HENRY VIII AND MARKO MARULIĆ'S EVANGELISTARIUM

Andrea Clarke

UDK: 097

027.1 Henry VIII King of England 821.163.42.09 Marulić M.

Andrea Clarke British Library L o n d o n andrea.clarke@bl.uk

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 poetpriest John Skelton, appointed around 1496, immersed him in Latin, Classical writings and works of history.¹ In 1501, Skelton wrote *Speculum Principis (Mirror for a Prince)* for the ten-year old Henry, and in it emphasised the importance of

¹ 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**).² 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«.³ 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.'⁴

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.⁵

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**).⁶ It provides a powerful image of Henry as a thoughtful reader who, having retired from court, meditates on and seeks guidance

² British Library, Additional MS 26787, ff. 21v-22.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ See James P. Carley, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London, 2000).

⁶ 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).

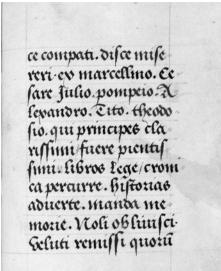


Fig. 1 John Skelton, *Speculum Principis*, © British Library Board (Additional MS 26787, f. 22)



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



ur vitola molochén m innus gruxhone can intro ett. Sunt olinm thandalys. De ten ales nother origination Ego winnus. Cum ailo no continente it fourness of ablom the no moment was fris tu ett. Durputudude oprice remonina curs. no reactabas. Antam a in ous of file clims no Sturment fis fur und non mous fris the non upous the et file eus: lus ampict Durphudi neneladis, qr turpitudo

Fig. 3 Henry VIII's 14^{th} -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)

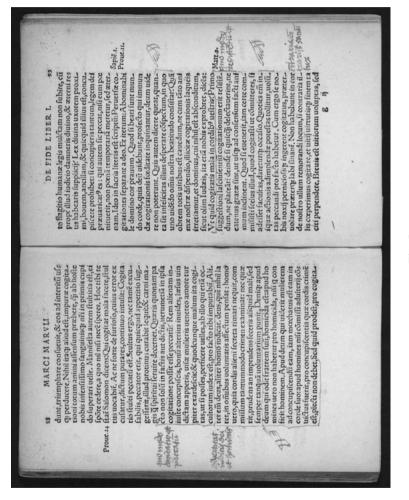


Fig. 5 A typical heavily-annotated opening from Henry VIII's copy of the *Evangelistarium*. © British Library Board (843.k.13, pp. 98-99)

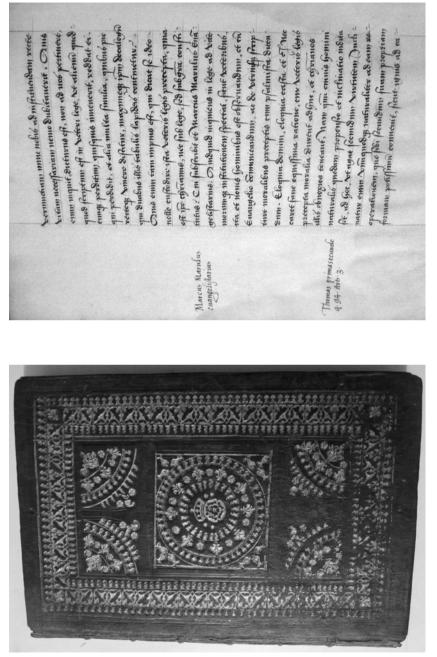
De coniuge eligenda temporeis contrinent (2.4.9-4-10 De folios educatione, familiais regenda De formicatione utanda	De bonitare Qued bonitas & perfectio donum dei fi De moderatione uircutum De fructibus bonitatis De paramio iuftorum De persensi principalibus per feptem lepre gener fignificatis De generatis principalibus per feptem lepre gener fignificatis De generatis finit prezipue dannabilit Cue pecesa funit prezipue dannabilit Cue pecesa finit prezipue dannabilit Cue pecesa finitas De durita De aduita De aduita De aduita De aduita contra fenfluam soluptaren de cunfortio duarfi fexus suitando cue perinte duardin fexus suitando de martinonio De unit sucorisgo officio De contrage dilgenda temporrego contindi cue Pre contuge eligenda temporrego contindi cue Pre contuge eligenda temporrego contindi cue Pre fuisos eduactione familiaba rezenda	Page De trippic carmo paramip ent Can para Page De trippic carmo paramip ent Can para Page Pro qubus facenda el elecnolyna Can para Page Can para Can para Page De unico autritàs Can para Page Can para Can para Page De dindist collerentis ut delo finilles finua Can para Page De beneficiót scipiendis Can para Page De beneficiót scipiendis Can para Page De beneficiót scipiendis Can para Page Jonna dostumus polencia cui facentia Can
---	--	--

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)

MARCI MARVLI Lucz. 16 la promissionem, in hoc perfectioem. Facilius de 24 (inquit)cælum et terram præterire, i delegeuni apicem cadere, Quicquid ergo ceremonia, facilità cia, prophetæ future nunciabant, partim impleti eft in primo Christi aduentu, partim in secundo implendit expectamus:ne quis frustra aligdíci ptil aut lignificati putet. Quicgd auteinlegead uitæ morumep institutionem spectat, sicut uetet bus, ita et nouis hominibus eft obseruandum, cu euangelio coicandum, ac de utriulos fcriptura moralibus præceptis cu pfalmifta dicendum:Eo quia domini eloquia cafta, argentum igneexami natum, probatum terræ, purgatu feptuplum.N hil eft his pretiofius, nihil fuauius. Quod idem ti-Pfal. 118 1:.... addaminum diamint

Fig. 7 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 24)



Henry VIII's presentation copy of Gravissimae academiarum censurae, now British Library MS Harley 1338, Folio 70v shows the passage quoted from Henry's copy of Marko Marulić's Evangelistarium, p. 24 (Fig. 7) which was elegantly bound for Henry VIII by the King Henry Binder.

Fig, 8

Destudio lectionis. Ca. XXIIII gitur ad fcripturæ diuinæ ftudium omnes qui pfectionis iter ingredi cupiunt, coucamus cu johanne in Apocalypfi; Qui fitit, ueniat: & g Apoc.1. uult, accipiat a quam uitæ gratis. Beati funt qui fi tiunt & efuriunt iuftitiam. fed nifi fcripturante. dames ctioni operam impendant, iustitiz praceptis ne-GARDYXE quaqua faturari poterunt. Sicut autem litiétibus dulcis est potus, ita difcere cupientibus diuina fapit lectio. Illi dunta xat ad cæleftem cibum naufe- Esta cos ant,& manna fastidiunt, qui Aegyptiorum iuru lentifs repleti, id eft, inani gentilin poetarum eloquio deliniti, magis fabular fictione g vitatis do 5 E vertited quit) elegerunt fibi magistros prurieres auribus, & ad fabulas conuerfi, auditu a ueritate auertut. Nos contempta iftorum stultitia, in quibus nulla sultthe folida fapientia eft, illis tantumodo lectionibus in contractions cumbam9, quæ nobis iter, quo ad immortalitate peruenitur, oftendunt. Alioquin aquamistamul aux tæ, ad quam nos Iohannes apostolus inuitat, hau tire non poterimus. Veteris igitur nouiq inftrumenti literas affidue perferutemur. In his pleniffi me discitur, quid facere, quid uitare, quid credere, quid amare, quid sperare nos oporteat, ut calo di gni fimus cum terram reliquerimus. In his deum Scribit patrem, a quo omia: in his filiu, per quem omnia: more an-In his fpiritum fanctum, in g omniafacta funt, in tiguora.

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

DE FIDE LIBER I. DE FIDE LIDER I. II re fanitatem conferédam. Te nunc appello, qui a multump in gétilum libris ucriatuses, dum is mopus delectar fermo, & multici poetaye can-ter admining quantum inde tibi emolumentico. averie parumper cogitate cum nuhi ifta tibi ad laure profuitic cognoteris, ad letum tandic qua-ter administration de la construction de la con-ter administration de la construction de la con-construction de la construction de la con-construction de la construction de la construction de la con-construction de la construction de la construction de la con-construction de la construction de la construction de la con-ter administration de la construction de la construction de la con-de la construction de la construction de la construction de la con-construction de la construction de la MARCI MARVLI Pulas, pro cibo cum recibis, pro puluillo ciì dot, mis, pro foculo cum recibis, pro puluillo ciì dot, mis, pro foculo cum uigliascuri dicedatu de la memo-nia exeat. In co fi ailidaus fueris, calefium defide, fio terrena contemene: & Moc quicle meri, uende re omia que in prafenti una pollideni, & Ipfan mere margarite, que Chrill convertiatione fuil-ged auté noum continet infrumentum, ade ua guida uté noum continet infrumentum, ade ua guida presente a poloiorum, ade ua guida presente a poloiorum, ade ua gelium pertinete cenfemus, leagt cum eusgelio et a cuista de ala poloiorum, ade ua gelium pertinete conferma, leagt cum eusgelio re in manibus habendilgendige tribierunt, ut fi-de flabilaristi, uu intruthos files, & cin Christi do-mini mediratione perfeueranți, în deo tandem con guiefeas. Nini tă a innocențiă conferant, « cordis puntatem cufodi, su feripruras, guas diuini ho. mine fancho dictante fiprure aducint, agenti, ade ficio. No eft au împretiră eccule... Lege mulbulas, pro cibo cum recubis, pro puluillo cu dortemiaooraneo nina connus; in ueroo auteruo laxabo rere. Et cum hoc(inquit euangelifta) secif. Reportos fent, concluferunt pifcium multitudinem copiofam. Quod fi demum in fcripturæ facræ pelago pi fearite delectabit, tu quoch implebis pectoris tui nauculă faluberrimorum praceptorum copia, 9 bus & ipfe uiuere, & alios docendo poteris fuften are. Tata eft enim diuinore uirtus uerborum, ue fideliter & incorrupte & contête legêtibus intelle en illuminet, animu exclusive and a second and a second and a second a seco tation and the second s mines fance dictante fpiritu ediderunt, quotidi, ana lečio. No eft ut imperită excule. Lege mul-tacă filoido colo nondum uelej poteșlatis pos eulii ne ipernas. Denicți fume quot poteșlaris pos eulii ne ipernas. Denicți fume quot poteșlaris me ta uero que iuperitunți nd octivor, cophinos colli-genda dimite. Homines et iumenta palcit domis adoctos & indoctos a admitrit, meminem repel-lit. În monte apofiolos docuite de mõce uero dele lit. În monte apofiolos docuite de mõce uero dele pinas, predicato pelob. Habes in netangelio & ui-as pinas, per quas incedere ci fimplicibus iunar. Habes & mõtes excellos, quote altitudinem fi adi re neguiueri, mirari proderit, Medicamenta qui bunt tamen ețeteuante languore. Îtra diuma uer-ba fi leganf, etti non intellecta uim habent ad ant ammunate attects morbos non curabis, oc a peri culls plitionis non eruer? Ergo quotisa aliquo fes culluu? turbine agitaris, gicise carnis pugnă [pl-nius paritur; de pedibus laquei damonum inui-darenduntur, ad euangelicas lectiones te conuer tedormientement în puppi faluatorem fitrepent-bus înter legendum uel orandă uoculise excitarifa fui fui posteate conuei conculise excitarifa stolahi niko inperanto un ter orandu docume excuanto indio inperante, omnis centationii affusa conci , & concupita redibie tranquillitas, Tunc etc-minima te lectio docebie in adueriis patienti, profperis modelită, in deum pietatem, în prost sechaticate praețabieța în dubiis confilium îm det, & cor iň

Fig. 10

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

rura prædicentium uox, cum ueritatis lux oritur, & quæ uentura erant eueniunt. Non eft ergo noftrarum uirium, fed opis diuinæ, ut quis legendo myfteria intelligat: quanto minus ut etiam fuper cæleftis contemplationis dulcedine mens in deum eleuata perfundatur. Hoc tamen illis frequentius conceditur, qui libros diuinos ita legunt, ut a fanctorum interpretatione non difcedant: a peruerfis fenfibus, qui cum ecclefia non concordant, penitus abhorrentes. Quære igitur in fancta lectione bonas margaritas, ut fcias quid lex præcipiat, quid nuntient prophetæ. Sed inuenta deinde pres tiofa margarita, quæ eft euägelium Chrifti, omi, bus alijs præferendum fcripturis, eam amplectere, cam exofculare, cam pro uiatico habe cum am

DE FIDE LIBER I. cor operis, hic beatus in facto fuo erit. Ideo qui dem & dins in euangelio. Beati inquit, qui audint Luce. In uerbum dei & cuftodiunt illud. Hanc itap beat rudinem opere magis 5 auditione confrare often dit, dum fubiungit: et cuftodiunt illud, Cuftodiüt MARCIMARVII
Initima cordis aure reconde, ucluid previofin un uentum in pixele, guo police opportenio fun an fueris, non petrofa, non ipinis conditiona, fuicepeit uchi (emi huberem tibi fractum facier. & licuit didiceris, nta & operari incipies, ac fecidum legis gree fludebis. Alioquin neglegree, nega audire proderit, fiab in qua precipium tur, most condi-tuus audicor & impiger inter de diferant, audia & auditor & impiger inter de diferant, audia & audite fermones meos, & facit cos, oftendă uo-bi cut limitis îte Similia et homani aditirantido furei dante aure fuera petram. Quanter aurem audire dina enime rat fupra petram. Quanter aurem facă, Marci a terram fine fundamice aurem facă, alifumă funci donui ili, & non potuit cam mouere, fune monfacăt, fimilis et homani aditiratu dum fune fune acertam fine fundamice, in quam illifum MARCIMARVLI dit, dum fubiungit:et cuftodiunt illud, Cuftodiūt, aute illud, qui bene beatequintendi rationë edo-feit, piccatis in quibus hachenus fuiffe ie recogno feiti, finem fratuunt, & ab his per pomienti a res filientes ad capellendas uitrutte difponunf, ma-gnamçi capiunt uoluptatem uel legendo diuina uel audiendolfin quo Maria ad pedes dili fedente diligeter oblerua, stataq perfufam fermonis eius dultedine, ut nulla fororis Marthæ interpellatios-ne inde mota fir. & qin toto corde calletis magi-fri ample chebrura difciplinam, optimam parté dictur leguiffe, quz non auferetur ab ea. Chrifti enim elegeras, incuius unius coremplatione tam Cursel dicitur elegriffe, quæ non auferetur ab ea. Chriftit enim elegerat, in cuius unius cöremplatione tam fuauter requiefebat, Quorus ait quifts eft, q fie in ecclefia facris pdicationh⁹ intereffe nietur, ut præcepta uitæ ablet operatione non elabi finat? alius nullo amoris affectu illa fufcipit, alius tam & fi donce audit aliquantulum cöpungitur, mox eamen inde difedens ad confuetas nequitita for-des reuertitur, tanto nequior factus, quareo inex-cufabilior. Talibus dicit difis.Quire do eft, uer-ta dei audit, propterea uos non auditis, gaex deo non facit, fimilis eft homini æditičati domum lu-am fupra terram fine fundaméto, in quam illuus eft fluuius, & continuo cecidit, & facta eft ruina domus illus magna. Sicur ergo infirmus et imbe ellus eft qui non facit opera, ica ad očim malignæ tentationis impetum conftans eft & ftabilis, qui affidue in bonis operibus exercetur. Quamobré factorei uerbi & non auditores fattum, fallentes lacobi.t factorei uerbi & non auditores tatum, fallentes ba dei audit, propterea uos non auditis, ga ex deo Da der autnit, propterea uos non audniss gae x ded non eftis. Non ergo omnes qui in auditorio funt, audiunt uerbum dei, fedi squi illud quod audit, opere perficere contendit, & hic quide x deo eft, illi uero non ex deo, fed potius ex diabolo funt: 9 diaboli obfinazionem duritiame; imitanturinee offinea autifizzationere duritiame penfi habét. Tactores urerbi & non auditores tatim, falientes uofimetiplos, qui a fiquis auditor eft uerbi & no factor, hiccomparabitur uiro confideranti uultu natiuitatis fuz in 'peculoxonfiderauic enim fe et abijt, & fatim oblitus eft qualis fuerit; qui auté perfexenti in lege perfecta libertaris, & perman fertir in ea, non auditor obliuiofus factus, fed fa. omino a uitis relipiícere quicquam peníi haber. Itidem tibi diuini prædicatores cu Iohanne apo

Fig. 12 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 88-89)

Fig. 11 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 83)

nam falutem nos erudiunt. Sed nec audire profecto multum prodeft, nisi audita memoriter retineantur: nec memoriter retinere, nili quod memo riæ mandatum eft, opere compleatur. Audis cafti tatis, patientiæ, mansuetudinis, charitatis præcepta:ne finas illa per incuriam effluere, sed corde co plexus foue, ut cum pfalmista dicere possis. In cor de meo abscondi eloquia tua domine, ut non pec- Pfal.118. cem tibi. Memento præterea de ipfa dei genitrice scriptum esse in euagelio: Maria autem conferuabat omia uerba hac in corde suo, ita & tu quicgd ab ecclesia fancta doctoribus pradicari audieris,

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

gilas, de mundo prius g de deo cogites. In quo qui dem imitadus eft nobis ille, qui ait: Quomodo di-Pfal. 118 lexilege tua domine, tota die meditatio mea e. Igi 10 sur quotidie tecum reuolue, quotidie mente rumi na, quæcung deo placent ut facias, quæcung dif. plicent ut deuites. Ac fi quando pigebit cuncta re petere, ad fumma illam in euangelio a domino fa Matth. 22 Ctam protinus recurre: Diliges(ingt)dominu dei tuli ex toto corde tuo, & ex tota anima tua, & ex tota mente tua, hoc eft maximu & primum man datum. Secundum autem fimile huic, Diliges pro ximum tuum ficut teipfum, In his duobus mandatis, inquit, universa lex pedet & ppheta, Omia quippe pcepta tam legis g euangelij, ad hunc ipm redigunt finem, ut deus et proximus diligat. Ita ta men proximum dilige, ut deum non offendas:ita deum ama, ut nihil magis, nihil æque amaffe ar-. Ioha. J. guaris, Et fi charitas dei hæc eft, ficut Iohanes apo ftolus testatur, ut madata eius custodiamus, men

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

qui ules mane foporem fuum continuare neguiuit, eo iam no interrupto ad meridie duret. Arcp iftos tam effœminato otio affidue torpêtes de im prouiso mors occupat. Nechem diu uiuere queñt qui multo fomno dediti marcent, tument uultus lurido colore infecti, putrescentiace uiscera repen te inuades ualetudo dissoluere festinat. Et quonia nulla his cura fuit fanctis actionibus inuigilare, quibus nixi in calum euolaret, peccatis pragrauati ad inferos descendut. Quod fibi ualde metuens propheta orabat, cu diceret: Respice & exaudi me dne deus me9, illumina oculos meos, ne un Pfal. 12. g obdormiam in morte, ne quado dicat inimicus meus, præualui aduerfus eu. Profecto nifi inimicus præualerer, id eft, nili periculum effet dormit

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

trepidabo. 10 um appropiant super me nocentes: vt edant carnes meas 🔘 ui tribulant me inimici mei: ipfi infir matifunt & ceciderunt. S i confistant aduerfum me castra: non timebit cor meum, e S i exurgat aduerfum me prelium: in hocego sperabo. 12 nampetii a domino hancrequira: vt inhabitem in domo domini, omnib? diebus vitæ mee. 1 tvideam voluntatem domini; & vifitem templum eius O uoniam abfcondit me in tabernacuto fuo in die malorum protexit me; in abscondito tabernaculi sui .

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

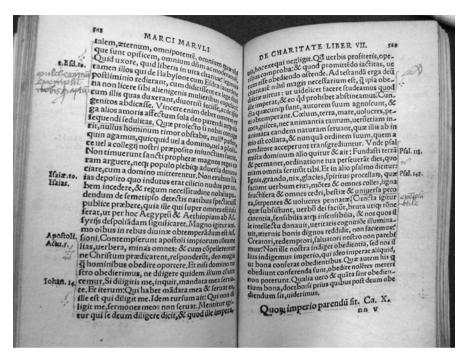


Fig. 17 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, pp. 568-69)

DE SPE LISER IL Ves MARCI MARVLI p. 35, nifi forte piurare, & dolos intendere, & alie nes apparent, adorationem dirigimus. Ideireo au tem elufmodi fimulaera publice proponi folent, p. 46, mit forte gelicere, et inter fe identide rixariae na inique compliceres et inter le identide rixariae apin contumella prorumpere las effe dizerimus, omirto op interdit nec manibus remperat, & ulop intera exdeson peruenit Outanes, & ulop ut quoties confpecta fuerint, ad memoria res ge-fras corum quibus dicata funt, reuocre.& ad imi-randum fidelium mentes accendant. Non alfuomitto of internet inamous temperati, & ulty ad uninet a cædes og peruenit. Quanto ergo leuius erimen ab his diuertere, & alicuitishoneltæaris laboribus die illû conterere, § per orium ad it ne. fanda flaggita couerti? Projecto minusoffendere Toreium, mes nome dhi dei rui in uanuine conténere uidea " re, quod præcipue oportet reuereri, Memèro ut diem fabbati fanctifices, Nos uero fabbati obfer fanda hägttni couerti rörecto minusottendere tis, nultu omnino dië feftu agere, ji hunc quë agi-tis tot utetore oblecenitatib⁹ profanare. Ceettus, fuic olim Iudæis repudijilbel⁹, ne in uxores quæ uationem ad diem dominicum tranflulimus, ne cum ludæis in Chim non-tredétibus utdeamur fentire, gui eum in fepulchro mortuum fabbaro diplicatifient, ueneno fautren, led potus uiuas dimitterer, Age iam permittat & uobis, utoe di es profefti fint, nullus feftus, ut potus manufulaquieuille fatentur quidem, led poftea uiuu refurquietulieratentur quioemiteo poirea unu retur-restile negaral. Largo be refurrections is reuerent-amico quo facta efi die ab operib⁰ uacamus,nec tri ra luperititiole, ur ludar labbaco. Na & men fas paramus, & calices abluinus, & mulca hurur modi agimus. Etem feruilla opera que urefarur, bore occuper animus, q nihil agendo male agere affirefcar, Nullus igif fit uobis dominicus dies, ne ipfum qui dominicus eft, in diabolicum conueroscibili ratis, dum eo roro rempore, quo ab openbus ua-cui eltis, no ra dño q diabolo feruitis. Iraq nunc quidem ad uos pertinere arbitror hoc quod dicif, andpeccara potifime, quibus deus offendirur intelligimus, a quibus certe tunc magis eft abfrinendir, cum divino cultui opera impêditur, Neqt alía ob rem lefto die ceffare debent manuñ exercitia, ni-Memero ut diem fabbati fanctifices: cum nequa fi ut quilqi exteris omnibus curis expeditus diui na tin tracter, templa uilitet, precationibus inti-haz, millalibus facrificijs interfit, pdicationes audum ianéfificetis cum, (ed polluais, Ve auté & ad uos pertineat, redite iam ad menté & intelligi ercideo felvis diebus a fecularibus negotis ferian, dum præcipi, ut exercentus in diutits, & nonus 8.45.53 has nonancoustant nei parte incerpene adocte suc-dias, & corum rempus illud in definado culturneg-expédat, Cum ergo dificis feriatises ab eccleria in lititutis diebus maxie a fectora biblionendin fit, cur uos infrenis ac petulas invierus turc focipue in ga neis erapulaminicin choreis la feitures in rors. & hauriendis luxuris uoluptatibusqi incibamus. Eshare iane peepa funt, qua ad dei duntaxat cul mi (pectant; seliqua uero circa charitată, quă pro atimis debernus uerfantur. Honora; inquit; pa-Quană. add i ludis diffiultistaleau telletatürşi lufionib? tipedi uino honori dedicată impie columitist'in quo ga delufu nec amifia pecunia: damnă fine infamaa Tictuum et marten tuam, ut fislongeuis fupe tutam, qua dins deus tuus dabit tib. Natura ipa nos puocat, gratis parètes n'os colere & amars, quanto magis hoc facere debenus, cum etiam. neclucig fine refuturionis debiro, nec ufus eft fine

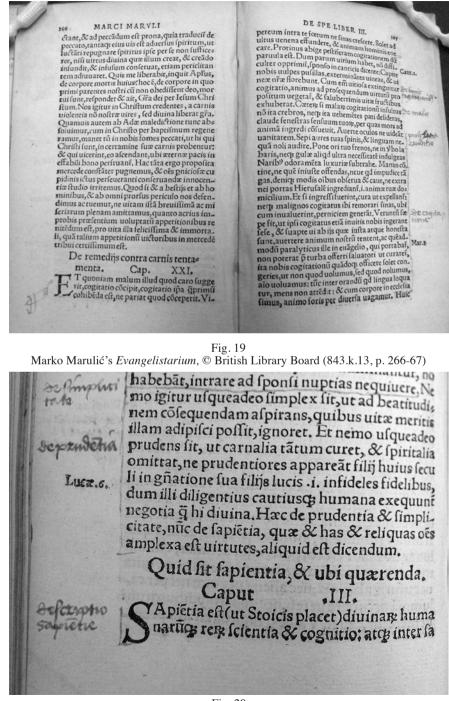


Fig. 20 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 218)

re tantum & non facere, qua facieda didiceris, ne que cauere qua caueda noueris? Mansuetudine, Jentchezma hberalitatem,clementiam,castitatem,constantis Amonito am,cæterasce uirtutes,nu noffe folum, uerum & exercere, earlics officio uti lapientia eft:nihil age re quod actu nolis, nihil omittere quod omifium negligentiæ poffit afcribitin omnibus fibijpfi co. ftare, nec leuem effe, fed graue, atch in is quæ recta et honefta funt, firmu ftabilemes permanere: non ira, non cupiditatibus, no turpi lasciuia moueri, sed affectus ratione moderari, & animi motibus præesse ut dnm, no subesse ut feruum. Vis ifta in fummam redigi: audi prophetam dicente: Quiescite agere peruerse, discite bnfacere, Ratios Isaia. 1. nale aial est homo, si natura sua non perverterit, fapientia exgret. Ingenita eft em ei ro, qua & bo nt expetat, & a malo declinet. Dabit itaqu opera ut disciplinis instruat, quæ natura sua psiciat, ne

Fig. 21

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

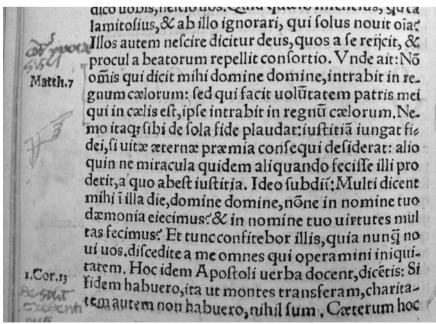


Fig. 22 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 10)

cepto castitatis. No furtum facias. Furti actio e Septimű. in eum, qui contrectat rem alienam inuito domi no.Igif contra hoc præceptum peregit, no folum qui aliquid furto sustulit, sed etiam qui per uim rapuit, uel per fraudem elicuit, uel casu inuétum restituere noluit. Non loqueris cotra proximu Octauum tuum falfum testimonium. Cum enim Chriftus dei filius ueritas fit, quicad aduerfus ueritate dicif, deum offendit. Non tamen omne medacium ita graue crimen eft, sed illud tm, gd aduersaf cha ritati,& cum alicuius detrimento perficif. Finge re autem & metiri quod nemini noceat, leuis eft culpa. Interdum ne culpa quidem, fed potius meritum, ut cum fingunt parabolæ fiue apologi ad præcepta uirtutis. Nemo quippe ignorat ea confi fta effe, non ut medacium dicar, fed ut ueritas di

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

DE CHARITATE LIBER VII. gerit, De ifto obedientiæ genere eft dictum: Meligerit, Dentio of uictimæ, & aufcultare magis 1.Reg.15. or chobedientia arietum. Et alibi; Sacrificium fo ^bofferre adipem arietum. Et alibi:Sacrificium faz-gofferre adipem arietum. Et alibi:Sacrificium fazgofferre autondere madatis, & discedere ab omni Intare eft, attendere madatis, & discedere ab omni iniquitate. Quoniam auté nihil mali est, quod lex iniquitator prohibeat, nects boni quod non impe-diuina non prohibeat, omnium prorfue abori diuna non cipiat, omnium prorfus abstinentia ulretuei promnium exercitatio uirtutum obedien riorunisa ut ne fidei quidem facramenta proderut nobis, nili iplam obedietiæ coluerimus uirtutem, p Vnde gentium apostolus Paulus: Circucifio, ingt, nihileft,& præputium nihil e, sed observatio maz datorum. Et Iacobus apostolus: Fides fi non habe Iacob.z. atopera, mortua est in semetipsa.

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

のたいにもの per Malachiam prophetam redarguit difs, dicer, Malach, r Quist fri unobleguit daudate of tha X, treachar al. rate medi gratuitor fir qui q einfermodi urito ka-barança deo reprobati fiunt, fequiti: Non eft mihi opaint in a truggiendo ond a revenue y or a duerrug jugit, in a truggiendo ond a revenue noie indix gruß. V nak discrit: Mercenarius fugit, guia merce. Johan, is gruitus eft, & non pertiner ad cum de ourbus, No no fufcipiă de manu ură. Pet Ezechielé vo etiam Ezech. cominatur cis dü ait: Væ paftoribus Ifrael, g pa-Ezech. Kebant femetipfos, none greges, a patteribuis pa accum forebant femetipfos, none greges, a patteribuinit & quad craftum crat occidebratis, grege aut meti mon patcebrais, grued infimmi fuit non confolida figs, & quad infimmi fuit non confolida femeti non alligatifs, & quad abiectif the for fe duratifs, fed ca autteritare imperibuis cis & cu potentia, et difperfæfunt oues mex, co ϕ nő ellet frautra exemplis, nec fana doc'trina monitis gre ge fibi creditri alere curar: Quo afir magis delocia luxuritach indulget, so grauius in inferno fupplipaltor. Quo pacto enim eft paltor, qui nec religio rum lucru, led pecuniæ quæritet, terrenamq, mer edem cæleftib9 præferat diuitijs. Taliñ auanria uoluntas in uobis dicit dns exercituri, & munus quia no pertrineat ad cum, fed quia fic agat, tand finihil eino ad eum pertineat, ququidem no aiapouers, orto dediti magis untrem fuum signe, um auß otto dediti magis untrem fuum signe, um dominicum palcere foliciti fuere. Malus ite eft facerdos grui undir fuum untrones, id eft, hm. enterna aliquem guerla doctrima fideli gregi in fidiante, & illius dolo alios rapi, alios diferegi 'ali comdari, for fil to bulu perfidire, fed aduerlus estature function do aduerlistica, fed aduerlus outre, afflictos cofolari, dubija cofulere, fed igna. DE FIDE LIBER L Professional and the second second and a localities of a deconstructure that we are device a second and and the second and the seco mingenter queues moneyers al untruction lie de physica financial de consister al untruction lie de anti de activation gliosy percentation en par-net de activation gliosy percentation en part, anti de activation gliosy percentation en part, anti des activations and activation de activation activation activation activation activation activa-tion activation activation activation activation figure operativation activation activation activa-figure operativation activation activation activation figure operativation activation activation activation activation activation figure operativation activation activation activation activation activation figure operativation activation activat thedras cuertit, & cũ principibus populi fui in cæ leftibus confidere prohibet, urpote quibus nõ cæ leftis boni adipilicendi, fed terretri a butendi cura tempa e fludium fuit. Nihil péfi habuterűt pdelfe tőmilifa íbb plebi, delinguentes corripere, bonos fanocenterdy uolent ujuere, fuo illuminet exem-Demalo facerdote. Ca. XXIII. MARCI MARVLI and Commun PGA. BF Derivation of the second of th miā: quia tu reddes vnicuig, tuxta opera V 2004 nas nolite concupifcere: diuitize fi afflu ant ipli de vanitate in idiplum ress S emel locutus est Deus duo hec auan deo falutate meum, & gloria mea: puli: effundite coram illo corda vestra 💟 etuntamen vani filii hominum: mē N olite fperare in iniquitate, & rapi = ant nolite cor apponere 2 22 deus auxilii mei & spes mea in Deo est. S perate in co ornnis congregatio podaces filii hominum in flateris vt decipidiui: quia potestas dei est tibi domine Deg adjutor noster in eternum.

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

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

ribus dicif, & de presbyteris dictu intelligas. Cui en im facramenta uita quis ministrat, eius & pas ftor effe debet, quantum officio fuo couenit, monendo, corripiendo, & quicquid comodis eius cui præficitur, falutice opportunti putabit, exequen. rdo. Epifcopi tra proprium eft & peculiare, publi-cos edere ad popular fermones, uitia reprehêdere, ad capeifendas exhortari uirtutes, tranfgreffores legis apostolica autoritate castigare, ad poeniten_ tiam conueríos recipere. Quibus in rebus fi defe-cerit, uel per ignorantia fi nefciat, uel per neglige tiam fi nolit, uel pufillanimitate fi metuat, de fide lia cœtu excludet, & canibus mutis per cotumeli am coparabitur. Cur em episcopuse, si docere ne fcit aut cur fcit fi no uult? aut quid uelle prodeft, fi non audet gd debet implere? Sed neq: prefbyter affumat curam animar, fi modo fe ad eam re ineptum nouerit. Male subit onus, quod imbecil læ uires ferre nequeunt. In eos ergo, qui doctoris ecclesiaftici fibi mun9 uendicat, & nequag docet, fiue ignoratione confusi, fiue negligetia corrupti, per Ifaiam exclamat dñs & ait : Speculatores ei9 Ifaiæ. 6 cæci omes nescierunt uniuersi, canes muti no ua-Vlentes latrare. Et iter: Ipfi paftores inquit, ignorauerunt intelligetiam, omnes in uiam fuam declinauerunt, unufquifq; ad auaritiam fuã a fums Sure Sutumo ulos ad nouiffimum. Perditos aut plebis mo res uulgice licentia illore qui pfunt incuriæ afcri-Ezech.3 bi, in Ezechiele ex uerbis dñi difcimus; Si dicente

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

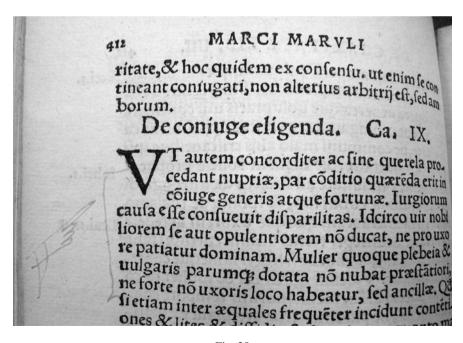


Fig. 28 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 412)

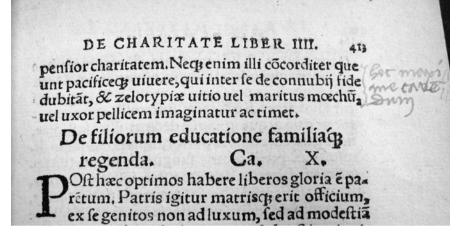


Fig. 29 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 413)

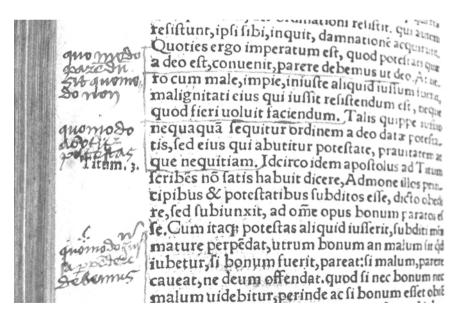


Fig. 30 Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, © British Library Board (843.k.13, p. 570)

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**).⁷

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.⁸ 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 Birckmann, 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.⁹

⁷ British Library, Royal MS 1 E iv, f. 159v.

⁸ See D. S t a r k e y, S. D o r a n, A. C l a r k e, *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.

⁹ Charles B é n é, »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).¹⁰ 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«.¹¹ 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*)¹² 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 among 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.¹³

¹⁰ British Library, 843.k.13, title page.

 $^{^{11}}$ »The preface of the great Athanasius in the Psalms of David«, British Library, Royal MS 17 C xii, f. 4.

¹² Ev I, 442.

¹³ Edward S u r t z, S. J., and Virginia M u r p h y, *The Divorce Tracts of Henry VIII* (Angers, Moreana, 1988) p. 225. English translation from T. C r a n m e r, *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.¹⁴ 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*),¹⁵ 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 devina* [sic] *legere debemus*) (**Fig. 11**).

Henry was equally interested in the next chapter entitled »Listening Carefully to the Word of God« (*De auditionis cura*).¹⁶ 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**).¹⁷ 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**).¹⁸ 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

¹⁴ British Library, Harley MS 1338, f. 70v.

¹⁵ Ev I, 497.

¹⁶ Ev I, 502.

¹⁷ Ev I, 503.

¹⁸ 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*)¹⁹ 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*)²⁰ 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.²¹ 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*)²² 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*)²³ and was much assured by a reference (in Marulić's chapter »Whose authority must be obeyed« – *Quorum imperio parendum sit*)²⁴ 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

¹⁹ Ev II, 675.

²⁰ Ev I, 521.

²¹ 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 4⁰ Rawlinson 245.

²² Ev I, 670.

²³ Ev I, 430.

²⁴ 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*)²⁵ 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.²⁶ (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*)²⁷ or »The Offices of a Husband and Wife« (*De viri uxorisque officio*),²⁸ he was certainly interested in the chapter »On choosing a wife« (*De coniuge eligenda*)²⁹ 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

²⁹ Ev II, 529.

²⁵ Ev I, 493.

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

²⁷ Ev II. 522.

²⁸ Ev II, 524.

suspicion is removed, will be more tranquil and better disposed towards mutual love.³⁰ (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*).³¹ 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.³² 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.

³⁰ The Marulić Reader, edited by Bratislav Lučin, Književni krug, Split, 2007, p.79.

³¹ Ev II, 678.

³² Cf. C a r l e y, op. cit. (5), 67-87

Andrea Clarke

HENRIK VIII. I MARULIĆEV EVANĐELISTAR

Britanska knjižnica posjeduje primjerak Marulićeva *Evanđelistara* iz 1529. koji je bio osobno vlasništvo engleskoga kralja Henrika VIII. Uz Henrikov osobni psaltir, Marulićev *Evanđelistar* 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 *Evanđelistar* nabavljen i čitan upravo u tom kontekstu pruža svečani primjerak djela *Gravissimae academiarum 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 *Evanđelistara* (1,8: *De lege et euangelio*) o važnosti i trajnoj valjanosti moralnih propisa sadržanih u Starom zavjetu. U Henrikovu osobnom primjerku *Evanđelistara* 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 *Evanđelistaru*. 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, *Evanđelistar*, Henrik VIII, kraljevska knjižnica, Katarina Aragonska, Anne Boleyn, rukopisi, marginalije, *maniculae*, teologija, Biblija.