Doodles and Dry Point: An Initial Exploration of Additions to New College, MS 287

Notes and doodles added to margins and flyleaves are rarely as beautiful or as eye-catching as a medieval manuscript's original text and illumination. Though physically peripheral, these additions are, nevertheless, central to its story. When studied closely, they can provide insights into how readers and owners have interacted with, understood, and used the manuscript. This short article focuses on three intriguing additions made to Oxford, New College, MS 287, a small 16th-century book which, though outwardly inconspicuous, was made for King Henry VIII. Discussed here for the first time, these additions offer tantalising clues as to the manuscript's provenance, which is shrouded in mystery. The following exploration does not aim to be conclusive, but is offered instead in the hope of encouraging further study of this fascinating manuscript.

The text and context of MS 287 received thorough treatment in a previous New College Note by Jemima Bennett, but a brief outline of the most salient points will be helpful here. MS 287 uniquely preserves a short text authored by the Tudor court poet and historian, Bernard André (d. 1522). Born in Toulouse in the mid-15th century, André, a blind Augustinian friar, became renowned for his knowledge of Roman literature, and of both civil and canon law. He arrived in England shortly after King Henry VII ascended the throne in 1485. Thereafter, André spent the rest of his life in the royal employ, writing prose and verse in praise of Henry VII and later of his son and successor, King Henry VIII. Indeed, MS 287 was intended as a royal gift. The dedication, written in red on f. 2r, records that it was made for Henry VIII, to be presented to him on New Year's Day 1515, the primary occasion for ceremonial gift-giving in the courtly calendar. The text itself is a Latin prose oration regarding the comparative merits of war and peace. Perhaps unsurprisingly in the context of Henry's 1514 treaty with France, André concluded that peace was preferable.

As its dedication makes clear, MS 287 was destined for the royal library. How it came to leave that collection, is unknown. The path by which it travelled to New College is similarly unclear. It is tempting to link its arrival with that of two other royal escapees now housed at New College: MS 136 and BT3.145.20. Both of these books, like MS 287, were intended as gifts for Tudor royalty. MS 136 was also made for King Henry VIII. It contains a printed German Reformation polemic, prefaced by an incomplete Latin translation of the text handwritten by the Dutch theologian Wouter Deleen (*d.* 1563).⁸ Deleen presented this composite volume to Henry VIII in 1545, as recorded in the inscription tooled in gold on the front board of its beautiful leather binding. The second royal book housed at New College, BT3.145.20, was not made for King Henry VIII, but for his daughter, Queen Mary I (*d.* 1558). Like MS 137, this printed book, a copy of Johann Slotan's pro-Catholic polemic *De retienda fide orthodoxa*, is connected to its intended royal

¹ Jemima Bennett, 'New College MS 287 and its Text', New College Notes 17 (2022), no. 4

² David R. Carlson, 'André [Andreas], Bernard(c. 1450–1522)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (23 September 2004) < https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/513 (Accessed: 2 July 2024).

⁴ For André's literary output, see David R. Carlson, 'The Writings of Bernard André (c. 1450–c. 1522), Renaissance Studies 12 (June 1998), 229–50.

⁵ The dedication reads, *Pro anno millesimo quingentesimo decimoquinto inuictissimi Angliae regnis Henrici octavi felicissimiae regnacionis Anno Septimo Bernardi Andree auspicatissimi noui anni munusculum* ('For the one thousand five-hundred and fifteenth year of England, the most invincible of the kingdoms, the seventh year of the happiest reign of Henry VIII, a little gift [from] Bernard Andre for the beginning of the New Year'). For the importance of New Year's day at the Tudor court, see Maria Hayward, 'Gift Giving at the Court of Henry VIII: The 1239 New Year's Gift Roll in Context', *The Antiquaries Journal* 85 (2005), 125–75, and Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), esp. pp. 92–103.

⁶ Carlson 'Writings', p. 242.

⁷ Bennett, 'MS 287'.

⁸ For an analysis of this book, its text, and binding, see James Willoughby, "The King's Eye", New College Notes 6 (2015), no. 11.

recipient through its binding which is stamped 'Maria. ReGina. Angliæ' (Mary, Queen of England). It is difficult to dismiss the presence of three books made for Tudor monarchs at New College as mere coincidence, but any theories regarding the circumstances of their arrival here remain speculative. One potential route leads us to Cardinal Reginald Pole, archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of Queen Mary I and the last catholic Primate of All England. Following his death on 17 November 1558 at Lambeth Palace, mere hours after his queen, many manuscripts from Pole's estate were donated to New College. However, it should be noted that the college received only Pole's Greek, not his Latin, manuscripts, all of which he signed; MS 136, BT3.145.20, and MS 287 do not meet these criteria. Therefore, in the absence of any other information, this article proposes that additions made to MS 287 by later readers could provide useful clues regarding its provenance.

The two additions at the beginning of the book appear to be in some way connected, though they were perhaps written by different individuals at different times. Both were added to the manuscript's front flyleaf, now f. 1r. The first addition is a rough pencil drawing of a rearing winged horse. 13 The subject of the sketch is instantly recognisable, despite it becoming less detailed towards the bottom, with the creature's back legs and tail indicated only by simple lines. The drawing is undoubtably of Pegasus, who remains the most well-known winged horse. In Greek mythology, he was the immortal equine offspring of the Gorgon, Medusa, and Poseidon, god of the sea, earthquakes, and, fittingly, of horses. 14 The stories about Pegasus, from his violent birth, emerging from his mother's neck as she was beheaded, to his taming by the hero Bellerophon who rode him into battle against the three-headed, fire-breathing Chimera, have captured imaginations across the centuries. Portrayals of Pegasus can be found on a variety of artistic media dating from classical antiquity to the present day, ranging from textiles, pottery, sculpture, and painting to quick sketches such as the one added to MS 287. This drawing certainly evokes something of the fun and whimsy which depictions of mythical creatures can provide, both for the artist and the audience, and its presence in MS 287 may simply be attributed to the persistent popularity of such fantastical creatures in our collective imagination.

Alternatively, the artist of the Pegasus sketch may have been inspired by a reading of the manuscript's text. André referred to several different figures from classical myth in his treatise. At the end of the text, for example, he described this (mortal) life as long and the 'course of the body' as like Nestor (huius vitae longevum nestorumque decursum corporis), the legendary king of Pylos in Homer's Iliad known for his lengthy speeches. Earlier in the treatise, André compared Henry VIII to the Greek hero Hercules; he also used the phrase medius fidius which we can parse as me Deus fidius (roughly, 'with God as my witness'), but which was perhaps also intended as a veiled reference to Hercules or to his father, Jupiter. Though Pegasus himself was not mentioned in André's text, it is conceivable that its allusions to mythical figures from classical antiquity put the equine deity in the mind of the artist responsible for the pencil sketch drawn on the front flyleaf.

⁹ Jason Morgan, 'Maria Regina Angliæ: A Gift for a Tudor Queen', New College Notes 10 (2018), no. 4.

¹⁰ For Pole's life and career, see T. F. Mayer, 'Pole, Reginald (1500–1558)', *ODNB* (3 January 2008) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22456> (Accessed: 28 July 2024), and James Willoughby (ed.), Reformation Cardinal: Reginald Pole in Sixteenth-Century Italy & England (Oxford: New College Library & Archives, 2023).

¹¹ Pole is listed as a donor in New College's Library Benefaction Book, p. 35 for 1557. MS 136, BT3.145.20, and MS 287 are not listed among the books he donated.

¹² Willoughby, 'King's Eye'; Morgan, 'Maria Regina Angliæ'.

¹³ A different hand attempted to replicate this drawing immediately above; this addition will not be discussed here.

¹⁴ Herbert Jennings Rose and Jenny March, 'Pegasus (1), mythical winged horse', Oxford Classical Dictionary (7 March 2016) https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.4817 (Accessed 28 July 2024).

¹⁵ Bennett, 'MS 287'.

¹⁶ ibid; Hans-Friedrich Mueller, 'Dius Fidius', in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (26 October 2012) < https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah17126 (Accessed: 28 July 2024); John Scheid, 'Semo Sancus Dius Fidius', *OCD* (7 March 2016) < https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.5808 (Accessed: 28 July 2024).



The pencil sketch of Pegasus and the poetic pen trial added to the manuscript's front flyleaf New College Library, Oxford, MS 287, f. 1r © Courtesy of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford

The second addition found at the beginning of MS 287 is not a drawing, but a short note written with pen and ink. Positioned directly beneath and partially overlapping the pencil sketch of Pegasus, this note was clearly added after the drawing but appears to be in some way related to it and was perhaps written in response. The note seems to read, *Iste equus no[n] est equus* | na[m] utraq[ne] parte D[a]ecus [sic] ('This horse is not a horse for each side is a source of glory'). The meaning of this rhyming couplet is puzzling, but can perhaps be better understood with reference to the drawing of the horse beneath which it was written. The 'decoration' on each side could describe the creature's wings; it is this feature which makes it not a simple horse but Pegasus, the equine deity of Greek myth.¹⁷ The author's motivations for describing the sketch in such an obscure way, however, remain a mystery. It should also be noted that the final word is unclear and an alternative reading of caecus would render it, 'This horse is not a horse for each side is blind'. If this is the correct reading, the note's meaning is more puzzling still.

Significantly, the note added to the front flyleaf of MS 287 shares some striking similarities with a pen trial preserved in another, much older, manuscript—Monte Cassino, Archivio e Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Cod. 21. This 11th-century copy of Augustine's Commentary on the Gospel of John was written in Beneventan script, probably at Monte Cassino. The presence of this addition at the back of this book has only been recorded by Caravita, who dated it to the 12th century and provided the following transcription:

Talis equus. non est equus. est ex una parte cecus. [sic] Non est honor neque decus. equitare tale male pecus. ¹⁹

¹⁷ I am grateful to Dr Michael Stansfield, New College Archivist, for discussing this note and its possible meaning with me.

¹⁸ Mauro Imguanez, *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, vol. 1 (Monte Cassino: ex Typographia pontificia Instituti Pii IX, 1915), p. 31. The archetypal study of Beneventan minuscule is E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914) where Cod. 21 is listed on p. 342; for a more recent overview of the development of this script type, see Francis Newton, 'Beneventan (South Italian/Langobardic) Script', in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, ed. Frank T. Coulson and Robert G. Babcock (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 120–42.

¹⁹ Andrea Caravita, *I Codici e le Arte a Monte Cassino*, vol. 2 (Monte Cassino: Pei tipi della Badia, 1870), p. 159. I. Giorgi and G. Navone (*Il Ritmo Cassinese* (Roma: Ermanno Loescher, 1875), p. 18) suggested that this short poem may have originated in Monte Cassino.

This can be translated as, 'This horse is not a horse since it is blind on one side. There is no honour, nor glory in wickedly riding such an animal'. The similarities of form and content between this manuscript addition and the one found in MS 287 are immediately clear. They begin with almost identical phrases which claim that 'this horse is not a horse', each justified by reference to an abnormality affecting one or both sides of the animal, perhaps its blindness in both cases. Both are rhyming couplets which share the same meter, though the Monte Cassino addition is longer and also makes use of internal rhyme.

Surviving manuscript evidence demonstrates that rhyming phrases made for popular pen trials and marginal additions across medieval western Europe, though the common poetic source of the additions to MS 287 and Monte Cassino, Cod. 21 is as yet unknown.²⁰ Regardless, these additions strongly suggest that the two manuscripts were in some way connected, though perhaps not directly. Further investigation, including the identification of any similar additions in other books, is required to establish the nature of their relationship. This could, in turn, shed new light on the provenance of MS 287.

The third, and final, addition to MS 287 is a recent discovery discussed here for the first time. Found in the lower margin of f. 2v, it has hitherto been overlooked on account of its location, its small size, and, not least, its semi-visibility. This addition differs from the two discussed above in that it was not drawn or written on the surface of the paper but scratched into it using a technique known as dry point. Dry point is a mode of writing or drawing with a pointed tool, such as a stylus, to create inkless impressions on a surface.²¹ From the 15th century onwards, this technique was applied to intaglio printmaking.²² However, it has a much longer, albeit chronically understudied, history of use in book culture. Many manuscripts made from the early medieval period onwards contain some kind of dry-point marking. Before writing, for example, bifolia were routinely ruled with dry-point lines to help scribes neatly copy out text, a practice which continued well into the early modern period. A greater variety of dry-point markings were added to finished volumes. Readers and owners throughout time have used dry point to engage and interact with their manuscripts and, later, sometimes did the same with their printed books. Some wrote new texts entirely in dry point, others supplied marginal and interlinear dry-point glosses, often in vernacular languages; some readers added dry-point signs and symbols to mark out passages of interest, and others drew dry-point pictures and doodles in margins and on flyleaves. Occasionally, readers and owners even added their names to their books in dry point. The motivation for using dry point, rather than pen and ink (or later pencil), to write, draw or otherwise leave a mark in a manuscript or printed book remains a matter for debate. Though this decision may have been influenced by different individuals' needs and circumstances, it is conceivable that a desire to be discreet was a common factor in the choice of dry point.²³ Indeed, as Powell argues, dry point offered an accessible way for scribes, editors, readers, owners, copyists and compositors to write, comment, or otherwise mark a manuscript or printed book 'without marring the appearance of the page'.²⁴

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²⁰ Perhaps the most well-known poetic pen trial is the *Hebban olla vogala* preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Bodley 340, which dates to the 11th century. Traditionally the language of the poem was believed to be Old Dutch, but more recent analysis indicates that it is, in fact, a mixture of Old Dutch and Old English; on this, see Michael Lysander Angerer, '*Hebban olla vogala*: An Eleventh-century Link Between Dutch and English Literary History', *Neophilologus* (22 May 2024) < https://doi.org/10.1007/s11061-024-09807-x (Accessed: 28 July 2024).

²¹ Peter Beal, 'Dry Point', A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology, 1450–2000 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 128–30.

²² Ian Chilvers, 'Drypoint' in *The Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<u>www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191782763.001.0001/acref-9780191782763-e-749</u>> (Accessed: 28 July 2024).

²³ Jason Powell, 'Secret Writing or a Technology of Discretion? Dry Point in Tudor Books and Manuscripts', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s. 70 (293), 37–53, at pp. 43–5.
²⁴ ibid., p. 37.

Despite its prevalence, dry point has received limited scholarly attention, thus far confined almost exclusively to the study of dry-point glosses added to early medieval manuscripts.²⁵ A systematic, wide-ranging analysis of dry point, exploring its varied forms and uses, is certainly well overdue. Research into dry point has certainly been hampered by its very nature; its semi-visibility means that it often goes unnoticed, is ignored, or dismissed as unimportant. When the presence of dry point is identified in a manuscript or early printed book, it has historically been difficult to visualise clearly and to photograph for future study. Traditionally, the only available method used a simple principle called raking light, whereby a single light is positioned at a low angle to create areas of light and shade which pick out markings scratched into a surface. Now, however, with the application of cutting-edge technology pioneered by the ARCHiOx project, dry-point markings can be more easily identified, seen, and studied.

Funded by the Helen Hamlyn Trust, ARCHiOx (which stands for Analysis and Recording of Cultural Heritage in Oxford) is a collaboration between the Bodleian Libraries at the University of Oxford and the Factum Foundation, a not-for-profit organisation based in Madrid. The Factum Foundation develops recording and re-materialisation techniques and technologies to document and re-create cultural heritage items around world, the facilitating conservation and research efforts. ARCHiOx uses the Selene Scanner, a state-of-the-art photographic system designed by the Factum Foundation engineer Jorge Cano, to take recordings of cultural heritage items, including manuscripts, in Oxford. The Selene Scanner uses a principle called

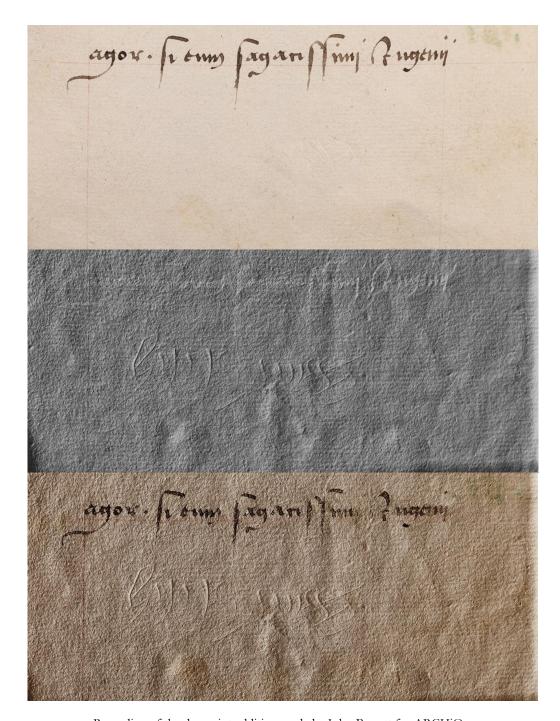


Setting MS 287 up on the Selene Scanner

photometric stereo to capture low-relief surfaces in high resolution.²⁶ It comprises a camera attached to a jig surrounded by four custom flash units; these flash in turn, directing light onto the surface of the target item from different angles. The camera takes a series of 2D images; the light is directed from a different angle in each capture. These images are then combined to create a recording in which a low-relief surface can be seen more clearly in 2.5 dimensions. The colour and tone of target object are visible in the original images taken by the camera (known as the albedo). In the shaded render, the colour and tone are removed to more clearly show the texture of the surface. The albedo and shaded render are captured simultaneously, and a composite image can be created by aligning and combining the two.

²⁵ Notable recent studies include Andreas Nievergelt, 'The Old English Dry-Point Glosses', in *Anglo-Saxon Micro-Texts*, ed. Ursula Lenker and Lucia Kornexl (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), pp. 161–73; Dieter Studer-Joho, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Known to Contain Old English Dry-Point Glosses* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017); Christine Wallis, 'Unpublished Dry-Point Annotations in a Manuscript of the Old English *Bede*: Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B', *Medium Ævum* 85 (2016), 15–32.

²⁶ John Barrett, 'ARCHiOx: Research and Development in Imaging', *The Bodleian Conveyor* (13 May 2022) < https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/theconveyor/archiox-research-and-development-in-imaging; for other discoveries made in collaboration with ARCHiOx, see Chiara Betti, 'Unearthing a Hidden Melody' *The Bodleian Conveyor* (13 May 2024) < https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/theconveyor/unearthing-a-hidden-melody/, and Jessica Hodgkinson and John Barrett, 'Women in the Margins: Eadburg and Bodleian Library, MS. Selden Supra 30', *The Bodleian Conveyer* (18 November 2022) < https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/theconveyor/women-in-the-margins-eadburg-and-bodleian-library-ms-selden-supra-30/ (Accessed: 20 June 2024).



Recording of the dry-point addition made by John Barrett for ARCHiOx.

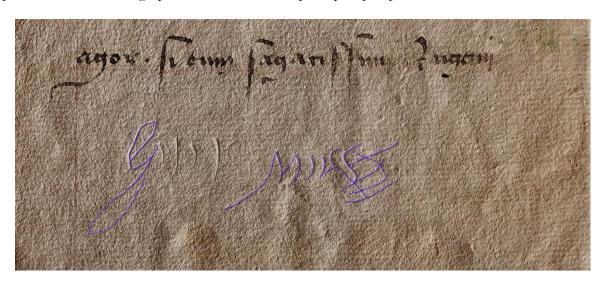
The images, from top to bottom, are the albedo (original image), the shaded render (with the tone and colour removed), and a composite image (combining the albedo and shaded render).

New College Library, Oxford, MS 287, f. 2v

A recording of MS 287, f. 2v was recently made by John Barrett, Senior Photographer for the Bodleian Libraries and the technical lead of the ARCHiOx project. In this recording, a small and short, inkless marking is visible in the lower margin. The lines are sharp and angular, not rounded and diffused. This confirms that the marking was a deliberate addition, scratched into the paper with a pointed tool, not an accidental impression made by writing on a surface above this page. The content and meaning of this dry-point addition remain open to interpretation, but some initial observations are proffered here. The writing is cursive and calligraphic with exaggerated ascenders and descenders. In its overall appearance, the dry point addition resembles a signature.

Certain elements are particularly reminiscent of the letterforms and flourishes used by members of the Tudor court when they signed their names.²⁷ Dry point was certainly used by the literate elite in early-modern England, as established by Powell in his analysis of the dry-point additions made to three Tudor manuscripts which were owned and used by members of the nobility.²⁸ These manuscripts contain a frankly astonishing range of dry-point additions, from marginal and interlinear lines, crosses (x) and other symbols, to doodles, signatures, and even entire poems, many of which can be confidently or definitively dated to the 16th century. The variety and sheer volume of dry-point interventions in these manuscripts establishes that this technique was a commonplace in Tudor England, when the dry-point addition to MS 287 was apparently written.

Indeed, it is possible to make the case that the addition reads 'Henr[y? or ricus?] viii'. The first letter, which is the most clearly visible, has been identified as a characteristically Tudor 'H'.²⁹ Towards the end of the dry-point addition, the Roman numeral 'viii' can also be identified with some confidence from the photometric stereo recording made by ARCHiOx; this number precedes the final calligraphic flourish, which is perhaps a paraph.³⁰



Digitally annotated composite ARCHiOx recording of the dry-point addition The most visible elements of the inscription have been digitally annotated with lines traced in blue. New College Library, Oxford, MS 287, f. 2v

The other scratched marks which comprise the dry-point addition are more difficult to decipher, not least because the paper's textured surface hinders attempts to distinguish between deliberate and incidental lines, particularly when they are very faint. There appear to be at least three distinct letterforms between the 'H' which begins the inscription and the Roman numeral 'viii'. These include a letterform which resembles an 'n' and another which could be an 'r' with a looped terminal indicating a suspension (the omission of a letter or letters at the end of the word). When taken together, these observations, particularly the identification of the 'H' and Roman numeral 'viii', seem to indicate that the dry-point addition is of Henry VIII's name. Made for and presented to the king as a special New Year's Day gift, it would certainly make sense for this

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²⁷ Letterforms and calligraphic flourishes similar to those used in the dry-point addition are present in the signatures of Henry VII, Katherine of Aragon, and Elizabeth I, among others. None of these signatures, however, more closely resemble the addition in its entirety.

²⁸ Powell, 'Secret Writing'; the manuscripts discussed by Powell are London, British Library, Additional MS 17492, Additional MS 18752 and Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.280.

²⁹ For a similar letterform, see the addition in the upper margin Oxford, New College, MS 310, fol. 80r pictured in Caitlín Kane's article in this issue of *New College Notes*: "who gave the same to their daughter . . .": Identifying Ownership of New College, Oxford's Books of Hours'.

³⁰ Carol M. Meale, 'Paraph', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. Michael Felix Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), II, 1004.

manuscript to contain his name. Its positioning within the book also seems to be significant—centralised in the lower margin of the page which contains the opening lines of the treatise and a beautiful shell-gold initial, enclosing a large, crowned Tudor rose.

If this is the correct reading of the dry-point addition to MS 287, questions remain regarding its form and intended function. As yet, it has not been possible to identify other surviving examples of Henry VIII's signature which resemble the inscription. It is conceivable, however, that a dry-point signature would differ, at least to some extent, from one written with pen and ink because it was harder to scratch letters into a page. Additionally, it is plausible that the king signed his name differently in public, on letters and official writs, and in private, including, perhaps, in drypoint. Though the king was routinely styled 'Henry VIII' in dating clauses written by others, including in the one found on f. 2r of this manuscript, it is unclear if would have ever styled himself thus. If this is the correct reading of the dry-point addition, this raises the possibility that it was written by someone else, though who would have wanted and had the opportunity to do so is unclear. The choice of drypoint, rather than pen and ink, is similarly puzzling; why would an individual, perhaps the king himself, use such a discrete mode of writing to add his name to a book which had been specially made for and was owned by him? Further investigation is certainly needed to solve this mystery.

This short article has introduced three notable additions made to Oxford, New College, MS 287—a pencil sketch of Pegasus, a poetic pen trial about a horse, and, perhaps most intriguingly of all, a recently discovered and as-yet-undeciphered marginal dry-point note. It is hoped that in briefly discussing each, this article will encourage the study of these additions with the belief that this will shed new light on the history of the fascinating manuscript to which they were added.

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