

THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS AND THE ALEXANDRIAN GREEK TYPES

J. H. BOWMAN

THE Codex Alexandrinus is one of the three great Greek manuscripts of the Bible, and was probably written during the first half of the fifth century. Apart from some minor imperfections where damage or loss has occurred, it contains the complete text of the Greek Bible, including the Apocrypha, and the New Testament concludes with the two extra-canonical works, the First and Second Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians.¹ In 1621 it was given to Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, by the Greek Patriarch, Cyril Lucar, in return for Roe's support against the claims of the Latin church, and it was intended for King James I. Its name derives from the fact that Lucar had previously been Patriarch of Alexandria; he had taken the manuscript with him on being translated to Constantinople.² King James died in 1625, while the manuscript was still at Constantinople, and it was not until 1627 that it finally reached England, by which time Charles I was on the throne. It was then deposited in the Royal Library. The whole collection was transferred to the British Museum by George II on 6 August 1757, and the Codex is consequently now one of the treasures of the British Library.³

PUBLICATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

In view of the importance of any manuscript of the Bible, it was natural that there should be some attempt to make it more widely accessible. The first publication based on it was an edition of the First and Second Epistles of Clement, which became known for the first time through this manuscript and which are not accepted as part of the New Testament canon. The edition, by Patrick Young, the Librarian of the Royal Library, appeared in 1633,⁴ and shows the Greek text with a Latin translation in parallel columns on the page. In 1637 Young published his edition of the *Catena in Job*, transcribed from the same codex,⁵ and printed in London in the Greek types of the Royal Printing Office, bought by the King's Printer in 1634.⁶ Lane has discussed the origin of these types and concludes that, far from being imported, as was previously thought, they were cut by Arthur Nicholls of London.⁷

It has been said that Young had the idea of reproducing the whole manuscript in a special facsimile type that would imitate the uncial Greek letters, and that a specimen of this, containing the first chapter of Genesis, actually appeared in 1643.⁸ Reed refers to

several sources as confirmation of the existence of this specimen and of the fact that it was in facsimile types; and although he emphasizes that later writers have *assumed* that it was a facsimile edition he does not then discuss the nature of the evidence further.⁹ None of this evidence seems to me to stand up to examination: there is no clear statement anywhere that the specimen which appeared used uncial types. It seems likely that a specimen of some kind appeared, because Thomas Smith speaks of having it before his eyes,¹⁰ but neither he nor any other writer ever says that it was a facsimile. Carter and Ricks doubt that the facsimile was ever made at all, and that (if it was) it was in a facsimile type.¹¹ There is no known location of any such specimen now.

No further progress in reproducing the manuscript was made before Young's death in 1652. At the Restoration, however, Thomas Rosse was appointed Keeper of the Royal Library, and he revived the idea of a facsimile reproduction of the whole manuscript, but rather than use type he proposed copperplate engraving.¹² In 1678 the manuscript was given to Dr Thomas Smith to collate and prepare for publication, but again nothing came of the venture. The only illustration to appear during this period was a three-and-a-half-line woodcut which was included in Brian Walton's polyglot Bible of 1657.¹³

WOIDE'S EDITION

In due course another attempt was made. The 1780s proved to be a period in which type facsimiles of several important manuscripts were published. The first of these was of *Domesday Book*, which appeared in 1783, printed by John Nichols in types specially cut by Joseph Jackson.¹⁴ Jackson was born in 1733 in London and was apprenticed to William Caslon II at the famous Caslon letter-foundry. Here he was taught all aspects of the trade with the exception of punch-cutting, a process which the Caslons always performed on their own in a private room. By boring a hole through the wainscot Jackson observed how this work was done and in due course was able to cut a punch himself. He was punished for his pains, but fortunately was allowed to finish his apprenticeship.¹⁵ When this was completed, he left the Caslons and set up in business for a short time in partnership with Thomas Cottrell. He then spent four years at sea as an armourer, after which he rejoined Cottrell as a typesetter in Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane, before finally setting up on his own. During this time he acquired a good reputation, especially in the field of non-roman types. Unfortunately none of the type specimens issued by his foundry have survived, but we know that in 1773 he was able to supply Hebrew, Persic, Bengal and Greek, as well as roman, italic, black letter and scriptorial.¹⁶ It is likely that examples of his Greek types remain to be discovered in late eighteenth-century Greek texts, though in the absence of type specimens identification will always be a matter of supposition. As a result of his success with the *Domesday* type Jackson was chosen to cut type for the facsimile reproduction of the *Codex Alexandrinus*. The editor of this facsimile was Dr Charles Godfrey Woide, who had since 1782 been an Assistant Librarian at the British Museum, and the printer, as in the case of the *Domesday Book* facsimile, was John Nichols.

ΘΗΤΑΣΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΠΙΕΝΔΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ
 ΟΤΑΝΤΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΕ ΛΕΓΕΤΕ·
 ΠΤΕΡΗΜΩΝΟΕΝΤΟΙΣΟΥΝΟΙΣ
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 ΕΛΘΕΤΩΗΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣΟΥ· ΓΕΝΗ
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 ΗΜΩΝ· ΚΑΙΓΑΡΑΥΤΟΙΑΦΙΟΜΕ
 ΤΤΑΝΤΙΟΦΕΙΛΟΝΤΙΗΜΕΙΝ·
 ΚΑΙΜΗΕΙΣΕΝΕΓΚΗΣΗΜΑΣ
 ΕΙΣΤΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΝ· ΑΛΛΑΡΥΣΑΙ
 ΗΜΑΣ· ΑΤΤΟΤΟΥΤΤΟΝΗΡΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΕΠΤΕΝΤΠΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΙΣΕΖ
 ΥΜΩΝΕΣΣΕΙΦΙΛΟΝ· ΚΑΙΤΤΟΡΕΥ
 ΣΕΤΑΙΤΠΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΝΜΕΣΟΝΥ

ΘΗΤΑΣΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΠΤΕΝΔΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ·
 ΟΤΑΝΤΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΕ· ΛΕΓΕΤΕ·
 ΠΤΕΡΗΜΩΝΟΕΝΤΟΙΣΟΥΝΟΙΣ
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 ΕΛΘΕΤΩΗΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣΟΥ· ΓΕΝΗ
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 ΗΜΑΣ· ΑΤΤΟΤΟΥΤΤΟΝΗΡΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΕΠΤΕΝΤΠΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΙΣΕΖ·
 ΥΜΩΝΕΣΣΕΙΦΙΛΟΝ· ΚΑΙΤΤΟΡΕΥ
 ΣΕΤΑΙΤΠΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΝΜΕΣΟΝΥ

Fig. 1. (Top) Section of Codex Alexandrinus showing the Lord's Prayer (Lk. 11.2-4) and
 (bottom) the same passage in Woide's facsimile, BL, 5.i.10 (actual size)

This time, at last, the project succeeded, and the facsimile, *Novum Testamentum Græcum e Codice MS. Alexandrino*, appeared in 1786.¹⁷ The text is printed in double columns, and uses two sizes of letters for the main text, together with a third, larger, for the initial letters of the verses (see fig. 1). Woide says in the preface that the cutting of the type took nine months, and that it was based on the form of the letters in the middle of the Codex on the grounds that these were more elegant and larger than the rest.¹⁸ According to Baber, writing much later, the type was made 'at the sole expense' of Woide himself.¹⁹ There were about 450 ordinary copies, at two guineas each, twenty-five on fine paper at five guineas, and ten on vellum.²⁰ A review appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*²¹ but the reviewer has little to say about the type, being more concerned with the history of the manuscript and with the text itself. Woide presented a copy of the facsimile to the King on 5 May and 'had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand on the occasion'.²²

BABER'S EDITIONS

For some years after the completion of the *New Testament* the types lay idle, so much so that they were lost sight of entirely. Eventually they were discovered by H. H. Baber, who joined the British Museum in 1807 and in 1812 became Keeper of Printed Books.²³ Writing much later to Panizzi in response to an enquiry about their ownership, he described how he had rediscovered them:

Frequent enquiries by various persons for various purposes had been made after these types, but all in vain till I accidentally discovered them amongst a large mass of articles consisting of duplicate books & other things, as useless & too insignificant to have any place in the collections [of] the B. Museum, all of which from time to time had been deposited in a room in the basement story of the old building of the British Museum.²⁴

(The 'old building' was Montagu House, where the British Museum had first been housed.) He goes on to say that it was this discovery that gave him the idea of editing a further portion of the Codex Alexandrinus, and that on learning that Dr Woide's widow was still alive he went to see her to ask who actually owned the type. She said that it had all belonged to her husband but that when he had left the Museum it could not be found. She was delighted that it had reappeared, and gladly gave Baber permission to use it for his edition, on condition that if she ever asked for it back he would return it to her.

By the time Baber was recounting this story he was eighty-five. Perhaps his memory was at fault, but it is certainly strange that he remembered visiting Mrs Woide, presumably in the years just before 1812, when according to the entry for Woide in the *Dictionary of National Biography* she had died in 1784, before Woide himself.²⁵ It seems more likely that in old age his memory had grown confused and that it was one of Woide's daughters that he had visited. Baber adds that he had more of the type cast, as well as having small wood-engravings made, 'whereby a clear imitation was effected not

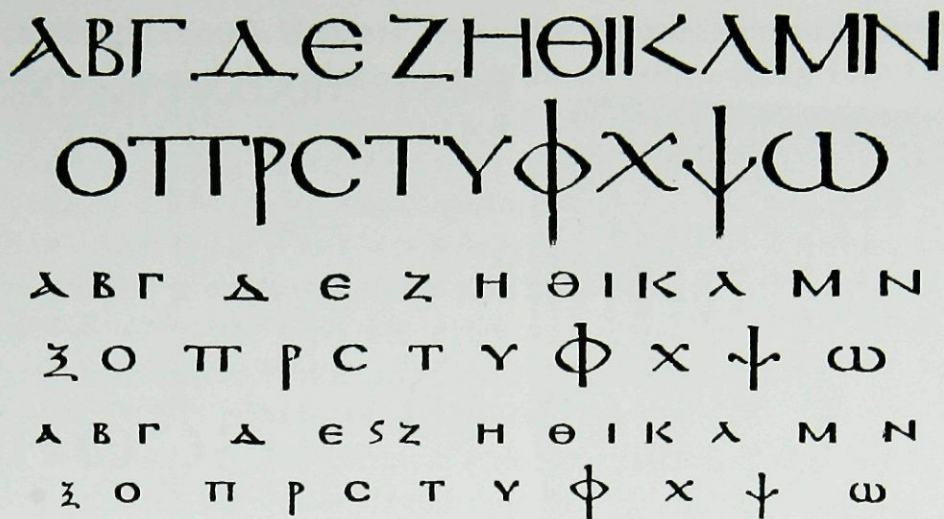


Fig. 2. Alphabets of the three sizes of type, from the *Psalter* of 1812 (actual size). BL, 459.f.21

only of single letters but of whole sentences in many instances'.²⁶ There is no mention of the existence of the matrices, but they must still have been with the type at this time, otherwise it would not have been possible for Baber to have more type cast. There seems to be no record of which founder cast the additional type. (Jackson had died in 1792 and his stock had passed into the hands of William Caslon III.)²⁷

In 1811 Baber issued a proposal for the publication of the whole of the Old Testament from the Codex Alexandrinus,²⁸ in which he referred to the great risk of destruction to which all such manuscripts were liable, and the fact that Lucar had given it to Charles I to preserve it 'against the barbarous fury and jealous spirit of Mahometan superstition, Some of the type, chiefly of the smaller and medium sizes, still exists at the British Library, all mixed up in a wooden box, together with some of the wood-blocks (see figs. 3, 4). It has presumably been in this state for well over a century, having been forgotten 'Minimæ' (fig. 2). Its publication was noted in November in the *Gentleman's Magazine* where it was also stated that Baber intended to publish the Pentateuch.³⁰ A review appeared in the *British Critic* in 1813, concluding: 'These types being all prepared, it would be a pity that no further use should be made of them.'³¹ In due course a proposal to print the whole manuscript appeared in the *Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*,³² accompanied by numerous testimonials. The edition itself appeared between 1816 and 1821.³³ It was, if anything, more splendid than the *New Testament*, making impressive use of red for some portions, and like the *Psalms* it contained many wood-engravings for certain words, particularly for the titles of the individual books (see fig. 3).

LATER USES OF THE TYPE

It is clear that the British Museum was willing to allow the type to be used in quotations in other books. The review of the *Psalter* mentioned above uses it for some quotations.

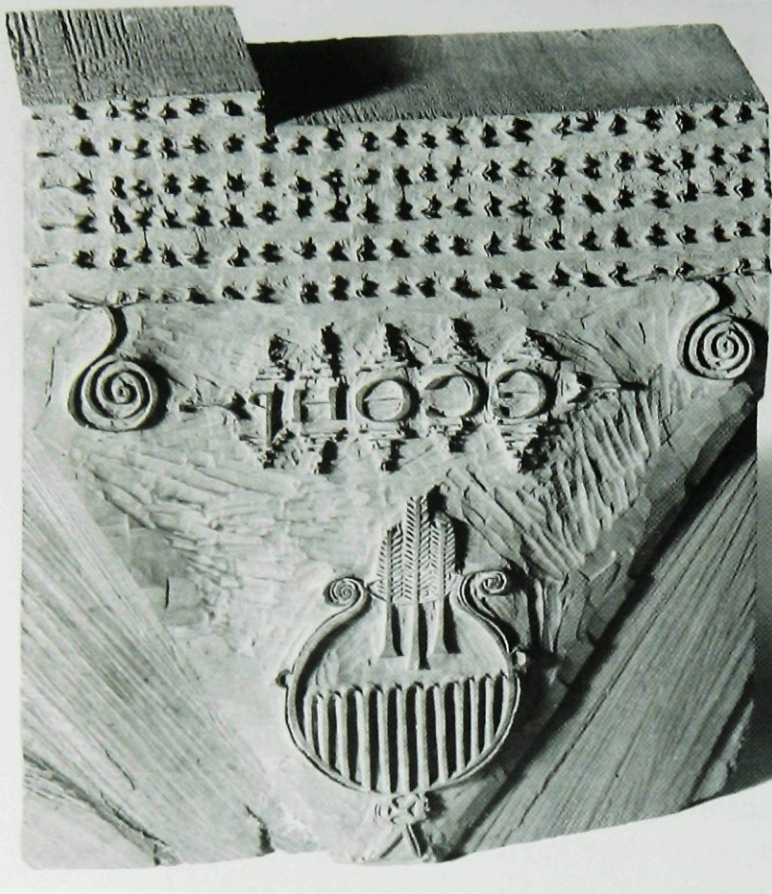


Fig. 3. (Left) Wood-block for the end of the Book of Esther and (right) the engraving as printed in the facsimile, BL, 6.i.2 (actual size)

It also appears for the representation of manuscript readings on certain pages of Kidd's *Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms of Porson*,³⁴ and doubtless in other works. In 1851 another substantial work was printed in the type: *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer: from a Syriac palimpsest*.³⁵ Here the editor makes it clear that although the same type has been used to print this 'facsimile', the writing of the manuscript is somewhat different from that of the Alexandrinus, so that this is a less accurate reproduction.

In 1859 Dr S. Prideaux Tregelles wrote to the Trustees asking permission to use the Alexandrian type to print fragments of a palimpsest manuscript of a large portion of St Luke's Gospel. This was granted on condition that due care was taken of it and that it was returned when the edition was completed.³⁶ *Codex Zacynthius E* appeared in 1861³⁷ and the editor refers to the loan of the Alexandrian types, 'in order that the Codex Zacynthius might appear in an ancient form',³⁸ though without commenting on how satisfactory the likeness is. The text uses the middle size, with some of the larger for initials and some small letters for verse numbers, insertions, and so on. The book was printed by Samuel Bagster and Sons of 14 King's Road, Gray's Inn. The British

Museum archives still contain Bagsters' receipt for the consignment of three boxes of the type on 20 May 1859 and their delivery note for its return on 15 July 1861.³⁹

Meanwhile the Trustees received a letter of 8 October 1859 from Mrs C. A. Godfrey, a grand-daughter of Woide, asking for a copy of Woide's facsimile for her husband, the Rev. N. S. Godfrey.⁴⁰ They referred to a minute of 19 July 1817, from which it appeared that the type belonged to Dr Woide's two daughters, and they agreed to send her a copy of the book. This also prompted them to ask the Principal Librarian, Anthony Panizzi, to make enquiries about the type. He wrote to Baber, expressing his surprise at the statement that it belonged to Woide, and asking whether Baber knew anything about it.⁴¹ Baber's reply has already been mentioned in connexion with his discovery of the type; he stated that because all Woide's original type was now mixed up with the extra which he had himself had cast the whole should now be regarded as belonging to the British Museum. He also suggested that if the Trustees wished 'to be freed from the incumbrance of the custody of this mass of metal type' they might give it to Her Majesty's Printing House, and that they might pass the woodblocks to him. This letter was read to the Trustees on 24 March and they resolved to retain possession of the Alexandrian type for the present.⁴²

Although he made no mention of the fact in a very long letter it appears that the matrices themselves were in Baber's possession all this time. This came to light in 1867, causing J. Winter Jones, who had become Director and Principal Librarian on Panizzi's retirement in 1866, to write asking him to return them because the British Museum wanted to use the type in an 'important series of Greek inscriptions'.⁴³ As a result Baber finally returned them and they were 'laid before the Board' at their meeting of 25 January 1868.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, extensive enquiries on my behalf in the British Library and the British Museum have so far failed to reveal whether they still exist.

The type was still not finished with. On 28 May 1881 the Trustees considered a letter from the Clarendon Press, Oxford, asking for permission to cast a small amount for their own use. Permission was granted without charge, as it was stated that one of the books for which it was needed, *Texts of Historical Inscriptions* by the Rev. E. L. Hicks,⁴⁵ would be of great service to archaeology.⁴⁶ This work, however, contains none of the Alexandrian type, and because the name of the other book for which it was required is not stated I have been unable to verify whether it was in fact used.

Some of the type, chiefly of the smaller and medium sizes, still exists at the British Library, all mixed up in a wooden box, together with some of the wood-blocks (see figs. 3, 4). It has presumably been in this state for well over a century, having been forgotten in a room in the south basement of the British Museum. This room had been partitioned at some time, and the rear part, in which the type lay, had fallen into disuse. About 1990 the entire room was allocated to the Department of Oriental Antiquities, and the partition was demolished prior to refurbishing the room. This led to the discovery of the type, which was transferred to the British Library.⁴⁷

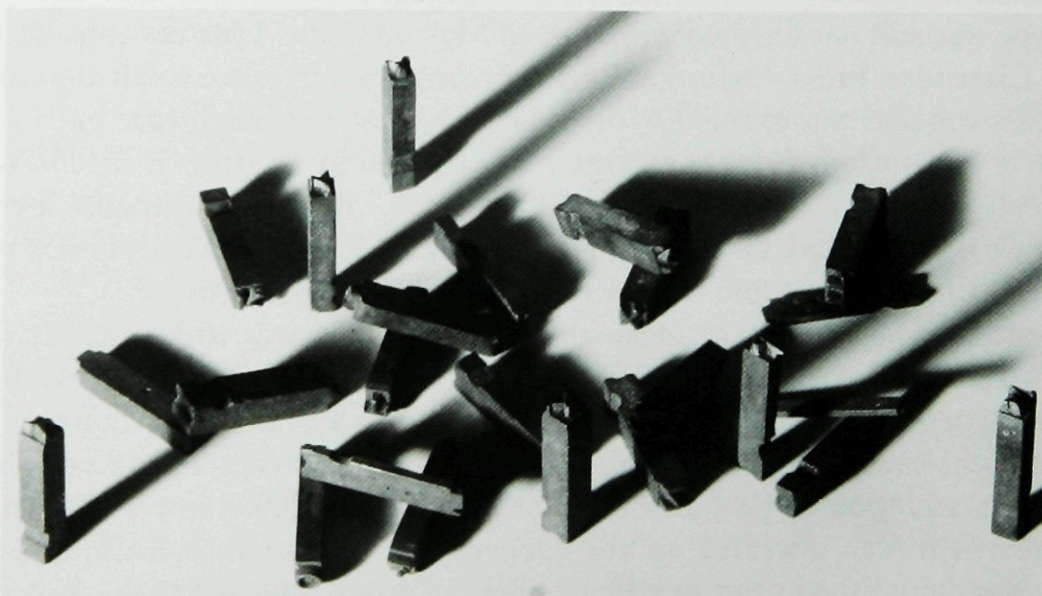
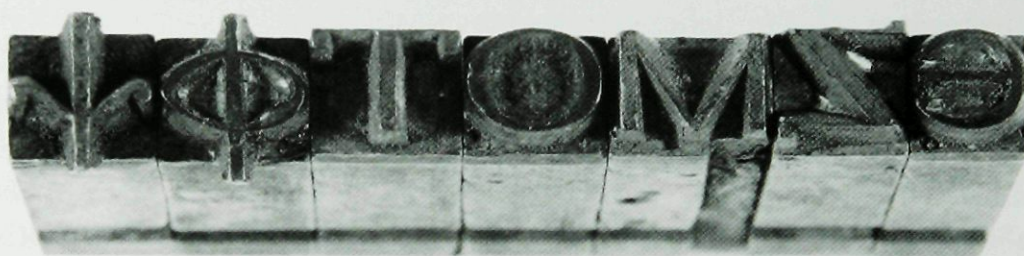
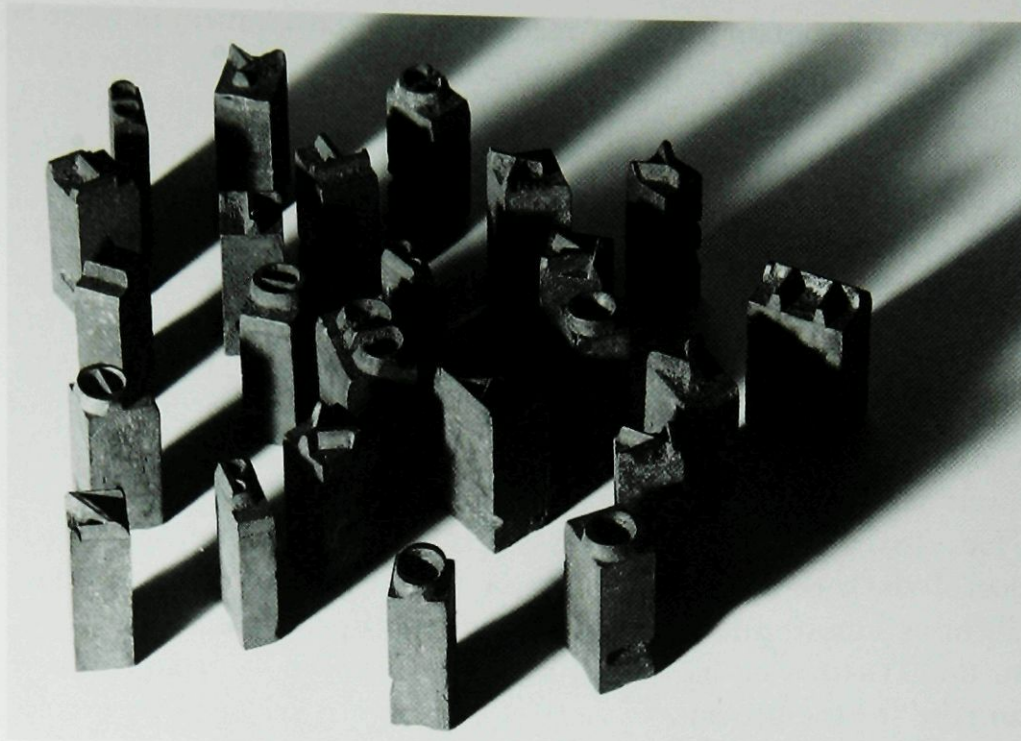


Fig. 4. Some of the surviving type, not shown to scale: large (top); medium, greatly magnified (middle); small (bottom)

ΠΑΤΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ Ο ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΙ
 Σ ΑΓΙΑΣΘΗΤΩ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ Ε
 ΛΘΕΤΩ Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΓΕΝΗΘΗΤΩ Τ
 Ο ΘΕΛΗΜΑ ΣΟΥ ΩΣ ΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΩ ΚΑΙ Ε
 ΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΤΟΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΟΝ
 ΕΠΤΙΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΔΙΔΟΥ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΘΗ
 ΜΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΕΣ ΗΜΙΝ ΤΑ ΣΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ Η
 ΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡΟΥ ΤΟΙ ΑΦΙΟΜΕΝ ΠΑΝΤΙ
 ΟΦΕΙΛΟΝΤΙ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΕΙΣΕΝΕΓΚΗΣ
 ΗΜΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΤΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΡΥΣΑΙ ΗΜΑ
 Σ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΤΟΝΗΡΟΥ ΟΤΙ ΣΟΥ ΕΣΤΙ
 Ν Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ Η ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΚΑΙ Η Δ
 ΟΞΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ ΑΜΗΝ

Fig. 5. The Lord's Prayer set in Fry's Alexandrian Greek type, from his *Specimen* of 1794 (actual size). BL, 11899.i.18

ANOTHER ALEXANDRIAN GREEK TYPE

In view of the time taken to produce a facsimile of the Codex it is surprising to discover that another fount of Alexandrian Greek type existed all along, and that it was even known to Nichols when he arranged for Jackson to cut his own facsimile type. The typesetter Edmund Fry possessed an Alexandrian Greek, which is shown in his specimens from 1786 to 1828 (see fig. 5), and of which he said 'The Codex Alexandrinus was purchased at James' Sale in 1782'.⁴⁸

There is no reason to doubt Fry's statement that he acquired it in 1782, but before this its history is uncertain. It appears to have been included in the stock of the Grover foundry, which was acquired by John James in 1758, but it was not recognized for what it was until 1778, when Edward Rowe Mores acquired and catalogued the collection. It was then discovered that the type marked 'Coptic (the new hand)' was in fact the Alexandrian Greek.⁴⁹ Reed writing in 1887 believed that it was actually the same type as that produced for the supposed specimen of Patrick Young in 1643,⁵⁰ and Johnson made no alteration to any of this section when he revised Reed's work in 1952, but in the absence of any surviving copy of that specimen (if it ever existed) we cannot compare them. The earliest, and probably only, surviving printed example of this Greek outside Fry's own specimens is on a single sheet showing a passage from Revelation in the Bagford collection,⁵¹ this is reproduced in Reed,⁵² and commented on by Lane, who discusses the possible date of the paper on which it is printed.⁵³ Reed's reproduction does not convey the flimsiness of the paper or the fact that the page is only slightly larger than the type area. Carter and Ricks do not think the surviving Alexandrian Greek could have

been made in Britain as early as 1643, though they give no particular reason for this opinion.⁵⁴ Instead they propose a different explanation, namely that it may have been cut in about 1700 by Captain John Thornton, with a view to the production of a facsimile of the same manuscript by the Cambridge University Press.

This suggestion seems to rest on somewhat tenuous evidence. In the Bagford manuscript collection is a short section on the Cambridge University Press, in which it is stated that the Press had recently sent to Holland 'for the buying of a new fount of letters'

and posabell ther resilutions was upon the puting forth in prent the Alexandrian Bible for they had imployed Captan Thornton for the Cuting of puches & senken of y^e Matreses ... but all these is lade aside I mene y^e prin[tin]g of the alexsandrian bible ...⁵⁵

Although these two statements are juxtaposed in the manuscript they seem to have no connexion with each other. If the type from Holland was for an edition of the Codex Alexandrinus there would have been no need for Captain Thornton to cut it. It is clear from other evidence that the Press frequently obtained Greek and other founts from Holland, so that there is no special significance to this statement;⁵⁶ in any case Bagford does not even say that this type was Greek. Nor is there any evidence that the Press intended to publish the Alexandrian Bible. No such edition ever appeared and there is nothing about it in the Press archives. It is known that Richard Bentley did some work on an edition, but this was slightly later; his proposal was announced to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1716 and to the public in 1720.⁵⁷ But even this edition was never published, and in any case there is again no reason to suppose that it was to be a facsimile.

As for Captain Thornton, there are two problems. First, Bagford gives no forename, so that the identification of this Thornton with John Thornton the map-maker is purely hypothetical. Secondly, the suggestion that he ever cut punches for type rests solely on this statement of Bagford's, which can hardly be described as certain; assuming that the two men are identical, there is no other evidence that he ventured outside his profession of map-making. It is not mentioned in the biographical article by Coolie Verner,⁵⁸ nor is there anything in his will to suggest that he left punch-cutting tools. On the contrary he bequeaths to his son Samuel Thornton 'all my Mapps Charts Copys Books Instruments Copper engraved Plates and all other things belonging to my calling ...'.⁵⁹ This of course is not conclusive either way. It has been suggested that Thornton was responsible not only for this Alexandrian Greek but also for the Union Pearl ornamented type whose earliest use is attested in 1708.⁶⁰ It seems very likely that whoever the punch-cutter was, he was responsible for both these types and perhaps for others too. Reed draws attention to another point which seems significant, namely that the Double Pica Greek with which the King's Printer printed the edition of the *Catena in Job* in 1637 subsequently passed into the hands of the Grover foundry.⁶¹ This is known from the fact that it appears in the 1782 sale catalogue of the James foundry. One would expect that if any facsimile type had existed in the seventeenth century it would have been with the King's Printer because the manuscript itself was royal property, and it would therefore

seem entirely natural that if one set of types went to the Grover foundry the other could also have done. This rather inclines me to the view that, despite the lack of clear evidence mentioned earlier, the surviving matrices do after all relate to a now lost specimen for a facsimile edition.

In some of his later specimens Edmund Fry adds to the confusion by repeating a very inaccurate statement taken from the auctioneer's catalogue at the time of the 1782 sale. In the 1824 specimen it appears as follows:

This character was cut by Wynkyn de Worde, in exact imitation of that ancient and valuable manuscript in the British Museum, which was, as the late Dr. Woide communicated to Dr. Fry, presented, in 1628, to K. Charles I. by Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Alexandria, but afterwards of Constantinople; and which is supposed to have been written upwards of fourteen hundred years. – See Paterson's Catalogue and Specimens of James's Foundry, sold 1782, p. [10].

Clearly Wynkyn de Worde could have had nothing to do with it, and according to Reed the reference to him is due to the fact that the James foundry's types were kept in drawers which instead of being numbered were named after famous printers, so misleading the auctioneer into believing that they had either been designed by or belonged to the relevant man.⁶² It is, as he says, surprising that such a scholar as Fry should have accepted and perpetuated such an error. Hansard points out the mistake and gives a different solution, based on the similarity of the words Woide and Worde, but he seems to regard the two Alexandrian types as being one and the same.⁶³ This error was copied by Savage, who states that Fry's Alexandrian was cut by Jackson for Dr Woide's facsimile.⁶⁴

Whatever the precise origins of this type, it seems from the evidence of the one surviving printed sheet that it must date from the early eighteenth century, at the latest. If the type existed and was known in the 1780s, why was it not used for the facsimile? According to Reed it is almost certain that Nichols did know of its existence, but that it was not 'sufficiently exact for the purpose'.⁶⁵ There are slight differences in the forms of some of the letters, but they are hardly of such a kind as to preclude the use of the type, particularly if, as Woide said, the lettering of the manuscript itself varies. It seems likely, therefore, that the main problem with the James type was that it existed in one size only, whereas, in order to produce a more exact reproduction, Jackson was called upon to cut three different sizes.

When Edmund Fry retired in 1828, his stock was bought by William Thorowgood, and in due course came into the hands of Sir Charles Reed & Sons, who included the Alexandrian Greek in their specimen of 1884. Reed writing in 1887 was therefore able to inspect the matrices personally, and he described them as being 'struck inverted in the copper; a peculiarity which may be due either to their foreign execution, or to the ignorance of the English striker'. In 1905 the stock was bought by the Sheffield typefounders Stephenson Blake,⁶⁶ in whose hands the matrices remained until November 1996, when they were acquired for the newly established Type Museum in Stockwell, London.

If the type does indeed date back to the early eighteenth century it appears not to have been widely known. J. E. Grabe's edition of the Septuagint in 1707 includes an engraving of ten lines of the Codex in order to show what it was like.⁶⁷ Moreover, if the type existed at the time, it is surprising that it had not been heard of by Thomas Hearn, who in 1715 published an edition of the *Acts of the Apostles* from the Codex Laudianus.⁶⁸ This included an engraving to show the appearance of the original manuscript, because it was not possible to reproduce the text in facsimile types. On p. IV the editor says:

At quum in Typographéo nostro Sheldoniano (utcunque instructissimo) uti etiam in omnibus aliis Typographéis per totum orbem terrarum (id quod fidenter dico) desiderarentur typi qui characterum Codicis MS. formam ad amussim referrent, ea de caussa characteribus vulgaribus semper usus sum, nisi in compendiis verborum aliquibus, quae à forma in Codice MS. servata non abludunt.⁶⁹

The implication of this is that there was no known facsimile type anywhere in the world; there is no reference to any other facsimile editions. We cannot really draw any conclusions from the statement, however. It may be that the type did exist but that Hearn was unaware of it; it may equally be that the handwriting of this manuscript was so different from any other that he only meant that there was no type suitable for reproducing this particular one.

THE BEZA FACSIMILE

In conclusion it is worth mentioning another facsimile edition, the production of which was no doubt inspired by the appearance of Woide's facsimile in 1786. In that year the Cambridge University Press decided to issue a similar facsimile of their Beza manuscript. The Codex Bezae, or Codex Cantabrigiensis, was presented to the University of Cambridge in 1581 by Theodore Beza of Geneva, and is now in the University Library.⁷⁰ It dates from the fifth, or possibly sixth, century and contains most of the four Gospels and the Acts. It differs from the Alexandrinus in having a parallel Latin translation on the page facing the Greek, and in having only one column to the page, the length of the line varying according to natural pauses in the sense.

The Syndics of the Press decided at a meeting on 24 May 1786 'that the printing of Beza's Manuscript copy of the New Testament would be an acceptable work to the learned world, & do great Credit to the University'.⁷¹ They also accepted the offer of Dr Thomas Kipling to edit the work, but it is unclear whether the suggestion for publication came from him. The facsimile appeared in 1793 in two handsome folio volumes, the text making 854 pages in all, and with a twenty-eight-page introduction.⁷² The text uses two sizes of the type, and there is a smaller one for the running titles and for various notes that had been inserted in the original. The letters are rather less regular than those of the Alexandrinus, and the type must therefore have been less straightforward to cut, but the result is a very good approximation of the manuscript. The parallel Latin translation naturally required a special roman type also. The edition was well received on the whole,

though Kipling's unfortunate grammatical blunders in the Latin preface provoked some amusement. The *Monthly Review* described the types as 'admirably cut' and said that in most respects the book surpassed Woide's facsimile, but felt that in the matter of imitation of the manuscript letters the Alexandrian was probably closer.⁷³ It is hardly surprising that reviewers did not comment on the type in any more detail. It would have required considerable dedication to compare it with the original manuscript, and in any case the type was not intended for general use.

LATER FACSIMILES

With the advent of photographic techniques it became unnecessary to continue to reproduce manuscripts by using type. While Edward Bond was Keeper of Manuscripts from 1866 to 1878 he encouraged the application of photography to manuscript studies, both for comparative purposes and for publication. He continued to do so after his promotion to Director and Principal Librarian in 1878, and so it was that when the British Museum next published a facsimile of the Alexandrian manuscript it was done using the autotype process.⁷⁴ This publication seems to have been inspired by a request in 1878 from William Griggs, the inventor of photo-chromolithography, to be allowed to photograph the manuscript. His request was turned down because it was felt that such a reproduction should be a Museum publication.⁷⁵ Later, between 1909 and 1957, a collotype facsimile, in reduced size, was issued.⁷⁶ Recent developments in printing techniques have made 'facsimile' editions of all kinds so much easier to produce. It is difficult for us, who are so familiar with these, to imagine the impression that the splendid eighteenth-century type facsimiles must have made on their beholders.

- 1 See H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus*, 2nd edn. (London, 1955, repr. 1963), p. 37; T. S. Pattie, *Manuscripts of the Bible: Greek Bibles in the British Library*, rev. ed. (London, 1995), pp. 25–31; J. K. Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 32–4.
- 2 For more on Lucar see Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira, *Kyrillos Loukaris, 1572–1638* (London, 1951). See also Matthew Spinka, 'Acquisition of the Codex Alexandrinus by England', *Journal of Religion*, xvi (1936), pp. 10–29.
- 3 Royal MSS. 1 D. V–VIII.
- 4 *Clementis ad Corinthios epistola prior. Ex laceris reliquiis vetustissimi exemplaris Bibliothecæ Regiæ, eruit, lacunis explevit, Latinè vertit, & notis brevioribus illustravit Patricius Iunius ...* (Oxonii: Excudebat Iohannes Lichfield, Academia Typographus, 1633).
- 5 *Catena Græcorum Patrum in Beatum Iob, collectore Niceta Heracleæ Metropolita* (Londini: Ex Typographio Regio, 1637). See Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, rev. A. F. Johnson (London, 1952) (hereafter 'Reed/Johnson'), p. 192.
- 6 Reed/Johnson, op. cit., pp. 130–2.
- 7 John Lane, 'Arthur Nicholls and his Greek Type for the King's Printing House', *The Library*, Ser. VI, xxiii (1991), pp. 297–322.
- 8 See *Gentleman's Magazine*, lvi (1786), p. 497.
- 9 Reed/Johnson, op. cit., p. 193.
- 10 'Utcunque futuri operis specimen, quod jam prae oculis meis habeo ...', Thomas Smith, *Vitæ quorundam eruditissimorum et illustrium virorum ... Patricii Junii* (London, 1707), p. 32.
- 11 Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon*

- English Typographical Founders and Founderies (1778) with a catalogue and specimen of the typefoundry of John James (1782)*, edited with an introduction and notes by Harry Carter & Christopher Ricks (Oxford, 1961), p. 123.
- 12 Reed/Johnson, op. cit., p. 194.
- 13 *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta: complectentia Textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Græcum... edidit Brianus Waltonus* (Londini: Imprimebat Thomas Roycroft, 1657). The quotation is on p. 14 of Prolegomena II.
- 14 Reed/Johnson, op. cit., p. 315.
- 15 See *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxii (1792), pp. 92–3.
- 16 See the list of types in Mores, op. cit., p. 78.
- 17 *Novum Testamentum Græcum, e codice MS. Alexandrino, qui Londini in Bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur, descriptum à Carolo Godofredo Woide...* (Londini: Ex prelo Joannis Nichols, typis Jacksonianis, 1786).
- 18 'Cum literae in medio Codice sint elegantiores et caeteris majores, formas earundem imitatus sum, et secundum eas similitudo typorum meorum dijudicanda est' – Preface, p. xxix.
- 19 Letter from Baber to Panizzi, 20 Mar. 1860; British Museum Central Archives [hereafter BM, CA]: Original Letters and Papers, vol. LXVI, ref. CE4/66, f. 379. Extracts from the Museum archives are printed by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. I am indebted to Miss Janet Wallace, the Museum Archivist, for helping me consult the archives, and especially to P. R. Harris, formerly of the British Library, who has compiled a list of references in the archives to the type. Without his list this paper would have been impossible.
- 20 See entry on Woide in *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 21 *Gentleman's Magazine*, lvi (1786), pp. 497–8.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 437.
- 23 *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 24 Letter from Baber to Panizzi, 20 Mar. 1860; BM, CA: Original Letters and Papers, vol. LXVI, ref. CE4/66, f. 379.
- 25 According to Nichols it was 1782: John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1815), vol. ix, p. 14.
- 26 Letter from Baber to Panizzi, 20 Mar. 1860; BM, CA: Original Letters and Papers, vol. LXVI, ref. CE4/66, f. 379.
- 27 Reed/Johnson, op. cit., p. 319.
- 28 *An Address to the Public on the Expediency of Publishing a Fac-simile of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament...* (London, 1811).
- 29 *Psalterium Græcum e codice MS. Alexandrino, qui Londini in Bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur, typis ad similitudinem ipsius codicis scripturæ fideliter descriptum, cura et labore Henrici Herveii Baber, A. M.* (Londini: Ex prelo Ricardi Taylor et Socii, 1812).
- 30 *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxii.ii (1812), p. 448.
- 31 *The British Critic*, xlii (1813), pp. 1–6.
- 32 ix (1814), pp. 650–2.
- 33 *Vetus Testamentum Græcum, e codice MS. Alexandrino qui Londini in bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur, typis ad similitudinem ipsius codicis scripturæ fideliter descriptum. Cura et labore H. H. Baber* (London, 1816–21).
- 34 Thomas Kidd, *Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms of the late Richard Porson, Esq... collected and arranged by the Rev. Thomas Kidd* (London, 1815). See pp. 183, 269 and 371.
- 35 William Cureton (ed.), *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer: from a Syriac Palimpsest* (London, 1851).
- 36 BM, CA: Minutes of Trustees' Standing Committee, vol. XXVIII, ref. CE3/28, p. 9578.
- 37 *Codex Zacynthius E: Greek palimpsest fragments of the Gospel of Saint Luke, obtained in the island of Zante, by the late General Colin Macaulay, and now in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Deciphered, transcribed and edited by Samuel Prideaux Tregelles* (London, 1861).
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. xx.
- 39 BM, CA: Original Letters and Papers, vol. LXX, ref. CE4/70, f. 272 and f. 271 respectively.
- 40 BM, CA: Minutes of Trustees' Standing Committee, vol. XXVIII, ref. CE3/28, p. 9663.
- 41 BM, CA: Letter Books, vol. 4, ref. CE27/55, p. 218.
- 42 BM, CA: Minutes of the Trustees' Standing Committee, vol. XXIX, ref. CE3/29, p. 9741.
- 43 BM, CA: Letter Books, vol. 17, ref. CE27/68, p. 59.
- 44 BM, CA: Minutes of the Trustees' Standing Committee, vol. XXXII, ref. CE3/32, p. 11392.
- 45 E. L. Hicks, *Texts of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1882).
- 46 BM, CA: Minutes of the Trustees' Standing Committee, vol. XL, ref. CE3/40, p. 15617.
- 47 Information from Miss Janet Wallace, Archivist of the British Museum, May 1997.
- 48 In a circular: see Reed/Johnson, op. cit., p. 309.
- 49 Mores, op. cit., p. 45.

- 50 Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the old English Letter Foundries* (London, 1887), p. 203.
- 51 British Library, Department of Printed Books, John Bagford, [*Collection of titlepages and fragments of printed books*], Harl. 5966, f. 36. The passage is Rev. 5.10–6.7.
- 52 Reed/Johnson, op. cit., p. 195.
- 53 John Lane, 'The Origins of Union Pearl', *Matrix*, xii (1992), pp. 125–33, at pp. 132–3.
- 54 Mores, op. cit., p. 123.
- 55 BL, Harl. MS. 5910, vol. 2, f. 136a.
- 56 See D. F. McKenzie, *The Cambridge University Press 1696–1712: a bibliographical study* (Cambridge, 1966), vol. i, pp. 36–9.
- 57 See R. C. Jebb, *Bentley* (London, 1882), pp. 159–60.
- 58 Coolie Verner, 'John Thornton: hydrographer, 1641–1708', *Information Bulletin – Western Association of Map Libraries*, vii, no. 1 (Nov. 1975), pp. 3–9.
- 59 Public Record Office, P.C.C. 1707 Barrett, f. 23 (microfilm PROB 11, reel 499, frame 185).
- 60 Lane, 'Union Pearl'.
- 61 Reed/Johnson, op. cit., p. 194.
- 62 Ibid., p. 223.
- 63 T. C. Hansard, *Typographia: an historical sketch of the origin and progress of the art of printing* (London, 1825), pp. 402–3.
- 64 William Savage, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing* (London, 1841), p. 307.
- 65 Reed/Johnson, op. cit., p. 315.
- 66 Ibid., p. 297.
- 67 *Septuaginta interpretum... summa cura edidit Joannes Ernestus Grabe* (Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1707–20), sig. b2.
- 68 *Acta Apostolorum Græco-Latine, litteris majusculis: e codice Laudiano, characteribus uncialibus exarato, & in Bibliotheca Bodlejana adservato, Descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius, A. M. Oxoniensis, qui & symbolum apostolorum ex eodem codice subjunxit* (Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1715. Sumptibus Editoris).
- 69 I.e. 'Our Sheldonian Press, despite being very well equipped, has no types which could accurately imitate the character of the manuscript codex; nor, I believe, has any other press in the world. I have therefore throughout used ordinary characters, with the exception of certain ligatures, which do not fall short of the appearance of the manuscript codex.'
- 70 See D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: an early Christian manuscript and its text* (Cambridge, 1992).
- 71 Cambridge University Press Archives, Pr.V.2, Orders for the Press, 24 May 1786.
- 72 *Codex Theodori Bezae Cantabrigiensis Evangelia et Apostolorum Acta complectens quadratis literis Græco-Latinus... edidit, codicis historiam præfixit notasque adjecit Thomas Kipling...* (Cantabrigiæ: E prelo academico impensis Academiae, 1793).
- 73 *Monthly Review*, N. S. xii (Nov. 1793), pp. 241–6.
- 74 E. Maunde Thompson (ed.), *Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus*, 4 vols. (London, 1881, 1883, 1879).
- 75 See Andrew Prescott, 'The Panizzi touch: Panizzi's successors as Principal Librarian', *British Library Journal*, xxiii (1997), pp. 205, 222–3, which prints some of the papers relating to this facsimile.
- 76 *The Codex Alexandrinus (Royal MS. 1.D. V.–VIII.) in reduced photographic facsimile. Introduction by F. G. Kenyon* (London, 1909, etc.).

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