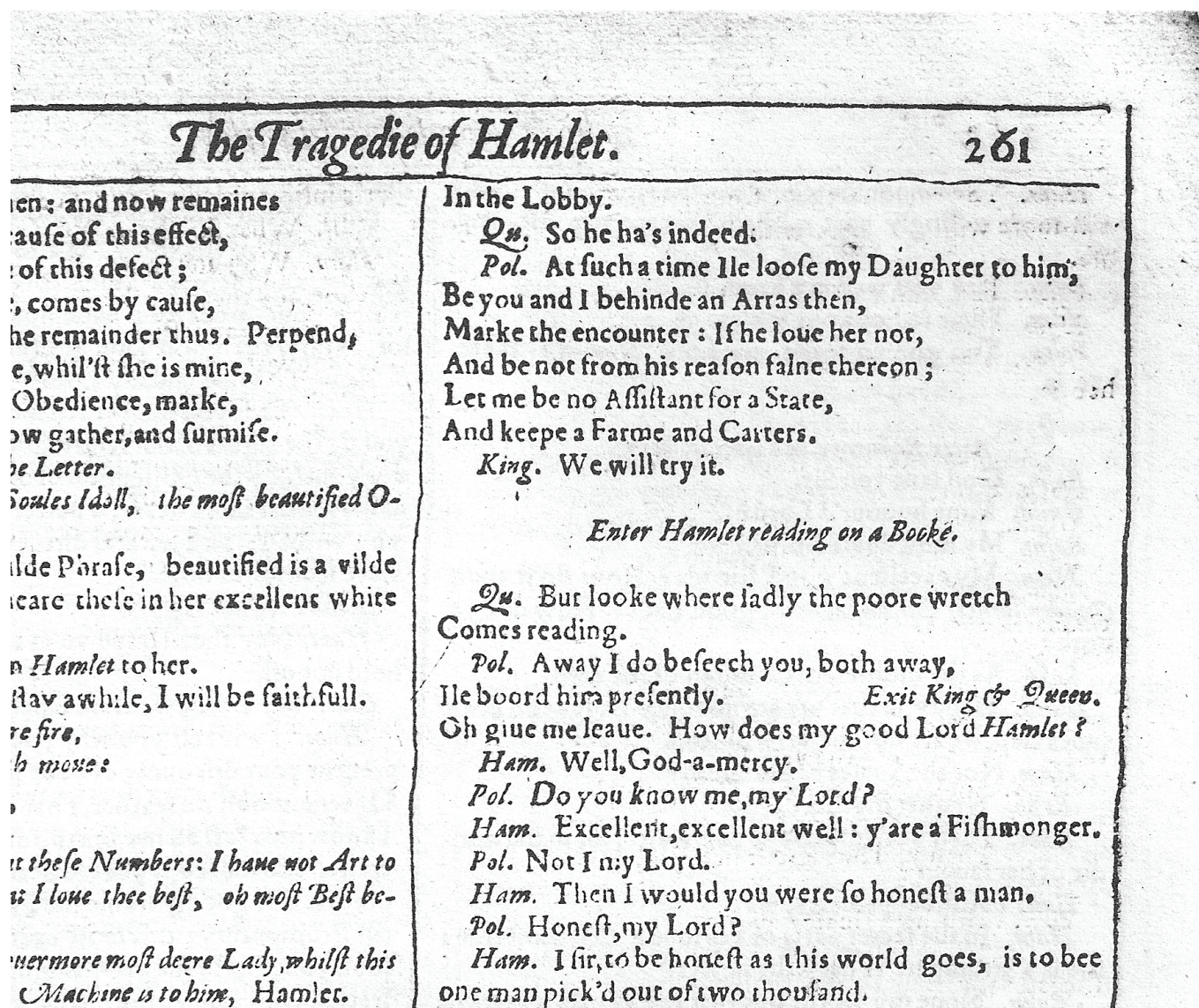


THE
TEXT FONT
OF THE FIRST FOLIO
OF SHAKESPEARE

History, Description, and Identification of the Font.



Pierre Hautin sculpsit Geneva.

NEW HAVEN

Written & Designed by Reed Reibstein. 2009.

AS THE COMPOSITORS IN WILLIAM JAGGARD'S PRINT shop plucked countless sorts out of their cases, composing page after double-columned page from 1621 to 1623, they could not have suspected that they were handling a font that would be the object of more study than perhaps any other before or since. The font certainly would not have appeared remarkable in any way; it was cast on a pica body, the most common size of the era,¹ and fonts made from the same punches had been owned by more than thirty printers since 1570.² Moreover, the font was weathered, having been in use probably for well over a decade.³ Surprisingly, it was precisely this battered condition that made it so fruitful for detailed analysis: the numerous visible defects in its sorts have proved the most powerful tool for reconstructing the printing history of the First Folio.

Despite an extensive analysis of its distinctive sorts, the origins and characteristics of the font itself have been essentially overlooked. The reason is clear enough: the scholars working on the Folio have considered themselves "critical" or "analytical" bibliographers,⁴ concerned with the printing of a text mostly for what it can tell them about editing or understanding it. Unlike some other famous books, the Folio is not remarkable for its aesthetic aspects.⁵ As Pollard, Willoughby, Greg, and

others did not regard the font (beyond its imperfections) to have much import for their research, only a few have found reason to examine it closely.

In this paper, I will compile and review what has been written about the Folio's text font. A formal analysis will suggest the font's identity, while historical information about printing, typefounding, and punchcutting in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries will corroborate the identification. This discussion may not immediately yield strikingly new information relevant to the work of critical bibliographers, but it should clarify the status of the First Folio as a complete book, not just a collection of damaged letters.

THE FIRST SIGNIFICANT DESCRIPTION OF THE Folio's text font⁶ (hereafter abbreviated to FTF) appeared in the introduction to the 1902 Oxford Folio facsimile. Indicative of the limited interest that most Shakespearean bibliographers have taken in typographic history, Sidney Lee wrote the entire introduction except for the section on the fonts. That he commissioned from Horace Hart, the controller of the Oxford University Press, well-known for his rediscovery of the "Fell" types. Hart's "Notes on the Typography" provide by far the most detailed information on the FTF to date, and as such the relevant portions are reproduced here in full:

The founts of type used in printing the First Folio bear unmistakable marks of Dutch origins....

As to the roman and italic fount used for the text of the work in two columns, I am convinced that this is not only Dutch in face, viz. that it is Mediaan, equal to 11-points according to the Didot system; and I suggest that it was specially chosen, for excellent reasons, and could not easily be improved upon if type had to be selected for a similar work to-day. It is condensed, in order to get the metrical lines in without turning over a word or words; and it also shows sufficient space or "daylight" between the printed lines to afford the necessary relief to the reader's eyes.

There is no English type-body equivalent to 11 Didot points.

seldom been surpassed." (Meggs, 75, caption for pl. 5-13.)

6 A note on terminology: "Font" is used to mean a set of letters, numbers, and other characters of the same size (and, ideally, from the same punches, matrices, and mould) cast in type-metal. All fonts created from the same punches can be considered expressions of the same "typeface," i.e. design. "Fonts" and "type" are synonyms for multiple fonts or printed impressions.

The text of this paper is set in MVB Verdigris, designed by Mark van Bronckhurst in 2003. The Roman fonts are a free interpretation upon Granjon proportions, while the italics are based on those of Pierre Haultin. Headings and footnotes are set in the display, subhead, and caption fonts of Robert Slimbach's Garamond Premier Pro (2007), his second interpretation of Claude Garamont's oeuvre.

1 Ferguson, Preface.

2 Ferguson, Table 4, cites 32 printers using Haultin, the design this paper will suggest was used by Jaggard for the Folio. Adrian Weiss re-assigns Bynneman 4 from "Tavernier" (corrected by Weiss to Garamond) to Haultin (as described in Lane, 362), making for 33 printers.

3 Extrapolating from Weiss' discussion of Jaggard's fonts (544–545).

4 The first being W. W. Greg's term (Blayney, 2) and the second being Charlton Hinman's (Preface).

5 For example, although the Gutenberg Bible is studied for its status as the first European book set with movable type, it is also considered a triumph of typographic design: "The superb typographic legibility and texture, generous margins, and excellent presswork make this first printed book a canon of quality that has

The nearest is pica, which is 11.33; and I am convinced that it is not possible to measure up a column of the First Folio with pica m's.⁷ On the other hand, the Dutch Mediaan type fits a column perfectly. Let us imagine ourselves in the position of the printers of the First Folio. Being called upon to undertake so considerable a piece of work, they would specially consult the Dutch founders for the most important type, viz. that with which the text of the work was to be printed⁸; but they would regard the small founts which they probably already possessed, of double-pica, great-primer, and english, as suitable for the unimportant parts which they had to play in the preliminary matter....

The arguments in these Notes have been hitherto from type-bodies. But the type-faces also—whether they are exhibited on English bodies or on Dutch bodies—can be identified as absolutely Dutch. Let the expert in typography note the peculiar shape of the italic letters which follow, –

a–z æ œ ff ffi ffl fi fl k j b sh si sk sl sfi sfl st w &
and especially of the initial, or 'swash' capital letters, –

A B C D G J K M N P Q R

in the First Folio; and compare them with the characters shown in the Type Specimen Books, &c., of Christofel van Dijk (1683), of Bishop Fell (1693), of Johan Enschedé (1768), as well as with those represented in later times by such modern authorities as Theo. L. De Vinne and T. B. Reed.⁹

The important claims Hart makes about the FTF are that its design is Dutch, it is "Mediaan" in body size as distinguished from pica, and it was commissioned specially for the printing of the Folio. As we will see, all three assertions prove highly suspect and suggest that Hart may have relied on his knowledge of typographic history without fully investigating relevant printing practices in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries.

The next to comment on the FTF was A. W. Pollard in *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*. He contradicts Hart's

assertion of the font first being used for the Folio, noting that the body font used in Jaggard's falsely-dated 1619 quartos first appeared around 1600 and is of the same design as the FTF.¹⁰ In his discussion of the Folio's printing, Pollard writes, "... there is no evidence of any special preparations having been made for its production."¹¹ He states that the font in both the 1619 quartos and the Folio is slightly smaller than "modern" pica¹² (twenty lines of the font measure 82 millimeters¹³), likely of Dutch origins, and sometimes combined with capital sorts from a slightly larger font James Roberts inherited from John Charlwood and that Jaggard in turn inherited from Roberts.¹⁴

Despite a chapter with the promising title "Some Typographical Practices," E. E. Willoughby's *The Printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare* only discusses the text font itself when advancing the theory that the printing of the Folio was interrupted between quires *b* and *c* of the histories. His "most important" evidence for this supposition is that "[p]age 24 [*b6^v*] and those immediately preceding are seen to be somewhat clearer [i.e. printed better] than page 25 [*c1^r*] and those immediately following."¹⁵

W. W. Greg summarizes and cites Hart, Pollard, and Willoughby in *The Shakespeare First Folio* but adds no new information on the FTF. He writes, about evidence for an interruption in the printing, "... most significant of all, experts are able to detect a difference in the appearance of the type [between quires *b* and *c* of the histories], which henceforth shows more signs of wear, proving that some considerable time must have elapsed before the resumption of work, during which it had been used for printing other books."¹⁶ And in a footnote on the same page, he directs the reader to Hart and Pollard "regarding the type, a fount of Dutch origin."¹⁷

In *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, Charlton Hinman describes his goal as at-

7 What Hart writes as "m" is typically written as "em" today. An em is a measurement equal to the current point size (thus a "pica m" according to Hart is 11.33 points).

8 Lee inserts a note here: "Similar, but not identical, type was employed by Humphrey Moseley in printing the text of the Beaumont and Fletcher first folio of 1647, and he remarked of it: 'The Work itself is in one continued letter, which tho' very legible is none of the biggest, because as much as possible we would lessen the bulke of the volume.'"

9 Hart, xxii–xxiii.

10 Pollard, 95.

11 Pollard, 132.

12 Pollard, 132.

13 Pollard, 95.

14 Pollard, 132.

15 Willoughby, 34.

16 Greg, 439.

17 Greg, 439³.

tempting “to reconstruct the printing of the First Folio as fully as bibliographical analysis will permit at the present time.”¹⁸ His study compiles information on “rules, ornaments, headlines, spelling peculiarities, [and] press variants,”¹⁹ but he found the distinctive sorts of the FTF to be the most helpful. He therefore devotes 98 pages in volume I and much of volume II to discussing the Folio’s type. Although Hinman writes about the FTF extensively, tabulating the appearances of distinctively damaged sorts to reconstruct the order of printing, he largely refrains from analyzing the font as a whole. Evidently he chose not to do so because the stated purpose of his research is “emphatically not with the First Folio considered merely as an inviting subject for purely bibliographical analysis,”²⁰ but rather to produce a resource for students and editors of the text.

Nevertheless, bits of information about the FTF do appear throughout the first volume. First, Hinman finds fault with Willoughby’s contention that the different condition of the type between quires *b* and *c* indicates an interruption in the Folio’s printing. Upon close examination, Hinman finds quire *c* of the histories to have the same distinctive sorts as quires *a* and *b*. Perhaps more to the point, however, is that his investigation points to quires *Y* and *Z* as the predecessors to *c*, not *a* and *b*.²¹ Though he never mentions observing a meaningful difference in the type en masse between sections of the book, he describes the FTF as comprised of “obviously battered old types” in opposition to Hart’s premise that it was commissioned solely for the occasion: “... Many of the types used in the Folio had suffered injury at some earlier time, had become distinctive during the printing of some other book. For the fount chosen to set forth the collected dramatic works of Shakespeare in folio had already been in service for some years ...”²² Hinman confirms Pollard’s observation of the FTF in the 1619 quartos, but adds that it appeared in a number of other works by Jaggard from 1619 to 1623,²³ notably in three of the books printed at the same time as the Folio: Thomas Wilson’s *A Chris-*

tian Dictionary (1622), Augustine Vincent’s *A Discoverie of Errors* (1622), and André Favyn’s *The Theater of Honour and Knight-hood* (1623).²⁴

Hinman notes the measure of twenty lines of the FTF as 83 mm, effectively identical to Pollard’s measure.²⁵ As they are peculiarities useful in reconstructing the Folio’s printing history, he points out the presence of a *us* ligature in the font²⁶ and of large numbers (in the comedies’ quire *X* and the histories’ quire *a*) of uncharacteristic *a*’s and *u*’s, both of which appear to have been newly cast and added to the current font.²⁷ Aside from these pieces of information, little else about the FTF can be gleaned from Hinman’s two volumes. Even though he cites Hart’s “Notes” as he dispatches with his theory of the FTF’s origin, he does not comment on its stylistic and historical qualities as did Hart. Despite Hinman’s description of a single font in extraordinary if not unique detail, cataloguing every appearance of numerous sorts, in the end the reader feels that he or she has not actually seen the font.²⁸

SINCE HINMAN PUBLISHED HIS STUDY IN 1962, there has been no significant research on the FTF’s history or appearance.²⁹ The first step in analyzing the font is to describe it visually. Measurements using a transparent ruler and 2x magnifying glass were taken from a copy of the Folio at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale University.³⁰ Following H. D. L. Vervliet’s methodology,³¹ the basic measure of a font from the period is the height of twenty lines of text from the first line’s

18 Hinman, I, 12.

19 Hinman, I, 52.

20 Hinman, I, 13.

21 Hinman, I, 339–340.

22 Hinman, I, 53.

23 Hinman, I, 53.

24 Hinman, I, 20–24.

25 Hinman, I, 35.

26 Hinman, I, 85.

27 Hinman, 86–87.

28 Paraphrased from Lane, 359, regarding Ferguson. The same issue applies to both, though Lane’s complaint is about an aspect more central to Ferguson’s book than to Hinman’s.

29 Though Peter W. M. Blayney’s *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins* does apply and improve Hinman’s methodology and thus his study of text fonts.

30 Measurements of each dimension were taken four times, on pages A2^r of the comedies, Er^r of the comedies, 12^r of the histories, and 2N1^r of the tragedies. The measurements discussed in this paper are averages of the four.

31 Adapted from the Proctor-Haebler convention. Vervliet (1968), 15–18.

ascenders to the twentieth line's descenders, assuming that the font is not leaded, i.e. linespaced. Twenty lines of the FTF measure 82.7 mm. Although measurements are given to a single decimal place as per the accuracy of a millimeter ruler, the printed dimensions of a font are considered substantially variable because of paper shrinkage, rough paper, and ink spread. As such, each measurement can be considered to have a possible error of between one and two-and-a-half percent.³²

The other two essential measures according to Vervliet are the x-height and capital height (**Figure 1**). The x-height is the distance from the baseline, the imaginary line on which the letters sit, to the tops of the lowercase letters without ascenders (*a*, *c*, *e*, etc.). The FTF's x-height is 1.9 mm. The capitals (from the baseline to their tops) measure 2.8 mm. Thus, following Vervliet's formula, the FTF can be described as 20 82.7 x 1.9 : 2.8 mm.³³

Additional dimensions have been noted for the purpose of completeness. The face height, the distance between the descenders and ascenders on the same line, is 4.0 mm,³⁴ and the descenders and ascenders themselves both measure 1.1 mm.

With a twenty-line measure for the FTF, we can assign it a body size name. In contrast to Hart's distinguishing the height of a line of mediaan³⁵ type from pica by a difference of 0.33 points (0.12 mm), none of the modern scholars of typography attribute such exactness to either the body classes or titles. Body names first appeared in the late sixteenth century, but standardization between typefounders based on a precise point size only developed in the eighteenth.³⁶ Moreover, names varied between England, France, and the Low Countries, but this was more a product of different languages and did not distinguish national body size classes. For example,

a font measuring between 57 and 64 mm for twenty lines would be called bourgeois in London, gaillarde in Lyon, and colineus or bourjoise in Antwerp.³⁷ For our purposes, the names may be considered synonyms. The FTF's measurement of 82.7 mm places it comfortably within the pica/cicéro/mediaan category of 77–88 mm; we will call it pica since this is the English convention.

Moving beyond dimensions, we can describe the Folio's font stylistically, through the lens of typographic history. Such an analysis is by its nature subjective,³⁸ but the peculiarities of the font should assist in determining its likely origins.

The font is roman (as opposed to italic or one of the blackletter styles) and would be categorized as old style, a class dating from the sixteenth century.³⁹ This is the second major typographic style, following the fifteenth-century "Venetian" romans by Jenson and Griffo. The old styles were farther removed from the humanist calligraphy in which the roman style originates, but the most evident typical differences are that the lowercase *e* has a horizontal crossbar (*e* instead of *e*) and the capital *M* has single-sided serifs at its top rather than double-sided (*M* and *M*). As Pollard noted, the font appears likely to have been worn, with numerous letters printed with missing bits and the occasional entirely deformed sort.

The FTF has several distinguishing features that in sum make the font potentially identifiable (**Figure 2**). In the lowercase: the *a* has a strongly diagonal upper portion of its bowl;⁴⁰ the *e* is relatively condensed; the *g* has a

³² Vervliet (1968), 18; Gaskell, 13; and Carter, xiii. To show the potential error in the FTF's twenty line measure, it may be explicitly written as 82.7 mm \pm 2.1, though Gaskell notes too that the range of error may not be the same in both the positive and negative directions.

³³ 20 stands for the height of twenty lines, x for the x-height, and : for the capital height.

³⁴ Gaskell suggests that this measure multiplied by twenty is useful in describing the minimum body on which the font could have been cast. Gaskell, 14.

³⁵ Hart spelled this name "mediane."

³⁶ Vervliet (1968), 16–17.

³⁷ The list of names is taken from Vervliet (1968), 16, but the ranges of measurements are from the more recent Vervliet (2008) 1, 6–7.

³⁸ Discussions of typefaces tend to be more susceptible to overly-biased opinions because of the often minute differences between text faces; D. B. Updike's *Printing Types* is cited often as an exemplar, with "a prejudice against things perceived to be Dutch, so that in his [Updike's] judgment the small-format works printed by the Elseviers at Leyden, use 'solid, monotonous type which is Dutch and looks so.' Nonetheless these types can now be attributed to major French sixteenth-century punchcutters, as earlier generations had always known." Carter, vi n. 3.

³⁹ This summary of typographic styles is adapted from Vervliet (1968), 63–67, and the descriptions of individual typefaces in Bringhurst.

⁴⁰ A bowl is the enclosed part of a letter, such as that of the lowercase *a*, *b*, or *d*.

bottom bowl only slightly larger than the top, and its ear⁴¹ nearly disappears into a point; and the curve of the *h* and *n* is not smooth, but transitions somewhat abruptly to the right vertical stroke.

For the capital letters: the *A* has a high crossbar;⁴² the arms⁴³ of the *E* are nearly the same length and its serifs are close to vertical; the *G* lacks a spur;⁴⁴ the *K* has a bottom leg that seems to be at too steep an angle to support the top; the *M*'s serifs are not horizontal but seem to curve downward; the *P* has a large, bowl with a gap at the bottom; and the serifs of the *T* do not extend higher than the crossbar.

Some variant roman letters also appear in the FTF, including the *a*'s and *u*'s that Hinman first described. Notable among them is the variant capital *M*, which lacks a right-upper serif. The italic has a great variety of variant capitals, but the overall impression of the roman is of consistent, albeit worn, letterforms.

FROM THIS GENERAL SKETCH OF THE FTF'S APPEARANCE, we can attempt to determine its origins, i.e. who cut the punches for the design, when and where it was cast, and when Jaggard acquired it. Such an investigation, however, must be pursued carefully and should be evaluated with a scholarly degree of skepticism. James Mosley clearly explains the inherent ambiguities of this kind of exercise in his introduction to the reprint of *A View of Early Typography*:

Even if a type may seem to resemble an example in a competently-edited facsimile of a typefounder's specimen that can be reliably attributed to its punchcutter, this does not help the observer to tell if the two are the same or merely similar; and an example of this kind is likely to be a happy exception rather than the rule. On the printed page, type appears in a variety of conditions, new or worn, over- or underinked. Type from identical matrices may look very different if it is cast in a mould for a larger or smaller body,

or if a different setting of the registers of the same mould makes it appear more widely or closely set. The extent to which the dimensions of the impression have altered when the paper it is printed on has shrunk in drying, perhaps unevenly, after having been printed damp makes it unwise to rely on exact measurements from the page. In the end identification may depend on the matching of a few idiosyncratic characters, and yet two different fonts of what is essentially the same type may contain some sorts that are quite alien to it.⁴⁵

While a visual analysis alone of a printed specimen from this era must be considered problematic, the identity that will be proposed for the FTF has a basis in other visual analyses of sixteenth-century typography as well as scholarship on the printing trade in London. These additional corroborations should make plausible the origins that will be advanced, but because we have no record of Jaggard or a contemporary describing the fonts in his possession, this theory is tentative at best.

As we will see, the FTF appears most likely to be Pierre Haultin's second pica roman.⁴⁶ Haultin is often the third punchcutter from sixteenth-century France mentioned in typographic histories, after Claude Garamont and Robert Granjon. He is best known for cutting the first popular nonpareil (40–43 mm for twenty lines), a size of type that had previously been rare.⁴⁷ A Huguenot, he probably created this small font for the printing of vernacular Bibles, so that Genevan printers could produce cheap editions for the public.⁴⁸ His other putative innovation was designing single-impression music type.⁴⁹ Vervliet characterizes his roman types as "sturdier, heavier, perhaps less royal or elegant but certainly more economical than the earlier sixteenth-century Romans of the Estienne or Garamont fashion."⁵⁰ Haultin has ultimately come to be much admired: Harry Carter labels

41 The stroke of the lowercase *g* that extends on the upper-right. Also called a flag.

42 A middle horizontal stroke, such as in the capital *A* and *T* and lowercase *e*.

43 The extending horizontal strokes, such as in the capital *E*, *F*, and *L*.

44 The small downward spike that sometimes comes off the right side of a capital *G*.

45 Carter, 13.

46 As named and described in Vervliet (2008), I, 257.

47 Vervliet (2008), I, 245. Smeijers, 64, claims that "he was the first to cut a roman so small," but Vervliet offers several predecessors.

48 Vervliet (2008), I, 245–246.

49 Updike, I, 195, states this, but Vervliet is not sure that he was the first: Vervliet (2008), I, 248.

50 Vervliet (2008), I, 243.

him “greatly underrated,”⁵¹ Fred Smeijers writes that he was “one of the best punchcutters of this period,”⁵² and Vervliet calls his small body fonts “coherently and brilliantly designed.”⁵³

Haultin's types were probably introduced to England by his nephew, Jerome Haultin, who is recorded as living in England in 1568.⁵⁴ Described as a “letter caster for printers” in 1583, he contracted to purchase matrices from Pierre in 1575.⁵⁵ But Jerome Haultin left London by 1587 for La Rochelle, the site of Pierre's foundry, around the time of Pierre's death in 1587 or 1588.⁵⁶ Interestingly, Haultin's fonts became more popular in England after his nephew left. Someone appears to have continued to cast them;⁵⁷ W. Craig Ferguson speculates that “[Jerome] Haultin had either sold his materials or set up a branch operation now that he was in control of the family business.”⁵⁸

In *Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England*, Ferguson notes the use of a pica font he labels “Haultin” in the work of 32 printers from 1574 to 1610, including that of Jaggard.⁵⁹ He writes that Jaggard used a Haultin from 1604 through 1610 and another Haultin with a few alternate letters from a “Lyon (a)” font for one book in 1606 (Figures 3 and 4).⁶⁰ Adrian Weiss, in his critical review of *Pica Roman Type*, agrees that Jaggard's pica fonts are by Haultin, but finds that Jaggard began to use what Ferguson labeled his second Haultin pica in 1603 and his first

in 1608, not 1606 and 1604, respectively.⁶¹ Thus Weiss renames Ferguson's first and second Jaggard Haultin pica roman Jaggard-H1 and -H2.

Vervliet in his paper on Haultin cites “Haultin's Second Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1557)”⁶² (Figure 5) as employed by many of the English printers mentioned by Ferguson. He describes the second pica roman as first found in the work of Paulo Manutio of Venice, and proposes that Haultin sold the second pica roman to Manutio when he was staying in Lyons. Vervliet does not mention Jaggard as among the printers possessing it,⁶³ but it seems plausible, even without visual comparison, to place this second pica roman in Jaggard's shop from 1608. Because the FTF is presumed to be an old font, in use by Jaggard for a number of years previously, it stands to reason that it could be the one introduced in 1603 or 1608.

Turning now to the visual evidence, we find significant similarities between Ferguson's images of Jaggard's two Haultin picas,⁶⁴ Vervliet's images of Haultin's second pica roman,⁶⁵ and the FTF as seen in the 1902 Oxford facsimile.⁶⁶ Vervliet describes the second pica roman as having “Narrow capitals E, H, T; dog-eared M,”⁶⁷ and these key letters are visible in the Folio facsimile. (Unfortunately, one of the images in Ferguson does not feature a capital *E* and the other only features a capital *H*.) Further, all of the distinctive letters of the FTF in the Ferguson and Vervliet images as noted earlier in this paper seem to be present. In comparing the three sets of images, there is no indication in the letterforms that they could not all be derived from the same punches. Although both Ferguson

51 Carter, 86.

52 Smeijers, 63.

53 Vervliet (2008), 1, 245.

54 As a servant to the typefounder Hubert Danvillier. Oastler, 33.

55 Mores, lxix.

56 Vervliet (2008), 1, 247.

57 Ferguson, 13.

58 Ferguson, 14. But Weiss and Lane both write that Ferguson theorizes about Elizabethan typefounding without enough basis in the evidence from the period, so this statement must be seen as entirely hypothetical. He also writes that the Haultin fonts cast after 1603 were only in use for one or two years, suggesting poor casting, but he does not cite specific visual evidence and this is not credible without additional research.

59 Ferguson, Table 4.

60 Ferguson, 26–27.

61 Weiss, 544–545.

62 Meaning the second pica roman font that Haultin cut, created in 1557, and measuring 82 mm for twenty lines.

63 Vervliet (2008), 1, 257. Haultin's first pica roman is visually distinct from the second, and Vervliet does not cite it in use in England in his list of early appearances.

64 Ferguson, pl. 77 and 78.

65 Vervliet (2008), 1, 257.

66 The Lee facsimile was compared to a copy of the Folio and found to be sufficiently accurate for the purposes of comparison with other printed specimens. The 1996 Norton facsimile is, unfortunately, dot-screened and of limited use for detailed examination.

67 Vervliet (2008), 1, 257.

and Weiss claim to distinguish visually between the two Haultin pica fonts used by Jaggard, there do not appear to be any perceptible differences to me after a reasonably thorough examination. Therefore I will not guess as to which of Jaggard's font is the FTF.⁶⁸

Since Jaggard's use of Haultin's pica romans up to at least 1610 is supported by Ferguson and by Weiss and John Lane in their book reviews, it does not require much imagination to place them in his 1623 printings. Vervliet, by citing Ferguson, Weiss, and Lane, implicitly connects Haultin's second pica roman to London typefounding. With no formal evidence contradicting this claim, I therefore propose that the FTF is Haultin's second pica roman, cast by an unknown London typefounder using Jerome Haultin's matrices around 1603 or 1608. Pollard's ideas about the font are generally consistent with this theory. Returning to Hart's 1902 discussion of the FTF, however, all three of his main points now appear in error, as the font is not Dutch but French, there is no meaningful distinction in size between mediaan and pica, and Jaggard did not commission a font specially for the Folio. This last issue is particularly essential, as the results of this investigation support the view that Jaggard and his pressmen did not see the Folio as a book of supreme value, merely as a large project that was in no way the sole object of their attention in the early 1620s. If my conclusions are sound, bibliographers may describe the FTF based on Vervliet's formulae as Haultin's second pica roman (1557), 20 82.7 x 1.9 : 2.8 mm.

AS THIS IS THE FIRST PAPER WITH THE FTF AS ITS subject, plentiful avenues for further research exist. A priority is to confirm Weiss' timeline and categories of Jaggard's fonts through 1623 and to determine which of Jaggard's Haultin pica romans appears in the Folio. One aspect of the FTF not fully treated in the preceding pages is its complement, i.e. the set of sorts that comprises the font. Close examination of the Folio and other Jaggard printings of the font may permit an accounting of the dif-

ferent characters of the FTF and a rough number of sorts for each over the course of the Folio's printing.⁶⁹ The most intriguing possibility, however, is identifying and detailing the Folio's other fonts. The alternate capitals in the roman remain of unclear provenance, though presumably much would be clarified by a full investigation of Jaggard's fonts. The alternate capital M with a missing right serif is similar to that of Haultin's first pica roman,⁷⁰ but I have not yet observed in the Folio the other first pica roman capitals. The italic in the text seems likely to be Haultin's first pica italic, which Vervliet finds in London printshops;⁷¹ this must be confirmed. Vervliet writes that François Guyot's great primer italic was used in the Folio along with other Guyot fonts,⁷² and minimal inspection appears to identify the font of the running titles as Guyot's double-pica italic.⁷³ The Folio's fonts continue to play such a central role in Shakespeare bibliography that it would surely be beneficial to future researchers and editors if they could draw on a resource describing and providing background information on its typographic components.



⁶⁸ Per Mosley's suggestion in Carter, xiii: "Historians of type often claim to penetrate such 'noise' [the difficulties described in the earlier Mosley block quote] and to make their identifications by eye, and in some cases it can indeed be remarkably easy to be instantly convinced, merely by visual comparison, of what appears to be an exact match. But in other cases, where uncertainty persists, it may be unwise to override it."

⁶⁹ This substantial task has been accomplished by Blayney for the text font of Okes' *Lear* quarto. Blayney, 145–148.

⁷⁰ Vervliet (2008), I, 256.

⁷¹ Vervliet (2008), I, 288.

⁷² Vervliet (1968), 288. This font is comparatively easy to note in the Folio since it is far larger than text size and has a single, well-established source in a c. 1565 specimen at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

⁷³ Vervliet (1968), I, 286.

FIGURES

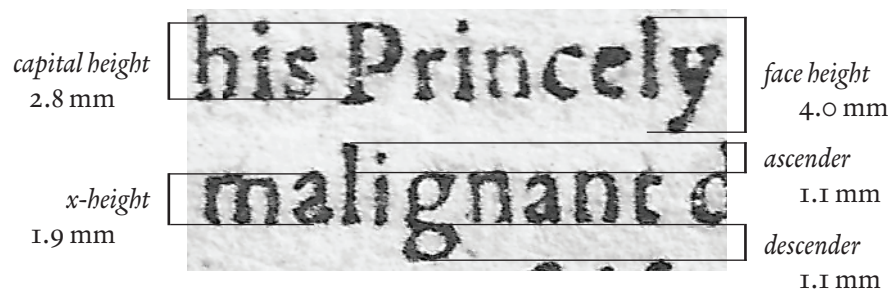


Figure 1: Dimensions of the Folio's text font.

From page 14^r of the histories (*Richard III*, 2.2.195–196: “But now two Mirrors of his Princely semblance, / Are crack'd in pieces, by malignant death,”).

All measurements from the Folio at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library; scan from the 1902 Oxford facsimile; 400% of actual size.

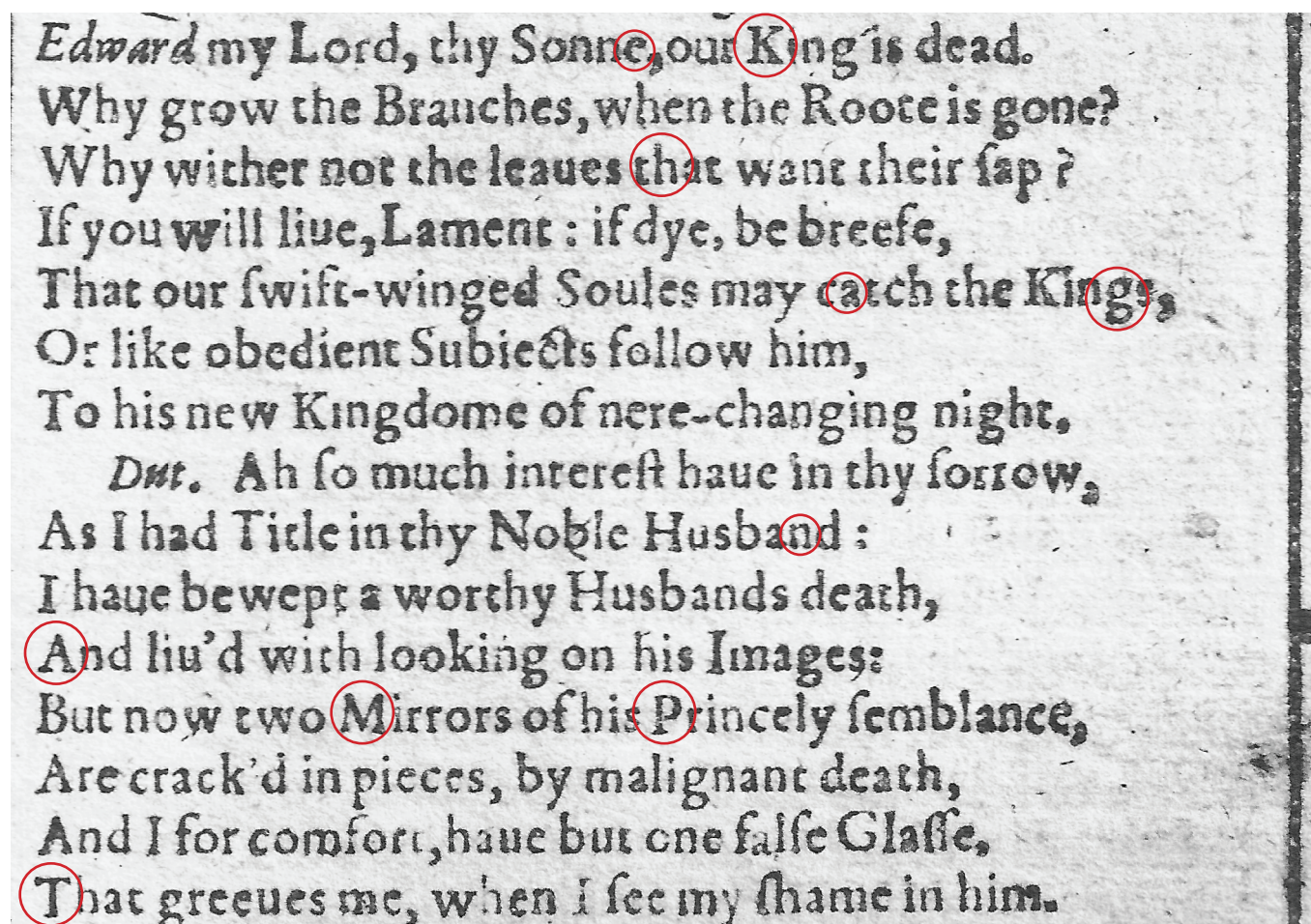


Figure 2: Some notable letters in the Folio's text font.

From page 14^r of the histories. Oxford facsimile; 200% of actual size.

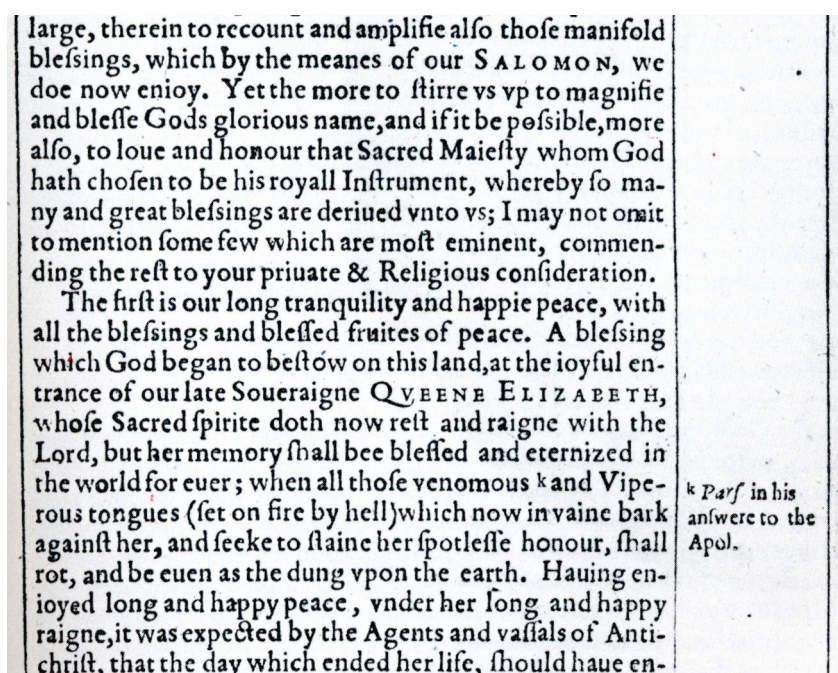


Figure 3: Jaggard's second Haultin pica roman (which Ferguson calls Jaggard's first). From Ferguson, pl. 77. Actual size.

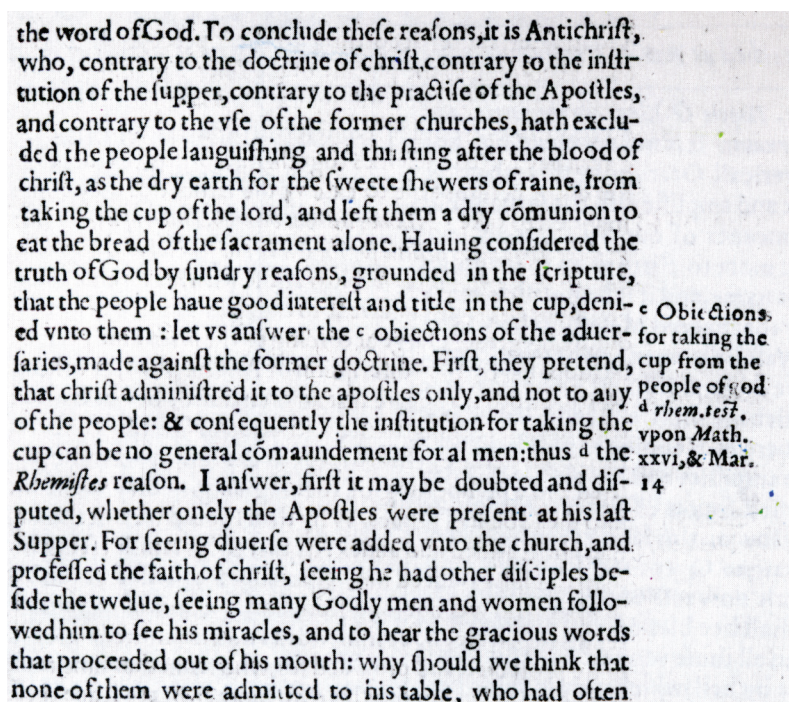


Figure 4: Jaggard's first Haultin pica roman (which Ferguson calls Jaggard's second). From Ferguson, pl. 78. Actual size.

motus, Leo X, Pontifex maximus,
omnes liberales disciplinas præmiis
extulit atque ornauit amplissimis, ef-
fecitq; ut aliquando Romam in urbe
Roma liceret agnoscere. In tua ue-
rò paterna gente Cibo, & in mater-
na Malaspina, mirabilis omnium uir-
tutum in omni ætate fuit exercita-
tio. et, ne illa nimis uetera ex annali-
bus fide dignis repetamus, iam inde
ab eo tempore, cum, Græcorum Im-
peratorum ætate, oppidum Pera,
quod proxime Byzantium situm est,
Genuenses obtinebant; quo tempo-
re summis honoribus, & copiis ma-
iores tuos floruisse constat: aut, cum
Mucius ille Cibo, plane alter Mucius
in tuenda patriæ salute, triremibus
priuato sumptu comparatis, atque
instructis Pisanos, Genuensium re-
bus acriter infensos, in Sardinia pro-
fligauit: sexcenta præterea in Genu-
ensium rep. merita, in qua etiam
Gulielmus Cibo cruce rubea, publi-
co insigni, uirtutis ergo decoratus
est: hæc ut omittam; & illa, quæ auo-
rum

8a. P. Manutius, *Epistolarum libri iiii* (Venice, P. Manutius, 1560),
fo. A4v.

† a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v x y z, A B C D E F G
H I K L M N O P Q R S T V, * ** ***.

8b. Haultin's second Pica roman (R 82B) as it occurs in D. de Soto,
De iustitia et iure (Lyons, G. Rouillé, 1569), fo. ***3v.

Figure 5: Haultin's second pica roman [R 82] or *cicéro* (1557).

From an earlier edition of the Haultin section of Vervliet (2008) that features expanded illustrations. Vervliet (2000), III.
Actual size.

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