archaized editions of 'Sir Degorye, Tryamour etc.', I believe it likely that the report of Stow's library attempts to make a distinction between old books, and old-looking books: 'bokes of olde prynte' is cognate with books 'of Geneva print' or 'of proclamation print' — that is, of a certain typography. That the author of the report goes on to describe 'olde phantasticall popishe bokes prynted in the olde tyme' shortly after the books of 'olde prynte' maintains the distinction between old and old-looking. The point here is not whether Stow favoured archaic books; more tellingly, archaic typography was identified and singled out by the raiders to implicate Stow by his association with a widely condemned past.

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[158] Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 7.

[159] Baxter, sig. A.ii^{r}. See Davis, pp. 7–15 for further moral objections to romance.

[160] Janet Wilson, 'A Catalogue of the "Unlawful" Books Found in John Stow's Study on 21 February 1568/9', *Recusant History*, 20 (1990), 1–30 (p. 1).

[161] BL MS Lansdowne 11, art. 3, fol. 5; transcribed in Wilson, p. 2.

[162] BL MS Lansdowne 11, art. 3, fol. 5; transcribed in Wilson, p. 26.

Despite the condemnation of romances, they were still consumed — as Stow's books testify — and by a wide variety of readers. Sánchez-Marti finds that Copland's 'final wave of verse romance publication found an audience inclusive of both commoners and educated readers.'[163] Not only do we find them in Stow's library, but also that of a stonemason from Coventry known as Captain Cox. As Edwards writes, a record of Cox's books made in 1575 'reads remarkably like an inventory of Copland's stock.'[164] Similarly, Wilson-Lee finds evidence for a large provincial readership of Copland's romances. This is seen not only in the 'noteworthy preponderance of chivalric romances' in the 'the stocklists of non-London booksellers and country-house libraries',[165] but also the inscriptions found on these books (one examined by Wilson-Lee shows it was owned by a 'representative member of the northern gentry' in 1582).[166] They were also found among students at the University of Oxford: Robert Ashley, in his reflection on his time there around 1580, describes his acquisition of 'fictas et futiles fabellas' —frivolous, made-up fables —telling the stories of 'Bevisio Hamtonensi Guidone Warwicensi historia Valentini et Orsoni vita Arthuri Regis Britania'.[167]

All of these readers, like Stow, must have read their romances in blackletter — the 'bokes prynted in the olde tyme' of de Worde and Caxton, or, more likely, the 'olde prynte' of Copland. This could be taken as further evidence against a notion held in the twentieth century that blackletter was the 'commoners' typeface', or of a 'less sophisticated public'.[168] But this notion was more relevant to the period following roman's majority and, furthermore, has been sufficiently dismissed by Lesser, who argues that 'while the material features of books testify to the readership imagined by publishers, the readings they expected from their customers, and the marketing strategies designed to reach them, they tell us less about the actual readers of books.'[169] Above, I considered Copland's archaization along such lines — as a potential marketing strategy, designed to appeal to a readership with a nostalgic eye. But given the hostility towards books of that period, nostalgia for that past may have produced a limited market. An alternative suggestion of why Copland would archaize these books eases the paradox of their simultaneous condemnation and wide consumption. Perhaps, in a culture in which these works were vehemently condemned, archaizing typography licensed their consumption by historicizing them. The blackletter monography, early style woodcuts, and historic paratexts of these books contextualized them as products of 'the olde tyme'. Readers of the multigraphic present could therefore see these books through the lens of several decades, held at a safe historical distance. Likewise disassociated from the books, Copland absolved his customers of any of the alleged foolishness, lewdness or papistry of the texts they contained. These books' blackletter monography could even be read as a part of their condemnation, denying the works any currency that would have come with a design updated for the present, as de Worde and Pynson granted their humanist books. Of course, while this strategy might be good in theory for Copland's immediate customers, in practice it eventually led to typography being used as evidence against Stow.

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[163] Sánchez-Marti, p. 15.

[164] Edwards, p. 146.

[165] Wilson-Lee, p. 489.

[166] Wilson-Lee, p. 487.

[167] Ronald S. Crane, 'The Reading of an Elizabethan Youth', *Modern Philology*, 11 (1913), 269–271 (p. 271).

[168] Mish, as summarized in Lesser's overview of the persistence of this idea. Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia', pp. 100–101.

[169] Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia', p. 101. Adrian Weiss has likewise described the 'supposed connection' as 'undercut by too many strong contradictions to be taken seriously.' Adrian Weiss, 'Casting Compositors Foul

In the Introduction, I qualified a general principle of distant reading: quantitative studies can expose 'historical patterns too large to be explored through the narrow aperture of a single reader's memory.'[170] Here, however, the data have demonstrated a printer's recognition and deliberate exploitation of a historical pattern. While printing books that used the combination of types typical of his present, Copland was also printing books that alluded to the past. It was not only Copland's professional memory that recognized this diachronic difference: the advertising function of the monographic title-page shows that he expected his target market to see it too. That the raiders of Stow's library could recognize books of 'old prynte' (and even, perhaps, distinguish them from 'bokes prynted in the olde tyme') provides more evidence that readers were cognisant of the shift from monography to multigraphy. For books printed in Britain, this shift began with humanist books — those reprints by de Worde and Pynson

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Cases, and Skeletons: Printing in Middleton's Age', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 195–225 (p. 202).

[170] Ted Underwood, *Distant Horizons: Digital Evidence and Literary Change* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), p. 169.

that showed them fervently applying their newly acquired roman type to update old books. But, although they are visually polarized, the humanist books and the medievalist books are not opposed in their practice: this polarization is entirely in line with the tenets of humanism. Above I have argued that the appearance of English *Classical author* texts in blackletter conforms to a humanist polarization of the appearance of languages; the same applies to these romances. Likewise, Copland's archaization of them is compatible with humanist practice in their historicization. Just as humanists had a 'new interest in the original',[171] so too does Copland evoke the original printed incarnations of these vernacular texts.

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[171] Wakelin, *Humanism*, p. 16.

CHAPTER 4: MATERIAL

'The subtile deuise of the Workmen in those dayes'

1.1 Typography as written text

The relationship between manuscript and early print remains a quietly contested notion in book history: did the earliest printed books imitate manuscripts? The resemblance between the two was traditionally reiterated by mid-twentieth-century accounts, Sigfrid H. Steinberg writing in 1955 that, 'in outward appearance,' early incunabula 'are almost indistinguishable from contemporary manuscripts.'[1] We might concede that these books are almost indistinguishable to an untrained eye, but his contemporary Curt F. Bühler went further, writing that 'there is little real difference between the fifteenth-century manuscripts and the printed book.'[2] More recently, bibliographers have been reluctant to make such a simplified equation between the two media. Lotte Hellinga identifies a movement that would seemingly maintain the dichotomy, asserting a quintessential difference between a printed book and a manuscript: '"Early printed books imitated manuscripts" is a pronouncement incunabulists usually feel compelled to contradict', she writes.[3] Among the reasons for this, she cites the fact that fonts rapidly became simplified versions of the scripts on which they were based, in both their design and their variety. After the 300+ type sorts seen in books printed by Gutenberg, fonts rapidly phased out the ligatures and abbreviations that would otherwise replicate scribal practice. At the head of this movement is Margaret M. Smith, who is 'cautious' of ascribing an imitative relationship.[4] Smith is critical of past scholars who have described the relationship as 'slavish', notably Herman Verway, who wrote that the printed book 'Originat[ed] as a slavish imitation of the manuscript book' and 'rapidly emancipated itself from its model, without *entirely* renouncing its origins.'[5] Most of the evidence used to prove imitation, Smith says, 'can be argued to have been used for other reasons,' which she goes on to do.

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[1] Sigfrid H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 1996), p. 30.

[2] Curt F. Bühler, *The Fifteenth-Century Book* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), p. 16.

[3] Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: The British Library, 2010), p. 48.

[4] Margaret M. Smith, 'Medieval Roots of the Renaissance Printed Book: An Essay in Design History', in *Forms of the 'Medieval' in the 'Renaissance': A Multidisciplinary Exploration of a Cultural Continuum*, ed. by George Hugo Tucker (Charlottesville: Rockwood Press, 2000), pp. 143–154 (p. 145).

[5] Herman de la Fontaine Verway, 'Introduction', in *Copy and Print in the Netherlands*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Wytze Hellinga (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 1–18 (p. 15).

Despite this call for nuance, the idea that early print and manuscript's relationship is one of straightforward imitation persists. As recently as 2014, *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* includes the remark that 'with the advent of print in Europe, early printed books (incunabula) were designed to look like handwritten ones.'[6] Nor is Smith denying their fundamental similarities — she writes that 'there is little doubt that the manuscript *did* serve as the model for the printed book, and it could hardly have been otherwise.'[7] David McKitterick has suggested likewise by describing early print as 'inescapably imitative.'[8] Printers produced books, so of course they reproduced the forms of books — what else was there? We might, then, reframe the contention: it is not the resemblance of the two media that is disputed, but the intention of the printers. If we say that 'print imitated manuscripts', we remove any agency of the printer from the equation, but its alternative, 'printers imitated manuscripts' (as Ezell suggests) implies a deliberate, conscious attempt to copy, which has occasionally been interpreted as deception or counterfeit.[9] The opposite extreme, the complete lack of agency implied by 'slavish', is equally unhelpful, as if a passive adoption of established norms debased their art. Between the two, then, we are in danger of misrepresenting early printers as at best unoriginal and at worst fraudsters.

1.2 Skeuomorphism

Smith is therefore right to diminish the intent of the printer. Though she attempts to do so by adopting 'emulation' rather than 'imitation', this term doesn't sufficiently enable her cause, bringing with it much the same connotations. To refine our understanding of this relationship, we can look to archaeological and design theory. The concept of skeuomorphic design can be usefully applied to early print history, complementing Smith's ideas and continuing in the same direction. The *OED* includes two senses of the noun *skeuomorph*:

> 1. An ornament or ornamental design on an artefact resulting from the nature of the material used or the method of working it.
> 2. An object or feature copying the design of a similar artefact in another material.[10]

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[6] Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'Handwriting and the Book', in *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Leslie Howsam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 90–106 (p. 92).

[7] Smith, p. 145.

[8] David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 35.

[9] Ezell, p. 92.

[10] 'skeuomorph, n.', *OED*.

It is this second definition that has governed contemporary discussion of skeuomorphs, both in design and archaeology, the field in which it was originally coined. This coinage occurred in the *Transactions of the Lancashire & Cheshire Antiquarian Society* in 1889, in which Henry Colley March sought a term for 'the forms of ornament demonstrably due to structure', suggesting that 'if those taken from animals are called zoomorphs, and those from plants phyllomorphs, it will be convenient to call those derived from structure, skeuomorphs.'[11] March describes how the appearance of functional materials create in their viewer a 'corresponding expectancy' of that form — the form is then reproduced when similar designs are created with new tools and materials that do not necessitate it. 'Just as "expectancy" caused the transfer of thong-work from the flint axe, where it was functional, to the bronze celt, where it was skeuomorphic, it carried the chevrons and cruciforms of basketry to the decoration of earthen vessels.'[12] In transitioning between media, the feature loses its function, and becomes aesthetic. March's identification of the skeuomorph was highly influential and has been used since by archaeologists, particularly with regard to pottery. 'Certain types of Middle Minoan pottery,' for instance, 'are imbued with features highly reminiscent of metal vessels, such as metallicizing rivets at the join between handle and body.'[13] Modern design is likewise not short of examples. We might think of mock-Tudor houses as skeuomorphic, for instance — a 'widely popular' style in the 1920s and 30s, that 'used ornamental "Tudor" beams on the front of mass-produced, brick-built, cement-rendered houses.'[14] The visible beams of their exteriors are not structural and load-bearing, as they once were, but ornamental. The iron content of terracotta that gives it its distinctive orange-brown colour is not found in plastic flowerpots, and yet they typically have the same colour as their terracotta antecedents. In each case, accidents of tools, materials, or production methods are re-realized as aesthetic features in the transition to a new medium.

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[11] Henry Colley March, 'The Meaning of Ornament', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 7 (1889), 160–192 (p. 166).

[12] March, p. 168.

[13] Carl Knappett, 'Photographs, Skeuomorphs and Marionettes', *Journal of Material Culture*, 7 (2002), 97–117 (p. 109).

[14] Daniel Maudlin, 'Constructing Identity and Tradition: Englishness, Politics and the Neo-Traditional House', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 63 (2009), 51–63 (p. 55).

Contemporary design theory perhaps owes its acquaintance with skeuomorphism to Donald Norman, who used the term in his popular book *The Design of Everyday Things*, first published in 1988. His sense of the word allows a broader scope than its archaeological use: 'Skeuomorphic' he writes, 'is the technical term for incorporating old, familiar ideas into new technologies, even though they no longer play a functional role.'[15] It is interesting that Norman goes on to characterize designers of skeuomorphs with the same terms that Verway applies to printers: 'the history of technology shows that new technologies and materials often slavishly imitate the old'.[16] Again, the negative subtext of servility and unoriginality that underscores his use of the term is, like Verway's, an unsympathetic misrepresentation.

It was this sort of anti-conservative approach to design that caused skeuomorphism to enter the popular consciousness in 2013. From its release in 2007, the Apple iPhone's graphic interfaces depended on skeuomorphism. Its ebook application presented the books' covers on a shelf with a wood grain pattern, and its note-taking application emulated the yellow paper, margins, and binding of a ring-bound notepad, rendering the notes in a typeface designed to look like handwriting. But on a more subtle level, its general design idiom used skeuomorphic elements that emulated three dimensions on a 2D screen: buttons appeared bevelled, and had shadows; when they were touched, they appeared to be 'pressed', receding from the user's finger as if it had applied pressure. In 2013, Apple updated its software to iOS 7 and brought with it a new interface, consciously stripped of all skeuomorphic elements.[17] The virtual bookshelves and ring binders were discontinued, as was the fundamental illusion of depth, as buttons and windows no longer shared features of their three-dimensional counterparts. They instead took on regular, geometric, two-dimensional outlines in a style that subsequently became known as 'flat design', usually in opposition to 'skeuomorphism'. Speaking about the radical change to *USA Today* in November 2013, Apple's Chief Design Officer Jony Ives explained that 'people had already become comfortable with touching glass, they didn't need physical buttons [...] there was an incredible liberty in not having to reference the physical world so literally.'[18] For a short time after, the interface change divided opinion among users, and was heralded as 'the death of skeuomorphism', owing to Apple's influence.[19]

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[15] Donald Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things* (London: MIT Press, 2013), p. 159.

[16] Norman, p. 159.

[17] Per Mollerup, *Pretense Design: Surface over Substance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2019), p. 122.

If users can do without skeuomorphs, what is their point? Many supporters of Apple's update welcomed the change to flat design as a long-overdue rejection of superfluous ornament; but while skeuomorphs *are* ornamental, they are not merely so. Skeuomorphism bestows new functions that, while immaterial, are no less vital to the object than the material functions they originally performed. The bevels of a pre-2013 iPhone button signalled to the user that 'this area of the screen behaves like a button', and the shadows of its pressed state signal the completion of the user's interaction. Skeuomorphs are therefore not deliberate acts of deception, or 'slavish' imitations, but material metaphors that cue the user, telling them what to expect from an object, and guiding their use of it. For the iPhone, and in many other cases, they introduced users to a new medium without the need of an instruction manual. Skeuomorphs can also perform a connotative function by bringing to the object the associations of their prototypes. Why, for instance, would the architect of a mock-Tudor house go to the lengths of adding redundant external beams? By doing so they do not try to trick the viewer into identifying the building as Tudor, but they bring to the building certain connotations of age and history. As Maudlin writes, this translates an 'architectural nostalgia' that reflected the 'nostalgia and loss in the aftermath of World War I',[20] or even, as Jonathan Woodham argues, an expression of national identity in its perceived Englishness.[21]

Early printed books exhibit these skeuomorphic traits. McKitterick has explained the relationship of early print to manuscript in the same terms with which March first theorized the skeuomorph: 'decoration and other guidance for the reader', for instance, 'was not added in order to make a printed book look like a manuscript; it was added because that was expected'[22] — a corresponding expectancy determines a design. This inherent skeuomorphism is most obvious in their fonts. I have already touched upon the hundreds of type sorts that the earliest typefounders included in a font, covering all of the ligatures, abbreviations, and variant forms that were inherited from a scribal system, but the letterforms of their typefaces are skeuomorphic too: the textura scripts on which they were based bear the trace of the tools of their creation. A broad-nibbed pen, held at a roughly 45-degree angle, gives it this appearance, producing a 'distinction between thick and thin strokes.'[23] In a downward ductus the pen forms a thick minim; in an oblique motion it forms a hairline stroke. These letterforms, 'the track of a tool',[24] formed in ink on paper, were continued in metal fonts, where they became skeuomorphic. In this typographical context, their forms owe nothing to the counterpunch and the graver — tools used by the punchcutter to shape the metal of the punch — but are skeuomorphs of their pen and ink models.[25] By identifying these books as skeuomorphic, we can absolve printers from their various charges of slavishness or fraud — instead, they were participating in a design practice that is ubiquitous across media and time periods, that meant not to deceive, but to ease the conversion to new media, and to project the connotations of an older medium onto a new one that as yet had none. Among other things, skeuomorphic blackletter fonts told the reader that, despite a new method of production, this was a book just like any other, and should be used as such.

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[18] Dante D'Orazio, 'Apple's Jony Ive discusses iOS 7', *The Verge*, 19 September 2013 <https://www.theverge.com/2013/9/19/4748572/apple-jony-ive-ios-7-interview> [accessed 12 November 2018]

[19] Media reaction was widespread, but see, for instance Claire L. Evans, 'A Eulogy for Skeuomorphism', *Motherboard*, 11 June 2013 <https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/nzzpyz/a-eulogy-for-skeumorphism> [accessed 4 March 2019]

[20] Maudlin, p. 55.

[21] Jonathan M. Woodham, 'Twentieth-Century Tudor Design in Britain: An Ideological Battleground' in *Tudorism: Historical Imagination and the Appropriation of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Tatiana C. String and Marcus Bull (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 129–154.

But applying skeuomorphism to the relationship between manuscript and print is not the main concern of this chapter; I do this to demonstrate its conducive application to bibliography and to introduce the concept within a familiar context. Instead, I wish to explore another skeuomorphic aspect of early print that has received much less scholarly attention but which is no less prevalent. Let's revisit a question asked above: 'Printers produced books, so of course they reproduced the forms of books — what else was there?' Besides the pen, texts were transmitted via another tool that predated print: the chisel.

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[22] McKitterick, p. 37.

[23] Malcolm B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 60.

[24] Gerrit Noordzij, *The Stroke: Theory of Writing*, trans. by Peter Enneson (London: Hyphen Press, 2005), p. 8.

[25] For an overview of the punchcutting process, see Fred Smeijers, *Counterpunch: Making Type in the Sixteenth Century, Designing Typefaces Now* (London: Hyphen Press, 1996), pp. 75–83.

1.3 Typography as engraved text

Though most of the fifteenth century was dominated by typeface designs that depended on scribal practice for their models, towards the end of the incunabular period printed books began to reference another medium by the introduction of what we now call uppercase roman. These were direct reproductions of the letterforms found in ancient Roman inscriptions in stone — those known as Roman square capitals, or by terms that define them by their original medium: *scriptura monumentalis* and *litterae lapidariae*.[26] Edward Catich has since shown that inscriptional lettering was first constructed with a brush, creating their characteristic serifs, before being engraved with a chisel — brush strokes therefore skeuomorphically rendered in stone.[27] Their further skeuomorphic appropriation from stone to ink was the culmination of a wider movement in the arts that did the same in various media. Several Quattrocento books, both manuscript and print, illustrate the revival and formalization of these letterforms, either as portable reference books for epigraphic practice, or for their own sake. Most famous and earliest of these is Felice Feliciano's *Alphabetum Romanum* (1463), which presents the letters as inherently epigraphic by including in their construction the V-shaped groove created by the chisel. Later, Luca Pacioli's *De Divina Proportione* (1509) and Geoffroy Tory's *Champ Fleury* (1529) also took Roman square capitals as their subject. The books themselves are manuals, teaching the reader to create the letters by canons of geometric construction, reproducing them in isolation as large hand-drawn or printed diagrams that dominate the page. In doing so, they also magnify the status of the roman letterforms, implicitly or explicitly presenting them as ideal standards for lettering that conform to rational, or even 'divine', proportions.[28] But roman letterforms are also found in fifteenth-century manuscripts as constituting part of the text itself, albeit decoratively as large ornamental initials, for instance in the codices of Poggio Bracciolini,[29] and Bartolomeo Sanvito.[30] As David Rundle has shown, the designs were soon used by scribes in England and Scotland.[31] The revival of these Roman models is now recognized as a distinctive element of Renaissance style, often opposed to the 'gothic' letterforms that preceded it. It is, as Emanuele Casamassima summarizes, 'one of the most significant aspects of Renaissance figurative expression.'[32]

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[26] Stanley Morison, 'Early Humanistic Script and the First Roman Type', *The Library*, 24 (1943), 1–29 (p. 18).

[27] Edward Catich, *The Origin of the Serif* (Davenport: The Catfish Press, 1968).

[28] For a summary of these alphabetical models, see Stanley Morison's introduction to *Pacioli's Classic Roman Alphabet* (New York: Dover, 1994).

[29] Armando Petrucci, *Public lettering*, trans. by Linda Lappin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 16.

[30] David Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain: The English Quattrocento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 32.

[31] Rundle, p. 111, p. 130.

By the end of the century, punchcutters were using the inscriptional letterforms of Roman square capitals as their model for the production of uppercase roman fonts. We now engage with these designs every day on paper more than stone, ubiquitous as they are in modern typography; they are also now thought of as being part of the same alphabetic system as lowercase roman. But as Robert Bringhurst points out, their union is somewhat uneasy, and may have been perceived as such by early readers of these typefaces — a hybrid combination of chiseled and written forms.[33] Likewise, among the ubiquity of blackletter fonts, the introduction of roman uppercase would have been a salient contrast on the page, and its epigraphic origin implicit to many readers. This connection was often exploited explicitly too. The humanist tradition of collecting and interpreting classical inscriptions soon made its way from manuscript circulation to print. In 1505, the author Konrad Peutinger collaborated with the printer Erhard Ratdolt to create an uppercase roman font based on Roman epigraphy for use in such books. The font was designed especially for Peutinger's anthology of classical inscriptions, as described in the book's preface:

> To print these [inscriptions] I gave them to the assiduous and learned craftsman in the art of printing, our fellow citizen Erhard Ratdolt: with care and at his own cost, he printed them with new fonts and in a letterform very agreeable to our ancestors.[34]

The inscriptions that follow Peutinger's introduction are therefore not just transcriptions, but quasi-facsimiles by virtue of their skeuomorphism: preserving lineation and letterform, they transpose the texts from stone to ink while maintaining a link to their native medium.

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[32] Quoted by Petrucci, p.16.

[33] Robert Bringhurst, *The Elements of Typographic Style* (Vancouver: Hartley & Marks, 2005), p. 124.

[34] 'Erhardo Ratoldo concivi nostro artis impressoriae opifici diligenti et doctor dedimus imprimenda qui cura et impensa sua novis formis atque maioribus iucundissimo literarum charactere easdem impressit.' Konrad Peutinger, *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et ejus diocese* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1505), USTC 691414, f1^{v}.

Six years earlier, the same sort of skeuomorphism was employed by Aldus Manutius in his 1499 edition of Francesco Colonna's 'architectural fantasy',[35] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.[36] The reader follows the protagonist Poliphilo as he enters and exits various edifices in pursuit of the object of his affection, Polia. The book is richly illustrated with the various artefacts he comes across — monuments, obelisks, statues — many of which are engraved with inscriptions. By the time the book was published in English in 1592, these inscriptions are explicitly engraved roman letters, for example Poliphilo's discovery of a 'smoothe round, pure, white stone, wherein was ingrauen these capitall Romaine letters.'[37] This description is followed by an illustration of the stone, complete with legible inscription ('EQVVS INFOELICITATIS'). Though the translation and original here depicts the Roman square capitals in woodcut, many of these inscriptions were typeset using a roman font. That same font is also used for many of the paratexts of the book, such as headings, confusing the boundary between the book and its diegetic subjects, ultimately making roman uppercase's stone skeuomorphism evident to the reader. Michael Leslie describes how the *Hypnerotomachia* is usually spoken of as a book rather than a text[38] — it enjoys, as Hester Lees-Jeffries summarizes, 'a metatextual status; it is both text and object.'[39] While Leslie and Lees-Jeffries's reasons for this hinge mostly on the book's illustrations, these paratexts and inscriptions, evoking an absent material, are also a constituent of this status via their expressive typography.

Though blackletter had long been the idiomatic lettering of medieval British inscriptions,[40] at the beginning of the sixteenth century English printers began to flaunt the inscriptional origins of roman type. Books printed early in Thomas Berthelet's career, for instance, often contain ornamental initials that depict the extension of roman inscriptional capitals within a

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[35] Hester Lees-Jeffries, *England's Helicon: Fountains in Early Modern Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 42.

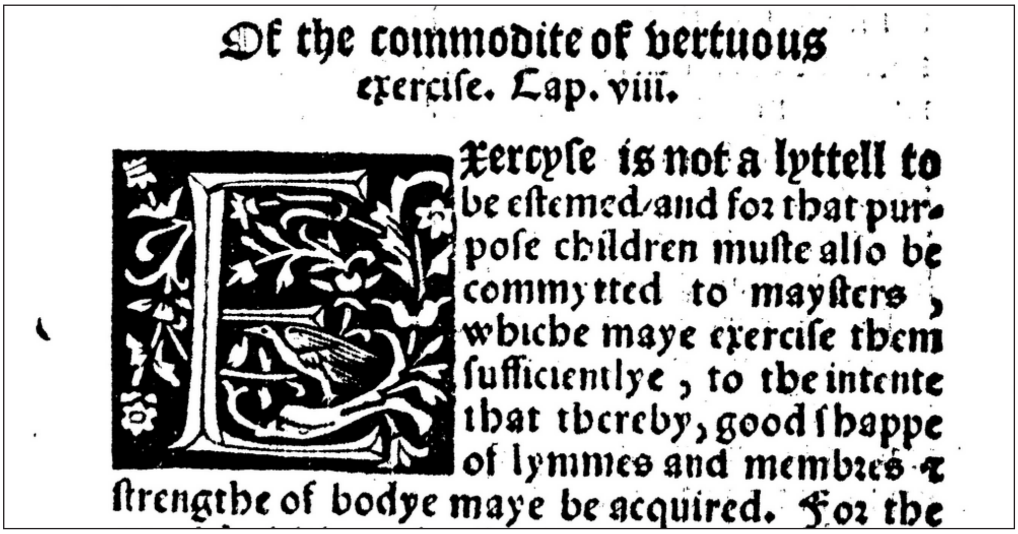
[36] Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499), USTC 995631.

[37] Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, trans. by Robert Dallington? (London: Abell Jeffes, John Charlewood, and Eliot's Court Press, 1592), STC 5578, f.12^r.

[38] Michael Leslie, 'The *Hypnerotomachia* and the Elizabethan Landscape Entertainments', *Word & Image*, 14 (1998), 130–144 (p. 130).

[39] Hester Lees-Jeffries, p. 43.

[40] See Morison's analysis of brass inscriptions, '"Black-Letter" Text', in *Selected Essays on the History of Letter Forms in Manuscript and Print*, ed. by David McKitterick, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), II, pp. 177–206 (pp. 179–181).



Of the commodite of vertuous
exerciſe. Cap. viii.

Exercyſe is not a lyttell to
be eſtemed/and foꝛ that pur-
poſe children muſte alſo be
commytted to mayſters,
whiche maye exerciſe them
ſufficientlye, to the intente
that thereby, good ſhappe
of lymmes and membꝛes &
ſtrengthe of bodye maye be acquired. Foꝛ the

FIGURE 4.1
Plutarch, *The education or bringinge vp of children,* trans. by Thomas Elyot (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1532), STC 20057, fol. D.ii.^{v} (EEBO).

third dimension, by delineating the V-shaped groove made by a chisel. This can be seen, for instance, in Thomas Elyot's translation of a work by Plutarch (Figure 4.1), but similar designs are common throughout the sixteenth century. Like the buttons of the iPhone's interface before 2013, this skeuomorph gestures towards the form's prototypical third dimension.

Some books used this towards illustrative, rather than decorative, ends. An edition of William Bonde's *Pilgrymage of perfeccyon* (printed by Pynson in 1526 and reprinted by de Worde in 1531) features a full-page illustration of the tablets of the covenant. Like the inscriptions of the *Hypnerotomachia,* the woodcut has a hybrid status as simultaneous text and image: it depicts a diegetic object, mentioned in the text as a 'payre of tables of stone', but its depiction renders a text fully legible on the page. The Ten Commandments, in English, are presented in blackletter, but the stoniness of this text's original medium, explicitly 'stone' within the main text, is evoked through the roman letterforms used for the word 'EXODI' at the top of the tablets. Here, they are rendered in woodcut: when the printer wanted to express a stone medium, roman letterforms were chosen even without access to the font.

Books such as these do not use roman to simply communicate an alternative material; they communicate the associations of that material. In an article on semiotics, Vivian Cook raises the question of whether a text's physical materials can make a meaningful difference to the

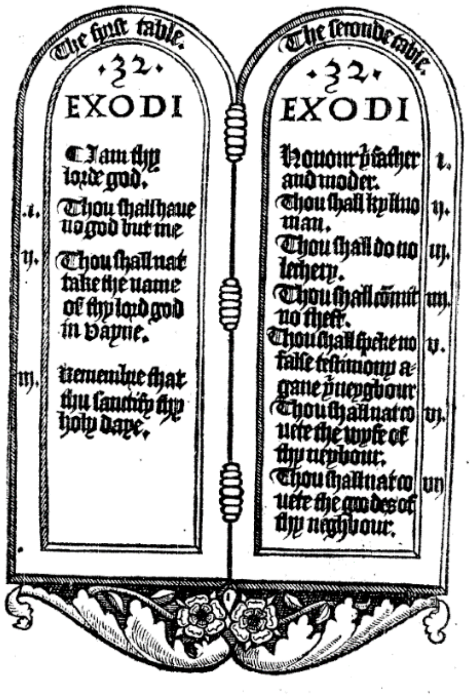

The fyrst table.
.32.
EXODI
I am thy lorde god.
.i. Thou ſhall haue no god but me
ij. Thou ſhall nat take the name of thy lord god in vayne.
iij. Remembre that thu ſanctify thy holy daye.
The seconde table.
.32.
EXODI
Honour þ father and moder. i.
Thou ſhall kyll no man. ij.
Thou ſhall do no lechery. iij.
Thou ſhall cōmit no theft. iiij.
Thou ſhall ſpeke no falſe teſtimony agane þ neyghbour v.
Thou ſhall nat couete the wyfe of thy neybour. vj.
Thou ſhall nat couete the godes of thy neghbour. vij

FIGURE 4.2
William Bonde, *Pilgrymage of perfeccyon* (London: Richard Pynson, 1526), STC 3277 (EEBO).

writer or reader.[41] He tests this hypothesis by describing a sample of street signs, mostly from Newcastle upon Tyne. The signs are divided into four categories based on their materials (stone/metal, printed/written on paper, painted on boards, and other materials (such as chalk, or lights)), and after each set, the materials' potential for meaning is assessed in general terms. Cook qualifies these material meanings via a framework devised by Ron Scollon and Suzie Wong Scollon, who consider three aspects of materiality as constituents of material meaning.[42] These are, to quote Cook's summary,

> *Permanence/durability*, where the material may show 'the signs are to last the life of the building itself'';
> *Temporality/newness*, for instance signs 'attached to or superposed on more permanent signs';
> *Quality*, say marble and stone signs, which involve 'a longer time of preparation and a greater expense in production'[43]

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[41] Vivian Cook, 'Meaning and material in the language of the street', *Social Semiotics*, 25 (2015), 81–109.

[42] Ron Scollon & Suzie Wong Scollon, *Discourses in Place: Language and the Material World* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 135.

[43] Cook, p. 87.

For instance, the conclusion for the *quality* of the stone/metal category says:

> Presumably stone and metal are regarded as high-quality materials, undoubtedly more expensive to use than, say, paper or plastic. Brass appears higher quality than other metals. Gold lettering in monumental inscriptions [...] and in other signs [...] is clearly an indication of quality. The locating signs [...] attest to the respectability and status of the owners of these premises.[44]

In these conclusions, Cook does not quite unite textual content and material context: by describing a paper surface as 'suggest[ing] that the sign is temporary rather than permanent', he has only described the qualities of paper, not its consequences for the text, which are left implicit. To make them explicit: if a sign saying 'Wet paint' (one of Cook's samples) is written on paper, the combined meaning of text and material may be interpreted as 'this paint is temporarily wet.'

Cook's conclusion that substrate provides subtext are not unexpected: stone has a strong subtext of permanence, paper its opposite; paper texts seem new, whereas stone texts are usually old; signs in stone are of high quality and expense, whereas paper signs provide a subtext of cheapness. But though they might seem obvious to readers, Cook's fieldwork engages with specific, real-life examples, and his conclusions formally recognize an intuitive meaning of materials that has 'rarely been mentioned in accounts of writing.'[45] Ultimately, he concludes that 'the meaning of street signs depends in part on the materials they are made of, particularly to convey permanence and identity.'[46] Throughout the paper there is also an undeveloped notion that easily interpreted texts are typically commensurate with their materials, perhaps best epitomized in Cook's remark that we would not expect to see a 'Wet Paint' sign inscribed in stone.[47] Materials and texts, then, are not wholly separate entities to be freely mixed and matched, and we might call the symbiotic relationship between a text and its materials a 'material correlative'.

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[44] Cook, p. 94.

[45] Cook, p. 81.

[46] Cook, p. 107.

[47] Cook, p. 87.

A misleadingly parenthetical comment in Cook's article threatens his argument: 'Let us start with signs that appear to be made of stone or metal; whether or not they are actually made from something else is not strictly relevant; for our purposes: it is how they look to the reader that matters.'[48] It seems, then, that materials do not matter after all, only the *appearance* of materials. But this need not preclude the meanings of absent materials: skeuomorphism is the mechanism by which Cook's material meanings are conferred on media regardless of their actual material. By transferring the accidents of tools and materials on to a medium that does not necessitate them, a text can participate in Cook's model regardless of the means by which it has been created. The printers of these books above, for instance, exploit the skeuomorphism of uppercase roman to convey age. They invoke the meanings of a material wrought by a tool to provide a subtext not necessarily contained in the text itself — Cook's 'permanence', or 'temporality', and therefore antiquity. As a token of (especially classical) history, roman takes on a paradoxical role as the remnant of a lost past: knowledge of what has been lost is gained only by what has survived. As such, this associate meaning of roman supports Andrew Hui's conception of the Renaissance as the 'ruin-naissance'.[49] Hui explores the central role ruins play in humanist and Renaissance English poetry, setting the scene with a 1536 painting by Herman Posthumus as a visual counterpart to his poetic subjects:

> The imaginary landscape seems both haphazard and artfully arranged: the shattered artworks—busts, tombs, reclining figures, columbaria, arches, columns, friezes—demonstrate how much of antiquity has been lost, yet their copious quantity suggests that much remains. Amid such abundance a diminutive figure measures a gigantic broken base inscribed with a passage from the *Metamorphoses*: TEMPVS EDAX RERVM TVQVE INVIDIOSA VESTVSTAS O[MN]IA DESTRVITIS, "Oh, most voracious Time, and you, envious Age, you destroy everything" (15.234–36). Yet surely not *everything* is gone, for by filling his canvas with an excess of surviving treasures, the painter ironically defies such Ovidian despair.[50]

The inscription depicted in the painting, in exemplary roman letters, is here a site of this paradox. Time may destroy 'everything', but this text persists amidst the rubble, unfragmented and legible. Moving now to ways in which roman type's skeuomorphism was applied, it will be shown how sixteenth-century printers of English were alert to these meanings of tools and materials, and maintained and invoked a material correlative through skeuomorphism.

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[48] Cook, p. 89.

[49] Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature* (Fordham University Press, 2016), p. 53.

[50] Hui, p. 74.

2. Paratexts

The skeuomorphic blackletter typefaces discussed above reproduce the interface of a codex, but these instances of uppercase roman give the book as a very different kind of interface: an engraved stone surface, more architectural than scribal. The data can give us a sense of the use of uppercase roman over time. Figure 4.3 shows a graph of percentages of books (of any language) that use uppercase roman for any of their text kinds. Beginning at around 0% between 1509 and 1517 (with some anomalies), it spikes to 36% in 1522 (as part of the humanist trend explored in Chapter 3). The majority of books contain roman uppercase for the first time in 1540 (52%), and this majority is sustained to the end of the period from 1561. From 1540, the increase in proportion of books containing roman uppercase is generally linear — as opposed to the exponential growth in roman English *text* seen in Chapter 1. In 1592, 96% of books contained some form of uppercase roman. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the use of roman uppercase throughout the period is almost exclusively paratextual: between 1509 and 1592 only one book contains uppercase roman *text*, a catechism in which certain responses (including the creed) are set all in uppercase roman, among otherwise lowercase roman.[51] Thirteen books contain uppercase roman *prefaces*: these are mostly dedications (eleven of them), and this minor trend for setting them in uppercase roman begins in 1585 (with one exception in 1573). All are in Latin, except for two English dedications — those found in the English translation of the *Hypnerotomachia*, and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*.[52] The remainder of the books shown in Figure 4.4 that make up the proportion of uppercase roman are using them for short paratexts rather than sustained prose, framing and referring to the main work.

A digression to a different medium helps us to recover the full significance of uppercase roman's near-exclusive use in paratexts. In the south transept of Chichester Cathedral hangs

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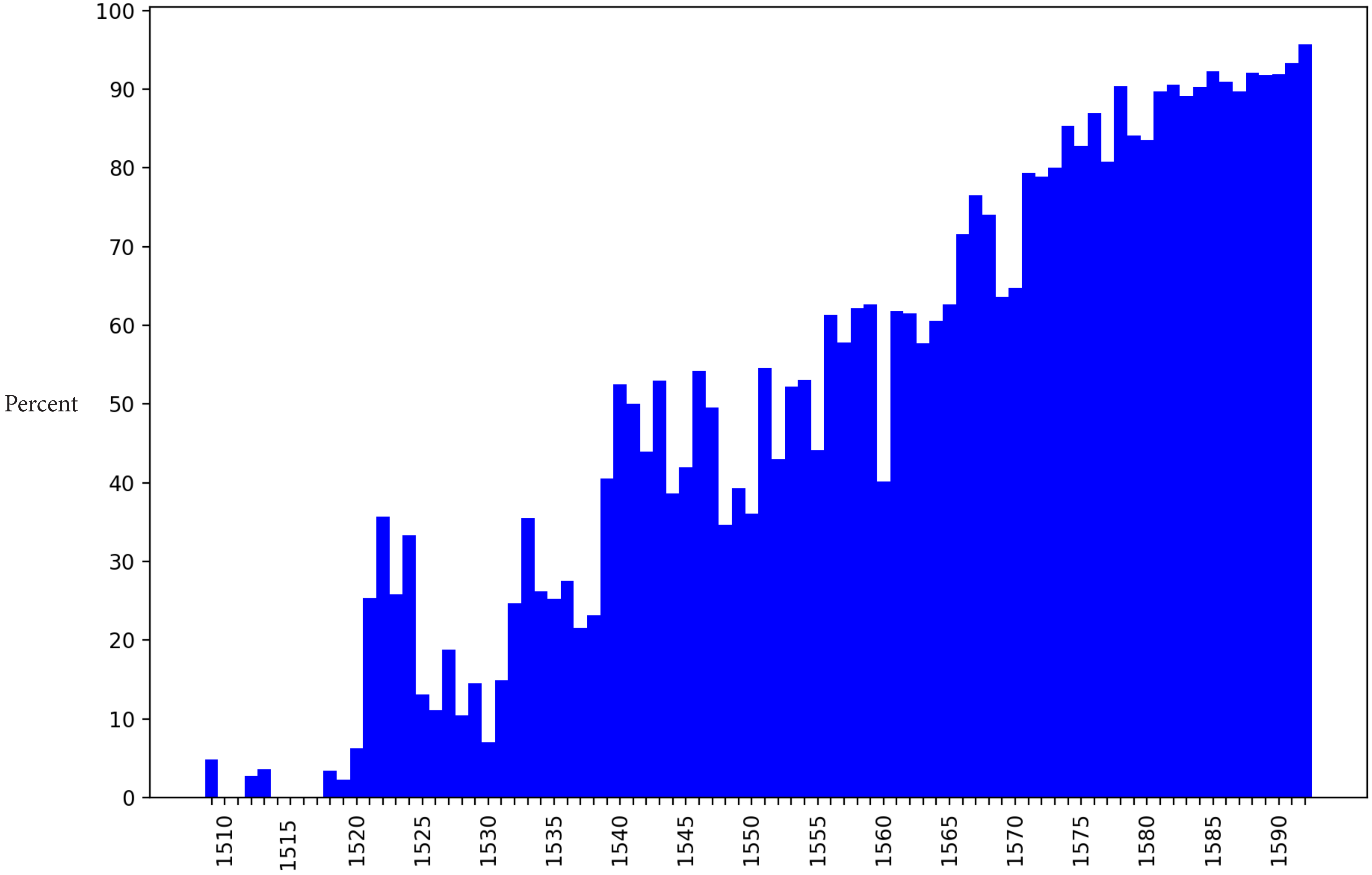
[51] *Catechismus paruus pueris primum Latine qui ediscatur* (London: John Day, 1573), STC 18711.

[52] Edmund Spenser, *The faerie queene* (London: John Wolfe for William Ponsonbie, 1590), STC 23081.

FIGURE 4.3 Books containing uppercase roman



a painting by Lambert Barnard, possibly completed in 1526.[53] It is 14 feet high and 32 feet wide, and depicts two scenes: the first shows the granting of the see of Selsey to St Wilfrid by the South Saxon King Caedwalla (c.686); to its right, a scene of almost identical composition showing Henry VIII confirming to the Bishop Robert Sherborne the royal protection of the Cathedral, following the king's appointment as head of the Church of England. Although a painting, it is a complex textual object, both scenes including the same three (corresponding) types of text. The centrepiece of each is a blue banderole unfurling from the hand of Caedwalla/Henry towards St Wilfrid/Robert Sherborne, each describing the event in gold ornamental textura script. In the background of both, a member of the royal retinue holds open a book on which the kings' hands rest: the pages are clearly legible in a similar textura script and confirm the deeds being performed. As artefacts within the scenes reifying the performative speech acts occurring within them as material texts, the banderoles and books are part of the diegesis of the painting — they are the subject of the painting as much as Henry VIII or Caedwalla. The third textual component shared by both, however, occupies a more liminal or extradiegetic position. These are the tablets at the bottom of each scene (what might now be most closely described as captions) containing the words 'SANCTUS WILFREDUS' and 'OPERIBUS CREDITE', depicted on a stone surface and frame that verges on *trompe l'oeil*. The appearance of these texts immediately distinguishes their species from the other two. While the diegetic texts are ductile and perspectival, flowing in various directions and following the dynamics of their depicted support material within an imagined three-dimensional space, the captions are orthogonal and rectilinear, conforming to the angles of the wooden panels on which they are painted — their *actual* support material — and arresting the eye of the *actual* reader rather than those of the figures depicted in the paintings. The letterform used on these stone tablets differs dramatically from the textura of the other texts: it is a hybrid that combines ornament with the fundamental construction of roman letterforms, described by David Rundle as continuing a fifteenth-century 'habit of cohabitation, gothic and humanist together.'[54] The depicted support material, stone, further externalizes the texts contained thereon by its unity with the 'stone' balusters that divide and frame the two scenes.

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[53] For this dating, and a full description of the panels, see Jonathan Woolfson and Deborah Lush, 'Lambert Barnard in Chichester Cathedral: Ecclesiastical Politics and the Tudor Royal Image', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 87 (2007), 259–280.

[54] Rundle, p. 292.

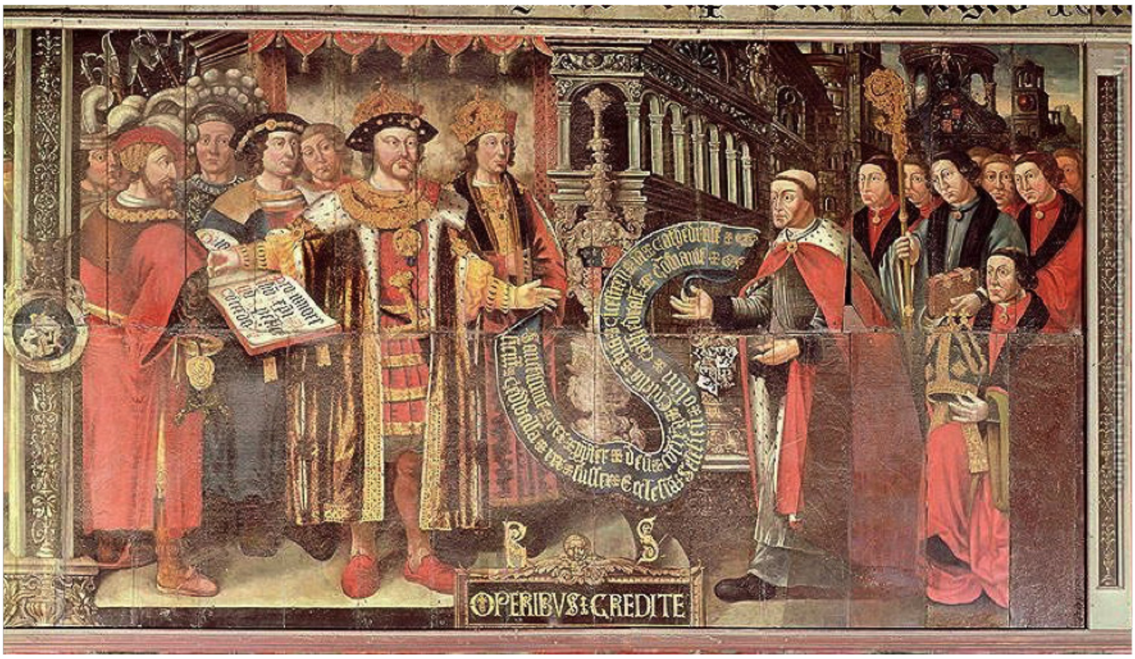

FIGURE 4.4
One half of the Lambert Barnard panels, showing the stone frame of the Henry VIII scene and the inscription 'OPERIBVS CREDITE'

In his canonical work on the subject, Gérard Genette alludes to the potential for non-textual media (including art) to have paratexts.[55] As something of a hybrid between text and visual art, the Lambert Barnard panels comfortably fit into Genette's model, offering viewers a threshold that 'offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back'[56] (or, in this case, looking into). Likewise, these paratexts have the potential to 'control one's reading of the whole' text.[57] The first, 'SANCTUS WILFREDUS', tells us that the scene depicts Saint Wilfred, and therefore that the painting as a whole explicitly compares Henry VIII to Caedwalla. The second, 'OPERIBUS CREDITE' ('believe in the works'), tells the viewer that the painting's texts symbolically stand for deeds. Furthermore, the presence of Robert Sherborne's initials above 'OPERIBUS CREDITE' (his 'favourite motto'[58]) are an attribution of quasi-authorship (in this case to the work's commissioner). Fundamental to the current discussion is these paratexts' depicted medium: not the textile of the banderole or the ink and vellum of the manuscript they share a canvas with, but stone. Since Genette, discourse on paratexts has characteristically applied the vocabulary of the architecture of buildings to the architecture of the book. Some of this is patently figurative, as in Genette's simile of 'an airlock that helps the reader pass without too much respiratory difficulty from one world to the other' or, likewise, a canal lock.[59] Whether other terms are being used literally is more ambiguous: while '*seuil*' and 'vestibule' have an immediately architectural connotation, the paratexts to which these terms are applied share the same utilities of passage and induction, the terms themselves used technically rather than figuratively. Contemporary use of the terms is similar, balancing them on the cusp between figurative and literal: 'the Renaissance paratext', for instance, 'is an ever-expanding labyrinth, as likely to lead to a frustrating dead-end as to a carefully built pathway.'[60]

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[55] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 407.

[56] Genette, p. 2.

[57] Genette, p. 2.

[58] Edward Croft-Murray, 'Lambert Barnard: An English Early Renaissance Painter', *Archaeological Journal*, 113 (1957), 108–125 (p. 115).

This portrayal of paratexts as architectural is present in the design of sixteenth-century books: those printers using uppercase roman for their paratexts are, like Lambert Barnard, participating in an idiom which invokes the aesthetics of space and stone to lead readers in and out of texts. By this I do not just mean the type of architectural frontispieces that were 'everywhere in the 1470s' (in manuscripts in Italy) and printed by Pynson and others in England from the 1520s.[61] Though these are undoubtedly part of a coherent visual idiom that imagines and projects the book as a stone structure, uppercase roman type is a component of this idiom through its skeuomorphic engravenness, and no less expressive of it in the absence of such frontispieces.

Though any of these books using uppercase roman could be argued to be participating in the idiom of paratextual architecture, the data identify a group of books that show an apparently concerted application of it, by their *exclusive* use of roman uppercase on their title-pages. Figure 4.5 shows the total counts of English books whose title-pages have *only*

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[59] Genette, p. 408.

[60] Helen Smith, 'Introduction', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith & Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1–14 (p. 6).

[61] Alistair Fowler, *The Mind of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 16.

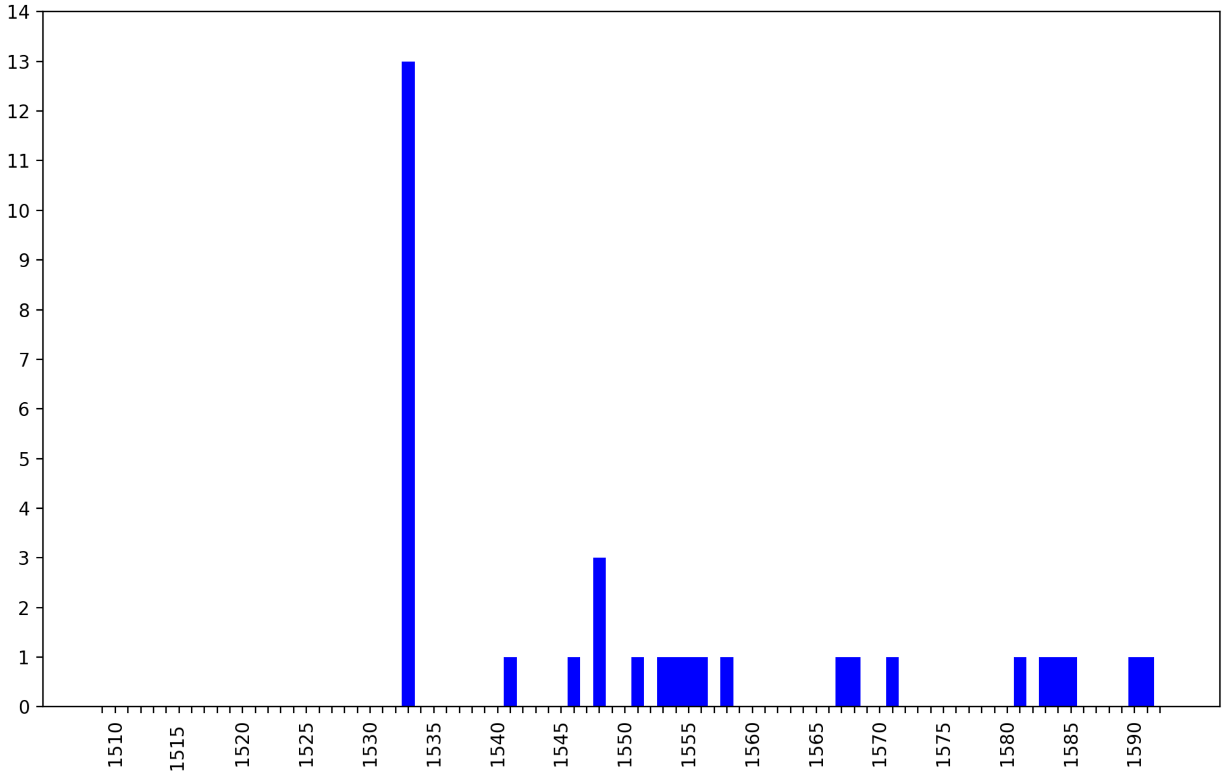

FIGURE 4.5
English books with monographic uppercase roman title-pages.

roman uppercase on them. A clear spike of thirteen books occurs in 1533 — the first time such a book is printed — and this quantity is not seen again. All thirteen were printed by Thomas Berthelet. Two may be excluded as variants, and the remainder are listed in Appendix E. Four of these title-pages use architectural borders, but they all achieve an inscriptional aesthetic through typography even in the absence of these borders: the large roman display font that is used by Berthelet for the first time in this year is an exemplar of skeuomorphic lettering based on Roman square capitals, reflecting the proportions of those given in the fifteenth-century inscriptional alphabet books of Feliciano and others. The width of its strokes and the extent of its serifs reflect the dynamics shown by Catich to derive from a brush and chisel rather than a pen. As Walter Greg noted, 'of some Roman types, Berthelet appears to have possessed upper case only'[62] — this is one of them, not because of any deficiency, but because a lowercase would dilute its purpose of imitating inscriptional lettering (Greg omits the font from his notes on Berthelet's types, focusing instead on text types). Besides its alphabet, the font also contains three extra-alphabetical characters that make the design's inscriptional origins evident. The first is the vine leaf or fleuron (Figure 4.6), which, as Hendrik Vervliet has shown, 'originates in imperial Greek and Roman inscriptions' and was 'rediscovered […] while copying antique inscriptions' by 'Quattrocento antiquaries, epigraphists and scribes.'[63] The second is an inscriptional interpunctus or word-divider (Figure 4.7), which takes the form of a triangle or 3-pointed star (the same interpunctus appears throughout Peutinger's aforementioned collection of printed inscriptions, included in the font by Ratdolt to authentically reproduce epigraphy). Catich has demonstrated how these points are constructed in the inscription process: 'the easiest and quickest shape to chisel in stone is a triangle'.[64] Another kind of point, a terminal punctus, exhibits the same skeuomorphism (Figure 4.6).

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[62] Walter W. Greg, 'Notes on the Types, Borders, etc., Used by Thomas Berthelet', *The Library,* TBS-8 (1906), 187–220 (p. 188).

Here, Berthelet regularly sets English paratexts in the same type as Latin. Nor does he seem to be making any typographical distinction between genres: the group includes legal texts, medical science, a religious pamphlet and satirical dialogue. The distinguishing factor for this engraved appearance, then, is their status as paratexts. A wider look at Berthelet's oeuvre from 1533 until his death in 1555 would reveal similar features sharing the page with both lowercase roman and blackletter. Berthelet typically uses uppercase roman for running headings, for instance, regardless of language, applying those inscriptional points and fleurons. His output therefore marks the first programmatic unification of roman and English, and the scale on which it occurs arguably makes it of more significance to the naturalization of roman English than any one-off anomalous instance.

The inherent engravenness of uppercase roman is typically respected by early sixteenth-century printers in England in their combinations of type and framing devices. As well as architectural frontispiece designs, Pynson, de Worde, and Berthelet each occasionally used various banderole designs in which they set text — unfurling banners representing fabric, paper, or parchment. However, the combination of letterform and depicted material is divided as it is in the Lambert panels: roman type is never set in these banderoles, which contain only blackletter. Furthermore, Berthelet always sets his roman type centred, rather than ranged left,

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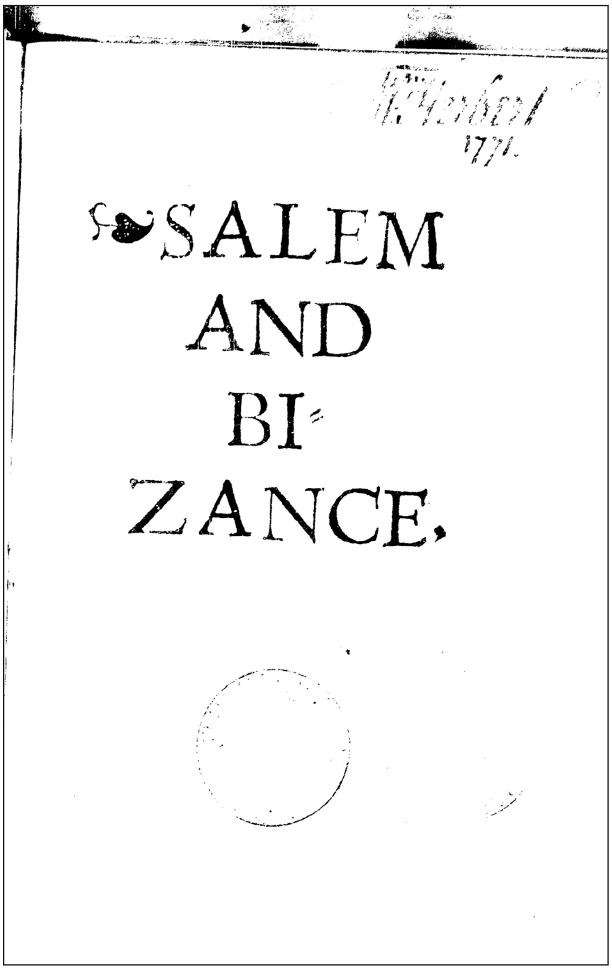
[63] Hendrik Vervliet, *Vine Leaf Ornaments in Renaissance Typography: A Survey* (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press and Hes & De Greef Publishers, 2012), p. 14.

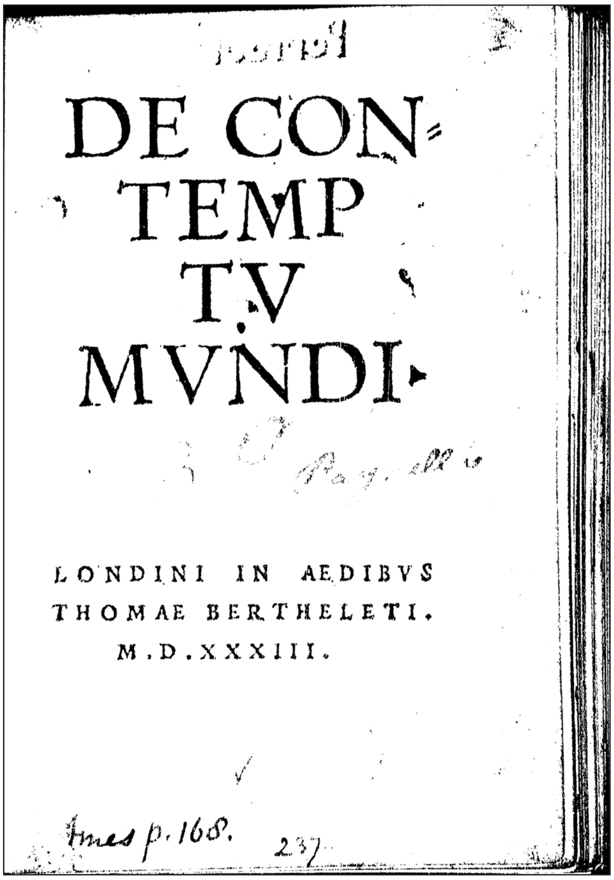
[64] Catich, pp. 41–43 (p. 42).



1771

SALEM
AND
BI-
ZANCE.

FIGURE 4.6
Christopher Saint German,
Salem and Bizance
(London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533),
STC 21584 (EEBO).



DE CON-
TEMP
TV
MVNDI.

Paynell

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS
THOMAE BERTHELETI.
M.D.XXXIII.

Ames p. 168.
237

FIGURE 4.7
Desiderius Erasmus,
De contemptu mundi,
trans. by Thomas Paynell
(London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533),
STC 10471 (EEBO).

creating a further affinity with inscriptional lettering, which typically appears centred within its frame. This is not only a visual similarity, but a product of the affordances of their medium — both share a dual-process of composition that allows the text to be centred more easily and precisely. As roman inscriptional lettering is drafted with a brush before being inscribed by a chisel, it allows the final product to be planned and adjusted before the final indelible mark is made. Likewise, printing allows the compositor to easily adjust the position of the text until it is centred before being imposed. Contrastingly, a general left-ranged orientation is inherent to writing left-to-right languages with a pen: the making of a mark is a single-stage process, and its progression sequential from left to right, meaning that lineation and layout is often impromptu and less easily planned. This is reflected in Berthelet's, and many other printers', use of 'scribal' blackletter versus 'inscriptional' uppercase roman: roman is rarely set ranged left, whereas blackletter often is. We might also consider the paratextual position of the roman texts listed above as reflective of inscriptional practice. A stone inscription is typically external, deictically referring to what is internal, placed on the facades of buildings or outer faces of tombs and monuments. Likewise, Berthelet's use of uppercase roman is limited to texts that occupy the same liminal boundaries: title-pages, running headings, colophons. Like inscriptions, paratexts circumscribe the book's content, encasing and framing it through their position in relation to it.

The combination of all of these skeuomorphic features demonstrates the affinities between paratexts and inscriptions in Berthelet's books. The deictic functions which a book's paratexts share with, say, a tomb's engraved epitaphs are referenced visually in the use of a skeuomorphic 'stone' font. Walter Ong is therefore wrong to use one of Berthelet's title-pages as an example of how early print still prioritized auditory input over visual: 'Auditory dominance can be seen strikingly in such things as early printed title pages, which often seem to us crazily erratic in the [sic] their inattention to visual word units […] Inconsequential words may be set in huge type faces.'[65] It is unclear how this supports the notion of auditory dominance, and not its opposite: in the example chosen, the large roman 'THE' emphasizes the visual over the aural in its size and placement, and the typographic over the verbal in its

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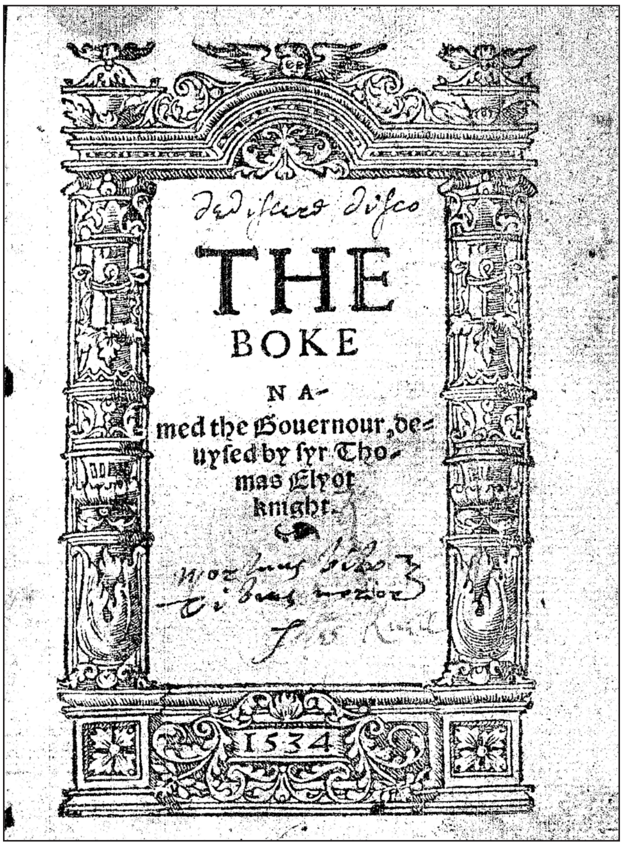
[65] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 117.



Dediscere disco

THE
BOKE
NA-
med the Gouernour, de-
uyſed by ſyr Tho-
mas Elyot
knight.

[illegible]

1534

FIGURE 4.8
Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Gouernour* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1537), STC 7636 (EEBO).

use of inscriptional roman — seeing takes precedence over reading. The main purpose of the word 'THE' here is not its verbal content, but to communicate the engravenness of roman, supplemented by its architectural border. Though he is the only printer to repeatedly use *only* uppercase roman for stony title-pages, he is far from alone in applying this typographic idiom to paratexts. The architectural nature of such books has received much attention in terms of their decorative elements, and the literary imagination of editors: as William Sherman shows, the trope 'in which a book is a building and the paratext is its doorway became a commonplace in the prefaces of Renaissance writers.'[66] But until now, the skeuomorphism of roman uppercase has not been recognized as a constituent of this idiom. Genette's association between paratexts and architectural structures — porches, vestibules, doorways — seems to be present in the imagination of the sixteenth-century printer too, and this is expressed and curated by them through uppercase roman. Like the modern skeuomorphs of the iPhone, here skeuomorphism is not merely ornamental, but cues the reader as to the function of these texts: they are liminal thresholds into some internal referent, the main text, 'offer[ing] the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back.'[67]

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[66] William Sherman, 'On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext and Early Print Culture', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina A. Baron, Eleanor F. Shevlin, and Eric N. Lindquist (University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 67–81 (p. 76).

But they also aim to confer on these texts certain connotations suggested by a material correlative between stone and inscriptions. These qualities were much the same as those outlined by Cook above: the labour involved in engraving letters in stone meant that the process was reserved only for texts worthy of the honour, granting these texts the historical longevity afforded by its durable medium. Such associations are expressed in sixteenth-century references to 'grauen' lettering. Robert Burrant, in the preface to his edition of the *Preceptes of Cato*, for instance, uses the trope to attest the quality of his content: 'He that will haue good and Godlie poses and titles [...] in this book mai he haue them, whiche bee right worthie to be grauen [and] written with golde[n] letters, or if there be any thing more precious.'[68] Here, engraved lettering is given equal esteem to golden lettering (of, for instance, manuscripts, but also inscriptions that combine engraving and gold leaf). Furthermore, he cannot imagine anything more able to confer honour to the text, as suggested by his qualifying 'if there by any thing more precious.' Engraved lettering is also attributed historical longevity in the *Fall of Princes*, a work much reprinted in the 1550s. The first book contains the following stanza:

> And lest my laboure dye nat nor appall
> Of this boke the tytle for to saue
> Amonge myn other lityll werkys all
> With lettris large aboue vpon my graue
> This bokes name shall in stone be graue
> Howe I Iohn bochas in especiall
> Of wordly princes wretyn haue the fall.[69]

The stanza contrasts the relative durability of two media ('this boke' and the author's headstone), while making a punning comparison between the burial of a man and the inscription of a text in the shared line-final ‘graue’: though life ends with an en-graved author, longevity is acquired by an engraved text. Likewise in the introduction to *A myrroure for magistrates*, the durability of three different media are listed as methods of perpetuating the moral lessons contained in the text that follows it: ‘And print it for a president to remayne for euer,/Enroll and recorde it in tables made of brasse,/Engraue it in marble that may be razed neuer.’[70] This tricolon gives the media in order of increasing strength: marble, so that the text may never be erased, is the superlative medium of durability. Philip Schwyzer demonstrates that the end of the sixteenth century saw ‘countless variations’ on an ‘immortality-of-poetry’ topos in which texts are presented as *even more* durable than stone and bronze,[71] but these earlier texts maintain that a text’s longevity was not in opposition to engraving, but enabled by it. If, for the sixteenth-century reader, engraved letters are a marker of worthiness, and roman letters a skeuomorph of an engraved letter, Berthelet’s paratexts advertise the book as containing a text worth reading in perpetuity.

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[67] Genette, p. 2.

[68] *Preceptes of Cato*, ed. by Robert Burrant (London: Richard Grafton, 1553), STC 4854, fols v^{r}–v^{v}.

[69] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Here begynnethe the boke calledde Iohn Bochas descriuinge the falle of princis*, trans. by John Lydgate (London: Richard Pynson, 1494), STC 3175, sig. t.iii^{v}.

With their inscriptional outer paratexts referring to an internal subject, the typographic model Berthelet uses may remind readers of another, very specific, form of stone structure: a monument, or tomb. The first use of roman type in 1509 was closely followed by roman lettering in its native medium: Henry VIII commissioned Pietro Torrigiano, an Italian sculptor, to build the tomb of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, beginning in 1512.[72] Its stone outer layer bears an inscription in Roman square capitals in gold. Like a paratext, it bears the deictic reference to its contents (‘Here lies Henry’), its title (‘King of England’), and placement in time (‘created King [...] in the year of Our Lord 1485. [...] died on April 21 in the 53rd year of his age’).[73] Torrigiano would likewise inscribe the grave of John Yonge, who died in 1516, with ‘capitals evoking Roman epigraphy.’[74] Inscriptions such as these function as paratexts to that which it refers, the interred person, much like Berthelet’s ‘inscribed’ paratexts refer to their books’ contents. But what about those books which depict literal tombs, and literal inscriptions, rather than merely invoking their aesthetics? From paratexts, I now move on to what will be described as *endo*texts — texts within texts — which, like Berthelet’s paratexts, exploit the skeuomorphism of uppercase roman type.

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[70] Giovanni Boccaccio, *A myrroure for magistrates*, trans. by William Baldwin (London: Thomas Marshe, 1559), STC 1247, fol. i^{r}.

[71] The topos is drawn from Horace’s Ode 30: ‘I have completed a memorial more lasting than bronze and higher than the royal grave of the pyramids’. The quintessential example is Shakespeare’s Sonnet 55: ‘Not marble nor the gilded monuments / Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme.’ Philip Schwyzer, *Archaeologies of English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 72.

[72] Barbara Hochstetler Meyer, ‘The First Tomb of Henry VII of England’, *The Art Bulletin*, 3 (1976), 358–367.

[73] Westminster Abbey, ‘Henry VII and Elizabeth of York’ <http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/royals/henry-vii-and-elizabeth-of-york> [Accessed 22 July 2018]

3. Endotexts

Readers of contemporary fiction may be familiar with the appearance of the text changing before their eyes. In Philip Pullman’s *La Belle Sauvage*, a different font is used when written documents appear within the story, such as the letter found by Malcolm hidden inside an acorn. ‘Written on the paper in black ink with a very fine pen were the words’[75] — the anonymous letter is then given in full as an indented paragraph set in a typeface that looks like handwriting; an informal, contemporary hand, rendered skeuomorphically. Likewise on page 76, the narrative describes Coram van Texel writing, by hand, a letter to Lord Nugent that the reader sees in full. Here, the text again changes to a ‘handwriting’ typeface, but a different one from that of the anonymous letter, more formalized and calligraphic, again portraying the dynamics and ductus of a pen. But these are not literally letters. On close inspection, the fonts used reveal themselves to be type rather than script — every instance of ‘s’, for instance, is identical, and the strokes, designed to connect to give the impression of cursivity, do not always join up. But in these instances, the skeuomorphic typefaces invite the reader to suspend their disbelief in the medium held in their hands. Rather than a hardback novel with text printed in the typeface Baskerville on heavy paper, we approximate the experience of reading a letter written in pen on a scrap of paper in a hurried hand: the appearance of the text contributes to its meaning by evoking the context and characterization of its imaginary medium.

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[74] Rundle, p. 292; Phillip G. Lindley and Carol Galvin, ‘The Tomb of Dr John Yonge in the Public Record Office: Pietro Torrigiano’s Methods and Models’, in *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England*, ed. by Phillip G. Lindley (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), pp. 188–206.

[75] Philip Pullman, *La Belle Sauvage* (London: Penguin Random House, 2017), p. 33.

This sort of typographic play is not limited to children's books. To take just two recent examples: *The Sellout* by Paul Beatty (2016) depicts diegetic graffiti with a calligraphic typeface;[76] in Hanya Yanagihara's *A Little Life* (2015), readers both see and read 'a note in Andy's angry blocky handwriting', rendered in bold uppercase.[77] This technique usually uses *mise-en-page* as well as typeface to situate the story's material texts within their diegesis. They are each indented further into the page than the main body text, and given a line space before and after. Framed by blank space, the texts are separated from their surrounding diegetic text, but their indentation denotes a hierarchy that nests them within it. This hierarchical nesting can be seen as an extension of the paratextual system as defined by Genette. The text is within its headings, which therefore define it, and these are in turn within the book's covers. If these external and parallel texts are *para*texts, then these internal examples may be though of as *endo*texts — texts within texts. They differ from more conventional forms of intertextuality (like quotations and allusion) in that they communicate another medium as well as its text, and one that doesn't necessarily exist outside of their surrounding text. While *La Belle Sauvage's* epilogue — a verse from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* — exists in many precedent forms, Coram van Texel's letter exists only on page 76, and its skeuomorphically conveyed penmanship attests to its diegetic material presence. To do so, the skeuomorphic attributes of their various typefaces are exploited: endotexts deliberately employ typography to convey media and tools other than the paper and ink of the books in which they appear.

The versatility afforded by digital typography, as well as the glut of typefaces designed since the desktop publishing revolution at the end of the twentieth century, has accommodated endotexts in recent books, but the practice of reifying absent material texts is found in sixteenth-century books too. We have already seen this at work in the *Hypnerotomachia*, but similar techniques have been used in books printed in England. Richard Grafton's 1548 edition of Edward Hall's *The vnion of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* contains an example. Hall is describing the wine fountain built by Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, near Calais, on the event of his summit with François I in 1520:

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[76] Paul Beatty, *The Sellout* (London: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), p. 107.

[77] Hanya Yanagihara, *A Little Life* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2015), p. 186.

> [blackletter] At the enteryng into the palays before the gate, on the playne grene was buylded a fountayne of enbowed [i.e. arched] worke, gylte with fine golde, and bice [i.e. blue-grey pigment], ingrayled with anticke woorkes, the olde God of wyne called Baccus birlyng the wyne, whiche by the conduyetes in therth ranne to all people plenteously with red, white, and claret wyne, over whose hedde was written in letters of Romayn in gold, [roman] faicte bonne chere quy vouldra.[78]

Hall's aim here is to convey the expense (and perhaps excess) of the fountain: the 'Romayn' letters of the inscription are no less part of the apparatus of luxury than the 'fine gold', and its 'ingrayled [i.e. engraved] anticke woorkes', evoking Cook's secondary meaning of engraved texts, of quality and expense. It is uncertain, however, whether this instance can be said to be skeuomorphic — Grafton uses lowercase roman instead of the expected uppercase for a graven text — and without images of the original, we cannot know how the inscription appeared.[79] But in contrast to its surrounding blackletter text, and corresponding broadly to the description of 'Romayn' letters, by rendering the inscription as an endotext, Grafton supplements Hall's ekphrasis with a visual aspect, citing a material different to that of the book.

Roman is used in much the same way in Richard Faukes' edition of Skelton's *The Garland of Laurel* (1523). Like Hall's *The vnion...*, this book is typographically typical of its year, being set almost entirely in blackletter English, with a title-page bearing the same. The narrator, experiencing a dream about Skelton's poetic reputation, is led into a field 'enwallyd aboute with the stony flint'. Upon walking on the wall, he sees 'a thowsande yatis new and olde', and is told that these gates are 'issuis and portis from all maner of nacyons'. This is confirmed by the writing inscribed upon them:

> [blackletter]
> They had wrytyng sum greke/sum ebrew
> Some romaine letters as I understode
> Some were olde wryten/sum were writen new

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[78] Edward Hall, *The vnion of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (London: Richard Grafton, 1548), STC 12721, fol. lxxiii^{r}.

[79] The inscription does not appear on the fountain in an anonymous painting of the scene, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* (c. 1545). When a replica of the fountain was built at Hampton Court Palace in 2010, the inscription was translated into English and engraved in uppercase roman.

> Some carectis of caldy/sum frensshe was full good
> But one gate specyally where as I stode
> Had grauin in it of calcydony a capytall .A.
> what yate call ye this/and she sayd Anglea
> The beldynge therof was passynge co[m]mendable
> whereon stode a lybbard crownyd w[ith] golde and stones
> Terrible of countenaunce and passynge formydable
> As quikly towchyd as it were flesshe and bones
> As gastly that glaris as grimly that gronis
> As ferfly frownynge as he had ben fyghtyng
> And with his forme foote he shoke forthe this wrytyng
> [roman]
> Formidanda nimis Jovis ultimate fulmina tollis:
> Vnguibus ire parat loca singula liuida curuis
> Q[uam] modo per Phebes nummos raptura celeno
> Arma, lues, luctus, fel, vis, fraus, barbara tellus;
> Mille modis erras odium tibi querere Martis;
> Spreto spineto cedat saliunca roseto[80]

It may seem that this switch of font is for purely linguistic, rather than material, reasons, following the convention examined in Chapter 1. This does not, however, preclude a material connotation too, and when the passage is considered in context of the rest of the book, this seems to be the dominant factor. Of the several other passages of Latin in the text (fols 13v, 20v, 23v, 24v, 25v, 26r), all are set in the same blackletter as the English, except for a paratextual envoy (24v). Four lines of Latin verse precede the text (1v) and are set in roman, though these also serve a paratextual function. With this general context seemingly eschewing a systematic linguistic distinction between typefaces, the specific context of the passage provides a foundation for the materiality of its roman type. The narrator is preoccupied with the materiality of his surroundings, remarking on the 'stony flint' walls and their expense (they are 'enbateld moche costious of charge'). His guide also points out the stonework (these 'stones be full glint'), and 'Calcydony' (ModE 'chalcedony'), used to inscribe the letter 'A', is a form of quartz. These texts above the gates are 'grauin in', and the leopard is 'crownyd w[ith] golde and stones'. The leopard, too, is presumably sculpted from stone, though it is 'quikly towchyd as it were flesshe and bones' — materials skilfully wrought can be deceiving. Finally, that the passage closely follows Skelton's line 'Some romaine letters as I understode', associates the roman type in the book with the materiality of the narrator's environment.

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[80] John Skelton, *A ryght delectable treatyse upon a goodly garlande or chapelet of laurell* (London: Richard Faques, 1523), STC 22610, fols 12r–12v.

Like Hall's fountain, then, this shift to roman type can be read as an endotext: words engraved in stone, with all the connotations Skelton has established for the medium – expense, skill, and prestige. Just as stone can portray a leopard's glare as ghastly as bone and flesh, so too can ink have the meaning of a text in stone. The language surrounding the text can also be compared with that used in the modern books discussed above. The Latin inscriptional passage is preceded by the line 'And with his forme foote he shoke forthe this wrytyng'. This serves the same introductory purpose as 'Written on the paper in black ink with a very fine pen were the words:' (*La Belle Sauvage*, p. 33), and 'a note in Andy's angry blocky handwriting that read:' (*A Little Life,* p. 186). In referring to 'wrytyng', 'words' and 'read[ing]', each author respectively signposts the imminent change of discourse, diegesis, and material, which is then rendered typographically. Skelton is more explicit in his methods: by deictically referring to '*this* wrytyng' as opposed to, for instance, '*the* words', the text demonstrates an awareness of its own materiality — the poem pauses for six lines while another medium is embodied. Furthermore, this deixis introduces the ensuing text as not merely a reproduction of the inscription, but the inscription itself: here, type is both textual and pictorial.[81]

But neither of these examples exploit the engravenness of uppercase roman, both being in lowercase. Their status as endotexts is therefore gained by typographical contrast, and their explicit identification as 'romaine letters' rather than skeuomorphism. Elsewhere, though, these two features are joined to uppercase roman's ability to invoke the chisel. John Leland's 1544 *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii Regis Britanniae* (henceforth '*Assertio*')[82] is a book that relies heavily on its skeuomorphic endotexts, as does its English translation of 1582, *A learned and true assertion of the original life, actes, and death of the most noble, valiant, and renoumed Prince Arthure, King of great Brittaine* (henceforth '*Assertion*').[83] James Carley describes the *Assertio* as an attempt to 'establish the validity of Arthur's historical existence through a comprehensive analysis of ancient texts, place names, ancient artefacts, and landscape features.'[84] Both Latin and English text are comprised of seventeen chapters, each considering the evidence for different aspects of Arthurian lore, ultimately arguing a historical basis for Arthur, projecting him as a national icon. Leland was responding to aspersions publicly cast by Polydore Vergil on the extent of Arthur's existence — as Alan Lupack puts it, 'it is striking that whereas Geoffrey [of Monmouth] devoted nearly a fifth of his long chronicle to Arthur, Vergil gives him one page, and that the deeds recounted there are undercut with words and phrases suggesting exaggeration or embellishment.'[85] Leland's response, initially in manuscript, was 'swift and robust'.[86] As Angus Vine has shown, the book is an exemplar of sixteenth-century antiquarianism — a practice he describes as 'a dynamic, recuperative, resurrective response to the past.'[87] The book's typography has a role to play in this dynamic resurrection.

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[81] Here I make no remark on the actual content of the Latin inscription, which, in the words of John Scattergood, is 'the despair of editors'. (*The Complete English Poems of John Skelton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), p. 484). He offers a possible translation:

> You bear things to be feared beyond measure, the very thunderbolts of Jupiter. With curved talons he is as ready to go to various dangerous places as was Celaeno the harpy to get treasure from Phoebus. Arms, plague, lamentation, gall, force, fraud, a barbarous world! You wander a thousand ways to seek for yourself the strife of Mars. Let the wild nard give place to the scorned and thorny rose-tree.

That the earliest surviving edition of the poem has the marginal words 'Cacosinthicon ex industria' ('Something ill put together on purpose') alongside the Latin suggests that this has been deliberately confused from the source. Though we read the text as an inscription, it certainly does not exhibit typical deictic inscriptional features of names, titles, times, and places. A later edition, printed by John Stow in 1568, moves this marginal note to the main body text, where it appears as if a heading to the Latin verse. This edition sets the inscriptional passage in an italic font, diminishing the material effect as it becomes divorced from the 'romaine letters' mentioned before their appearance.

[82] John Leland, *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii Regis Britanniae* (London: Richard Wolfe, 1544), STC 15440.

If, as Vine says, Leland rebuffed Vergil's continental humanist and antiquarian methods 'with humanist and antiquarian arguments of his own,'[88] the design of the *Assertio* complemented these credentials by also emulating Vergil's book. Visually, the 1544 *Assertio* is in a minority for its year, as a book printed in England without any blackletter: 6 such books exist from 1544, out of 88 checked on EEBO and 113 in the ESTC. It has more in common with the typography of Vergil's book, printed in Basel in 1534:[89] both have a title-page which begins with a centred line of large roman uppercase, diminishing in size and length in a cul-de-lampe composition. These are both followed by a liminary verse of eight lines of centred italics. Their imprints are both given at the foot of the page in uppercase roman. As Carley reminds us, an assertion 'is usually written against a negation; it assumes an opponent',[90] and Wolfe's title-page thereby made sure that Leland was presented on a par with his continental opponent, performing the same 'national aggrandisement'[91] that Cathy Shrank attributes to the text itself by situating the book on a continental stage. Inside, a dedication to Henry VIII opens the book in italics (with roman headings and running heads, the latter uppercase), before the main text in roman (with headings in both roman and italic, and running heads continued in uppercase roman). The English *Assertion*, printed 38 years later, drops this continental typography and instead presents the text in the idiomatic English multigraphic style: it has a mixture of roman, italic, and blackletter on its title-page, and its main text, after a dedication in roman, is in blackletter. Headings are in a mixture of roman and italic, and its running heads are in roman. The *Assertion*, therefore, is typical for 1582.

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[83] John Leland, *A learned and true assertion of the original life, actes, and death of the most noble, valiant, and renoumed Prince Arthure, King of great Brittaine*, trans. by Richard Robinson (London: John Wolfe, 1582), STC 15441.

[84] James P. Carley, 'Leland, John (c. 1503–1552)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16416> [accessed 13 March 2018]

[85] Alan Lupack, 'The Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. by Helen Fulton (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 340–254 (p. 341). For more information on the tensions between the two authors, see James P. Carley, 'Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur: The Battle of the Books', *Interpretations*, 15 (1984), 86–100.

[86] Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 26.

[87] Vine, p. 3.

[88] Vine, p. 26.

There are seven occasions, however, that disrupt these conventions, setting a text within the blackletter body text in uppercase roman.[92] These are fully transcribed in Appendix F, with their immediate context, but Figures 4.9 and 4.10 give typical examples of their content and appearance in the *Assertion*. The first three of these instances are given in Leland's voice, whereas the latter four are set within Leland's direct quotation of written sources (an 'anonymous monk', a 'booke at Glaste[n]bury', Siluester Giraldus, and Matthew Paris, respectively). While closer analysis of some of these is to follow, it is here worth characterizing the general technique employed by all of these texts. We see in all of these a deictic gesture towards the change in typography ('these', 'viz', 'this', 'these', 'thus', 'these'),

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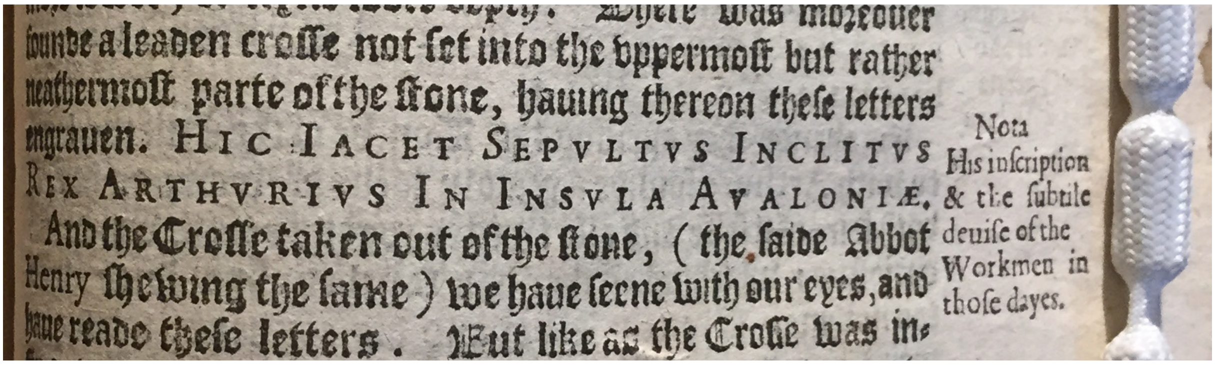
[89] Polydorus Vergilius, *Anglicae historiae libri XXVI* (Basel: Johannes Bebelius, 1534), USTC 684705.

[90] Carley, 'Polydore Vergil', p. 90.

[91] Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 77.

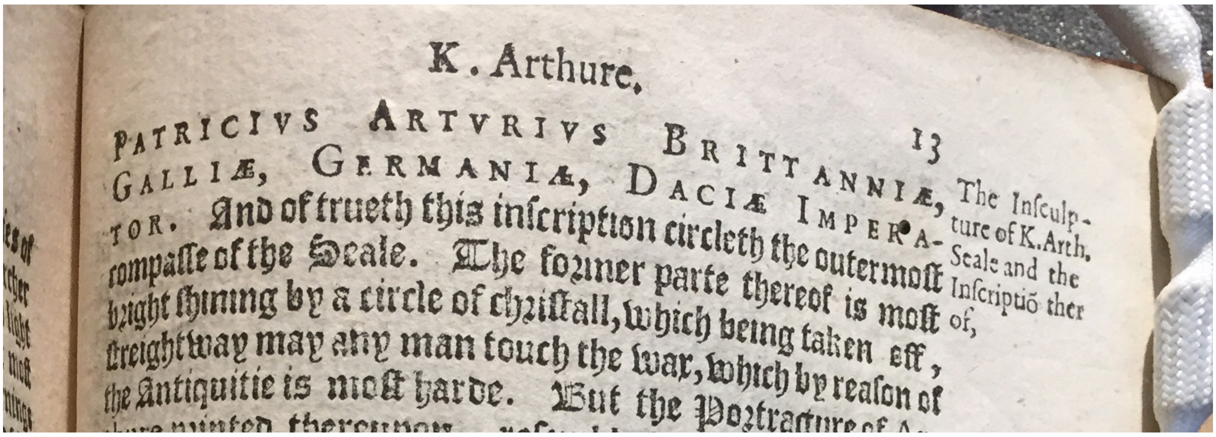
[92] From hereon, the English *Assertion* will be discussed specifically. Though the following endotexts exist in both books, they are more salient when set among the blackletter of the English text. However, Robinson's translation fails to communicate Leland's expertise in Latin: it is, as Carley says, 'a much rougher text' (Carley, 'Polydore Vergil', p. 94).



There was moꝛeouer
founde a leaden croſſe not ſet into the vppermoſt but rather
neathermoſt parte of the ſtone, hauing thereon theſe letters
engrauen. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLITVS
REX ARTHVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIÆ.
And the Croſſe taken out of the ſtone, (the ſaide Abbot
Henry ſhewing the ſame) we haue ſeene with our eyes, and
haue reade theſe letters. But like as the Croſſe was in-

Nota
His inſcription
& the ſubtile
deuiſe of the
Workmen in
thoſe dayes.

FIGURE 4.9
John Leland, *A learned and true assertion of the original life, actes, and death of the most noble, valiant, and renoumed Prince Arthure, King of great Brittaine*, trans. by Richard Robinson (London: John Wolfe, 1582), STC 15441, fol. 28^{r}.



K. Arthure.
13
PATRICIVS ARTVRIVS BRITTANNIÆ,
GALLIÆ, GERMANIÆ, DACIÆ IMPERA-
TOR. And of trueth this inſcription circleth the outermoſt
compaſſe of the Seale. The foꝛmer parte thereof is moſt
bꝛight ſhining by a circle of chꝛiſtall, which being taken off,
ſtreightway may any man touch the wax, which by reaſon of
the Antiquitie is moſt harde. But the Poꝛtracture of A-

The Inſculp-
ture of K. Arth.
Seale and the
Inſcriptiō ther
of,

Figure 4.10
John Leland, *A learned and true assertion of the original life, actes, and death of the most noble, valiant, and renoumed Prince Arthure, King of great Brittaine*, trans. by Richard Robinson (London: John Wolfe, 1582), STC 15441, fol. 13^{r}.

demonstrating the text's awareness of its own materiality, anticipating its own mutable appearance. That instance (no. 7) without such verbal deixis instead uses a colon as the liminal zone between the two different kinds of discourse, in much the same way as the three contemporary examples discussed above. Following these transitional features, the typeface changes from blackletter to uppercase roman, and it is in this font that the inscriptions, engraved in several media, are quoted. The first quotation is an engraving on Arthur's seal, which Leland describes handling, and the rest are inscriptions upon graves (in lead plates). Preceding most of these visual changes, as was seen in *A Little Life*, is some description of what it is trying to evoke: we are again both told and shown the materiality of the text, as all the quotations taken from tombs are explicitly 'engrauen' or 'grauen'.

The *Assertion* is a book concerned with proof, applying what Carley calls an 'objective' method.[93] The language of empirical argument therefore characterizes its prose from its first word, 'Evident'. Likewise, its title, the 'assertion', meaning 'the action of declaring or positively stating',[94] presides over every page as a running heading, framing the text with a burden of proof. On fol. 6^v, Leland gives something of a manifesto for his critical historiography: 'Howe much better is it (casting away trifles, cutting off olde wiues tales, and superfluous fables, in deede of stately porte in outwarde shew, but noting auayleable unto credite, beeing taken away) to reade, scanne upon, and preserue in memorie those thinges which are consonant by Authorytie.' Most of Leland's evidence, as text, is indeed 'reade' or 'scanned', and he extensively refers to carefully cited manuscript sources, such as on fol. 12^r where he announces he 'will hereunto annexe the very words of King Henries gift, out of the original deede.' He thus creates an image of Arthur that is a concordant patchwork of consolidated testimonies, fragments, and chronicles. He is an advocate for consulting texts personally, often showing the difficulty of achieving this, as on fol. 3^v: 'Neyther was that booke common in mens handes at that time, and in this our age is surely most rare: onely thre exemplars do I remember that I haue seene' (here he is giving the source of Henry of Huntington's account of Arthur's battles). When a named source appears in the text, their name appears in lowercase roman, highlighting them within the blackletter text. This consistency, however, does not extend to the quotations themselves, and often the many layers of intertextuality and citation are confused and blended both syntactically and typographically, as Leland oscillates between clearly signposting a direct quotation, and diving straight in to an external text. Likewise, though the textual jumps are often signalled typographically (see, for instance, the paragraph of Siluester Giraldus set saliently in lowercase roman type on fol. 29^v), this is not a consistent indication: the words of the anonymous monk of Glastonbury, for instance, continue in Leland's blackletter without so much as a line break (fol. 27^v). The clarity of textual layers is further confounded by what is probably the result of material exigency: on fol. 29^v a quotation from Giraldus switches from roman to blackletter midway through a sentence, suggesting that the typesetter had run out of roman type. Extremely consistent in their formatting, however, are those seven endotextual, inscriptional examples given above, which all use the same uppercase roman font. In reading them closely, these instances can be shown to serve the book's rhetorical agenda, exploiting typography as an apparatus of argument, and using it to archaeological ends.

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[93] Carley, 'Polydore Vergil', p. 91.

[94] 'assertion, n.', *OED*.

A clear demonstration of this appreciation is found in the first example above, the inscription on Arthur's seal, described in Chapter VIII, and the first instance in the book in which an artefact, rather than a text, is used as a piece of evidence. Well before this chapter, Leland alludes to not just the seal, but specifically its inscription: he states that Arthur's fame among the French is 'manifest by the inscription of Arthures greate Seale (concerning which wee will in place conuinient speake circumspectly)', and so from fol. 6^{r} the reader is in anticipation of it. When this convenient place is reached, Leland begins by describing what impelled him towards seeking the seal. Fittingly (and perhaps recursively) it was a text:

> Being moued with the testimony of Caxodonus whatsoueever it were, I went unto Westminster, to the end that what so as an eare witnesse I had hearde, I might at length also as eye witnesse behold the same. Pondering well that sayinge of Plautus in my minde. *Pluris valet oculatus testis unus quam Auriti decem*. Of more forces standes eye witnesse one, Then ten eare witnesses among[95]

We must assume that Caxodonus is here Caxton, who mentions the seal (and its inscription) in his preface to *Le Morte D'Arthur*: 'Fyrst in the abbey of Westmestre at saynt Edwardes shryne remayneth the prynte of his seal in reed waxe closed in beryll / An whych is wryton Patricius Arthurus / Britannie / Gallie / Germanie / dacie / Imperator'.[96] Caxton is unable to give the inscription any sort of skeuomorphism, inhibited by his fonts, which were all blackletter, but the virgules placed between every word are unusual and may be an attempt to give the text of the inscription some sort of typographic distinction within his body text.[97]

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[95] *Assertion*, fol. 12^{v}.

[96] Thomas Malory, [*Le morte darthur*], (London: William Caxton, 1485), STC 801, fol. 1^{v}.

[97] The seal text makes another appearance, typographically undistinguished, in John Rastell's *The pastyme of people* (London: John Rastell, 1530?), STC 20724, sig. c.iii^{v}. By 1582, the growing multigraphy of printer's type stock allowed Thomas East to set the seal inscription, and the inscription on Arthur's tomb, in roman in

So far, the *Assertion* has been overwhelmingly in the third person, narrating the deeds of Arthur or the writers who recorded them. Leland's shift to the first person when discussing the seal, then, is prominent, and is accompanied with a change of tone. Here, we are given a personal, eye-witness account of his own experience, and one that blends the descriptive with the emotive, reminiscent of Walter Benjamin's conception of an artefact's 'aura', that 'peculiar web of space and time:[98]

> The sight of the Antiquitie pleased me at full, and for a long time the Maiestie thereof not onely drewe away but also detained myne eyes from me to the beholding thereof. Of such force it is for a man aptly to chaunce upon a thing with greate care desired. The substance which tooke the most lyuelyest figure of Arthure imprinted upon the Seale, (and which as yet doth firmely keep the same still) is waxe of redde coloure, which by some misshape, or iniury of long time perished, is crazed here [and] there into peeces. But so yet notwisthstanding as no part of it is altogether lacking. For the fragmentes or little peeces thereof being before time by some mischaunce crazed, are so closed up together with siluer playes which is of rounde forme, such as is the vtter side of the Seale, that no parte of them may fall off. For vpon the vtterside of this seale it is thus engraued with these breefe, but in very deede most excellent, most hauty, and most magnificent tytles. That is to say [roman] PATRICIVS ARTVRIVS BRITTANIAE, GALLIAE, GERMANIA, DACIAE IMPERATOR. [blackletter] And of trueth this inscription circleth the outermost compasse of the Seale.[99]

This is followed by a description of the image of Arthur on the seal. By an accident of composition, the endotext, set in uppercase roman in an otherwise blackletter text, appears at the top of the next page (fol. 13^{r}), echoing its position on the 'vtterside of this Seale'. For Leland, who dedicates a whole chapter to it, the seal clinches his argument: 'Neither surely is there any thing apparant, (that I doe know of) which more euidently approueth that Arthure was liuing, the[n] the same Seale doth.' Again, the language of conviction and proof pervades: 'surely', 'apparant', 'euidently approueth', and the first person account that precedes it adds to this conviction. There is an implicit tension, though, between textual testimony and a

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an otherwise blackletter text (Thomas Malory, *The storye of the most noble and worthy kynge Arthur* (London: Thomas East, 1582), STC 805, sig. ⚜.ii.^{v}, sig. Oo.ii.^{r}).

[98] Walter Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography', *Screen*, 13 (1972), 5–26 (p. 20).

[99] *Assertion*, 12^{v}–13^{r}.

personal, physical experience — as Leland has already admitted, an eye-witness account is ten times better than Caxton's preface, and so this book's sufficiency in conveying evidence is called into question too. In deploying this skeuomorphic typography, then, Leland and his printers seek to resolve two seemingly irreconcilable epistemologies: empirical and textual. The type changes to substantiate the inscription's material presence, and in doing so gives the reader a Leland's-eye view, that they might also be 'pleased ... at full' by the 'sight of the Antiquitie' — that they might see it *and* read it. As Angus Vine has shown, the seal passage shows 'Leland toil[ing] to give [Arthur] a physical, as well as a textual, form.'[100] Here, then, typography is used as a means to this end, making the artefacts of Arthur as physically present as they can be in textual form, thereby contributing to the book's objective method.

In handling the 'leaden plate' from Arthur's tomb, Leland again feels the aura of the artefact. On fol. 23^{v} he reverts back to the first person, describing the plate, 'which I haue beholden with most curiose eyes, and handled with feareful ioyntes in each part, being moued both with the Antiquitie and worthinesse of the thing.' The technique and consequent effect are here the same as in Chapter VIII: the book cites both material and text, giving the inscription in the same uppercase roman as used for the seal, in stark contrast to its surrounding blackletter. This same inscription, set in the same type, appears a subsequent four times, each time within a citation from an exterior text consulted by Leland (the writings of an 'anonymous monk', a 'booke at Glaste[n]bury', Siluester Giraldus, and Matthew Paris). The effect is one of cumulative evidence — five eye-witnesses are better than one — but their continued use of uppercase roman type unsettles the established visual capacity of typography. We no longer see the seal through Leland's experience, but through his experience of yet more relayed experiences, adding another, potentially dubious, layer of testimony that the use of uppercase roman was in the first place meant to penetrate.

Like the roman used for Berthelet's paratext, this material metaphor carries with it connotations that can affect a reading of the texts. Again, these are concerned with the durability of the materials, and therefore their age: the *Assertion* employs uppercase roman type not only to give form and substance to its archaeological evidence, but also to invoke a general sense of 'Antiquity'. Leland is repeatedly concerned that time is the enemy of texts — an awareness no doubt heightened by the task he was assigned by Henry VIII, to seek out texts in monastic libraries so that they 'might be brought owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely light.'[101] In relaying an account of Arthur's tomb, he describes the

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[100] Vine, p. 28.

> two Pyramedes of most auncient buylding, bearing a shew of figures [and] letters, but the windes, stormes, and time which consumeth all thinges, finally envy of man from time to time haue so defaced the notable figures and inscription of auncient workes, that they can scarce be discerned by any neuer so sharpe sight of the eye.[102]

Likewise, in the words of Siluester Giraldus on fol. 29^{v}, the inscriptions on the pyramids are 'very much defaced and ouerworne by too much oldnesse of time.' Leland also says that Nennius' works on Arthur have been corrupted by 'iniurie of time' (fol. 3^{r}). Despite this, the seal and inscriptions have (to 1544 at least) persisted, and so uppercase roman takes on a quality of endurance, and becomes a rare link to the past. For Leland, this quality has practical, material origins in the durability of lead, which 'when it is once grauen continueth both a very long time, and also most firmly, as witnesseth experience.' (fol. 23^{v}). However, Leland seeks to evoke not just any past; he repeatedly contextualizes Arthur in Roman history, and the use of roman type contributes to this goal (not least by the explicit mention of 'greate romane letters' on fol. 23^{v}) This is visually reinforced on fol. 23^{r}, where the inscription from Arthur's tomb is closely followed by another from a Roman 'standard of stone' (set in the same font). The inscriptions themselves are linguistically as well as typographically Roman, as Leland shows when analysing that of the seal, saying, for instance, that 'The name of PATRICIVS, is taken as from the maiestie of the Romans' (fol. 13^{v}).

As well as 'durability' and 'temporality', evoking a specifically Roman antiquity, the *Assertion* both assigns and exploits connotations of artistry and prestige to the uppercase roman type

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[101] John Leland, 'New Year's Gift', in *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, ed. by Thomas Hearne 9 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1744–5); Vine, p. 24.

[102] *Assertion*, fol. 24^{r}.

— Cook's category of 'quality'. This is primarily an association of the act of engraving, and all of these texts are explicitly 'engrauen'. Throughout the text, Leland is preoccupied with the extrinsic qualities of materials and their worth, demonstrated in one account of Arthur's tomb: 'so the body of Arthure was found not in a marble Tombe (as it befitted so notable a kinge), not in a stony place, or grauen out of the white Paris stone, but rather in a wodden Tombe made hollow for this purpose' (fols 28^{r}–28^{v}). This sort of attribution of prestige extends also to lettering, and the engravings described are 'cunningly' performed (fol. 23^{v}) or, as in the marginal note on fol. 28^{r}, use 'subtle deuise' — creative ingenuity.

Recent attention to Leland has seen a correction of the formerly received notion that his work was primarily bibliographical. Identifying two strains of early modern antiquarianism — archaeological and philological — Daniel Woolf places Leland in the former: 'the textual-philological heart of Leland's activities is unmistakable.'[103] Likewise, Joan Evans has described his focus as 'entirely and narrowly documentary'.[104] Vine and Shrank have separately shown this to be false, illustrating his simultaneous concern for the material and his appreciation of 'the importance of assessing evidence found in artefacts'.[105] We see this appreciation at work in the *Assertion*: Arthur is argued by objects. But these objects are also texts, and just as the skeuomorphic para- and endotexts of the *Hypnerotomachia* contribute to its hybrid status as 'both text and object', so too do Leland's endotexts accommodate and communicate his practice as both a philologist of texts and an archaeologist of objects. The *Assertion* maintains that engraved texts, and therefore the books in which they are reproduced, need to both seen *and* read to fully understand them, and this understanding is here mediated by typography, exploiting the skeuomorphism of roman to signify an absent material. Roman type is thereby used as an apparatus of both evidence and rhetoric, aiding the book in its agenda of 'national aggrandisement.'

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[103] Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 145.

[104] Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 3.

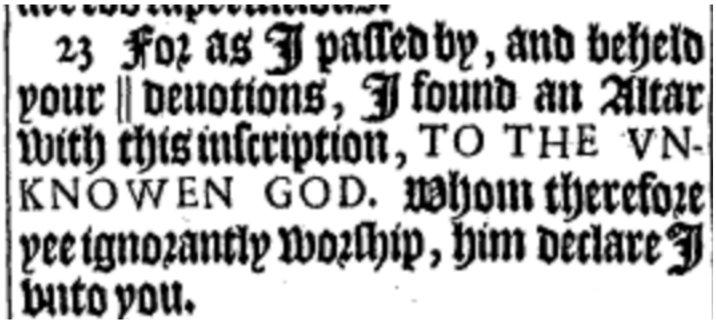
[105] Shrank, p. 66.

If this empirical and rhetorical capacity of typography is used towards historical ends in the *Assertion*, those endotexts in the Bible use it to religious ends. Beginning in the Geneva Bible of 1560, eight texts are rendered in uppercase roman type to evoke their materiality in much the same way as Arthur's seal or grave inscriptions. Table 4.1 lists the only passages of the book set in uppercase roman (except for paratexts and occasional *nomina sacra*); it seems to be an intentionally endotextual use, evoking either engraved or written text.

Verse	**Endotext (as found in *The Bible* (Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1560), STC 2093)**
Exodus 28:36	Also thou shalt make a plate of pure golde, & graue thero[n], as signets are graue[n], HOLINESS TO THE LORD
Exodus 39:30	Finally thei made the plate for the holy crowne of fine golde, and wrote vpon it a superscription like to the grauing of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD
Daniel 5:25–27	And this is the writing that he hathe writen, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, VPHARSIN
Matthew 27:37	They set vp also ouer his head his cause written, THIS IS IESVS THE KING OF THE IEWES
Mark 15:26	And the title of his cause was writte[n] aboue, THE KING OF THE IEWES
Luke 23:38	And a superscription was also written ouer him, in Greke lettres, and in Latin, & in Hebrewe, THIS IS THE KING OF THE IEWES
John 19:19	And Pilate wrote also a title and put it on the crosse, and it was written, IESVS OF NAZARET THE KING OF THE IEWES
Acts 17:23	For as I passed by, & behelde your deuocions, I founde an altar wherein was written, VNTO THE VNKNOWEN GOD

TABLE 4.1 Biblical endotexts

Space permits only a brief introduction of these, though they deserve further attention as it seems they have not yet been studied as having an illustrative capacity. Two are explicitly engraved, and one implicitly so; the remainder depict writing — those contained in the gospels which show the sign placed above the crucifixion — but their author (Pilate) perhaps warrants their setting in roman for its explicit connotation of the letterforms of the Romans.



23 For as I paſſed by, and beheld
your || deuotions, I found an Altar
with this inſcription, TO THE VN-
KNOWEN GOD. Whom therefore
yee ignorantly worſhip, him declare I
vnto you.

FIGURE 4.11
T*he Holy Bible* (London: Robert Barker, 1611), STC 2216, fol. 701^{r} (EEBO).

Each instance follows the criteria of an endotext: a secondary text depicted within the diegesis of the main text, the materiality of which is conveyed through a contrast in typography. After their earliest appearance in the Geneva Bible, bibles in English follow this convention for setting these endotexts in contrasting type, including those Geneva Bibles printed by Christopher Barker, the Douay-Rheims New Testament of 1582 and Bible of 1609.[106] In the King James Version of 1611 their skeuomorphism is highlighted by being set amongst blackletter text (Figure 4.9). This practice is another mark of Geneva's influence on English bibles: before the English Geneva Bible, printers with whom the English exiles collaborated were applying this technique to other vernaculars. Jean Crespin's 1551 French Bible, for instance, includes two of the above endotexts.[107] We may think of these endotexts alongside the Genevan paratexts and maps discussed in Chapter 2 as textual apparatuses that aided the interpretation of the word of God.

This chapter has shown that, throughout the sixteenth century, the inscriptional origins of roman type were exploited to portray texts as engraved, both implicitly (in the case of paratexts) and explicitly (in endotexts). Skeuomorphism can differentiate between textual levels, not only by contrasting typefaces, but by projecting an alternative material altogether. While previous chapters have explored the symbolic and indexical signification of typography, the books of this chapter demonstrate type's iconic function: it can signify through its resemblance to the signified. In books such as Berthelet's, roman type invites the reader to imagine the book as a stone structure that houses the text, imbuing paratexts with associations of liminality, age, and worth. In books like the *Assertion* and the Bible, the reader finds within these imagined stone structures engraved artefacts, their inscriptionality resisting the deleterious effects of time on text, recovered by an author and communicated by typography. The *Hypnerotomachia* has its protagonist entering and exiting antique structures to find inscriptions within; the typographic interplay between paratexts and endotexts in these books lead their readers on the same journey. Shakespeare provides us with a final demonstration of the currency of these meanings of roman uppercase, who, at the end of the century, adapted them to an especially grisly image. In the last act of *Titus Andronicus*, Aaron is sentenced to death, and asked by Lucius if he is 'sorry for these heinous deeds'. Aaron responds with a litany of 'dreadful things' for which he feels no regret, including the following:

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[106] *The Nevv Testament* (Rhemes: John Fogny, 1582), STC 2884; *The holie* Bible (Douay: Laurence Kellam, 1609–1610), STC 2207.

[107] *La Bible* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1551), USTC 5622.

> Oft haue I digd vp dead men from their graues,
> And set them vpright at their deare friends dore,
> Euen when their sorrowes almost was forgot,
> And on their skinnes as on the barke of trees,
> Haue with my knife carued in Romaine letters,
> Let not your sorrow die though I am dead.[108]

Aaron's use of 'Romaine letters' is here a vengeful appropriation of the Roman culture which enslaved him, but their significance here is also one of inscription, invoking and inverting the meanings illustrated throughout this chapter. Aaron's letters are 'carued' — more brutal and less skilful than roman's typical collocation of 'engraued'. While he explicitly dehumanizes the bodies as 'the barke of trees', the verb also presents them as meat, prepared with his knife rather than any 'subtile' tool. There is a perverse inversion of the exteriority of roman inscriptions: while we would expect the letters to appear on a gravestone, deictically referring to an internal, unseen referent, these un-graved bodies become the very visible substrate of their own engraved epitaph. And this epitaph is itself enhanced by a meaning of roman — its historical longevity. The inscription wills that grief will endure as long as the letterforms in which it is carved. Just as the early modern study of inscriptions paradoxically made an irrecoverable Roman past visible, so too do these letters make an absence present in perpetuity: ‘Let not your sorrow die, though I am dead.’ In this monologue, then, Shakespeare takes the associations of roman letters, and defamiliarizes them.

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[108] William Shakespeare, *The most lamentable Romaine tragedie of Titus Andronicus* (London: John Danter, 1594), STC 22328, sig. I2^r.

CHAPTER 5

'Graphic Peculiarities': The Transformission of Typography

1. Remediation and transformission

Anyone consulting a print edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* can turn to the entry for *grotesque* to find not only the definition of the word, but the very thing itself. The third sense of the noun is defined as 'A square-cut letter without ceriph, **THUS** ; formerly called stone-letter' (Figure 5.1). Now more commonly called 'sans serif', the font in which '**THUS**' is set is a 'grotesque', and so it autologically refers to its own appearance. As the surrounding text on the page (and the rest of the dictionary) appears in serifed roman and italic, the contrast between fonts is strong, and the change conspicuous. This is an unusual flash of immediacy in a book concerned with definitions rather than demonstrations; though illustration has explicitly never been the remit of the *OED*, this definition not only illustrates, but materializes the thing being defined.[1]

Those consulting the online *OED*, though, are not only denied this added precision, but misled. The definition, yet to be updated in the current campaign of *OED3* editing, preserves the wording of the print editions, but not the typography: 'THUS' is set in Georgia, a font with 'ceriphs' (i.e. serifs), defined by the formatting of the webpage as the style for all of the dictionary's entries (Figure 5.2). In changing from a printed to an electronic medium, possibly during the keying of the *OED* in the preparation of its digital version in the 1980s,[2] the text's original appearance has been subsumed by global formatting, thereby accidentally annulling its autology, and contradicting itself.

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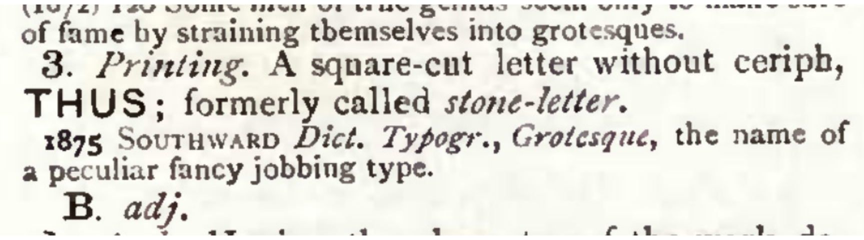
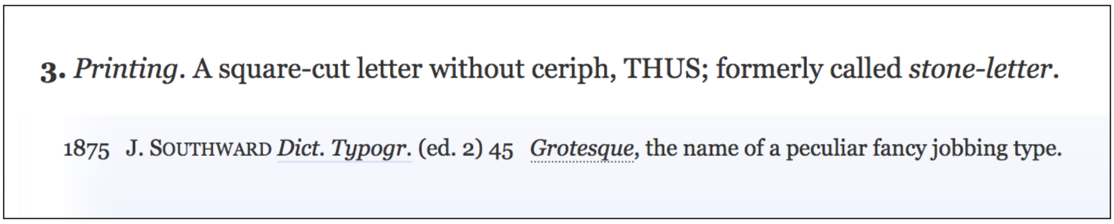
[1] Several other typographical terms were likewise depicted, such as some now-archaic terms for type sizes (*emerald*, *English*, *nonpareil*, etc.). The consistency of this is variable, with *sans serif* and *italic*, for instance, not employing the sans serif or italic fonts. A decision was made to remove all such anomalies in the second edition, briefly acknowledged in its introduction: 'In the first edition a number of names for typefaces are typographically illustrated [...] These have been omitted.' The example given above, however, was retained. *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions, compiled by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), vol I, p. xiii.

[2] On which, see John Simpson, 'The OED and Innovation', *OED*, 6 September 2012 <https://public.oed.com/blog/the-oed-and-innovation/> [accessed 24 February 2020]



of fame by straining themselves into grotesques.
3. *Printing.* A square-cut letter without ceriph, THUS; formerly called *stone-letter.*
1875 SOUTHWARD *Dict. Typogr.*, *Grotesque*, the name of a peculiar fancy jobbing type.
B. *adj.*

FIGURE 5.1
‘Grotesque’, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Cragie, and C. T. Onions, 13 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), vol IV.



3. *Printing*. A square-cut letter without ceriph, THUS; formerly called *stone-letter*.

1875 J. SOUTHWARD *Dict. Typogr.* (ed. 2) 45 *Grotesque*, the name of a peculiar fancy jobbing type.

FIGURE 5.2
‘Grotesque’, *OED Online*, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/81794?rskey=qKmpDq&result=1&isAdvanced=false> [accessed 1 September 2020]

This typographic oxymoron is a product of remediation and transformission. In coining the term ‘remediation’, Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin have developed Marshal McLuhan’s dictum that ‘the “content” of any medium is always another medium’ — that writing mediates speech, for instance, and print writing.[3] It is, they write, ‘the formal logic by which new media refashion prior media forms.’[4] Diana Kichuk’s well-known application of remediation to EEBO is fruitful, but is founded on an over-simplification. She describes how remediation ‘refers to the re-presentation of old media in new media,’[5] which, while true, is not the whole picture, as it omits the aspect of perceived amelioration originally conveyed by Bolter and Grusin. Their coinage is deliberately homonymic with ‘remediation’ (‘to heal, to restore to health’),[6] intending to invoke ‘the way in which one medium is seen by our culture as reforming or improving upon another.’[7] The *OED Online* remediates *OED1* (via *OED2*), in the sense that it conveys the text of a physical book on a website, but also in that it improves the utility of the text by allowing it to be searched more efficiently, and accessed more widely. But, as Bolter and Grusin suggest, the promise of amelioration offered by remediation can be broken, via the corruption of content, as we see in the definition of *grotesque*.

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[3] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Berkeley: Gingko Press, 2011), p. 13.

[4] David J. Bolter and Richard A. Grusin. *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000) p. 273.

[5] Diana Kichuk, ‘Metamorphosis: Remediation in *Early English Books Online (EEBO)*’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 22 (2007), 291–303 (p. 291).

[6] Bolter and Grusin, p. 59.

[7] Bolter and Grusin, p. 59.

Randall McLeod (writing as Random Clod) first introduced the portmanteau 'transformission' in passing, in his essay 'Information on Information'.[8] Transformission is his term for 'how [a text] was *transformed* as it was *transmitted*.'[9] It is, he admits, a broad term (as 'since we don't have texts that aren't transmitted, transformission should cover most everything'),[10] but nonetheless a useful one. The term clearly has similarities and crossover with remediation, but transformission can be distinguished from remediation firstly by considering it a common *consequence* of remediation, concerning local instances of change after something has been transferred between media. Secondly, remediation is not necessary for transformission to occur — a text can be transformitted between books, for instance (and it is this form, as A. E. B. Coldiron notes, that McLeod is interested in).[11] Lastly, transformission has its origins 'in textual studies and editorial theory',[12] whereas the concept of remediation has been applied to a broad range of media.

The transformission shown between the *OED1*'s and the *OED Online*'s definitions of *grotesque* is an unusually consequential example of this phenomenon, but it illustrates the principle that, when typography is a constituent of meaning, its remediation and subsequent transformission can alter that meaning, and even introduce error. If, as Donald McKenzie says, modern books are 'notorious for smoothing the text and dull our sensitivity to space as an instrument of order,'[13] the same smoothing might dull our sensitivity to the typographic meanings established in this thesis — or even deny our sensitivity any opportunity to be exercised. This chapter demonstrates that typefaces are especially susceptible to being transformitted, and, furthermore, that this is especially consequential for early modern English books of the multigraphic period identified in Chapter 1. This is an argument via examples, giving a survey of recent cases of transformission, often in reincarnations of those books discussed in previous chapters. Of course, much of what has been discussed prior to this chapter has itself involved transformission: the W kludges of English names in Chapter 1, the conspicuously roman English of the Genevan books in Chapter 2, and the inscriptions in Chapter 4, remediated from stone to ink, are transformitted. Here, though, I consider the modern handling of these historical texts — transformission across centuries, often caused by remediation from physical, typographic books to digital or photographic media. As a snapshot of current practices, this chapter collects much needed real-world evidence for concepts often discussed only in theory. Kichuk, for instance, describes remediation in EEBO without referencing specific images. As the following studies show, for typographical meanings and associations, it is not always a case of 'smoothing the text': though the transformission of typefaces does usually result in their suppression (as in the *OED* example), they can also be conserved or translated. These three broad types of transformission — the lines between which are blurred — are variously contingent on both the affordances of the media to which they are remediated, and the strategies of the people that remediate them. Equipped with this conceptual framework — suppression, conservation, and translation; incidental and intentional transformission — we can better understand the typographic transformission inherent to editions (in Section 2), facsimiles and digitizations (Section 3), and more focused typography such as in quotations (Section 4).

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[8] Random Clod, 'Information on Information', *Text*, 5 (1991), 241–281.

[9] Clod, p. 246.

[10] Clod, p. 246.

[11] A. E. B. Coldiron, 'Translation and Transformission; or, Early Modernity in Motion', in *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 46 (2019), 205–216 (p. 205).

[12] Coldiron, p. 205.

[13] Donald F. McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve', in *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 198–236, (p. 218).

2. Editions

The question of whether typeface variation is visual or textual is nowhere more consequential than in textual criticism. But despite ever-increasing focus on typography as a constituent of meaning, typeface variation is still generally absent from editorial theory. To take a recent example, the *Handbook of Editing Early Modern Texts* acknowledges it only once in passing, when Joseph L. Black writes that 'book historians have argued persuasively that material form shapes textual meaning: format, binding, quality of ink and paper, fount, typography, and *mise-en-page* are all legible.'[14] However, typography's legibility is here left hanging *in potentia*, and not developed into any guidance on or examples of how typography is edited — a lacuna in a 'practical guide' that purports to provide 'a series of answers [...] addressing the 'how-to's' of completing an excellent scholarly edition.'[15]

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[14] Joseph L. Black, 'Modernisation Versus Old-Spelling for Early Modern Printed Prose', in *A Handbook of Editing Early Modern Texts*, ed. by Claire Loffman and Harriet Phillips (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 94–108 (p. 105).

Typography's uncertain status within editions is partly attributable to its exclusion by English textual criticism's most influential theorists. Greg's rationale of the copy-text, which distinguished between a text's accidentals and its substantive readings, is typical in this regard. The former of Greg's binary includes 'such in general as spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like', and the latter those 'that affect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression' — implying, therefore, that spelling, punctuation, and word-division ('and the like') do *not* generally affect the author's meaning.[16] In his identification of a 'sociology of the text', McKenzie has rightly exposed the deficiencies of this binary, and the extent of its misrepresentative influence: 'current editorial practice based on that distinction', he writes, 'has had the effect of inhibiting the development of a general theory of textual criticism which would embrace the history of the book.'[17] Expanding further, he notes that the distinction relies on notions of the author's intention verses formal expression, reinforcing 'what is almost a Platonic distinction between idea or essence on the one hand and its *de*forming, material embodiment on the other.' His counter argument is therefore 'one in which authorial control of the physical forms makes manifest the ideal, one in which the essence of a work's meaning is distilled in the detail of its formal presentation.'[18] Though not so explicitly engaged with Greg, Jerome McGann's sketch of a 'materialist hermeneutics' in *The Textual Condition* runs parallel to McKenzie's 'sociology of the texts' and achieves similar goals through the emphasis of 'bibliographical codes'.[19]

An unfortunate by-product of Greg's influence is the subsequent misrepresentation of his theory as prescriptive, which the three critics McKenzie addresses are perhaps guilty of

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[15] Claire Loffman and Harriet Phillips, eds, 'Book Description', A Handbook of Editing Early Modern Texts <https://www.routledge.com/A-Handbook-of-Editing-Early-Modern-Texts-1st-Edition/Loffman-Phillips/p/book/9781472474780> [accessed 3 February 2020]

[16] Walter W. Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', *Studies in Bibliography,* 3 (1950), 19–36 (p. 21).

[17] McKenzie, p. 201.

[18] McKenzie, p. 202.

[19] Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 15.

— Morse Peckham, for instance, is somewhat combative in his call to ‘do away with this theological terminology of accidentals and substantives.’[20] But rather than ‘lay[ing] down the law’, Greg’s purpose was explicitly to ‘provoke discussion’[21] — a discussion dutifully continued by McKenzie. Likewise, Greg states that ‘the distinction I am trying to draw is practical, not philosophic’[22] — Peckham’s accusation of ‘theological terminology’ was anticipated and invalidated before it was even made. Greg’s model does indeed offer certain affordances to practising editors, circumventing the complex, time consuming, and even costly processes of reproducing an embodied text: the advantage of a so-called ‘Platonic’ or ‘theological’ text is its versatility in adapting to the forms of publication available to editors. So, while McGann calls David Erdman’s edition of Blake’s poetry and prose ‘a travesty of Blake’s original authorial intentions’ because of its idealizing translation of Blake’s manuscript into typography, it would surely be unreasonable, nor does McGann intend, to denounce every editor who would attempt an edition without access to high-fidelity reproduction equipment and skills.

Neither McKenzie nor Greg directly address typefaces: McKenzie goes on to give some ‘classes of evidence’ and non-verbal forms of a text which contribute to such a reading, but the focus of his case study is primarily the ‘disposition of space.’[23] Likewise, McGann’s focus is on literature produced in a period of relative typographic homogeneity (or, in the case of Blake’s manuscripts, bypassing typography altogether), and so variations in font, few and far between, do not warrant his attention. Within the discussion begun by Greg, however, typeface variation has never had a voice. Variation in the appearance of type is not mentioned under the ‘formal presentation’ of accidentals (where we might expect it), and is briefly alluded to, and dismissed, later: ‘A critical edition does not seem to me a suitable place in which to record the graphic peculiarities of particular texts.’[24] Greg is joined by Bowers in his exclusion of typography, with Bowers’ emphasis on the printed book as a derivation of an author’s manuscript undermining the substantive potential of any ‘typographical details’: those that

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[20] McKenzie, p. 202.

[21] Greg, p. 36.

[22] Greg, p. 21.

[23] McKenzie, p. 226.

[24] Greg, p. 30.

‘could not have appeared in the underlying manuscript are normalised with little loss if they would otherwise prove intrusive or distracting’. Their reproduction, he concludes, would be ‘mere pedantry’.[25]

We might conclude that typefaces have no place in Greg’s model, but this is not reflected in the reception of his ideas. Peter Shillingsburg, for instance, includes by way of definition ‘spelling, punctuation, fonts, formats’ in his examples of accidentals.[26] An alternative position is held by Frederick Link who, in the textual apparatus of his 2002 scholarly edition of Willa Cather’s novel *The Professor’s House*, suggests that type can occupy a grey area between accidental and substantive variants:

> Typographical changes (in paragraphing, font, spacing, etc.) are neither substantive nor accidental, although they may be discussed. [...] The basis of the distinctions here is the extent to which a class of differences affects the meaning of the text: typography and accidentals often do not, substantives usually do. However, we also recognise a class of quasi-substantives, which includes typographical or accidental variants which *in a particular case* seem clearly to affect meaning.[27]

Link does not say how these quasi-substantives are recognized in practice, but the principle here is clear: typography can sometimes exhibit substantive-like behaviour where it is deemed ‘clearly to affect meaning’, and therefore sometimes warrants reproduction in the edition. The subtext, though, is that typographic meaning is conserved in the edition based on the editor’s interpretation or recognition of it — textual criticism not only requires judgement between multifarious sources, but a verdict on which features of those sources are meaningful: typography is accidental until proven substantive.

These issues surrounding the conservation of blackletter type in modern editions have direct corollaries in the conservation of old spelling. In *Modernizing Shakespeare’s Spelling*, Stanley

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[25] Fredson Bowers, *Textual and Literary Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 147.

[26] Peter L. Shillingsburg, *Gutenberg to Google: Electronic Representations of Literary Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 183.

[27] Frederick M. Link, ‘Textual Essay’, in Willa Carter, *The Professor’s House*, ed. by Frederick M. Link (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), pp. 387–431 (p. 422).

Wells established that 'Oxford policy' (the editorial principles behind the Oxford Shakespeare), was to modernize, thereby going against the convention that had been dominant in the first half of the twentieth century.[28] Wells cites G. Blakemore Evans's argument in the introduction to the Riverside Shakespeare, which conserved original spelling, as an antithesis to his own. Here, Evans discusses spelling in much the same terms as McKenzie's warning that 'smoothing' typography can desensitize us to its meaning: old spelling can suggest 'the kind of linguistic climate in which [Shakespeare] wrote and avoids the unhistorical and sometimes insensitive levelling that full-scale modernization (never consistent itself) imposes.'[29]
Aside from seeing no need to convey any linguistic climate (that climate being 'modern to Elizabethans'), Wells also cites practical reasons for modernization: the conservation of old spelling would require an unwieldy amount of glossing that would hinder the reading of the text.[30] Despite quickly establishing the principle of modernization, Wells goes on to offer ten types of exception in which 'it may be desirable to retain original spellings [...] for special reasons.'[31] These are cases in which modernization would annul an intended meaning, among them conventionalized stage dialects, the disambiguation of false friends, the clarification of word play, deliberate archaisms, etc. Of course, all of these exceptions pend their identification as such: spelling, like type, can be argued to be substantive at the discretion of the editor and, as Wells acknowledges, 'decisions will be subjective.'[32] The text derived from Wells' principles, then, is a hybrid one, mixing old spelling with new spelling in an iteration that has no precedent in an attempt to allow the reader to read the text as its contemporaries read it.

Increasingly, editors are taking this case-by-case, hybrid approach to a source's appearance. Among them is Stephen Shepherd, whose Norton edition of Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* reproduces aspects of its manuscript source — the Winchester manuscript, which contains many 'graphic peculiarities' he considers significant. These include large Lombardic and floriated initial letters, advising that 'as they are printed from existing typesetters' fonts

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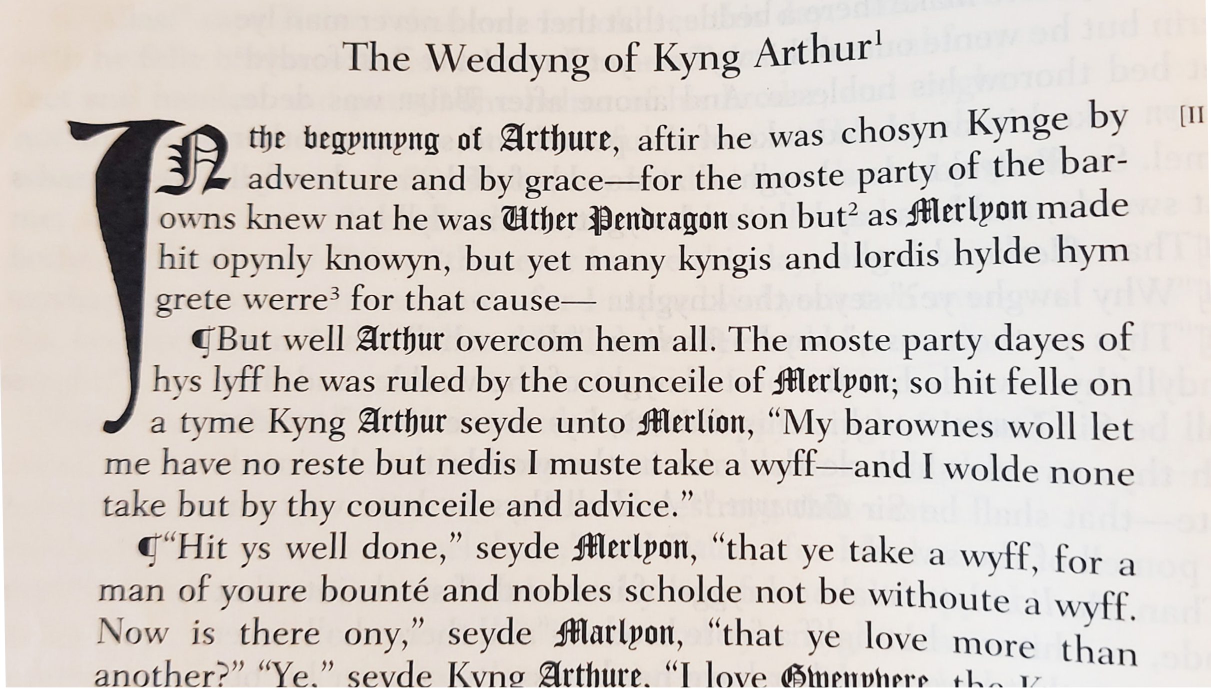
[28] Stanley Wells, *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 4.

[29] *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. by Gwynne Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), p. 39; quoted in Wells, p. 5.

[30] Wells, p. 5.

[31] Wells, p. 13.

[32] Wells, p. 17.



The Weddyng of Kyng Arthur[1]

[II

IN **the begynnyng of Arthure**, aftir he was chosyn Kynge by adventure and by grace—for the moste party of the barowns knew nat he was **Uther Pendragon** son but[2] as **Merlyon** made hit opynly knowyn, but yet many kyngis and lordis hylde hym grete werre[3] for that cause—

¶But well **Arthur** overcom hem all. The moste party dayes of hys lyff he was ruled by the counceile of **Merlyon**; so hit felle on a tyme Kyng **Arthur** seyde unto **Merlion**, "My barownes woll let me have no reste but nedis I muste take a wyff—and I wolde none take but by thy counceile and advice."

¶"Hit ys well done," seyde **Merlyon**, "that ye take a wyff, for a man of youre bounté and nobles scholde not be withoute a wyff. Now is there ony," seyde **Marlyon**, "that ye love more than another?" "Ye," seyde Kyng **Arthure**, "I love **Gwenyvere**

Figure 5.3
Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, ed. by Stephen H. A. Shepherd (London: Norton, 2004), p. 62.

[...] all of these capitals are to be understood as representations, not facsimiles, of the actual letters in the manuscript.'[33] Likewise, those names that were rubricated in the manuscript are here typographically discerned, appearing in a black blackletter, 'chosen as a style that will be familiar to most readers and yet that also offers a reasonable approximation to [the scribe's] original.'[34] The typeface is Cloister Black, designed by Joseph W. Phinney and Morris Fuller Benton in 1904. So, the transformission of these names and initials, remediated from script to type, is one of intentional translation: equivalents have been drawn between the manuscript forms and the modern typographic forms that are technologically compatible with the edition. Though some visual resemblance has been conserved, this is ultimately to symbolize features of the original, rather than to depict them — red becomes blackletter, script becomes font. The result is an odd hybrid of typographic styles, with the conventional roman body text punctured by blackletter and the occasional calligraphic initial (Figure 5.3).

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[33] Stephen H. A. Shepherd, 'Editorial Procedure/Reading the Edition', in Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, ed. by Stephen H. A. Shepherd (London: Norton, 2004), pp. xliii–xlix (p. xlv).

[34] Shepherd, p. xlvii.

Shepherd's rationale for this translation is transparent and considered, citing work that supports the claim of their contribution to meaning, and therefore their quasi-substantive nature. Helen Cooper, for instance, sees the manuscript's system of rubricated names as 'a visual equivalent to Malory's presentation of a [...] knightliness that consists in 'worship,' honor, the glory that accrues to the name.'[35] The reproduction of this meaning adds something that is beyond the best representation of the author's intentions (the typical intention behind an edition), as the Winchester Manuscript was not written by Malory himself. Instead, it is trying to capture a reading experience. For one reviewer, at least, the elaborate typography of Shepherd's edition captures this successfully: C. M. Adderley writes that 'this is surely the closest we have come yet to an edition of Malory that reproduces for a modern reader what it must have been like to read the Winchester Manuscript in the fifteenth century.'[36] Despite the attempt, Shepherd's edition is still a way off from fully replicating this experience: at 140 × 233mm it is relatively compact, printed mostly in roman, and accompanied with modern critical apparatus and essays. In the context of Adderley's review, then, these discrepancies raise the question of where material editing draws the line of inclusion for 'meaningful' material features: would a more successful edition of *Le Morte Darthur* imitate the size of the manuscript, had it been argued to contribute to meaning, or perhaps be scented with the smell of parchment, or include instructions advising against it being read by electric light?

The peculiarity of Shepherd's typography is noticeable only due to a material editing practice common to all modern editions: the letterforms of the main text have been changed to roman, silently translating the anglicana script of the manuscript. In a sense, then, the blackletter of the names, which, as Shepherd notes, offer a 'reasonable approximation' of the textura used for the original rubrication,[37] is more conservative than the change of the body text to roman type. This translation to roman is an extreme but ubiquitous editorial intervention that is mostly taken for granted. Such is the case, for instance, in the Penguin Classics edition of

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[35] Helen Cooper, 'Opening Up the Malory Manuscript', in *The Malory Debate: Essays on the Texts of 'Le Morte Darthur'*, ed. by Bonnie Wheeler, Robert L. Kindrick, and Michael N. Salda (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 255–300 (p. 273); quoted in Shepherd, p.xii.

[36] C. M. Adderley, review of Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, ed. by Stephen H. A. Shepherd (London: Norton, 2004), *Arthuriana*, 14 (2004), 96–97 (p. 97).

[37] Shepherd, p. xlvii.

Tottel's Miscellany. In their 'Note on the Text', the editors describe many of the typographical changes made, noting, for instance, that they 'have silently corrected all inverted n and u forms.'[38] They do not, however, likewise note the change from blackletter to roman — the edition's suppression of blackletter is quieter than silence.[39] Similarly, the Early English Text Society (which might have more cause than most to adopt blackletter typography) implicitly prescribes the suppression of blackletter in editions via their *Guidelines for Editors*: as the books are professionally typeset, it says, 'editors are asked not to attempt to anticipate their book's final appearance in preparing their typescripts.'[40] All submissions must 'use a single font throughout, which shows up roman, bold, and italic type when printed out'[41] — that is, anything *except* blackletter, the native type of many of its copy-texts. But although a change to roman suppresses the anglicana of the Winchester manuscript, or the blackletter of *Tottel's Miscellany* and others, it does so to conserve an experience: legibility, or the fluent reading of text unhindered by the visual interference of an unconventional letterform. As McKitterick has noted, blackletter literacy has waned even among those studying early modern literature (a fact that he finds 'somewhat depressing').[42] The conservation of blackletter, in other words, can be actively detrimental to the conservation of legibility, and therefore meaning.

There exists, then, an unresolvable tension in modern editorial theory between an increasing interest in typographic fidelity, and an obligation to make texts legible and accessible. It is this tension that has led to the creation of some strangely hybrid typographical reproductions of historical texts. The English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA), a digitization project based at the University of California, Santa Barbara, is one of these.[43] As well as full images of each broadside, EBBA makes ‘facsimile transcriptions’ of each broadside, preserving the images, layout, and ornaments, but changing all blackletter type to roman type. The facsimile transcriptions, EBBA claims, ‘thereby creat[e] a version of the ballad that is easily read, even by those untutored in black letter or other forms of early modern print, without losing the ballad’s aesthetic impact.’[44] McKitterick rightly questions this claimed survival of ‘aesthetic impact’[45] — though mise-en-page has been roughly conserved, the defining feature of the text’s aesthetic, its blackletter, has been removed. So too has any connotation of genre and format offered by blackletter — connotations that EBBA is otherwise at pains to demonstrate in the archive’s accompanying essay ‘Black Letter and the Broadside Ballad’.[46] Facsimile transcriptions also have the effect of homogenizing a text that was formerly multigraphic: those many ballads in which proper nouns are typographically distinguished by setting them in roman in an otherwise blackletter text are now entirely in roman, precluding any reading that combines the word with its appearance. Likewise, any typographical distinction of paratexts as discussed in Chapter 4 is smoothed out, often causing a seamless transition from text to its colophon, formerly marked by contrasting typefaces.

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[38] Amanda Holton and Tom MacFaul, 'Note on the Text', in *Tottell's Miscellany* (London: Penguin, 2011), pp. xxxi–xxxii (p. xxxii).

[39] While this example is intended to illustrate usual practice, exceptions to this silence do exist: in an edition of a 1534 book, Douglas H. Parker notes that 'Black-letter type appears as roman in my edition. I have not tried to reproduce original type sizes or ornamental letters that appear in the printed text nor have I reproduced the original's lines' — in making this suppression explicit, he implies the potential of these typographical features to inform a reading. Douglas H. Parker, *A Critical Edition of Robert Barnes' A Supplication Unto the Most Gracyous Prince Kynge Henry The. VIII. (1534)*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 96.

[40] Early English Text Society, *Guidelines for Editors*, p. 4 <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~eets/EETS-guidelines-for-editors.pdf> [accessed 18 December 2020]

[41] Early English Text Society, p. 6.

[42] David McKitterick, *Old Books, New Technologies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 19.

[43] English Broadside Ballad Archive <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/> [accessed 10 February 2020]

EBBA shows that blackletter texts can be remediated with either fidelity or accessibility, but not both. In this case, any risk of ‘smoothing out’ typographic detail by facsimile transcription is mitigated by the full digitizations that are given precedence on EBBA’s interface: here, the facsimile transcriptions are an aid, not a substitute. Elsewhere, however, similar ‘facsimile transcriptions’ stand alone. This tension between fidelity and legibility is embodied somewhat awkwardly in an edition of the King James Bible, published by Oxford University Press to mark the 400th anniversary of the first edition. The book calls itself an ‘exact reprint’, but replacing the blackletter of the 1611 edition with roman type. The reason for the translation is to make the text legible, as suggested by its accompanying ‘Anniversary Essay’, which makes its typeface the leading issue by mentioning it as soon as the second sentence: ‘The first edition was printed in a black-letter type (sometimes called Gothic) that modern readers find difficult to read'. The change 'has the huge advantage of making the Bible easier to read'.[47] Scholars of early modern literature, accustomed as we are to blackletter type, may be sceptical as to how significant a barrier it is to modern readers of old books, but looking at Amazon reviews for a comparable edition shows the editors' decision to be a shrewd one. An edition of The Matthew's Bible, made from a facsimile of the first edition of 1537,[48] has received several one-star reviews from customers who have understandably expected the 'clear, legible type' mentioned in its description to be roman. As one reviewer puts it, they 'did not realize that the translation was in an old English font that I can not read. The letters are shaped and slanted and alien they are of no use.'[49]

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[44] English Broadside Ballad Archive, ‘Facsimile Transcriptions’ <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/facsimile-transcriptions> [accessed 10 February 2020]

[45] McKitterick, p. 19.

[46] Gabriel Egan, ‘Black Letter and the Broadside Ballad’, 2007 <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/black-letter> [accessed 10 February 2020]

Despite OUP's KJV translation of blackletter to roman, other graphic peculiarities have been conserved: the text follows the same pagination and lineation as the 1611 edition, typographic ornaments are reproduced, and 'The original capital letters, many of which are pictorial, have been restored to each chapter in order to replicate the visual appeal of the early editions.'[50] Likewise, early modern orthographic conventions such as initial 'v' for u ('vnto'), medial 'u' for v ('riuer'), long s, and abbreviations have been retained. The edition's commitment to the original text is so extreme as to even reproduce misprints: not only have typos of accidentals been reproduced (such as 'powerfulll' in Chapter 49 of Isaiah), but also substantives ('plaine' in Leviticus 13:56 for 'plague'). Even the occasional turned letter has been included in the text.

The book, then, flaunts an unusually extreme fidelity to the original, both on a graphic and textual level, but draws the line at typeface conservation. Given that the conservation of orthographic and textual errors might well impede any reading of the text, their inclusion and blackletter's exclusion seem inconsistent. Furthermore, while the introduction makes clear that the translation of blackletter to roman is a concession to legibility (the typeface *would* have been reproduced, were blackletter commonly understood), elsewhere it is presented as a natural function of typography being separate from text. This is suggested by the book's slipcase, which reads 'AN EXACT REPRINT IN ROMAN TYPE / PAGE FOR PAGE AND LINE FOR LINE OF THE / KING JAMES VERSION'. Read literally, the edition therefore immediately precludes typeface as a constituent of the text, else the explicit change to 'ROMAN TYPE' would contradict its description as an 'EXACT REPRINT' — a reprint, according to this bible, can be exact *and* change the typeface. We might, more pragmatically, however, read this too as a concession, by reading the subtext of this subtitle as 'an exact reprint *except for* roman type', and it is certainly this reading that is encouraged in the introduction. The strange and inconsistent hybridity of this edition is perhaps attributable to its genealogy. Its description of itself as an 'EXACT REPRINT [...] OF THE KING JAMES VERSION [...] PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR 1611' is misleading: it is, in fact, a facsimile of a reprint in roman first published in 1833. This edition was explicitly created to redress the gradual deviation of the King James Bible from the text of the first edition since its publication — a deviation that had introduced several substantive differences. The 1833 edition, offering an 'exact reprint', allowed the reader to 'judge by its means, whether the original Standard can still be exactly followed, and how far the deviations [...] which have now had possessions of our Bibles for many years, can reasonably be abandoned.'[51] Its purpose, then, was to cultivate textual accuracy, seemingly to liturgical ends (as implied by 'followed'). This sense of a living, practical Bible is absent from OUP's 2010 edition, which, as an anniversary edition, is marketed as a tribute to the text's historical importance rather than its religious application. Its typographic details — the decorative initials and mise-en-page — are presented alongside its 'leather binding, gilt edging, ribbon marker, gift presentation plate and protective cloth slipcase' as luxurious apparatuses of homage via historical fidelity.[52] So, short of being a feat of editorial and typographic workmanship, the anniversary edition merely reproduces labour that had already been performed for the 1833 edition. This is perceptible in the text, which bears many of the hallmarks of facsimile transformission: loss of detail as thick strokes of letters edges are blurred, or their thin strokes lost completely; marks on the page or blemishes in the paper of the original appearing as noise in the reproduction; extremely small text (such as that on the map in the preliminary material) becoming illegible. However, besides this visual evidence, the 2010 edition is abstracted from anything that provides the context and rationale of the 1833 edition: its original preface, which explains its purpose, is gone, and the new 'Anniversary Essay' misleadingly omits the fact that it is a facsimile of a reprint, allowing readers to assume it is a new production.

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[47] Gordon Campbell, 'Anniversary Essay', in *The Holy Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[48] William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale, *Matthew's Bible*, ed. by John Rogers (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2009).

[49] Amazon, 'The Matthew's Bible: Black, Genuine Leather, a Facsimile of the 1537 Edition (Hendrickson Bibles)' <https://www.amazon.com/Matthews-Bible-Genuine-Facsimile-Hendrickson/dp/1598563505/ref=cm_cr_arp_d_product_top?ie=UTF8> [accessed 15 February 2020]

[50] Oxford University Press, 'King James Bible' <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/king-james-bible-9780199557608?cc=gb&lang=en&#> [accessed 15 February 2020]

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[51] *The Holy Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833), p. 1.

[52] <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/king-james-bible-9780199557608?cc=gb&lang=en&#> [accessed 15 February 2020]

So, in the 2010 edition, we have a facsimile of an 1833 roman reprint of a 1611 blackletter book, whose rational is legibility, but abstracted from the context that legitimized the strange combination of a roman font with a literal transcription of errors, orthography, and abbreviations — probably as a means of saving labour and production costs. Like those 'facsimile transcriptions' on EBBA, this book transformits typography, suppressing or misrepresenting aspects of the original. The most visually obvious of these losses is the multigraphic range of the 1611 edition, in which paratexts are typographically distinguished — the first edition's running heads, headings, marginalia, and abstracts, set in a contrasting roman, now match the body text. So too is the distinction between the preliminary texts (the dedication to James, and 'The Translators to the Reader') and the main text of the bible lost. If, by adopting this multigraphy, the first edition was intending to evoke the aesthetic of books printed in the previous century, then this evocation is not continued in this edition. Likewise, any archaism or establishmentarian authority that was inherent to blackletter is not conveyed here: David Norton's assertion that the first edition's blackletter 'promoted a sense of ecclesiastical splendour' does not equally apply.[53]

Of course, these losses, contingent on a typeface's historicizing capacity, are incurred in any modern edition of the King James Bible: as a text still widely read and used for reasons apart from its historical significance, a contemporary typeface is necessary, incidentally abstracting it from its original historical context. In this sense, OUP's 2010 edition is no different from any modern edition. But besides this loss of contextual information, its typographical transformission also causes the loss of textual information, in local instances that depended on the first edition's multigraphy. Like the Geneva Bible, the first edition distinguished in a small roman those words that were supplied by the translators in order for the text to make grammatical sense in English; here, however, they are set in an italic of the same size as their surrounding text. Beth Quitslund describes the effect of this in her review of the edition: 'Rather than deemphasizing these words, then, the Oxford facsimile edition actually emphasizes them.'[54] Being applied especially to pronouns and verbs, modern eyes may read these instances with an inappropriate tone of conviction or contradiction: 'I *am* the Lord',[55] or 'Know ye Laban the sonne of Nahor? And they sayde, We knowe *him*.‘[56] Similarly, the global change to roman type has required endotexts to be shifted down a typographical hierarchy, and consequently their typographic conspicuity and associations to be undone. In the first edition, *nomina sacra* would appear in uppercase blackletter, e.g. in Jeremiah 23:6, 'and this is his Name whereby hee shall bee called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNES.' With the global change to roman, this becomes 'and this *is* his Name whereby hee shall be called, THE LORD OVR RIGHTEOUSNES.' As well as the habitual inclination to read '*is*' as emphatic, this means that the name itself has taken on the same kind of typeface as the first edition's endotexts, though it is not one. Contrastingly, to maintain a distinction, the endotexts themselves change from uppercase roman to an uppercase italic, e.g. Acts 17:23, 'I found an Altar with this inscription, TO THE VNKNOWEN GOD.' becoming 'I found an Altar with this inscription, *TO THE VNKNOWEN GOD*.' This firstly causes its visual contrast to be offset, due to italic's closer resemblance to roman than the original blackletter, thereby losing the sense that a different medium is being represented. Secondly, the inherent illustrative, inscriptional quality of uppercase roman has been diminished by its transformission into an italic version. Thirdly, a confusing affinity with the italic supplied words discussed above arises: though it is unlikely to ever be read as such, in the system devised, '*TO THE VNKNOWEN GOD*' is depicted as supplied words.

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[53] David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 47.

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[54] Beth Quitslund, review of Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version 1611–2011* and *The King James Bible: 400th Anniversary Edition*, ed. by Gordon Campbell, *Milton Quarterly*, 47 (2013), 48–50 (p. 50).

[55] Found throughout the Old Testament.

[56] Genesis 29. 5.

Whereas this transformission of the KJV and the reaction on Amazon to Hendrickson's Matthew's Bible show that the conservation of blackletter is incompatible with a non-scholarly market, the same is not true for roman type. This is evident from a comparable facsimile edition of the Geneva Bible, published in 2007, also by Hendrickson.[57] The rationale for reproducing, rather than editing and resetting, the text is also given in the preface. Here, Lloyd Berry reminds us that a key feature of the Geneva Bible is its marginal notes, but that to make a new edition that adequately reproduces these notes would be more laborious and expensive, writing that 'a facsimile reproduction is thus the only practicable means of reprinting the complete Geneva Bible at a less than exorbitant cost.'[58] But this is only practicable due to the Geneva Bible's roman type: were it in blackletter, it would either have to be laboriously reset (like OUP's 1833 KJV), or run the risk of excluding the majority of readers (like Hendrickson's Matthew's Bible). The Geneva Bible's unusual English roman type, then, allows it to be transmitted affordably, while being transformed minimally. We witness here a general principle that informs our modern experience of historical typography: modern literacy acts as a filter that allows roman texts to pass freely, while stopping blackletter texts. If blackletter texts *are* to pass, they must be translated into roman. But this process is more laborious and expensive than simply reproducing them, thereby limiting their quantity, and is one that causes the transformission of the text, limiting their quality. Furthermore, as in the cases of these bibles, the roman of the Geneva Bible causes a misleading sense that its original material form is more modern than the blackletter of the KJV, printed 51 years later: the later book needs modernizing; the older one does not. This process also inverts our sense of typicality. In a modern context, the Geneva Bible looks normal, despite its anomalous appearance exposited in Chapter 2; in contrast, the blackletter of contemporaneous texts such as the Matthew's Bible is described as 'alien' when reproduced in modern books, despite it having been the conventional idiom. It can only be speculated how far this filter has affected the availability of historical texts in their original forms — it seems doubtful that facsimiles of canonical works such as that of Shakespeare's First Folio would be so popular and widely produced were they in blackletter.

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[57] *The Geneva Bible,* ed. by Lloyd E. Berry (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007). Incidentally, this facsimile, like OUP's KJV, is based on an earlier modern edition — it is a facsimile of a facsimile, as an addendum to its preface describes: 'The Hendrickson reprint was created by scanning the [1969] University of Wisconsin Press facsimile at high resolution and retouching some of the more distracting fox marks, blemishes and show-through.' *The Geneva Bible,* p. 24.

[58] Lloyd E. Berry, 'Preface', in *The Geneva Bible* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), p. v.

3. Facsimiles and digitizations

Targeted as they are on the problems of typographical editions, facsimile editions are a conspicuous omission from McKenzie's essay and a point under-developed in McGann's, despite their ability to conserve many of the 'bibliographical codes' and 'non-verbal forms' in which those critics are interested. McKitterick makes an excellent study of the history of facsimile editions, giving many examples of pre-McKenzie/McGann editions that would appear to have similar values, and showing that their production has been viable on a mass scale since the mid-eighteenth century.[59] The Malone Society, for instance, was founded with the express purpose of creating reliable facsimiles, instead of the critical editions which were subject to changing demands and conventions. As Alfred Pollard reportedly said upon the inauguration of the society, 'every generation will need to make its own critical editions to suit its own critical taste, but that work of permanent utility can be done by placing in the hands of students at large such reproductions of the original textual authorities as may make constant and continuous reference to those originals themselves unnecessary'.[60] Their facsimiles, then, could diminish any undesirable transformission incurred by editions, while solving the prohibitive difficulty of accessing originals. This in turn allows access to bibliographical codes — as Henry Woudhuysen puts it, the Malone Society 'has been reproducing socialized not authorial [texts]. And this is exactly what has been advocated by scholars as distinguished as the late D. F. McKenzie and Jerome J. McGann.'[61] But, as Woudhuysen continues, these facsimiles come with their own associated problems — subtle alterations in the book's appearance, or the question of what to do about variant formes and blank pages — and so 'the dream of an unmediated text is no more than a dream.'[62]

It is this concern surrounding the impossibility of lossless mediation, even with photographic reproduction of books, that has characterized critiques of EEBO — another remediation of early modern books which, like facsimiles, has the potential to offer untrammelled access to a socialized text, including its bibliographical codes such as typography. EEBO's scope is ambitious: in its own words, it offers images of 'virtually every work printed in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and British North America, as well as works in English printed elsewhere between 1473 and 1700.'[63] Despite this field-changing achievement, it has become de rigueur to be sceptical of EEBO, with Kichuk, Ian Gadd, Joseph Dane, and McKitterick among those warning of its deficiencies. The most common point of contention is that treated more fully in the Introduction, the 'illusion of comprehensiveness' created by EEBO[64] — certainly the 'virtually' deployed in the self-description quoted above masks the fact that its corpus is limited by survival of and access to eligible books. Related to this is the occasional imperfection (in the bibliographical sense) of the books appearing in the database: though they purport to use the 'best available copy', these often came, 'expediently', from the British Library, and so are not always complete.[65] A third frequent criticism is the quality of the images, 'mediocre by modern standards'.[66] Certainly EEBO's images do not aspire to reproducing anything more than a legible text, but even that standard is sometimes unattainable. The earliest images of them are bi-tonal — their pixels are either black or white — meaning that underexposed images can register accidental features of the book such as paper blemishes and show-through as indistinct from the ink on the page, and overexposed images can wash out typographic detail. Both under- and overexposure can render a text illegible, as shown in Figure 5.4 (top and bottom).

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[59] McKitterick, *Old Books*, pp. 94–113.

[60] Henry Woudhuysen, '"Work of Permanent Utility": Editors and Texts, Authorities and Originals' in *Textual Performances,* ed. by Lukas Erne and Margaret Jane Kidnie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 37–48 (p. 37).

[61] Woudhuysen, p. 45.

[62] Woudhuysen, p. 45.

All of these deficiencies can be traced back to EEBO's history of remediation — a history that usually begins with Eugene B. Power.[67] In the 1930s, Power was dreaming of what we now call 'print-on-demand', and what he called the 'edition of one': an inexpensive, readily accessible edition that did not require a market of more than one person to be economically viable. Power saw the potential for microfilm to make his dream a reality — a technology that had been developing since the mid nineteenth-century, but had only recently become

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[63] EEBO, 'About Early English Books Online' <https://search.proquest.com/eebo/productfulldescdetail?accountid=13042> [accessed 28 March 2020]

[64] Ian Gadd, 'The Use and Misuse of *Early English Books Online*', *Literature Compass*, 6 (2009), 680–692 (p. 686).

[65] Kichuk, p. 297.

[66] Joseph Dane, *Blind Impressions* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 98.

[67] The following account is condensed from Kichuk, Gadd, and Mak, drawing on Eugene B. Power's autobiography, *Edition of One* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Inc., 1990).

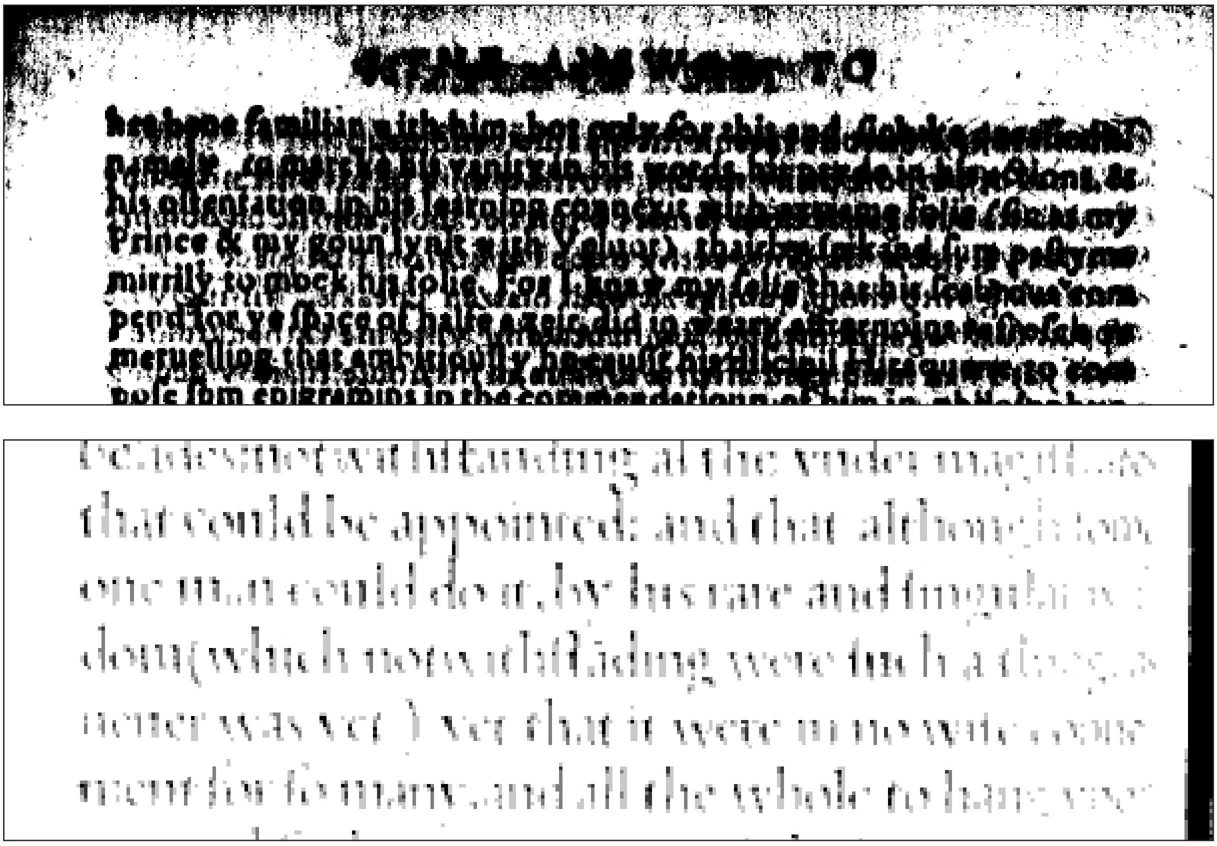

FIGURE 5.4
Top: illegibly underexposed EEBO text.
Bottom: illegibly overexposed EEBO text.

commercially available. So, in 1938, he founded University Microfilms Incorporated, or UMI. Power's identification of early English books for his early microfilming was a savvy one. In his autobiography, he wrote that

> It seemed to me that photographing STC books would be an ideal trial, since the collection was extensive, some 26,000 titles, and demand for them would be certain: American libraries, having been established relatively recently, were generally lacking in STC titles.[68]

So, using the *STC* and Wing catalogues as their guide, the company began to create microfilms of English books printed before 1701, with the intention of supplying them to research libraries of US universities (their microfilms, however, would end up all over the world). But besides Power's business acumen, there were pressing cultural reasons for working on early books: shortly after UMI was founded, the threat of war in Europe grew, accompanied by anxiety about the fates of rare book collections in the worst case scenario. In 1940 the American Council of Learned Societies therefore declared the microfilming of rare materials an urgent priority, and UMI received a $30,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to do so. The council secretary said that the project was for 'preservation rather than utilization'.

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[68] Power, pp. 28–29.

Books began being photographed using black and white 35mm film. In 1988, UMI, now called ProQuest, had completed the bulk of the microfilm series, named Early English Books (or EEB), and from 1998 they made it available online in an early form of EEBO. Here, the EEB microfilms were scanned and combined with data from the recently created English Short Title Catalogue, resulting in the database we are now familiar with. It must be noted that accounts of EEBO's history are almost entirely derived from Power's autobiography, *Edition of One*. This historiography deserves some scrutiny, and given that bibliographical projects of this scale are always collaborative, a history of EEBO beyond Power is overdue. Kichuk has begun this by acknowledging the contribution of Margaret Harwick to the distribution of EEB, as well as photographers Lucia Moholy and Adele Kibre's work on UMI's collaboration with US intelligence agencies during World War II — a collaboration which afforded UMI the funding and equipment with which they continued the EEB project after the war was over.[69]

EEBO images are therefore doubly remediated — scans of microfilms of books that Zachary Lesser has likened to a 'historical palimpsest'[70] — and their low quality a result of this compounded process. Any denunciation of EEBO is contingent on forgetting this history: it is easy to interpret 'Early English Books Online' as 'online books that are early and English', but it is more appropriately understood as 'EEB online' — the microfilm series EEB, hosted online. This slight shift in our interpretation of 'EEBO' allows a better understanding of its deficiencies. It is this spirit of sympathy that Michael Gavin has taken up in a recent article, in which he depicts EEBO sceptics as dependent on and propagating a 'myth of the uncritical scholar'[71] — a straw man typically in the image of a student of the so-called 'EEBO generation',[72] who can browse centuries of history with ease but at the expense of scholarly rigour and media awareness. The myth is certainly pervasive: besides the examples that Gavin cites, Kichuk warns how a 'scholar's credulity before a digital facsimile' is caused by a 'suspension of disbelief';[73] Mak claims that an EEBO image 'seduces readers into overlooking the physical differences between the reproduction and its exemplar.'[74] But it is hard to imagine anyone being credulous of or seduced by an EEBO image, precisely *because of* the deficiencies that EEBO sceptics assert: no one is going to mistake a noisy, pixelated, cropped, black and white image on a screen for a book. An EEBO image's low quality, as a conspicuous consequence of remediation, is therefore a safeguard against misconception. Furthermore, its low quality is also an index of its high quantity: the noise, pixels, and distortions are themselves bibliographical codes that the pages have accrued during their double remediation into a huge database of over 146,000 titles, and over 17 million pages.[75] The labour and expense involved in so ambitious a project entailed its long duration, during which time technology progressed, and any such database with ambitions towards completeness is necessarily the product of out-dated technology: the film cameras, digital scanning equipment, data capacity and internet bandwidth of EEBO's necessarily long past leave their trace in the images we use in the present. Rather than disparaging its quality, therefore, we should appreciate EEBO images' notorious appearance as an index of the unprecedented access it provides to early modern books.

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[69] Kichuk, p. 1518.

[70] Zachary Lesser, 'Xeroxing the Renaissance: The Material Text of Early Modern Studies', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 70 (2019), 3–31 (p. 3).

[71] Michael Gavin, 'How to Think about EEBO', *Textual Cultures*, 11 (2017), 70–105 (p. 74).

Gadd acknowledges that EEBO is 'remarkable' with the proviso that it is used 'as a *supplement* to the examination and handling of actual books in a library.'[76] This is not how the quantitative studies of this thesis have used EEBO, and in this case a 'supplementary' use of EEBO would

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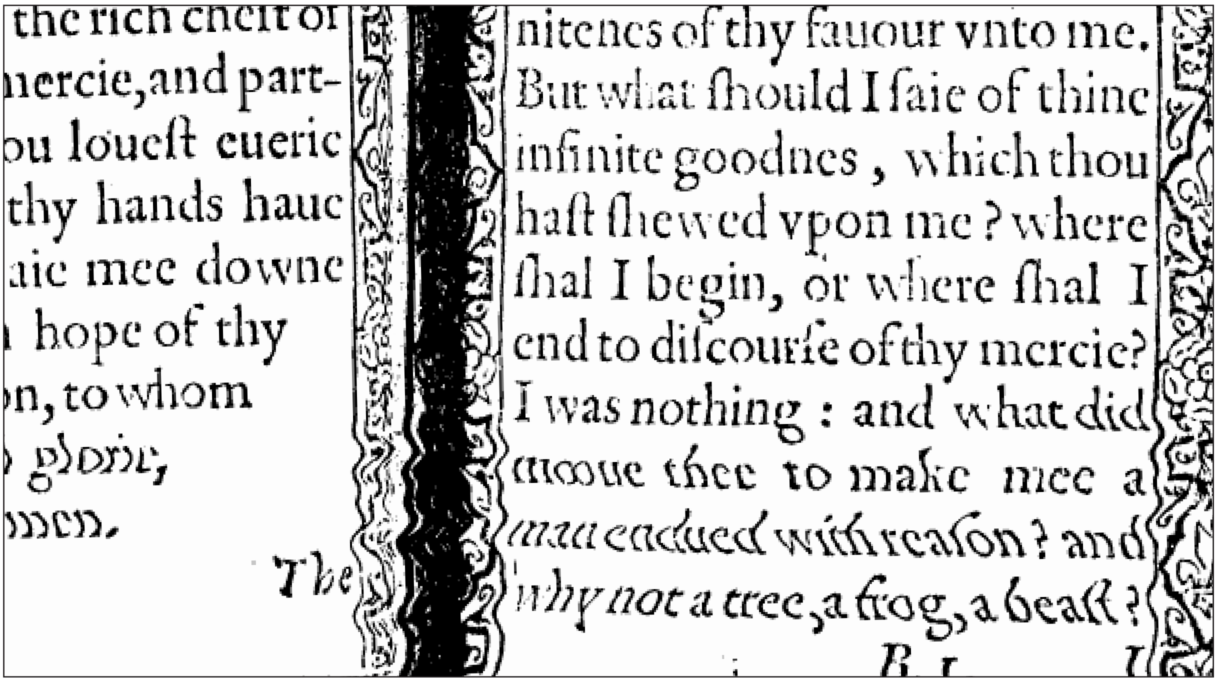
[72] This phrase, referring to 'the first generation to have enjoyed the use of electronic archives and texts as students', is first used reflexively by Stefanie Crowther, Ethan Jordan, Jacqueline Wernimont, and Hillary Nunn in 'New Scholarship, New Pedagogies: Views from the 'EEBO Generation', *Early Modern Literary Studies,* 14 (2008), 1–30; it is picked up by Gadd, p. 680.

[73] Kichuk p. 296.

[74] Mak, p. 1519.

[75] The title count is from EEBO's current 'About' page < https://search.proquest.com/eebo/index> [accessed 10 March 2020]; the page count is from EEBO's former website, giving the count in December 2018 < https://eebo.chadwyck.com/about/about.htm> [accessed 4 March 2020]

[76] Gadd, p. 688.



the rich cheſt of
ercie, and part-
u loueſt euerie
thy hands haue
aie mee downe
hope of thy
n, to whom
glorie,
men.
The

nitenes of thy fauour vnto me.
But what ſhould I ſaie of thine
infinite goodnes , which thou
haſt ſhewed vpon me ? where
ſhal I begin, or where ſhal I
end to diſcourſe of thy mercie?
I was nothing : and what did
moue thee to make mee a
man endued with reaſon ? and
why not a tree, a frog, a beaſt ?

FIGURE 5.5
Lateral distortion of letterforms produced by scanner shake (EEBO).

have prevented the gathering of data at a scale that was representative of the English book trade as a whole. So, in this case, the real benefit of EEBO is its quantity of ‘good enough’ images. This is, however, in part due to the nature of the data being collected: the distinction between roman, italic, and blackletter is almost always possible with EEBO images, even if its text cannot be read, as a typeface family can be discerned via the general aspect and balance of black and white in even the noisiest of them. Until recently, it would have been reasonable to assume that this division into discrete typographical units would have been the limit of the typographical research possible via EEBO: while you can tell a roman from a blackletter on these images, they are surely too distorted to differentiate between individual fonts of roman type, for instance. This is certainly true of the cases of under- and overexposure described above, but distortion introduced at the scanning stage is also an impediment. Figure 5.5 shows examples of lateral distortion introduced by the movement of either the scanner or the book during the scanning process — here, the EEBO image acts as a seismograph for any bumps and knocks received during the scan, especially obvious in the wave of the gutter, creating warped letterforms that exist only on EEBO. But while EEBO precludes a lot of detailed typographical work because of these distortions, a recent study led by Christopher Warren has developed a method of compensating for visual 'noise from the archiving process'. The method could allow researchers to identify printers by typographical evidence even in EEBO images.[77]

A third remediation accompanies the images on EEBO: texts transcribed from the images by the EEBO Text Creation Partnership (EEBO-TCP). These transcriptions are fully tagged using the markup language SGML which, in the words of the TCP's website,

> explicitly mark[s] the parts and structure of the text, and the relationships between these parts, so that the document's structure can be understood by a computer just as human readers make sense of the layout of a typeset page. It says, in effect, 'this string of text is a chapter heading; this is an epigraph; this is a date; this is a table column; this is a chapter; this is a quoted piece of poetry divided into stanzas.'[78]

This markup has a number of uses, including allowing users to make targeted searches (e.g. searching for a certain word in the titles of books only), or to allow websites and other media to determine the formatting of the text, e.g. on EEBO's new website titles appear in a bold green font, and dividing lines are placed at each page break — formatting that targets these features' tags. The transcription and tagging of EEBO images by media companies Apex CoVantage and SPi Global has been organized by the EEBO-TCP since 2000.[79] By the end of 2020, they will amount to around 65,000 texts.[80]

EEBO-TCP's record of textual data is therefore huge, opening up potential for projects that perform textual analysis by computational methods to both literary and linguistic ends.[81] But although its markup has been described by Rebecca Welzenbach as 'replicat[ing] the structure of the book',[82] its handling of typography is surprisingly limited. In the documents supplied to those keying EEBO images, the following instructions are given under 'Typeface changes':

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[77] Kartik Goyal, Chris Dyer, Christopher Warren, Max G'Sell, and Taylor Berg-Kirkpatrick, 'A Probabilistic Generative Model for Typographical Analysis of Early Modern Printing', 4 May 2020 <https://arxiv.org/abs/2005.01646> [accessed 1 September 2020]

[78] Text Creation Partnership, 'FAQ' <https://textcreationpartnership.org/using-tcp-content/why-sgml-encoding/> [accessed 6 March 2020]

[79] For a fuller history of EEBO-TCP, see Gavin.

[80] Text Creation Partnership, 'FAQ'.

[81] For literary, see for instance Alice Eardley, 'Hester Pulter's "Indivisibles" and the Challenges of Annotating Early Modern Women's Poetry', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 52 (2012), 117–141, and Matthew Steggle, *Digital Humanities and the Lost Drama of Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2016); for linguistic, see *Wordhoard* <http://wordhoard.northwestern.edu/userman/index.html> [accessed 2 March 2020], and Louise Mycock and James Misson, 'Lone Pronoun Tags in Early Modern English: ProTag Constructions in the Dramas of Jonson, Marlowe and Shakespeare', *English Language & Linguistics,* 3 June 2020 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1360674320000209> [accessed 2 March 2020]

> Do not record italic or bold type, the various kinds of black-letter ("gothic") typefaces, regular roman typefaces, or fonts of different sizes *as such*. Instead record every *change* from the predominant typeface with the <HI> [i.e. highlight] tag[83]

In other words, a text's typefaces are not tagged by EEBO-TCP, only the *relative change* of typeface is recorded. It is specified in the same document that this does not apply to 'changes of typeface within a word' — those W kludges discussed in Chapter 1, for instance, are therefore suppressed. This system has the unfortunate effect of drawing attention to its own deficiency: by including typographic changes, EEBO-TCP acknowledges the textuality of typography, but falls short of describing it. This means that the sort of large-scale analysis that can be performed on the combination of text and tags cannot be done with typography. In correspondence, Paul Schaffner, author of the TCP's keying and coding instructions, has explained this decision, expressing his regret at the omission:

> any question about typefaces in TCP deserves an apology for the way we mishandled the encoding of typefaces and typeface changes. The original committee that established encoding principles thought we should adopt a 'meta' approach that worked well with 19th-century imprints (coding departures from a default typeface as 'hi' [i.e. the <HI> tag] but not type faces per se). I was not prescient enough to overrule that decision, and the results were mixed when applied to early modern texts, with their multiple font changes and cryptic rules.[84]

So, a standard that was determined for later (roman) books was insufficient to capture the early modern period because of its characteristic multigraphy. It is probable that, had EEBO-

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[82] Rebecca Welzenbach, 'Transcribed by Hand, Owned by Libraries, Made for Everyone: EEBO-TCP in 2012' <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/94307/welzenbach-oxfordeebotcp-2012.pdf?sequence=1> [accessed 2 March 2020]

[83] Text Creation Partnership, 'Typeface Changes', *Keying/Coding Specifications*, 29 February 2004 <https://textcreationpartnership.org/docs/dox/instruct3.html> [accessed 28 March 2020]

[84] Paul Schaffner, correspondence, 18 May 2020. Reproduced with permission.

TCP decided to record typefaces, this thesis (or a similar one) would already have been written, in a shorter time and with more detail.

Given modern familiarity with roman type, it might be assumed that the blackletter of many EEBO images was more difficult to transcribe: did this lead to them being handled differently in EEBO-TCP's production line, causing a difference between the representation of blackletter and roman texts in EEBO-TCP in much the same way that roman type is more amenable to facsimile editions? According to Schaffner, it didn't. EEBO-TCP did not pay the vendors who keyed the texts more for 'difficult' typefaces; they instead 'insisted on a single price per kB in order to make it possible for us to project costs'. However, Schaffner acknowledges that the difference in legibility between blackletter and roman must have been a factor for vendors, with some prospective vendors asking for different prices for books assessed as more difficult. Ultimately, however, any cost differential between typefaces was determined internally by the vendors, distributing the flat rate paid by EEBO-TCP. Typeface, therefore, was not a factor in determining which of EEBO's images became texts.

Schaffner notes one typographical effect of EEBO-TCP's triply remediated texts. Somewhat counter-intuitively, blackletter was not the most error-prone typeface during the keying processes, but italic. As described above, the under- and overexposure of some EEBO images can lead to the loss of detail — especially the thin diagonal strokes common in italic letterforms. Schaffner describes how this characteristic of EEBO italic made it most likely to 'generate "illegible" flags' (that is, to be passed over by keyers due to illegibility) and that similar looking letter such as *b* and *h* were often indistinguishable. It is probable that this effect is exacerbated by the multigraphy of the sixteenth century: while one level of exposure may be suitable for capturing one typeface, either at the microfilming or scanning stage of EEBO, that same level may not be ideally calibrated for other typefaces on the page, leading to the over- or underexposure of, for instance, italic found frequently in marginal notes. The representation of different kinds of text within an EEBO-TCP text, therefore, can be determined by the transformission of certain typefaces via photographic technology.

These transformissions, typical of EEBO, can be illustrated via the images and EEBO-TCP text of a book featured in Chapter 4, the 1582 English translation of John Leyland's *A Learned and True Assertion*. Firstly, the images on EEBO are incomplete, missing the opening of fol. 14^{v} (sig. $F2^{v}$) and fol. 15^{r} (sig. $F3^{r}$), which should appear between EEBO images 22 and 23. As image 22 contains the recto of fol. 14^{v}, and image 23 contains the verso of fol. 15^{r}, the other sides of these sheets must be present in the physical book (held in the Huntington Library). Either at the microfilming or scanning stage, this opening has been skipped, creating an omission that is impossible in book form and a text that only exists in EEB or EEBO. Second are the changes to type caused by the text's remediation via EEBO-TCP. This has undone this book's contrast to its Latin predecessor, to which it is explicitly coupled on its title-page: 'Collected and written of late yeares in lattin, [...] Newly translated into English by Richard Robinson'.[85] While that Latin text of 1544 was, conventionally, in roman, and this counterpart mostly in blackletter, both texts now appear online in a sans serif roman type, so the sense that the translation has been 'Englished' typographically as well as linguistically has been lost. So too is any internal contrast between text and paratext lost in EEBO-TCP's version, both appearing in roman, whereas the original maintained a multigraphic distinction between text and paratexts, e.g. the roman headings, marginalia, and letter of dedication. Within the main text of the book, proper nouns were distinguished in roman, and Latin quotations in italic; these have both been tagged with <HI> alike, appearing in italic on EEBO, both suppressing their distinction from each other, and diminishing their contrast with the surrounding text. This also affects the endotexts which appear throughout *A Learned and True Assertion* in the form of those uppercase roman inscriptions treated in Chapter 4. Some of these have been tagged according to their spatial distribution rather than their typeface: those that appear as block quotations separated from the main text are assigned the paragraph tag <p> but no <hi> (e.g. image 31), and those that are embedded in the text are tagged with <hi> (e.g. image 21). The consequence is that some appear on EEBO's website as uppercase sans serif roman, and some as uppercase sans serif italic, rather than the uniform uppercase roman use throughout the book. As well as suppressing their shared appearance, those that appear in italic suppress the evocation of

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[85] John Leland, *A learned and true assertion of the original life, actes, and death of the most noble, valiant, and renoumed Prince Arthure, King of great Brittaine*, trans. by Richard Robinson (London: John Wolfe, 1582), STC 15441, fol. 1^{r}.

'letters engrauen' that explicitly accompanies the endotexts, and the texts identification of them as 'romane letters'.[86] Finally, in this book, roman type seems to be disproportionately illegible on EEBO: despite comprising less of the text, there are more illegible portions of text in roman and italic than blackletter. In the EEBO-TCP file, there are 24 words or spans flagged as illegible, 17 of which are roman, 1 italic, and 6 blackletter.[87] This may be attributable to the size of the smaller roman used for the marginal notes.

Despite the numerous transformissions of EEB, EEBO and EEBO-TCP, they are unlikely to substantially hinder the use of these resources by critical scholars of book history and literature: as asserted above, EEBO's conspicuous remediation prevents it and, like EBBA, EEBO-TCP's transcriptions are closely paired with the images on which they're based. These safeguards are reinforced by the context in which EEBO is accessed. With high subscription fees prohibiting access unless mediated through a library or educational institution, the use of EEBO is typically either supervised (in a classroom context), or informed (when used by researchers). Even the most eccentric progeny of EEB was stabilized by this institutional context. In a recent essay, Lesser describes the purchase in the late 1960s of a series of Xerox copies of EEB microfilms by the University of Pennsylvania — 'the strangest [bibliographical] chimeras one could ever encounter'.[88] The $200,000 library of bound print-outs was hoped to 'perfect' their library and make its holdings comparable to the British Museum's. Lesser's exposition of these books reveals their truly bizarre features, especially their switching of recto and verso — side-effects of remediation whose toleration is made all the more baffling by the library's prior possession of a full set of microfilms. Their purchasers' commitment to treating a remediation as if it were the real thing, witnessed in their optimism that the books would greatly augment the library's special collections, is explained by Lesser via Freud's conception of the fetish: 'belief can be abandoned and preserved at the same time.'[89]

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86 Leland, fol. 28^{r}.

87 Of course, some of this may be down to imperfections in the print rather than in the remediation. The book has not been compared to the EEBO images to check this.

88 Lesser, p. 20.

89 Quoted in Lesser, p. 13.

But despite this suspension of belief by their purchasers, Lesser's essay shows that the books' context fostered their informed use; while the books are 'bibliographically confused, nonetheless a great deal of early work in Renaissance book history and the history of material texts came out of Penn and its STC Seminar Room' by those trained to compensate for the books' eccentricities.[90] The same cannot be said, however, for an equally questionable, and ongoing, chapter in EEBO's history which once again sees the fetishistic remediation of microfilm into codex, but now divorced from any supporting context. From 2010, ProQuest has sold physical print-on-demand books via Amazon using EEBO images, known as EEBO Editions. As an idea, it realizes Power's dream of the 'edition of one': anyone wanting to buy a physical copy of, say, Ralph Venning's 1654 sermon *A Warning to Back-Sliders*, may do so without a certain threshold of demand being reached. But the reality is that, by abstracting these images from the context of EEBO, EEBO Editions are at best bizarre aesthetic entities, and at worst misleading representations of their historical antecedents. Their bizarre aesthetics are, like the Xerox books, a product of an 'uncanny blend of multiple temporalities resulting in a material hodge-podge':[91] their glossy paperback covers skeuomorphically use an image of leather that approximates the grain and wear of a leather jacket more than any antique binding, on top of which the book's title is automatically typeset. Inside, a preliminary boilerplate blurb overpromises: 'Imagine holding history in your hands,' it says, describing how 'thousands of books written between 1475 and 1700 [...] can be delivered to your doorstep in individual volumes of high-quality historical reproductions' — a description that does not appear on the EEBO website. Inside, the promise of 'high-quality' images is broken: the bulk of the book is made up of EEBO images, rescaled to fit the uniform page dimensions of EEBO Editions (182 × 241mm), causing some editions to be shrunk and others to be blown up. All of those artefacts of remediation familiar to us from EEBO's digital images are here reproduced in print: stains, foxing, and general noise registers as the same black as the printed words; over- and underexposure have rendered passages illegible; on close examination, pixels are even visible. Some of these remediated features undergo an uncanny doubling in the EEBO Edition: those

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[90] Lesser, p. 30.

[91] Lesser, p. 31.

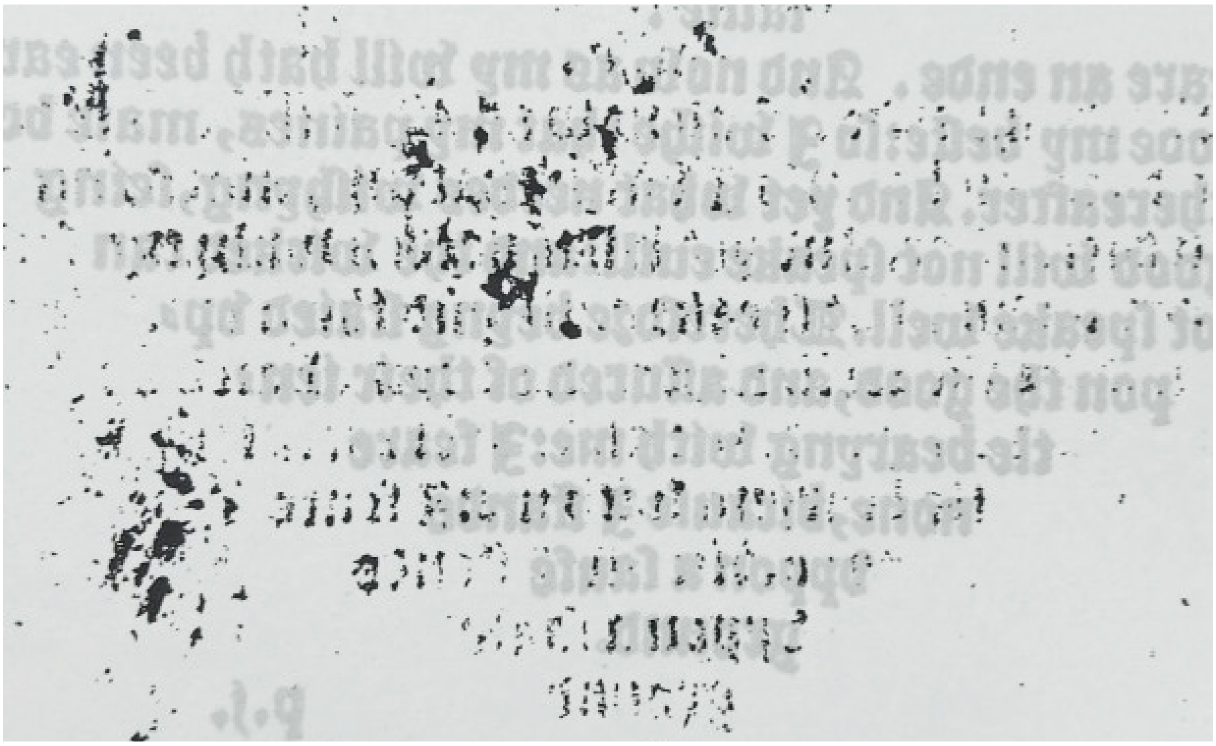

FIGURE 5.6
Show-through captured by EEBO images over the show-through of EEBO Editions. Desiderius Erasmus, *The arte of rhetorique*, trans. by Thomas Wilson (Milton Keynes: ProQuest, 2020), sig. P.j.$^{\text{v}}$.

occasional fore-edges that are picked up in EEBO images here appear in the margin alongside the copy's actual fore-edge, and the show-through that is visible in EEBO images is ghosted by the copy's actual show-through (Figure 5.6).

So, despite the warnings of EEBO sceptics, ProQuest's EEBO Editions have actively encouraged the misperception of EEBO images as a book. On Amazon, they are described as 'high quality historical reproductions', albeit with a (less visible) disclaimer that 'Possible imperfections include missing and blurred pages, poor pictures, markings and other reproduction issues beyond our control.' Nevertheless, people have purchased these books, and it is not those readers accessing EEBO via institutions who experience their dissonance, but unwitting Amazon customers. This has led to a host of disgruntled one-star reviews of EEBO Editions, invariably observing the same deficiencies of which academics have been warning each other, concluding that the editions are 'unusable', 'illegible', and 'unacceptable'. Frequent complaints include incompletion ('There is no Chapter IV in the book. It jumps from page

54 to 91')[92] and scaling issues ('the so-called large map is tiny and illegible').[93] Many of these reviews have one thing in common: the text is illegible due to the poor appearance of the type. One reviewer, for instance, has found the book 'unreadable due to the font being so big and blurry,' describing its blackletter as looking 'like it was written with a marker then smeared over the page.'[94] A sensitivity to remediation is demonstrated by many of the reviewers, who rhetorically exploit the concept to express their dissatisfaction. Reflecting on the series' blurb, one writes that 'if your idea of "high quality" is a poor photocopy then sure. I was expecting a facsimile, not something that looked like it had been faxed several times back and forth.'[95] Common to these is the idea that professionally produced books should not suffer the transformissions of commercially available media: markers, photocopiers, and fax machines are the media of the home office, not the publishing industry. With a final remediation of the text back to its native medium, then, EEBO Editions impose all of the deleterious transformissions of microfilm and digital image back on to a physical book, without any of the advantages that those remediations offer.

One Amazon reviewer has astutely described EEBO Editions not as books, but as 'pictures of books'[96] — a subtle difference, but a significant one. Facsimiles and digitizations, as 'pictures of books', are useful to those of us interested in their typography that has otherwise been suppressed in editions, but those seeking editions find that the transformissions accompanying facsimiles and digitizations can suppress legibility. The blurring of this binary seen in EEBO Editions is not a phenomenon limited to historical texts, nor to those solely of academic interest: increasingly, popular and modern literature takes the forms of 'pictures of books' via a production technique called 'offsetting'. Offsetting involves scanning an older edition, and reprinting it from the scans. It is a technique currently used by Penguin in some of its Modern Classics and Design Classics series: a 2017 edition of *Mumbo Jumbo* by Ishmael Reed, for instance, reproduces the original typography of the 1972 first edition. Chloe Currens, editor of the Modern Classics edition, describes offsetting and its rationale. It is used

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[92] Antony Richard Baker, 'Customer Review', 21 July 2017 <https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/customer-reviews/R22M9GAJIW1TIY/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=1240783175> [accessed 6 June 2020]

[93] aee, 'Customer Review', 26 September 2018 <https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/customer-reviews/R3KBRTD4DXJETV/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=1240847904> [accessed 6 June 2020]

[94] Matthan Lewis, 'Bad Edition of a Good Book', 23 December 2018 <https://www.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/RPR02VQX4XTLM/ref=cm_cr_arp_d_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=1385443111> [accessed 6 June 2020]

[95] Blue Isblue, 'Akin to a shoddy photocopy in nice binding. Awful', 8 March 2017 <https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/customer-reviews/RY3VN8IQV956H/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=1240405162> [accessed 6 June 2020]

[96] Jungian, 'VERY disappointed', 13 August 2018 <https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/customer-reviews/R1NXDIMSHKG8VT/ref=cm_cr_arp_d_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=1240802161> [accessed 6 June 2020]

> in certain types of books [...] where text design is prominent and/or somehow interacts with the meaning of the text. In *Mumbo Jumbo* for example, we're looking at a seventies version of twenties kitsch, and the irregular ordering of the prelim pages (the text begins before the copyright page, like the film starting before the opening credits run) is important to the book's genre-jumping, confounding-your-expectations quality. A lot of design and authorial direction would have gone into originating that layout and so we felt compelled to reproduce it. The main quasi-theoretical idea behind this being that texts like these are 'classic' cultural artefacts which we should conserve, the same way you'd seek to conserve a painting.[97]

Unlike Greg, then, some modern editors of popular editions *are* interested in the graphic peculiarities of a text. Readers of *Mumbo Jumbo* are not reading a typeset book, but *pictures* of books, conserved like paintings, but pictures that are good enough to make this difference inconsequential to most eyes. Crucial here is the perceived intention behind the book's typography — the active 'design and authorial direction' that informs it. Certainly in this case any attempt to reset *Mumbo Jumbo's* various endotexts, typeface changes, charts, and facsimiles of handwriting would introduce more transformissive deviation from Reed's intent.

4. Quotations and embedded text

Like editions, the isolated, occasional use of historical typography in modern texts is hampered by the structures in place that prescribe typography, or, rather, proscribe the use of blackletter. It is a quirk of typographic history that italic has come to be perceived as a counterpart to roman, rather than the two distinct typefaces of the sixteenth century. This cultural encoding must now be contributed to by software coding: to switch from N to *N* requires just a single button click or a keyboard shortcut in most word processors, rather than selecting a new font. Both letterforms belong to the same font and are saved in the same file, and (usually) created by the same designer as part of a coherent design. Not so for blackletter, whose scarcity in modern typesetting ensures it must exist in separate, specially designed fonts, and is thus regarded as an aesthetically distinct way of rendering the alphabet, rather than a variant form, without any of the signifying connotations comparable to the switch between roman and italic.

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[97] Chloe Currens, correspondence, 4 February 2018. Reproduced with permission.

This aesthetic, rather than symbolic, status of blackletter is codified by institutions that render text. The convention of setting embedded quotations in the same font as the surrounding text is explicitly prescribed, for instance, by the *Chicago Manual of Style*. This is found in Chapter 13 ('Quotations and Dialogue'), Section 8 ('Permissible changes to typography and layout'), the first point of which offers no exceptions to typeface translation: 'The typeface or font [of a quotation] should be changed to agree with the surrounding text.' We can assume from the historical subjects of Brill's books that their production requires the frequent translation of text from blackletter to roman via quotation. While no explicit reference to quotation and typeface can be found on Brill's online information for authors, it offers the following on 'Typographic Style', in a similar vein to EETS's standardization:

> Nowadays tight integration of print and e-publication is one of Brill's main priorities in order to ensure a seamless transition from print to online. This is why Brill uses a standard typographic style across the entire range of its publishing programs [...]. Your manuscript will be converted by the typesetters to this typographic style. Not only does it aid the transition from print to online, it also ensures an efficient production process.[98]

So, like EETS, the appearance of the text is the prerogative of the typesetter and publisher, not the author or editor, and is smoothed out and standardized. The 'efficient production process' is presumably the result of the labour saved in not giving unconventional typographic usages specific attention. As seen in the *OED*'s entry for 'grotesque', transitions between print and digital media can destabilize a text's typography, and so it is understandable that Brill standardize type to facilitate the 'seamless transition from print to online'; if a text was printed in blackletter, it may not be guaranteed that it would appear in the same font on digital platforms with different browsers or operating systems, for instance. Brill does, however, go to great lengths to accommodate non-standard typographic characters. In 2014, John Hudson of Tiro Typeworks collaborated with Brill to design a digital font that accommodates a much larger than standard range of characters, befitting Brill's subject matter:

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[98] Brill, *Brill's Author Guide*, Version 31, 6.1.4 <https://brill.com/fileasset/downloads_static/static_publishingbooks_authorguide.pdf> [accessed 2 March 2020]

> Named 'the Brill', it presents complete coverage of the Latin script with the full range of diacritics and linguistics (IPA) characters used to display any language from any period correctly, and Greek and Cyrillic are also covered. There are over 5,100 characters in each font (there are four in all: roman, italic, bold, and bold italic), with all necessary punctuation marks and a wide assortment of symbols. These fonts will be especially welcomed by humanities scholars quoting from texts in any language, ancient or modern.[99]

The design is a remarkable achievement, supporting characters from typographically under-represented languages, and includes even the most arcane of punctuation and symbols, unified under one style. Blackletter is encoded as a separate set of glyphs in this font, listed as 'Fraktur (black letter)' in *The Brill Typeface User Guide*, and so it might seem that Brill accommodate the typesetting of blackletter text after all.[100] However, each instance of a fraktur letter in the 'Complete List of Characters' is accompanied by a caveat: 'used as a symbol only.' These are, in fact, intended for use in mathematical equations and algebra — a now archaic or rare usage, used to differentiate between two different values assigned the same letter. To have the characters available, but to explicitly proscribe their use for text, is more suggestive of blackletter's suppression than if it were simply omitted from the Brill typeface altogether: blackletter remains, technologically and conceptually, an aesthetic variation rather than a distinct sign.

This mathematical inclusion of blackletter is a reflection of that monolith of typographical standardization, Unicode. As described on the Unicode Consortium's website, 'The Unicode Standard provides a unique number for every character, no matter what platform, device, application or language. It has been adopted by all modern software providers and now allows data to be transported through many different platforms, devices and applications without corruption.'[101] Simply put, it ensures that what my computer displays as, for instance, W, appears as such elsewhere. The Unicode Consortium determines which characters are worth encoding, and if a character is not included in this standard, it cannot appear in a digital font. It differs from fonts in that Times New Roman, for instance, is an aesthetic representation through which the Unicode character is displayed. If I highlight the symbol @ and convert it into Garamond, it is still the symbol defined by the code U+0040, displayed differently. For a standard so universally relied upon, its selection processes are somewhat opaque, and it is not clear when fraktur was included in Unicode. It appears in the category 'mathematical alphanumeric symbols', buried deep in the lists of entries, difficult to access unless one knows its encoding (which is in the Unicode range 1D504–1D537). As it is listed as 'MATHEMATICAL FRAKTUR', and the few support documents associated with it are all concerned with mathematical typesetting, it is clearly not intended for textual use. This, combined with the difficulty of finding it, ensure that its use is discouraged: like Brill, Unicode considers blackletter to be an aesthetic variant, and thus has no particular meaning or significance beyond the letter it represents. Thus the symbols B and B both have the same code (U+0042), but must be set in roman or blackletter using different fonts, while the mathematical fraktur 𝔅 has its own code, U+1D505.[102]

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[99] Brill, 'Brill Typeface' <https://brill.com/page/BrillFont/brill-typeface> [accessed 2 March 2020]

[100] E.g. Pim Rietbroek, *The Brill Typeface User Guide & Complete List of Characters*, 31 October 2014, p. 28 <https://brill.com/fileasset/downloads_static/static_typefacedownload_typefaceuserguide.pdf> [accessed 2 March 2020]

While the institution of Unicode attempts to prescribe the use of its fraktur for mathematical contexts only, this does not describe its actual use on social media, which frequently contravenes their guidance. Twitter users have found Unicode's mathematical fraktur to be a way of adding typographic styling to tweets, broadening the variety of typefaces beyond the single default. This is often used to convey blackletter's modern associations — medievalism and horror — or to convey the theme of typography itself.[103] Unfortunate side-effects of this aesthetic distinction are caused by its incompatibility with certain platforms: while most

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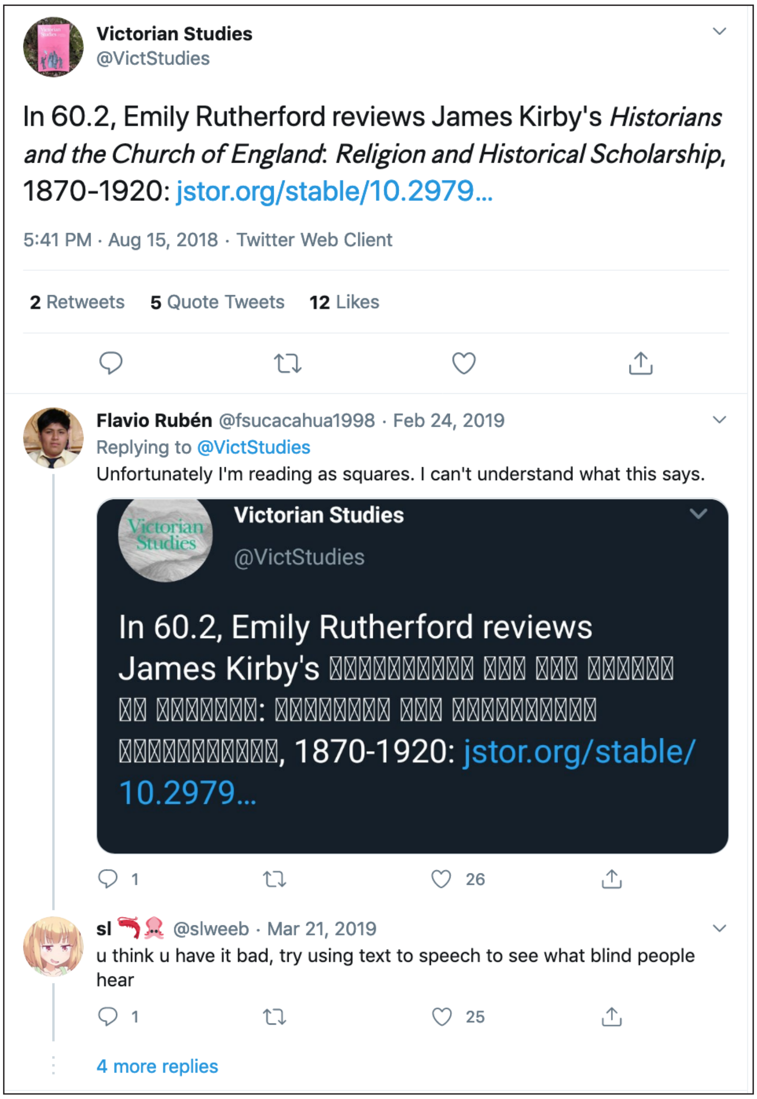
[101] Unicode, 'What is Unicode?' <http://www.unicode.org/standard/WhatIsUnicode.html> [accessed 2 March 2020]

[102] Unicode 'Mathematical Fraktur', displayed in the font Cambria Math, appears as follows: 𝔄 𝔅 ℭ 𝔇 𝔈 𝔉 𝔊 ℌ ℑ 𝔍 𝔎 𝔏 𝔐 𝔑 𝔒 𝔓 𝔔 ℜ 𝔖 𝔗 𝔘 𝔙 𝔚 𝔛 𝔜 ℨ 𝔞 𝔟 𝔠 𝔡 𝔢 𝔣 𝔤 𝔥 𝔦 𝔧 𝔨 𝔩 𝔪 𝔫 𝔬 𝔭 𝔮 𝔯 𝔰 𝔱 𝔲 𝔳 𝔴 𝔵 𝔶 𝔷

[103] As in the usernames of, for instance, @JTDType <https://twitter.com/JTDType>, and @xShawnXphoenix <https://twitter.com/xShawnXphoenix> [accessed 2 March 2020]



Victorian Studies
@VictStudies

In 60.2, Emily Rutherford reviews James Kirby's *Historians and the Church of England: Religion and Historical Scholarship*, 1870-1920: jstor.org/stable/10.2979...

5:41 PM · Aug 15, 2018 · Twitter Web Client

2 Retweets **5** Quote Tweets **12** Likes

Flavio Rubén @fsucacahua1998 · Feb 24, 2019
Replying to @VictStudies
Unfortunately I'm reading as squares. I can't understand what this says.

Victorian Studies
@VictStudies

In 60.2, Emily Rutherford reviews James Kirby's ⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠ ⊠⊠⊠ ⊠⊠⊠ ⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠ ⊠⊠ ⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠: ⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠ ⊠⊠⊠ ⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠ ⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠, 1870-1920: jstor.org/stable/10.2979...

1 26

sl 🦐🐙 @slweeb · Mar 21, 2019
u think u have it bad, try using text to speech to see what blind people hear

1 25

4 more replies

FIGURE 5.7
@VictStudies, 15 August 2018 (tweet) <https://twitter.com/VictStudies/status/1029770019981455360>

modern devices will be able to display Unicode's mathematical fraktur, older devices may lack support for this extended character set, instead substituting them with a character representing an unknown value (usually a blank rectangle). This is a problem not only for mathematical fraktur, but for the stylistic use of any of Unicode's other font-like mathematical alphabets, which include italic, serif, and calligraphic forms. A tweet from the journal *Victorian Studies* demonstrates this. In an instance of typographical hyper-correction, the journal promoted a book review, using mathematical italic in order to render the book's title.[104] While italic is prescribed from book titles in most style guides, Twitter does not allow italic styling, and so here it is achieved via mathematical characters. The tweet was met with replies from confused followers whose devices could not display the characters (Figure 5.7).

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[104] @VictStudies, 15 August 2018 (tweet) <https://twitter.com/VictStudies/status/1029770019981455360> [accessed 2 March 2020]

This inability to render these characters has more significant issues for accessibility. Visually impaired computer users may use screen reader software to mediate texts found online. Such programs convert text to audio, reading out the text in the browser. The unprescribed use of mathematical characters for text styling, such as those fraktur texts on Twitter, render the text illegible to screen readers, which depend on the Unicode codes for each character; the word 'and' for instance would register only as a string of mathematical symbols, and would be spoken by the software as 'Mathematical Fraktur Small a, Mathematical Fraktur Small n, Mathematical Fraktur Small d.'[105]

Like those using mathematical fraktur for text styling, Randall McLeod under several pseudonyms has regularly thwarted standardization. As well as featuring blackletter in book chapters and articles, McLeod's publications contain deliberate errors, images acting as punctuation, changes of font, and other such typographical eccentricities. Many of these are proofs of or allusions to the concepts he is discussing: a discussion of typographical errors in running headings, for instance, is followed several pages later by a running heading containing a typographical error.[106] Two of his publications have titles containing blackletter: '*Enter* Reader' and 'Hammered'. These also appear in blackletter in the contents pages of these volumes, thereby presenting their blackletter as an integral part of the text via its faithful reproduction.[107] It is not always clear, however, what it is meant to signify. For one essay, the meaning of blackletter is playfully deferred until the last few pages: 'Hammered' is a discussion of the three-dimensional topography of a page produced by varying sources of pressure on the paper including the hammers used to beat the paper to flatten it before binding. Almost every instance of the word 'hammer' and its variants, including the title, appears in blackletter, standing out among the conventional roman type of the body text (like Shepherd's *Morte Darthur*, the font used is Cloister Black). It is not until the end of the chapter that the historicizing effect of this becomes apparent: McLeod introduces evidence for an equivalent but contemporary method of flattening paper for binding, the 'wheel'. As each instance of the word 'wheel' is likewise set in a different font (Gill Sans, a sans serif designed in the twentieth century), the historical difference between 'hammer' and 'wheel' is portrayed typographically, while their shared salience unites them as tools performing the same function. Such features clearly defy the standards of the books in which they are published, and it seems that McLeod himself is typesetting them, as all of the books in which they appear contain a separate line in their front-matter giving McLeod copyright of his own chapter (whereas conventionally it would belong to the publisher or editor of the book). In *The Editorial Gaze*, this is followed by a note saying that McLeod's pages were supplied 'camera-ready' by the author — that is, ready to print. By both writing and designing his texts, McLeod ensures that his auteur's vision of typographical meaning is realized, but by the same token he increases his text's susceptibility to the very same transformission that he defines: how are we meant to quote or cite these texts? It seems unlikely that most of their readers would have the ability or inclination to faithfully reproduce their blackletter. Even McLeod's own online faculty profile smooths out the blackletter in his publications list.[108]

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[105] For further discussion of the issues surrounding text styling with mathematical symbols, see Wrzlprmft, 'Why shouldn't I use Unicode characters to simulate typographic styles (such as small caps or script)?', 26 December 2016 <https://superuser.com/questions/1160295/why-shouldn-t-i-use-unicode-characters-to-simulate-typographic-styles-such-as-s> [accessed 20 March 2020]

[106] R. MacGeddon, 'Hammered', in *Negotiating the Jacobean Printed Book*, ed. by Pete Langman (Ashgate, 2010), pp. 136–199.

[107] Random Cloud, '*Enter* Reader', in *The Editorial Gaze: Mediating Texts in Literature and the Arts*, ed. by Paul Eggert and Margaret Sankey (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 3–50; R. MacGeddon.

This typographical play is McLeod's praxis of the textual theories he has developed over his career. Just as his own texts are contingent on their typographic form, so too, he has argued, are historical texts. The typographical transformission that they have therefore accrued in their modern forms is one of the veils that the practice of 'unediting' seeks to lift.[109] In the 1980s, McLeod was optimistic that technology would allow for the quotation of historical texts to mitigate transformission with a technique he calls 'photo-quoting' — embedding excerpted photographic facsimiles of the original material text into the main body of an essay. McLeod has shown the possibility of the technique by including it in his own work, demonstrating, for instance, the concept of transformission by photo-quoting different passages that would otherwise be identical if conventionally transcribed.[110] For McLeod, the use of photo-quoting and liberal facsimileing in, for instance, academic journals was 'historically inevitable':[111] in the wake of photographic reproduction, 'modern critics stand on the verge of a syntax of concrete ideas,' he wrote in 1982, 'which may endow English criticism at the end of the century with an awareness of the iconicity of text.'[112]

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[108] University of Toronto, 'McLeod, Randall' <http://www.english.utoronto.ca/facultystaff/emeritiretired/mcleod.htm> [accessed 2 March 2020]

[109] Randall McLeod, 'UN *Editing* Shak-speare', *SubStance*, 10 (1982), 26–55.

[110] See Clod, throughout.

While English criticism certainly now has an increased awareness of a text's iconicity, the sort of micro-facsimiles that McLeod envisions have not superseded the traditional micro-edition of quotation. Though many authors that quote blackletter texts are now explicitly recognising or even researching the significance of typefaces, generally speaking they are still not being reproduced. Jeffrey Masten describes this as a loss in *Queer Philologies*, in his 'Notes on Citations and Quotations':

> Except where noted, I have translated a text's blackletter, italic, or other early modern typeface (when used as the default typeface of the text or section of the text) into modern roman type, using italics to indicate the text's emphases. [...] Given this book's emphasis on type and letters, I regret the loss of contextual meaning sometimes incurred by these changes but encourage readers to consult the earlier editions.[113]

Masten, then, makes his transformission explicit, and represents his quotations as shadows of their original form. But the loss he concedes is also incurred silently in almost all scholarly works. Heidi Brayman has tried to mitigate it, instead employing a system of representation:

> Original spellings and typography can provide important evidence for historicist literary practice, and they begin to make visible the obstacles to reading early modern texts. [...] Modern italics for whole words represent the emphases created by different typefaces in a single text; italicized single characters (like upo*n* or pa*m*phlets) indicate my expansions of standard manuscript and print abbreviations.[114]

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[111] McLeod, 'UN *Editing* Shak-speare', p. 38.

[112] McLeod, 'UN *Editing* Shak-speare', p. 38.

[113] Jeffrey Masten, *Queer Philologies: Sex, Language, and Affect in Shakespeare's Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), p. 14.

[114] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. xii.

Like the choices inherent to the typography of editions, this seems dependent on interpretation: are all typeface variations represented in italic, or just the ones thought to be emphatic? And how does the binary of italic or roman correspond to the tripartite system of blackletter, roman, and italic in the books quoted? Her system appears to be, like EEBO-TCP's, recording relative typographic contrast rather than typefaces per se. Neither Masten's or Brayman's notes make the reasons for transformission clear — whether it was a requirement of the publishers or a product of transcription, for instance. One work featured in Chapter 1, however, adopts a more representative system in its quotations. Where Marjorie Rubright quotes examples of stage Dutch in her study, blackletter has been used, embedded within the main body text.[115] More than just a simple and effective method of reproduction, this is patently necessary in Rubright's examples, where the argument relies on the contrast between blackletter and roman over short texts, such as 'Ick vare well God danke you: Nay Ime an apt scholer and can take.'[116] As well as seamlessly providing visual evidence to her discussion, this technique avoids clumsy clarifications. This line might otherwise have been rendered along the lines of '"Ick vare well God danke you:" in blackletter immediately followed by "Nay Ime an apt scholer and can take." in roman'.

The better our understanding of the semiotic potential of a book's material forms, the less sufficient past editions seem: the study of material texts is an on-going process of agitating traditional textual criticism. If Pollard's view that every generation will make its own critical editions to suit its own critical taste is true, we might anticipate more editions that, like Shephard's, exploit the capacity of their own type to convey meaning and reading experience. Bibliographical works would greatly benefit from adopting such techniques too. Books about books have the ability to materialize that which is being referred to; that this is especially true for typography is witnessed in the *OED's* first successful reification of 'grotesque', the object of definition being coextensive with the definition itself. Rubright's book offers a model for applying this principle, and it is one that has been followed by this thesis: I have sometimes used a blackletter font to represent the blackletter of the books being discussed. Like Rubright and Shepherd, I have used Cloister Black and, like them, I use it representationally. The font is a digitization of a Victorian interpretation of William Caslon's eighteenth-century version of the textura idiomatic to the sixteenth century.[117] Though similar, it has therefore gone through several reinterpretations, itself remediated, that distance its letterforms from those that appear in sixteenth-century books. As such, it is best read as a signifier of blackletter that conveniently resembles its signified — like the endotextual use of uppercase roman in Chapter 4, its signification is iconic. Furthermore, my use of blackletter is discretional: it is not used for quotations whose original font is not relevant to the discussion, nor is it used for block quotations, where a longer blackletter text might disrupt readability. As such, my quotations use the editorial strategy discussed in Section 1, where typography is always *potentially* substantive — 'quasi-substantive', as Link put it — but this is only manifested when deemed relevant.

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[115] E.g. Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p. 113.

[116] Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *North-ward hoe* (London: G. Eld, 1607), STC 6539, sig. D^{r}.

Like McLeod's 'camera-ready' essays, this (and most other theses) has been typeset by its author. But the same opportunity for typographic agency is not afforded by mass-produced books: this chapter's survey has demonstrated the myriad of institutional and prescriptive forces that standardize type and suppress meaningful multigraphy. It has shown that there is no single solution that can successfully balance the often-competing factors of legibility, accessibility, expense, labour, and fidelity, confirming Woudhuysen's view that the dream of an unmediated text remains a dream. While a coming generation might desire books that are more typographically sensitive, whether it is practicable to produce them is another matter. The examples given above show that any such books must be clear about their methods: responsible remediation requires transparency. Shepherd's edition of *Le Morte Darthur* is exemplary here, clearly defining the limits and intent of his typographical system in his paratexts, and citing scholarly work that provides its rationale. The studies contained in this thesis could provide a similar foundation for future editors of sixteenth-century texts. Similarly responsible is the use of remediations as supplements rather than replacements, as in EBBA and EEBO-TCP. Here, their contextualization in a genealogy of remediation mitigates any loss incurred in the

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[117] See Fonts in Use, 'Cloister Black' <https://fontsinuse.com/typefaces/7875/cloister-black> [accessed 1 September 2020]

CONCLUSION

Writing in 1963, Stanley Morison acknowledged a number of areas of English typographic history that remained uncharted. Among the work he thought necessary but absent was a study of the transition from blackletter to roman: 'The steps by which 'black-letter' was abandoned in favour of 'Roman' have not been traced.'[1] Though Mark Bland has made headway in his study of playbooks, a broad picture has still been missing, leaving Dan Mills to repeat this year that 'scholars have not yet determined the process by which roman type replaced black letter.'[2] The data described in this thesis have begun the tracing that Morison envisaged, drafting a map of the territory between 1509 and 1592.

The map confirms some things we already knew: roman type was introduced to Britain in 1509; the first appearance of English in roman was in 1519; roman English surpassed blackletter English around 1590/1591. But this thesis has increased our understanding of these milestones: though roman first appears in 1509, it was not until 1518 that it began to be used regularly; though English text was first set in roman in 1519, a trend that did likewise would not start in Britain until the mid 1560s; in 1591, roman English surpassed blackletter by a margin of 5 books — a moment of balance rather than 'victory', and a majority lost the following year. Other milestones have here been updated: the earliest extant book to set an entirely English text in roman is not a 1555 prognostication, but one of Exodus, Leviticus, or Deuteronomy, translated by Tyndale and printed in 1530; English was not first set in italic by Reyner Wolfe in 1551, but in *A supplicacyon for the beggers* in 1529; a roman English W first appears not in 1574 but in 1533.

Between the milestones, the landscape was shadowy. We had previously thought that 'Britain used black letter up until the 1550s and thereafter primarily in certain categories of texts',[3] and that 'books in English began to be set in roman from the late 1550s.'[4] But without evidence, we had only been told of these trends, and not shown them. The charts of Chapter 1 show us the lay of the land, elucidating three phases of typography. The first begins with the introduction of roman type to Britain in 1509, and ends around 1530. This phase saw an asymmetrical typolinguistic system that excluded English from roman, but used blackletter indiscriminately. The second phase began around 1530, seeing the rapid rise of multigraphic English books: the typolinguistic system that excluded English from roman began to break down as printers, especially Thomas Berthelet, used roman type to set English paratexts. But the system remained asymmetrical, with English still generally excluded from roman, and blackletter still used for both English and Latin (though the latter decreasingly so). The third phase, beginning in the mid 1560s, is characterized by transition: following the immigration of skilled type manufacturers to England, English text became exponentially more roman, equalling blackletter English in 1591, thereby depolarizing a typolinguistic system within a generation. Blackletter Latin is almost entirely out of use in this final phase, and blackletter English begins to decrease rapidly from the mid 1570s. Within these three general phases, two localized events see sharp rises and falls in the use of roman: the first, between 1519 and 1522, applying it to humanist Latin works, and the second, in the 1550s, applying it to the English of the Marian exiles. The latter of these has probably caused the idea that the 1550s was a turning point, but Chapter 2 showed it to be an isolated event. The idea that only 'certain categories of texts' retained blackletter from the 1550s continues the misconception of that decade: blackletter is not specialized until after it began to decrease from the mid 1570s.

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[1] Stanley Morison, 'On the Classification of Typographical Variations', in *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, ed. by John Dreyfus (London: Bowes & Bowes and Putnam, 1963), pp. ix–xxix (p. xxviii).

[2] Dan Mills, *Lacan, Foucault, and the Malleable Subject in Early Modern English Utopian Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2020), p. 187.

[3] Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450–1800* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), p. 39.

[4] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 20.

The map described above is small scale. While it shows us the topography, it won't help us navigate the streets. To do so, the data was narrowed down by various attendant variables — location, size, subject, paratext — that contextualize the interpretation of individual books in Chapters 1 to 4. The rise of roman English *text* that came after the arrival of punchcutters makes blackletter look more like an index of a country lacking in skill than a symbol of a language. This lack of skills and equipment is manifested on the pages of the first two phases: exotic languages were excluded or imperfectly included in their books due to a lack of fonts. This lack affected English too, a language 'exotic' to the continental technology of print, whose otherness was expressed in expedient and inventive kludges.

Books printed on the continent were therefore products of a different typographical culture. When people were exiled to Antwerp and Geneva, their texts went with them, forcing their participation in this culture and thereby generating unprecedented forms of English. The unusual appearance of these books is codependent with their foreign provenance — strange, in both senses of the word. As the radical nature of their texts necessitated this foreign provenance, their consequently foreign typography can be read as an index of their radical nature. For those in Geneva, this was more than just a mark of exile: roman typography broadcasted their alignment with a supranational Calvinist community. Though they were estranged from their own nation, they were enfranchised in Geneva; their texts were likewise estranged from and enfranchised in the typographical idioms of those locations, made conspicuous when exported from one to another. The affordances of size that came with their typography aided this exportation.

The contrast between domestic and foreign English books was conspicuous; Chapter 3 shows that typographic contrast was legible across time as well as space. Roman's first systematic application in Britain was towards the rebranding of English humanism from 1519 — the works of Lily, Horman, Whittington and others were redesigned to look like their continental counterparts, especially those printed in Basel. The novelty is perhaps reflected in the manuscript additions to these books: after seeing and reading the roman letterforms, their readers drew and wrote them. Contrastingly, William Copland did not update the typography of his vernacular reprints in the 1550s and 60s, conserving the blackletter monography of past generations. A changing landscape imbues static forms with significance — a parallax of typographic meaning that historicized Copland's books. Copland thereby distanced himself and his customers from the books' unfashionable content, licensing his customers' consumption of works deemed frivolous or blasphemous.

Chapters 1 and 2 began with hypotheses of typography's *symbolic* meaning: with no suggestion of a material link between signifier and signified, Steven Galbraith's equation between English and blackletter, and Harry Carter's association between roman and 'puritanical Calvinism', both depended on arbitrary connection. Chapters 1 and 2 show that, sometimes, the difference between *symbol* and *index* is evidence. When considered alongside statistical, typographical, and paratextual evidence, blackletter's signification of English is as an index of a location, lacking in skills and technology; roman English's signification of Calvinism is as an index of exile. Chapter 4 demonstrates that, as well as symbolic and indexical functions, typography has an iconic function — signifying by its resemblance to the signified. So, printers exploited the skeuomorphism of uppercase roman, whose origin is in engraved lettering. By setting paratexts in uppercase roman, they evoked the subtexts of a stone substrate: permanence and value, but also deixis and liminality. Likewise with endotexts, which depict an absent material in books of paper and ink, allowing their readers to see other textual objects as they read them. The technique can be used to poetic ends (as in the *Garland of Laurel*), archaeological and rhetorical ends (in Leland's *Assertion*) and spiritual ends (in bibles following the Geneva Bible).

Chapters 1 to 4 therefore show the print culture of English between 1509 to 1592 to be richly multigraphic, and that this multigraphy could signify in different ways. By demonstrating that typography is especially vulnerable to transformission, Chapter 5 shows the risks of remediating this multigraphy into the present day, and the losses incurred in the attempt. In its survey of case studies, it showed that remediating responsibly is possible in theory, but rare in practice. To do so, context and transparency are required. The knowledge gained from Chapters 1 to 4 could help inform the context and transparency of future remediation. So too could the database, whose potential has not been exhausted by these chapters. Most of the categories of text kinds have not been tapped into, for instance. Given the proven ability of the database to identify significant groups of books, or gauge the normality of individual books, it could be of use to early modernists and book historians if made accessible online. Such a resource could be used to search for books according to certain typographical criteria. It would also allow scholars thinking about typography to contextualize the object of their study, preventing the misinterpretation of a book's appearance as unconventional — or, proving it to be so.

Carter suggested that 'Roman type played its humble part in magnifying the vernacular' because of its 'association with the highest order of literature, that of the ancients.'[5] We might here think of roman English's rise from the 1560s in tandem with what C. S. Lewis called the 'golden' period of early modern English literature.[6] The conscious promotion of both the English language and nation around this time, examined by Richard Helgerson, Andrew Hadfield, and others,[7] is a topic sure to be complemented by the data and context given in this thesis. It suffices here to warn against a direct correlation. As the charts of Appendix B show, literature did not begin the wave of English roman, but it did ride it: the *USTC* subjects *Literature* and *Poetry* begin to adopt roman in the mid 1570s, joining *Religious*, *Bibles*, and *History and Chronicles*. But this thesis has shown that, even before this, roman played its part in magnifying the vernacular. Horman's roman English in 1519 — intentionally or not — made English look like exemplary humanist Latin. Tyndale's exiled texts naturalized the Latinate appearance of English by giving it its W. In Geneva, the vernacular broke its borders and transcended nationhood, participating in a transnational typography. In skeuomorphic paratexts and endotexts we see the unlikely union of ancient Latinate forms with the vernacular, thereby imagining it as an enduring, historical language.

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[5] Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 81.

Typography is often a text's first encounter with materiality. By effecting text, it is the threshold between an immaterial and material text. As this thesis shows, materiality is context dependent: what fonts are available where, when, and to whom. Typography is therefore a site in which text and context coalesce, both made legible in their coextension on the page. To read this union sensitively and accurately, we must be as alert to the contexts of these books as their first readers were. Likewise, readings of typography must be alert to their texts: though the blackletter of the King James Bible has been ascribed an 'ecclesiastical splendour' by David Norton,[8] we would not use the same phrase to describe the scatological antics of Howleglas — though they consistently appear in the same type. Norton's choice of words is apt: the splendour he identifies in the bible's blackletter is 'promoted'. Rather than created *ex nihilo*, this quality is first inherent in the text; typography draws it out, augments it. The relationship is symbiotic and reciprocal, an exchange between the text and its appearance — between seeing and reading — that is brokered by the reader.

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[6] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944).

[7] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, and Milton and the Literary System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[8] David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 47.

APPENDIX A

Tabular data for figures 1.1–13

	Figure 1.1		Figure 1.2		Figure 1.3		Figure 1.4		Figure 1.5		Figure 1.6		Figure 1.7		Figure 1.8		Figure 1.9		Figure 1.10		Figure 1.11		1.12	Figure 1.13	
	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	E	L	E	L		B	R
1509	34	0	100	0	34	0	100	0	23	3	95.83	12.50	22	2	91.67	8.33	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1510	37	0	100	0	37	0	100	0	30	0	100	0	30	0	100	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1511	13	0	100	0	13	0	100	0	19	0	100	0	19	0	100	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1512	10	0	100	0	9	0	100	0	27	3	96.43	10.71	25	3	89.29	10.71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1513	15	0	100	0	15	0	100	0	11	2	84.62	15.38	11	2	84.62	15.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1514	9	0	100	0	9	0	100	0	23	0	100	0	23	0	100	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1515	28	0	100	0	28	0	100	0	26	0	100	0	26	0	100	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1516	14	0	100	0	14	0	100	0	30	0	100	0	30	0	100	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1517	23	0	100	0	23	0	100	0	28	0	100	0	28	0	100	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1518	26	0	100	0	26	0	100	0	28	3	90.32	9.68	28	2	93.33	6.67	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1519	13	1	92.86	7.14	13	1	92.86	7.14	28	1	96.55	3.45	28	1	96.55	3.45	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	91.67	8.33
1520	49	0	100	0	49	0	100	0	41	11	85.42	22.92	40	9	85.11	19.15	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1521	29	0	100	0	29	0	100	0	28	18	73.68	47.37	28	18	73.68	47.37	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1522	22	0	100	0	22	0	100	0	15	20	55.56	74.07	15	18	55.56	66.67	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1523	21	0	100	0	21	0	100	0	34	22	85	55	33	19	84.62	48.72	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1524	10	0	100	0	9	0	100	0	19	12	90.48	57.14	19	11	90.48	52.38	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1525	54	2	96.43	3.57	51	2	96.23	3.77	43	20	91.49	42.55	41	15	91.11	33.33	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	95.65	4.35
1526	34	0	100	0	34	0	100	0	26	14	83.87	45.16	24	11	85.71	39.29	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
1527	33	0	100	0	31	0	100	0	41	18	93.18	40.91	37	15	86.05	34.88	17	0	0	4.55	0	2.33	0	100	0
1528	44	0	100	0	43	0	100	0	33	14	91.67	38.89	28	12	77.78	33.33	25	1	0	8.33	0	5.56	0	100	0
1529	42	1	97.67	2.33	42	0	97.67	0	24	14	88.89	51.85	20	11	83.33	45.83	4	0	2.33	7.41	2.33	4.17	2.33	100	0
1530	94	2	98.95	2.11	92	2	98.92	2.15	35	14	89.74	35.90	28	8	80	22.86	6	2	0	2.56	0	2.86	1.08	98.65	1.35
1531	66	8	100	12.12	63	0	96.92	0	31	19	93.94	57.58	24	8	88.89	29.63	9	0	0	6.06	0	3.70	13.85	95.24	0
1532	63	8	98.44	12.50	61	0	100	0	26	26	63.41	63.41	17	5	68	20	6	0	1.56	14.63	0	16	19.67	100	0
1533	81	19	100	23.46	77	1	98.72	1.28	34	40	61.82	72.73	26	10	86.67	33.33	8	0	7.41	18.18	0	10	33.33	100	0
1534	80	16	100	20	80	1	100	1.25	24	29	52.17	63.04	16	2	76.19	9.52	8	0	6.25	19.57	0	14.29	28.75	100	1.43
1535	74	16	100	21.62	69	1	98.57	1.43	14	33	33.33	78.57	9	3	56.25	18.75	8	0	2.70	19.05	0	25	30	100	0
1536	60	20	100	33.33	56	2	96.55	3.45	6	28	18.18	84.85	5	0	83.33	0	2	0	0	15.15	0	16.67	32.76	95.83	4.17
1537	53	25	98.15	46.30	49	2	96.08	3.92	12	26	33.33	72.22	8	4	61.54	30.77	2	0	9.26	8.33	0	7.69	56.86	95.56	4.44
1538	90	37	97.83	40.22	87	0	100	0	21	59	32.31	90.77	11	11	50	50	6	0	6.52	7.69	0	4.55	44.83	100	0
1539	63	39	98.44	60.94	62	0	100	0	3	45	6.38	95.74	3	4	37.50	50	1	0	12.50	23.40	0	25	77.42	100	0
1540	90	41	98.90	45.05	84	1	100	1.19	19	58	27.14	82.86	11	9	50	40.91	3	1	4.40	18.57	0	13.64	76.19	100	0

	Figure 1.1		Figure 1.2		Figure 1.3		Figure 1.4		Figure 1.5		Figure 1.6		Figure 1.7		Figure 1.8		Figure 1.9		Figure 1.10		Figure 1.11		1.12	Figure 1.13	
	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	E	L	E	L		B	R
1541	45	25	97.83	54.35	45	0	100	0	19	33	52.78	91.67	6	2	75	25	1	0	17.39	33.33	0	0	84.44	100	0
1542	82	42	98.80	50.60	79	0	98.75	0	12	43	20.69	74.14	4	3	57.14	42.86	5	0	9.64	36.21	1.25	0	91.25	100	0
1543	90	56	98.90	61.54	81	1	98.78	1.22	11	62	15.28	86.11	10	2	76.92	15.38	3	0	15.38	23.61	1.22	15.38	82.93	100	0
1544	74	38	100	51.35	64	0	100	0	24	48	37.50	75	8	8	44.44	44.44	11	0	13.51	20.31	0	16.67	84.38	100	0
1545	92	48	97.87	51.06	88	0	100	0	17	58	23.29	79.45	4	11	25	68.75	14	1	25.53	30.14	1.14	31.25	79.55	100	0
1546	96	51	100	53.13	92	0	100	0	24	53	32.88	72.60	12	10	52.17	43.48	6	0	13.54	45.21	0	13.04	97.83	100	0
1547	114	58	98.28	50	99	2	98.02	1.98	16	78	18.60	90.70	3	7	33.33	77.78	15	0	25.86	40.70	1.98	11.11	90.10	100	0
1548	227	93	100	40.97	218	1	99.54	0.46	24	109	16.33	74.15	5	9	35.71	64.29	5	0	22.03	47.62	1.37	28.57	85.84	100	0
1549	136	54	96.45	38.30	136	1	99.27	0.73	19	54	17.92	50.94	7	5	53.85	38.46	1	1	28.37	61.32	1.46	38.46	89.05	100	0
1550	190	73	98.96	38.02	180	2	98.90	1.10	101	64	63.13	40	5	2	62.50	25	11	0	22.92	34.38	1.65	12.50	92.86	100	0
1551	97	48	96.04	47.52	97	1	98.98	1.02	30	64	30.61	65.31	2	7	11.11	38.89	0	0	34.65	55.10	5.10	66.67	94.90	100	0
1552	106	50	99.07	46.73	104	1	99.05	0.95	35	55	39.33	61.80	1	5	9.09	45.45	3	5	36.45	69.66	4.76	45.45	86.67	100	0
1553	121	63	96.80	50.40	104	4	94.55	3.64	27	83	23.28	71.55	1	10	5	50	14	1	36	62.07	6.36	60	90	95.10	3.92
1554	89	60	92.71	62.50	85	5	94.44	5.56	24	65	26.67	72.22	12	9	46.15	34.62	1	0	29.17	54.44	0	30.77	87.78	93.67	6.33
1555	146	83	97.33	55.33	137	2	98.56	1.44	64	86	48.48	65.15	26	10	50.98	19.61	9	0	26.67	42.42	2.16	29.41	92.09	98.06	0.97
1556	134	111	92.41	76.55	99	6	92.52	5.61	68	94	51.91	71.76	16	9	59.26	33.33	36	4	24.14	36.64	4.67	14.81	93.46	97.26	2.74
1557	67	55	87.01	71.43	53	9	84.13	14.29	23	59	34.33	88.06	9	12	40.91	54.55	13	0	35.06	46.27	9.52	27.27	88.89	100	0
1558	73	56	92.41	70.89	63	10	86.30	13.70	22	64	27.85	81.01	4	6	26.67	40	5	0	30.38	46.84	1.37	33.33	95.89	100	0
1559	86	70	94.51	76.92	73	6	91.25	7.50	19	66	22.89	79.52	5	3	62.50	37.50	13	1	58.24	60.24	1.25	0	92.50	93.42	5.26
1560	118	52	94.40	41.60	115	4	97.46	3.39	24	51	26.37	56.04	2	5	20	50	4	0	42.40	57.14	1.69	30	91.53	100	0
1561	94	65	91.26	63.11	91	1	98.91	1.09	29	61	34.52	72.62	3	4	33.33	44.44	10	0	38.83	53.57	0	22.22	94.57	100	0
1562	127	92	98.45	71.32	121	0	98.37	0	24	78	22.02	71.56	2	7	20	70	5	0	49.61	59.63	1.63	10	97.56	98.28	0
1563	106	72	95.50	64.86	97	1	94.17	0.97	11	66	11.22	67.35	0	6	0	60	5	3	61.26	67.35	4.85	50	94.17	98.95	0
1564	62	46	92.54	68.66	59	3	95.16	4.84	3	48	4.76	76.19	0	6	0	75	2	0	71.64	80.95	1.61	37.50	93.55	100	0
1565	105	84	81.40	65.12	95	16	85.59	14.41	19	80	18.27	76.92	0	6	0	85.71	11	0	55.81	66.35	4.50	28.57	89.19	97.83	2.17
1566	140	116	93.96	77.85	111	8	93.28	6.72	30	117	22.22	86.67	2	3	25	37.50	22	2	64.43	61.48	4.20	50	90.76	96.97	3.03
1567	115	111	93.50	90.24	88	4	93.62	4.26	26	103	23.01	91.15	0	11	0	100	23	1	82.11	63.72	4.26	18.18	97.87	98.82	0
1568	81	81	92.05	92.05	74	5	93.67	6.33	10	85	10.64	90.43	0	10	0	71.43	6	2	85.23	74.47	1.27	42.86	97.47	97.14	4.29
1569	111	111	93.28	93.28	106	4	95.50	3.60	12	95	9.30	73.64	1	7	11.11	77.78	4	2	81.51	51.94	3.60	22.22	96.40	96.23	2.83
1570	176	149	97.24	82.32	162	9	97.59	5.42	9	146	5.59	90.68	0	13	0	81.25	6	2	64.64	55.28	1.20	25	92.17	98.14	4.97
1571	98	102	89.91	93.58	94	13	91.26	12.62	3	106	2.61	92.17	0	9	0	56.25	2	0	76.15	66.09	1.94	62.50	93.20	92.78	11.34
1572	126	119	93.33	88.15	108	5	96.43	4.46	18	122	14.06	95.31	2	15	8.70	65.22	15	3	76.30	52.34	1.79	39.13	92.86	97.09	3.88

	Figure 1.1		Figure 1.2		Figure 1.3		Figure 1.4		Figure 1.5		Figure 1.6		Figure 1.7		Figure 1.8		Figure 1.9		Figure 1.10		Figure 1.11		1.12	Figure 1.13	
	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R	E	L	E	L		B	R
1573	118	111	93.65	88.10	108	6	96.43	5.36	6	125	4.38	91.24	0	19	0	65.52	5	3	82.54	67.88	3.57	51.72	95.54	98.11	4.72
1574	130	135	94.89	98.54	118	5	96.72	4.10	10	137	6.90	94.48	2	17	6.67	56.67	11	5	82.48	64.83	0.82	53.33	99.18	96.04	4.95
1575	167	171	94.89	97.16	150	8	95.54	5.10	18	168	10.11	94.38	1	18	4.35	78.26	13	3	75	54.49	1.27	26.09	98.73	95.10	5.59
1576	113	127	86.92	97.69	103	14	87.29	11.86	8	126	5.67	89.36	1	14	5.56	77.78	7	1	92.31	67.38	4.24	38.89	98.31	87.18	11.97
1577	138	146	93.24	98.65	129	14	92.14	10	1	140	0.62	86.42	1	12	3.45	41.38	2	1	93.92	73.46	0.71	68.97	100	92.70	9.49
1578	155	167	91.72	98.82	142	22	90.45	14.01	4	149	2.34	87.13	0	11	0	57.89	5	3	91.72	70.76	1.91	57.89	98.73	90.13	14.47
1579	174	190	89.23	97.44	159	17	91.38	9.77	8	174	4.04	87.88	0	13	0	56.52	9	3	95.38	68.69	1.72	60.87	99.43	91.12	9.47
1580	188	217	85.45	98.64	180	20	90	10	4	197	1.73	85.28	3	28	7.32	68.29	5	4	93.18	64.94	1	60.98	99	89.95	10.05
1581	170	201	82.52	97.57	165	24	89.19	12.97	7	191	3.18	86.82	1	24	3.03	72.73	5	2	95.15	70.91	1.62	42.42	100	89.39	13.41
1582	131	160	80.86	98.77	111	32	82.84	23.88	12	139	7.41	85.80	0	13	0	81.25	12	3	90.12	62.96	3.73	18.75	98.51	87.80	19.51
1583	142	178	78.89	98.89	130	30	82.28	18.99	10	169	5.21	88.02	0	23	0	63.89	12	4	95	70.83	3.16	41.67	98.73	84.46	16.89
1584	149	199	73.04	97.55	137	38	79.19	21.97	11	199	4.85	87.67	0	27	0	64.29	14	1	91.67	68.72	1.73	45.24	98.84	81.71	19.51
1585	135	201	65.22	97.10	128	58	71.11	32.22	11	191	4.95	86.04	0	33	0	63.46	12	2	88.89	71.17	1.67	46.15	99.44	70.76	32.75
1586	127	170	73.41	98.27	119	32	78.29	21.05	9	138	5.36	82.14	0	16	0	66.67	9	2	84.97	69.05	2.63	45.83	97.37	81.82	18.88
1587	127	176	71.35	98.88	121	38	75.63	23.75	2	155	1.10	85.16	0	19	0	82.61	8	5	91.01	69.78	3.75	30.43	99.38	78.43	20.92
1588	138	192	71.13	98.97	132	45	75.43	25.71	1	154	0.56	86.03	0	8	0	53.33	4	7	90.72	68.16	1.71	46.67	99.43	79.14	22.09
1589	132	216	60.83	99.54	128	82	62.75	40.20	0	189	0	87.10	0	22	0	73.33	0	5	91.24	71.43	3.92	30	99.02	65.26	37.37
1590	139	228	59.40	97.44	127	73	63.50	36.50	0	237	0	90.80	0	40	0	72.73	1	4	90.60	68.58	2	41.82	98	67.57	32.43
1591	116	243	47.54	99.59	104	109	48.60	50.93	0	208	0	87.03	0	15	0	83.33	3	3	91.80	60.67	3.74	27.78	99.53	49.28	50.24
1592	116	211	54.21	98.60	103	82	54.79	43.62	1	210	0.43	89.74	1	33	2.22	73.33	2	2	94.86	67.52	6.38	31.11	98.94	55.68	43.24

APPENDIX B

Books with roman English *text* printed in Geneva, 1550–1560

The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament (Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1560), STC 2093

The boke of Psalmes (Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1559), STC 2384

Calvin, John, *The catechisme or manner to teache children the Christian religion* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1556), STC 4380

The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments, &c. vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1556), STC 16561

The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacramentes, &c. vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua (Geneva: James Poullain and Antonie Rebul, 1558), STC 16561a

Gilby, Anthony, *A briefe treatyse of election and reprobacion wythe certane answers to the obiections of the aduersaries of this doctryne* (Geneva: James Poullain and Reny Houdouyn, 1556), STC 11884.5

Goodman, Christopher, *How superior powers oght to be obeyd of their subiects: and wherin they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1558), STC 12020

Knox, John, *The appellation of Iohn Knoxe* from the *cruell and most iniust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes and clergie of Scotland* (Geneva: [James Poullain and Antonie Rebul], 1558), STC 15063

—— *An answer to a great nomber of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist, and aduersarie to Gods eternal predestination* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1560), STC 15060

—— *The copie of a lettre deliuered to the ladie Marie, regent of Scotland, frome Iohn Knox minister of Goddes worde* (Geneva: James Poullain and Antonie Rebul, 1558), STC 15067

—— *The copie of an epistle sent by Iohn Knox one of the ministers of the Englishe Church at Geneua vnto the inhabitants of Newcastle, & Barwike* (Geneva: 1559), STC 15064

—— *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstruous regiment of women* (Geneva: [James Poullain and Antonie Rebul], 1558), STC 15070

Lily, William, *A short introduction of grammar generallie to be vsed* (Geneva: [Conrad Badius], 1557), STC 15611.7

The Nevve Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ (Geneva: Conrad Badius, 1557), STC 2871

The Newe Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ (Geneva: 1560), STC 2871.5

The psalmes of Dauid (Geneva: [M. Blanchier], 1557), STC 2383.6

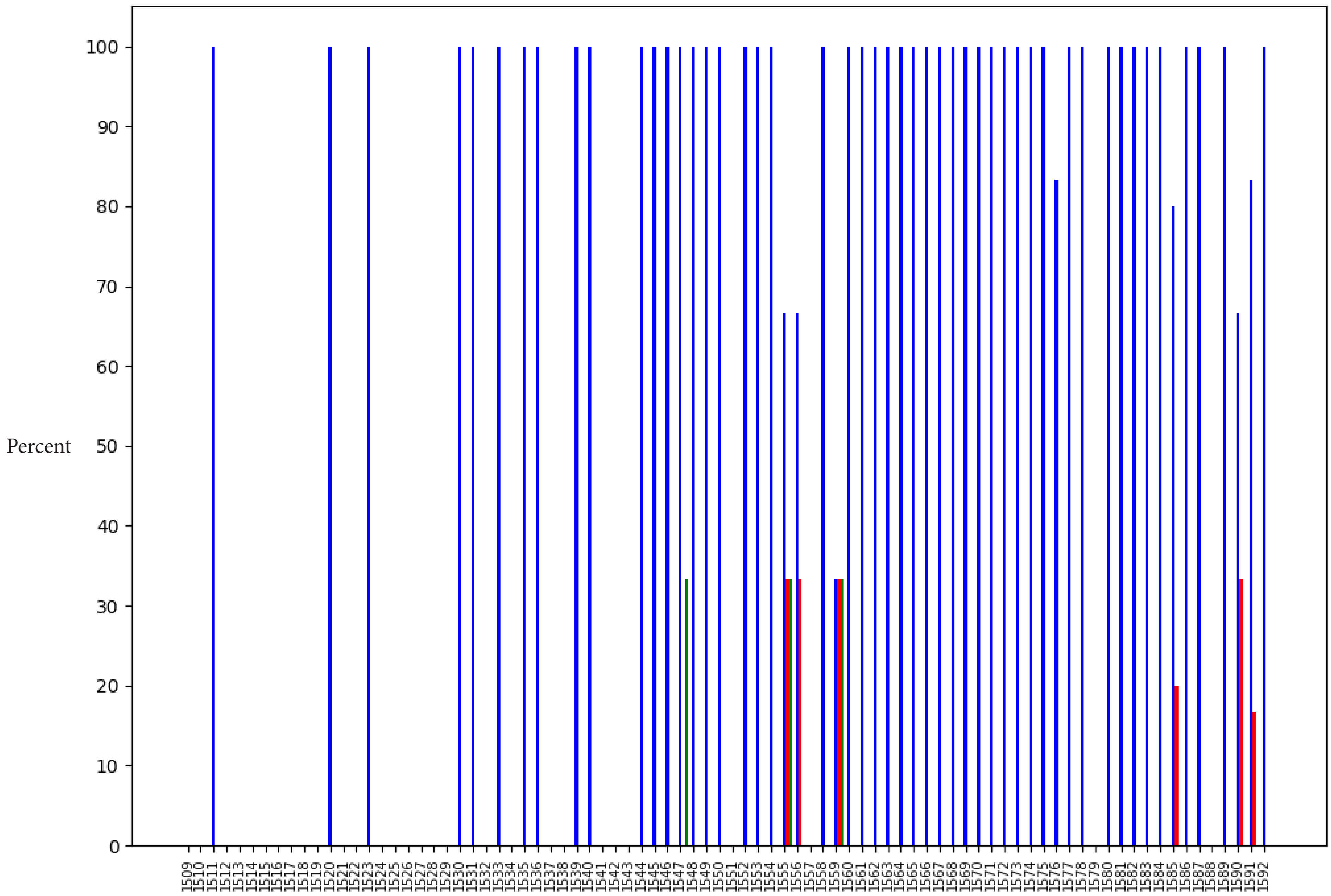
APPENDIX C

Typeface of English *text* printed in Britain, by *USTC* Subject Classification, 1509–1592

1. Astrology and cosmography
2. Bibles
3. Calendars, almanacs, and prognostications
4. Classical authors
5. Culinary arts
6. Dictionaries, vocabularies, phrase books, instruction in foreign languages
7. Drama
8. Educational books
9. History and chronicles
10. Literature
11. Medical texts
12. Music
13. News books
14. Ordinances, edicts, proclamations
15. Philosophy and morality
16. Poetry
17. Political tracts
18. Religious
19. Science and mathematics
20. Travel, topography, maps and navigational manuals

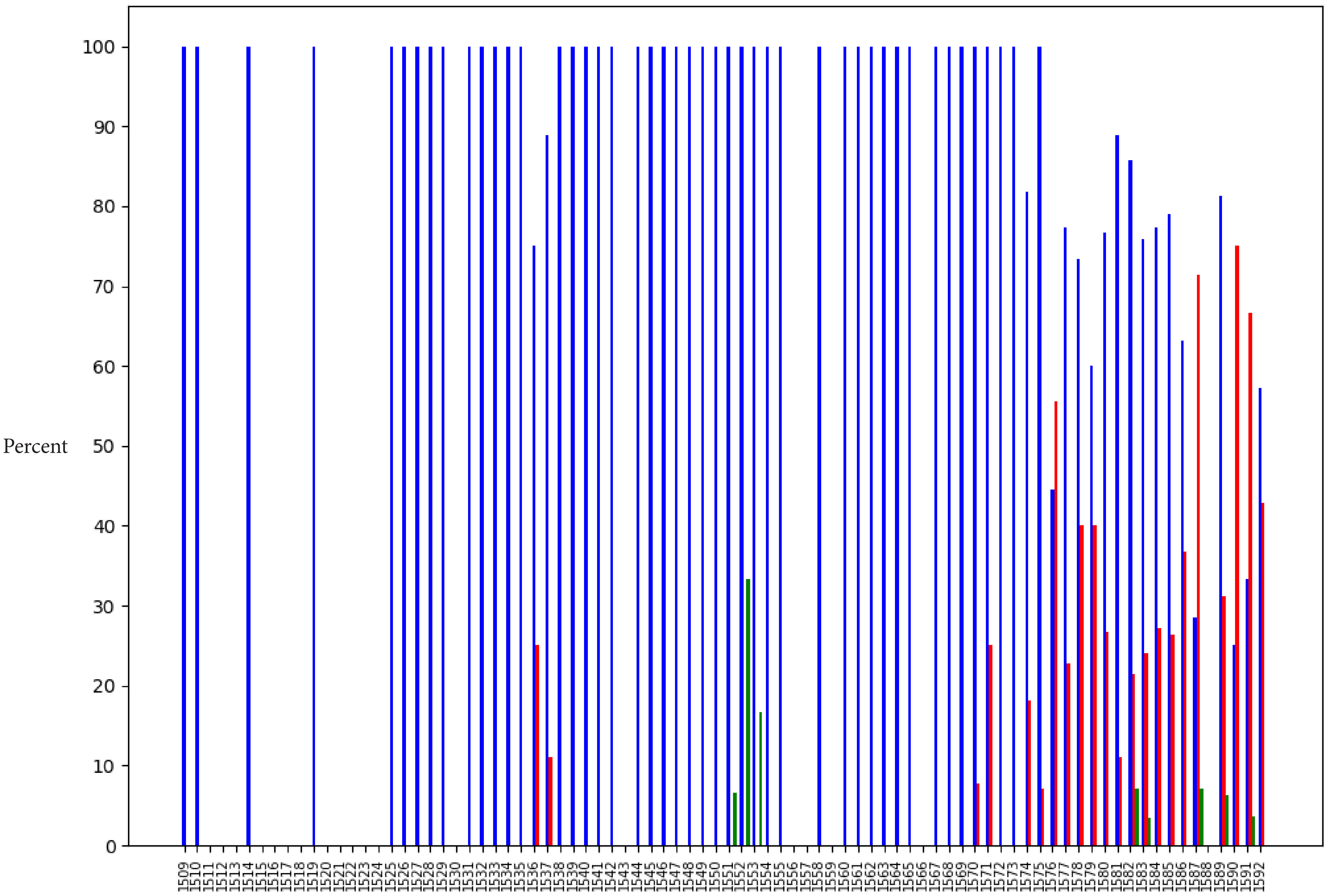
LEGEND

🟦 *Blackletter*
🟥 *Roman*
🟩 *Italic*



1. Astrology and cosmography

2. Bibles


Percent
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
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1514
1515
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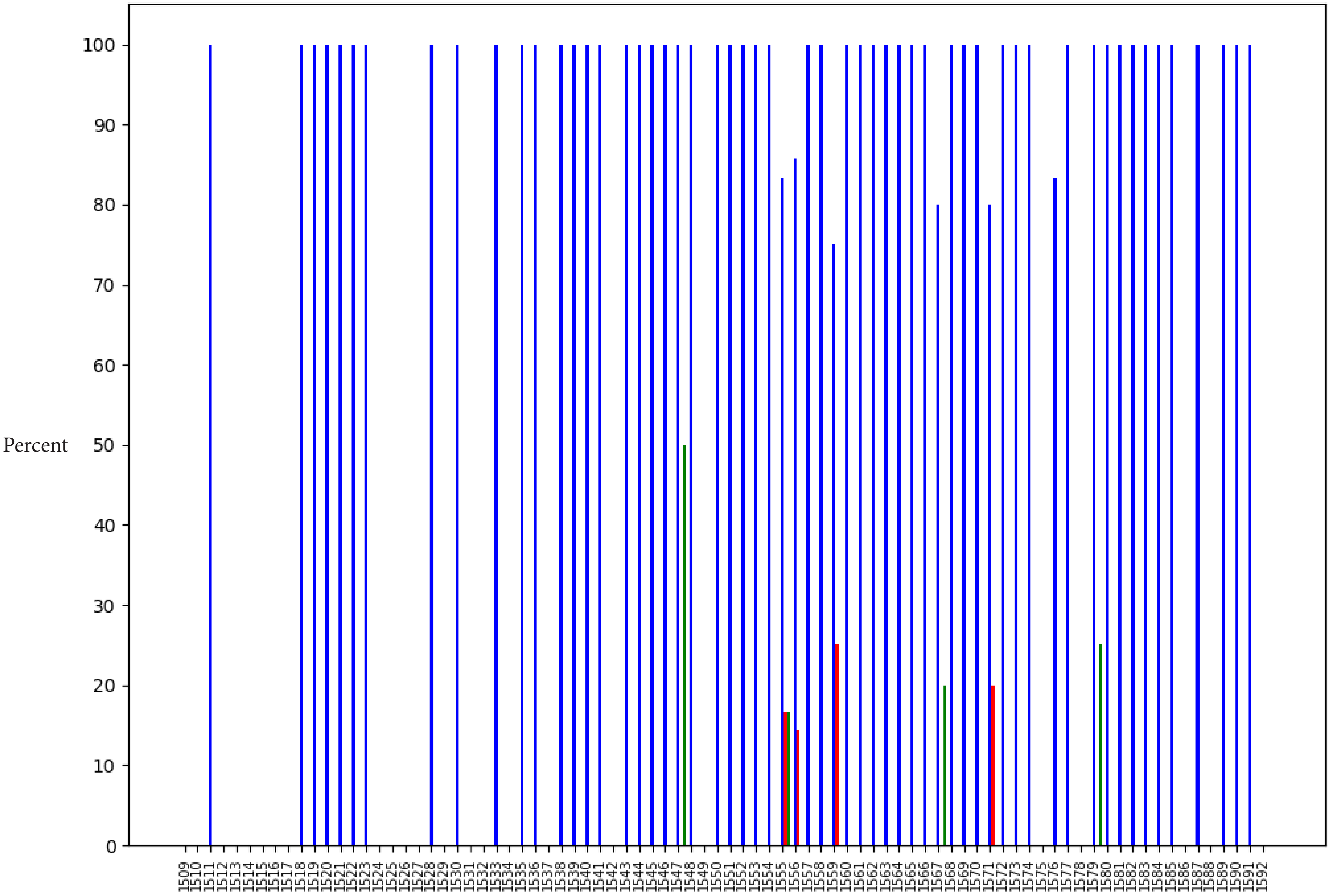
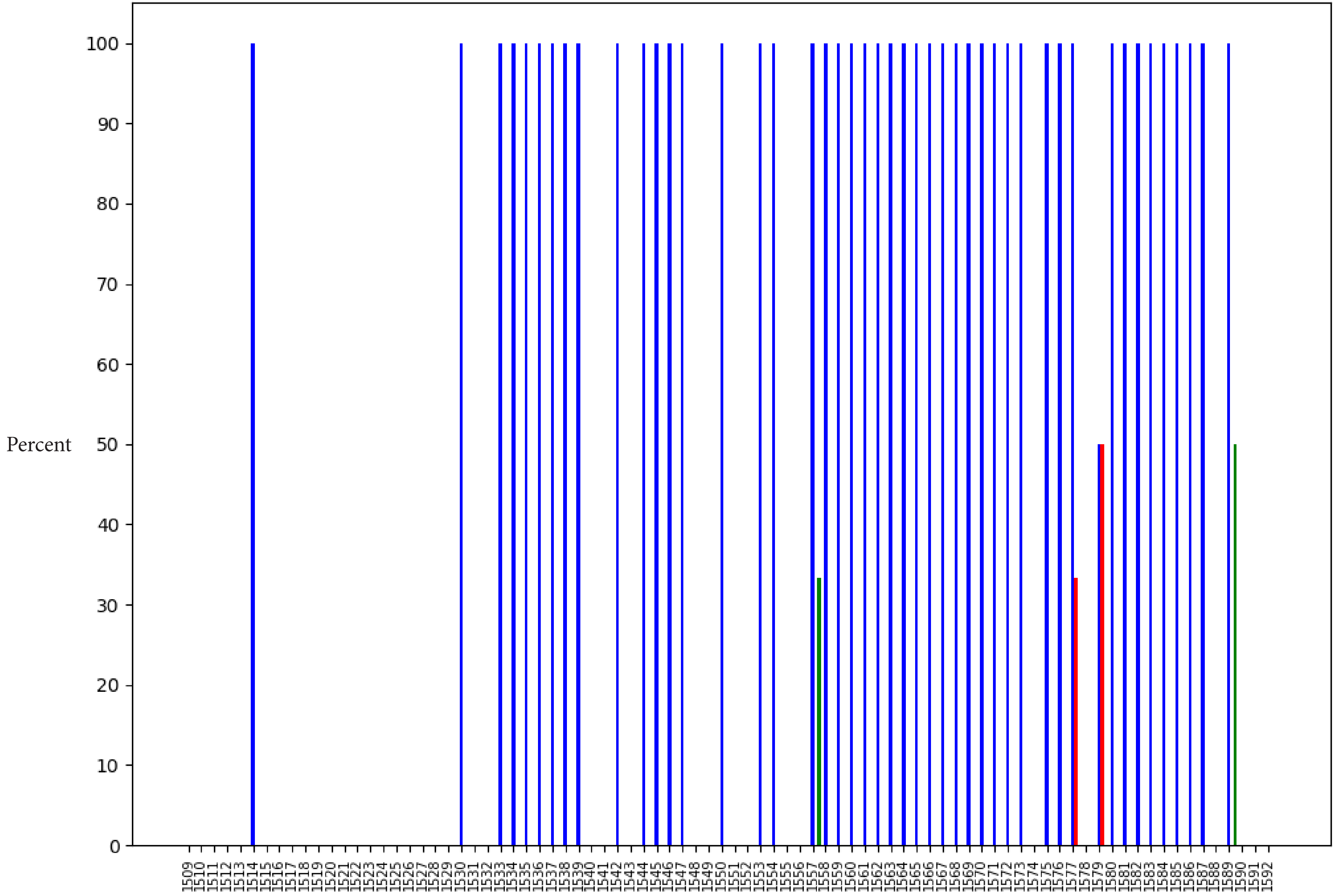
3. Calendars, almanacs, and prognostications



4. Classical authors



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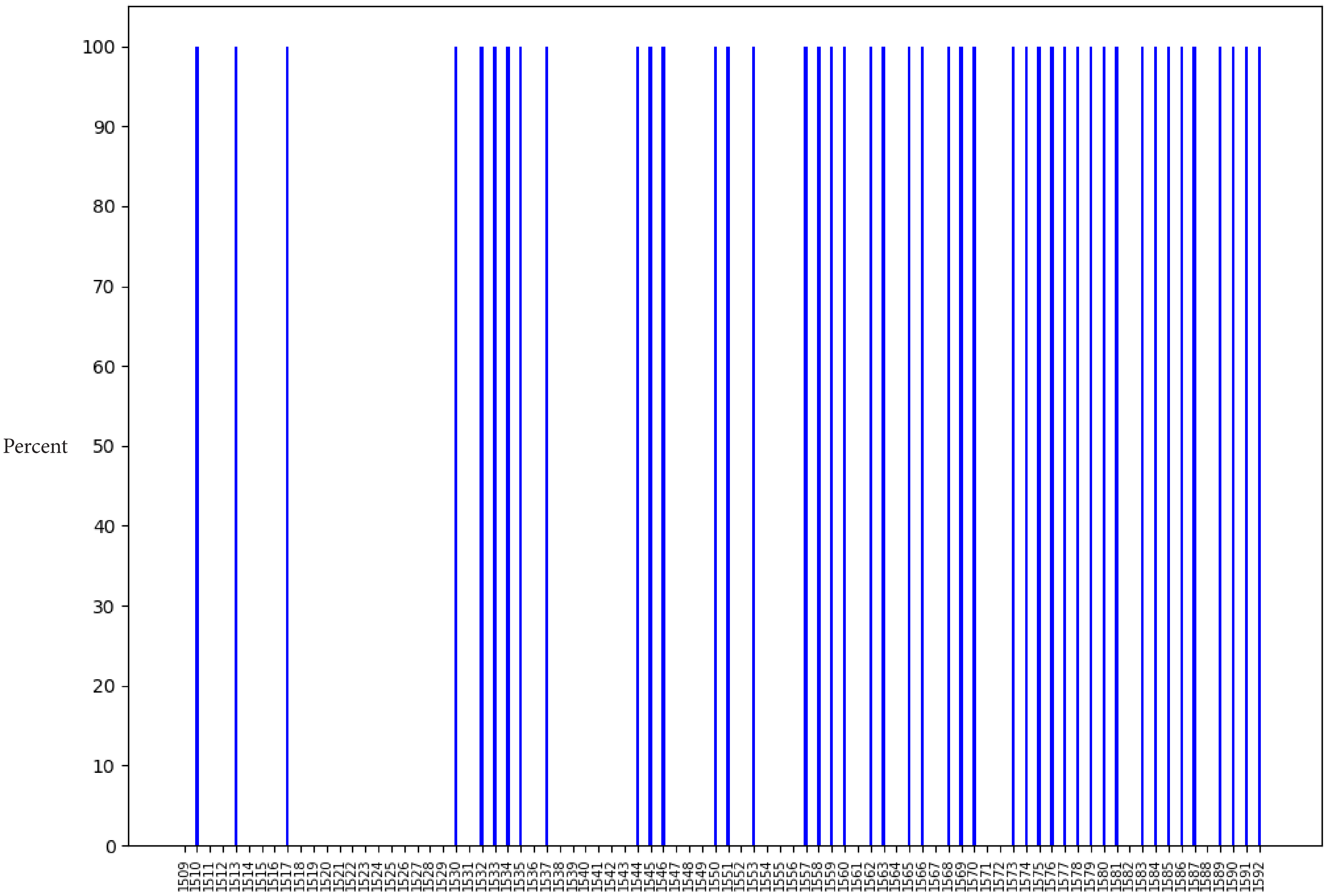
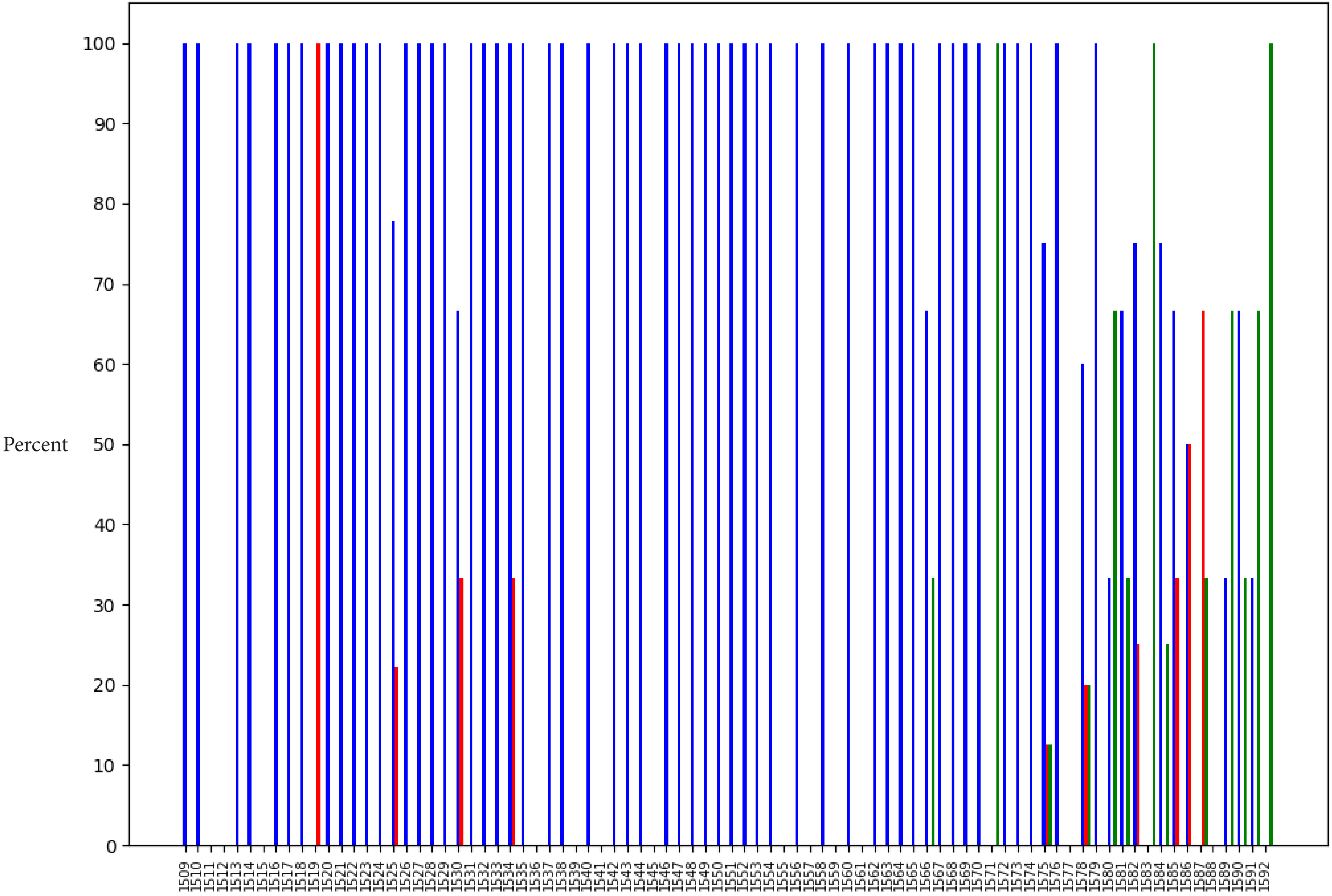
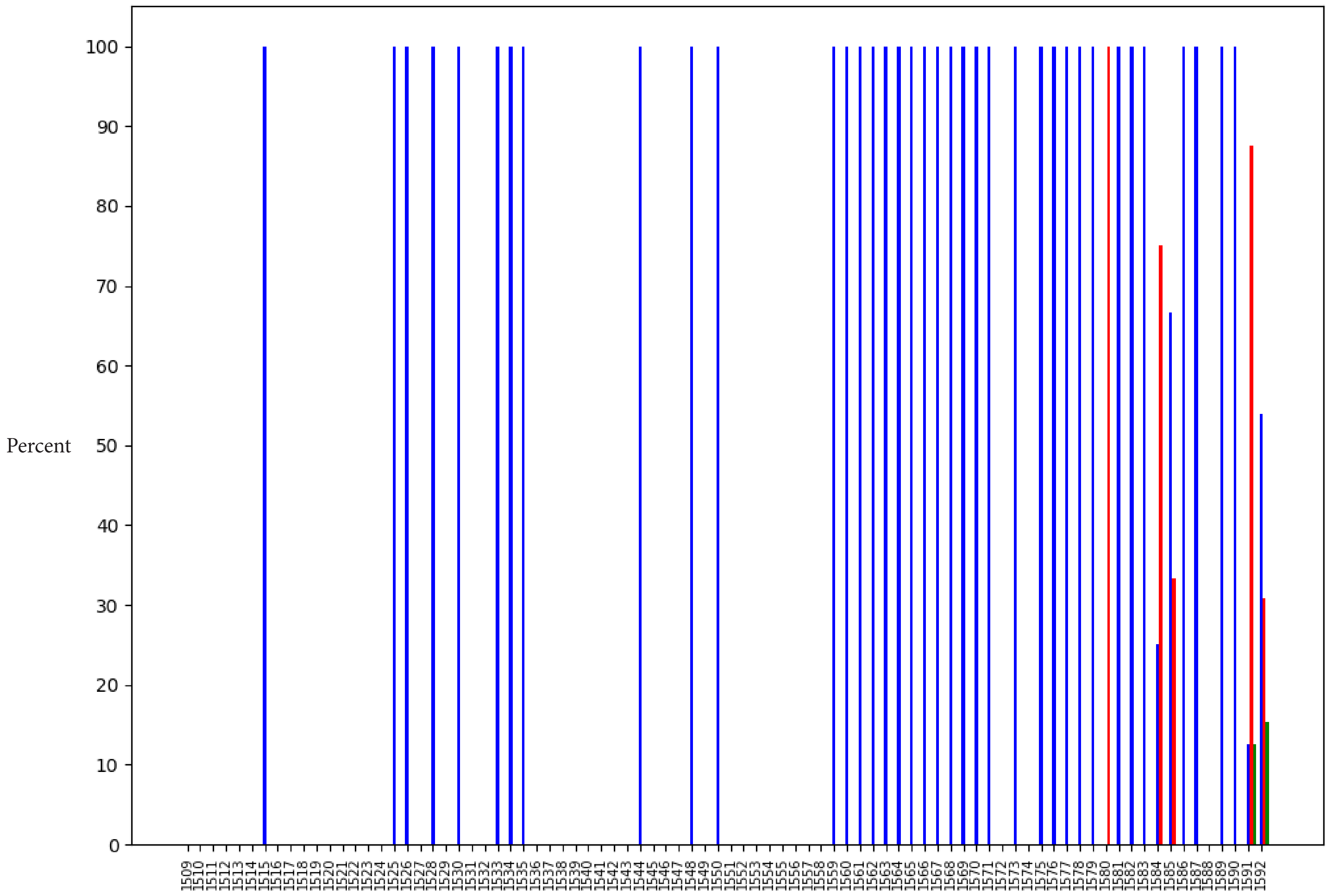


6. Dictionaries, vocabularies, phrase books, instruction in foreign languages



7. Drama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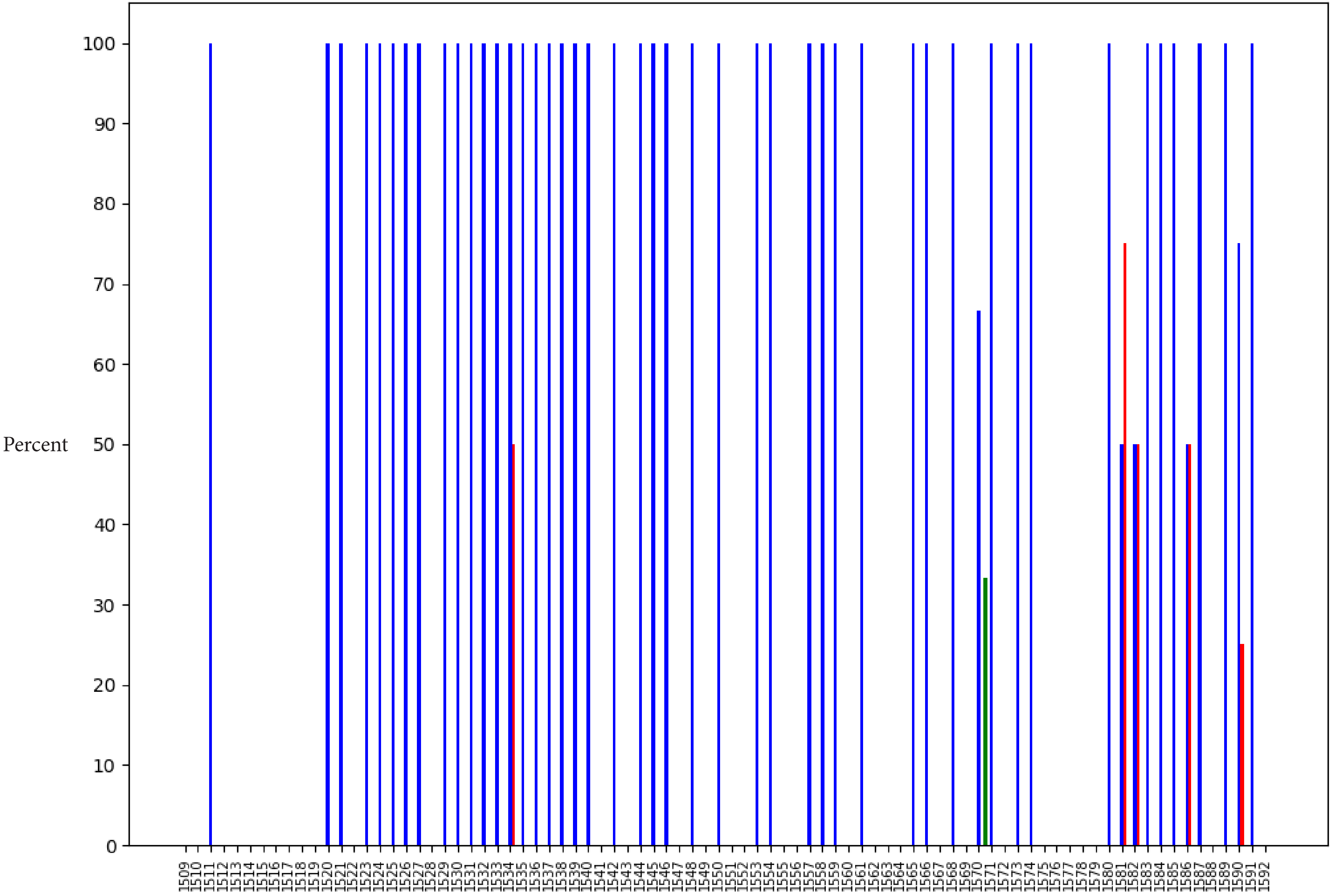
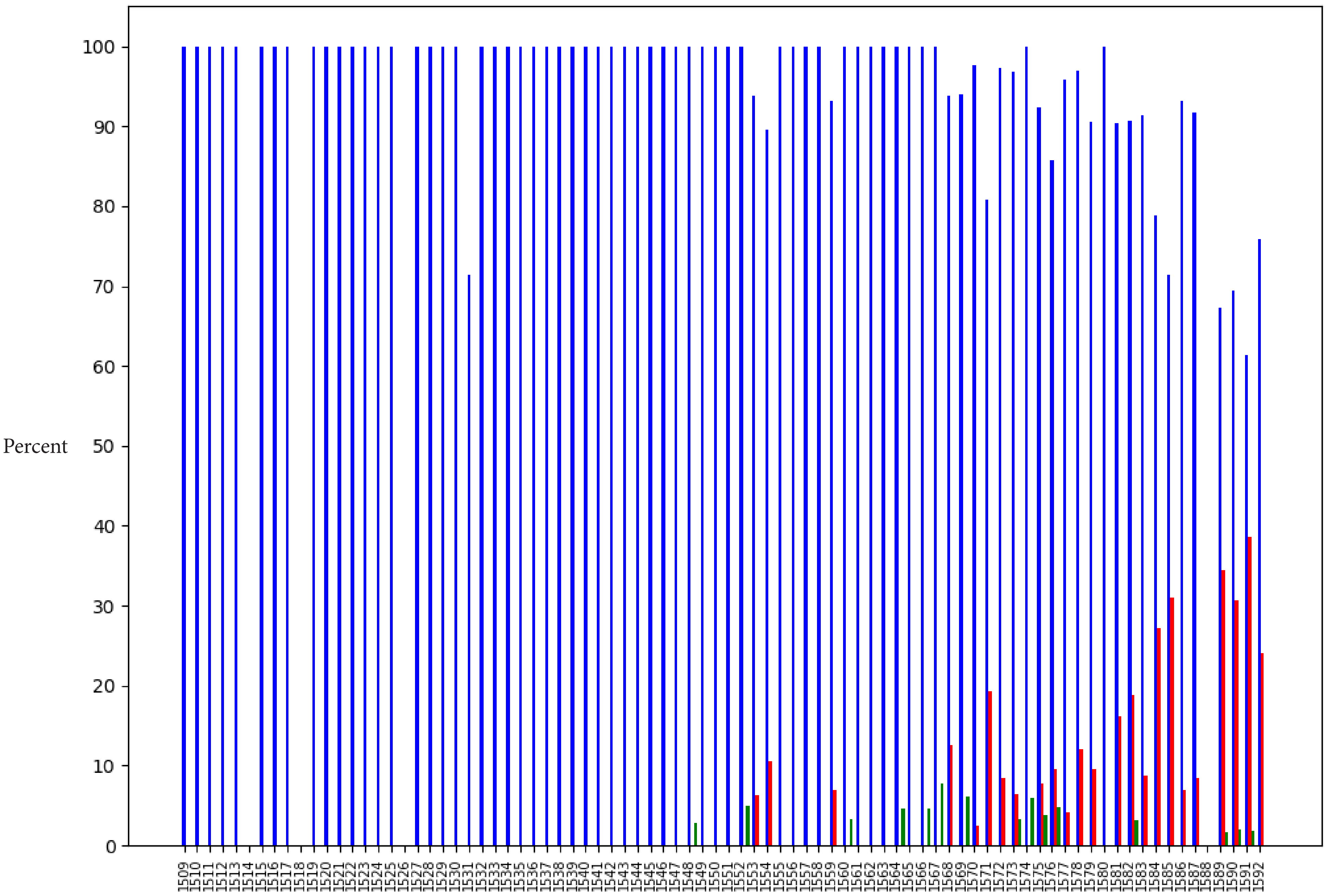
8. Educational books



9. History and chronicles



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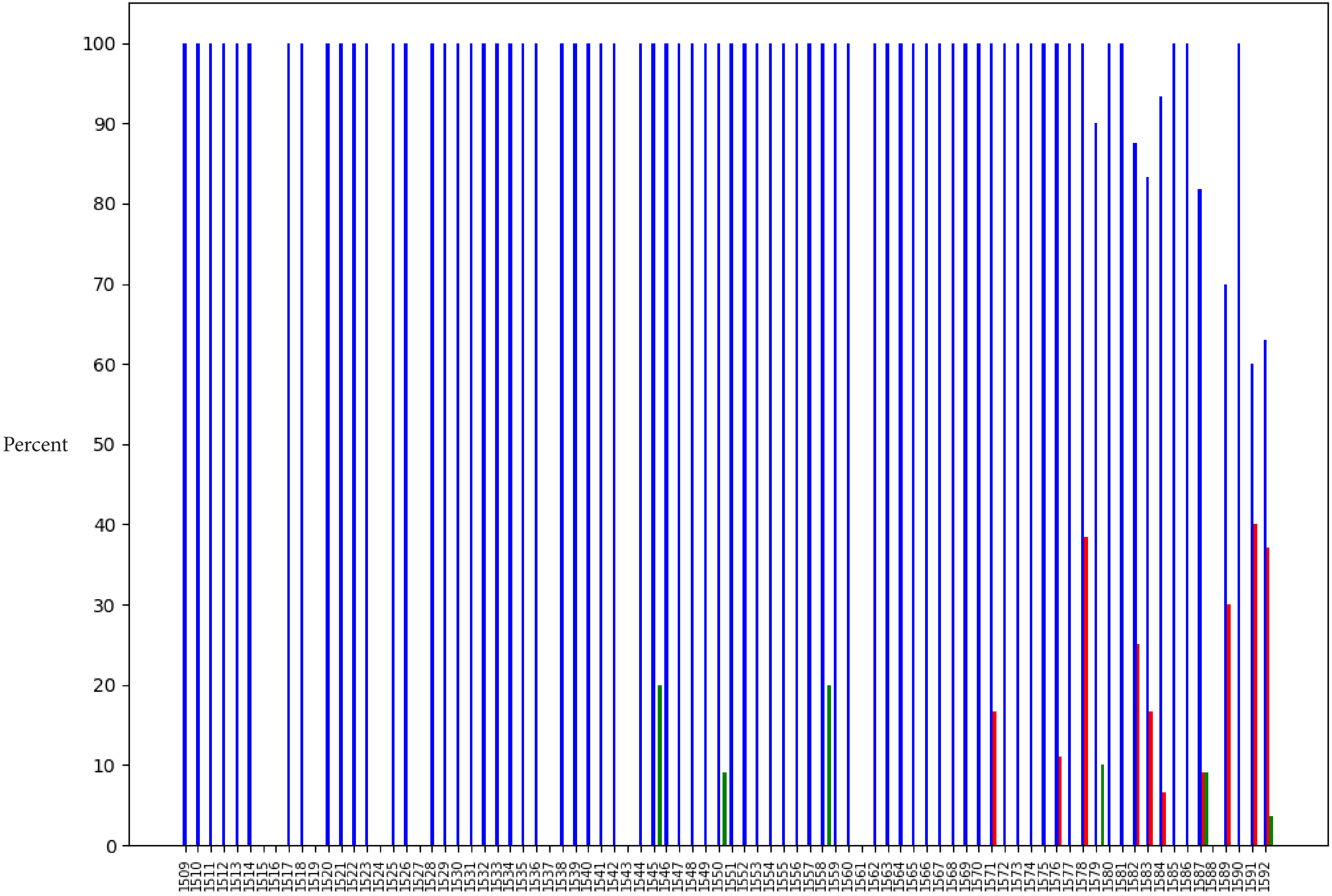
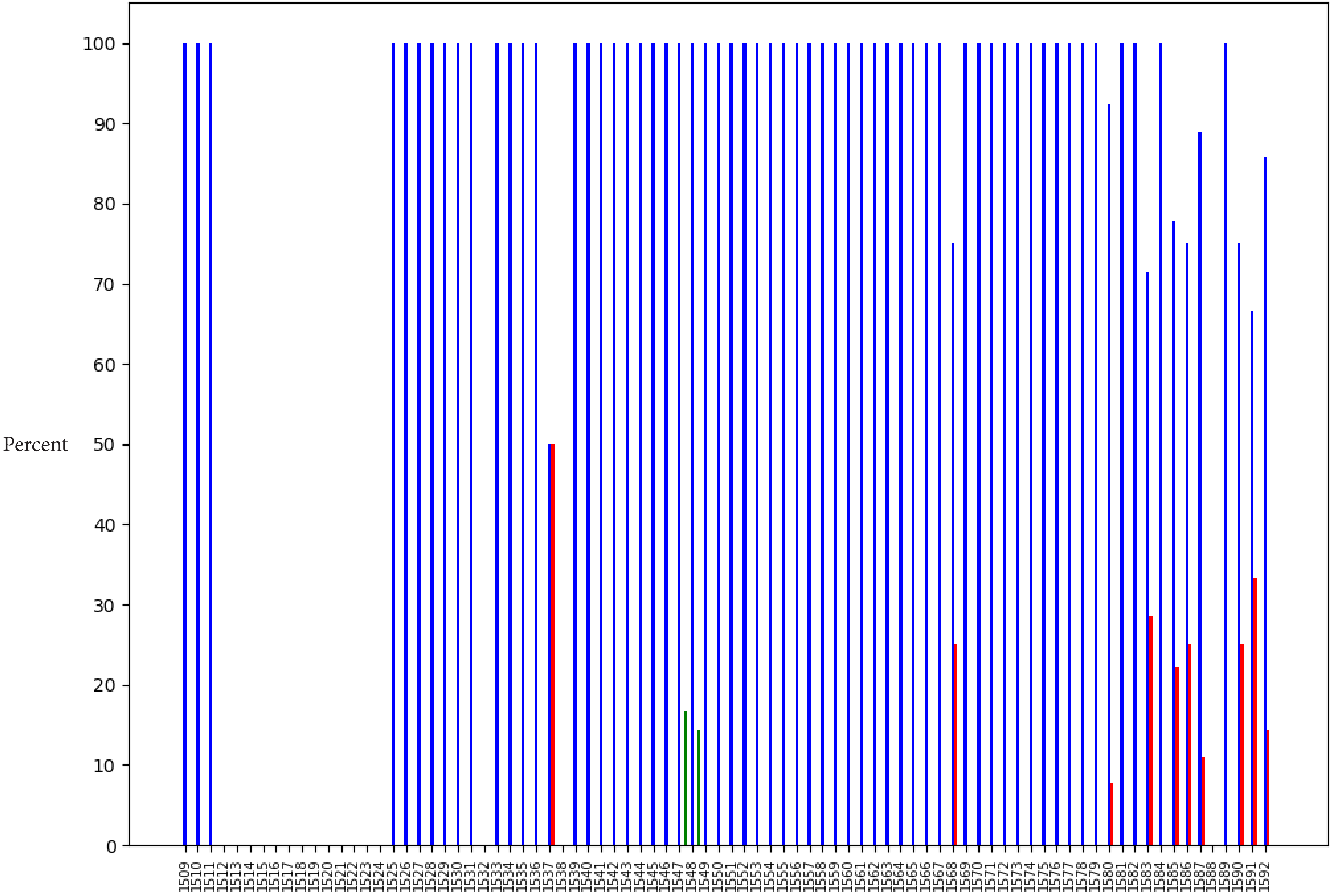


11. Medical texts



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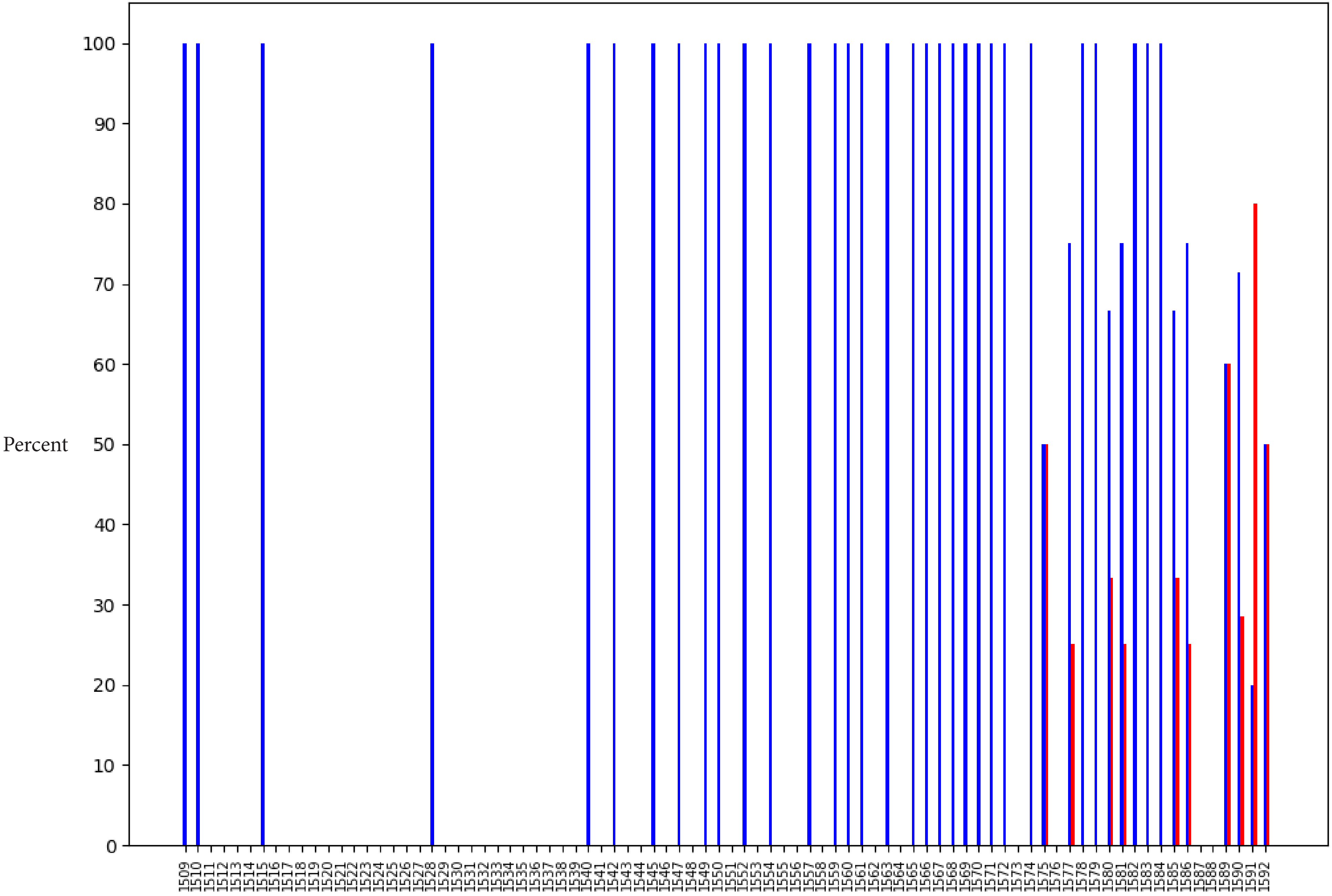
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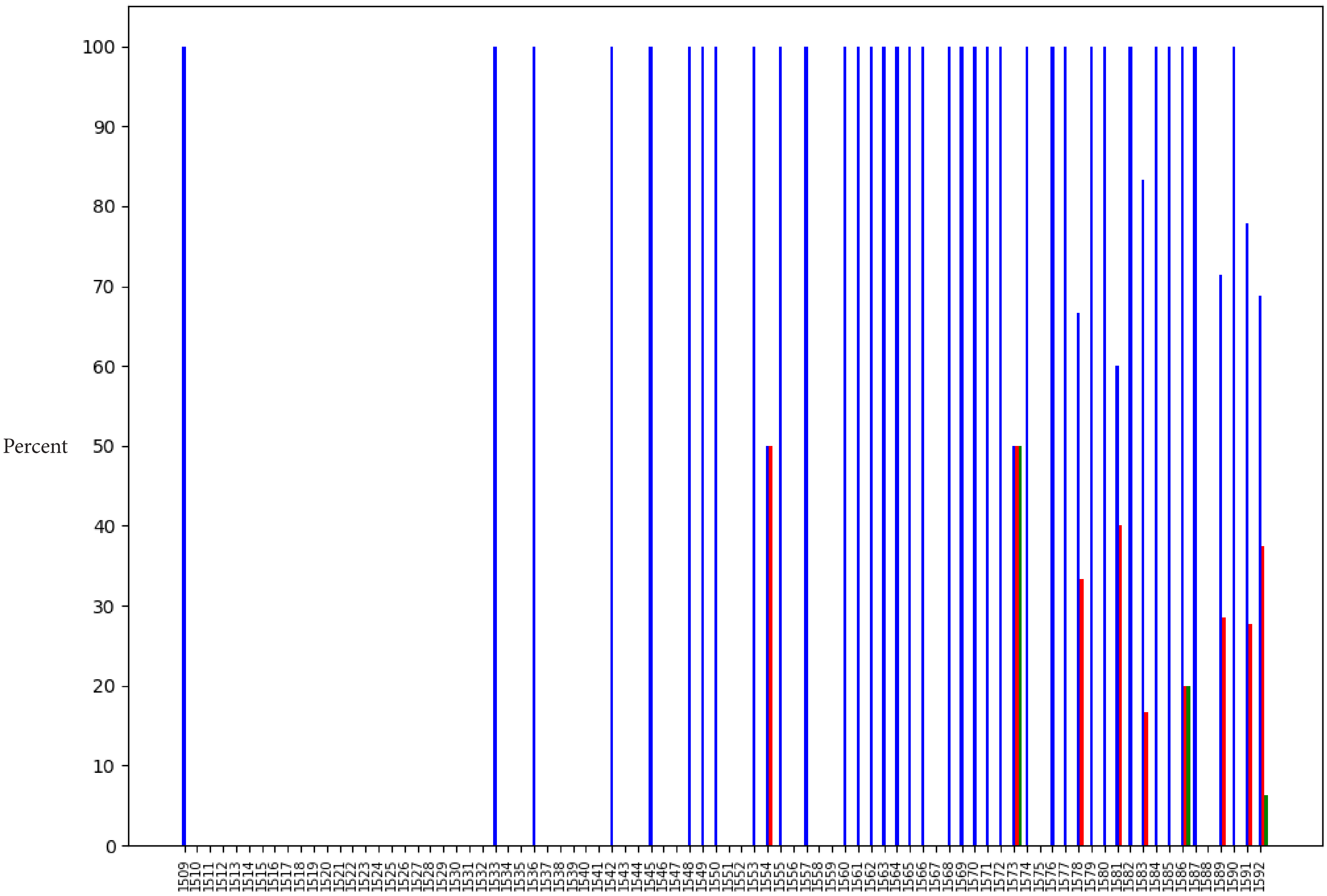
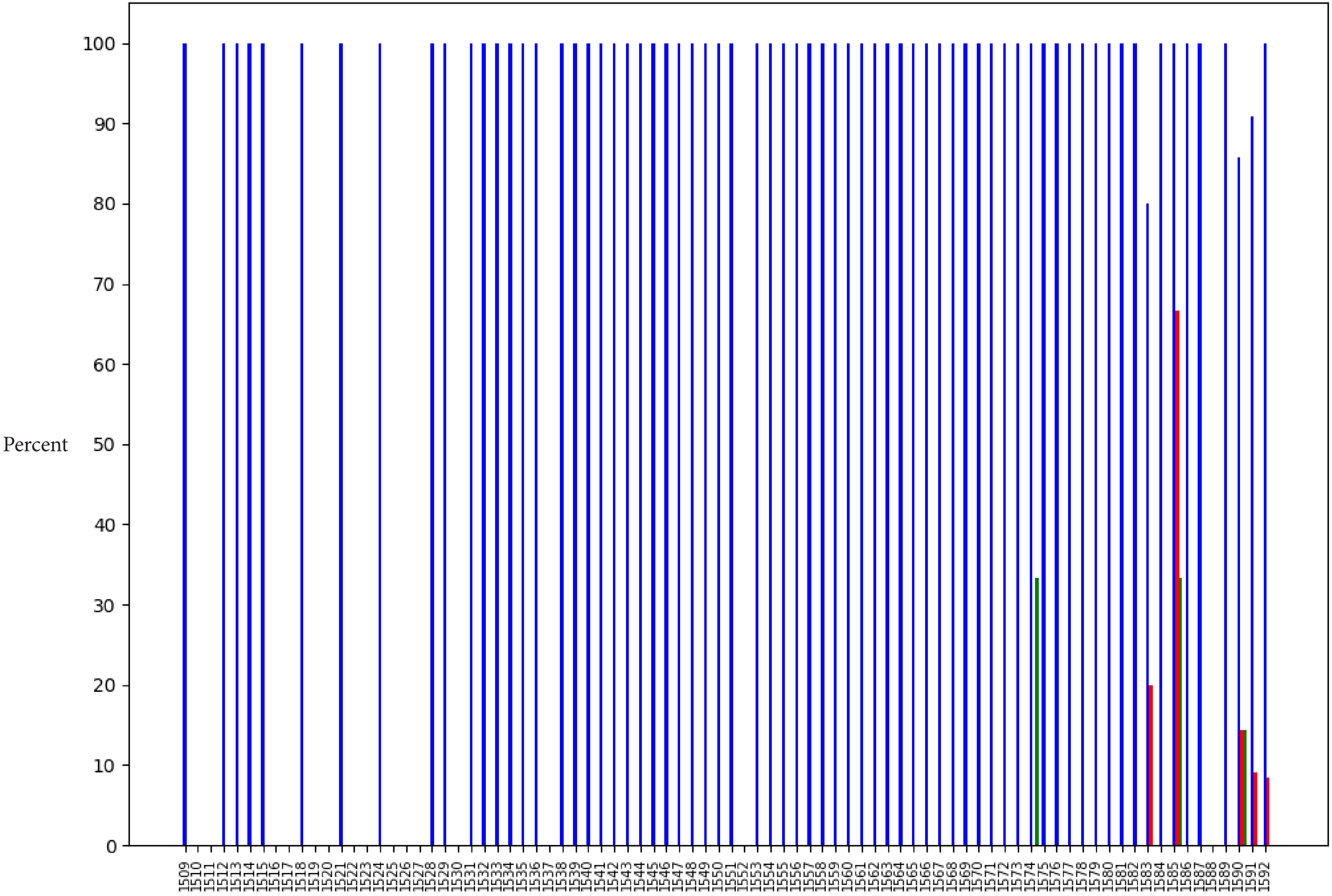
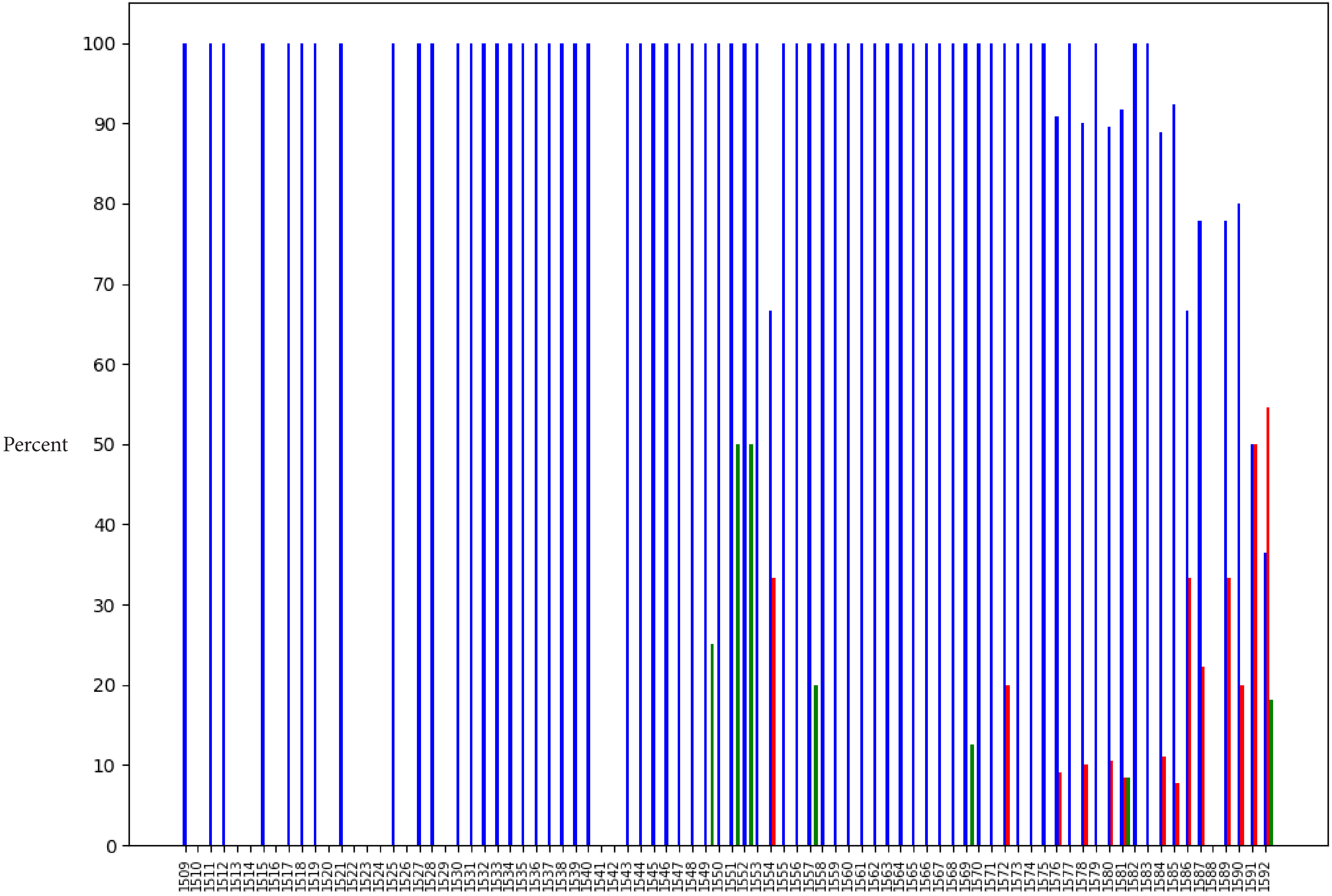
13. News books



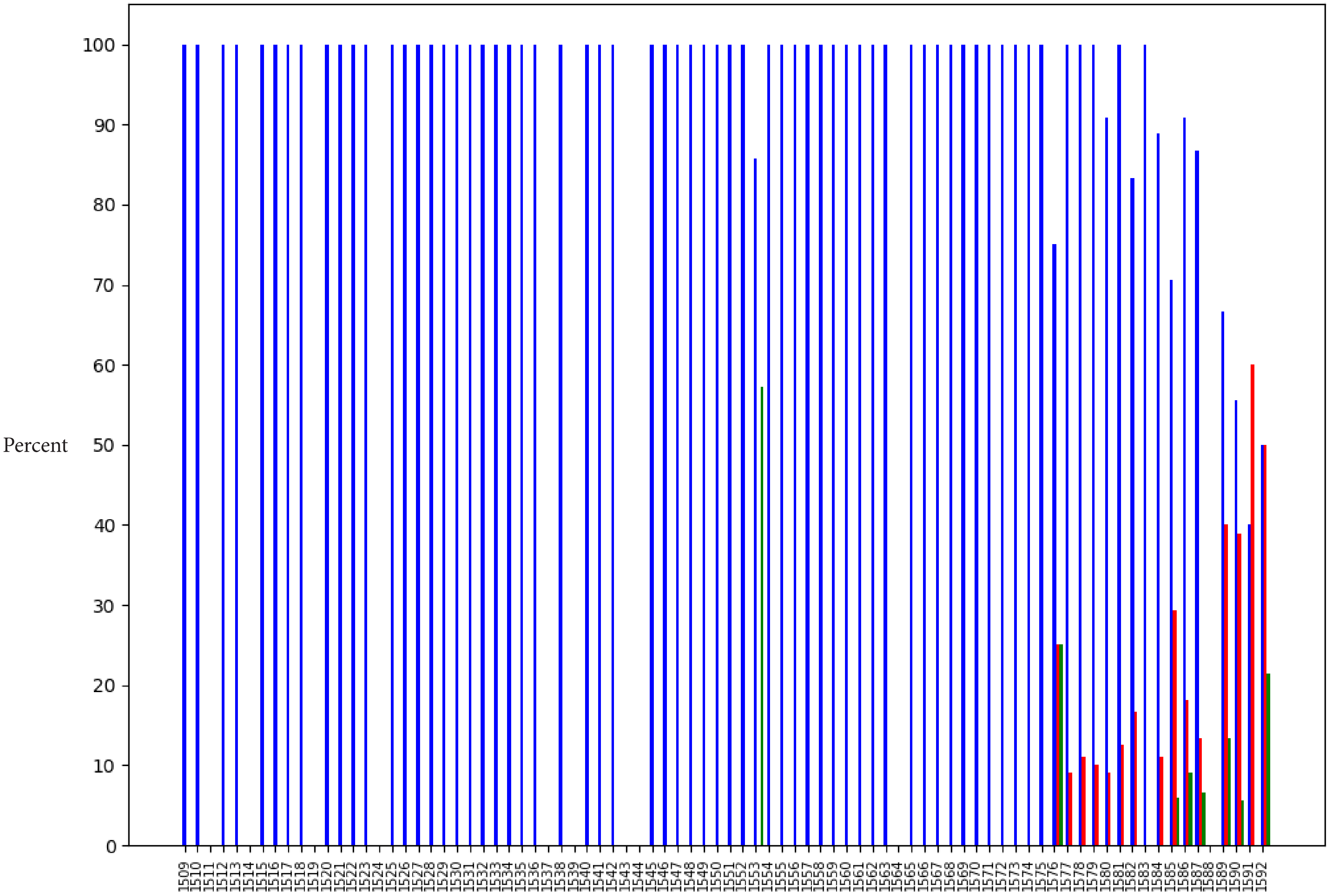


14. Ordinances, edicts, proclamations

15. Philosophy and morality



16. Poetry



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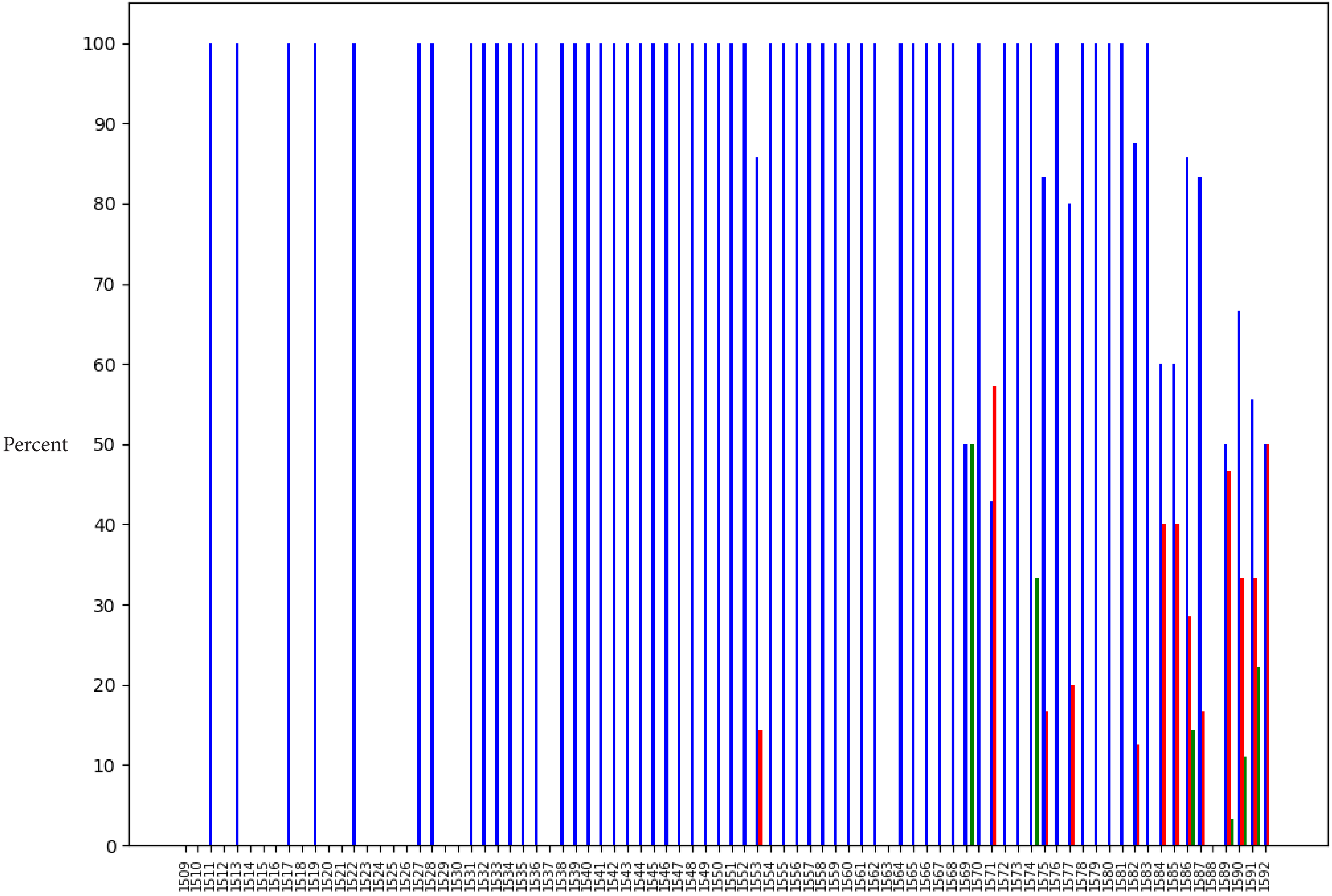
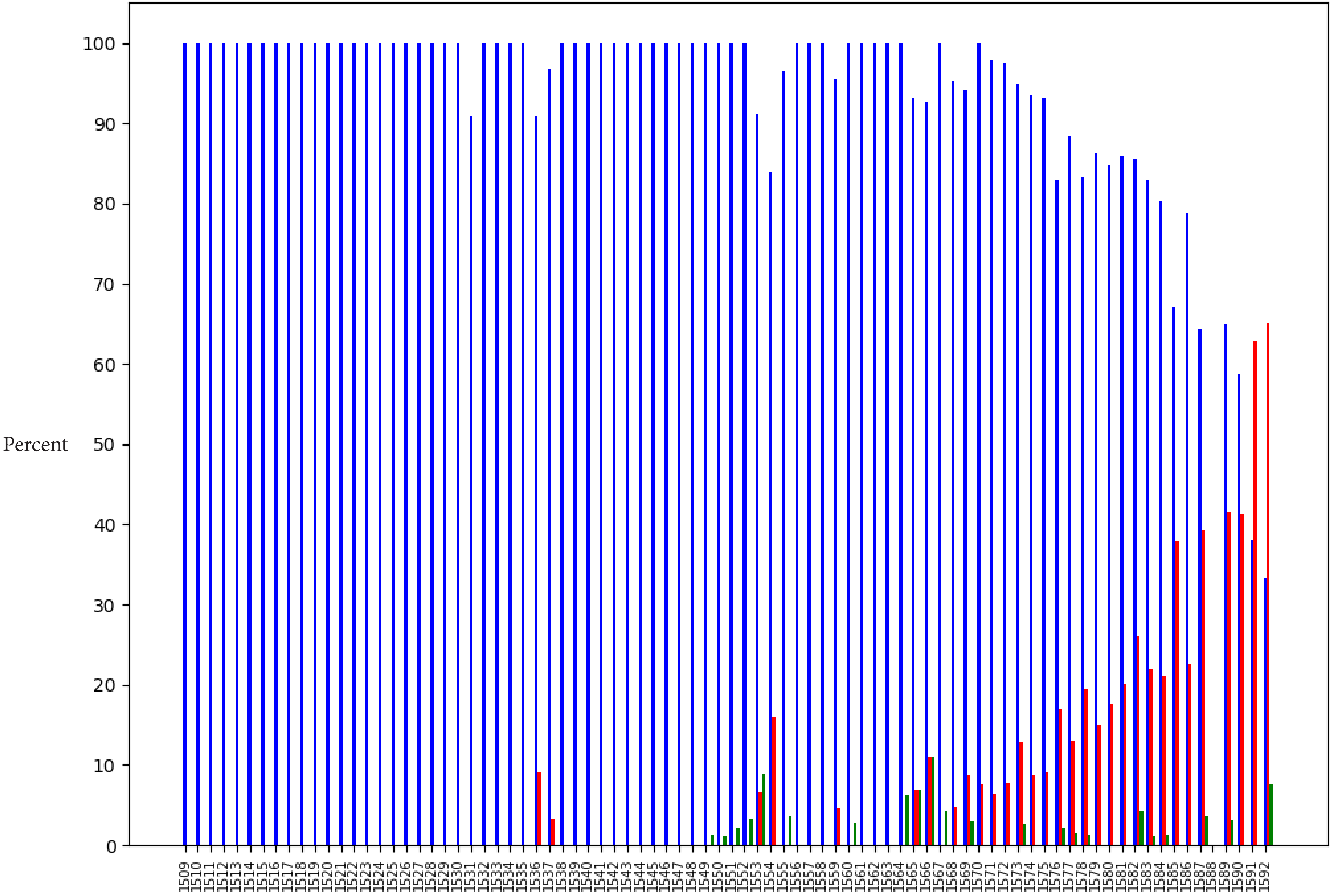
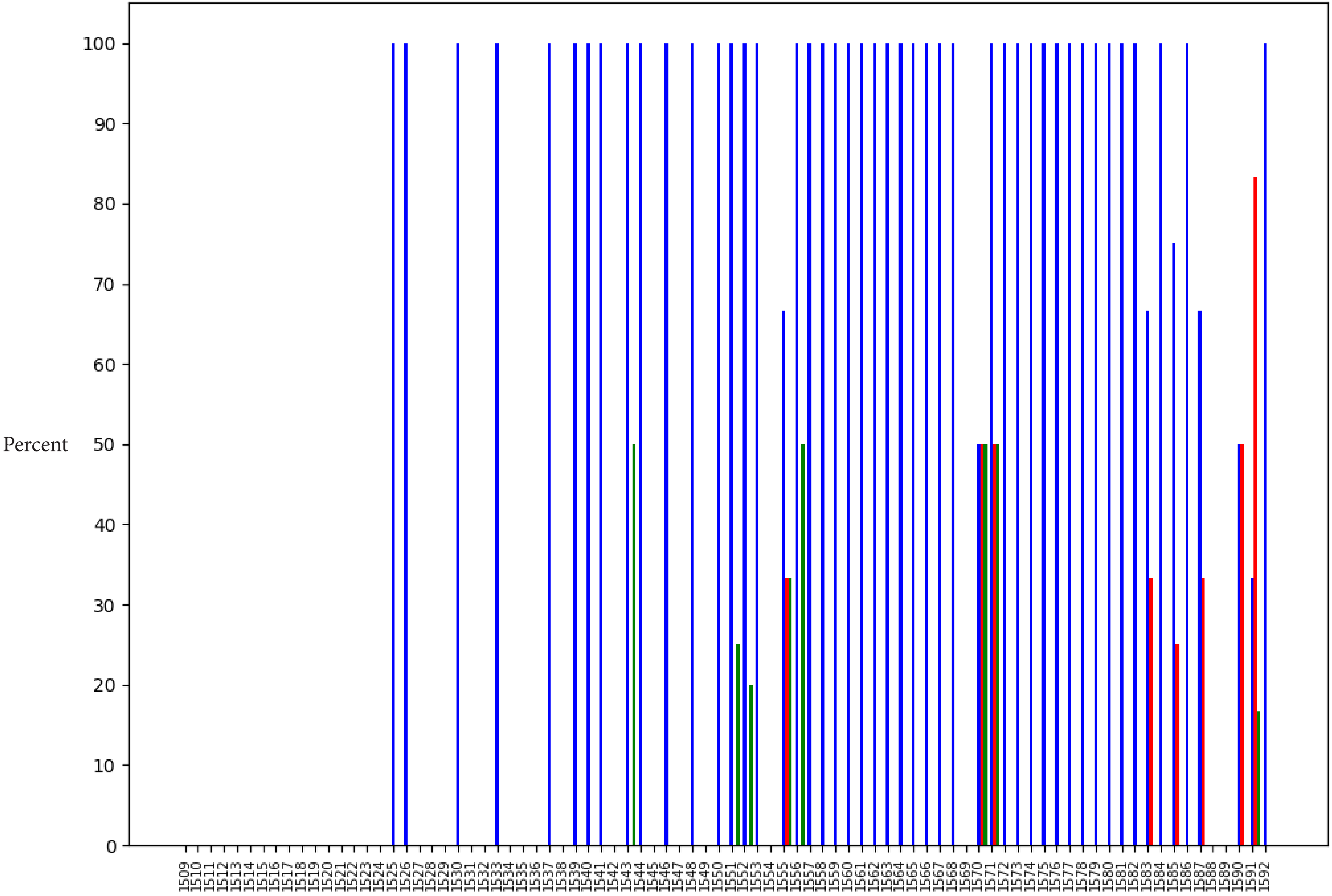
17. Political tracts



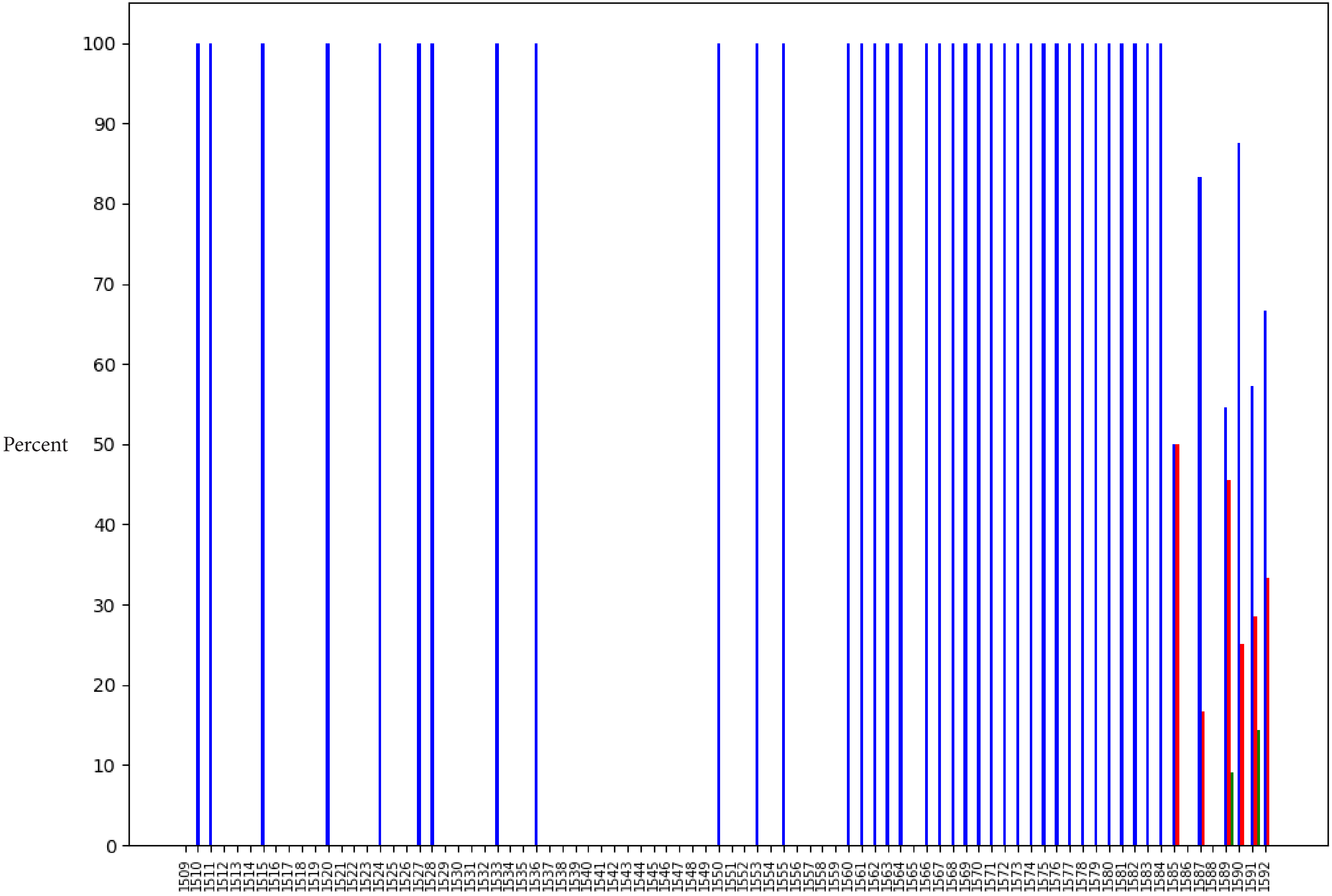
18. Religious





19. Science and mathematics

20. Travel, topography, maps and navigational manuals



APPENDIX D

Books printed by or attributed to William Copland with monographic blackletter title-pages

1. Romances

Arthur of Brytayn ([London: [W. Copland for] Roberte Redberne, [1560?]]), STC 807

[*Bevis of Hampton*] ([London: William Copland, [1560?]]), STC 1988.8

Here begynneth a litell treatise of the knight of curtesy and the lady of Faguell ([London: William Copland, [1556?]]), STC 24223

Here begynneth the history of the valyent knyght, Syr Isenbras ([London: William Copland, 1565?]), STC 14282

The hystory of the two valyaunte brethren Valentyne and Orson ([London: William Copland for John Waley, c. 1555]), STC 24571.7

The hystory of the two valyaunte brethren Valentyne and Orson ([Lothbury: William Copland, [c. 1565]]), STC 24572

The knight of the swanne ([London: William Copland, [c. 1560?]]), STC 7572

Lefevre, Raoul, *The recuile of the histories of Troie*, trans. by William Caxton ([London]: William Copland, 1553), STC 15378

Malory, Thomas, *The story of the moste noble and worthy Kynge Arthur* (London: William Copland, 1557), STC 804

The right plesaunt and goodly historie of the foure sonnes of Aimon ([London]: William Copland, 1554), STC 1011

Syr Beuys of Hampton ([Lothbury: William Copland, [1565?]]), STC 1989

Syr Degore ([[London]: William Copland, [1565?]]), STC 6472.5

Syr Tryamoure ([London: William Copland, [1561?]]), STC 24303

2. Other

Adambel Clym of the cloughe, and Wyllyam of Cloudesle ([London: William Copland, [c. 1565]]), STC 1807

Berners, Juliana, *The boke of hawkynge huntynge and fysshynge with all the propertyes and medecynes that are necessarye to be kepte.* (London: [William Copland for] John Waley, [1547?]), STC 3310.3

—— *The booke of haukyng huntyng and fysshyng*, ([London: William Copland for Richard Tottell], [1556?]), STC 3312

The bokes of Salomon ([London: William Copland,], 1550), STC 2757

A boke of the propreties of herbes called an herball ([London: William Copland, [1552?]]), STC 13175.15

A boke of the propreties of herbes called an herball ([London: William Copland, [1559?]]), STC 13175.18

The booke of secretes of Albertus Magnus ([London: William Copland, [c. 1565]]), STC 261

Boorde, Andrew, *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge* ([London: William Copland, [1555?]]), STC 3383

A brefe and pleasaunte worke, and sience, of the phelosopher, Pictagoras (London: William Copland, [1560?]), STC 20524

Copland, Robert, *Iyl of braintfords testament* ([London: William Copland, [c. 1567?]]), STC 5730

—— *The seuen sorowes that women haue when theyr husbandes be deade* ([London: William Copland, [c. 1565]), STC 5734

The craft of graffing and planting of trees ([London: William Copland, [1563?]]), STC 5954

The dec[eyte of wo]men, to the [instruction] and ensamp[le of all men.] ([London: William Copland for John Wyght, [1558?]]), STC 6452

The dysclosyng of the canon of ye popysh masse, with a sermon annexed vnto it of ye famous clerke of worthy memorye. D Marten Luther. ([London]: Hans Hitprycke, [for William Copland?, 1548?]), STC 17626

A dyalogue or disputacio[n] bytwene a, gentylman and a prest concernyng the Supper of ye Lorde ([London: William Copland?, 1548]), STC 6802.5

An enterlude of welth, and health ([London: William Copland for John Walley?, 1565?]), STC 14110

Erasmus, Desiderius, *Flores aliquot sententiarum ex variis collecti scriptoribus* (London: William Copland [for Richard Kele], 1550), STC 10447.5

Fitzherbert, John, *the boke of surueyinge [and] improuementes* ([London: William Copland, [1550]]), STC 11013.3

Fox, Edward, *The true dyffere[n]s betwen [the] regall power and the ecclesiasticall power translated out of latyn by Henry lord Stafforde.* ([London: William Copland, [1548]]), STC 11220

Garcie, Pierre, *The rutter of the sea* ([London: William Copland, [c.1567?]]), STC 11553.3

A godly and holsom preseruatyue against disperacio[n] at al times necessarye for the soule ([London: William Copland for Rychard Kele], 1551), STC 20204

Hamilton, Patrick, *Dyuers frutful gatheri[n]ges of scrypture concetnyng [sic] fayth and workes* ([London: [William Copland, 1549?]]), STC 12732

Hawes, Stephen, *The couercyon of swerers* (London: [William Copland for Robert Toye, 1551]), STC 12944.5

—— *The history of graund Amoure and la bel Pucel* ([London: William Copland for John Waley, 1555]), STC 12952

Here beginneht [sic] a merye iest of a man that was called Howleglas ([London: William Copland, [1560?]]), STC 10564

Here begynneth a booke called the fal of the Romish church ([London: William Copland, c. 1550]), STC 21306

Here begynneth a propre treatyse of a marchauntes wyfe ([London: William Copland for Abraham Vele, [1560?]]), STC 11362

Here begynneth the seynge of urynes of all the couloures that urynes be of with the medycines annexed to euery uryne, [and] euery uryne his urynall muche profitable for euery man to knowe. (London: [Robert or William Copland for] John Waley, [1548?]), STC 22160

Heywood, John, *The playe called the foure P* ([London: William Copland, [1560?]]), STC 13301

John XXI, Pope, *The treasury of healthe* ([Imprynted at London : In Fletestreate at the sygne of the Rosegarland by Wyllyam Coplande, [not before 23 Aug. 1553]]), STC 14651.7

—— *The treasury of healthe*, trans. by H. Lloyde ([London: William Copland, 1550?]), STC 14651.5

Lacy, John, *wyl bucke his testament* (London: William Copland, [c. 1560]), STC 15118.5

The lyfe of Virgil ([London: William Copland, 1562?]), STC 24829

Lydgate, John, *The churle and the byrde* ([London: William Copland, [c. 1565]]), STC 17014

A mery geste of Robyn Hoode ([London: William Copland, [1560?]]), STC 13691

Moone, Peter, *A short treatise of certayne thinges abused in the Popysh Church, long vsed* ([London: William Copland, [1548?]]), STC 18056

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrour or glasse of helthe necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in* ([London: [Robert or William Copland for] John Waley, [1548?]]), STC 18222.5

—— *This is the myrrour or glasse of helth* ([London: William Copland, for Iohn Waley, [1560?]]), STC 18223

A new enterlued for chyldren to playe, named Iacke Iugeler ([London: William Copland, [c. 1565?]]), STC 14837a

An new enterlude of impacient pouerte newly imprynted ([London: William Copland?, 1561?]), STC 14113

The new Testamente of our sauyoure christ set forth by Willyam Tyndale, with ye annatacion [sic] of Thomas Mathew ([London: William Copland, 1549]), STC 2857

Paynell, Thomas, *The piththy [sic] and moost notable sayinges of al Scripture* ([London: William Copland for Iohn Whight, 1552?]), STC 19495.7

The seinge of urynes ([London: William Copland for Abraham Vele, 1552]), STC 22160.4

Skelton, John, *Here after foloweth a litle booke, of Phillyp Sparow* ([Imprynted at London : in paules churche yerde by [William Copland for] Robert Toy, [1553?]]), STC 22595.5

—— *Here after foloweth a litle booke, of Phillyp Sparow* ([Imprynted at London : In paules churche yerde by [W. Copland for] J. wyght, [1554?]]), STC 22595

—— *Here after foloweth a litle booke, whiche hath to name Whi come ye not to courte* ([London: William Copland for Robert Toy, [1554?]]), STC 22616

Taverner, Richard, *The garden of wysdome conteynynge pleasaunte floures* (London: William Copland, [1550?]), STC 23715.5

The squyr of lowe degre ([London: William Copland, 1560?]), STC 23112

The sum of the actes and decrees made by diuerse bisshops of rome, ([London: William Copland for Thomas gybson, [1552?]]), STC 21308

Tyndale, William, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man, and how christen rulers ought to gouerne, where in also (if thou marke dylygently) thou shalt fynde eyes to perceaue the crafty conueyaunce of all iugglers*. ([London: William Copland [1548?]]), STC 24451

—— *The obedyence of a Chrysten man* ([London: William Copland, 1561]), STC 24453

—— *The parable of the wicked mammon. Compiled in the yere of our lorde. M. D. xxxvi. W.T.* (London: William Copland, 1549), STC 24459

Wever, R., *An enterlude called lusty Iuuentus* ([London: William Copland, [c. 1565]]), STC 25149.5

APPENDIX E

Books printed by Thomas Berthelet with monographic roman title-pages

Carta feodi (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 15583.5

Elyot, Thomas, *Pasquil the playne* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 7672

Erasmus, Desiderius, *De immensa dei misericordia*, trans. by Gentian Hervet (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 10475

—— *De contemptu mundi*, trans. by Thomas Paynell (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 10471

Fitzherbet, John, *Surueyenge* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 11006.5

—— *The boke of husbandry* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 10995.5

Iustice of peace (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 14871.5

Lupset, Thomas, *A treatise of charitie* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 16939

Modus tenendi curiam Baronis (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 7712.2

Saint German, Christopher, *Salem and Bizance* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 21584

von Hutten, Ulrich, *De morbo Gallico* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533), STC 14024

APPENDIX F

Endotexts in John Leland, *A learned and true assertion of the original life, actes, and death of the most noble, valiant, and renoumed Prince Arthure, King of great Brittaine,* trans. by Richard Robinson (London: John Wolfe, 1582), STC 15441.

Lowercase roman here indicates blackletter; uppercase roman appears as such in the edition.

1. *Fol. 13^r^, Chapter VIII, 'King Arthures Seale'*

> For upon the utterside of this seale it is thus engraued with these breefe, but in very deede most excellent, most hauty, and most magnificent tytles. That is to say PATRICIVS ARTVRIVS BRITTANIAE, GALLIAE, GERMANIA, DACIAE IMPERATOR

2. *Fol. 23^v^, Chapter XII, 'Arthures Buriall'*

> a Crosse, signifyinge Mnemosynen vitae perpetuae: that is to say, the remembrance of life everlasting. It was made of a leaden plate, one foot long more or less, which I haue beholden with most curiose eyes, and handled with feareful ioyntes in each part, being moued both with the Antiquitie and worthinesse of the thing. It conteyneth upon it these wordes in those not so greate Romane letters, but indifferent cunningly grauen, viz. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLITVS REX ARTHVRIVS, IN INSVLA AVALONIAE

3. *Fol. 23^v^, Chapter XII, 'Arthures Buriall'*

> The Romans as Lordes of riches, were not ashamed to set up a standard of stone unto Claudius Caesar by a very long table of leade, almost in the very bottomes of those hilles at the heade springes of the fabulus little floude Ochides within the iurisdiction of Fontanus the Bishoppe, engrauen on this manner. TI. CLAVDIO CAESARI. AVGVST. P.M.TR, P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. DE BRITAN.

4. *Fol. 28^r^, Chap XV, 'K. Arthures Tombe found.'*

> There was moreover founde a leaden crosse not set into the uppermost but rather neathermost parte of the stone, hauing theron these letters engrauen. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLITVS REX ARTHURIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIAE.
> [Margin] Nota his inscription & the subtile deuise of the Workmen in those days

5. *Fol. 28*^{v}*, Chapter XV, 'K. Arthures Tombe found.'*

> They also found a leaden crosse on the other side. Thus engrauen. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLITVS REX ARTHVRIVS INSVLA AVALONIAE.

6. *Fol. 29*^{v}*, Chapter XV, 'K. Arthures Tombe found.'*

> Whereupon a leaden crosse being engrauen in the stone not in vpper part as it is accustomed (but on the lowermost part rather) which wee also haue seene (for we haue handled the same) conteyned these letters engrauen and not eminent and extant, but rather inwardlie turned to the stone. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLITVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIAE

7. *Fol. 31*^{r}*, Chapter XV, 'K. Arthures Tombe found.'*

> they founde a certain close Tombe, vpon the which was put a leade crosse, wherein was engrauen: HIS IACET INCLITVS BRITONVM REX ARTVRIVS, INSVLA AVALONIAE SEPVLTVS

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Lily, William, *Epigrammata Guil. Lilii. Angli.* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1522), STC 15606.5, London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1521.4

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Ascham, Roger, *The scholemaster* (London: John Daye, 1570), STC 832

Bale, John, *The Pageant of Popes*, trans. by John Studley ([London: Thomas Marshe], 1574), STC 1304

Baret, John, *An aluearie or triple dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin, and French* (London: Henry Denham, 1574), STC 1410

Baxter, Nathan, 'The Epistle Dedicatorie', in *The lectures or daily sermons, of that reuerend diuine, D. Iohn Caluine* (London: J. Charlewood for Edward White, 1578), STC 4432, sigs A.ii.^{r}–B.i.^{v}.

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La Bible (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1551), USTC 5622

The Bible (London: Christopher Barker, 1584), STC 2136.5

The Bible and Holy Scriptures (Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1560), STC 2093

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *A myrroure for magistrates*, trans. by William Baldwin (London: Thomas Marshe, 1559), STC 1247

—— *Here begynnethe the boke calledde Iohn Bochas descriuinge the falle of princis*, trans. by John Lydgate (London: Richard Pynson, 1494), STC 3175

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