MANUSCRIPTS, CAST TYPE AND SAMARITAN PALAEOGRAPHY

ALAN D. CROWN
DEPARTMENT OF SEMITIC STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

It became apparent, in the course of the detailed examination of several manuscripts, for example MSS Leiden Or. 6, Bodley Marsh 209, and BL Or. 5035, that these manuscripts, and doubtless there are others, had been written, emended, enlarged or completed by scribes who were *au fait* with the Samaritan printed font. It is quite likely that the rapid changes to the style of the Samaritan script in manuscripts written in the seventeenth century resulted from the influence of Samaritan fonts on their script source. There is a clear interaction between the manuscripts acquired by European scholars from their agents among the Samaritans and the type cast for printed books about the Samaritans. Sometimes one can trace the genre of the hand used as a model for the cast type and one can nominate the manuscript which was used as the model. The student of Samaritan palaeography, and of the provenance of the manuscripts now found in European libraries, cannot be unaware of the spread of new type-faces of the Samaritan across Europe and, in fact, he would do well to take cognizance of them. However, the study of the Samaritan type-faces should not be linked only to the study of manuscripts: it is a pursuit that is worthwhile in its own right. It is self-evident that the scientific cataloguing of early printed books may involve drawing on information that is conveyed by the type-faces, especially when other information is deficient.[1] Unfortunately, there are but two studies of Samaritan fonts and both are inadequate, the second repeating the wording of the first, in the main, verbatim.[2] While there are copious references to Samaritan fonts in the many, early scholarly works on the Samaritans and there are various fonts to be seen on printers' specimen

[1] A good example of the bibliographer's skills which draws upon a wide-ranging and a substantial depth of scholarship is to be found in E.J. Brill's catalogue, *Philologia Orientalis* (Leiden, 1976) [hereafter *PO1*] and *Philologia Orientalis 2* (Leiden, 1983) [Hereafter *PO2*]. Despite the manifestly scholarly skills of R. Smitskamp, the editor of these catalogues, the author differs from him on a number of conclusions and, as can be shown (see note 4), the arguments presented there may be misleading.

[2] viz., E. Nestlé, 'Zu den Samaritanischen Typen', *ZDMG*, 57 (1903), 568–9, which relies heavily on, and quotes directly from, C.G. von Murr, 'Von syrischen, samaritanischen und koptischen Typen', *Literarische Blatter*, 17 (1805), 266–72 [hereafter *SSKT*]. The section on Samaritan type falls on 271b.

sheets,[3] the data are not always helpful – they may even be misleading.[4] Hence a consolidating study is needed that draws on the skills of the Samaritan palaeographer.

Samaritan type-faces made their appearance in the printing shops of the West at the time that the first Samaritan manuscripts were brought to Europe.[5] There can be little doubt that the first Samaritan type-faces were cut by craftsmen who were guided by scholars who were acquainted both with the Samaritan manuscripts and with the ancient Hebrew coin script which they took at first to be a form of the Samaritan rather than the old Hebrew cursive script. It is important for the Samaritan palaeographer to be aware that the new Samaritan fonts became known to the Samaritans through the polyglot Bibles which they received from the hands of the western savants and their agents. In turn, these printed works influenced the Samaritan calligraphic style so there is a circulation in which the Samaritan scribes send manuscripts to the West which have been influenced by western interpretations in cast type of the Samaritan script.[6] Since the Samaritan fonts reflect the scholarly interests engendered by the flow of manuscripts to the West the matching of the manuscripts to different type-faces is one of the keys to our understanding of the provenance of Samaritan manuscripts, knowledge of value to Bible exegetes as well as to codicologists and palaeographers.

[3] The British type specimen sheets are listed in James Mosley, *British Type Specimens before 1831: A Hand-list*, Oxford Bibliographical Society, Occasional Publication No. 14 (Oxford, 1984). For special references to Samaritan scripts see the following: Anon, *L'art du livre à l'Imprimerie Nationale* (Paris, 1951); E. Bernard, *Orbis eruditi literaturam à charactere Samaritico deducta* (Oxford, 1759); P.J. Bruns, *De eo quod praestandum restat in letteris orientalibus* (Helmstadt, 1781); Thomas Burgess, *The Samaritan and Syriak [sic] Alphabets with a Praxis to Each* (London, 1814); M. Crinesius, *Discursus de Confusione Linguarum* (Altdorf, 1628); J.B. de Rossi, *De Hebraica Typographiae* (Parma, 1776); J.B. de Guignes, *Essai historique sur la typographie orientale et grècque de l'Imprimerie Royale* (Paris, 1789) [hereafter, *EHTO*]; A.C. Hwiid, *Specimen ineditae versionis Arabico-Samaritanae Pentateuch* (Rome, 1780); S. Morison, *John Fell, the University Press and the Fell Types* (Oxford, 1967) [hereafter, *JF*); I. Owen, *Orbis eruditi literaturam a charactae Samaritico* (Oxford, 1700); G. Postel, *Linguarum duodecim characteribus* (Paris, 1538) [hereafter *LDC*]; A. Vitray (Vitré), *Linguarum orientalium alphabeta* (Paris, 1636) [hereafter *LOA*]. Other references are given in the text. See my *Bibliography of the Samaritans* (New Jersey and London, 1984), heading 'Typography'.

[4] See the discussion in *PO1*, no. 65, 60, on Scaliger's third edn.

[5] See *PO1*, no. 199(e) for a note on the inference for Pietro della Valle's MS of the cutting of the font for the Paris Polyglot. For the MSS which influenced Postel and Scaliger see below, 97.

[6] See my comments on this point in my 'Samaritan Majuscule Palaeography, Eleventh to Twentieth Century' [hereafter *SMP*], *BJRULM*, 60:2 (1978), 61:1 (1978), 36–7. It is now clear that the statements about MS Bodley Marsh 209 can be emended. MS Bodley Marsh 209 was written in the Bodleian Library on the model of MS Bodley Or. 345 and its headings were written under the influence of the Samaritan printed font, rather than *vice versa*. (See also the comments of J.P. Rothschild on MS BN Arabe 7, *Catalogue des manuscrits samaritains*, Paris, 1985, 15). One must look for an English font for the model. Presumably, the font utilized for the London Polyglot of 1657 was the source. However, we are aware that European scholars wrote to the Samaritans in Hebrew – sometimes in the Samaritan character (cf. S. de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits arabes et autres*, Paris, 1829, 183, 192) – and Huntington provides them with a printed Samaritan text, the London Polyglot. Some of the changes in Samaritan calligraphy towards the printed font may have followed these exchanges.

In essence, the cutting of the Samaritan type-faces was a facet of the orientalism – the study of the Middle East and the Levant through direct contacts – which has influenced European scholarship from the beginning of the modern era. The evidence presented here testifies to the fact that many of the Samaritan type-faces were cut for specific projects: the spread of fonts from city to city reflects the growth of European oriental scholarship and the influence of individual scholars on their pupils in a number of European universities. It is no accident that the first books to incorporate Samaritan type-faces were those scholarly works which brought the new languages which were coming from the Middle East – Phoenician, Aramaic, Armenian, Samaritan and the like – to the notice of the educated European reader. Interest may also have been stimulated by the curiosity of the public which was fascinated by the exotic scripts, and through the symbiosis between bookseller, publisher, scholar and scholar-traveller that was one of the characteristics of the seventeenth-century literary world. Postel, Amadutius, Leusden and Scaliger were among the European polymaths who began to open up new horizons for the scholars of their day by presenting in print the linguistic tools to whet their appetites and disseminate the new knowledge of Middle Eastern languages and literature gleaned from the manuscripts flowing to the West.

It is doubtful if we can yet speak of a mood of 'eyes towards Zion', a mood which was to dominate the explorations in the Holy Land during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is equally doubtful whether early European orientalism was in any way motivated by a search for materials to illuminate the text and study of the Bible. Such interests were yet to arise in the wake of the Council of Trent. The sixteenth-century exploration of the Middle East sprang from the intellectual curiosity of the early modern scholars and from the expansion of trade which ushered in the modern era. Though some scholars made the exacting trek to the Levant many of the more important manuscripts which were to enter European libraries at this time were sent to the West by commercial agents acting on behalf of scholars. Among the early tide of manuscripts were a number of Samaritan texts.

When one considers the volume of literature about the Samaritans which poured from the European presses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it becomes evident that the rediscovery of the Samaritans was, to its contemporary world, what the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has been to ours. The Reformation had generated a renewed interest in the sacred scriptures and, though progress was slow, both Protestant and Catholic churches moved towards a new biblicism which permitted the scriptures to be dealt with according to the principles of historical investigation. For a while the Council of Trent inhibited critical investigation by both Catholic and Protestant schools, but the rise of historical and philological scholarship broke down the orthodox approaches to the Old Testament. There can be

little doubt that the discovery of the Samaritan Pentateuch played an important part in this assault upon orthodoxy although its role is not well documented.

Two of the fathers of modern biblical scholarship, Johannes Morin, 'the father of textual criticism', and Richard Simon, the 'father of higher criticism', were manifestly not only *au fait* with what was the contemporary knowledge of the Samaritans but contributed to the advancement of that knowledge. Morin wrote four major works on the Samaritans and contributed a study of the Samaritan Pentateuch to the Paris polyglot Bible. Such is the volume of writings on the Samaritans that a thoroughgoing description of the Samaritan type-faces serves as a key to the literature and to the nature of scholarly developments in the field. One sees in the history of the Samaritan type-faces the shifts in the focus of interest from the first rediscovery of the Samaritans and their Pentateuch version through the study of the Samaritans themselves as a 'fossil' version of the ancient Israelites and their religious beliefs and practices down to the time that it became *de rigueur* for the scholar-explorers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to visit Nablus and interview the Samaritans at first hand. One may also trace the shift in the focus of study from university to university and from scholar to scholar. In effect, the study of the Samaritan font introduces us to a microcosm of the progress of orientalism in the modern world.

Having made this claim it is as well to remember that there were some centres of Samaritan scholarship where texts were printed using only woodcut or engraved plates of the Samaritan script for the purpose of illustrating the Samaritan alphabet and there was no further use of the Samaritan script in the printing which ensued.[7] Such a centre, for example, was Uppsala, where Andreas Boberg published his *Lingua et Literis Samaritanorum*, in 1733, using only a crudely-cut alphabet in imitation of the Dutch-German face (below, 103–10). Another such centre was Prague where Joseph Dobrowsky's fifty-one page work, *De Antiquis Hebraeorum Characteribus Dissertatio*, presents us with a list (unfortunately rather inadequate) of scholars and works in which Samaritan scripts had appeared to his day (1783). Dobrowsky himself used only an engraving of two elegant scripts of the Damascus genre, one of MS Vatican Samaritan 1 and the other of MS Barberini Oriental 1. It is clearly too daunting, perhaps even an impossible task,

[7] For examples, see W. van Vloten and S.F.J. Ravio, *Specimen philologicum* (Leiden: Academiae Typographas, S. et J. Luchtmans, 1803), 1st plate; G.(W). Gesenius, *Carmina Samaritana* (Leipzig, 1824), the first and second columns of his alphabetic tables; K. Foldes-Papp, *Vom Felsbild zum Alphabet* (Stuttgart, 1966), plate 147; Philippe Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1912), 203. Sometimes the engraved letter may be a good replica of the printed font, but we should be wary of taking such engravings into account as they may include retouches. One such engraving is the reproduction, 'Specimens of "exotic" lettering. From a copper-plate engraved by George Bickham in the "Universal Penman", 1741' reproduced as plate 15 in Johnson Ball, *William Caslon, 1693–1766* (Kineton, 1973). A fine example of the way engraved letters can simulate woodcut–moveable type is to be seen in the Samaritan of F. Bayer, *Numorum Hebraeo-Samaritanorum Vindiciae* (Valentiae, 1790).

to incorporate in this study of the cast type-faces a listing of all such engravings, interesting though that might be for the study of the progress of Samaritan scholarship. One must work one's way through Dobrowsky for this. Our prime (but not sole) concern here has been with moveable type, the designers, matrix makers and punch cutters except in regard to the very earliest examples which are illustrative of manuscript provenance. We have also refrained from exploring the philosophical arguments which lay behind some of the early presentations of the Samaritan scripts, since most of these were in woodcut. The sixteenth-century writers argued avidly as to whether Adam or Moses was responsible for the first Hebrew-Chaldee-Samaritan script and the fonts which ensued in woodcut were named after their eponymous draftsmen. One finds in the early Vatican inventory such Samaritan forms as *Adam* and *Moyses* and, among the French exotics, *Salomon*. In England, in 1625 one finds, in *Purchas, his Pilgrimes*, alphabets attributed to the Angel Raphael, Enoch and to Abraham. Discussion of these scripts must wait for some other time. Here we must confine ourselves to exploring the relationship between the scholarly orientalists and the works which they wrote, with the type founders and the printers and the manuscripts which supplied the models from which they cut and cast their fonts.

GUILLAUME POSTEL AND HIS IMITATORS

For some years it has been the accepted wisdom that the first Samaritan font cut in Europe was that prepared for the second edition of J.J. Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* (Leiden, 1598).[8] The accepted wisdom may well remain unchallenged in that Scaliger's predecessors did not use moveable type, so far as we are aware. Yet, there were two Samaritan alphabets that can be readily recognized as what they purport to be, which were printed before Scaliger's font was cut and which appear to be its direct antecedents. Besides these, there were also at least two other printings before Scaliger's,[9] one of which is not readily recognized as Samaritan though it purports to be such. These earlier publications are worth discussing here for they raise questions about the rediscovery of the Samaritans in the early sixteenth century, even though some of the alphabets concerned are engraved and fall outside our defined parameters.

The two easily recognized alphabets are those published by Guillaume Postel in his *Linguarum duodecim characteribus* (Paris, 1538)

[8] This is implied in *JF*, 161: 'The study of Samaritan came late into the west. J.J. Scaliger introduced quotations from the Samaritan scriptures in his *De Emendatione Temporum*'.

[9] See J. Fr. Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne* [hereafter *BU*], G. Postel, 169(a), n.2, for an obscure reference to Braydenbach, which leaves open the possibility that the first Samaritan alphabet was printed in 1486. It is not possible to pursue this reference further at the time of writing, but Michaud states that the texts printed were not moveable letters: 'Ceux qui avaient paru dans 1486 . . . étaient absolument défigurés, et d'ailleurs n'étaient pas en lettres mobiles.'

and in his *De foenicum literis* (Paris, 1552). Postel was followed by an Italian scholar, who claims to have anticipated him, having shown Postel several Samaritan scripts and even had him correct one of these scripts for publication. There seems to be no reason to doubt that whilst Postel was the first to *publish* a script, he was aware that others were about to be published when he wrote his *Linguarum duodecim characteribus*. The Italian scholar, Theseus Ambrosius, or Ambrose of Pavia, known also as Albonesius, deserves to be remembered in the annals of typography, if not for his execrable Samaritan alphabet, at least for his numerous other 'exotic' scripts, some of which are elegant and accurate. Albonesius published his *Introductio in Chaldaicum lingua, Syriaca, atque Armenica et dece alias linguas* in Pavia in 1539. According to his colophon he drew his own scripts, but did not engrave them himself ('Sumptibus et Typis, Authoris libri'). That they were engraved by an unknown craftsman is made clear from a letter (printed in an appendix) to Postel, in which he told the latter that he was sending him, via his engraver, a copy of a letter written by the Devil himself.

On the contents page of his work Albonesius noted that he was dealing with the following languages and alphabets – 'Chaldaeorum, Samaritanorum, Hebraeorum, Aarabum (!), Punicorum', among thirty-eight such, one of which included the script of the Devil's letter. In the aforementioned appendix Albonesius wrote, 'In the earlier tract on engraving and typography I described the alphabet of the Samaritans as William Postel kindly redrew it for me in Venice, from his own (alphabet) which he had brought to Italy from Byzantium.' By 'the earlier tract' it must be assumed that the author meant the first part of his book, as he is not known to have published a separate work before this. However, no Samaritan alphabet is found in the earlier part of the work unless it be that which is printed vertically in the margin of page 23 recto, in a section devoted to a discussion of the Samaritan alphabet. This alphabet is not recognizable as Samaritan for it bears a close resemblance to Syriac (though it is different from the font acknowledged as Syriac elsewhere in the work), and not one letter in any wise replicates the Samaritan. It is difficult to believe that this alphabet, or in fact any of the alphabets in the work, was written under the guidance of Postel in view of the accuracy of his Samaritan type-face.

This was not the only Samaritan in Albonesius' tract. While Albonesius recognized in his letter to Postel that Postel had but just returned from Constantinople, in 1537, and had brought with him a knowledge of Samaritan which he had gained at first hand, he spoke of two other Samaritan alphabets which he had seen long before making Postel's acquaintance. He wrote:

In the present study, therefore, it seemed that the other Samaritan alphabet, should not be allowed to remain in the dark any longer. It was given to me, ages ago, first in

Rome by Fabius Spoletanus, the highly esteemed lawyer, expert in both Greek and Hebrew letters, who was secretary of the then Reverend Cardinal of the title of St. George Raphael Riario.

When in Rome I also showed it to that polyglott, Flaminius, most learned among the scholars of his day. He declared that it was most certainly Samaritan, and he did not disdain to copy the alphabet in his own hand and to state that it corresponded with the other, which indeed it did.

The alphabet attributed to Flaminius is printed on page 202 recto, and has a moderate resemblance to the Samaritan script. Despite its inaccuracies, Flaminius' Samaritan may have been the first engraved font of the Samaritan alphabet to be reproduced by an imitator for it is indubitably the source of the face numbered Samaritan 1 in Fry's *Pantographia*. Whether it was plagiarized directly by Fry from Albonesius' edition, or whether he redrew it from an intermediate publication is not known to me. The errors in the Fry version, as well as the differences from Albonesius' printing, might indicate an indirect borrowing.

Even a casual inspection reveals that none of the alleged Samaritan scripts printed by Albonesius was based on direct consultation with a manuscript. They are sufficiently remote from either majuscule or minuscule forms for that to be a self-apparent conclusion. A thoroughgoing study of all the early Samaritan manuscripts in Europe has been undertaken by James Fraser[10] who has shown when and how the known manuscripts reached the hands of European scholars. There is no scope for any identifiable manuscript to have been consulted by Albonesius or his informants unless there is one unknown to contemporary scholars. Postel still seems to be able to claim priority in acquiring a Samaritan manuscript for study. This he did in 1537, and spoke about it at a scholarly gathering in Venice, in June of that year, according to Albonesius' letter, aforementioned.

Where then did these Italian savants gain their knowledge, imperfect as it was, of the Samaritan scripts? Two clues in Albonesius' text point to a probable source. In speaking of Spoletanus, Albonesius mentioned that he was a Hebraist of note. In his letter to Postel, Albonesius spoke of Daniel Bomberg, the most prominent of the printers of Hebrew books in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In the literary circles in which Bomberg mixed, and in the circle of Hebraists in Italy, there was a tradition about the Samaritans and their script that is demonstrated in Azariah de Rossi's *Ma'or Eynayim* (Mantua, 1574). De Rossi, in publishing an engraving of the Samaritan font, in which both minuscule and majuscule characters were represented, showed how European Jewish scholars had developed an acquaintance with the Samaritan script via pilgrimage to the Holy Land and from the old Hebrew coin script which they recognized as

[10] See also J.G. Fraser, 'The First Samaritan Manuscripts in Europe', *Abr Nahrain*, 21 (1982–83).

having a Samaritan relationship.[11] In the absence of an obvious manuscript source, and in the light of the scholarly circle from which Albonesius drew his information, we may suggest with some degree of confidence that it was via diffusion from Jewish sources of the type noted by de Rossi that Albonesius and his informants came to their knowledge of the Samaritan script. Though there can be little doubt as to de Rossi's sources, it is not at all unlikely that he had seen Postel's script in *Linguarum duodecim characteribus*, and was influenced by it. This suggestion is based on the similarity between the letter *samech* in both printings; the problem of this *samech* in Postel's work is discussed below.

We do not know what motivated Postel to seek a Samaritan manuscript in Constantinople. Whatever the reason he was able to make available to European scholars the first Samaritan manuscript for study, thus beginning a branch of Bible and cognate scholarship that is still flourishing today. For this achievement alone he would have a place in the annals of European scholarship. We must acknowledge that, in addition, his Samaritan script was the forerunner of all the moveable Samaritan printed type-faces, and it was a good type-face based, for the most part, on the manuscripts. Whether his font was influenced at all by Albonesius and the data that Albonesius showed him is unknown, but we may doubt that he took much account of what he had been shown. On the contrary, if he had made corrections to the script that Albonesius showed him (as Albonesius claims he did) he may have deliberately misled his rival so as to have a clear field. There is conflicting evidence on whether Postel's texts were printed from moveable type, or whether they were made from engravings or woodcuts made for this occasion, though the latter is probable. Examination of the texts makes it appear likely that woodcuts were used, though even experts can be misled.[12]

Postel's first printer, Pierre Vidoué of Vernouil, was a well-known Parisian *atelier*[13] who had 'exotic' fonts cut for him, some of which appear to have been employed in printing *Linguarum duodecim characteribus*.[14] However, it seems likely that the most important of

[11] Cf. M. Gaster, 'Jewish Knowledge of the Samaritan Alphabet in the Middle Ages'. *Studies and Texts*, 1 (1928), 600–13. Gaster prints both de Rossi's alphabet and presents a substantial translation from *Me'or Eynayim*, explaining the author's source.

[12] Cf. *POI*, no. 656, 60, for a conflicting opinion as to whether a text was printed from a woodcut block or moveable type. At the time of writing only microfiche copies of Postel's works are available and one cannot judge directly whether the crude appearance of the scripts is the result of woodcut and printing or bad photoprinting. Since the Syriac characters in *LDC* are said to have been woodcut (*POI*, 35) other non-moveable scripts are likely to have been woodcut. See also Birrell and Garnett, *Catalogue of Typefounders' Specimens* (London, 1928) [hereafter *CTFS*], 73: 'Two previous attempts (at Syriac) occur in Postel's . . . but these are very crude and were probably cut on wood'.

[13] Cf. P. Redouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires Parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. I (Paris, 1964); and Jean de la Caille, *Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie* (Paris, 1689), 90.

[14] de la Caille, *Histoire*, 90: 'que l'ou ait imprimé à Paris on caractères de Langues Orientales.' The publisher was Denys (Dionysium) Lescuier.

these was a Hebrew font, in which some substantial body of text is reproduced in what are obviously moveable characters. The cutter was Robert Estienne, but it is doubtful whether he cut a Samaritan font. In a discussion of Estienne's work we are told that his font comprised 'caractères plus parfaits et plus beaux, comme on le peut voir par plusiers Livres de la Bible en Hébreu, imprimez en 1540.'[15] This cannot be a reference to the Samaritan. Elsewhere[16] we are informed that Postel was forced to have scripts for *Linguarum duodecim characteribus* engraved, as the fonts for printing such a work were not available in France. The truth of the matter would seem to be that most oriental scripts were made in woodcut or engraved blocks but that a moveable Hebrew font was cut for the work.[17]

The Samaritan text appears three times in *Linguarum duodecim characteribus*. The first time is on the title-page where, in a table below the author's name, six alphabets form an ornamental block in horizontal lines. None of these alphabets represents those in the body of the book and, therefore, are engraved not set. The second and the third appearance of the Samaritan alphabet in the text is in a double column headed 'Alphabetum hebraicum Antiqum, nunc Samaritanorum. Prima figura typographica est altera chirographica.' (The pages are not numbered.) It is clear that the word 'chirographica' refers to the form of the Samaritan letters as they appear in the manuscripts, namely to Samaritan majuscule fists. Postel, in his introduction to the section on the Samaritan language, speaks of the Samaritans in terms which indicated that he was well aware of their contemporary state[18] and the script alone is evidence that he had examined Samaritan manuscripts. Whether he had yet procured a manuscript or whether that was to follow on his second journey to the Levant[19] is not yet clear, but there are reasons to infer from the presentation of the scripts in *Linguarum duodecim characteribus* that he was working from notes.

Postel's Samaritan script is a fair, but not elegant, representation of a Samaritan majuscule, yet at the time of executing the script he cannot have had a manuscript in front of him. The *het* is strangely deformed. There are two majuscule *samechs*, only one of which bears any relationship to the one in use in manuscripts. The first specimen is clearly influenced by the hypothetical construction in the first column.

[15] ibid.

[16] *BU*, 169(a).

[17] Postel's Arabic grammar was published in 1538 and was said to have been the first Arabic book 'printed' in Paris (de la Caille, *Histoire*, 91). The Arabic in *LDC* does not seem to have been printed from moveable characters.

[18] Postel visited the Levant twice. On the first of his travels in 1537 he acquired a number of manuscripts, but his publication of *LDC* seems to have been influenced more by the languages he had heard than the manuscripts he brought back; see *BU*, 169(a).

[19] Postel's second journey to the Levant was in 1549. Again he acquired manuscripts; *BU*, 170.

One can see here the precursor of the misshapen *samech* form that makes its appearance in later years.[20] The presence of two differing examples of the 'chirographica' *samech* must in itself testify to the engraving, rather than cutting, of the type. Postel's first column, the 'typographica', bears little relationship to any Samaritan script: it is based on the Hebrew coin script – two specimens of coins appear at the foot of the column, and there can be no doubt that some, at least, of the letters in the first column are drawn directly from the script. However, in the coins which form his source, we see only *'Aleph, daled, hē, vav, yad, lamed, mem, quf, resh* and *shin*. The other letters are not found on those coins and were not to be seen on any coins identified as Samaritan in Postel's day.[21] We must assume that Postel invented these forms on analogy with the majuscule manuscript calligraphy.[22] The term 'typographica', then, appears to relate to the casting of the letter on the metal of the coin, rather than to moveable or any other similar type.

Postel's rare *De foenicum literis* is not available at the time of writing, and it is difficult to say whether Postel published his Samaritan text therein from moveable type or from blocks. His printer, Vincent Gaultherot, is not known to have had oriental type at his disposal.[23] If Postel did use a moveable font in this book it would be impossible now to say who cut the punches and what became of them: they were certainly not available, if they existed, for the printing of J.J. Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum*. Postel was a skilled orientalist, being professor of mathematics and oriental languages ('Mathematicorum et Peregrinarum Literarum Interpres') at the Collège Royale in Paris, and he might well have drawn letters himself for engravers to cut on blocks, for the printing.[24]

Postel's pioneering publication of Samaritan does not therefore seem to have been done, so far as we may reasonably assume, with the aid of moveable type of the Samaritan alphabet. Nevertheless, he seems to have been the godfather, if not the father, of the Samaritan font, for he had a substantial influence on J.J. Scaliger who did utilize

[20] See, for example, E. Fry, *Pantographia* (London, 1799), no.250, Samaritan 3.

[21] Cf. F.P. Bayer, *Numorum Hebraeo-Samaritanorum Vindiciae*, vol. 2 (Valentiae Edetanorum, 1790), table facing 120. See also his comments on Postel, 118, 145.

[22] ibid., 145, for comment on Postel's letter forms.

[23] de la Caille, *Histoire*, 116.

[24] The author has not been able to consult Postel's Arabic Grammar, but there seems to be a suggestion (*EHTO*, 6) that it contained a Samaritan printed font rather than an extract of a Samaritan manuscript printed from a block. De Guignes further claimed that Postel 'fixed the proper character of each of the languages, Hebrew, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, Illyrian, and Armenian.' De Guignes' suggestion, that these were included in a specimen of fonts at the printing shop of Denys Lescuier in 1538, would appear to be a reference to *Linguarum duodecim characteribus* which was published by Lescuier, and the reference to a dedication to the Archbishop of Vienna would support this identification, as this is the dedication in the *Linguarum*. The statement that these were the first specimens of oriental characters on Parisian presses does not affect the judgement offered that we are dealing with a block rather than with moveable type.

a moveable font in the publication of his *De emendatione temporum*. Careful scanning of the Samaritan bibliography[25] shows no printed book in the decades between Postel and Scaliger and their publications of the Samaritan showing any parallel features. Scaliger had a warm and scholarly relationship with Postel[26] and must have been aware that Postel had acquired a Samaritan manuscript during one of his Middle Eastern voyages (= MS Leiden Acad. 218). This acquisition may have been one of the factors which triggered Scaliger's own correspondence with the Samaritans and his search for Samaritan manuscripts. Scaliger published his great work, *De emendatione temporum*, in Paris in 1583. It was printed without any reference to the Samaritan calendar, for it was not until 1584 that he acquired two Samaritan manuscripts, the Samaritan Arabic book of Joshua (MS Leiden Or. 249), later to be published by Juynboll, and two calendars from the Samaritan community in Cairo.[27] These calendars were incorporated in the second edition of *De emendatione temporum*, Leiden, 1598. For this edition a Samaritan font was cut, so far as can be determined, the first moveable Samaritan type. He utilized one woodcut engraving in the Samaritan alphabet, on page 228.

It is interesting to note that in the third edition of *De emendatione temporum* (Cologne, 1629),[28] two different Samaritan scripts are likewise to be found. On page 243, under the title of 'de Anno Samaritanorum', Scaliger presents the same plate as page 228 in the second edition, the names of the Samaritan months with an accompanying explanatory table. This plate appears to have been engraved: the same letter never appears to be identical and none of the characteristics of moveable types are to be noted. We are faced with a woodcut block, albeit one in which the letter forms are of considerable crudity. However, the woodcut is not identical with that in the second edition and has been re-engraved. On pages 657–60 (equivalent to pages 616–19 in the second edition) the author presents the information gained from a study of the Cairo manuscript in what he calls a 'computus Samaritanorum'.

The text conveys ambiguous information as to whether it was printed from moveable letters as in the second edition.[29] Comparison

[25] See my *Bibliography*. In addition to its 2,750 entries two unpublished supplements have been gathered adding a further 1,000 entries.

[26] Cf. J. Brugman, 'Arabic Scholarship', *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. T.H.L. Scheurleer and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1975), 202–15. We see that Scaliger lodged in Paris at the same hostel as Postel.

[27] Cf. J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907; 2nd edn. with new matter, New York, 1968), 3–4. The whereabouts of the calendars is not now known. A better account of Scaliger and other Dutch scholars is to be found in J.H.C. Lebram, 'Ein Streit um die Hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta', *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century*, 21–64.

[28] The author has access only to the third edition and to an incomplete text of the second edition and so is unable to verify if both scripts were used in the second edition.

[29] Cf. *PO1*, no. 65(b), 60: 'In this edition, albeit excellently printed, the longer Samaritan and Ethiopian texts of the computus have been cut on one block . . Wijnman assumed that the

of the text with a proof of the type cast from the matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum[30] leaves little room for doubt that the text in the third edition of *De emendatione temporum* was printed in the same style as the font shown in the proof, but not from the same characters. Neither the matrices nor the punches of the Raphaelengius font were used, and, though we know that the Plantin press sold sets of matrices, we cannot trace such a set to the printer at Cologne.[31] If one examines the text in detail, one sees that each letter is different from the next of the same. In other words, this was not printed from a font cast from a set of matrices. One has only to consider that the *samech* is the hardest letter to represent, and one never finds the same form repeated on any page, to see that each letter has been cut individually. The text, then, appears to have been cut from wood. The question that must be asked is whether this was a block, or several blocks, or whether individual letters were cut in wood and set individually – a complicated process that might be considered unnecessary. Yet, two letters are printed reversed. The first of these is *tet*, which is printed upside down (page 658, line 14, the eighth letter) and the second is *samech* (page 659, line 17, the eleventh letter) on a page in which *samech* had appeared several times. It is hard to believe that a block cutter would have cut a *samech* backwards, unless that letter appears in the same place in the first edition (which I cannot check at this time), whereas a moveable woodcut letter could have been inverted in such a fashion. Moveable woodcut letters continued in use for some exotic fonts until the middle of the seventeenth century – Walton's Polyglot printed its Rabbinic Hebrew, Nestorian and Estrangelo Syriac, Armenian and Coptic, with other scripts then rare in Europe, from woodcut alphabets. Whatever the case, there is a notable distinction between the scripts on page 243 and pages 657–60, the former being crude and the latter a sophisticated copy of cast type.

We do not know beyond doubt who cut the punches for printing the second edition of *De emendatione temporum*.[32] In October 1593, Franciscus Raphaelengius, the son-in-law of Plantin, wrote in a letter to Paris that he had had punches made for foreign languages for the printing of J.J. Scaliger's *Opus de emendatione temporum*. Raphael-

Ethiopian texts were printed from type.' However, see the opinion of R. Smitskamp, of E.J. Brill, the author of the comments in *PO*, in a letter of 16 August 1983.

[30] The proof was made for me by Dr L. Voet, Director of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, in September 1976. The punches (ST.58) and matrices (MA.736) are a body of 15.5 Didot, or 16.6 pica points.

[31] Cf. L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses* [hereafter *GC*] (Amsterdam, 1962–72), 2, 76–8 on the supply of matrices to others from the Raphaelengius punches. No mention is made there of matrices supplied to Roverianis, but the record is not complete for we are able to trace the Raphaelengius font to other printers not named in Voet's account. It turns up on other specimen sheets under different names. See below, 99–103.

[32] See M. Parker, K. Melis and H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana II: Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds in the Plantin-Moretus Archives,' *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), 108–9, for the data which follow.

engius worked with two men, Thomas de Vechter and Judocus Hondius. The former was a specialist in casting type and justifying matrices and the latter was a typecutter. Both men were probably involved in making the Samaritan font, Hondius cutting the punches and making the strikes and de Vechter justifying the matrices and casting the font.[33] We are likewise uncertain of what was used as the model for this font, but the form of the *samech* raises the question as to whether Postel's opinion was sought by the printer or whether Postel's own books served as models from which the original sketches of the font were drawn.[34] The *samech*, which is not found in the form printed in any Samaritan majuscule script that was available to Scaliger nor in any Hebrew coin known to his day,[35] bears a striking similarity to the *samech* in the 'typographica' column in *Linguarum duodecim characteribus*. Whilst it is probably true that many of the characters follow 'a coarse inscriptional model',[36] one sees clear evidence that a manuscript was consulted for some forms (for example, *kaph*, *sade*)[37] and that others are best explained on the assumption that the sketches for the punch-cutting were drawn with reference to Postel's work.[38]

The subsequent history of the Raphaelengius font is interesting in that it raises several questions that need further detailed investigation, especially in the light of several fonts cited in the literature of the history of type-founding as extant Samaritan fonts.[39] Rowe-Mores[40] presents us with a specimen of what he called the 'Double Pica, Leusdenian' Samaritan font, and adds the information that this font (also identified as 'Lot 29, Bynneman 4 with 21 matrices') was the only one of its type in England and was in the foundry of Mr James, London, in 1778.[41] A note to the specimen sheet, note 24 on page 107, gives us the opinion:

[33] The same conclusion about the punch-cutting is noted in *PO2*, no. 199(d), 175.

[34] Cf. *GC*, 79–80. Plantin apparently consulted his friend Guillaume Postel when cutting a Syriac font, and whilst there is no record of Raphaelengius doing the same, the Plantin family relationships were such that he might well have followed the same advice and consulted Postel.

[35] See R. Dessaud, 'Ecritures hébraique et samaritaine' in C. Fossey, *Notices sur les caractères étrangers, anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1948), 83; and *Inscriptions Reveal*, ed. R. Grafman and Efrat Carmon, 2nd edn. (Jerusalem, 1972), 10–11 (Hebrew end).

[36] *PO2*, no. 199(a), 175.

[37] See my comments on the form of *kaph* in *SMP* for clarification of the conclusion that the Raphaelengius *kaph* derives from manuscript majuscule.

[38] In addition to the *samech* as noted see also the rather erratic form of the *'ayin* in which the cutter has added a vertical stroke as a base for the triangle of the *'ayin* in a manner for which no real warrant can be found in coin script or manuscript majuscule. The source of this stroke may have been Postel's *'ayin* 'typographica' which has exaggerated fulcrum knots. If the lower knot were exaggerated further in some erroneous 'rationalization' by the punch-cutter or type-designer, the result would be as found in the Raphaelengius type.

[39] See especially T.B. Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, revised and enlarged by A.F. Johnson (London, 1974) [hereafter *OELF*].

[40] E. Rowe-Mores, *A Dissertation Upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies, 1778, with a Catalogue and Specimen of the Type Foundry of John James*, ed. H. Carter and C. Ricks (Oxford, 1961) [hereafter *DETF*].

[41] ibid., 84, and see 'First Day's Sale', 2.

Apparently an imitation of one cut for the elder Franciscus Raphaelengius and used in Joseph Scaliger's *De Emendatione temporum*, Leyden, 1598, for which the punches and matrices are in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. This one is used for Jan Leusden's *Scholia Syriaca*, Utrecht, 1672.[42] In the preface, Leusden wrote that it was cut for him in Amsterdam, yet it is doubtfully distinguishable from the one in the sale catalogue of Johannes Janssonius II, Amsterdam 1666 (Bodley, Marshall, 148). A specimen much like it is in the Specimen of Vosken's foundry referred to under 19. The matrices formerly belonged to Andrews. This is probably the face for which James had the punches described in the catalogue (lot 332) as for Pica (see p.75).[43]

The reference and footnote raise the question of whether we are, in fact, really looking at the Raphaelengius font in the so-called Leusdenian. On the one hand, one can make a *prime facie* case on the basis of circumstantial evidence for their identity. The Samaritan type of Raphaelengius was said to have been sold to Erpenius in 1610.[44] In a letter of 21 September 1619, Frans van Ravelingen (= Raphaelengius) wrote to his parents that it had been decided to sell Syriac, Ethiopic and Samaritan type-faces to Erpenius,[45] but the matrices may not have been sold: they disappeared and were not heard of again. However, they may well have been in the property of the foundry sold by Erpenius's widow in 1624 to Isaac Elzevier, which was sold again in 1625 to Abraham Elzevier.[46] Reed speaks of a Samaritan type belonging to Erpenius,[47] so the latter certainly seems to have acquired a font which he displayed, despite the opinion of Enschedé.[48] Reed also noted that he had seen a Samaritan font, apparently identified with the 'Leusdenian' font in a specimen sheet of J. Elsevir (Elzevier) in 1658.[49] This specimen is not available to the author, but on the face of it one can see a route by which the Raphaelengius font travelled to become available for the printing of Leusden's works. Leusden's first edition of *Scholia Syriaca* was printed by Meinard a' Dreunen at Utrecht in 1658, and the second edition was likewise printed at Utrecht by G. a' Poolsum.[50] On the other hand, the 'Leusdenian' and 'Raphaelengian' fonts are quite different, having come from quite different punches. Among the differences which are to be seen are the

[42] This is the second edition. The first edition was printed in 1658.

[43] See *OELF*, 63, which says that the James' punches were probably never struck. For proof of the contrary, see the discussion of the English faces.

[44] Cf. C. Enschedé, *Fonderies de caractères et leur matériel dans les pays-bas en XV^e au XIX^e siècle* (Haarlem, 1908), 59. There is an English translation by H. Carter (Haarlem, 1978). Hereafter *FCPB(E)* or *(F)*.

[45] 'Nous nous sommes décidés d'autant plus facilement à vendre les sortes précédentes que vous en possédez touts les poinçons et matrices, ou du moins les matrices. Nous croyons donc que vous ne désirez pas des caractères de tous les assortiments puisque vous pourrez toujours faire fondre le que vous n'auriez pas en votre possession.' Quoted *FCPB(F)*, 59; *FCPB(E)*, 70.

[46] *FCPB(F)*, 60; *FCPB(E)*, 70.

[47] *OELF*, 63. *JF*, 162 states that Erpenius had a Samaritan font which he found no occasion to use and that this was the font that went to the Elzeviers.

[48] 'Les matrices des lettres Samaritaines et ethiopiennes n'ont pas été retrouvées plus tard.'

[49] *OELF*, 63.

[50] The details of printers and editions are as found in the British Library Catalogue.

following features (we must remember, however, that the specimen found in Rowe-Mores is deficient and all the letters are not available for comparison). The descriptive terms are those developed in the author's studies of Samaritan palaeography.[51]

'Aleph	In the Raphaelengian script (R) the transversal is a straight line; in the Leusdenian script (L) the transversal has an oblique angled bend.
Bet	In R the foot of *bet* curves upwards to tail off in a point; in L the foot of *bet* is horizontal and finishes in a serif.
Hē	In R the fulcrum knot of *hē* turns up; in L the fulcrum knot of *hē* turns down.
Yad	In R the three legs of *yad* are of equal length; in L the left leg of *yad* is 1mm shorter than the others.
Lamed	In R the head of *lamed* is set at 110° to the body; in L the head of *lamed* is set at 90° to the body.
'Ayin	In L the *'ayin* is substantially larger than that in R.
Tav	In R the transversal ends in a slight ligature to the right arm; in L the transversal is unligatured.

These are but the more obvious differences. There are others more subtle.

As suggested by Carter[52] the Leusdenian is *almost* identical with the specimen found on Johannes Janssonius' type-sheet of Amsterdam, 1666,[53] but it is not *identical*. The Samaritan on the Janssonian specimen sheet is entitled 'Text, Augustijn, Characterea, 12 Pondt', that is we are given the size and no information about its origin, and in the four lines which follow the superscription we see two lines of a Samaritan font which has been cut in imitation of the Raphaelengius font. However, within the two lines are a number of spurious forms which are not Samaritan and which are not to be found in antecedent Samaritan fonts. These are, on line 1, letters 5,[54] 6, 8 (not a broken *lamed*, the form is repeated letter 16), and on line 2, letters 5, 8, 11, 13, 17, 22. In lines 3 and 4 there are more spurious letters than genuine ones. The genuine letters in this specimen are close in appearance to the Leusdenian, but on detailed examination can be seen to be derived neither from the same punches nor matrices. The detailed differences are:

Bet	In J(ansson) the foot of *bet* appears as a hybrid of R and L.
Vav	In J the foot serif of *vav* crosses the transversal; in L the transversal projects across the foot serif.
Kaph	In J the spine of *kaph* is fractionally longer than in L.
Samech	In J *samech* is symmetrical; in L it is asymmetrical.
Shin	In J the left horn of *shin* has a serif which projects to the left; in L the serif projects left and right of the horn.

[51] See note 6, and add 'Samaritan Minuscule Palaeography', *BJRULM*, 63:2 (1980), 330–68.

[52] *DETF*, 107.

[53] My copy by courtesy of the Bodleian Library, entitled *Druckerie en Letteguieterie: Druckerie van der Overledene*.

[54] Reading from right to left.

It is difficult to understand how these differences could have arisen if the Janssonian Samaritan derived from the same punches as the Leusdenian. One must suggest that both were cut by different punch-cutters, the former by Jansson himself. Jansson's font was cut, perhaps, with a specific project in view, the printing in 1666 of a Dutch version of the le Jay Polyglot, to be called the *Biblia Alexandrina Heptaglotta*. Whether the work was ever printed or not is a matter of debate. Adam Clarke, in his *A Biographical Dictionary*, I, 1802, gives the impression that the work had been printed, but was justifiably ignored by scholars and bibliophiles as the work was an outright plagiarism of its French predecessor. Standard references to polyglot Bibles do not refer to the book. If it was printed, all copies seem to have been lost or destroyed. Who cut the Leusdenian? We cannot know but we can frame a guess from the evidence, firstly, based on the statement of Leusden that he had it cut for himself for his project of printing his book, and, secondly, that one specimen is known only from the foundry of John James.

The exotic type in James' foundry seems to have come via John James' ancestor, Thomas James, from Amsterdam. Thomas James had dealings with Joseph Athias, Bartholomew Voskens, Johannes Rolu and Cupy.[55] Of these men we have Samaritan specimens from two – Voskens and Rolu[56] and neither of these specimens is a Leusdenian. It is clear from James' letters that the Dutch punches and the fonts he acquired were all cut in Amsterdam as no type-cutting took place outside that city. The font which came from Athias does not seem to have included many matrices, unlike his purchases from Cupy which seem to have been of matrices.[57] The Leusdenian, then, is likely to have come from Athias. Athias now leads us back to Elzevier, for much of Athias' stock of punches and matrices came from Elzevier,[58] who in turn had acquired stock from Erpenius. But we know that Elzevier's acquisition from Erpenius was on condition that the fonts stayed in Leiden,[59] so he is unlikely to have supplied type to printers in Utrecht to print Leusden's book. We do know, however, that much of Elzevier's stock came from a punch-cutter, Christoffel van Dijck,[60] and he is most likely to have cut the imitation of the Raphaelengius font for Leusden. This would permit the printing of a Leusdenian font in the Elzevier specimen sheet (see above, 100) and show a chain of transmission to the James' sale in England.

[55] The correspondence of Thomas James is detailed in *DETF* and is condensed in *FCPB(E)*, appendix, 425ff.

[56] The specimen sheets are reproduced in J. Dreyfus, *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, 1–15 (London, 1963) [hereafter *TSF*].

[57] *FCPB(E)*, 427.

[58] ibid., 82.

[59] ibid., 71.

[60] ibid., 76–7. Note that van Dijck cut an Armenian face in 1658. He would have been a logical choice for Leusden to cut the type for his books.

Two further versions of the Raphaelengius font are to be recorded. The first is the version which occurs in the alphabet table, on page 10, of Nicholls' *Grammar*.[61] Nicholls stated that he was presenting the forms 'as adopted by Scaliger and Leusdenius in his Syriac Grammar.'[62] It is clear that we are faced with an engraving, in this instance, showing an approximation to the two fonts, with no proper correspondence to either. The second is the alphabet numbered Samaritan 3 in Edmund Fry, *Pantographia*, London, 1799. Fry's note to this alphabet says, 'This character is also said by Theseus Ambrosius, to have been formed from the same as the preceding, it was approved and received into use at Rome and called ancient Greek. Duret, p.324, Le Clabart, p.517.' The latter names seem to have been the sources of his copy. The alphabet is undoubtedly based on the Raphaelengius face. It is unlikely to have been printed, even if Fry had it cut, and we must regard this face as the fancy of a scholarly printer with an archaeological bent.

THE DUTCH-GERMAN FACES

A font with a rather chequered history that is not simple to trace is one which was widely used in German and Eastern European printings of Samaritana until the late nineteenth century. Its spread reflects the shift in the centre of interest of Europeans from the Samaritan Pentateuch, which had preoccupied the French and English scholars of the first half of the seventeenth century, to curiosity about the Samaritans themselves. The second line of European Samaritan scholarship was the series of letters between the Samaritans and such men as Thomas Marshall of Lincoln College, Oxford, James Ussher, Bishop of Armagh, Robert Huntington, Bishop of Raphoe in Ireland, and one-time minister at the 'English Factory' in Aleppo, and, of course, the accounts of the personal visits of some of these, and other scholars, to the Samaritans at Nablus and Damascus. In the scholarly literature of the second half of the seventeenth century these contacts were reflected in studies of the Samaritans proper, their dogmas, cult, religion, way of life and their language. They were seen as a new and living key with which to open up the critical study of biblical religious practice as it had descended via the Jews and the Church. Whereas the scholarly literature of the first half of the seventeenth century was largely intent on examining the authenticity of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and tended to follow the early fonts, in France, Holland and England, the literature of the second half of the century saw a change in emphasis and locale, as the following list shows:

First half of the century

1631 J. Morin, *Exercitationes ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, Paris.

[61] G.F Nicholls, *A Grammar of the Samaritan Language* (London, 1858).

[62] ibid., 11.

1631	S. de Muis, *Assertio veritatis Hebraicae adversus exercitationes*, Paris.
1632	J. Weemes, *Exercitations Divine . . . out of the Scriptures . . . Samaritans*, London.
1634	S. de Muis, *Assertatio Altera*, Paris.
1629–45	*The Paris Polyglott.*
1635	R. Montagu, *Apparatus ad origines-ecclesiasticas*, Oxford.
1644	J. Hottinger, *Exercitationes Anti-Morianae*, Tiguri (= Zurich).

Second half of the century

1648	F. Baltensz, *Samaritane . . . des Evangelist Johannes*, Dordrecht.
1649	C. Raue, *A Discourse of the Orientall Tongues*, London.
1650	C. Raue, *A Generall Grammer*, London.
1655	B. Walton, *Introductio ad . . . Linguarum Orientalium*, London.
1658	J. Hottinger, *Smegma Orientale*, Heidelberg.
1658	J. Hottinger, *Promptuarium*, Heidelberg.
1658	B. Walton, *Dissertatio in qua de Linguis Orientalibus*, London.
1679	J. Hilliger, *Summarium linguae*, Wittenberg.

Altogether, between 1600 and 1700, some eighty-two books focussing on some aspect of the Samaritans were published. The German or rather the Dutch-German faces are related to this period in publishing, and its aftermath in the scholarship of the subsequent century. The German face is well known from the work of G. Cellarius (Keller), *Horae Samaritanae* (Cizae = Zeitz: typis Martin Jacquetti, 1682), and the face is alleged to have been cut for this printing. In fact, the face in Cellarius' work is identical with the font found on A.I. Janson's specimen sheet and is almost identical with the font found on the specimens of Adolph Schmidt and Johannes Rolu. It is also a close cousin of the Fell Samaritan, cut by Peter de Walpergen.[63] It is not certain who cut the first punches, especially in the light of the recent revaluation of A.I. Janson's work,[64] but there are some clues. It is impossible to identify the manuscript on which the face is based. It is so remote from any pre-sixteenth-century manuscript in form that one must anticipate that it was either redrafted by the cutter from drawings of a scholar without further reference to that scholar, or else it is based on a seventeenth-century debased Samaritan script. No text recommends itself in this role, though there may have been correspondence no longer extant. Certainly, the known correspondence of the scholars is in a far more natural face than seen in the Dutch-German type.

The Dutch-German face is first seen on the specimens of A.I. Janson[65] and Adolph Schmidt[66] in 1674, and thereafter in the

[63] *JF*, 162.

[64] Cf. G. Buday, 'Some Notes on Nicholas Kis of the "Janson" Types' [hereafter *NK:JT*], *The Library*, 29:1 (1974), 21–35; and H. Carter and G. Buday, 'Nicholas Kis and the Janson Types', [hereafter *NK & J*], *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, (1957), 207–12.

[65] Cf. Stanley Morison, 'Leipzig as a Centre of Type Founding', *Signature*, 11 (1939), fig.1. specimen by A. I(anson), Leipzig, ?1674. Original size.

[66] My copy of the Samaritan on the 1674 Schmidt fragment of a specimen sheet came in the

specimen of Johannes Rolu. It cannot be found, to the best of my knowledge, in the Samaritana of the period before the first specimens mentioned.[67] J.H. Hottinger's early work which contains a part of the Samaritan alphabet[68] had letters individually cut for the occasion as the same letter takes different forms. No Samaritan font was available to him for his *Smegma Orientale* published in 1658 at Heidelberg.[69] From 1680 onwards we find that the font begins to appear in Central European Samaritana in a variety of printings and places.[70] Since Rolu purchased Schmidt's foundry from Schmidt's widow, and since the Rolu Samaritan specimen is identical with that of Schmidt (including the same spelling errors in the Samaritan), we may assume that the Rolu font is really Schmidt's.[71] Whether Rolu acquired Schmidt's matrices is difficult to say, but it seems to be most probable.[72] Priority for the German Samaritan, then, must be given to either Schmidt or Janson. In discussing Janson's Samaritan, we can discount the possibility that this font was really cut by Nicholas Kis. The Janson specimen appeared at least six years before Kis made his way from his native Hungary to the West,[73] and although Kis cut a Samaritan font, it can be identified with some degree of probability as the font which appeared in products of the Drugulin printing works.[74] The Kis font relies heavily on the Schmidt font as will be shown.

The Janson and Schmidt fonts have subtle differences but these differences are the result of casting type from different matrices of the same punches, with one exception. The two fonts, published in specimens in the same year, are basically the same size:[75] the Janson is

---

form of a reduced photographic facsimile by the kindness of J.S.G. Simmons, All Souls College, Oxford. I would like to acknowledge here John Simmons' kindness in guiding me to and giving me materials that I might otherwise have missed.

[67] A problem is raised by the alphabet table, 27 left column, in M. Christopher Crinesius, *Discursus de confusione linguarum* (n.d., ?1628 according to the catalogue of the Bodleian Library). The script, engraved, is close to the Janson specimen.

[68] i.e., *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianae de Pentateucho Samaritano* (Tiguri = Zurich: typis Joh. Jacobi Bodmeri, 1644), especially 53. Each letter is clearly hand-cut and relatively crude. I have not been able to examine his *Thesaurus Philologicus* (Tiguri, 1649 and 1659), but I would doubt if he had a Samaritan font available.

[69] Typis Adriani Wyngaerden, Academ. Bibliopolae and Typographi.

[70] e.g., Job Ludolf, *Epistolae Sichemitarum ad Jobum Ludolfum* (Cizae, 1688); J.F. Lubegk, *Exercitatio philologia de Proseuchis Samaritanorum* (Wittenberg, 1682).

[71] *OELF*, 211. On Schmidt's standing as an oriental punch-cutter, cf. J.S.G. Simmons, 'H.W. Ludolf and the Printing of his *Grammatica Russica* at Oxford in 1696', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, I (1950), 104–29.

[72] ibid. The information presented there gives the impression, but does not state clearly, that the matrices of the Samaritan were bought by Rolu. An incomplete note of my own indicates that among the list of items sold to Rolu were the matrices, 'Mediaan Samaritan, complete, justified,' but those matrices are not listed in the notes to the Schmidt specimen of 1695 in *TSF*, 19. My source may have been *FCPB(F)*, 115. Does 'complete' imply that punches were present?

[73] *NK & J*, 207.

[74] Cf. *NK:JT*, 33. The Drugulin works printed a limited edition specimen of various alphabets at Leipzig in *Marksteine aus der Weltlitteratur in Originalschriften*, 1902. The Samaritan was edited by A. Merx. A copy (no. 106) of this extremely rare item is in the Library of Congress, Washington. There can be no doubt of the dependence of this font on Schmidt.

[75] For comparison of sizes see the table *FCPB(E)*, 455; Mediaan = Cicero = pica = 1.167 inches.

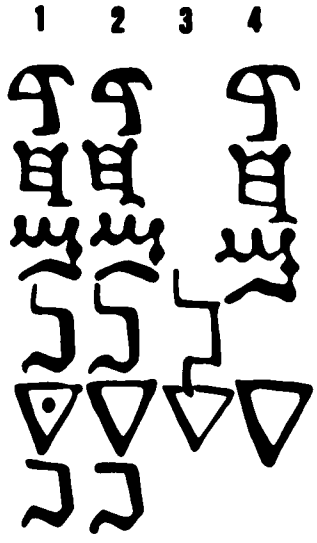

Figure 1
The Dutch–German Faces
1. Schmidt
2. Janson
3. Acoluthi
4. Guereus

known as Cicero Samaritanisch and the Schmidt is known both as Cicero Samaritans (1674 specimen) and as Mediaen Sammaridanis (1695 specimen), the same title as is used for the Rolu specimen.[76] Both Janson and Schmidt are said to have cut Samaritan fonts, Janson's being said to have been cut in the year that the specimen was issued, i.e., in 1674.[77] The fonts are one and the same. They are identical in every characteristic save the following. The Schmidts' *'ayin* contains a *dagesh* – a diacritical point which can *never* occur in *'ayin*. It is clearly an error, and though the same error is found on the Rolu specimen, that would testify to the same matrices or slugs being used for the printing of the latter. In the Janson *'ayin* the diacritical point is missing; apparently the punches were modified. In the Schmidt *mem*, the lower part of the vertical stroke (below the fulcrum knot) is sometimes broken. The same breakage occurs in some of the Janson *mems* but not all. In the Janson *het*, the lower serif is incomplete. This must result from a flaw in the matrix or the punch has been modified; in every other respect the *het* of Janson and Schmidt are identical.

It is apparent from the variations that the Janson font was cast after the punches were modified. Did Janson then have the punches, whereas on the evidence of the Rolu specimen Schmidt had matrices which were passed on to Rolu? Janson's specimen is a little more intelligent than that of Schmidt which is full of errors in spelling,

[76] *TSF*, 15.

[77] See *FCPB(F)*, 115 *(FCPB(E)*, 133) for Schmidt, and *OELF*, 211. *OELF*, 63, says 'and another (Samaritan type) was cut by Anton Janson at Leipzig in the same year (1674).'

phrasing and word division; Janson's specimen still has errors but they are fewer in number. In both cases one wonders how a type-founder, who must have known the script, could make self-evident spelling errors which result from a confusion of letters which have but a crude resemblance to each other. The matter is made more complex rather than clearer by the font in the rare work by Andreae Acoluthi, *Aquis Amaris* (Leipzig: typis Justini Brandl, 1682) in which we see a complex set of circumstances. Both the Schmidt and the Janson *'ayins* appear in this printing (see page 69 where they appear on consecutive lines). Moreover, the font lacks the letter *pē; nun,* which has some similarity to it, is used in its place. For *nun* a square bracket is used to which two lines have been appended to simulate a *nun*. This letter must have been cast by modifying a matrix. The absence of *pē* and the various substitutions indicate that no punches were handy, but that some deficient matrices were available and some type had been bought from elsewhere to supplement what was being cast in the hope of making good the loss of a letter. It is interesting that the missing *nun/square bracket* substitution tends to become a feature of German Samaritan typography henceforth.[78] In later printings from this font the top of *nun* has been removed so that its body resembles *pē*, and the square bracket remains as *nun*.[79] It is this type that Kis copied for these features appear in the Drugulin prints or prints from the Kis type-face.[80]

From these facts we may deduce the following sequence of events. Anton Schmidt learned his trade of type-founder at the Luther factory in Frankfurt am Main, and by 1670 had set up on his own. He seems to have cut his exotic or oriental types between 1670 and 1674, at least on the evidence of the specimen sheets still extant.[81] Some time between cutting the punches and printing his 1674 specimen he supplied type to Leipzig founders followed by a set of matrices in which the *'ayin* had been modified – perhaps the punches had been modified by Schmidt himself. When Schmidt moved to Amsterdam, perhaps in 1689,[82] he took his stock with him but used the older matrices or existing type in setting up his specimen of 1695. This specimen differed from the earlier specimen in having a complete alphabet printed as its last line. Both *nun* and *pē* are found there, but

[78] For an identical usage, with no modification of *nun* in its substitution for *pe*, see J.C. Freiderich, *Discussionum de Christologia Samaritanorum Liber* (Leipzig: in Libraria Weidmannia, 1821) and van Vloten and Ravid, *Specimen*.

[79] For example see W (G) Gesenius, *Carmina Samaritana* (Leipzig, 1824).

[80] For the Kis face, see F. Uhlemann, *Institutiones linguae Samaritanae* (Leipzig: typis Caroli Tauchnitii, 1837); A Drabkin, *Fragmenta commentarii ad Pentateuchum Samaritano-Arabici sex* (Leipzig: typis Guillemi Drugulini, 1875); F. Ballhorn, *Alphabete orientalischer und occidentalischer der Polygraphische Apparat der K.K. Hof und Staatsdruckerie zu Wien* (Wien, 1853). An English edition of Ballhorn was printed in London, 1861, under the title of *Grammatography: A Manual of Reference to the Alphabets of Ancient and Modern Languages*.

[81] *FCPB(E)*, 133.

[82] ibid., 134.

'ayin still has its diacritical point. In other words, at a time when Leipzig type-founders were having to make do with a missing letter, and finding alternatives for that letter, apparently because they could not replace their type or replace the missing matrix of *pē*, a complete alphabet was available in Amsterdam. The Rolu specimen of *c.*1700 is identical with the older Schmidt, not including the complete alphabet. While a full alphabet was available in Amsterdam, in 1715, when G. & D. Goereus printed John Chamberlayne's edition of the Lord's Prayer,[83] the face was subtly recut in a manner close to that of the Schmidt face, but in no wise identical to it. So close is the appearance of the recutting to the Schmidt and Janson faces, that the differences only became apparent under the microscope when comparison can be made via enlargements and the drawing tube. When one examines the original closely (Bodleian Library, Douce 0158) one sees marks in the centre of *'ayin* as though in the recutting a diacritical point had first been added and was then deleted. The recut face tends to be finer than its predecessors. The Schmidt face, its *'ayin* modified (lacking the diacritical point), was used by Matthew Henckel, the typographer to Wittenberg University.

From the last quarter of the seventeenth century, for a fifty-year span into the early eighteenth century, Wittenberg University had an active school of Samaritan studies, apparently under the aegis of its theologians – if one may judge from the acknowledgements in published theses. In keeping with the changed emphasis on subject matter in Central European Samaritan studies of the period one finds an interest in philology. Typical of the Wittenberg press is Johan Willemer's *Positiones Philologicae de Creatione Mundi, Samaritanum Pentateuchi textui* (Wittenberg, 1677). The work seems to draw on the Paris polyglot for its text as no manuscript is cited therein, and, since Wittenberg is not known to have housed any Samaritan manuscripts, one must assume that all the products of the Wittenberg Samaritan school drew on secondary source material. It may have been for this reason that there was no impetus to cut a 'house' font, in contrast to Oxford, and the Schmidt face was used. The font used by the Wittenberg printer has an *'ayin* without a diacritical point, though a trace of it is to be seen in the left centre of most of the *'ayins* in the book. The serif on the arm of *vav* and that on the foot of *lamed* make it clear that this is not a font cast from a set of matrices known to us from other printings. Schmidt seems to have struck a new set of matrices from the modified punches and supplied this set to Wittenberg University for casting the type for its printings.

[83] See also *CTFS*, 76, then 162, 'Oratio Dominica in Diversas Omnium Fere Gentium Linguas Versa . . . Editore Joanne Chamberlayino Anglo-Britanne, Regiae Societatis Londinensis & Berolinensis Socio. Amstelaedami, Typis Guilielmi & Davidis Goerei, MDCCXV (1715).' Note to comments at the top of 76, 'Exotic types in the possession of William and David Goereus of Amsterdam(.) These comprise Hebrew, Samaritan . . I have been unable to establish with certainty the origin of any of these.'

Several other forms of the Schmidt face are known to us. One, as stated, was the face cut by Kis. As well as being found in the Drugulin printing-shop (see above, 105) a smaller point-size of the same face was to be found in the *Staatsdruckerei* at Vienna, from whence it was made available to other printers who wanted to utilize a Samaritan type-face.[84] Smitskamp[85] has shown that Alois Auer, the director of the state printing workshop in Vienna from 1841 to 1866, was an enterprising man who was responsible for introducing new oriental fonts – in particular a hieroglyphic face, which he seems to have copied from Ballhorn (see note 78). We may suspect a similar route for the smaller point-sizes of the German Samaritan which, then, would appear to have been cut under Auer's aegis.

A second version can be traced in works of the late nineteenth century. The earliest book in which it can be found is H. Petermann, *Pentateuchus Samaritanus* (Berlin: W. Moeser, printer, 1872). The same face is used for printing the Samaritan in A. Harkavy, *Catalogue der Hebraischen und Samaritanischen Handschriften*, vol.II (St Petersburg, 1875). The font has a substantial body and is close to the Schmidt face in appearance, but is distinguished from it by the following features:

'Aleph	The lower right arm is set well above the fulcrum knot and is larger than the (S)chmidt *'aleph*; in S the lower right arm joins the fulcrum knot and is a natural extension of it.
Bet	The vertical support of the head is longer than *bet* S and is straight.
Daled	The right projection of the head is hooked and varies in thickness.
Hē	All the arms are the same length; in S the upper arm is longer than the middle and lower arms.
Yad	The legs of *yad* extend vertically down and do not turn to the right as in S.
Kaf	Is less inclined to the horizontal; the distance between the upper fulcrum knots is less than in S.
Lamed	The base stroke is thicker than in S.
Mem	The loops of the fulcrum knots in the crown are more rounded than in S; so too are the loops in the fulcrum knot of *shin*.
Nun	A square bracket *nun*.
'Ayin	No diacritical point.
Pē	There is more variation in the thick and thin strokes.
Sade	The legs do not incline to the right as in S.
Resh	The head is larger than in S.
Tav	The fulcrum knot does not join the right-hand arm of the letter.

In general all letters have finer and thicker lines than the Schmidt font and tend not to incline from the vertical. Who cut this font is

[84] Cf. Auer, *Tafeln*. An even smaller point-size is seen in isolated letters in J. Bloch, *Die Samaritanische-Arabische Pentateuchübersetzung* (Berlin, 1901). Cf. S. Bagster, *The Bible in Every Land* (London, 1851) in which the imperial printing-press of Austria is thanked for making available exotic type-face.

[85] R. Smitskamp, 'Typographia hieroglypha', *Quaerendo*, 9:4 (1979), 319–36.

unknown. There is also a smaller point-size used in the apparatus to the text of Petermann's *Pentateuch*.

A third version is a variant of the Kis font. A precursor appears in Ernesti, in a table entitled 'Samaritanische Alphabet', where it appears to be engraved rather than set,[86] but in the manner of the type-face which appears two centuries later in another German printing. No intervening work can be traced which shows this new version of Kis' punches, before its appearance in J. Rosenberg, *Lehrbuch der Samaritanischen Sprache und Literatur* (Vienna, Pest, Leipzig) in 1901.[87] This font is a small point-size, *'ayin* being 1.7mm in height, compared with 3.0mm in the Schmidt font. It is clearly derived from the Kis font, *yad* characteristically being without a fulcrum knot to the right, and like the other derived German fonts has a square-bracket *nun*. Its principal difference from the Kis font, apart from its point-size, is the *pē* which is completely recut and is different in that its head-stroke inclines vertically, instead of horizontally, and the base-stroke moves in parallel. It is doubtful if the font was cut specially for Rosenberg, since so many others seem to have been available locally, but scrutiny of the German output of Samaritana fails to show another usage and its origin must remain a mystery.[88]

THE ENGLISH FACES

The best documented Samaritan fonts seem to be, at first sight, those cut in England or cut for English presses. We have several accounts of them, but none of the accounts is complete and we are able to identify faces which appear to have gone unrecorded previously in the scholarly literature but which are apparently listed in Rowe-Mores. In Britain, as in France, scholarly interest in the Samaritans began as an interest in their Pentateuch and the testimony it provided to the state of the Old Testament text. The desire to publish a polyglot text with as wide a range of variants as possible was the initial impetus to the cutting of a Samaritan face. The first Samaritan font cut in Britain, then, was that cut for the London Polyglot founders, perhaps under the supervision of James Ussher.[89] The London Polyglot Bible was printed in the four years 1654–58. It was designed and edited by Brian Walton. Volume 6, which also contained some Samaritan, was printed in 1657. All the type was cut and cast in England including the

[86] Johann Heinrich Gottfried Ernesti, *Die Wol Eingerichter Buchdrukerey mit hundert und ein und zwanzig . . . Schrifter* (Nürnberg, 1733; reprinted Hildersheim, 1965). Despite the appearance of having been engraved, Ernesti says, 27, that the Samaritan alphabet was 'Gedruckt und zu finden bei Johann Andrea Endters.'

[87] The work is printed without a date but is known from the subsequent edition to be from 1901. It is vol. 71 in the series *Die Kunst der Polyglottie: Bibliothek du Sprachenkunde*. The Printer is A. Hartleben.

[88] I have checked each of the items mentioned in his select bibliography. Most of them are in my collection of Samaritana, and none of them use this font.

[89] *OELF*, 63.

Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic and Persian. Who the individual founders were is unknown.[90] Several writers give us the impression that the Polyglot type was cut by Grover or was transmitted via Grover to the James foundry and then to Fry.[91] Reed, expressing the same view,[92] presents a specimen of Samaritan fonts in Britain, and, on page 160, prints a specimen of Samaritan which he says is from the original matrices from which the type for the London Polyglot was cast. Reed is wrong. The type-face he presents is quite different from the type used in the London (Walton's) Polyglot, as the following comparison shows. The letters are not listed in alphabetical order.

Resh	The head is shorter in R(eed) than in W(alton).
Yad	The right leg is not an integral part of the fulcrum knot in R, whereas it is an integral part in W.
Lamed	The angle of the head-strokes to the base-strokes is greater in R than in W.
Shin	The crown is presented as a double-looped sequence in both, the loops being asymmetrical; in R the larger loop appears first and the smaller second, in W the smaller loop appears first.
Mem	Both have a knot on the vertical stem, but the knot is different; in R the vertical turns to the right to join the foot, in W there is no turn and the foot has a barb[93] which is rather different from the serif in R.
Nun	In R *nun* has an upper lateral stroke that rises to the right, giving the appearance of a 'hunched' shoulder; in W the vertical support stroke has a slight flaw at the point where the vertical support and the upper lateral meet, so that the vertical supporting stroke projects fractionally beyond the lateral – this flaw, best seen under magnification, cannot result from any difference in the casting from matrices.
Hē	In R the feet join the spine at an angle of less than 90°; in W this angle is greater than 90°.
Het	In R the fulcrum knot of the manuscript is represented by a projection of the middle area across the spine; in W the fulcrum knot is represented by a projection of the upper stroke beyond the spine, in a characteristic 'camel's back' shape.

Apart from the differences between the letter forms which readily indicate that these are quite distinct type-faces, we can see that the form of R is more remote from the manuscripts than W and that R is a recut of an existing font by someone who was especially concerned with elegance as well as representation. The forms of W incline us to believe that it was based on a copy of the writing of Hasṣebhi b. Joseph b. Abraham, the scribe of MS Bodley Marsh 15, among other

[90] ibid. See also *CTFS*, 78.

[91] See T.C. Hansard, *Typographia: An Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Art of Printing* (London, 1825). On pages 399–401 he presents a synopsis of matrices in British letter foundries and, in discussing the Samaritan, he presents a sequence of the Samaritan Pica as 'Walton's polyglott – Grover to James – to Fry.' We find similar information in *DETF*.

[92] *OELF*, 63, 163.

[93] For these terms see *SMP*, 49 and fig. 16. The appearance of *mem* is one of the letters which helps identify the manuscript source on which this type-face is modelled.

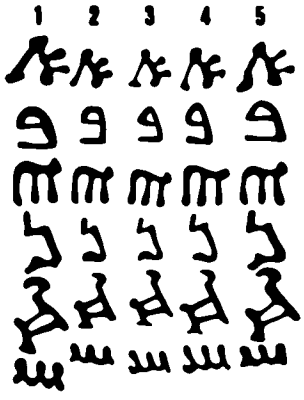

Figure 2
The English Faces
1. Reed
2. Fry
3. Ball
4. Caslon
5. Walton

manuscripts.[94] Fortunately, we can identify the font hitherto described as R. The same face appears in Edmund Fry's *Pantographia*[95] as the last in his series of seven versions of the Samaritan script. Fry had a reputation as a founder of exotic scripts – perhaps even as punch-cutter[96] – and, doubtless, some of his seven specimens of Samaritan are from his own pen or were of his own cutting, or were cut under his direction. This same face, which appears in Joseph Fry's specimen sheet of 1785 when Edmund was working in his father's business,[97] is probably of his cutting and is a clear imitation of the Caslon font[98] (discussed below, 115–16).

[94] For a list of this series of MSS see my 'An Unpublished Fragment of a Samaritan Torah Scroll', *BJRULM*, 64:2 (1982), 386–406.

[95] Edmund Fry, *Pantographia* (London, 1799). In this work the Samaritan specimen is pointed, as was not uncommon, as an example of the Lord's Prayer. It is apparent that Reed's specimen *(OELF*, 160) is based on Fry, but there are fundamental spelling errors apparently caused by the compositor's eye jumping a line and picking out letters from another word – a classic happenstance in the copying of manuscripts. Thus, we find that the last word of line 2 in Reed is a composite of *laḥmenu*, 'our bread' and *vesalaḥ*, 'forgive us', *viz.*, *lasmenu*, an impossible form; and on line 3 the penultimate word is an equally strange hybrid form, *veḥalanu*. The Fry face also occurs in Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet* (London, 1883), 243, and in G.F. Nicholls, *A Grammar of the Samaritan Language* (London, 1858), column 1.

[96] Cf. W.T. Berry and A.F. Johnson, *Catalogue of Specimens of Printing Types* (London, 1935) [hereafter *SPT*], 37, 41.

[97] ibid., 40. The specimen sheet is in vol. 5, the volume of plates, not vol. 1 of the Chambers' *Encyclopaedia* of 1786, as stated by Berry and Johnson. In this sheet the Fry face is called 'Pica Samaritan'.

[98] Whilst the relationship is fairly obvious and can be established by detailed comparison, it is implied by a statement in J. Smith, *Printers' Grammar* (London, 1787) quoted in *SPT*, 42, n.1. Here we are told that the Frys have copied the Caslon types with such accuracy as not to be distinguished from them. The Fry Pica Samaritan is far easier to distinguish from the Caslon Pica Samaritan than is the John Bell from the Caslon. The latter two are almost identical twins. On John Bell, see below, 116–19.

In any event, we are left with the questions of what became of the Samaritan of the London Polyglot and who cut it. At the time of the printing of the London Polyglot the number of type-founders in London was regulated by a Star Chamber decree of 1637 so that there were only four authorized founders (though there may have been others working without a licence). These founders were John Grismond, Thomas Wright, Arthur Nicholls and Alexander Fifield.[99] Together, they are known as the Polyglot founders and no specific font can be traced to any given founder. However, we must note that Arthur Nicholls' son, Nicholas Nicholls, presented the King with a tiny polyglot specimen of his type, in 1665 – the earliest type-founder's specimen known in England and surely one of the smallest. The two Samaritan words on the specimen are nonsense words – Nicholls appears not to have been a scholar of Samaritan, and we must question whether they were engraved or set in type since the *yad* in both words differs, being without a fulcrum knot in the second instance. Whether engraved or cast, the style is that of the type-face of the London Polyglot and we may suspect that Nicholls senior, Arthur Nicholls, was the punch-cutter for the Samaritan.

What became of the font, since it is not that which Reed presented as the Samaritan of the London Polyglot? We can trace the type-face in several works printed by Thomas Roycroft, who was the printer of the London Polyglot and who held the title *Orientalium Typographius Regius* for his printing of that work.[100] We may assume that the font stayed in his possession as he was the oriental printer in London, and that he retained punches and matrices as well as the cast type. In addition to the London Polyglot he printed Brian Walton's *Introductio ad lectionem linguarum orientalium*, in 1655, and presumably Roycroft made available a font of cast type or a set of matrices for this work to be reprinted at Daventry in 1658 under the title *Dissertatio in qua de linguis orientalibus*.[101] In 1660 Roycroft published E. Castell's *Sol Angliae Oriens* utilizing the same type-face.[102] The last work printed by Roycroft using this type-face was Edmund Castell's *Lexicon*.[103] This work took a considerable time to print for a large part

[99] *OELF*, 153–4.

[100] ibid., 162–3. See also H.R. Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing* (London, 1900), appendix II: 'List of severall printing houses, taken y^e^ 24th July, 1668:

The Kings printing office in English.
The Kings printing office in Hebrew, Greek and Latine.
Roger Norton.
The King's printer in y^e^ Oriental tongues. Thomas Roycroft.'

[101] *OELF*, 159, n.3, does not mark the change of title for the republication.

[102] E. Castell, *Sol Angliae Oriens, Auspiciis Carolii II, Regum Gloriosissimo* (London: typis Tho. Roycroft, Impensis Jo. Martin, Ja. Alleston and Tho. Dicas ad Insigne Companae iu Coemiterio D. Pauli, 1660). The volume contains poems in Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic and Persian, translated into Latin.

[103] *Lexicon Heptaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Aethiopicum, Arabicum* (Londini: imprimebat Thomas Roycroft, 1669; reprinted Gratz, 1970). A prospectus for this work appeared in 1658 under the title *Lexicon linguarum orientalum*.

of the print-run was destroyed in the great fire of London in 1666 which destroyed Roycroft's office.[104] The work was completed in 1669 and was reprinted in 1686.[105] This fire may well explain why no punches of the polyglot Samaritan have been found though the softer copper of the matrices would seem more likely than the punches to perish in a conflagration.[106] However, sufficient was saved – certainly matrices – for the post-conflagration printings. Whether these are to be identified with the matrices held by Grover, we cannot know. What is evident is that despite Reed's error, as noted, the specimen in Rowe-Mores of the 'English, with the English face, Matrices 22.,' printed from type cast from matrices in the James' foundry, was set in the face of the London Polyglot Samaritan. After Rowe-Mores it is never seen again in print.[107] Rowe-Mores' specimen enables us, therefore, to identify the 'English Samaritan' in the list of fonts in the James' foundry[108] as the Polyglot face.

The second Samaritan face to be cut in England was that cut for the University Press in Oxford. The events leading to the cutting of this type-face are well known and adequately described by Stanley Morison and others[109] although the matter of who cut the face is not settled beyond doubt. It is evident that John Fell was trying to establish the University Press as a well-equipped learned press, and he commissioned a series of types that could be used for the printing of scholarly books.[110] One of the type-founders whom he employed was Nicholas Nicholls, who cut Arabic and Hebrew for Fell, and whose own miniature specimen (as noted above) carried a Samaritan face. It is doubtful if it was Nicholls who cut the Samaritan for Fell. The Samaritan made its appearance in print a year before Fell's death in 1686,[111] that is at the time when the majority of the type for the Press was being cut by Pieter Walberger, known also as Peter de Walpergen. The Samaritan punches are not only cut in the style attributed to de Walpergen, but, as noted, the type-face is an imitation of the style which we have dubbed the 'German face', with which de Walpergen would have been acquainted from Frankfurt, where he was born in

[104] *OELF*, 163. See also C.S. Bliss, *Some Aspects of Seventeenth-Century English Printing with Special Reference to Joseph Moxon* (UCLA, 1965), 12.

[105] Two versions of the extended printing are known with differing title pages: Wing, c 1224 viz c 1226. The reprint was marked, 'imprimebat Thomas Roycroft. Sumptibus Roberti Scott.'

[106] *OELF*, 163. Reed states that the Samaritan did not perish in the fire though some of the fonts did.

[107] The author cannot lay claim to have examined every book with a Samaritan face: the statement is certainly true of the many texts he has scanned in compiling his bibliography of the Samaritans.

[108] *DETF*, 84.

[109] Cf. *JF*, 161; H. Hart, *Notes on a Century of Typography at the University Press, Oxford, 1693 – 1794* (Oxford, 1970); *OELF*.

[110] *JF*, 278.

[111] in E. Pockocke's *Commentary on Hosea*, 1685.

1646.[112] The font was used in printing at least six works at Oxford[113] and appeared in the specimen of 1695[114] but seems to have been replaced in 1768 with a set of the Caslon Samaritan. The Oxford font is called by Rowe-Mores the 'Great Primer with the English face'.[115]

Of the five varieties of Samaritan type available in England, at least according to Rowe-Mores,[116] we have now identified three. A fourth, described as 'Long-pr[imer] (punches) Jam[es] only' is more difficult to find in any of the scholarly literature though we may readily identify it from the Fry specimen of 1785 and 1787. It is also the Samaritan face in the left column, page 306, of Johnson's *Typographia*.[117] Some of the Fry fonts came from the James' foundry, and, doubtless, this is how they acquired the Long Primer Samaritan.[118] We can trace the long primer back to its probable founder by statements in Rowe-Mores and his evaluation of the contents of the different foundries which came to the James' foundry. Thus, he informs us that the oriental matrices came from Robert Andrews, who had purchased Moxon's foundry, and from the Grovers.[119] We know that the Grovers received the polyglot type which they transmitted to James, but their foundry, according to Rowe-Mores, held two Samaritan fonts in the English style.[120] Andrews' foundry held the Leusdenian font.[121] The Moxon foundry also held two sorts of Samaritan font. However, Moxon's activities are probably better documented than any other of the type-founders of his day,[122] and there is no hint of his having cut a Samaritan face. We may, therefore, endorse Reed and Johnson's argument that the long primer came from Thomas Grover[123] and it was probably cut by him, or was acquired by him from the Nicholls foundry which he appears to have taken over.

The fifth face listed in Rowe-Mores is the Pica Caslon, one of the best known Samaritan faces because of its frequent appearance in specimen sheets – or rather its apparent frequency for it is almost indistinguishable from another pica-Samaritan cut by John Bell in

[112] *JF*, 71. Morison suggests that de Walpergen/Walberger was a German and not a Dutchman as is usually proposed.

[113] *JF* lists these works in which the face was used, *viz.*: E. Pockocke, *Hosea*, 1685; E. Bernard, *Pietas Universitatis Oxoniensis in obitum Reginae Mariae*, 1695; E. Bernard, *De mensoris et ponderibus antiquis*, 1688; William Guise, *Misnae Pars*, 1690 and the first *Oratio Dominica*, part of which was printed at Oxford and part in London (see page 10 for the Samaritan). To these we must add E. Bernard, *Orbis eruditi literaturam à charactera Samaritico*, 1689, reprinted 1700 and 1759.

[114] Cf. Hart, *Notes*, 45.

[115] *DETF*, 84.

[116] ibid., 84.

[117] J. Johnson, *Typographia* (London, 1824), 306. The appearance of the Long Primer in the Fry specimen and in Johnson is proof, contrary to *OELF*, 63, that the Long Primer punches had been struck.

[118] *SPT*, 42.

[119] *DETF*, 62.

[120] ibid., 45.

[121] *OELF*, 187.

[122] Cf. Bliss, *Some Aspects*, and *OELF*, chapter 8.

[123] *DETF*, 107, n.25.

imitation of the Caslon pica-Samaritan. The Caslon pica-Samaritan makes its first appearance in a specimen in his sheet of 1734. In this specimen, as in the specimen of 1740, Caslon printed two and a half lines of the Lord's Prayer in the pica-Samaritan, the last line being misspelled. In subsequent Caslon specimens we see either two lines of the prayer (1742) or the complete prayer (1785).[124] According to Rowe-Mores, the Caslon punches were cut for him by 'Dummer'[125] who was also known as 'Gijsbert Dommers'.[126] There is some doubt as to Dommers' standing as a punch-cutter. Whilst he is well known as an agent for his founding and printing house, we have no definite example of his work apart from the Samaritan attributed to him by Rowe-Mores. Yet Smith, in his *Printers Grammar*, regards him as the equal of Voskens as a cutter. What we know of his origins in the business does not support Smith's statement. Dommers inherited part of the Athias foundry from his grandmother, the widow Schippers, in 1699 and by 1716 had come to an agreement with the other owner, Cornelia Clayburgh, in which they both shared the founding and printing business as equal partners.[127] Dommers visited England from time to time as a salesman for the foundry, and, in fact, died in London in 1725. We may suspect that he was the agent by which a set of punches cut in Holland was sold to Caslon unless Caslon himself made them, for, after all, he was a skilled punch-cutter and had cut an Arabic font in 1720.[128] If they were indeed Dutch-cut punches, sold but not cut by Dommers, then the cutter was probably either Joseph Athias, the original owner of Dommers' foundry and a skilled cutter of oriental fonts, or an unnamed cutter in the foundry, working under the supervision of Jan Bus, the foreman.[129] It is doubtful if we shall ever know the truth, and the most convenient identification for this font is the name of the owner of the punches rather than the name of the alleged punch-cutter.

A font which is almost indistinguishable from the Caslon is that of John Bell, for which there is one specimen sheet, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS fr.22189, fo.99v.[130] According to a note in the manuscript the face was cut by Richard Austin, punch-cutter, for John Bell of London. The full text reads: 'John Bell, of the British Library, Strand, London, being engaged in the establishment of a new

[124] The 1785 specimen is repeated in the 1786–88 edition of Chambers' *Encyclopaedia*, vol.5. A Caslon specimen is also found in P. Luckombe, *A Concise History of the Origin and Progress of Printing* (London, 1770), 159.

[125] *DETF*, 75.

[126] *FCPB (E)*, 86.

[127] ibid. and *DETF*, 75 and n.4.

[128] *SPT*, 11.

[129] *FCPB (E)*, 87.

[130] I am indebted to Jean-Pierre Rothschild, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, for drawing my attention to this specimen. Other specimens are to be noted in the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscripts; for example, on the inside cover of MS Samaritan 2 there is a plate from a book on coinage, marked 'Typpus Numorum Samaritanorum' which shows a Samaritan coin-script alphabet with the legend 'Alphabetum Samaritanorum ex Nummis' and the note 'Joh. Hen. Huber. Sculpt.'

printing letter foundry, he begs leave to present the public with a specimen by William Coleman, regulator, and Richard Austin, punch cutter . . . May 1788.' A specimen on fo.100v is dated to 1785. The Bell specimen sheet is of interest to us not only for what it adds to the history of Samaritan typography but because it helps to round out the typographic activities of John Bell, a type-founder known to us only through the researches of Stanley Morison. Morison, in his *John Bell, 1745 – 1831: Bookseller, Printer, Publisher, Typefounder, Journalist & etc.* (London, 1931), gave an outline of Bell's career and, in an analysis of the Bell types known to him from the Anisson MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, listed the specimen sheets he had discovered. His first specimen, dated May 1788, must have been issued within a month of the Samaritan specimen, yet the latter was unknown to him. Likewise, it escapes mention in the introduction by Nicholas Barker to the reprint edition of Morison's work.[131] There is no evidence that Morison or others were aware that Bell had a Samaritan face cut for him.

Bell had established a foundry, the British Letter Foundry, between 1787 and 1788 giving notice of it in June 1787: 'I am now establishing a new letter foundry which will produce an original cast of types from punches cut upon new, and I flatter myself, very improved principles. I have already made a sufficient progress to convince the world of the merit of my pretensions.'[132] The William Coleman, alias Colman, who is described as the regulator on the Samaritan specimen, is known to have been employed at the foundry, but nothing else is known of him nor of the role of the 'regulator'.[133] Richard Austin, who cut the punches, was still in business in 1819 as a type-founder, and many of the fonts which he cut for Bell either found their way back into his hands[134] or into the hands of Stephenson Blake.[135] There is no trace of the Samaritan in the Stephenson Blake catalogue of 1926,[136] so what became of the font after Bell's death may never be clarified.[137] Austin was an experienced engraver who had learned much from Bell,[138] and we may assume that it was on Bell's instruction that the Samaritan was cut, perhaps for some project connected with his proposed, but unpublished, *Book of Common Prayer* (1788). The specimens for the *Book of Common Prayer* included two settings of the Lord's Prayer, the same prayer in which the Samaritan specimen is set.

[131] Published by Garland Publishing (New York, 1981) [hereafter *JB*]. Barker's introduction is on v–x.

[132] ibid., 15.

[133] ibid.

[134] ibid., ix.

[135] ibid.

[136] i.e., *Types, Material, Stephenson Blake & Co.* (Sheffield, 1926).

[137] *JB*, ix–x.

[138] ibid., 16. Morison made several references in his text to a 'postscript' in which he claims to have described Austin's career. The postscript is not to be found in the reprint edition of *JB* which is all that is available at the time of writing.

The similarity to the Caslon font is certainly no accident, and it is likely that the very project of cutting a Samaritan type-face was suggested by the fact that Caslon already possessed such a face. Bell had used Caslon's English types for his earlier printings[139] but later was to imitate them quite deliberately.[140] There seems to have been a period of strained relationships between William Caslon IIIrd and Bell, no doubt caused by their business rivalry and the fact that Bell, in pursuing Caslon, appeared to be supporting the Fry establishment.[141] While the matter is not entirely clear it would seem that Bell printed an edition of Shakespeare in 1785, in a mixture of Caslon and Fry faces.[142] This may well have inspired Bell to model his Samaritan as closely as possible on the Caslon face. That such a practice was part of the contemporary type-founders' stream of consciousness is made clear by Joseph Fry's boast about his own types that they 'will mix with, and be totally unknown from, the fonts made by the late ingenious artist, William Caslon.'[143]

When one examines the differences between the Bell and the Caslon faces one sees that the characteristics of the Bell font are rather similar to those given by his punch-cutter, Richard Austin, to his English type-faces which are highly regarded. These characteristics are a degree of conservatism allied to an obvious brilliance in technical execution. One may suggest that Bell's Samaritan was cut with reference to the antecedent English faces for the changes in the shape of the letters are in the direction of the face used for the Walton polyglot Bible. It is probable that neither Bell nor Austin consulted a manuscript before drafting and cutting as changes in *'aleph* and *bet* are away from the manuscript forms. The differences between B(ell) and C(aslon) are:

'Aleph	In C the fulcrum knot where the left leg meets the transversal turns up so that the left leg is straight; in B the transversal intercepts the left leg so that the fulcrum knot is seen as a loop.
Bet	The base stroke of the head (parallel with the foot stroke) in C is curved slightly at the left; in B it is straight – the difference is subtle but can be established under magnification.
Dalet	The lower part of the curved head is thinner in C.
He	The foot serif is finer in C and has a slight asymmetrical curve;

[139] ibid., 89.
[140] ibid., 93.
[141] ibid., 102–3.
[142] ibid., 104. It is interesting to see the statement by Bell in response to a claim of Caslon that the Bell 'new Bougeois' face was, in fact, a Caslon face. Bell wrote in answer to Caslon's charge: 'In August 1784 FRYS and SON received of John Bell a Fount of Burgeois Letter, which he had had procured in order that the work might be going on, until their new set of punches and matrixes (then making) might be ready to cast them, which Fount, at J. Bell's request was REDRESSED AND PICKED OVER AGAIN, whereby SEVERAL POUNDS OF BAD LETTERS were actually THROWN AWAY. In a little time after, their own new fount of matrixes being ready, they cast 500 lbs weight, in addition to that which had been cast before at Mr Caslons; . . . and so exact an imitation of Mr Caslon's (from which it was made) . . .'
[143] *SPT*, 41.

	in B the foot serif has a symmetrical curve.
Het	The left oblique stroke is of uniform thickness in C; in B it is thinner towards the top of the letter.
Kaph	The right fulcrum knot in C is fractionally elongated whereas in B it tends to be round.
Nun	The head of *nun* in C and B is like two sides of an isosceles triangle; the 'sides' are thinner in C than in B.
Samech	The head of *samech* in C is like two sides of a minute isosceles triangle; in B the head has sides of unequal length.
Shin	In C the crown of *shin* is a series of three loops; in B the loops are a little more pronounced than in C.
Tav	The serif of the left foot differs between B and C, being thicker in B.

As stated the differences are minute and need study under the glass. The other letters, to all intents, are identical.

Surprisingly, these variant forms do not exhaust all the English Samaritan faces. There are a number of others which we may list, some needing no more than this, and others which we cannot identify further. Thus, in John Smith, *The Printers Grammar* (London, 1755), page 300, we note a Samaritan font, but can say nothing about the cutting of the face which appears never to have been used again, though it is based on the long-primer face. Edmund Fry presented seven Samaritan faces in his *Pantographia*, of which face seven has been discussed in detail. Face one is a curiosity which should be ignored. Apart from the fact that some of those characters which can be identified are misplaced, the majority of the characters are not to be identified from any manuscript source.[144] Samaritan face two is a variant of the Raphaelengius, recut to a larger size, perhaps by some form of mechanical enlargement (a pantograph?). With some strange additions,[145] this form again is a curiosity. Samaritan face three is another form of the same face;[146] Samaritan face four a variant of the coin script.[147] Samaritan face five has been modelled on the font cut for the Propaganda Fide[148] (see below, 120–5), and Samaritan face six is a copy, recut, of an engraved manuscript replica (MS BL Cotton Claud. b.viii) found in Johnson's *Typographia*.[149] The basic difference

[144] Fry attributes this face to Fournier, as Fournier's Idumean.

[145] The legend to the face reads, 'This character is said to have been delineated after the course and movements of nature, Duret, p. 323.'

[146] The legend states, 'This character is also said, by Theseus Ambrosius, to have been formed from the same as the preceding; it was approved and received into use at Rome, and called Ancient Greek.

Duret, p.324.
Le Clabart, p.517.'

[147] The legend states, 'This curious alphabet was taken from Samaritan coins by Walton.
Spanh. Dissert. p.80.'

[148] 'This alphabet is copied from Encyc. Franc. pl.1.'

[149] Fry attributed the face to a copy by Morton from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library. In fact, we can see that the script is in the Damascus genre and is a copy of MS BL Cotton Claudius b.viii, much enlarged. See Johnson, *Typographia*, 307 for the same script. See also Caleb Stower, *The Printer's Grammar* (London, 1808; reprinted Gregg, 1965), 282, for the identical information.

between the characters (apart from the fact that Fry might have had a font cut) is that Fry prints his second line the correct way up instead of upside down as in Johnson. We must also note as curiosities the engraved copy, much enlarged, of the Samaritan cursive (minuscule) script in Johnson's *Pantographia*, though he did not recognize it as such.[150]

THE PROPAGANDA AND FRENCH FACES

Between 1630 and 1636, the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome issued a specimen of twelve exotic fonts,[151] which included a Samaritan which was to be imitated outside Rome.[152] This font is called the Propaganda Fide face, since, apart from making its first appearance in their specimen sheet, almost certainly it was cut for the Society. The Church at Rome had begun its sponsorship of the cutting of oriental types at the end of the sixteenth century. The technical director of the Vatican press and Giambattista Raimondi, orientalist and director of the oriental press of the Medicis, encouraged the work of Robert Granjon, the great French punch-cutter, who spent the years 1578–98 at Rome.[153] The Samaritan font is not found in Angelo Rocca, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Sixto V translata* (Rome: ex typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1591) although two woodcut faces, which are to be regarded as the forerunner of the Samaritan, are found therein.[154] For that reason (despite the fact that the Didot specimen of the Imprimerie Impériale of 1812 indicates that the Propaganda Samaritan dated from the sixteenth century),[155] one hesitates to attribute the anonymous font to Robert Granjon, although it has some characteristics that would make one suspect that it was of his cutting. These characteristics are the infilling of letters, in this case the crowns

[150] Johnson, *Typographia*, 303, claimed that the face was from the coin script. No *samech* appears on the coins and the *shin* shows influences in Samaritan minuscule from the Arabic, and the *tav* is also a minuscule form. The script is somewhat confused and confusing and was never printed.

[151] Cf. *CTS*, 4, item 4. See also *PO2*, 174 for the date 1636. The font was also used for printing Athanasius Kircher, *Prodromus Coptus* (Rome, 1636) and the Samaritan in Bartoloccio de Celleno, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica, IV* (Rome, 1693).

[152] See below, 121–5 for a discussion. One imitation was Dutch and the other French.

[153] Cf. H.L.L. Vervliet, *Robert Granjon à Rome, 1578–1589* (Amsterdam, 1967), 11. The work is really a reprint of an article which first appeared in *Bulletin de l'institut Historique Belge à Rome*, 38 (1967), 177–231.

[154] See Iohannes Christophorus Amadutius, *Alphabetum Hebraicum addito Samaritano et Rabbinico* (Rome: typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide, 1771), A.2: 'protoparentis nempe Adami primum, quod est in Bibliotheca Vaticana; alterum Adami 11., quod refert Iacobus Bonaventura ex Minimorum Familia in eius Alphabetorum Collectiones cui bibulum fecit Virga aurea; tum Adami tertium ex Laurentio Schraderio . . .' The 'Adam' and its variant 'Moyses' look remarkably close to the Raphaelengius Samaritan; see also H.D.L. Vervliet, *The Type Specimens of the Vatican Press* (Amsterdam, 1967), nos. 8 and 9, and Fournier, le Jeune, *Manuel Typographique Utile au Gens de lettres* (Paris, 1766), 248, no. 98.

[155] Cf. Marius Audin, *Les livrets typographiques de fonderies françaises crées avant 1800* (Paris, 1934; reprinted Amsterdam, 1964), 20–3. All the Propaganda fonts are dated, with lack of discrimination, to the sixteenth century, and one may not take this dating as definitive.

of *shin* and *mem* (the type of infilling found in the Granjon Arabic), the slight turning of the feet of *yad* (redolent of the turning of the top of his Arabic *'aliph*), and the thickness of some of his letters, especially his *mem* and *yad*.[156] Almost certainly the font is based on a manuscript of the Damascus genre,[157] but certainly not the Barberini Triglot, which did not reach Rome until 1631 and which, in any event, has a script which would not be a suitable source for this font. One would look for something akin to MS Vatican Samaritan I which would fit very well in style. The matter of the cutting, then, must be left open: it is possible, in view of new attributions of exotic fonts to Granjon,[158] that evidence might yet be found to link him directly with this font. It is equally possible that one of the other punch-cutters of exotic fonts, closely associated with the Propaganda Fide, perhaps Étienne Paolini, cut this font.[159] The font appears to have been cut in two sizes. In the 1792 specimen[160] an alphabet is presented in the smaller of the sizes. This is the point-size in which Andreas Hwiid's *Specimen Ineditae* (Rome: Propaganda Fide, 1780) is printed. In this size the letter *nun* is 6.5mm in size from the top of the head to the underside of the thick base-stroke. A second size is that found in the anonymous, and undated, *Alphabetum Samaritanum* (MS Bodley, Hebrew d.211)[161] which was clearly intended to be a specimen of the font with explanatory material, published about 1808.[162] In this work we find a large face in which *nun* is a substantial 15.5mm (when measured as above) with all other letters of a corresponding largeness.

The first recutting of the font seems to have been done by the Dutch type-founder and punch-cutter, Dirk Voskens. A Propaganda Fide-style face is found on one of the three specimen sheets issued by his widow some time between 1695 and 1710, perhaps in 1700.[163] Should there be any doubt about the source of his copy it is surely settled by the naming of his specimen 'Text Samaritaans', which is a direct translation of the name *Testo*.[164] The Voskens' foundry shared

[156] These characteristics are to be paralleled in Granjon's Arabic and Syriac.

[157] Cf. *SMP*, 16ff.

[158] Cf. the editor's note, *The Book Collector*, 32:2 (Spring 1983), 82, which refers to the discovery of three new exotic specimens of Granjon's, published in H. Vervliet, *Cyrillic and Oriental Typography in Rome at the End of the Sixteenth Century: An Enquiry into the Later Work of Robert Granjon (1578–1590)* (Berkeley, 1982). See also A. Tinto, 'Par una storia della tipographia orientale a Roma nell'eto della Controriforma', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, 41:4–4 (1973), 280–303.

[159] Cf. G. Fumagalli, *Lexicon Typographicum Italiae* (Florence, 1905; reprinted 1966), 354.

[160] Cf. Amadutius, *Alphabetum Hebraicum*.

[161] The title-page is lost. It probably carried the information we would desire.

[162] The last date noted in the work, on page 91, is 1808.

[163] Cf. *DETF*, 106, n.19 and 107, n.24. These comments leave the date of the specimen sheet open. A copy supplied to me by J.S.G. Simmons of one of the Voskens' widow's specimen sheets, now in the University Library at Leiden, has no date, but a reprint in W.G. Hellinga, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam, 1962), '60, carries the legend 'c.1700, Amstelodamum, vidua D. Voskens and Filii'. Simmons, 'H.W. Ludolf', 112, suggests the 'broad last ten years of the Seventeenth century' for the Voskens' specimen.

[164] Cf. Amadutius, *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, A.2.

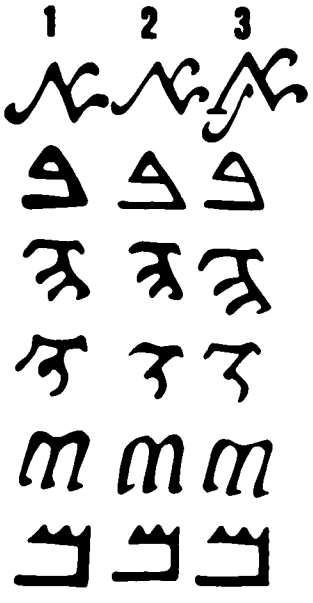

Figure 3
The Propaganda and French Faces
1. Granjon
2. Voskens
3. de Sacy

Figure 4
The Voskens Face (black) superimposed on the Granjon (?) version

with the foundry of Gisbert Dommers the bulk of the type-founding in the Netherlands in the last decade of the seventeenth century.[165] Dirk Voskens, like his father, Bartholomeus Voskens, was a skilled punch-cutter, who had cut a Hebrew type-face which is shown in the same specimen as the Samaritan. The Samaritan may have been cut after 1683 when Nicholas Kis, who had been one of his apprentices, left his employ, as Kis makes no mention of it when speaking of the fonts in the foundry of his former master. In this case the Samaritan would date to the last decade of Voskens' life. It may have been cut with the intention of printing a work for Leusden.[166] The font does not occur in the specimen of his father, Bartholomeus, issued in Hamburg in 1666, and if his uncle, Reinhard, had this Samaritan we would have

[165] *FCPB (E)*, 86.
[166] ibid., 131.

expected to find it with the 'German face' in the Schmidt specimen, for Schmidt took over Reinhard's foundry in Frankfurt.[167] We may assume then that Dirk Voskens was the punch-cutter between 1683 and his death after 1699, perhaps in 1690. A comparison of the original Propaganda Fide font and the Voskens' variant of the same is possible only in part, for the Voskens' specimen presents an incomplete alphabet in a bowdlerized version of Genesis 41:44.[168]

We must mention here Edmund Fry's fifth Samaritan face in his series in *Pantographia*, which face is a version of the Propaganda Samaritan. In his notes to *Pantographia* Fry claims this to be a copy of an alphabet printed in the *Encyclopaedia française*. Unfortunately, this work is not available to the author so no judgement can be given as to whether Fry is presenting an accurate copy of a published plate or whether, as is suspected, he is cutting his own face. Certainly, the Fry face differs from the Propaganda original and the Voskens' and de Sacy versions. *He, vav, zayin, ḥet, samech* and *quf* differ in the Fry version and all of these forms except *samech* are inferior to the other versions. Should it prove that the Fry face is an accurate copy of a face in the *Encyclopaedia française* then we are faced with a version of the Propaganda face that cannot be attributed to a source. In any event, we may exclude the Fry Propaganda version from comparison with the other versions as it does not seem to have been used in printing any text. However, we must incorporate a fourth cutting of the Propaganda face, namely that utilized for printing Sylvestre de Sacy's *Correspondence des Samaritains de Naplouse* (Paris, 1829).[169]

In 1798 most of the type of the Vatican foundry was taken from Rome,[170] as part of Napoleon's policy of enriching the cultural life of his capital by plundering his conquered territories, and as a reflection of the general interest of French scholars in things oriental. For a while the oriental type, which included the Propaganda Samaritan,[171] stayed

[167] *TSF*, sheets 6, 6, 8, 9. There is a substantial discussion of all the Voskens on 10–13; whilst *TSF* speaks only of two sheets issued by the Voskens' widow, it is evident that there were three. The third one is foreshadowed in the comment on sheet 9, 'Noch zyn by my te bekomen alderhande Grieksches, van groot tot kleyn, Hebreeusche, Hoog-en Nederduytsche, en Orientalaelsche Letterern'. No such foreshadowing or comments about orientals and exotics is made on the specimens of Bartholomeus and Richard Voskens.

[168] The version is untraceable to any manuscript: cf. A. von Gall, *Der Hebraische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (Giessen, 1918) and A. & R. Sadaqa, *Jewish–Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch: Genesis* (Tel Aviv, 1962). One must assume, therefore, that the type-setting of the specimen was badly done. Line 1 of the specimen is correct, except that the final letter of the last word is carried over to line 2. The last word on line 2 lacks its final letter which is not carried over. The first two words on line 3 are run together and should be divided after the second letter. The ante-penultimate letter on the line is reversed. Line 4 is garbled, only one word surviving intact.

[169] The bibliographical details of this work are often wrongly stated. The reprint from vol.XII (not XI as stated in the reprint on the fly) of *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi* was printed before the Journal from which it was abstracted.

[170] Cf. *CTS*, 4, and P Marmotten, 'La typographie orientale des Medicis et Napoleon', *Revue des Etudes Historiques*, 89 (1923), 313–28. *CTS* is wrong in claiming that the type went to Paris straight away, as the discussion and documents cited in *TOMN* make abundantly clear.

[171] *TOMN*, 314

in a cellar of the Pitti Palace at Florence, whilst the Napoleonic officials investigated the state of the type, and ultimately it was taken to Paris in 1811. The inspector for oriental typography was none other than Sylvestre de Sacy, who published several works on the Samaritans.[172] In 1815, as part of the peace settlement, the Medicis reclaimed their punches, and on 7 October in that year the punches were sent back to Italy. However, there was no waning of scholarly interest in the Orient and, before the punches were returned, a full set of matrices was struck from them. It was the Samaritan of these matrices which were used to cast the type for the printing of de Sacy's *Correspondence*. Nevertheless, it is clear, when one examines de Sacy's text, that the differences in the print between his work and that of Hwiid do not depend alone on differences between matrices and the fine shadings that can be seen under the microscope resulting therefrom. There are some gross differences which show that some changes were made, either by cutting new punches or by altering matrices where this was possible. The following comparison sets out the differences between the P(ropaganda), V(oskens) and de S(acy) faces:

'Aleph	This is larger in P/S than V; the transversal in P/S measures 4.5mm, whereas in V it measures 4.0mm. There are two different *'alephs* in S; one is identical with P and has come from the same punches but different matrices, the second has no curved foot on the left but instead duplicates the foot of *tav*. This second *'aleph* is a hybrid that must have arisen by cutting a new punch. It may have been developed by de Sacy who would have observed that in most Samaritan scripts *'aleph* and *tav* are fundamentally similar, differing in the matter of a second upper arm. The angle between the left leg and the transversal is greater in V than in P/S, by some 10°.
Bet	Identical in P/S. The base stroke is finer in V. The head of V would make a perfect equilateral triangle with the base if the left head stroke were extended to join the base. In P/S such an extension would miss the connection with the base by 0.5mm.
Gimel	In P/S the right arm is more curved than V at the point where the fulcrum knot is represented.
Vav	In V the head-stroke is thicker, shorter and has a better representation of the fulcrum knot.
Zayin	In S the foot is shorter than in V. P is cruder than V and S.
Het	Three variants are found. In P the lower parallels are 1mm apart. In V they are 0.5mm apart. In S they are 0.75mm apart. In P all the representations of the fulcrum knots are made as intersecting lines. In S and V the lines at fulcrum knots do not intersect. The *ḥet* of S is made from a different punch from P.
Yad	P/S differ from V. The legs of *yad* in P/S are of different lengths. In V the legs are the same length. The top strokes of *yad* in V are symmetrical curves. In P/S they are asymmetrical as in the manuscript form.
Mem	In V *mem* is 1.0mm smaller than in P/S.
Nun	In V and S *nun* is 1.9mm shorter than P in the body. V clearly is

[172] ibid., 327.

	cut from another punch from both P and S as the upper parallel with the base is longer in S than in V.
Pē	The punches represented as *pē* are different in each of P, V and S. The differences follow those in *nun* of which *pē* is a derived form in these faces. In P the *pē* is higher and shorter than in S, and in S it is longer than in V, but of the same height.
Quf	Identical in P/S. In V the foot of *quf* is closer to the body of *quf* than in P/S.

We do not know the circumstances under which the face was recut in part for use in the printing of de Sacy's work. He may have been dissatisfied with the format of some of the punches and had them recut, or the initiative might have been taken by Jean Joseph Marcel who cut much of the oriental type in the Imprimerie Nationale between 1805 and 1818.[173] It is likely that even if Marcel actually recut some punches from which *additional* matrices were struck and type-cast – the apparent course of events judging from the appearance of two distinct forms of *'aleph* – de Sacy was responsible for initiating the changes. The change made to *'aleph*, for example, depends on the observation of the relationship between the forms of *'aleph* and *tav*. In other words one expects a Samaritan scholar to have initiated this change. To the best knowledge of the writer the Voskens' face is not used for printing other than in the specimen sheet of his widow.[174]

The French Samaritan faces differ substantially from each other, and both are excellent faces. The first, cut for the Paris Polyglot, has probably been the most influential of all the Samaritan faces cut, for it was clearly the source which guided the cutters of the English and German faces. It is also a highly stylized face, for whilst it is based on manuscript forms, it does not imitate manuscript. Though the circumstances behind the cutting of the punches are well-known, who actually cut the punches is a source of some dispute. The plan of printing a French polyglot version of the Bible was probably conceived by Savary de Brèves, Ambassador of France to Constantinople and later to Rome.[175] De Brèves had begun to acquire exotic types for his Polyglot and other projects whilst he was still in Constantinople. At no stage of de Brèves' career do we hear of a Samaritan type associated with his name and he died in 1627 before the appearance of the Polyglot;[176] yet, it is probable, despite this silence, that de Brèves had arranged for a cutting of the Samaritan face in the years between 1623 and his death. It was in 1623 that interest in the Samaritan Pentateuch

[173] *CTS*, 24.

[174] Andreas Hwiid, *Specimen ineditae versionis Arabico-Samaritanae Pentateuchi* (Rome, 1780), which is an edition of part of the Barberini Triglot, uses the Propaganda font as found in the specimen of 1772.

[175] *JF*, 17. T.H. Darlow and H.F Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (reprinted, London, 1963) vol. 2, attribute the visionary idea to Cardinal du Perron in 1615.

[176] *JF*, 19.

in Paris was revived by the acquisition by the Oratory in Paris of a manuscript acquired in Damascus by Pietro della Valle.[177] In 1628 the first volume of the Paris Polyglot was printed and, although the project was not finished until 1645 (but the date 1645 appears in the first volume) and the Samaritan is in volume six, which was completed in 1632, one must assume that the Samaritan was planned well in advance of 1628.[178] On de Brèves' death, Guy Michel le Jay took up the project as publisher and the printer was Antoine Vitré (alias Vitray) of Paris. Vitré is usually credited with cutting the type or having the type cut by Jacques de Sanlecque.[179] However, it is to be noted that the attachment of Vitré's name to the le Jay Polyglot was not without some scandal,[180] and this would support the view that most of the planning of the work was done before he came on the scene. Vitré was appointed the royal typographer by a grant of letters patent in April 1630, from which we learn that he was charged with printing in 'Oriental languages, Hebrew, Chaldean, Turkish, Persian, Armenian, Samaritan and others'.[181] We may not assume from this letter patent that all these fonts were already available to him; in 1632 he was obliged to ask Jacques de Sanlecque to cut an Armenian and an Ethiopic face for him so that he had a complete range of oriental punches.[182] The fact that he was not obliged to ask for a Samaritan face would indicate that the Samaritan was in existence. Indeed, this is clearly the case as we see from Morinus' *Exercitationes*,[183] in which Morinus presents us, in 1631, with the first printing in the font of the Paris Polyglot. Morinus had been responsible for preparing the Samaritan for the Polyglot, and he makes clear, in the introduction to his *Exercitationes*, that the face had not been long cut. This could support the suggestion that preparations were made for the font before 1628. Who, then, cut the face?

The 1812 proof (specimen) of types in the Imprimerie Impériale

[177] There seems to be considerable confusion about which manuscript was lodged in the Oratory. According to J. Nutt, *A Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma and Literature* (London, 1874), 111–13 and J. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), cap.14, paragraph 6, this was MS Vatican Samaritan I. According to the *BN Catalogue des manuscrits orientaux: Manuscrits du fonds Samaritains* the manuscript is MS BN Samaritan 2, which was acquired in Damascus by Pietro della Valle and lodged in the Oratory by Harley de Sancy. According to Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, quoting le Long (Masch) (not available to me) the manuscript was lodged in the Oratory in 1620 and della Valle supplied a Targum. See also the notes in von Gall, *Der Herbraische Pentuteuch*, iii. J. Morin[us], *Exercitationes ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum* (Paris, 1631; second edition, Paris, 1669), 370–1, does not clarify the problem in suggesting that the della Valle MS came to Paris in 1626.

[178] Cf. Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, and G. Lepreux, *Gallia Typographia* [hereafter *GT*] (Paris, 1911), i.534.

[179] Cf. *PO2*. Note that the type presented in *PO2*, 175 as that of Antoine Vitray [*sic*] is *not* Vitré's. For further discussion see below, 127–9.

[180] *GT*, i.534. But note that Vitré was a confidant of de Brèves (527).

[181] ibid., 527. The full text of the letter patent is printed in i. pt.2, 54. See n.163.

[182] ibid., 529. Vitré was able to secure a large number of oriental types belonging to Savary de Brèves, for which he paid 6,000 livres. See i. pt.2, 54.

[183] Morin[us], *Exercitationes*, 222, 224, 226–330.

lists a Samaritan which it attributes to le Jay in 1640.[184] This view is supported by M. de Guignes in his study of the oriental type of the Imprimerie Royale.[185] He suggests that the Vitré specimen of 1635, which was published under the title of *Linguarum Orientalium Hebraicae, Rabinicae, Samaritanae, Syriacae, Graecae, Arabicae, Turcicae, Armenicae, Alphabeta*,[186] drew on le Jay's type, and that it was le Jay himself who cut, or had cut for him, the punches of the Samaritan.[187] Subsequently, according to le Jay's son, the punches, thirty-four of them and thirty-three matrices (a thirty-fourth was later found in a box of Syriac type), were given to M. Thevenot at the Royal Library and then to the royal printing-house, where they were lost.[188] According to de Guignes they could not be found in his day (1787). Since le Jay was not a punch-cutter, but a lawyer, who cut them for him? The most likely person was the person whose name is usually associated with the face, namely Jacques de Sanlecque, only working for le Jay directly and not for Antoine Vitré. In a controversy between Vitré and Sionita over their various roles in preparing for and printing the Polyglot, Vitré is quoted as stating, and apparently was not contradicted by Sionita, that Jacques de Sanlecque cut the Samaritan and Syriac and recut some of the Arabic punches.[189] Auguste Bernard, in reviewing all the evidence,[190] agreed that the only additional face needed by le Jay for printing the Polyglot was the Samaritan which he, le Jay, had de Sanlecque cut for him. De Guignes, as noted, said that the punches of the Samaritan were lost,[191] yet Bernard, writing in 1867, reported that the le Jay punches were back in the Imprimerie Nationale and were doing worthwhile work.[192] Bernard was clearly wrong and de Guignes was correct. The le Jay type had disappeared. Subsequent printings which appear to be using the le Jay type are using an entirely different face that is difficult to distinguish from the le Jay face.

A comparison of the font attributed to 'Vitray' in Smitskamp's catalogue[193] with the font in Vitré's *Linguarum Orientalium* shows us

[184] Cf. Audin, *Les livrets typographiques*, 20–3. The specimen errs in dating the face to 1640, and probably the font then to be found in the Imprimerie was not that of le Jay, but a substitute. See below, 127–9.

[185] M. de Guignes, *Essai historique sur la typographie orientale et Greques de l'Imprimerie Royale* (Paris, 1787).

[186] I am grateful to J.-P. Rothschild who supplied extracts of this work.

[187] De Guignes, *Essai historique*, 22. On 42 we are told (my translation): 'As for the Samaritan punches and their matrices, they were made at the order of M. le Jay for printing the Bible.' This would be supported by the fact that whilst Vitré had possession of all the oriental faces he did not control the Samaritan. Cf. Anon, *L'art du livre à l'Imprimerie Nationale* (Paris, 1951), 43.

[188] ibid., 44.

[189] The argument is cited in detail in A. Bernard, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie Royale du Louvre* (Paris, 1867; reprinted, Amsterdam, 1966), 57–9.

[190] ibid. Bernard notes that in his *Antoine Vitré et les caractères orientaux de la bible polyglotte de Paris* (1857) he presents additional documentation which he has not presented here.

[191] ibid., 280–7, where Bernard also notes their absence from the inventory of the Imprimerie Royale taken in 1791.

[192] ibid., 63. Bernard claims that the punches were found after the Revolution.

[193] *PO2*, 175.

Figure 5
The French Faces
1. Aquilino
2. le Jay
3. de Sacy

that they are not the same. The extract in the catalogue is too brief to allow a full comparison, and we may also refer to de Sacy[194] who uses the imitation of the le Jay font, in his footnotes, beneath the Propaganda face. The results of the comparison are as follows:

'Aleph	L(e Jay) is smaller than I(mitation) by about 0.25mm; the two arms are closer together in L than in I, the angle between the leg and the transversal differs.
Bet	The L *bet* is 'bird's-headed';[195] the I *bet* is rounded.
Daled	These show a clear differentiation: the tail of *daled* is a projection of the upper head stroke in L, but of the lower stroke in I.
Hē	In L the serif of the upper stroke is almost vertical; in I the serif occupies about half of the upper stroke and is oblique to it.
Het	In L the fulcrum knot projects from the junction of the top stroke and the right vertical, giving a 'camel's back' appearance; in I the fulcrum knot is represented by a projection of the middle parallel line before the right vertical.
Yad	In L the fulcrum knot links the right foot and the top stroke; in I they are not so linked.
Kaf	The most pronounced difference between the forms is the solidity of the foot serif in L which is a thin curved stroke in I.
Lamed	In L the head stroke of *lamed* is straight; in I it is curved.
Mem	The thickest part of the base stroke in L is to the right of the serif; in I it is the serif.

[194] *Notices*.
[195] See *SMP* for this term.

Nun	The serif in I is more pronounced than in L.
Pē	In I all the strokes of *pē* are equal in thickness; in L the upper stroke is thinner than the right vertical or the base stroke and serif.
Sade	In L the serif to the left leg is a short, oblique stroke which is straight; in I that stroke curves.
Quf	In L the body of *quf* is larger than in I.
Shin	The initial and final strokes from which the crown 'loops' arise are longer in I than in L.
Tav	This letter follows *'aleph* in form: in L the transversal is curved near the junction with the left leg, in L it is straight.

Apart from the specific details one should note that the imitation of le Jay is much finer in appearance, having lost many of the shadings between thick and thin strokes. We have no way of knowing who cut this face. It appears in the period between de Guignes (1787), who knows nothing of it, and the printing of de Sacy (1829), that is, in the period when the royal printing-house obtained and returned the Vatican type-faces. One must assume that this imitation was cut to replace the missing le Jay font at the same time as the Propaganda face was improved by the orientalists of the Imprimerie Impériale, perhaps for de Sacy, or for or by Jean Joseph Marcel.

About the same time as the imitation of the le Jay face was cut in France another copy of the French face was cut. We can say nothing about who cut it or where it was cut, other than it appears in Heidelberg in the work of P. Alexio and S. Aquilino, *Pentateuchi Hebraeo-Samaritani* (Heidelberg: typis Joannis Bapt. Wiessen, Universitatis Typographi, 1783). Though the authors speak of the Samaritan font they say nothing at all as to who cut the type used in the Heidelberg printing. It is clearly based on the French face, but can readily be distinguished from the other versions of the face by *'ayin*, which has a distorted top stroke, rather in the shape of a square bracket, and *samech*, which has a longer 'leg' stroke than any other version found in any Samaritan font. Under high-power magnification the font is seen to be slightly larger than the French faces, suggesting a German body, and one notes also a trace of the German Samaritan in the vertical support of *mem*, with its slight swelling. We must assume, then, that this imitation was cut in Germany, perhaps in Heidelberg itself, for the University. Doubtless the font was utilized for other printings of Samaritan texts, but the author has not yet come across them.

One final French face remains to be considered. This is the face which makes its appearance in late nineteenth-century France. It does not seem to be found in earlier printings and is not found outside France. Arthur Christian[196] presents a beautifully-printed sample of this face which he attributes to 'Jacques de Sanlecque at the expense of

[196] Arthur Christian, *Débuts de l'imprimerie en France* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904).

le Jay', in 1632. However, he says nothing of the circumstances of this attribution in the body of his text and in discussing de Sanlecque speaks only of his Armenian and Ethiopic faces.[197] Such an attribution must be regarded as extremely doubtful. Apart from the fact that the face is not found in print until the mid-nineteenth century, its existence is not noted in the interim period. It is the best of all Samaritan faces cut since it accurately and clearly represents a Samaritan script of the Nablus or coastal types before *c.*1200[198] and can be read easily by anyone versed in Samaritan without the need to adapt to any stylizations or idiosyncracies which make reading other Samaritan types a difficult task. It is the only Samaritan font in which each letter has a natural appearance. The balance between the natural look, and the slight awkwardness caused by extensions of the left leg of *'aleph* and *tav*, would incline us to believe that the model for the font was MS BN Sam.1. Since this manuscript was not acquired by de Peiresc until 1628[199] it would hardly have been a suitable source for de Sanlecque in 1632. The face is found in two sizes, the larger in Zotenberg's catalogue of the Samaritan manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Impériale)[200] and both sizes in Adolph Neubauer's editions of the Samaritan Chronicles.[201]

In the absence of direct knowledge we may assume that the face was cut for the printing of Zotenberg's catalogue. Zotenberg, a scholar with a sound knowledge of Samaritan, was probably dissatisfied with the faces available to him in the national printing-house and probably suggested that a new face be cut for the work. A good many new faces were cut for the Imprimerie Nationale in the nineteenth century. A list is to be found in Audin[202] but the Samaritan is not among them. Most of the exotics were cut by Marcellin Legrand and the Aubert brothers. Whilst the Aubert brothers cut fonts similar to the Samaritan their style seems to lack the finer shadings noted in this excellent face.[203] The Samaritan looks more like the work of Marcellin Legrand. Yet he ceased cutting type by 1845 which might be too early a date to be taken into consideration. Until further evidence is available judgement must be suspended. Whatever the answer, this last French face was the work of a master whose font is the best of the Samaritan faces ever cut.

[197] ibid., 77.

[198] Cf. *SMP* for a discussion of this point.

[199] Cf. J.J.L. Bargès, *Notice sur deux fragments d'un pentateuque hébreu – samaritain* (Paris, 1865), 34, and H. Zotenberg, *Manuscrits orientaux: Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux et samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1866), no.1.

[200] ibid. and Christian, *Débuts*, 158.

[201] Ad. Neubauer, 'Chronique samaritaine suivie d'un appendice', *Journal Asiatique*, 6[e] série, 14:55 (December 1869), 385–468, and 'Un commentaire samaritain inconnu – deuxième appendice à la chronique samaritaine', *Journal Asiatique* (April 1873), 341–68. Both are reprinted as one work.

[202] Audin, *Les livrets typographiques*, 28.

[203] By comparing Audin's list, 28, with the faces in Christian, *Débuts*, one can see most of the output of the principal type-cutters of the Imprimerie Nationale of the nineteenth century.