

# HENRY VIII AND MARKO MARULIĆ'S *EVANGELISTARIUM*

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UDK: 097

027.1 Henry VIII King of England

821.163.42.09 Marulić M.

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This paper examines Henry VIII's ownership and reading of Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*. In order to explain the context in which the *Evangelistarium* entered the Royal Library, the first part of the paper provides an overview of the transformation that Henry's library underwent in the late 1520s and early 1530s, when royal agents and scholars searched for evidence to justify Henry's growing doubts about his marriage to Katherine of Aragón. The second part of the paper focuses on Henry's marginalia in his personal copy of the *Evangelistarium*, one of the most heavily-annotated books to survive from Henry's library, and demonstrates that an examination of the King's marginal comments provide important insights into his theological concerns and the development of his thinking concerning his marriage, papal authority and his relationship with God.

**Key words:** Marulić, *Evangelistarium*, Henry VIII, Royal Library, Katherine of Aragón, Anne Boleyn, Manuscripts, Marginalia, Manicule, Theology, Bible.

## 1. Henry VIII, King and Scholar

Henry VIII was one of the most widely read and intelligent monarchs of the Renaissance. According to the accounts of his tutors and visiting scholars, Henry was attracted to learning from his earliest childhood. Henry's first tutor, the poet-priest John Skelton, appointed around 1496, immersed him in Latin, Classical writings and works of history.<sup>1</sup> In 1501, Skelton wrote *Speculum Principis* (*Mirror for a Prince*) for the ten-year old Henry, and in it emphasised the importance of

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<sup>1</sup> See D. C a r l s o n, »Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII«, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991), 253-79; D. S t a r k e y, *Henry: Virtuous Prince* (London, 2008), 118-35.

learning and the value of history: »Read books; peruse chronicles.« »Direct yourself to histories.« »Commit them to memory« (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> This advice was readily absorbed by Skelton's young pupil, who, as we will see, years later would quite literally put it into practice.

In 1499 Henry met the Dutch humanist Erasmus. At the time, the scholar professed himself to be dazzled by the confidence, precocious learning and star quality of the eight-year-old prince. As the two exchanged letters, Erasmus commented on how greatly impressed he was by Henry's erudition and Latin style and, years later, wrote to Cardinal Raffaele Riario that Henry was »a young man divinely gifted and initiated to some degree of elegance in humane studies«.<sup>3</sup> In his *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur* (*The Benefit of a Liberal Education*), published in 1517, the diplomat and royal secretary Richard Pace observed that »we have a most noble King who far surpasses all other Christian princes in learning as well as in power. He's so well disposed to all learned men that he hears nothing more willingly than conversations about learned men and books.«<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Henry VIII's Library

When Henry VIII acceded to the throne in 1509, he inherited approximately 125 manuscripts from Henry VII's royal library at Richmond Palace. With typical enthusiasm, the new King set about accumulating a vast quantity of books and manuscripts, the majority of which are now preserved in the British Library. The range of Henry's intellectual taste and curiosity is evident from his library; the two thousand or so books and manuscripts that he owned at the time of his death included chronicles, chivalric romances and books of classical wisdom; works on music, medicine, astronomy and navigation; books on geography, political philosophy and poetry; and works on theology, writings of the Church Fathers and legal texts.<sup>5</sup>

Above all else, however, Henry was interested in theology and throughout his life took his role as a theologian most seriously. A miniature painting in Henry's personal Psalter depicts him as a scholar-king sitting on a chair in the corner of his bedroom, diligently reading (Fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> It provides a powerful image of Henry as a thoughtful reader who, having retired from court, meditates on and seeks guidance

<sup>2</sup> British Library, Additional MS 26787, ff. 21v-22.

<sup>3</sup> R. M y n o r s and D. T h o m s o n, trans., *The Correspondence of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1976), vol. 3, 1514 -1516, 85-91.

<sup>4</sup> Richard P a c e, *De Fructu qui ex Doctrina Percipitur*, edited and translated by F. Manley, R. S. Sylvester (New York, 1967) p.139.

<sup>5</sup> See James P. C a r l e y, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> British Library, Royal MS 2 A xvi, f. 3. For a full-colour facsimile and commentary see *King Henry's Prayer Book*. Commentary by James P. C a r l e y (London, The Folio Society, 2009).

ce compati. disce misere-  
 ri. ex marcellino. Ce-  
 sare julio pompeio. A-  
 lexandro. Tito. theodo-  
 sio. qui principes cla-  
 rissimi fuere pientis-  
 simi. libros lege/croni-  
 ca percurrere. historias  
 aduerte. manda me-  
 morie. Noli obliuisci.  
 Soluti remissi quoru

Fig. 1  
 John Skelton, *Speculum Principis*,  
 © British Library Board  
 (Additional MS 26787, f. 22)

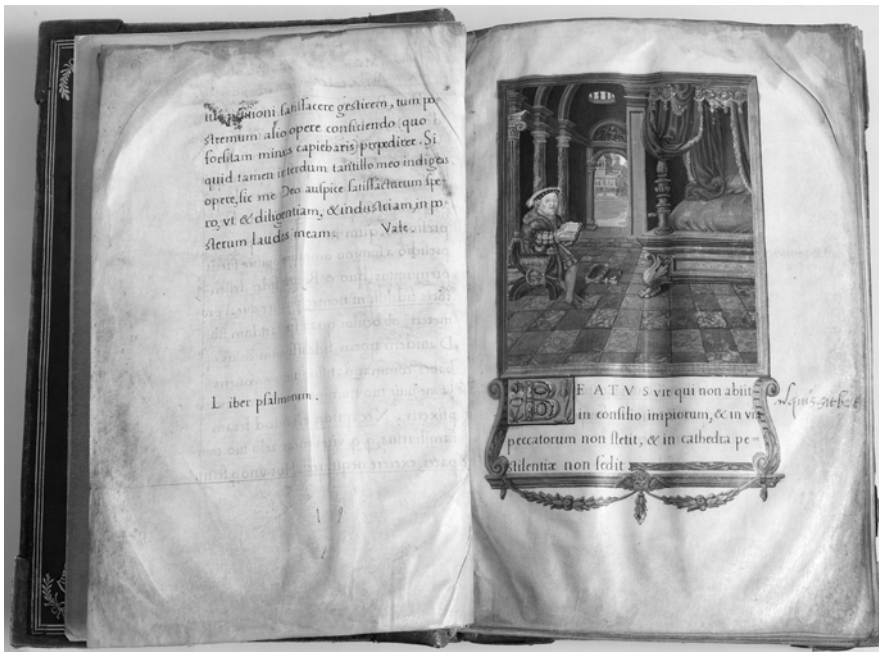


Fig. 2  
 Henry VIII's Psalter, © British Library Board (Royal MS 2 A xvi, ff. 2v-3)

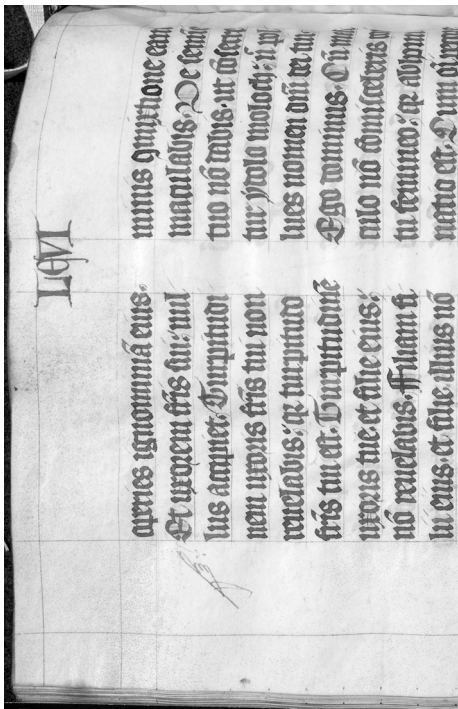


Fig. 3  
Henry VIII's 14<sup>th</sup>-century copy of the Pentateuch, showing the manicule  
he has drawn beside Leviticus 18:16, © British Library Board  
(Royal MS 1 E iv, f. 159v)

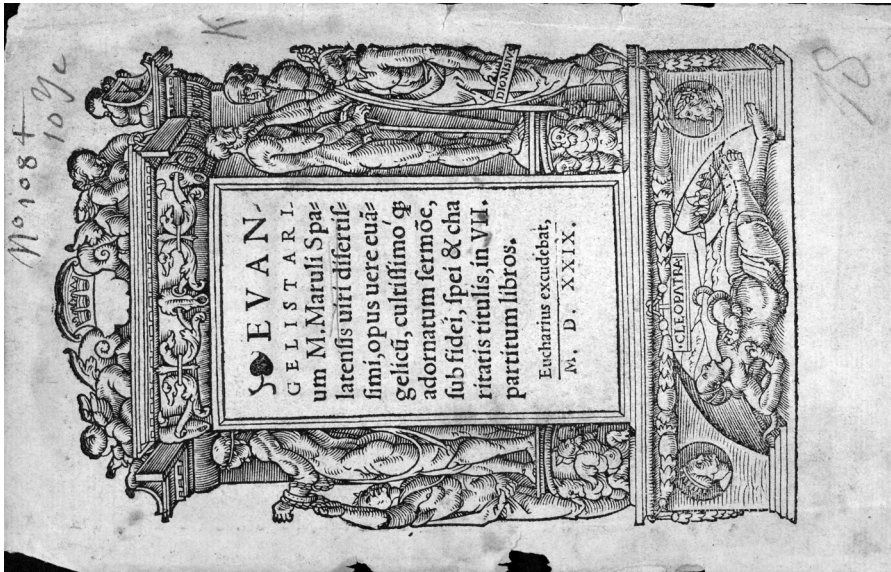


Fig. 4  
Henry VIII's copy of Marko Marulić's  
*Evangelistarium* showing the Westminster Inventory Number  
»1084« in the upper-right corner, © British Library Board  
(843.k.13, title page)

dunt, triumphare confiteat, & eos ad interitū uis-  
 ce perducere. Nihil itaq; aliud est, impuræ cogita-  
 tionū totum animi altissimum prebere, s; ab hoste  
 nobis insensibilissimo sanguinis nri in primis cupi-  
 do superari uelle. Manifesta autem stultitia est, et  
 ipse ceclere, a quo nil nisi necē speres. Hoc tibi te-  
 stat Salomon dicens: Qui cogitat mala facere, stul-  
 tus uocabit. Ac ne forte de turisio, cuius error ex-  
 cultatur, dictum putares, continuo intulit: Cogita-  
 tio istius peccati est. Scilicet ergo, nec tam excu-  
 sabilis, peccator eris, qui quicquid appetito sug-  
 gerit, illud protinus curabit sequi, & carni ma-  
 gis q; spiritui seruire decernet. Queris quoniam pa-  
 peo non solum in factis aut dictis, uerum etiam in ipsa  
 cogitatione possit esse peccatum? Rem alienam in-  
 iuste concupiscis, boni alterius inuides, iustus un-  
 piter exardescis, uilem mulierem uenereo amore tur-  
 bas, ut si posses, perficeret uelles, ab illo qui etiā oc-  
 cultorum iudex est, pro facto tibi impetrabis. Al-  
 ter, in omnibus uoluntatis affectum pensat: homo  
 uero, quia cordis alieni secretum timari nequit, com-  
 missum ea utrimodo crimine examinat: nec que-  
 rit, prudens an imprudens feceris aliquid mali, sed  
 semper tanquā uoluntarium punit. Deniq; apud  
 deum qui odit fratrem suū, homicida est: apud ho-  
 mines uero non habetur pro homicida, nisi q; con-  
 sicut hominem. Apud deum qui uiderit millicrem  
 ad concupiscendam eam, iam mechatus est eam in  
 corde suo: apud homines nisi cōmissi adulterij cō-  
 uictus fuerit, pro concupiscencia que cordis crine  
 est, plecti non debet, sed quid prodest, pro cogita-

*Prou. 24  
 quod nullo  
 cogitatio est  
 peccati est*

*Neque  
 cogitatio est  
 de spiritu*

to flagitio humane legis multa non subire, cū  
 proprii illud iudicio damnatus diuino, & xterni res-  
 tus habearis supplicij. Lex diuina uoxem proxi-  
 mi, bouem, ancillam, & quicquid illius est, concu-  
 piscere prohibet: si concupiscis tantum, legem del-  
 prauitatis? es: qui autem sic peccat, nisi eum pœ-  
 niueris, non pœniā temporaria meretur, sed xter-  
 nam. Ideo in lacris literis est scriptum: Peruerse co-  
 gnationes separant a deo. Ex. iterum: Abominabi-  
 le domino cor prauum. Quod si beati sunt mun-  
 do corde, quia dei uitabunt, profecto qui immun-  
 da cogitationis sorditate inquinantur, deum uide-  
 re non poterunt. Quis autem dicere queat, quan-  
 ta sit infelicitas illius de sperate cōspectum, in quo  
 uno uideō omnis nostra beatitudo consistat? Quā  
 obrem totis uiribus est caueendum, ne cum etiā an-  
 ime nostre dispensio, illicite cogitationis laqueis  
 irretiamur, et dominus, cui nihil est absconditum,  
 sicut olim iudeis, ita etiā nobis exprobrat, dicens:  
 Vt quid cogitatis mala in cordib; uestris? Primo  
 suggestio illi lacrimarū cogitationum erit resistē-  
 dum, ne placeat: deinde, si quicq; delectaueris, ne  
 careas gratiæ sine, ut usq; ad consentium facti, au-  
 temum indinent. Quod si euenieris, iam certe com-  
 missi scelus illud, quod cogitasti ut cōmitteres, si  
 adesse facilius adarectq; occasio. Quortes em in-  
 ique actionis adimplende potestas tollitur, uolū-  
 tas peccandi pro facto habetur. Cum ergo se no-  
 bis noxij perniciosi ingereant cogitatus, præter-  
 uoluntate persequi labi sinant. Non habebunt in cor-  
 de nostro ullum remorandi locum, si contra illi-  
 tis experimus cogitare, et utiq; uirtutisq; finem tra-  
 citi perpendere. Breuis est uitiorum uoluptas, sed

*Spic. 1.  
 Prue. 11.*

*Mar. 9.  
 Ps. 140. 2. 3.*

Fig. 5  
 A typical heavily-annotated opening from Henry VIII's copy of the *Evangelistarium*.  
 © British Library Board (843.k.13, pp. 98-99)

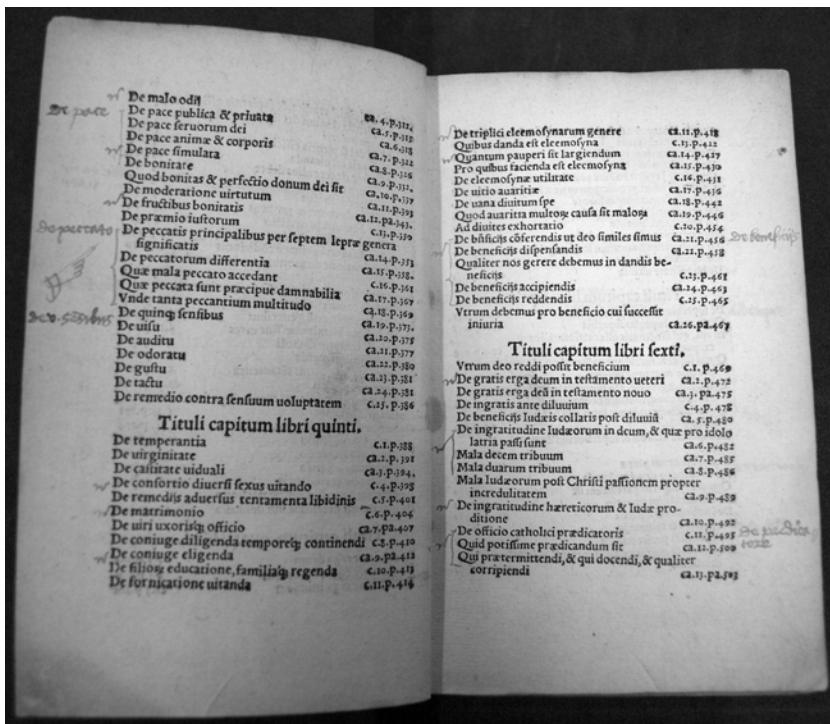


Fig. 6

Index in Henry VIII's copy of the *Evangelistarium* showing how the King marked-up chapters of particular interest to him, © British Library Board (843.k.13, index)

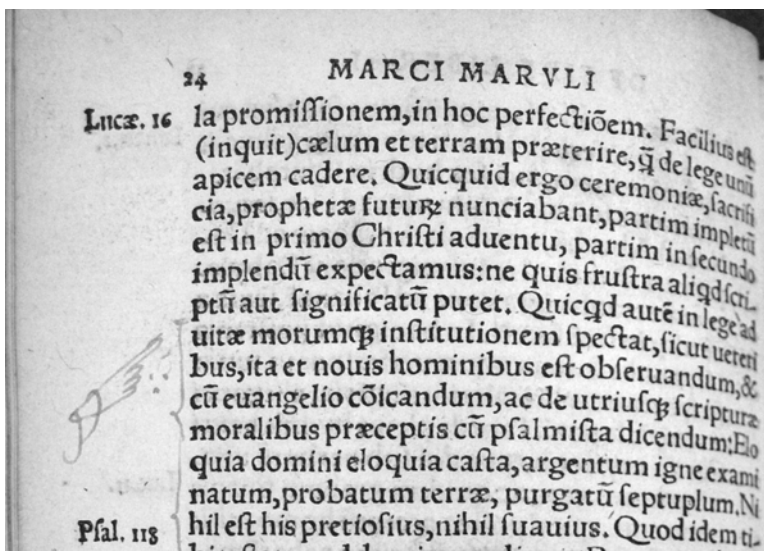


Fig. 7

Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 24)

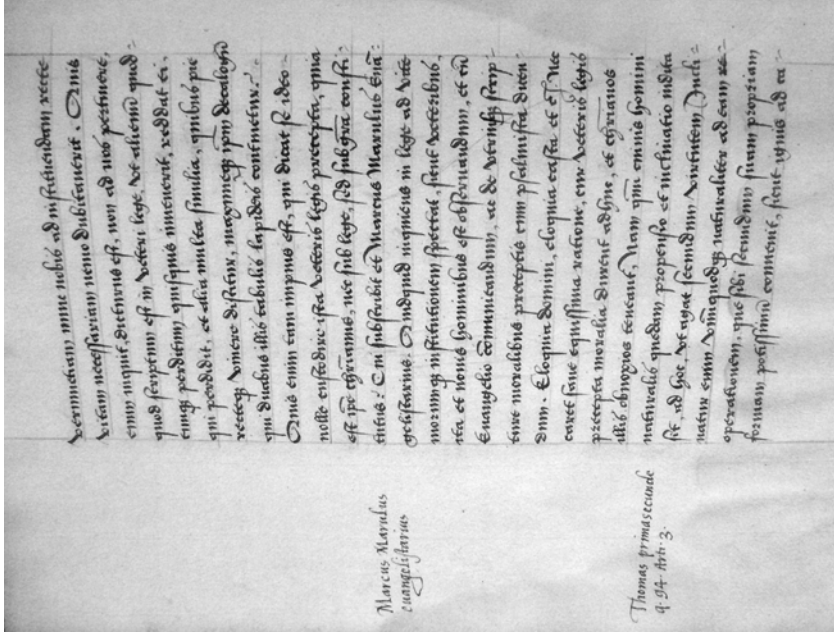


Fig. 8

Henry VIII's presentation copy of *Gravissimae academiarum censurae*, now British Library MS Harley 1338, which was elegantly bound for Henry VIII by the King Henry Binder.

Folio 70v shows the passage quoted from Marko Marulic's *Evangelistarum*, p. 24 (Fig. 7)

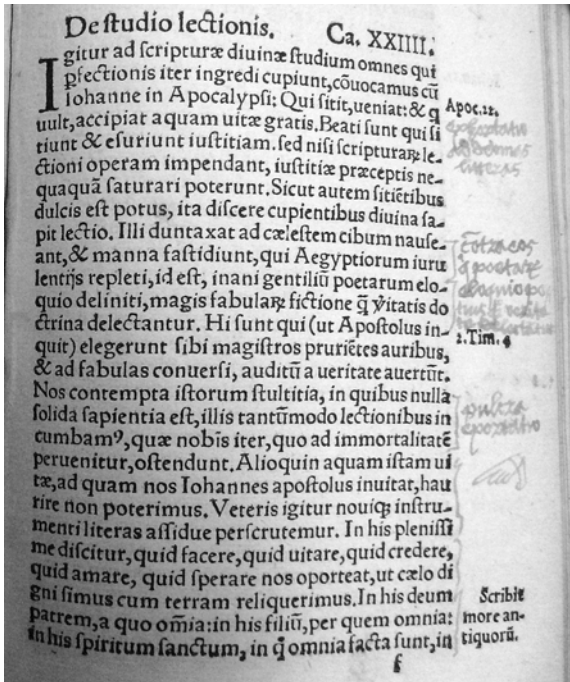


Fig. 9  
Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*,  
© British Library Board  
(843.k.13, p. 81)

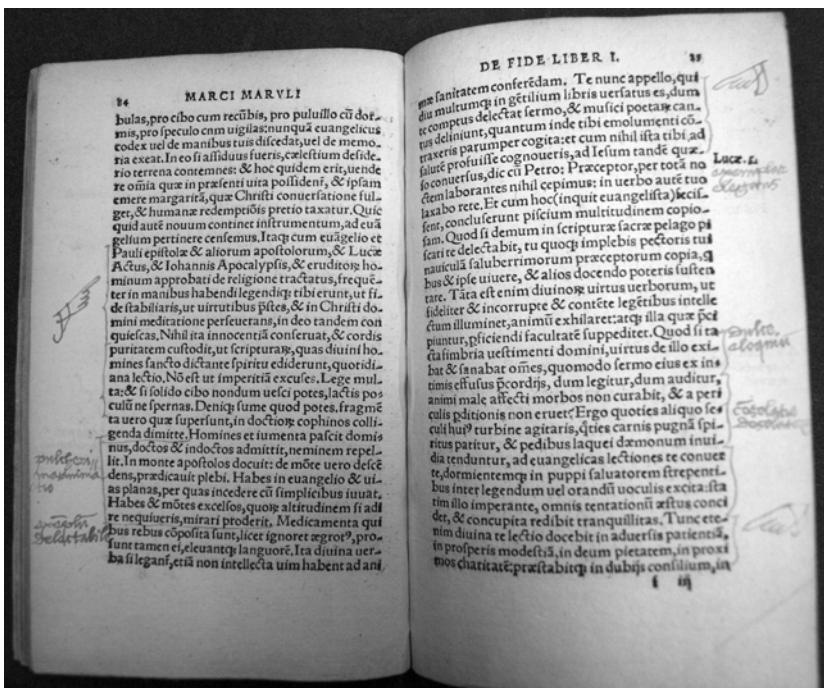


Fig. 10  
Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, pp. 84-85)



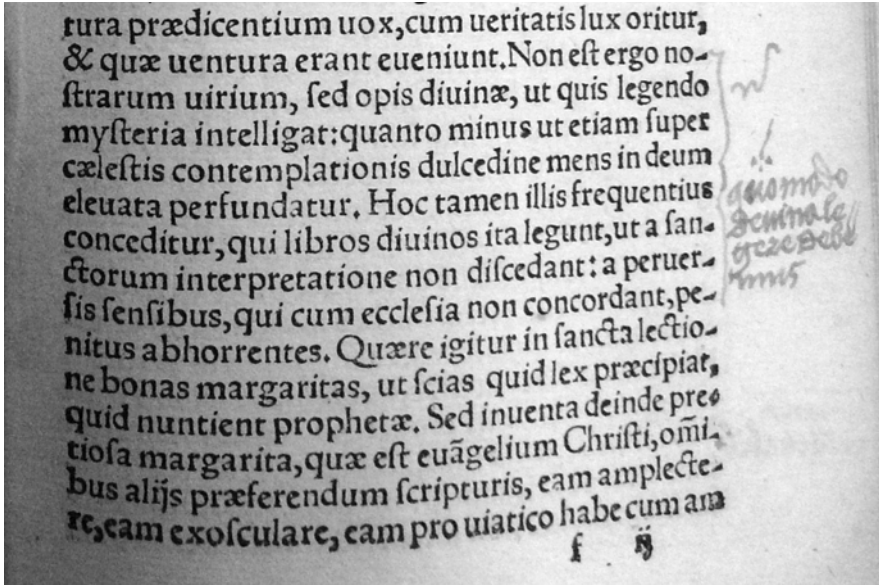


Fig. 11

Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 83)

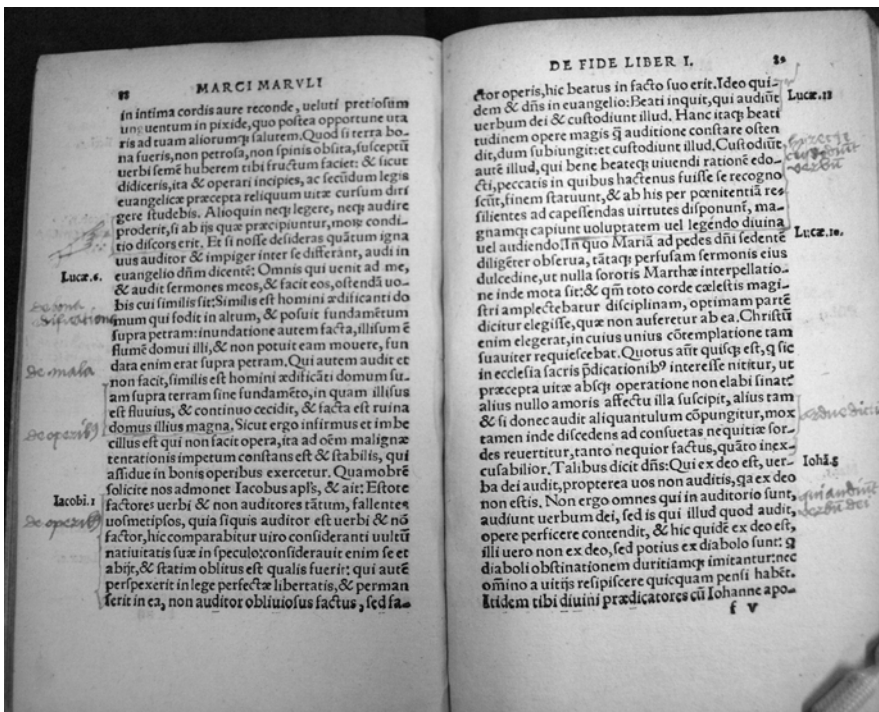


Fig. 12

Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 88-89)

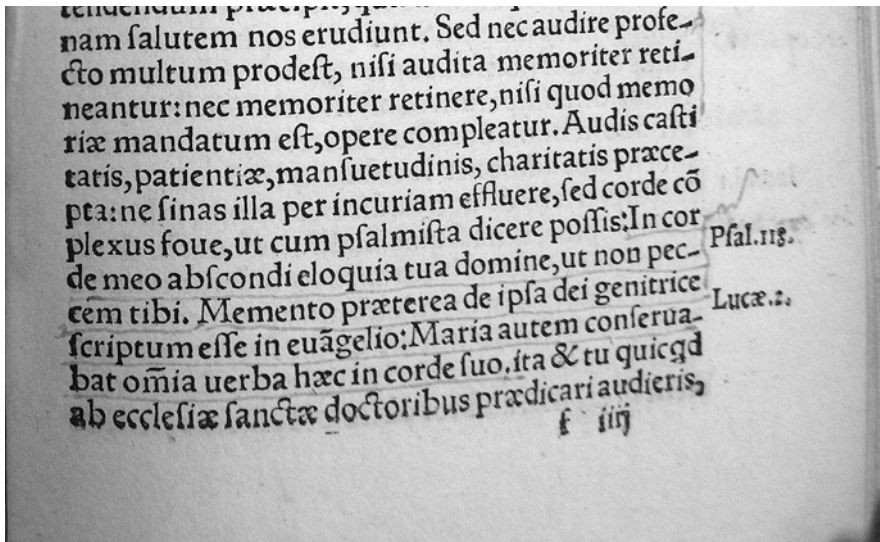


Fig. 13  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 87)

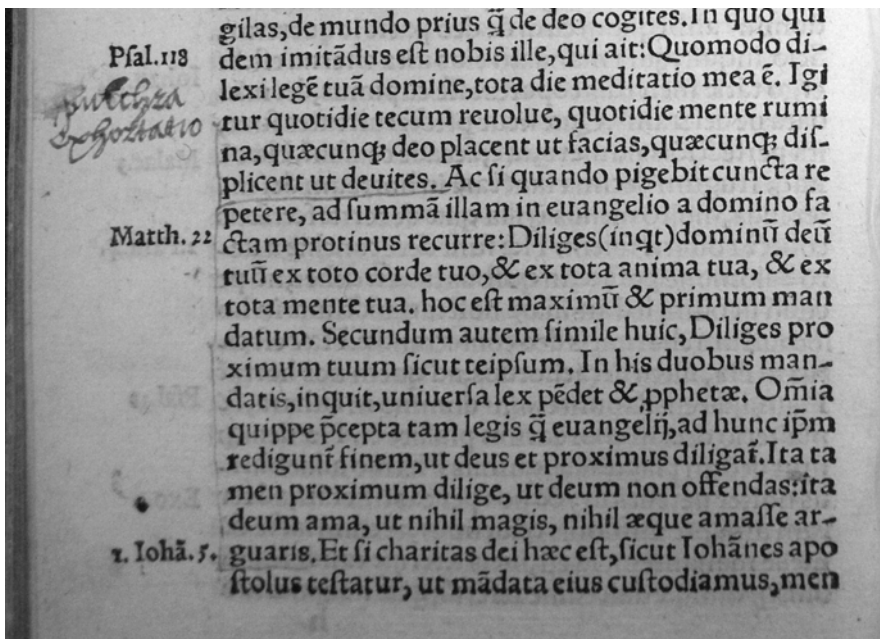


Fig. 14  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 114)

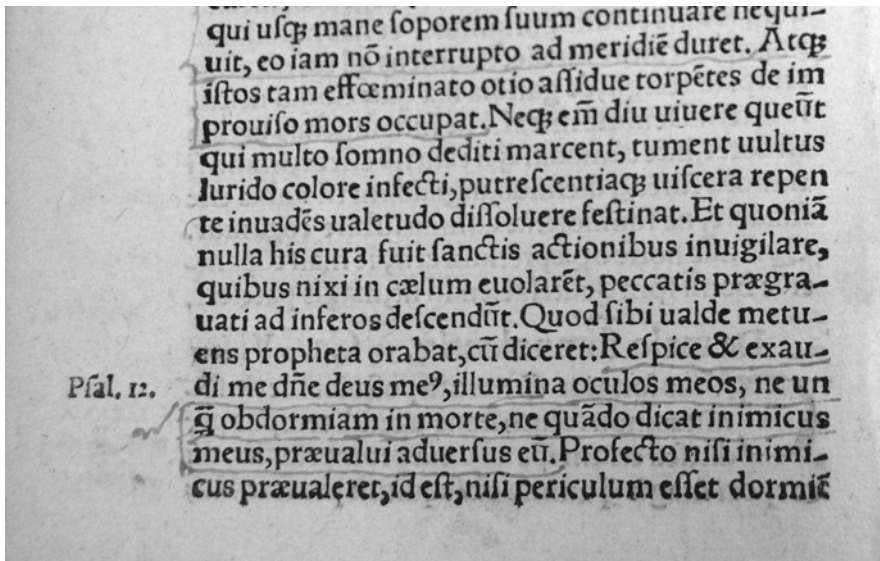


Fig. 15  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 126)

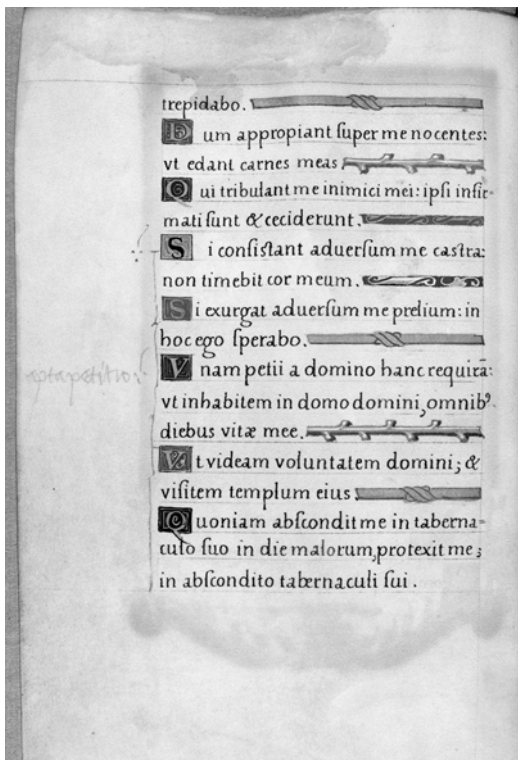


Fig. 16  
 Henry VIII's *Psalter*, © British Library  
 Board (Royal MS 2 A xvi, f. 30v)

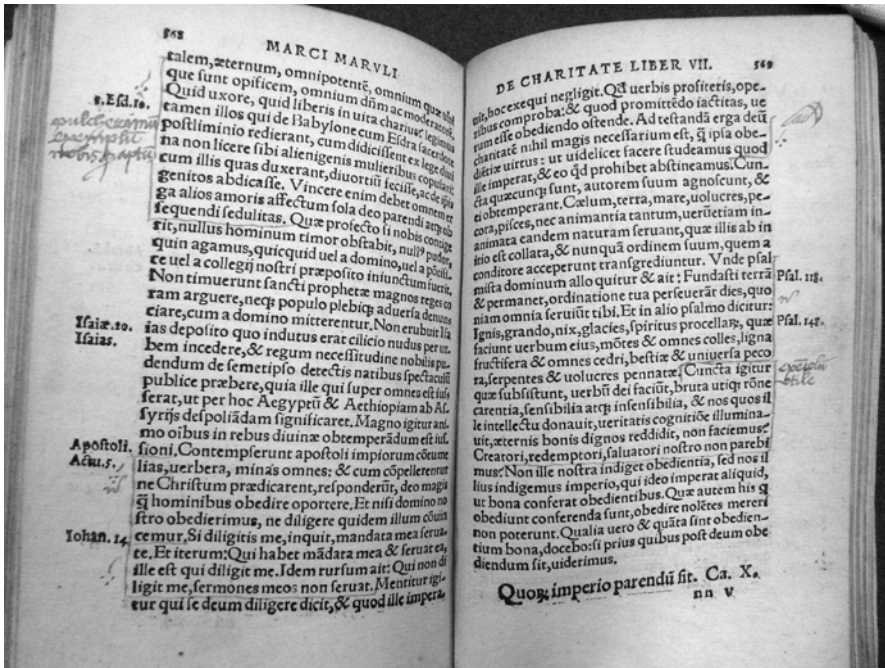


Fig. 17  
Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, pp. 568-69)

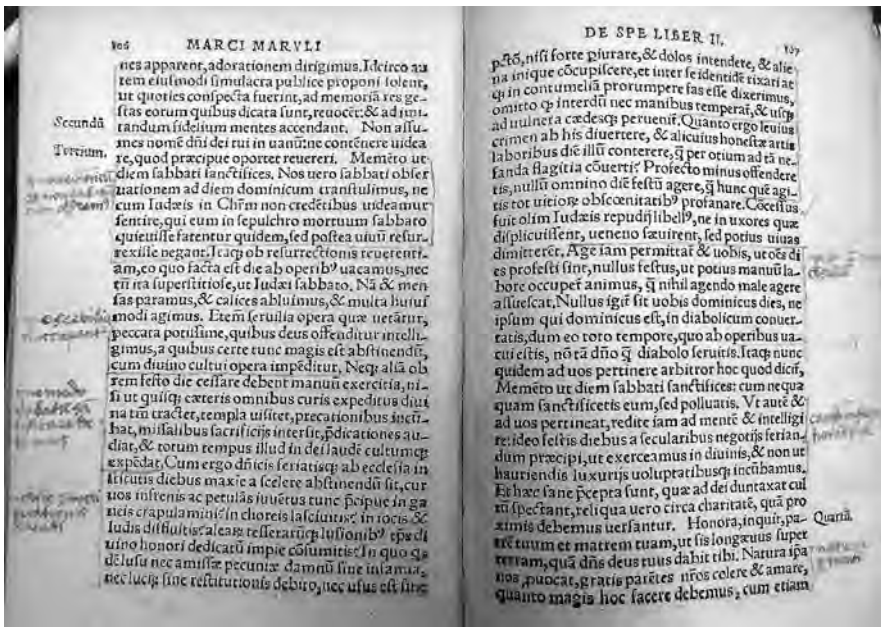


Fig. 18  
Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, pp. 106-07)

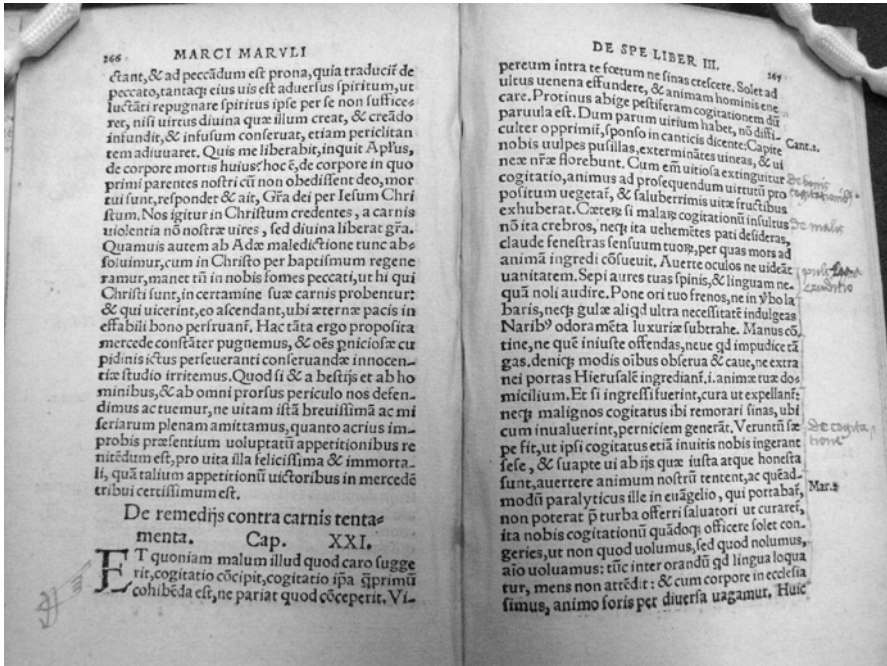


Fig. 19

Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 266-67)

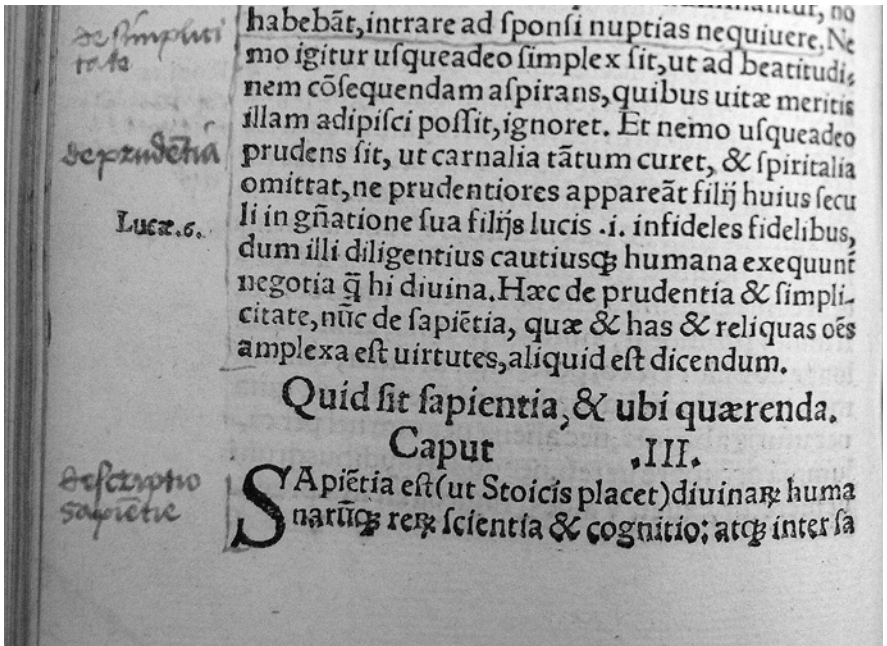


Fig. 20

Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 218)

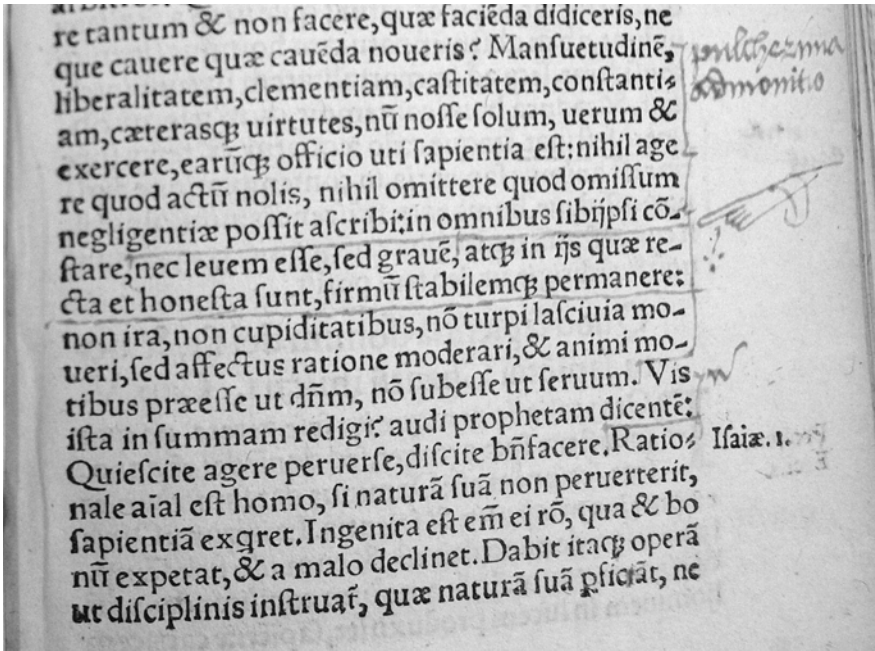


Fig. 21  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 223)

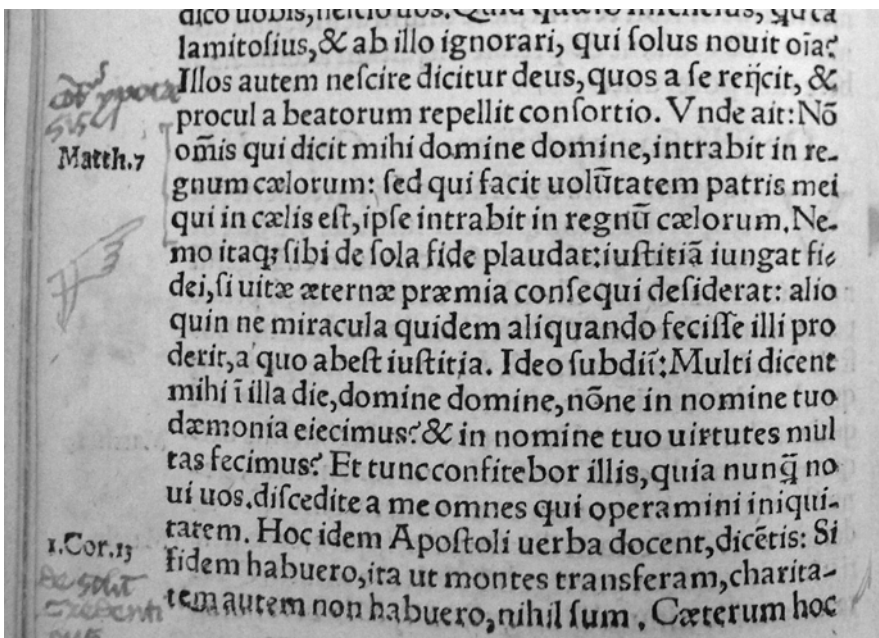


Fig. 22  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 10)

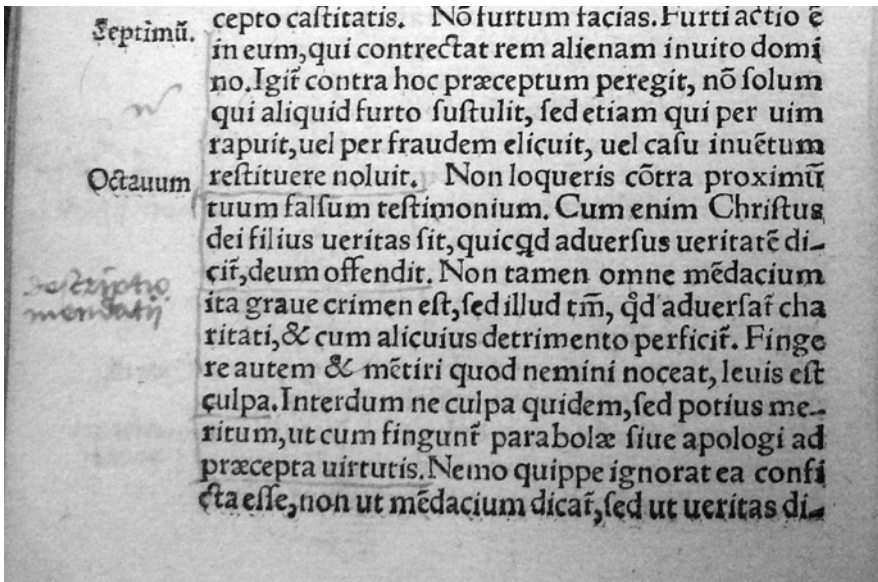


Fig. 23  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 108)

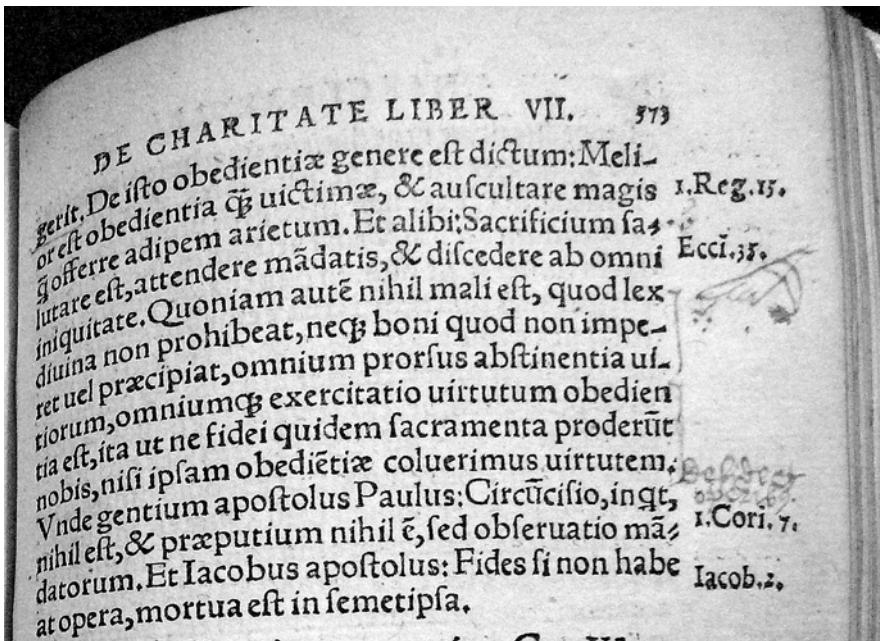


Fig. 24  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 573)

aditior meus non emigrabo  
in deo salutate meum & gloria mea:  
deus auxili mei & spes mea in deo est.  
**S**perate in eo omnis congregatio po-  
puli: effundite coram illo corda vestra:  
Deus adiutor nostre in eternum.  
**M**erentamen vani filii hominum: me-  
dantes filii hominum in statens vi dei pi-  
ant ipsi: de vanitate in idipsam  
**N**olite sperare in iniquitate & rapti-  
nas nolite concupiscere: diuitiar si astu-  
ant nolite cor apponere  
**S**emel locutus est deus duo haec au-  
dit: quia potestas dei est tibi domine  
mia: quia tu reddes vniuiqsq. opera  
**G**loria patri *Psalm? bz. (sua*  
*Gloria agi Deo*  
*em dicitur*  
Eus deus meus ad te de luce vigilo.  
*Se capite dicit*

Fig. 25  
Henry VIII's Psalter, © British Library Board  
(Royal MS 2 A xvi, f. 72)

MARCI MARVI  
innocentiam volens unere, suo illumine extra-  
pio in terra ad casti trillarum illos persequo tru-  
eum conforto illos peruenit & deus loquitur ad  
eum quibus in psalmo dicitur & sancti eius  
erunt sacerdotes eius iure. Chrem em induens, et qd  
exultatione exebant, qui in ecclesia uice Christi,  
sicut operari gerere studerunt.  
**De malo sacerdote. Ca. XXIII.**  
Oro sicut lux tenebris collatur. Incute uel  
deni cōsuetiā appropinquitas nō dicitur. Cui  
e contrarij aut qd fas dicitur sic opere ex-  
neq de homo dīmodum proponimus, ut aliquid  
eius ad malo dicamus. Malus est sacerdos, qui nō  
consil dicitur et propheta p̄ orto mea dicit: cū ter-  
renis opibus m̄hibet, & nō solum his q̄ possidet nō  
p̄de afferte. Sic q̄ negotari in domo dei nō pu-  
acquirunt, cūca ecclesie bona, q̄ statim huius ali-  
ambitione atq̄ largitionibus copiarat, quos enim  
hubeda erat, in tuos usus contulerunt. Huius ali-  
tendentes & cōnentes de templo suo est dicit, q̄  
uenerunt ad dicitur. **Marius** huius ali-  
eius memi  
eius dicitur  
eius dicitur  
eius dicitur  
eius dicitur

DE FIDE LIBER I.  
**S**eruo afflicto colorari, dubbis consistere, sed lega-  
tū ang' octo dedit magis uenirent illum q̄ gre-  
gem dominicum pascere solentem ferre. Malus itē  
est sacerdos, qui uadit lupum uenientē, id est, her-  
esim, & querit occidit eum, & cruciatu dicitur in  
suarum, & cruciatu dicitur in suarum, & cruciatu  
g' manet, nec tū obuij perit. sed de huius ali-  
fugit. Vnde dicitur: Mercenarius fugit, quia merce-  
genua est, & non pertinet ad eum de ouibus. Nō  
quia nō pertinet ad eum, sed quia sic agit, nō s̄  
in illi oīno ad eum pertinet, quiquidem nō aīa-  
tam lucru, sed pecunie querit, & terram magis mer-  
cedem creditur p̄terea, dicitur. Tali avaritia  
per Malachiam propheta m̄ redarguit dicit, dicit:  
Quis est in uobis qui claudat oīta & incendat al-  
tate meti grauuro? Er qm si cuiusmodi unio la-  
borant, deo reprobati sunt. sequitur: Non est mihi  
ubinas in uobis dicit dicit exercitū, & munus  
nō suscipi de manu ura. Per Excucide uo etiam  
cominatur eis dicit ait: Vx pastoribus sicut, q̄ pa-  
storbz, sic episcopis, potēte greges, a pastoribus pa-  
scuntur: sic comedebant, & lamis opere dicit  
& quod crallum traq̄ occidebat, gregē autē mēdi  
trectas, quom dicitur, qm futu, gregē consolida  
sit, & quod non famalis, quod consola  
dicitur, sed cū dicitur, & quod ab oīcū dicit nō re-  
dicitur, sed cū dicitur, imperabans ea, & cū  
potētia et dispersa sunt oues mer, eo q̄ nō erit  
pastor. Quo pacto enim est pastor, qui nec religio-  
sa uice exemplis, nec sana doctrina monans gre-  
gē sibi creditū alere curat? Quo alit, magis dicitur  
lucum magis indulget, eo grauus in inferno supplic-

Fig. 26  
Marko Marulic's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, pp. 76-77)



Fig. 27  
 Marko Marulić's  
*Evangelistarium*,  
 © British Library Board  
 (843.k.13, p. 78)

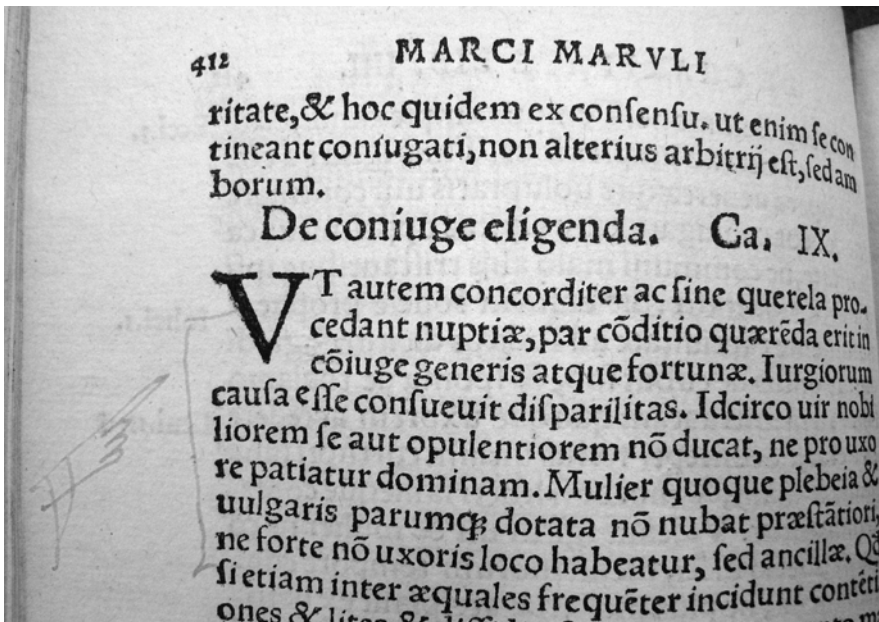
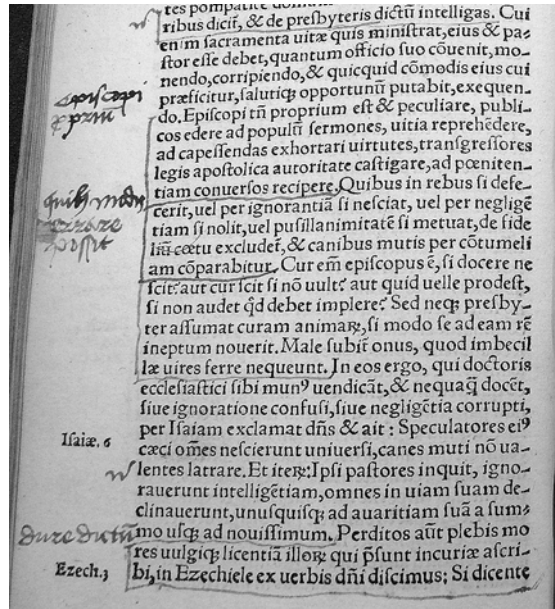


Fig. 28  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 412)

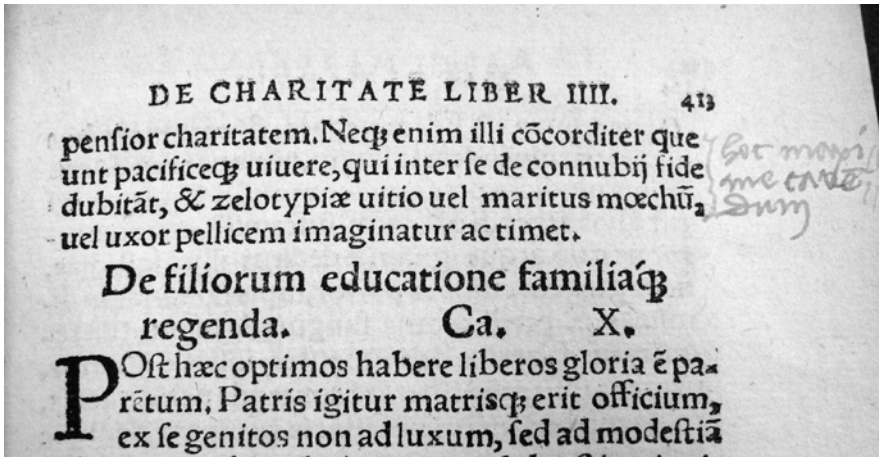


Fig. 29  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 413)

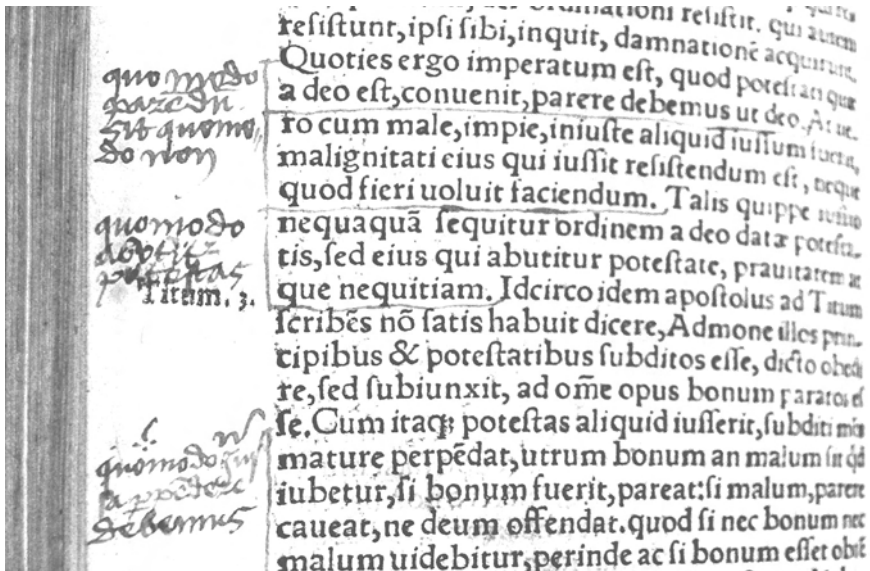


Fig. 30  
 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 570)

from the Psalms. In 1521, in direct response to Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica* which challenged the traditional seven sacraments of the Church, Henry VIII penned the lightly-learned *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*. Henry sent thirty signed copies to Pope Leo X and his cardinals and in recognition of his stout defence of Papal authority and condemnation of Luther's doctrines Henry was awarded the title of *Fidei defensor*.

By 1527, however, Henry was completely captivated by Anne Boleyn and growing increasingly concerned about his lack of a male heir. Henry's theological probings now started to take him in a different and more disruptive direction. Taking the Old Testament Book of Leviticus as his legal base, Henry became convinced that his marriage to Katherine of Aragón, his brother's widow, contravened divine law and that Pope Julius II had exceeded his authority in issuing the papal dispensation allowing them to marry. Evidence that Henry genuinely feared that he had offended against the law of God can be found in the King's 14th-century copy of the Pentateuch, in which he has drawn his characteristic »manicule« or pointing hand to highlight Leviticus 18:16, which states that »No man may marry his brother's wife' (Fig. 3).<sup>7</sup>

In the late 1520s and early 1530s the Royal Library underwent a transformation that mirrored Henry's own changing views and personal circumstances. We have already seen how many years before, Henry's first tutor, John Skelton, had advised him to turn to history for wisdom. Royal agents were now instructed to scour libraries for books and manuscripts that might justify Henry VIII's growing doubts about his first marriage to Katherine of Aragón and be used to support his radical claims to jurisdictional independence from Rome. Biblical commentaries, works of the Church Fathers and historical manuscripts were stockpiled and Henry consulted them all carefully.<sup>8</sup> Many of them contain marginal notes in Henry's own hand, revealing his deep engagement with the written word as he attempted to overcome an immovable Katherine and a manipulative Pope Clement VII, highly dependent on Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and Katherine's nephew.

It was in this context of gathering evidence to support the King's divorce and eventual break with Rome that the *Evangelistarium*, Marko Marulić's most important moral and theological work, must have entered Henry VIII's library. More specifically, Charles Béné has suggested that Henry's 1529 edition of the *Evangelistarium* was purchased for him from Cologne bookseller Franz Bireckmann, based in the book traders' district in St. Paul's yard in London, but unfortunately the volume does not provide any clues to support this theory.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> British Library, Royal MS 1 E iv, f. 159v.

<sup>8</sup> See D. Starkey, S. Doran, A. Clarke, *Henry VIII: Man & Monarch* (London, 2009). Published to accompany the exhibition of the same name held at The British Library, London, 23 April – 6 September 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Béné, »Henri VIII et Thomas More, Lecteurs de Marulić«, CM V (1996), 90.

### 3. Henry VIII and the *Evangelistarium*

The upper right-hand corner of the title page of Henry VIII's personal copy of the *Evangelistarium* bears the Westminster Inventory Number »1084«, which corresponds to the 1544 inventory of books in the King's working library at Westminster Palace (**Fig. 4**).<sup>10</sup> On turning the pages, Henry's big, bold and extensive marginal annotations are immediately striking. Approximately, 104 of the book's 639 pages are heavily-annotated, demonstrating that the King saw the *Evangelistarium* not just as a book to be read and admired, but instead gutted for evidence, completely mastered and digested by his constantly evolving mind (**Fig. 5**). Henry started the process by marking up the index himself, using his familiar wavy marginal lines, »manicules« or pointing hands, tadpole signs and »notas« to highlight the topics that interested him (**Fig. 6**). He then turned to the main text to read and mark the selected passages. Many of Henry's notes simply provide glosses on the text rather than elucidation but, as this paper will reveal, there are distinct chapters to which he paid particular attention and added comments, thereby providing insights into his theological concerns and the development of his thinking regarding his marriage, papal authority and his relationship with God.

Henry VIII believed that, as St Athanasius declared in his preface to the Psalms of David, »All devyne Scrypture ys the very Master of trewe fayth and vertu.«<sup>11</sup> In his reading of the *Evangelistarium*, Henry paid particular attention to chapters concerning Scripture and the study and interpretation of sacred texts. In a chapter entitled »The Old & New Testament« (*De lege et evangelio*)<sup>12</sup> Henry used his characteristic pointing hand to highlight a passage concerning the importance and enduring validity of Old Testament moral precepts (**Fig. 7**). It reads:

That what so ever is in the lawe, that belongeth to the instruction and orderynge of our lyfe and of our maners, ought as well to be observed amonge us, that be nowe newe men in Christe, as it was amonge the Jews and the olde men, that were in tyme passed, and that we ought to make it commune with the godspell and that of moral preceptes, both of the newe testament and the olde we ought to saye as David sayth: The wordes of God be tried and oure words.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> British Library, 843.k.13, title page.

<sup>11</sup> »The preface of the great Athanasius in the Psalms of David«, British Library, Royal MS 17 C xii, f. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Ev I, 442.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Surtz, S. J., and Virginia Murphy, *The Divorce Tracts of Henry VIII* (Angers, Moreana, 1988) p. 225. English translation from T. Cranmer, *Determinations of the Universities* (London, 1531), 128. It is worth noting here that Thomas Cranmer's English translation of *Gravissimae censurae* therefore contains the earliest known translation of a part of any of Marulić's works.

This passage was subsequently cited in the *Gravissimae academiarum censurae*, published in April 1531 by Henry's scholars as an exhaustive statement of his case for a divorce, and based on the Levitical prohibitions on marriage to a brother's wife. **Fig. 8** shows the passage as it appears in the presentation copy of *Gravissimae*, which was elegantly bound for Henry VIII by the King Henry Binder.<sup>14</sup> The reference to the work of Marulić in *Gravissimae* not only provides additional proof that Henry VIII owned and read *Evangelistarium*, but also helps to conclusively date his reading of the book to the period 1529-30.

In another chapter of *Evangelistarium*, concerning the importance of »The Study of Sacred Texts« (*De studio lectionis*),<sup>15</sup> Henry found much to agree with. He highlighted »a fine exhortation« (*pulcra [sic] exortatio*) (**Fig. 9**), »a beautiful encouragement« (*pulcherima animatio*) »a delectable example« (*exemplum delectabile*) an »elegant example« (*exemplar elegans*), a »sweet eloquence« (*dulce eloquium*), and a »comforting encouragement« (*consolatio desolatorum*) (**Fig. 10**) as well as advice on »how to read Sacred books« (*quo modo divina [sic] legere debemus*) (**Fig. 11**).

Henry was equally interested in the next chapter entitled »Listening Carefully to the Word of God« (*De auditionis cura*).<sup>16</sup> Here he marked up a passage concerning »those who hear the word of God« (*qui audiunt verbum dei*) (**Fig. 12**) but found the reference to those who refused to listen to God's word a »hard saying« (*ardue dictum*) (**Fig. 12**). In contrast to those unwilling to heed God's word, Henry identified himself with King David of the Old Testament by highlighting the verse from Psalm 118 which reads »I have hidden your word in my heart that I might not sin against you« (**Fig. 13**).<sup>17</sup> Here, one is reminded of the image of Henry VIII in his Psalter, showing him following the guidance of the first verse of Psalm 1: »Blessed is he who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly ... his will is in the law of the Lord«, to which Henry added, in a rather self-satisfied way, the comment »note who is blessed« (*nota quis sit beatus*) (**Fig. 2**).

Henry's reading of the *Evangelistarium* also appears to have provided him with many examples of religious guidance and personal encouragement in his own relationship with God. Henry indicated, for example, that he found Marulić's reference to Psalm 118 to be a »beautiful exhortation« (*pulchra exortatio*) (**Fig. 14**) and on another page he marked a verse from Psalm 12, which reads »Look on me and answer O God, give light to my eyes, or I will sleep in death, my enemy will say I have overcome him and my foes will rejoice when I fall« (**Fig. 15**).<sup>18</sup> Parallels can again be found in Henry's reading of his Psalter. His pencil annotation added alongside Psalm 26:4, reveals that he considered David's desire

<sup>14</sup> British Library, Harley MS 1338, f. 70v.

<sup>15</sup> Ev I, 497.

<sup>16</sup> Ev I, 502.

<sup>17</sup> Ev I, 503.

<sup>18</sup> Ev I, 541.

to »dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, that I may see the delight of the Lord and may visit His temple« to be »an appropriate petition« (*apta petitio*) (**Fig. 16**).

Henry VIII's marginalia in his copy of the *Evangelistarium* reveal to us the importance he placed on obeying God's commandments. In the chapter entitled »On offering obedience to God« (*De obedientia Deo praestanda*)<sup>19</sup> Henry found »a useful example« on the subject (*exemplum utile*) (**Fig. 17**). Sixteen marginal notes in the chapter on »The Ten Commandments« (*De decem praeceptis*)<sup>20</sup> again bear witness to the King's desire to obey God (**Fig. 18**). Ironically, in 1537, Henry, by then Supreme Head of the Church of England and in the process of defining »true doctrine«, tried to alter two of the Ten Commandments.<sup>21</sup> It fell to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer to tell him that this was something that not even the King of England could do!

Many of Henry's annotations in the *Evangelistarium* also demonstrate how keen he was to identify and distinguish between examples of sinful and righteous behaviour. He noted that the advice beginning with »Avert the eyes in order that they not see vanity« (*Averte oculos ne videant vanitatem*)<sup>22</sup> was a »fine instruction« (*pulchra eruditio*) (**Fig. 19**). He was also particularly interested in a »description of prudence« (*de prudentia*) and of »wisdom« (*descriptio sapientie*) (**Fig. 20**) and elsewhere he commented that he found reading a long list of virtues »a good reminder« (*pulcherima admonitio*) (**Fig. 21**). Henry identified many examples of sinful behaviour, including »hypocrisy« (*contra ypocresis*) (**Fig. 22**) and lying (*descriptio mendatii*) (**Fig. 23**) and he was especially interested in chapters about wicked thoughts (*Quo modo cogitatio est peccatum*) (**Fig. 5**) and remedies against temptations of the flesh (*De remediis contra carnis tentamenta*) (**Fig. 19**).

A number of Henry's comments provide insight into his theological thinking. At a time when controversy was raging over the relative role of faith and works, Henry carefully read Marulić's chapter on »Faith without Works« (*De fide sine operibus*)<sup>23</sup> and was much assured by a reference (in Marulić's chapter »Whose authority must be obeyed« – *Quorum imperio parendum sit*)<sup>24</sup> to verses from the Book of James which state that a faith without works is a dead faith (**Fig. 24**). Henry found and highlighted other references to »works« (*de operibus*) throughout the *Evangelistarium* (**Fig. 12**). A decade later, and still refuting the

<sup>19</sup> Ev II, 675.

<sup>20</sup> Ev I, 521.

<sup>21</sup> The *Bishops' Book* was produced in the summer of 1537 by a committee of evangelical bishops and theologians as a statement of faith for Henry's new church. It was published without Henry's approval and when he finally read a copy of the work he strongly criticised its content. Henry's personal copy of the *Bishops' Book*, corrected in his own hand, is now in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Bodley 4<sup>o</sup> Rawlinson 245.

<sup>22</sup> Ev I, 670.

<sup>23</sup> Ev I, 430.

<sup>24</sup> Ev II, 678.

uncompromising statement of justification by faith alone, Henry would continue to mark-up references to »works« in his personal Psalter. **Fig. 25** shows the words »de operibus« that Henry added beside Psalm 61:12-13 (»the power belongeth to God, and mercy to thee, O Lord: for thou wilt render to every man according to his works«).

Henry's marginal notes reveal his growing concern about the excessive powers of the church and the clergy. He paid close attention to the chapter »About Bad Priests« (*De malo sacerdote*)<sup>25</sup> and in two different places in the text identified examples of bad priests (*qui malus est sacerdos*) (**Fig. 26**). Henry also highlighted a passage on the responsibilities of bishops (*episcopi proprium*) (**Fig. 27**) and the ways in which they could do wrong (*quibus modis errare possit*) (**Fig. 27**). Henry noted that he found the example Marulić provided from the Book of Ezekiel, that attributed the rebellion and sinfulness of the Israelites to the negligence of their religious leaders, »a harsh saying« (*dure dictum*) (**Fig. 27**).

Henry's marital situation was of course uppermost in his mind at the time that he read the *Evangelistarium* and we can clearly see this reflected in his annotations. His determination to be rid of Katherine of Aragón is revealed by his response to the following passage:

What is more dear in life than a wife, than children? Nevertheless, we read that when those who had returned back from Babylon with the high priest Esdra learned that it was not permitted by divine law to unite themselves with foreign women, they divorced the women they had brought back and disowned the children they had by them.<sup>26</sup> (**Fig. 17**)

No doubt feeling a great sense of self-justification, Henry commented that this was a »most fine example and pertinent to us« (*pulcherimum exemplum nobisque aptum*). Interestingly, while Henry did not mark up the chapters on »Marriage« (*De matrimonio*)<sup>27</sup> or »The Offices of a Husband and Wife« (*De viri uxorisque officio*),<sup>28</sup> he was certainly interested in the chapter »On choosing a wife« (*De coniuge eligenda*)<sup>29</sup> and drew a large pointing hand to highlight the text which reads:

It is also said that one should take as his wife neither a woman that is too beautiful nor one that is too ugly, lest one should come to disdain the latter or be suspicious of the former. You should, therefore, choose a woman whose appearance is half way between these two, so that she is not attractive to many and yet not unattractive to you. In this way, the modesty of both of you be more secure, and your minds, when all

<sup>25</sup> Ev I, 493.

<sup>26</sup> Ev II, 676. English translation from C a r l e y, op. cit. (5), 22-23.

<sup>27</sup> Ev II, 522.

<sup>28</sup> Ev II, 524.

<sup>29</sup> Ev II, 529.

suspicion is removed, will be more tranquil and better disposed towards mutual love.<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 28)

The same chapter ends with the warning that suspicions of adultery, jealousy and a lack of trust will prevent a married couple from living harmoniously together. Rather ironically, Henry has noted »take great care« (*hoc maxime cavendum*). (Fig. 29)

Equally revealing is Henry's interest in the chapter on »Whose authority must be obeyed« (*Quorum imperio parendum sit*).<sup>31</sup> We have already established that Henry must have read the *Evangelistarium* during the period 1529-30, by which time his hopes of finding a papal solution to his matrimonial problem were fading and he was beginning to realise that he would only get a divorce in England and from his own church. In Fig. 30 we can observe that Henry marked up Marulić's discussion of Romans 13 at the point where the author states that it is right to resist a governing authority if what they order conflicts with the law of God. By the side of it Henry has added the note »when to obey and when not to obey« (*quo modo parendum sit quo modo non*), perhaps thinking about liberating England from papal authority as he did so.

#### 4. Conclusion

Thanks to the work of James Carley, Henry VIII's heavily annotated Psalter is already recognised as a vital source for understanding the man behind the monarch during the last decade of his life.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Henry's annotations in his personal copy of Marulić's *Evangelistarium* provide us with invaluable insights into the King's evolving thinking at a time when his fears for the Tudor succession, his love for Anne Boleyn and determination to divorce Katherine of Aragón were about to set both himself and England on a collision course with Rome and the papacy. Henry's copy of the *Evangelistarium* is, with the exception of his Psalter, the most heavily-annotated book to have survived from his library. To understand Henry's physical relationship with the book and his copious marginalia is deeply revealing of his character and brings us extraordinarily close to the King during a revolutionary period of his life and reign.

<sup>30</sup> *The Marulić Reader*, edited by Bratislav Lučin, Književni krug, Split, 2007, p.79.

<sup>31</sup> Ev II, 678.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Carley, op. cit. (5), 67-87



*A n d r e a C l a r k e*

### HENRIK VIII. I MARULIĆEV EVANĎELISTAR

Britanska knjižnica posjeduje primjerak Marulićeva *Evandelistara* iz 1529. koji je bio osobno vlasništvo engleskoga kralja Henrika VIII. Uz Henrikov osobni psaltir, Marulićev *Evandelistar* je knjiga s najvećim brojem vlastoručnih bilježaka među sačuvanim svescima Henrikove knjižnice; stoga ona može mnogo otkriti o vlasnikovim najskrovitijim razmišljanjima na prekretnici njegova životnog i vladarskog puta.

Rad započinje razmatranjem promjena što ih je Henrikova knjižnica doživjela u kasnim dvadesetim i ranim tridesetim godinama 16. st. Tijekom tog razdoblja kraljevskim je posrednicima i učenjacima naloženo da prikupljaju knjige i rukopise u kojima bi se mogli naći podatci koji bi opravdavali Henrikove rastuće dvojbe o valjanosti braka s Katarinom Aragonskom, udovicom njegova brata. Potvrdu da je *Evandelistar* nabavljen i čitan upravo u tom kontekstu pruža svečani primjerak djela *Gravissimae academiaram censurae*, što su ga Henrikovi učenjaci objavili 1531. godine u prilog njegovu pravu na razvod, temeljeći to pravo na Levitskom zakoniku, koji zabranjuje da se za ženu uzme bratova udovica. *Gravissimae censurae* sadrže ulomak iz *Evandelistara* (1,8: *De lege et euangelio*) o važnosti i trajnoj valjanosti moralnih propisa sadržanih u Starom zavjetu. U Henrikovu osobnom primjerku *Evandelistara* upravo uz taj ulomak nalazimo kraljevu zabilješku koja nedvojbeno potvrđuje kako je knjigu čitao prije nego što su *Gravissimae censurae* bile tiskane.

Drugi dio rada nudi detaljne podatke o Henrikovim marginalijama u *Evandelistaru*. Učestalost rubnih bilježaka i komentara otkriva nam da su kralja ponajvećma zanimala poglavlja o proučavanju svetih tekstova, o slušanju riječi Božje, o deset zapovijedi, o pokornosti Bogu i o izboru supruge. Kraljevi rubni komentari omogućuju važan uvid u njegove teološke preokupacije i u razvoj njegova razmišljanja o statusu vlastitoga braka, o papinskom autoritetu i o odnosu prema Bogu.

**Ključne riječi:** Marko Marulić, *Evandelistar*, Henrik VIII, kraljevska knjižnica, Katarina Aragonska, Anne Boleyn, rukopisi, marginalije, *maniculae*, teologija, Biblija.