

**Bede and Bernard, Birds and Beasts:  
An Exploration of the Illuminated Initials of New College MS 308**

SO WHERE DO WE START?

From the outside, New College MS 308 is rather unremarkable. It is a twelfth-century folio, but not overly large at 355 x 272 mm; and relatively thin, with fewer than 100 membrane leaves.<sup>1</sup> It is bound on five tawed leather tapes, and in a post-medieval membrane limp binding rather than between boards or in leather, which gives the codex the air of something unfinished, or possibly even unappreciated.

The inside, however, is a rather different matter. Past paper pastedowns, a membrane flyleaf, a stub, a list of popes in two columns on ff. 2v–3v, another blank page, and a later addition of a list of chapters on f. 4v, the main text of the Venerable Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* starts on f. 5r with a stunning, eleven-line inhabited initial **G**, at ‘Gloriosissimo’, the first word of the Prologue. The red main letter is decorated with blue and green foliage in white spaces, and infilled and surrounded with more stylized foliage held in blue and red. Inside the letter stands a bearded figure of the author, facing the reader. His green, patterned tunic, white alb and chasuble accented in red, he is wearing a green mitre, with his left hand holding a closed book and his right hand raised in a blessing gesture. Two birds are perched on his shoulders.



**G**, New College Library, Oxford, MS 308, f. 5r



**B**, MS 308, f. 6r

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Only one turn of the page further on there is another magnificent illuminated and inhabited initial, this one marking the beginning of the actual text—the ten-line initial **B** of ‘Britannia’. This is held in red and green only, the letter itself in solid red and green with a scalloped divide, infilled and surrounded with red and green stylized foliage. Inside it stands, side-on, an unidentified male

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1852), p. 112. James Willoughby, in his description for the forthcoming catalogue of manuscripts in New College Library, Oxford, identifies the provenance as England in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The complete structure of the MS is as follows: ii–91—iii leaves: membrane pastedown (tipped in), membrane flyleaf (tipped in, f. 1)—I<sup>4</sup> (ff. 2–4, 1 cancelled (stub)), II–XII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 5–92)—paper flyleaf (f. 93), membrane flyleaf (tipped in, f. 94), paper pastedown.

figure—clean-shaven and bare-headed, in a white tunic with red detailing and a green, patterned stole; the right hand raised with open palm, the left pointing, in a teaching gesture, at the beginning of the text.

The decoration of the remainder of the text quite lives up to the early promise of these first two pages. Each of the nearly 140 individual chapters of the five books of Bede's *Historia* is headed by a green or red four-line initial decorated with red or blue in a style usually called 'arabesque';<sup>2</sup> almost all of these are inhabited by figures of animals or mythological creatures, with ascenders and descenders extending into the margins, many with human or animal heads, or even entire mythological creatures at the terminals. Especially in the execution of the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures which populate these initials the artist does not only display real artistic excellence, but a delightful, quirky, and—in a manuscript which almost certainly originated in an austere Cistercian monastery—rather surprising playfulness.

The illumination is not only remarkable in its quality, but also in its quantity—to the initials at the beginnings of chapters are added numerous others at significant points throughout the text, so that together with the two large initials described above, the manuscript contains no fewer than 192 illuminated initials on its 96 folios of text. (A complete list of these can be found in the Appendix to this Note).

Supplementary initials not heading chapters are for example found at the beginnings of letters: halfway between the **S** ('Siquidem') of I.23 and the **M** ('Misit') of I.24, a **G** marks the salutation of the letter sent by Gregorius to the monks charged, together with St Augustine, to convert the English nation ('Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei', f. 14r). In the same manner an **R** ('Reuerentissimo') is added only a few of lines after this **M** of I.24 for the salutation of a second letter by Gregorius, this one to Etherius, archbishop of Arles (f. 14v), and another **R** ('Reuerentissimo') for yet another letter by Gregorius in I.28 (f. 19r). There is also the long section of I.27 where Bede quotes the *Libellus responsionum* in which nine questions posed by St Augustine are answered by Pope Gregory; here five-line green and red **I** of 'Interrogatio augustini' with foliage and human and animal faces alternate with the three-line red and blue **R** of 'Respondit Gregorius', infilled with animal figures.<sup>3</sup>

Occasionally these additional initials have caused confusion for later users or curators of the MS: a **D** on f. 57r ('Diuina nos gratia') marks the blessing concluding Bede's quotation of the synod text of the Council of Hertford (IV.5). The later hand inserting the chapter numbers marked this **D** as Chapter 6, the **N** of IV.6 ('Non multo post haec', f. 57r) as 7, the **I** ('In hoc etenim monasterio') of I.7 as 8, and so on; resulting in a chapter numbering for this book which is not so found in other versions of the *Historia*.

Most of the initials, whether they mark a chapter or other significant point, are four lines high, with only a scattering of smaller three-line as well as some larger five-line initials—though in the margins the ascenders of **H** almost always stretch at least four lines above the body of the letter, while an **I** can reach a length of nine, ten, or even 14 lines. In fact, both the letters themselves and their decorations have a habit of encroaching on the spaces of the generous margins at the sides, top, and bottom of the pages, as well as into the space between the two columns of text. The relative frequency of initials per page depends of course on the length of the individual chapters, but they appear roughly at a rate of one or two per page, and at their highest density at a rate of four and five to a page.<sup>4</sup> The most common letter of all, by a wide margin, is **A** (37 instances), followed by **I** (30 instances). There are no instances of **L** (or, understandably, since the language is Latin, of **K**), and no **B** apart from the large initial on f. 2v. There is only a single instance

<sup>2</sup> 'a style of decoration with interlaced leaves, scroll-work etc.': J. J. G. Alexander, 'Scribes as Artists: The Arabesque Initial in Twelfth-Century English Manuscripts', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 87–116, at p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> ff. 15v–16r. Cf. Bede, *Historia*, I.27.

<sup>4</sup> This is in the abovementioned section of I.27 on ff. 15v–16r. See the table in the Appendix for the exact distribution of the letters in the text.

each of **F**, **G**, and **O**. **U** and **V** are indistinguishable, and always rounded rather than pointed, and as in the script of the text itself, **D** appears in both its uncial and non-uncial forms.



D, f. 25r



D, f. 32v

The colour scheme is, in line with expectations raised by the codex's probable place of creation, very simple and very strict: only dark green, red, and light blue are used. Letters are either a solid red with blue decoration or a solid green with red decoration, although the colour of the letter is frequently used for accentuating details within the drawings: to indicate feathers or fur on the various animals, or to add small decorative elements such as circles or thin lines to fill spaces. A small number of larger, more prominent initials are bicoloured, with a body of solid red and green with a scalloped, unfilled divide, and decorated in both red and blue.



U/V, f. 91r

In terms of their colours the initials are actually quite evenly distributed, with 81 green and 99 red ones, and only ten bicoloured. This even distribution is mainly the result of concerted efforts to alternate red and green initials wherever possible, a tendency carried through not only where initials closely follow each other (e.g. on ff. 15v–16r), but even when the next initial is several turns of the page away: a red **A** on f. 65v is thus followed by a green **I** on f. 67r. Only on a very few occasions is an initial directly followed by one of the same colour: in a unique example, a red **A** on f. 76r is followed by a red **E** on f. 76v, and then a red **U/V** on f. 77v.

Almost all of the initials are inhabited, most by one, a few by two animals or mythological creatures and hybrids. Only 13 initials have no figurative decoration at all, and are only ornamented with arabesques and floral sprays; another 14 are infilled only with floral decoration, but zoomorphic or anthropomorphic shapes are attached to the outside, often at the terminals of descenders and ascenders that extend into the margins. Due to the shape of the letter, **I** is never filled, but in almost all cases there are human or animal heads attached to the apex or foot of the letter.



S, f. 36r



I, f. 57v

A wide variety of creatures inhabits these initials, ranging from real animals (birds, lions, apes, a bull) to mythical creatures (wyverns with or without wings, some breathing fire; griffins) and to hybrids, most often wyverns with human heads. Full human figures appear nowhere in these smaller initials, though a large number of descenders terminate in human heads, some of them with fantastical headgear, and some so detailed and distinctive they might almost be regarded as portraits—or maybe caricatures.

For simplicity's sake I have decided to designate as a 'lion' any four-legged beast, as a 'wyvern' any two-legged creature with a beast head, and as a 'griffin' a creature with the body of a four-legged beast and the head of a bird. In the case of many of the non-human heads that decorate the initials and margins it is rather difficult to tell whether they represent a real animal or 'lion' head, or a wyvern head (cf. e.g. the drawing at the top of the **S** above); in the table of initials in the Appendix, these are all universally designated as wyvern heads.



A human head, **I**, f. 47v



A lion, **R**, f. 16v



A griffin, **U/V** f. 52v

Two very interesting creatures I have described as ‘apes’, due to the shape of their head and ears, their hands and feet, their lack of a tail, and clearly indicated fur. However, both of them are depicted with open mouths, and while one looks rather like it might be eating whatever it is holding in its hands, the second one is depicted with a hand raised in the same teaching gesture as the human inhabiting the **B** on f. 2v, so might even be meant to be speaking—in which case these two figures would maybe not represent apes at all, but hair-covered ‘wild men’. One single animal is very clearly an ox, with horns, a tufted tail, and cloven hooves.



**R**, f. 16r



**H**, f. 37v

This delightful menagerie is, however, not the only ornamentation of the MS, and another detail, though minor, could give rise to some speculation about the artist of these charming little sketches. In longer stretches of text not decorated with initials we find a number of pen flourishes which adorn either *litterae notabiliores* where they appear at the beginnings of lines, or the bottoms of capital letters on the last lines of text. These flourishes, often stylized floral motifs such as divided acanthus leaves,<sup>5</sup> give the appearance of having been added at the time of writing—they are in the same ink as the main text, look to have been drawn with a pen of the same size and shape, and are seamlessly integrated into the letters. While these black ink flourishes are admittedly somewhat more crude than the filigree lines decorating the initials, there are unmistakable similarities in shape and style. This might just open the door to some interesting speculation of whether the scribe himself might not have been the artist who added the illuminated initials to the text.

<sup>5</sup> For the terminology used here to describe elements of ornamentation in these initials, see Lucia N. Valentine, *Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts: A Glossary* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p. 35.



N, f. 31v



A, f. 38r

Scribes as illuminators are certainly not unknown, especially in frugal Cistercian scriptoria—in her glossary of terms to describe ornamentation in medieval manuscripts, Lucia Valentine speaks of ‘calligraphic’ initials:

[A] phrase coined to identify initials made by scribe rather than artist. They are in ink, rarely washed with colour or touched with gold. Simple or elaborate, they clearly belong to the scribe’s rather than the artist’s hand.<sup>6</sup>

Alexander, in his essay on the topic, however, concedes that the medium in which these scribe’s initials are executed does not necessarily have to be ink, or be lacking in colour:

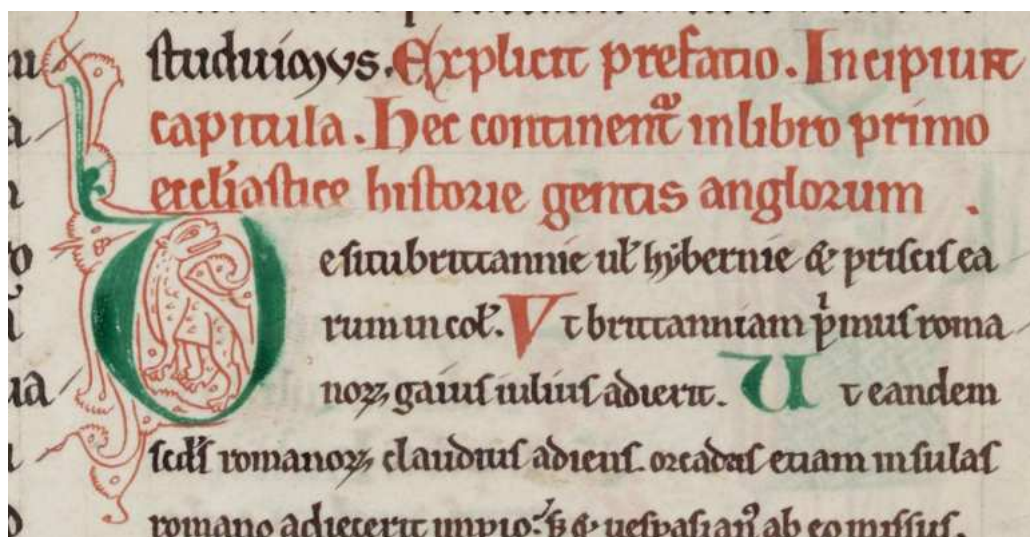
one piece of evidence from which we may sometimes be able to suggest that a scribe also executed an initial is when colours used for headings and initial are identical.<sup>7</sup>

This can be quite easily assessed in MS 308, since the rubrics for the *incipits* and *explicits* of the books are naturally in close proximity to the illuminated initials at the beginning of the books’ first chapters. Indeed the red ink used for rubrics and *litterae notabiliores* throughout does seem to be very similar to the pigment used both for the solid colours of the red illuminated initials and the decoration of the green letters.

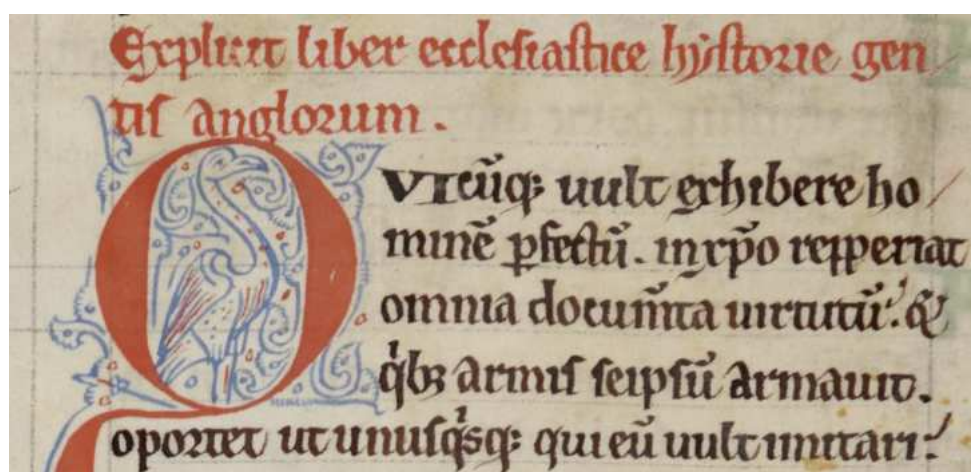
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<sup>6</sup> Valentine, *Ornament*, p. 76. Cf. also Diane J. Reilly, ‘Art’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 125–39, at p. 130: ‘In the early thirteenth century Clairvaux scribes illustrated copies of the *Speculum Virginum* and Richard of Saint Victor’s commentary on Ezekiel with full-page pen drawings’.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander, ‘Scribes as Artists’, p. 96.



*Incipit* of chapter list, Book I, U/V, f. 5v



*Explicit* Book V, Q, f. 92 v

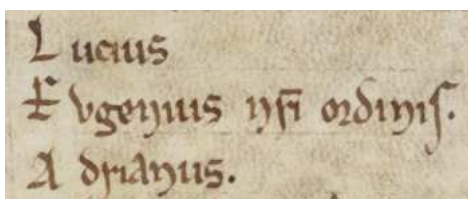
Regardless of whether we are here dealing with one artist or two, a closer examination of these illuminated initials might provide valuable evidence in the quest for clues to the provenance of MS 308. Alexander suggests that 'there is such a thing as a "house-style" in the initials he examines;<sup>8</sup> and there can be no doubt that the quirky, quite humorous style of these initials is rather unique, and therefore highly recognisable. If any manuscripts illustrated in the same style could be found, it would be possible to identify these as the work of the same artist probably beyond much, if any, doubt. Considering how few manuscripts survive of those we can speculate to have existed in the twelfth century, this is of course something of a wild goose chase. Finding a related manuscript illustrated in the same style, however, might provide valuable additional information about the creation and provenance of New College Library's MS 308, and so this it is a path worth walking down at least a little way.

There are two ways in which I would consider other manuscripts to be 'related' to MS 308: in terms of their provenance, as in, manuscripts produced around the same time and in the same place as MS 308; and in terms of the textual variant they contain, as in, manuscripts which can be shown to have been copied from each other, or from the same source manuscript as the New College Bede.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander, 'Scribes as Artists', p. 103.

## RELATED MANUSCRIPTS I—PROVENANCE

There is unfortunately not much we know about when and where MS 308 might have been produced, but what little information the codex yields is enough to narrow down the field somewhat. As briefly mentioned above, ff. 2v–3v contain a list of popes, starting all the way back with St Peter and ending with Innocent III (*sedet* 1198–1216). Since this list was added by a later hand, the dates of his pontificate unfortunately do not give us any further dating clues for the production of the manuscript;<sup>9</sup> but the list does offer one vital clue: it includes the name of Pope Eugenius III (*sedet* 1145–1153), the first Cistercian to ever become pope, as ‘Eugenius nostri ordinis’. As the subject matter of the text certainly points to an insular rather than continental origin, this indicates an English Cistercian monastery as the place of production.<sup>10</sup>



The name of Pope Eugenius in the list of popes, f. 3v

Even without this entry in the list of popes, the style of illumination in the manuscript is very distinctly that of a twelfth-century Cistercian scriptorium, controlled by a number of statutes concerning the use of decorative art in general, and the exterior as well as interior decoration of manuscripts more specifically. An early twelfth-century statute, ‘De Firmaculis Librorum’, dateable to 1109–1119, already forbids the use of gold and silver for book furniture,<sup>11</sup> but the famous statute concerning manuscript illumination directly, ‘De litteris vel vitreis’, dates from the middle of the century, *c.* 1154–51.<sup>12</sup> It contains the much-quoted decree: ‘Littere unius coloris fiant, et non depicte’.<sup>13</sup> What exactly the statute decrees, and forbids, and what areas exactly these strictures are to be applied to, has been left rather vague, and thus open to speculation and interpretation by both contemporaries and today’s scholars—Anne Lawrence-Mathers certainly reads into it that ‘[m]iniatures seem to be unthinkable’, but concedes that ‘it is not clear whether initials only, or rubricity also, are intended to be involved’.<sup>14</sup>

Diane Reilly speculates that in reaction to these statutes, the art of Cistercian illumination changed at least temporarily, embracing the so-called ‘monochrome’ style, a term which is, however, somewhat misleading:

Monochrome letters, in fact, could feature highlighting in contrasting colours, or a single folio of a manuscript could be littered with letters of many different colours, each elaborated with scrolls, leaves, flourishes and buds.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Alexander and Temple think that this list is ‘in the original hand’, but it is difficult to agree with this: see J. J. G. Alexander and Elzbieta Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 14. Willoughby, in his draft entry for New College Library’s forthcoming catalogue of its manuscripts, calls the hand ‘contemporary with Innocent III’.

<sup>10</sup> Willoughby adds: ‘Other signs of a Cistercian origin are the scribe’s use of the punctus flexus’.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Interdicimus ne in ecclesiarum nostrarum libris aurea vel argentea vel deaurate habeantur retinacula’, cf. Christopher Norton and David Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 323.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Norton and Park, p. 325.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>14</sup> Anne Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 202.

<sup>15</sup> Reilly, ‘Art’, p. 130.



Anne Lawrence observes that the variation can be even larger, as the illuminators or scribes stretch the limits of the statute, obeying the letter of the law if not always its spirit:

The great majority of the books use only red, light-blue and dark green, applied flatly, though often very precisely . . . Indeed, this restricted range of colours is used so plainly that several books limit their initials to just one colour per letter, even where the stylised foliage decoration forms complex patterns; others include the use of one contrast colour on major initials; while other are freer, including the use of all three basic colours on both major and minor initials.<sup>16</sup>

The illuminated initials of New College MS 308 are thus almost a textbook example of this looser interpretation and not entirely strict observance of the statute with regards to colour. A stricter adherence to a non-figurative style, obeying the instruction ‘non depicte’, on the other hand, seems to have been quite common indeed—Lawrence identifies a main feature of twelfth-century manuscripts from the three large northern Cistercian abbeys of Rievaulx, Byland, and Fountains as ‘the almost complete absence of human figures, animals, dragons and grotesque creatures from these books, at a time when they were very popular elsewhere’,<sup>17</sup> and Reilly agrees unreservedly and emphatically that ‘beasts, humans and hybrids disappeared from the page’.<sup>18</sup>

The adherence to a non-figurative style in twelfth-century Cistercian scriptoria is variously attributed to these statutes (or at least to a mindset present for a time even before it was enshrined as law in the statutes), but also of course to the influential 1125 *Apologia* of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), specifically Section 29, which has been regarded as ‘the most important source we have today for an understanding of the actual medieval attitude toward art as it functioned in society’.<sup>19</sup> While Bernard does not actually show any interest in the decoration of books, and most of his remarks on art concern sculpture, Conrad Rudolph argues that we need to read them in a wider context: ‘the traditionally recognized limit of his critique of monastic art to the medium of capital sculpture alone is untenable, and must be seen as extending to other forms of art within the monastery.’<sup>20</sup>

Bernard’s main objection is to art as a distraction from appropriate monkly pursuits; in particular art which depicts forms that are contrary to (and not found in) nature, such as monsters, mythological creatures, and hybrids:

Tarn multa denique, tamque mira diversarum formarum apparet ubique varietas, ut magis legere libeat in armoribus, quam in codicibus, totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando, quam in lege Dei meditando.

(In short, everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen that one would rather read in the marble than in books, and spend the whole day wondering at every single one of them than in meditating on the law of God.)<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Anne Lawrence, ‘Cistercian Decoration: Twelfth-Century Legislation on Illumination and its Interpretation in England’, *Reading Medieval Studies* 20 (1995), 31–52, at p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, 33.

<sup>18</sup> Reilly, ‘Art’, p. 130.

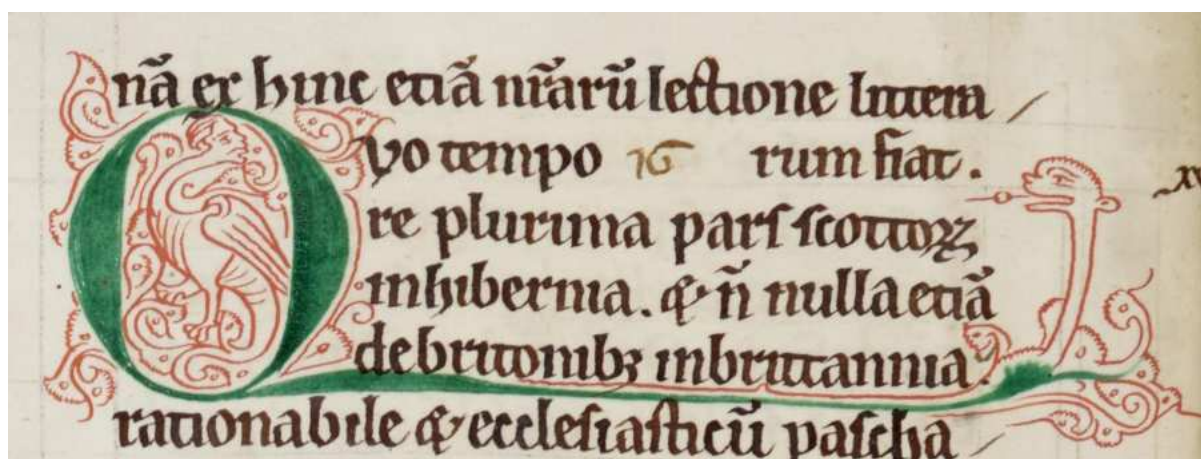
<sup>19</sup> Conrad Rudolph, *The “Things of Greater Importance”: Bernard of Clairvaux’s Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 3–4. On the impact of the statutes and the *Apologia* see also Anne Lawrence, ‘English Cistercian Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century’, in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. Christopher Norton and David Park (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1986), pp. 284–99, at p. 286.

<sup>20</sup> Rudolph, p. 124.

<sup>21</sup> *Apologia* 29. Text and translation quoted according to Rudolph, pp. 282–3.

Bernard goes into a lot of detail on what kinds of ‘contradictory forms’ might be seen by monks in the cloisters, with a list of no less than 13 different types of monstrosities which he regarded as particularly spiritually distractive to the monk. Several of these, which should not have been permissible within the walls of a Cistercian monastery (but evidently existed), rather ring a bell with the reader of New College MS 308: Bernhard’s list includes for example ‘filthy apes’, ‘fierce lions’, ‘striped tigers’ and a number of examples of ‘creatures, part man and part beast’.

While the scribe or illustrator of MS 308 thus just about toes the line on the directive of ‘littere unius coloris fiant’, the illuminated initials of the codex show a clear defiance of not only the directive of ‘non depicte’ in ‘De litteris vel vitreis’, but of Bernard’s vocal, eloquent, and passionate reproach of the distractive qualities of the depiction of hybrid forms contrary to nature: of the 192 illuminated initials in MS 308, he has left only 12 entirely without figurative decoration, while 35 have figures both on the inside inhabiting the initial and attached to vines or descenders in the margins. They fly not only in the face of the prohibition of figurative art in books, but also of Bernard’s disapproval of hybrids: there are not only 20 lions, 30 birds, and 11 wyverns inhabiting the initials, but as many as 35 of the 70 human heads are attached to wyvern bodies. In their variety of colours, forms, and poses these creatures are undeniably just as distractive for a reader today as they must have been to a Cistercian monk in the twelfth century.



Q, f. 81v

This defiance of the directives does, however, give us a possible small clue as to the probable provenance of the manuscript. Lawrence-Mathers concludes that the northern Cistercian houses such as Rievaulx, Byland, or Fountains applied the statute ‘non depicte’ very strictly indeed, and that there was ‘a deliberate attempt to apply the statute on letters to rubrication, and that, in fact, more stringent limitations were imposed than were actually required by the General Chapter’.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, this extended to other areas of decoration: she counts only a handful of human or animal figures in a corpus of 70 surviving manuscripts which can be confidently located at one of the northern Cistercian houses,<sup>23</sup> and speculates that ‘elaborate initials . . . seem almost certainly to occur in books which were not products of these scriptoria’.<sup>24</sup>

At the risk of stating the obvious, there are no miniatures, and there are no human figures incorporated into initials. Even more unusually, there are virtually none of the creatures elsewhere so dominant in twelfth-century decorations, the dragons, grotesque birds and lions.

<sup>22</sup> Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria*, p. 209.

<sup>23</sup> Lawrence, ‘Cistercian Decoration’, 33–4.

<sup>24</sup> Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria*, p. 209.

It is thus worth wondering whether a scriptorium which produced decorations as elaborate and contrary to the decrees as the **Q** (above) or the **S** (below) would even have been possible at or even in closer vicinity to these northern houses, and whether we might not maybe need to look further south for the houses and the hands that produced New College Library's MS 308.



S, f. 58v

#### RELATED MANUSCRIPTS II—TEXT GROUP

Still, with evidence of around 80 Cistercian monasteries in England during the twelfth century,<sup>25</sup> and an estimated 240 manuscripts surviving from these English houses,<sup>26</sup> this does not exactly narrow the field of enquiry by much even if we can discount the 70 manuscripts of known northern origin and the all the more northern Cistercian houses. A survey of all surviving twelfth-century insular manuscripts of Cistercian style is very much beyond the scope of this present article, so that a closer inquiry into manuscripts related in terms of textual variant might really be a better direction in which to continue.

The *stemma* of the New College copy of Bede's *Historia* is easier to establish than its provenance, and the number of related manuscripts is much smaller. There are, at the latest count,

<sup>25</sup> Lawrence mentions 87 Cistercian houses founded between 1128 and 1220: 'English Cistercian Manuscripts', p. 284.

<sup>26</sup> Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria*, p. 289. She seems to have arrived at this figure by counting the items listed for all the individual houses in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964).

over 150 distinct known surviving copies and fragments of the *Historia*.<sup>27</sup> These belong to two main textual variants known as the C-text and the M-text, with a very clear geographical distribution: the C-text is the only text found in copies of confirmed insular origin, while copies produced on the Continent almost exclusively use the M-text—New College MS 308 contains a copy of the C-text, which reinforces the case for an English Cistercian house as its place of production.<sup>28</sup> The exact ancestry of the textual variant is uncertain; and in their seminal edition of the text Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors lament the lack of information on that head:

How it came down, we do not know; such is our ignorance of the contents of English monastic libraries before the Norman Conquest . . . How many copies were in existence in the England of St. Dunstan, and where were they?<sup>29</sup>

MS 308 belongs to a small, distinct sub-group of five manuscripts containing the C-text, identified by Plummer as a conflate group all descending from a single copy, and identifiable mainly by their incorporation of IV.14, a long account of a miracle of St Oswald, which distinguishes them from the remainder of the C-text manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> The manuscripts in question are: London, British Library, Royal MS 13 C. V; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 368; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 39; Oxford, Pembroke College, MS 3; Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 381; and of course, Oxford, New College, MS 308.

The British Library Royal MS is identified by Colgrave and Mynors as the ‘parent’ manuscript, i.e. the one from which all the other manuscripts in this group were copied—it is dated to the second half of the eleventh century, and contains an ex-libris of the abbey of St Peter, Gloucester, a Benedictine house.<sup>31</sup> Colgrave and Mynors place this manuscript ‘at the head’ of the group, and tentatively agree that this is the exemplar for the other four manuscripts:

Careful corrections have been made, and these are found in the text of other members of the group; it is thus not unlikely, though not yet proven, that they are all descended from it.<sup>32</sup>

Plummer goes rather further in his assertion, pointing to another striking similarity:

These four MSS . . . are connected with one another and with [the Royal MS] by the fact that in the middle of the inserted chapter they apparently make a division marked by an illuminated capital at the words ‘Praeclari omnino habitus’ . . . This can hardly be accidental, and seems to point to some common source.<sup>33</sup>

However, a rather closer look inside every one of these five manuscripts is needed to establish whether they might also be as closely related in terms of their decoration as they are in terms of their textual variant.

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<sup>27</sup> 164 are listed in the Index of Manuscripts in Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. lxxv–lxxvi. M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King count 158 complete copies, not including a number of doubtful, untraceable or only partial copies: *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1943), pp. 94–102.

<sup>28</sup> Charles Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Baedae: Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), I, cxvii; Colgrave and Mynors, p. xli.

<sup>29</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, p. xlvi.

<sup>30</sup> Plummer, I, cxiv–vii. See also Colgrave and Mynors, p. li.

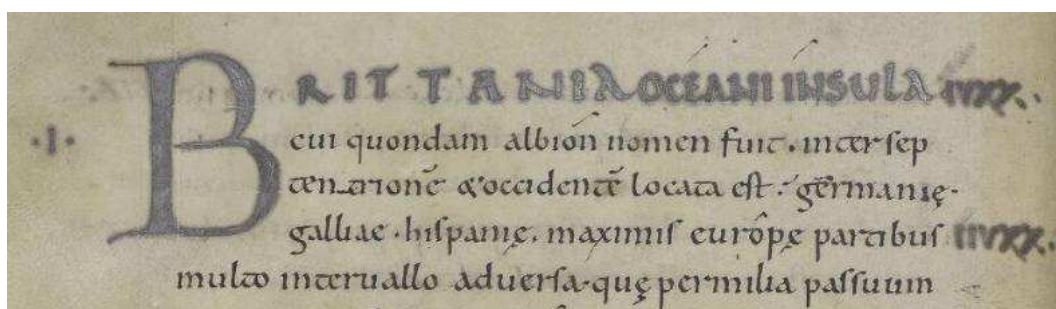
<sup>31</sup> Plummer, I, cxiv; Colgrave and Mynors, pp. li–lii.

<sup>32</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, p. lii.

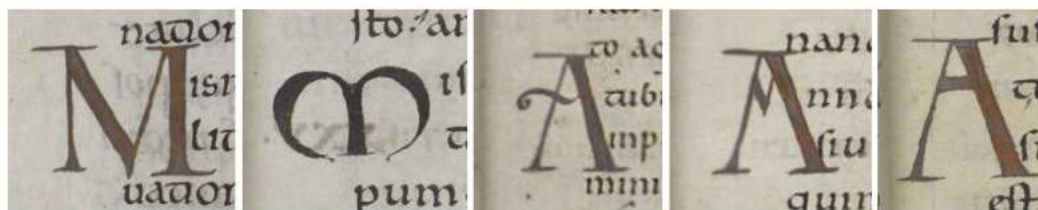
<sup>33</sup> Plummer, I, cxvii.

## LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS ROYAL 13 C. V

This route of inquiry, however, is off to a disappointing start: the probable source manuscript is not actually illuminated. The only splash of colour in the entire manuscript is the same large **G** of ‘Gloriosissimo’ that opens MS 308, here on f. 2v, over five lines, and held in red. The entire remainder of the decoration—the rubrics at the beginning and the end of each book, the chapter numbers, the plain, entirely undecorated three-line initials at the beginnings of chapters, and even the second larger, four-line initial **B** of ‘Britannia’ on f. 5v—is held in a silver colour, which today in many places has darkened so much as to nearly match the ink of the main text, giving the book a very monochrome appearance indeed (and not in the sense of the Cistercian ‘monochrome’ style!).<sup>34</sup>

British Library Royal 13 C.V, **B**, f. 5v

Within the strict limitations of this colour scheme, however, some variety is added by the use of different letter shapes: **M** for example appears in both Roman and uncial shapes, and at least three distinct shapes of **A** appear throughout. Unlike MS 308, the initials are restricted to chapter headings, and none mark either the salutations of the letters in I.23–24 or the questions and answers in the exchange between Augustine and Gregorius in I.27.<sup>35</sup>

British Library Royal 13 C.V, **M**, ff. 27r and 75r, **A**, ff. 13r, 17r, 20r

## OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, DOUCE 368

As in the British Library manuscript, a comparable lack of embellishment in the initials is likewise offset by a creative range of letter shapes in this first Bodleian manuscript, with at least five distinct variants of **A**, some of which mirror those in the Royal 13 C.V. The manuscript is dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century,<sup>36</sup> and bears a fifteenth-century ex-libris of Winchcombe

<sup>34</sup> The manuscript is available to view online in its entirety via the British Library’s Digitised Manuscripts website: <[https://iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc\\_100058107491.0x000001](https://iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100058107491.0x000001)> (Accessed: 28 December 2024). Images from this manuscript are in the public domain and used here courtesy of the British Library’s Digitised Manuscripts.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. BL Royal C.V, ff. 26r–27r, and 29v–39r.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966–1973), III, 13 [no. 104].

Abbey, another Benedictine house, for which, according to Colgrave and Mynors, ‘it was no doubt written’.<sup>37</sup> It does contain some splendid initials whose style also clearly suggests a Cistercian scriptorium as its place of production, but in terms of illumination differs markedly from both the Royal manuscript and MS 308.<sup>38</sup> The chapter headings are mainly four-line initials, especially towards the beginning of the codex, though later initials ranging from five and six up to seven lines also appear. These are held in a monochrome red, dark green and a splendid purple; but like in the Royal manuscript, they are entirely plain, without any embellishments or decorations at all, though like in MS 308, an effort was made to alternate colours as much as possible. The incipits of the five books, however, are marked with rather more extravagant decorations of ten- to thirteen-line illuminated initials in all three colours (as well as blue), decorated with arabesques and floral sprays, and with the solid colour of the letter shapes themselves broken up by undulating lines inside. These are some of the few initials in addition to those marking the chapter headings; in the question and answers in I.27, for example, the speakers are introduced in the rubrics only, just as they are in the Royal manuscript—though in a feature not found in any of the other manuscripts in the group, the topics of the nine questions and answers are added in the margins, framed with red and green lines.



Bodleian Library MS Douce 368, A, ff. 2v–3r, 79v.

The pigment in Douce 368 has not stood the test of time as well as either the silver of the Royal manuscript or the red, green and blue of the New College manuscript—particularly the red pigment has bled badly into the surrounding membrane surface, rendering some rubrics almost illegible, but initials of all colours have a slightly darker shadow around them.

ABERYSTWYTH, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES, PENIARTH 381

In terms of decoration almost a twin of Douce 368, this manuscript is dated to the first half of the twelfth century; the identity of some of its later, post-Dissolution owners may indicate that it used to be held at Reading Abbey.<sup>39</sup> It features the same colour palette of red, green, and purple initials at chapter headings, though the initials themselves are rather more elaborate and decorated with flourishes, curlicues and acanthus-leaf shapes.

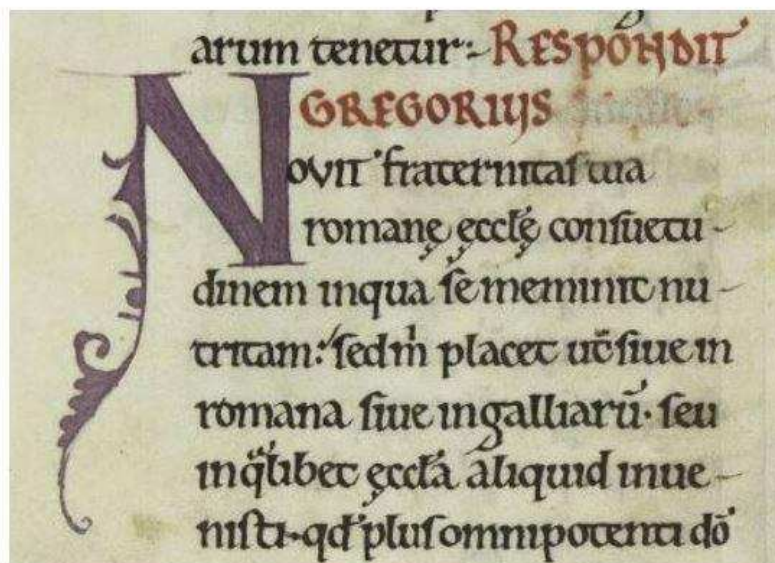
<sup>37</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, p. lii; Plummer, I, cxv. Plummer (I, cxv) dates the inscription to the fourteenth century.

<sup>38</sup> Some images of the manuscript are viewable online via the Digital Bodleian: <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/281c0835-393d-4e3c-8f39-36d4e95a0849/>> (Accessed: 28 December 2024).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Colgrave and Mynors, p. lii. This manuscript is viewable in its entirety online at <<http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4630293>> (Accessed: 28 December 2024). All images from this manuscript are in the public domain.



Peniarth 381, A, f. 5v;



N, f. 16v.

Most remarkable in terms of a potential relationship to Douce 368 however is a really strikingly similar, large, 13-line illuminated initial **B** ('Britannia oceani insula') at the beginning of I.1, which mirrors that in the Douce manuscript in its blue background, green and red arabesques, and placement of the letters of the subsequent three words.



Bodleian Library, Douce 368, f. 2r



NLW Peniarth 381, f. 3r

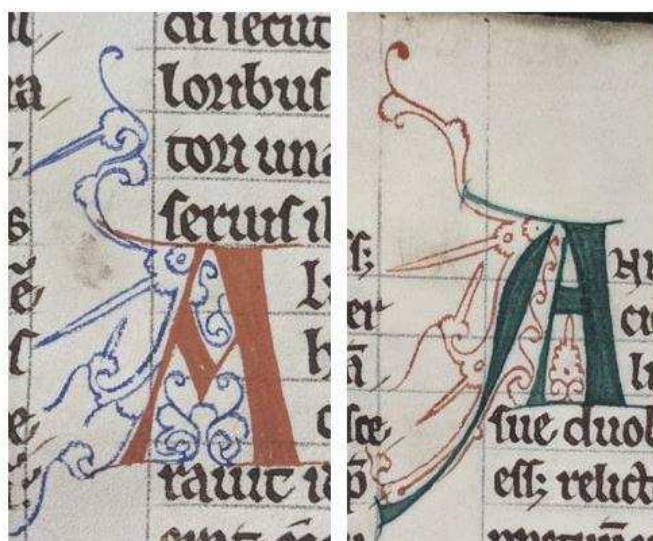
### OXFORD, PEMBROKE COLLEGE, MS 3

A manuscript rather closer to home, this is dated to the late twelfth century, and of insular make.<sup>40</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, who describe New College MS 308 as a 'handsome book' with 'unusually

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Colgrave and Mynors, p. lii. Ker dates it to the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, ed. A. J. Piper et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–2002), Volume 3: Lampeter-Oxford, p. 674. Images from this MS are used with the kind permission of the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Pembroke

expert' penwork, intriguingly add that the Pembroke manuscript 'was such another,' but that 'now it is only a ruin'.<sup>41</sup> While there are indeed a number of quires missing from the beginning of the codex, and the surviving text only starts at II.17, this rather overstates the case—Pembroke MS 3 is a handsome manuscript indeed, and quite elegantly decorated in a style undoubtedly related, and strikingly similar to that of MS 308.

As in the New College Bede, the initial letters appear in solid red with blue arabesque ornamentation and in green with red ornamentation, but unlike in MS 308 also in solid blue with red ornamentation. As in the Royal MS and Douce 368, the shape of the A is creatively varied. In addition larger, more elaborately initials are found for the beginnings of the Books of the *Historia* which survive: rather more colourful than anything in MS 308, these are large seven-line initials in red or blue, inlaid with blue, red and white, on a golden-brown background elaborately decorated with vines and leaves.



Pembroke College MS 3, A, f. 57v and f. 58v



Pembroke College MS 3, S, f. 56r

While all of the initials in Pembroke MS 3 are decorated, not a single one is inhabited by any of the animals or mythical creatures we find in such a multitude on the pages of the New College manuscript. The style of ornamentation, however, is, if not identical, at least remarkably similar; this can be seen clearly in a side-by-side comparison of the Pembroke manuscript initials with several of the handful of uninhabited initials of MS 308.



Oxford, Pembroke College, MS 3, E, ff. 11v, 20v, 32r, and 29v

College, Oxford. I am obliged to Laura Cracknell, Librarian of Pembroke's McGowin Library, for allowing me to study and take images of the manuscript.

<sup>41</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, p. lii.



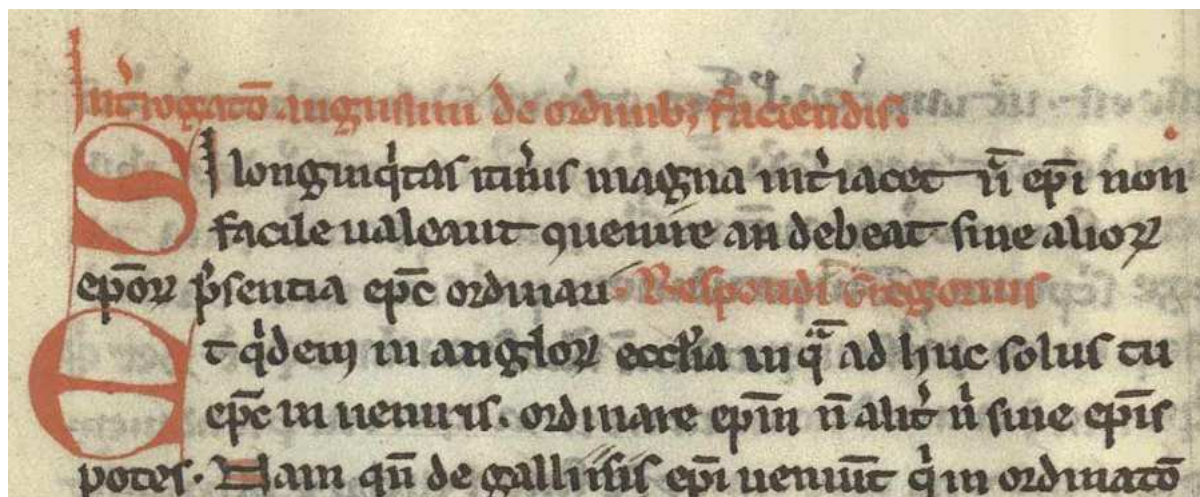


Oxford, New College, MS 308, C, f. 12v; E, f. 37v; C, f. 76r; E, f. 52r

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, BARLOW 39

There is also one slightly later manuscript in the group, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 39, which is dated to the thirteenth century.<sup>42</sup> The manuscript is incomplete, with the first 12 leaves missing, so that nothing can be said about the presence or otherwise of major initials for the **G** at the beginning of the Prologue and the **B** at the beginning of Book I. Plummer regards it as a direct copy of the other, older Bodleian manuscript, Douce 368; ‘unquestionably’ a direct transcript: ‘both have a special heading to the hymn in iv. 20, which I have observed in no other MS.’<sup>43</sup>

Initials are all in red only, and undecorated apart from the occasional flourish on the terminals, or lines extending the strokes which occasionally reach all the way into the lower margin, a plainness certainly comparable to the silver-only embellishments of the Royal manuscript. In terms of where initials appear, however, Barlow 39 has occasionally more in common with other manuscript of the group than its apparent source(s): neither Douce 368 nor BL Royal 13 C.V mark the nine questions and answers of St Augustine and Gregorius in I.27 with initials; Barlow 39, however, just as MS 308 and also Peniarth 381, does. Two-line initials as well as rubrics denote not only the speaker but also the topic of the question (‘Int(er)rogation(is) augustini de . . .’, ‘Respo(ndit) G(re)g(orius) papa’).



Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Barlow 39, f. 20v

<sup>42</sup> Plummer, I, cxvi; Colgrave and Mynors, p. lii. Cf. also Falconer Madan, H. H. E. Craster and N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the Quarto Series: With References to the Oriental and Other Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), Vol. II: Part 2, p. 1056.

<sup>43</sup> Plummer, I, cxvii.

Only one larger, decorated initial appears, in the same red as the rubrics and smaller initials, to mark the beginning of Book II: a nine-line **H** whose scalloped divide on the right is reminiscent of those found in initials in MS 308 as well as the Douce and the Pembroke manuscripts, but whose geometric circular patterns are unlike anything found in any of the other manuscripts of the group.



Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Barlow 39, **H**, f. 28v

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADDITIONAL MS 33371

To the five manuscripts in this group related through the same textual variant, Plummer connects a fragmental manuscript of the M-text of the *Historia* originating in Germany: British Library Additional MS 33371. Although it contains only a fragment of the text, Plummer concedes that '[b]efore its mutilation it must have been a fine MS,' and, more interestingly, that it is 'not unlike [New College MS 308] in its general character'.<sup>44</sup>

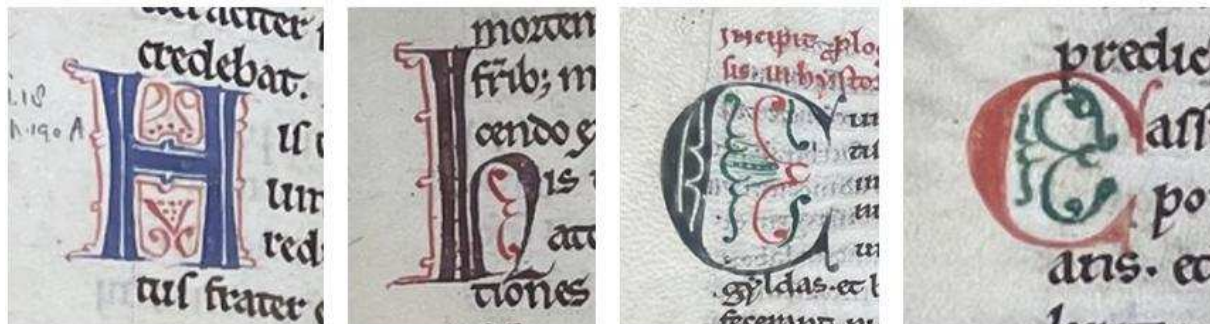
The manuscript is dated to *c.* 1200 and contains, among other historical writings, the second half of the *Historia* from II.17 onwards.<sup>45</sup> The initials of this manuscript are actually rather more plain than those in MS 308, and in their general character they seem to fall halfway between Pembroke MS 3 and the plainer, undecorated initials of Douce or Peniarth, and not really anywhere

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<sup>44</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, p. lxvi; Plummer, I, ciii. Images are used with express permission of the British Library. I was unfortunately unable to view this manuscript in person before this article went to print, and am indebted to the Reference Team at Special Collections, The British Library, for providing some indicative images of the illumination in this manuscript.

<sup>45</sup> *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLXXXVIII–MDCCCXCIII* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1894), p. 5. Plummer dates it to 'the twelfth or early thirteenth century', I, ciii; Colgrave and Mynors to the second half of the twelfth century, p. lxvi.

near MS 308. While there is some arabesque ornamentation, this consist for the most part only of a few lines around or inside a letter, and many of the three-line initials are entirely undecorated—though the colour scheme is familiar: they are in red with blue embellishment, or in green with red, or blue with red, though some are also in a very dark, almost ink-coloured red with lighter red decoration.



British Library Additional MS 33371, H, f. 1v, H, f. 2r, C, f. 28v, C, f. 35r

#### SO WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Having surveyed these five related manuscripts, where does this leave us and our questions about the New College Bede? Not, unfortunately, all that much further in the direction of any answers, I am afraid.

There are obviously clear similarities in the decoration of all manuscripts from the group (as well as BL Additional MS 33371), and some of these could be regarded as too great to be simply ascribed to a common Cistercian style. But none of the other manuscripts from the group even comes close to MS 308 in terms of the quality or quantity of illuminated initials; in fact none of them contains any inhabited initials or figurative decorations at all. As for the manuscript closest to MS 308 in its style of ornamentation, Pembroke MS 3, we have even less information on its provenance than on the New College copy.

What we can say is that it seems the decision to add 50 extra initials on top of those decorating the 140 chapter openings of the *Historia* may just have been the innovation and decision of the scribe of MS 308, since neither the probable source manuscript, BL Royal 13 C.V, nor any of the other manuscripts in this textual group has the same full complement of illuminated initials. The placement of the additional illuminated initials is certainly logical and often natural in terms of delineating breaks and helping to guide the reader's eye through the text—or if he copied the positions from an exemplar of the *Historia*, it was at least not from any of the related manuscripts in the group.

The suspicion grows that MS 308, as it has come down to us, is something if not unique, at least very rare. The description of MS 308 given by Colgrave and Mynors, who have in their lives seen many more Cistercian manuscripts than I ever shall, is worth quoting in full; Oxford, New College MS 308, they say, is

a handsome book with wide margins, which attracts attention by the penwork animals and birds in its capital letters, unusually expert even for a period when it is easy to take good work for granted.<sup>46</sup>

Remarkably, in the long lists of witnesses and descriptions of the over 150 manuscripts of the *Historia* given by both Plummer and later Colgrave and Mynors, New College Library's MS 308

<sup>46</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, p. lii.

is the only manuscript in whose description the authors take the trouble to mention any animals or birds used in the decorations, or indeed offer praise for the quality of the illuminations.<sup>47</sup> It seems that in the New College Bede we have indeed something rather special on our hands.

On this occasion there is unfortunately no time or space to continue the search for more work from the hands of the remarkable artist who gave us MS 308, though there are plenty of avenues of research left to pursue, and indeed plenty of insular Cistercian manuscripts of the twelfth century left to survey. Some more effort in the pursuit of answers to all the questions MS 308 raises is certainly due to the creator of what I would like to call not a masterpiece of Cistercian insular art, but an astonishing collection of no less than 192 miniature masterpieces which, today just as eight centuries ago, succeed in distracting (and delighting) every reader of the manuscript—and, I hope, with the small taste of these I was able to offer here, also you, the reader of this piece of writing.

Antje G. Frotscher  
Bodleian Libraries, Oxford

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. Plummer, I, lxxx- cxxxii; Colgrave and Mynors, pp. xlii-lxx.

## APPENDIX: THE ILLUMINATED INITIALS OF NEW COLLEGE MS 308

Abbreviations:

G(R) = green letter with red ornamentation

R(B) = red letter with green ornamentation

R/G(B/R) = red and green letter with blue and red ornamentation

N = not inhabited

L = lion

B = bird

W = wyvern

WH = wyvern head

W/HH = wyvern with human head

in M = drawn in the margin

	folio	LETTER	COLOURS	Figure inhabiting/in margin	Notes
1	5r	<b>G</b>	R/G/B	Gregorius	
2	5v	<b>U/V</b>	G(R)	L	
3	6r	<b>B</b>	R/G(G)	Male figure	Book I, I.1
4	7r	<b>U/V</b>	R(B)	B	I.2
5	7v	<b>I</b>	G(R)	WHs in M	
6		<b>A</b>	R(B)	N	I.3
7		<b>A</b>	G(R)	HH in M	I.4
8		<b>A</b>	R(B)	WH in M	I.5
9	8r	<b>A</b>	G(R)	B, HH in M	I.6
10		<b>A</b>	R(B)	N	
11		<b>I</b>	G(R)	WHs in M	
12		<b>S</b>	R(B)	WH in M	I.7
13	9r	<b>A</b>	G(R)	L, W/HH in M	I.8
14	9v	<b>A</b>	R(B)	N	I.9
15		<b>A</b>	G(R)	N, HH in M	I.10
16		<b>A</b>	R(B)	N	I.11
17	10r	<b>E</b>	G(R)	L	I.12
18	10v	<b>A</b>	R(B)/G(R)	N, HH in M in G(R)	I.13
19	11r	<b>I</b>	G(R)	HH, W in M	I.14
20		<b>A</b>	R(B)	HH, W/HH in M	I.15
21	11v	<b>A</b>	G(R)	W/HH in M (with human hands)	I.16
22	12r	<b>A</b>	R(B)	N, W in M	I.17
23		<b>I</b>	G(R)	WH in M	
24	12v	<b>C</b>	R(B)	N	I.18
25		<b>U/V</b>	G(R)	B	I.19
26	13r	<b>I</b>	R(B)	W in M	I.20
27	13v	<b>N</b>	R(B)	B	I.21
28	14r	<b>I</b>	R(B)	HHs in M	I.22
29		<b>S</b>	G(R)	W	I.23
30		<b>G</b>	R(B)	B	G's letter to A
31	14v	<b>M</b>	R(B)	N, HH in M	I.24
32		<b>R</b>	G(R)	W	G's letter to E
33		<b>R</b>	R(B)	W	I.25
34	15r	<b>A</b>	G(R)	B, HH in M, W/HH in M	I.26
35		<b>I</b>	R(B)	W/HH	I.27
36	15v	<b>I</b>	G(R)	WH in M	Q1
37		<b>R</b>	R(B)	W, WH in M	A1
38		<b>I</b>	G(R)	HH in M	Q2
39		<b>R</b>	R(B)	B	A2

40		<b>I</b>	G(R)	WH in M	Q3
41		<b>R</b>	R(B)	W, WH in M	A3
42	16r	<b>I</b>	G(R)	WH in M	Q4
43		<b>R</b>	R(B)	Ape/wild man	A4
44		<b>I</b>	G(R)	WH in M	Q5
45		<b>R</b>	R(B)	W	A5
46	16v	<b>I</b>	G(R)	WHs in M	Q6
47		<b>R</b>	R(B)	B	A6
48		<b>I</b>	G(R)	HH and WH in M	Q7
49		<b>R</b>	R(B)	L	A7
50		<b>I</b>	G(R)	HHs in M	Q8
51	17r	<b>R</b>	R(B)	B	A8
52	18v	<b>I</b>	R(B)	W in M	Q9
53		<b>R</b>	G(R)	W	A9
54	19r	<b>H</b>	R(B)	B	I.28
55		<b>R</b>	G(R)	W	
56		<b>P</b>	R/G(B/R)	Griffin, HH in margin	I.29
57	19v	<b>R</b>	R(B)	L	
58		<b>A</b>	G(R)	B (2x), HH in M	I.30
59		<b>D</b>	R(B)	W/HH	
60	20r	<b>Q</b>	G(R)	W/HH, HH in M	I.31
61		<b>S</b>	R(B)	WH in M	
62	20v	<b>M</b>	R(B)	HH in M	I.32
63		<b>D</b>	G(R)	L	
64	21r	<b>U/V</b>	R(B)	W/HH	I.33
65		<b>H</b>	G(R)	B	I.34
66	21v	<b>D</b>	R(B)	B	
67		<b>H</b>	R/G(B/R)	L	Book II
68	23v	<b>N</b>	R/G(B/R)	W/HH, WH in M	
69		<b>I</b>	G(R)	HH in M	
70	24v	<b>A</b>	R(B)	L, HHs in M	
71	25r	<b>S</b>	G(R)	L, W	
72		<b>D</b>	R(B)	B	
73	25v	<b>H</b>	G(R)	W/HH	
74		<b>A</b>	R(B)	W/HH	
75	26v	<b>C</b>	R(B)	B	
76		<b>H</b>	G(R)	W	
77	27r	<b>C</b>	R(G)	W	
78		<b>D(uncial)</b>	G(R)	W/HH	
79	27v	<b>Q</b>	R(B)	L	
80	28r	<b>Q</b>	G(R)	W, HH in M	
81	28v	<b>U/V</b>	R/G(B/R)	W/HH	
82	29r	<b>A</b>	R(B)	N	
83		<b>D</b>	R/G(B/R)	W/HH	
84	30r	<b>H</b>	R(B)	W	
85	31r	<b>Q</b>	G(R)	W/HH, HH in M	
86	31v	<b>I</b>	R(B)	HH in M	
87	32r	<b>T</b>	R(B)	L	
88		<b>P</b>	G(R)	W/HH, W in M	
89	32v	<b>Q</b>	R(B)	B	
90		<b>D(uncial)</b>	G(R)	W	
91	33r	<b>H</b>	R(B)	L	
92		<b>D</b>	G(R)	W/HH	
93	33v	<b>M</b>	R(B)	W (2x), WH in M	

94		<b>D</b>	G(R)	W	
95	34r	<b>U/V</b>	R(B)	W/HH	
96	34v	<b>U/V</b>	R/G(B/R)	L	
97	35r	<b>A</b>	R/G(B/R)	W, WH in M	
98		<b>O</b>	G(R)	B	
99	35v	<b>Q</b>	R(B)	W/HH	
100	36r	<b>I</b>	G(R)	HH, WH in M	
101		<b>S</b>	R(B)	N, W in M	
102	37r	<b>A</b>	R(B)	HH in M	
103	37v	<b>H</b>	G(R)	Ape/wild man	
104		<b>E</b>	R(B)	N	
105	38v	<b>A</b>	G(R)	B, HH in M	
106	39r	<b>R</b>	R(B)	N, WH in M	
107	39v	<b>E</b>	G(R)	W/HH	
108		<b>I</b>	R(B)	W in M	
109	40v	<b>S</b>	R(B)	N, goat head in M	
110		<b>N</b>	G(R)	B, HH in M	
111	41r	<b>T</b>	R(B)	N, W in M	
112	42r	<b>Q</b>	G(R)	W	
113	42v	<b>A</b>	R(B)	HH in M	
114		<b>H</b>	G(R)	W, WH in M	
115	43v	<b>H</b>	R(B)	N, W in M	
116		<b>U/V</b>	G(R)	B	
117	45r	<b>I</b>	R(B)	N	
118		<b>H</b>	G(R)	H	
119	45v	<b>E</b>	R(B)	W	
120	46r	<b>U/V</b>	G(R)	N, HH in M	
121	47r	<b>H</b>	R(B)	W	
122	47v	<b>I</b>	G(R)	HH in M	
123	49v	<b>F</b>	R(B)	W, HH in M	
124	50v	<b>E</b>	R(B)	W	
125	51r	<b>I</b>	G(R)	N	
126	51v	<b>H</b>	R(B)	W	
127	52r	<b>E</b>	G(R)	N	
128	52v	<b>U/V</b>	R/G(B/R)	Griffin	
129	53r	<b>I</b>	R(B)	W in M	
130	53v	<b>M</b>	G(R)	Ws	
131	54r	<b>E</b>	R(B)	Ls	
132	55v	<b>D</b>	G(R)	W	
133	56r	<b>I</b>	G(R)	HHs	
134		<b>A</b>	R(B)	Ls, WH in margin	
135	57r	<b>D(uncial)</b>	G(R)	W	
136		<b>N</b>	R(B)	L	
137	57v	<b>I</b>	R(B)	HHs in M	
138		<b>E</b>	G(R)	B, L	
139	58r	<b>C</b>	R(B)	W/HH	
140	58v	<b>S</b>	G(R)	B, W, HH in M	
141	59r	<b>E</b>	R(B)	W with HH	
142	59v	<b>Q</b>	G(R)	W/HH	
143		<b>A</b>	R(B)	N, W/HH in Mn	
144	60r	<b>P</b>	G(R)	W, HH in M	
145	61r	<b>P</b>	R(B)	W in M	
146	61v	<b>P</b>	G(R)	W, WH in M	
147	62r	<b>H</b>	R(B)	N	

148	62v	<b>I</b>	G(R)	HH in M	
149	63r	<b>A</b>	R(B)	W/HH in M	
150	64r	<b>U/V</b>	G(R)	W/HH	
151		<b>A</b>	R(B)	N	
152	64v	<b>A</b>	R(B)	N, HH in M	
153		<b>I</b>	G(R)	W in M	
154	65v	<b>A</b>	R(B)	W in M	
155	67r	<b>I</b>	G(R)	HHs	
156	68r	<b>H</b>	R(B)	WH in M	
157	69r	<b>A</b>	G(R)	N, WH in M	
158	69v	<b>I</b>	R(B)	HH in M, WH in M	
159	70r	<b>E</b>	G(R)	W	
160	71r	<b>D(uncial)</b>	R(B)	W	
161	71v	<b>U/V</b>	G(R)	B	
162	72r	<b>E</b>	R(B)	W	
163	72v	<b>N</b>	G(R)	W	
164		<b>U/V</b>	R(B)	W/HH	
165	73r	<b>S</b>	R/G(B/R)	W/HH, W in M	
166	73v	<b>H</b>	R(B)	L, HH in M	
167	74r	<b>N</b>	G(R)	N, HH in M	
168		<b>A</b>	R(B)	W/HH in M	
169		<b>A</b>	G(R)	HH in M	
170	75r	<b>N</b>	R(B)	B	
171	76r	<b>A</b>	R(B)	B	
172		<b>C</b>	G(R)	N	
173		<b>A</b>	R(B)	W in M	
174	76v	<b>E</b>	R(B)	W/HH	
175	77v	<b>U/V</b>	R(B)	N	
176	78r	<b>P</b>	G(R)	B, W/HH in M	
177	78v	<b>H</b>	R(B)	W/HH in M	
178	80v	<b>A</b>	G(R)	W in M	
179	81r	<b>N</b>	R(B)	W/HH in M	
180	81v	<b>Q</b>	G(R)	W/HH inside, WH in M	
181	82r	<b>S</b>	R(B)	W in M	
182	82v	<b>D(uncial)</b>	G(R)	Griffin	
183	83r	<b>A</b>	R(B)	W in M	
184	83v	<b>A</b>	G(R)	B, HH in M	
185	85v	<b>A</b>	R(B)	W, HH, horse head in M	
186	86r	<b>E</b>	G(R)	W/HH	
187	88v	<b>U/V</b>	R(B)	W/HH	
188	89v	<b>N</b>	G(R)	B	
189	90r	<b>A</b>	R(B)	W, W in M	
190	91r	<b>U/V</b>	R/G(B/R)	Ox	
191	92r	<b>H</b>	R(B)	B	
192	92v	<b>Q</b>	R(B)	B, HH in M	