

THE ILLUSTRATED *BIBLIA CUM COMENTO*
FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE FATHER
OF CROATIAN LITERATURE,
WITH SAMPLES OF HIS MARGINALIA

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Dedicated to Karlo Grenc of Split

The paper offers an introduction to Marcus Marulus and his Latin Bible from his library – in the cultural-historical context of contemporary libraries. Marulus always remained a man of books and was very much part of the European »book culture« of the Renaissance and of the *Devotio Moderna*. The books of his library reveal part of his soul. The paper is guided by the question: What do we know about Marulus' library; especially about the Bibles and the books on theology broadly defined which Marulus himself classified as books of »church writers« (*Ecclesiastici*)? One may call them books of »theology for piety« (*Frömmigkeitstheologie*). Of equal interest is what Marulus library did not contain.

The second part of the paper focuses primarily on the four volumes of his *Biblia Latina* of 1489. Thirty pages show illustrations, mostly in the three Old Testament volumes. The paper concentrates on his marginalia in the form of his drawings of Eucharistic symbols, »crosses on socles«, »little hands« (*maniculae*), and his characteristic christogram which stands for »Christ« and the Christological interpretation of the Old Testament. It consists of two Greek letters, the first of which is an X (*chi*) and the last a ς (*sigma*) of the Greek word Χριστός. In Marulus' handwriting the *sigma* at the end of the Greek word *Christos* resembles the Latin capital letter 'C'. Therefore, the marginal note looks like $\tilde{X}C$ with one curly horizontal line over both letters.

Key Words: Hermeneutics, Libraries in the Renaissance, *Biblia Latina*, Greek, Hebrew, Nicholas of Lyra, Tyconius, Bible Commentaries, Bible Illustrations, Marginalia, Eucharistic Symbols, *Maniculae*, Drawings of a Cross, Christogram.

The »Father of Croatian Literature', Marcus Marulus, is convinced that »God is the author« of the Scriptures.¹ To him the Word of God is the »sword of the

¹ *Veteris Nouique instrumenti quorum Deus est autor*. Ev I, Praefatio.

Spirit«, as in his *Dialogue about Hercules* he lets the Theologian say this by quoting Ephesians 6,17.² Marulus copied in full length the saying of 2 Peter 1,20 under the keyword »interpreter« (*Interpres*): »There is no prophecy of Scripture that is a matter of personal interpretation, for no prophecy ever came through human will; but rather human beings inspired by the Holy Spirit spoke of the holy God.«³ At the end of his *Dauidias* he proclaims that the Holy Spirit »with divine light did illuminate our mind« with »what is vouched for by the ancient books, the Scriptures of our faith.«⁴ Marulus feels indirectly inspired by the Holy Spirit who speaks through the »Scriptures of our faith«. We therefore do well in keeping his overall religious and theological conviction about the Bible as inspired Scripture in mind.

1. Entering the World of Marulus: The Cultural-Historical Background, Libraries in the Renaissance⁵

The Renaissance man Marcus Marulus always remained a man of books and was very much part of the European phenomenon we call *civilisation du livre*⁶ or »book culture«⁷ of the Renaissance humanists and of the Modern Devout or New Devotionalists of the *Devotio Moderna*.⁸ In forming his private library Marulus pursued an activity typical of humanists⁹ who in the fourteenth century started

² *Gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei*; LMD I, 123.

³ Rep II, 80.

⁴ *Sed sacer... spiritus... / impleuit nostrum diuino lumine mentem / ... quae nostra fides scriptis testata uetustis / hausit* (Dav 14, 18-19; 22-23), *The Marulić Reader*, ed. Bratislav Lučin, Split, Marulianum, 2007, 204.

⁵ Parts of this study were presented at the *Marko Marulić Days 2009* in Split, Croatia. I am grateful to Vladimir Bubrin and Bratislav Lučin for helpful hints in finalizing my presentation for publication. The *Marulianum* in Split kindly provided a DVD, produced by Branko Jozić, with the more than 2000 pages of the four volumes of Marulus' desk copy of the *Biblia Latina*, which is extant in the library of the Observant Franciscan friars in Split. The four volumes were on display during the *Marko Marulić Days 2009*.

⁶ *Les croates et la civilisation du livre*, eds. Henrik Heger and Janine Matillon, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1986.

⁷ See Thomas K o c k, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio Moderna. Handschriftenproduktion, Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 2002, first edition 1999.

⁸ On the Modern Devotion and the Brethren of the Common Life, see Ross F u l l e r, *The Brotherhood of the Common Life and Its Influence*, Albany, SUNY Press, 1995; John V a n E n g e n, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. On Marulus' connections to the movement, see Franjo Š a n j e k, »Marulić and the Spiritual Movements of Humanism and the Reform«, in »Dossier: Marko Marulić«, *Most / The Bridge. A Journal of Croatian Literature*, 1-4 (1999), 133-136.

⁹ See *Les humanistes et leur bibliothèque: actes du colloque international, Bruxelles 26-28 août 1999*, édité par Rudolf De Smet = *Humanists and their libraries: proceedings*

with collecting works of Greek and Roman literature. The passion for the ancient world increased with each new discovery of a lost or forgotten work of classical antiquity. Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) is the early great representative of this development.

Johannes de Ragusa OP (of Dubrovnik, Ivan Stojković, ca. 1390-1443) collected Greek manuscripts which he bequeathed to the Dominican library in Basel at the end of the Council of Basel (1431-1437) that he had attended. A friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466/67-1536) composed the manuscript catalogue of Stojković's collection which is extant.¹⁰ The Greek New Testament manuscripts were later studied by Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) and by Erasmus of Rotterdam.¹¹ A more detailed comparison of Marulus' and Erasmus' and others' libraries would be of great interest, but would go beyond the scope of this presentation. Erasmus' own library mirrors a preference for Greek authors, often in Latin translation,¹² but not for Hebrew books. The same inclinations (and neglect) are apparent in Marulus' book list as he, too, shows this preference for Greek books in Latin translations with little or no apparent interest in Hebrew books, something for which their contemporary, Johann Reuchlin, is famous. This much seems clear: around 1519/1520 Marulus read some of Erasmus' writings,¹³ but they are not listed in his inventory. It appears that he did not work with the Greek-Latin edition of the New Testament which Erasmus made available from Froben in Basel since 1516.¹⁴ Marulus also did not possess any of Reuchlin's publications.

The works of Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus (de Cusa, from Kues in Germany, 1401-1464) were available at the Venetian book market.¹⁵ However, Marulus did not possess any of his books nor of the Greek scholar and bishop Bessarion of Nicea (1403-1472), a cardinal since 1440, who promoted the collection and translation of Greek classical and patristic literature. His extensive collection was given

of the International conference: Brussels 26-28 August 1999, edited by Rudolf De Smet, Louvain and Sterling VA, Peeters, 2002.

¹⁰ See Martin S i c h e r l, »Zwei Briefe Johannes Cunos an den Bischof von Basel, Christoph von Utenheim«, *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 77 (1977), 45-55, here 45-46; Bratislav L u č i n, »Erasmus and the Croats in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries«, *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 24 (2004), 89-114, here 97-98.

¹¹ See Erika R u m m e l, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian*, Toronto etc, University of Toronto Press, 1986, 36-37.

¹² See Fritz H u s n e r, »Die Bibliothek des Erasmus«, in *Gedenkschrift zum 400 Todestag des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Basel, Verlag Braus-Riggenbach, 1936, 228-259.

¹³ See L u č i n, »Erasmus and the Croats«, 100.

¹⁴ *Novum instrumentum cum annotationibus* (1516); *Novum Testamentum omne, multo quam antehac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum* (1519); *Novum Testamentum cum annotationibus* (1522).

¹⁵ *Opuscula theologica et mathematica. ...; Opera*, Venice: Johannes & Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 1497-1499.

to the Republic of Venice for St. Mark's library (Biblioteca Marciana).¹⁶ Venice received yet another collection of great books from another cardinal, Dominic Grimanus (Domenico Grimani, 1461-1523). His library became very famous as it contained Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and Armenian books.¹⁷ Marulus dedicated his *Davidias* to Cardinal Grimanus (but it was not published).¹⁸ The library was huge. According to estimates, it comprised about 15,000 titles.¹⁹ Erasmus visited this cardinal's library when it was still in Rome in 1509.²⁰ It appears that Marulus did not have the opportunity to visit it, not even after it was relocated to Venice.

These hints at some Renaissance libraries of Marulus' time may suffice for the purpose of illuminating at least in part the cultural, intellectual and spiritual-theological context of Marulus' own library which is revealing not only in what it contained, but also in what it did not. And, it was small compared to the libraries of the above mentioned book-lovers. Nevertheless, his library allows us to form an understanding of what a Renaissance man and lay theologian in Split was interested in at that time.

1. 1. Marulus' Library²¹

The edited version of Marulus' testament (representing the state of his library in 1521-24) provides ten groups of books which are headed by classifications in capital letters as follows: *ECCLESIASTICI* (42 titles); *POETAE* (15 titles, one of which – with his marginalia – is extant in the library of the Theological Faculty in Split);²² *HISTORICI* (22 titles); *GEOGRAPHI* (2 titles); *GRAMATICI* (13 titles);

¹⁶ See Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories*, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979.

¹⁷ See Theobald Freudenberger, »Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Domenico Grimani«, *Historisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1936), 15-45, here 21; Giuliano Tamani, »La Bibliothèque Hébraïque du Cardinal Domenico Grimani«, in *Actes du XXIXe Congrès international des orientalistes. Études hébraïque*, ed. Georges Vajda, Paris, 1975, 10-45; Aubrey Diller, Leendert G. Westerkamp, and Henry D. Saffrey, *Bibliotheca graeca manuscripta cardinalis Dominici Grimani (1461-1523)*, Venice, Edizioni della Laguna, 2003.

¹⁸ See M. Marcovich, *M. Marvli Delmatae Davidias*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2006, 5-6 (Dedication). The *Davidias* was never published during Marulus' lifetime, perhaps – according to Marković – because of the intervention of the one to whom the work was dedicated. Marcovich in his Preface, p. vii, surmises that Grimanus saw in Marulus' opus »heretical typology« at work.

¹⁹ According to Marino Sanuto's diaries, as mentioned by Freudenberger, *op. cit.*, 18.

²⁰ See Freudenberger, *op. cit.*, 19.

²¹ According to his testament *Nobilis domini Marci Maruli testamentum* in CM XIV (2005), 28-46; hereafter quoted as MT. We focus here on Marulus' own inventory list.

²² This extant volume is the one that is listed as *Liber poetarum ecclesiasticorum et Sedulij simul*, which Marulus bequeathed to Dominus Hieronymus de Papalibus; MT 64.

COMENTO (4 titles); *EPISTOLAE* (6 titles); *DE RE RUSTICA* (4 titles); *ASTRONOMI* (3 titles); *PHILOSOPHI et oratores* (32 titles),²³ including a work of Cicero which is preserved today in the library of the Observant Franciscans in Split.²⁴

Marulus' testament is somewhat confusing because under the subheading *Libri zentiliu[m]* [sic; i. e. »Books of Gentiles«] he seems to have lumped together the other nine groups. The problem with the division of »church books« versus »pagan books« is that we find at the end of the group of the *POETAE* two books that are definitely not authored by »gentiles«.²⁵ Furthermore, it would be odd to have to assume that Marulus understood the philologist and Scripture scholar Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) as a heathen author when he listed his two titles under the heading of *GRAMATICI: Laure[n]tij Vallensis Ellegantię* and *Compe[n]dium Elegantiaru[m] Valle*. And, one may have doubts also whether the heading *Libri zentilium* was meant to be extended to *Franciscus Barbarus De re vxoria*, i. e., to the book »concerning wives« of the Venetian senator Francesco Barbaro (ca. 1398-1454) and to *Pogij Facetię*, i. e., to the stories of Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459). Finally, it wouldn't make much sense to consider *Guarinus Veronensis* (1374-1460) a pagan author (he is listed with the note *quedam op[er]a* under Marulus' final group of »philosophers and orators«). Perhaps the classification *Libri zentiliu[m]* was meant only for the ancient, non-Christian »poets« (the second of Marulus' groups) and it was only by accident or by mistake that the last two titles slipped into this group. Or, could it be that Marulus understood by »zentiles« everybody who wrote on secular, i. e. non-theological matters?

It remains an unsolved mystery what Marulus meant with the heading of *Libri zentiliu[m]* and what he wished to comprise with it.²⁶ Be that as it may, Marulus was part of the Italian revival of classical literature that was celebrated by the humanists, and he simultaneously was a collector and reader of books of »church writers«, or »church books« (*Ecclesiastici*), which he listed as the first and as the

It was discovered by Mladen Parlov. On Marulus' copy, see Mladen Parlov, »Još jedna knjiga iz Maruliće biblioteke«, CM IX (2000) 305-313.

²³ See MT 40-46; Bratislav Lučin, »*Studia humanitatis* u Marulićevoj knjižnici«, CM VI (1997) 170-201.

²⁴ *Marci Tullii Ciceronis oratoris clarissimi rhetoricorum ueterum libri duo; Rhetoricae novae ad Herennium libri quatuor*, Venice, Ioannes de Forliuio and Iacobus Britannicus Brixianus, 1483.

²⁵ The *Libellus Jacobi Boni Epidauri De raptu Cerberi* is a reference to the known Iacobus Bonus (Jakov Bunić, 1469-1534) who wrote the first epic in Croatian literature, *De raptu Cerberi* (Rome: 1490-1500). The listing of *Mathei Andronici Trag[uriensis] Epitalami[um]* is a reference to Andronicus who is the author of *Epitalamium in nuptias Vladislai Pannoniarum ac Bohemiae regis et annae Candaliae reginae*, Venice: Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus, 1502.

²⁶ See MT 40

largest of his ten groups. Since Marulus also lived in an age of Christian Hebrew and Greek scholarship, one is led to the following question which is important for understanding Marulus and his interest in the Sacred Scriptures:

1. 1. 1. Anything in Greek and Hebrew?

Marulus lived at a time when other humanists undertook a reappraisal of the *Hebraica veritas*.²⁷ We do not know whether Marulus had the opportunity to learn Hebrew. At his time, a Jewish community and a synagogue existed in Split.²⁸ One may assume that if Marulus were interested, he could have found a teacher of Hebrew in Split.

Marulus was not studying the linguistic and exegetical side of theological issues and what contemporary »Biblical Humanists« called the search for the »Hebrew Truth« and the »Greek Truth« of the Scriptures. He was not the classical tri-lingual scholar whose expertise would have to include Hebrew and Greek. If he were interested in those aspects of learning, he surely would have purchased Erasmus' Greek New Testament (1516 et al) or a book like Johann Reuchlin's explanation of the Seven Penitential Psalms, *In septem psalmos poenitentiales*,²⁹ a booklet, printed in 1512 at Tübingen, of 100 printed pages with an attachment of the seven psalms in Hebrew with a literal, word for word, Latin translation directly from the Hebrew, with the explicit purpose of publishing it for those wanting to learn Hebrew and go back to the Hebrew original of biblical texts.

Marulus apparently was not interested either in the fresh translation of the entire Psalter from Hebrew into Latin, *Psalterium ex Hebreo*,³⁰ which was available since 1515 from the Venetian book market, and which the Augustinian friar, Felix de Prato (Fra Felice, c. 1460-1559) published through the printing press of Peter Liechtenstein in Venice. This was an edition approved by Pope Leo X,³¹

²⁷ See Allison P. C o u d e r t and Jeffrey S. S h o u l s o n, eds, *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

²⁸ See Duško K e č k e m e t, *The Place of Jews in the History of the City of Split: Condensed English Version* by Živko Vekarić (third edition, Lipanj, 2000), 6-8. I use the copy of the *Karlo Grenc Foundation* in Split.

²⁹ Full title: *In septem psalmos poenitentiales hebraicos interpretatio de uerbo ad uerbum, & super eisdem commentarioli sui, ad discendum linguam hebraicam ex rudimentis*. I used the microfiche edition of the *Thrivent Reformation Research Program* of Luther Seminary Library in Saint Paul, MN.

³⁰ Full title: *Psalterium ex Hebreo diligentissime ad uerbum fere tralatam: fratre Felice ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini interprete per summum pontificem Leonem Decimum approbatum*, Venice, Liechtenstein, 1515.

³¹ On Felix, see Franz P o s s e t, »Rock and Recognition«, in *Ad fontes Lutheri: Toward the Recovery of the Real Luther: Essays in Honor of Kenneth Hagen's Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. Timothy M a s c h k e, Franz P o s s e t, and Joan S k o c i r, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 2001, 214-252, here 237.

reprinted in Marulus' lifetime in Venice in 1519. In it Marulus could have found support for his own way of typological Scripture interpretation since Friar Felix frequently pointed out how David's words signify the mystery of Christ, as they express in particular Christ's passion (as in Psalm 22, for example). Marulus evidently also did not consult the *Biblia Hebraica* which Felix de Prato edited in Venice through the Bomberg press in 1517.

We know that Marulus learned a bit of Greek in school, as he went to the humanist school (not clerical or monastic) in Split. A man by the name of Hieronymus Genesius (Ienesius) Picentius taught Greek and he was active in Split 1473-1477.³² Marulus, however, did not refine his knowledge of Greek in later years, as is implied by the minimal use of Greek letters in his works. He sporadically wrote words in Greek into the margins of his *Biblia Latina*³³ and his *Repertorium* does contain Greek letters and words,³⁴ but also Greek terms in transliteration.³⁵ Greek texts, however, which he had at hand in the bi-lingual sections of his copy of *Poetae Christiani veteres*, are left untouched, as there are no marginalia found with them, not even for the Latin translations on facing pages.³⁶

From the sources available to us one must conclude that books written in Greek or Hebrew were not part of Marulus' library and not of interest to him. If one defines »Biblical Humanists« as scholars concerned with the study of the original biblical languages, one must admit that Marulus was not one of them. Nevertheless, one needs to remember in this connection that Marulus was very much a searcher for the »Gospel Truth« (*evangelica veritas*), for which his *Euangelistarium* is known. Its editor in Basel, Franciscan Friar Sebastian Münster (1488-1552), later a Lutheran, sang its praises.³⁷ In this search Marulus resembles the early Reformers in Germany who just like he were concerned with the reform of pastoral care, at least in the early years of the Reformation. Yet, one notices that Marulus did not possess any of their works. In his library nothing can be found of Johann von Staupitz (ca. 1465-1524), Martin Luther (1483-1546), or Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560).

³² *Sub Colla Firmiano, Tydeo Acciarino et Hieronymo Ienesio Picentino, a quo etiam Graeca elementa accepit, eius aetatis uiris eruditissimis, in Latinis litteris adeo profecit (...)* Franciscus N a t a l i s (Frane Božićević), *Vita Marci Maruli Spalatensis per Franciscum Natalem conciuem suum composita*; Frane Božićević, *Život Marka Marulića Splitsanina*, ed. Bratislav Lučin, Split, Marulianum, 2007, 30-31. For dates of Genesio's activity in Split cf. Giuseppe Praga, »I maestri a Spalato nel Quattrocento«, *Annuario del R. Istituto tecnico Francesco Rismondo*, Zara, 1933-XI, 3-18.

³³ See below with Fig. 8.

³⁴ For example, *APOCALIP[SIS]: Ego su[m] α et ω*; Rep I, 282 (in the section on Paul's Letter to the Romans; *τυπικως* [sic] *figural[ite]r*; Rep II, 111 (in the section on Jerome).

³⁵ For example: *Nom[en] te[m]p[er]antię Gręcu[m] sophrosine...*; Rep III, 306 (in the section on Plato).

³⁶ See folios 148-221.

³⁷ See Charles B é n é, »Marulić and Europe«, Dossier 147.

1. 1. 2. Marulus' Books of »Church Writers«

The first category of Marulus' books, the »church writers«, may provide a better understanding of what the pious poet and lay theologian of Split was interested in. It comprises two Latin Bibles and titles that are related to the Bible, to pastoral care, spirituality, and Christian poetry. Notably, Marulus' *ECCLESIASTICI* includes the second volume of *Poetae Christiani veteres* (Venice 1502).³⁸ However, surprisingly, his list also shows the title of the first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus on the history of the Jews, based upon the Bible and other Jewish writings, *De antiquitatibus Judeorum*³⁹ (*Antiquities of the Jews*). One would expect it under the classification *Historici*. Marulus understood it apparently as a book of a »church writer«, most likely because he used it to excerpt stories for his Christian spiritual and moral pedagogical purposes,⁴⁰ not for writing history. One may see the books of that group in terms of the contemporaneous »theology for piety«, to use a translation of the awkward German expression *Frömmigkeitstheologie*.⁴¹ Somewhat surprising, too, is the fact that Marulus was the owner of a priest's prayer book, the breviary. Should one assume that the pious man used it daily? Or, did it just collect dust on his bookshelf? Was his breviary identical with the *Brevijar hrvatski* (Croatian Breviary) that is known to have been printed by a Venetian printer in 1493?⁴² Since it is lost we cannot know the answer to this question.

2. Sample Pages from the Four Volumes of the *Biblia Latina*

His two Bibles are listed at the beginning of his *ECCLESIASTICI*. Only the first with its four volumes (i.e. with commentaries) is extant. A modern handwritten note at the beginning of the first volume says that it is the *Biblia (cum postill.)*

³⁸ The title of Volume 2, *Sedulius, Juue[n]cus Arator poetę* (given in Marulus' book list, MT 38), is deceiving because this volume contains many more poems and other texts including biographies beyond the three authors mentioned in the title. Samples of this poetry in English translation (for example of Iuvencus, Cyprian, and Sedulius) are available in Carolinne White, *Early Christian Latin Poets*, London and New York, Routledge, 2000.

³⁹ MT 38.

⁴⁰ See the chapter V.19 of *Euanglistarium*, »Avarice is the cause of many evils« in *The Marulic Reader*, 82-83, with the reference to Josephus.

⁴¹ Coined by Berndt Hamann, for his study of the late-medieval theology of Johannes von Paltz (died 1511), a contemporary of Marulus: *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu Johannes von Paltz und seinem Umkreis*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1982. This German term is not generally accepted.

⁴² See Branko Franolić, *A Historical Outline of Literary Croatian*, Zagreb and London, Erasmus Publisher Ltd, 2008, Fig. 19 (with a woodcut on the title page showing Saint Jerome with the lion in his study).

[*Venetis, Bonetus Locatellus pro Octaviano Scoto, 1489*].⁴³ Marulus bequeathed it to the Observant Franciscan *Conventus Paludis* in Split. He listed it as *Biblia cum Nicolao de Lyra*.⁴⁴ The first extant page of this Bible (**Fig. 1**) starts with the incomplete sentence from the Song of Songs: ... *sum sed formosa filie hierusalem sicut tabernacula cedar: sicut...* The left margin shows Marulus' marks in brown ink, i.e. his Roman numerals III to VI, which indicates that the previous page(s) must have displayed the numerals I and II. They refer to the biblical hermeneutics of Tyconius (died ca. 400)⁴⁵ and his book on the Seven Rules or Seven Keys of Scripture Interpretation which is summarized here by Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1270-1349) in his *Prologue* to the Latin Bible which Marulus was numbering in the margins.

The sacred text is printed in larger print in a central text »box« (or »window«). The first three volumes comprise the Old Testament with a total of more than 1640 pages. The New Testament is found in the fourth volume which takes up more than 530 pages. The fourth volume also includes at the end the treatise of Nicholas of Lyra *On the True Messiah*,⁴⁶ on less than ten pages. There are two pages of Index (*Registrum*) with five columns per page. Thus, Marulus' edition of the *Biblia Latina* comprises more than 2000 densely printed pages.

The layout of a typical page of Marulus' Bible looks like this: A »box« at the center, usually at the upper half of a page, contains the biblical text in large print in two columns (**Figs. 2 & 3**). Together with the biblical text appear the *Prologus* and the *Argumentum* which are treated, in terms of layout, as if they were the sacred texts themselves (since they appear within the »box«). The *Prologues* are specific letters of the Church Father Jerome.

The comparison of a page from two different copies of the same print (here, of the Book of Isaiah, f. 31) demonstrates that Marulus' study-edition is perhaps the least expensive print that was available (compare **Figs. 2 & 3**). Marulus' copy of the *Biblia Latina* has no rubrications (**Fig. 2**).⁴⁷ A more luxurious copy has the

⁴³ Locatellus (Lucatellus, Boneto Locatelli) was a priest from Bergamo, active as a printer from ca. 1485 to ca. 1510. He was one of the most prolific printers in Venice. Early in his career he established a close working relationship with Octavianus Scotus and his output came to be almost entirely for Scotus or his heirs. They also financed the printing of numerous scholarly works of theology, philosophy and medicine, around 120 editions before 1500 alone. See www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/iss/library/speccoll/.../evenprint.html (accessed January 2010).

⁴⁴ MT, 64. This friary also received Marulus' *Compendium Biblie volumen* and *Homilie Origenis*.

⁴⁵ See William S. B a b c o c k, ed., *The Book of Rules of Tyconius*, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1989.

⁴⁶ On Lyra's booklet, see Deena Copeland K l e p p e r, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, 82-108.

⁴⁷ Except for the Appendix in Volume Four of his *Biblia*, i.e., Lyra's treatise (booklet) *On the True Messiah*. Unfortunately, there is no full *Biblia Latina* generally accessible in order to make further comparisons.

rubrications for capital letters which are properly executed in red and in blue, signaling the beginning of a new chapter (**Fig. 3**).⁴⁸ Rubricator's handwork was very costly. Early printers often left small square spaces in printed texts for their customer to hire artists to provide decorative initials. This is the case with Locatellus and the print of 1489. Furthermore, a de luxe edition included the illustrations in color.⁴⁹

The biblical text »box« is surrounded by the apparatus of comments in a smaller print, occasionally with an illustration. The scholarly apparatus customarily consists of four parts:

(a) There are *Expositions* which are always those of the Franciscan Friar William Brito (ca. 1230-1300) and which concern Saint Jerome's *Prologues*. Brito's identity is revealed only at the end of the Old Testament volumes.⁵⁰ His *Expositions* stem from about 1270.⁵¹

(b) The *Postils* are always those of Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1270-1349), who is a *Hieronymus redivivus* and who, like Brito, is a medieval French Franciscan friar. *Postil* or *Postilla* is a 'commentary'. Its name is explained either as the abbreviation of the Latin expression *post illa [verba textus]*, i.e. what comes »after the words [of the Bible]« in the form of comments, or as the diminutive form of *postea* (= 'marginal note' in medieval Latin).⁵² These are continuous comments on the Bible that Lyra provided by drawing much of his insights from the medieval Jewish exegete Rashi (Solomon Gallus, 1040-1105).⁵³ One may date his *Postils* between 1320 and 1330, i.e. more than half a century after Brito's *Expositions* and more than two hundred years after Rashi's commentaries. Lyra's contribution to biblical scholarship cannot be exaggerated. He functioned like »a vacuum cleaner that sucked up the wealth of medieval biblical learning«. Lyra is a »goldmine«.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ As shown on the website: <http://intellectadesign2.blogspot.com/2008/03/festival-de-livros-religiosos-raros.html> (accessed October 2009). It is not a complete *Biblia*.

⁴⁹ The hand-colored woodcut of f. 19 (beginning of the book of Genesis with the story of creation and the historiated initial I) is exhibited on e-bay, accessed August 8, 2009.

⁵⁰ *Explicit postilla fratris Nicolai de lyra super vetus testamentum cum expositionibus Britonis in prologos Hieronymi*; Volume Three, f. 242.

⁵¹ See Lloyd W. D a l y, »Guillelmus Brito and His Works«, *The Library Chronicle* 32 (1966), 1-17, here 4-7.

⁵² See Karl B i h l m e y e r and Hermann T ü c h l e, *Kirchengeschichte*, Paderborn, Schöningh, 1960, vol. 2, 419 (Chapter 145).

⁵³ See Herman H a i l p e r i n, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, Pittsburg, University of Pittsburg Press, 1963; Wolfgang B u n t e, *Rabbinische Traditionen bei Nikolaus von Lyra. Ein Beitrag zur Schriftauslegung des Spätmittelalters*, Frankfurt etc, Peter Lang, 1994.

⁵⁴ Kenneth H a g e n, »A Ride on the *Quadriga* with Luther«, *Luther-Bulletin* 13 (2004), 5-24.

⁵⁵ Lesly S m i t h, »Nicholas of Lyra and Old Testament Interpretation«, in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: the history of its interpretation*, ed. Magne Sæbø, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2008, 49-63, here 62.

He is the »key factor« in the history of Bible interpretation; his return to the theological supremacy of the Scriptures and specifically to the literal sense is the fundamental mark of a theology that is returning to the sources. The literal sense does not allow subjective interpretations of a commentator.⁵⁶ Yet, Lyra's *Postils* did not go unchallenged. About one hundred years later (ca. 1430) they triggered criticism from a Spanish bishop:

(c) Critical notes against Lyra's commentaries are expressed in the *Additions* of Bishop Paul of Burgos (ca. 1350-1435) who wrote ca. 1430.⁵⁷ Those *Additions* vary in number, sometimes there are up to ten on a given chapter. There is clear evidence that Marulus made use of both Lyra's comments and Burgos' additional notes. In his book *On the Humility and Glory of Christ*, concerning the feast of Passover, Marulus agrees with »the opinion of [the bishop of] Burgos« (*Burgensis sententia*) which is expressed in Burgos' *Additions* to the commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra on the Bible.⁵⁸

(d) The scholarly apparatus usually includes the sharp, defensive replies that are called *Responses*. They are always those of the Saxon Franciscan Matthias Doring (ca. 1400-1469),⁵⁹ who wanted to defend his French confrere Lyra. The *Responses* are to be dated ca. 1440 (i.e. ten years before Marulus' birth). If there are no *Additions* to be found, there was obviously no need for any *Responses*. Yet, not all of Burgos' *Additions* provoked Doring's *Responses*.⁶⁰ In **Fig. 9** and **Fig. 10** we can see examples of an *ADDITIO* by Burgos (besides the Eucharistic symbol). The printer was kind enough to signal with capital letters not only the beginning of an *Addition* but also the beginning of Friar Doring's defensive reaction, the *REPLICA[TIO]*⁶¹ (**Fig. 10**).

⁵⁶ See Giulio D'Onofrio, *History of Theology II. The Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, Collegeville, A Michael Glazier Book; Liturgical Press, 2008, 522.

⁵⁷ Originally, the *Additions* were more than 1000 marginal notes which Burgos had entered in a volume of Lyra's *Postils*. The bishop sent them to his son Alfonso. Many of the *Additions* imply that Lyra was not competent in Hebrew and that Lyra also misinterpreted Thomas Aquinas when he quoted him; see Philip D. W. Krey, article »Paul of Burgos« in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, Louisville and London, Westminster John Knox Press, 2008, vol. 1, 501.

⁵⁸ *In Additionibus commentariorum Nicolai Lyrę super Bibliam*; De hum, 440-441. This is a very rare locus where Marulus explicitly mentions Lyra and Burgos.

⁵⁹ Doring held the office of provincial of Saxony in his order. He was an opponent of the Observant Franciscans; he represented the University of Erfurt at the Council of Basel (1431-1437); see Philip D. W. Krey, article »Döring, Matthias« in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, vol. 1, 205.

⁶⁰ Doring's *Response* is also called *tractatus* as in *Incipit tractat[us] mag[ist]ri Mathie*; Volume One, f. 24, right column, second line from the bottom.

⁶¹ The Latin word *Replicatio* is usually abbreviated in the *Biblia Latina* with *REPLICA*; it literally means a 'rolling back' or 'turn over' of what was said; it should not be confused with 'replication' or 'replica' in terms of a 'reproduction' of something.

2. 1. Samples of Bible Illustrations

The earliest illustrated print of a Latin Bible (in the history of Bible printing) is probably the one of 1481 by Anton Koberger (1445-1513) in Nuremberg.⁶² The 1489 Bible print in Marulus' possession may be the first *Venetian* print that includes pictures by one or several anonymous woodcutters. There are thirteen illustrated pages in Volume One, none in Volume Two, sixteen in Volume Three, and one in Volume Four (a woodcut diagram, genealogy). This comes to a total of thirty pages that show illustrations of various sizes. The first illustration is found in Jerome's *Prologue* and shows Jerome with the lion in his study (**Fig. 4**). This picture is one of two historiated initials, both found in Volume One. What we see here is the initial 'F' in the *Prologue* or *Letter* to Bishop Paulinus. The initial 'F' marks the beginning of Jerome's text that speaks about *Frater Ambrosius* (Brother Ambrose). It takes some imagination to detect the shape of the letter 'F' in this picture: The arch over Jerome's study represents the horizontal top line. The vertical part in the letter 'F' represents the wall in back of Jerome (**Fig. 4**).⁶³ Other contemporary prints may only show an embellished initial (**Fig. 4a**).

Most of the illustrated pages of Volume One are found in the First Book of Kings, some pages with up to three pictures per page. In volume three, two woodcuts illustrate the Book of Isaiah, one is in Daniel, and one in Maccabees. The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel has twelve illustrated pages. One of the most remarkable is found on f. 140v showing the ground-plan of the »Wonderful Stream of Water and the Temple« according to Ezekiel 47 (also showing the library stamp; **Fig. 5**). In Ez 47, the »Wonderful Stream of Water« is described as flowing out from beneath the threshold of the temple (*Sanctum sanctorum*). The very detailed map depicts the flow of the water starting in front of the temple (top of picture) toward the east (*Oriens*, at the bottom of the picture). The water flows past the southern side (i.e. toward the left side in the picture) of the *Holocaustum* (in the center of the picture) and exits at the east gate (at the bottom of the picture). This woodcut illustration in his *Biblia* is based upon a much earlier drawing which may be found in manuscripts.⁶⁴ Such an early drawing may have been the model after

⁶² Samples of hand-colored woodcuts of the Koberger Bible of 1483 (two volumes, in German translation) can be seen on the website: www.neumann-walter.de/.../wdmKoberger1.jpg (accessed December 2009).

⁶³ The New York Public Library Digital Gallery shows on its website some precursors of our historiated initial 'F' as the opening of the same text about Frater Ambrosius: digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/dgkeysear.... Another example of a decorated initial 'F' in a Bible of the same year as Marulus' copy is found in *Biblia Latina* (Speyer: Peter Drach, 1489); **Fig. 4a**.

⁶⁴ I.e. a codex in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; see Helen Rosenau, 'The Architecture of Nicolaus de Lyra's Temple Illustrations and the Jewish Tradition', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25 (1974), 294-304, Fig. 4; another picture of this motif is shown on a French webpage (accessed May 2009): www.culture.gouv.fr/.../irht9/IRHT_149987-v.jpg.



Fig. 1. First extant folio (= f. 3) of Marulus' *Biblia cum comento*, with library stamp.



Fig. 2. Folio 31 from the Book of Isaiah in Marulius' desk copy; without the finishing touches of a rubricator (inexpensive edition!).

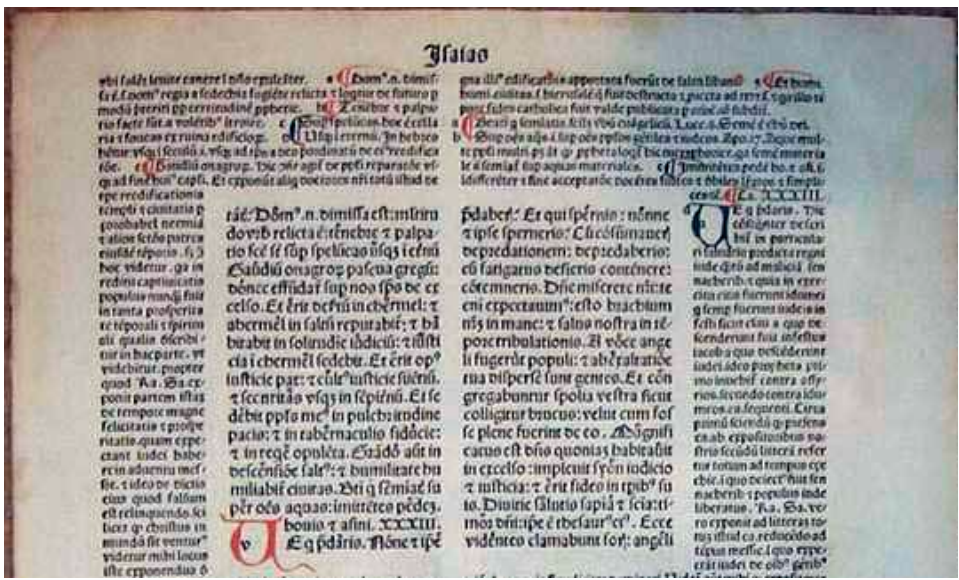


Fig. 3. Same folio 31 from another copy of Isaiah, but executed with rubrication in red and blue.



Fig. 4. First woodcut illustration in Marulus' Bible edition, showing Saint Jerome in his study. It is the historiated initial 'F' in *F[ater] ambrosius*. Detail of f. 3v in Volume One.



Fig. 4a. Initial 'F' in *F[ater] ambrosius*, in *Biblia Latina* (Speyer, Peter Drach, 1489); from website: Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

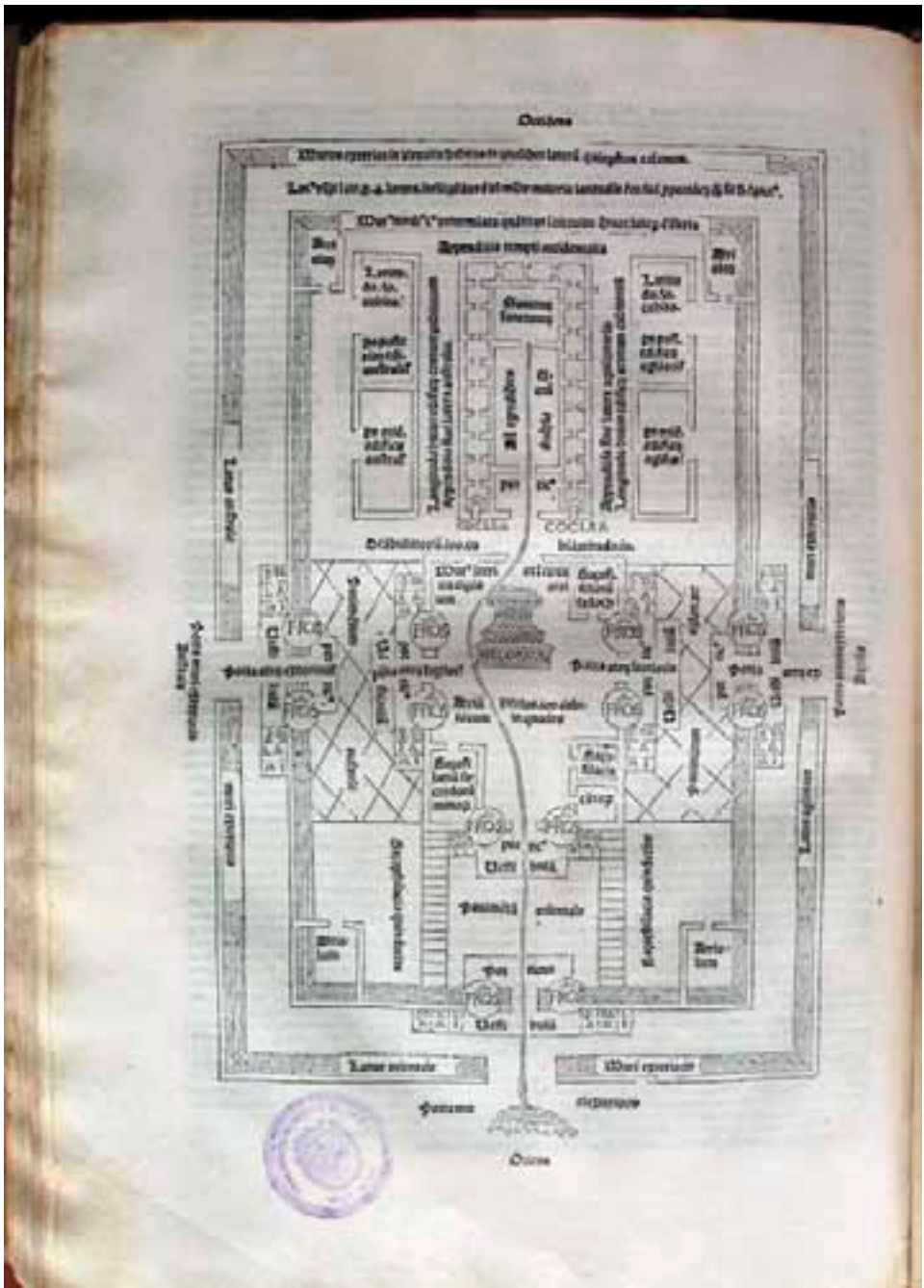


Fig. 5. Ground-Plan of the »Wonderful Stream of Water« and the Temple Area, according to Ezekiel 47; Volume Three, f. 140v; with library stamp.

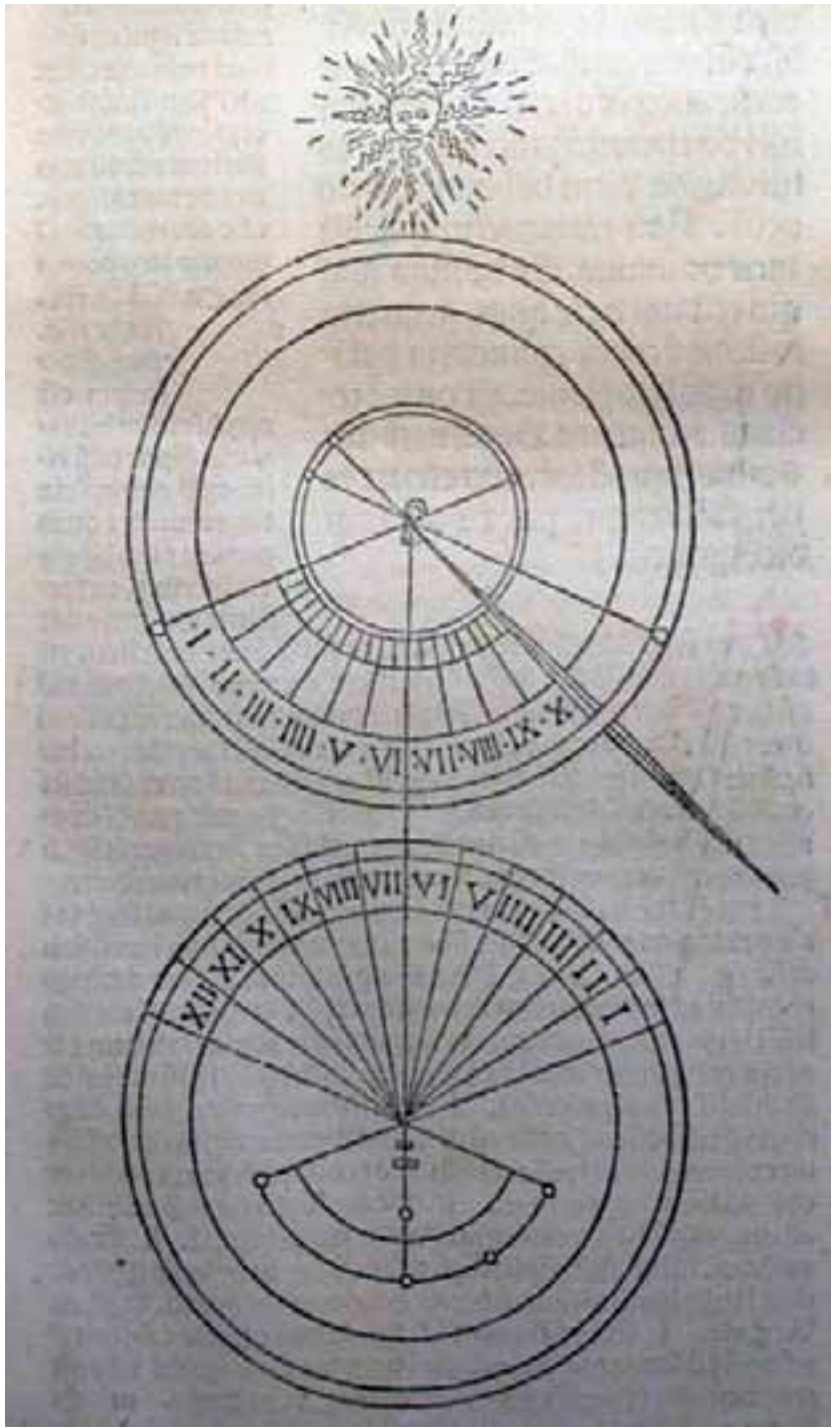


Fig. 6. Sun Face (top) and Sun Dial, on Isaiah 38,7-8; *Biblia Latina*, Volume Two, f. 36.



Fig. 7. Franz Posset during the *Marulić Days 2009* with the display of Marulus' *Biblia Latina* from the Library of the Observant Franciscans in Split, with excised folio 284.



Fig. 8. Marulus' entry in Greek/Latin: $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon$ (lower left margin); his first christogram with a curly vertical line and the word $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ [sic] (right margin); *Biblia Latina*, Volume One, f. 6.

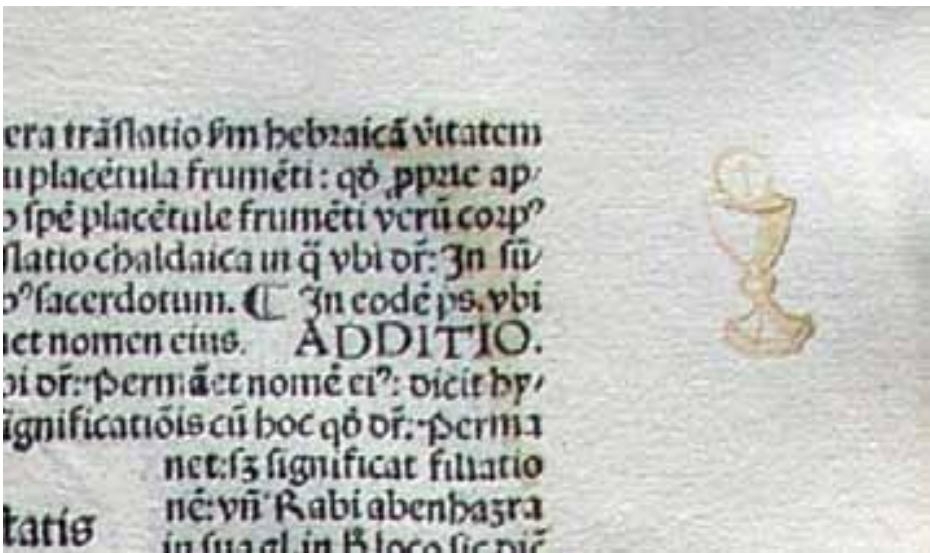


Fig. 9. First of the two Eucharistic Symbols (chalice and host), on Psalm 71,16; next to Burgos' *ADDITIO*; *Biblia Latina*, Volume Two; detail of f. 158.



Fig. 10. Second Eucharistic Symbol, in Zechariah; lower left corner of f. 211v, *Biblia Latina*, Volume Three. Also visible is a cross without a socle for *ADDITIO* I in the right margin.

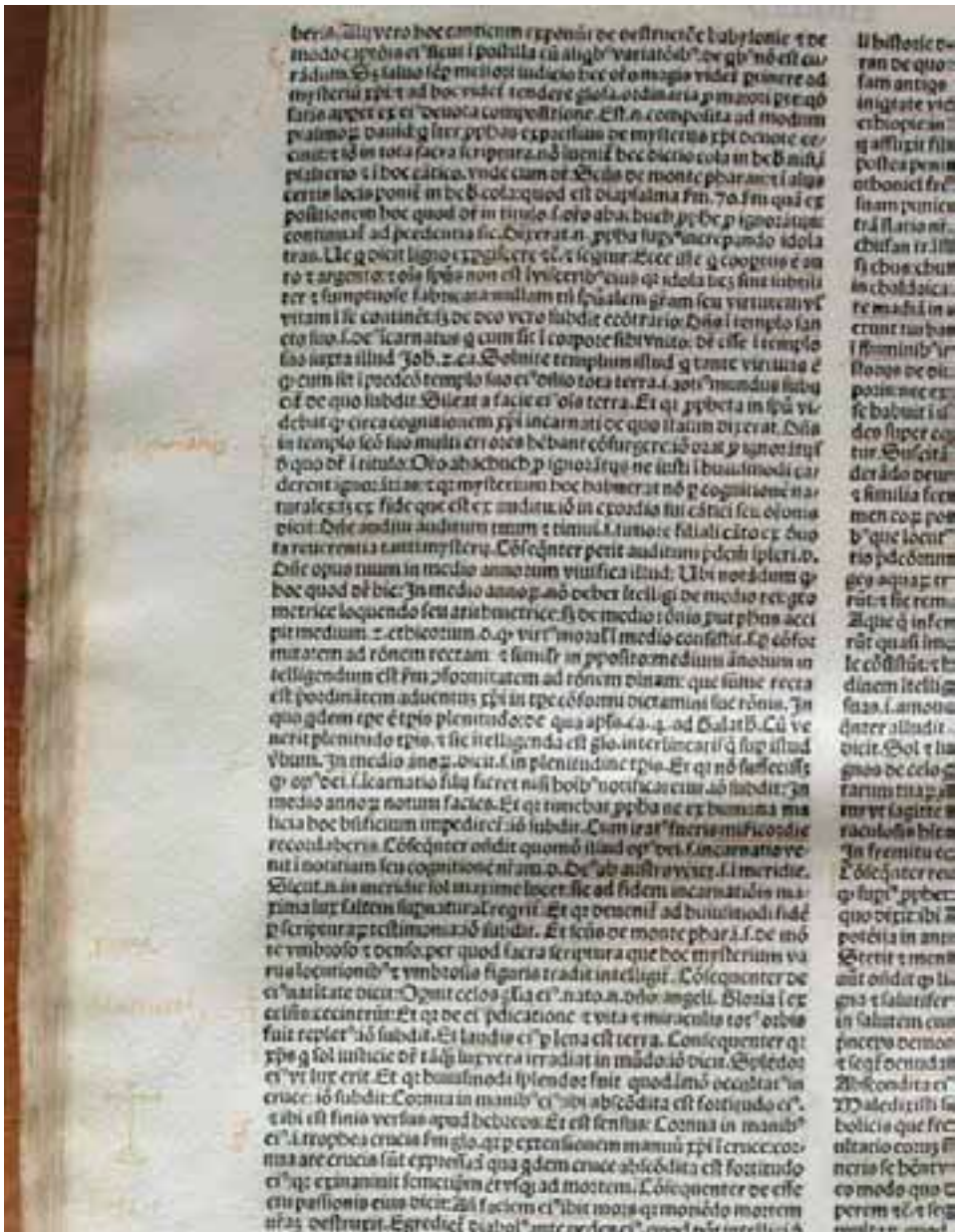


Fig. 11. The »cross on a socle« at the bottom of the left margin, correlated to Lyra's comment about the *Tropea Crucis*. *Nativitas* (birth) is written above the cross, *Passio* (suffering) under the socle of the cross. Marulus' entry of his christogram is seen at the top of the page; Book of Habakkuk, *Biblia Latina*, Volume Three, f. 198v.

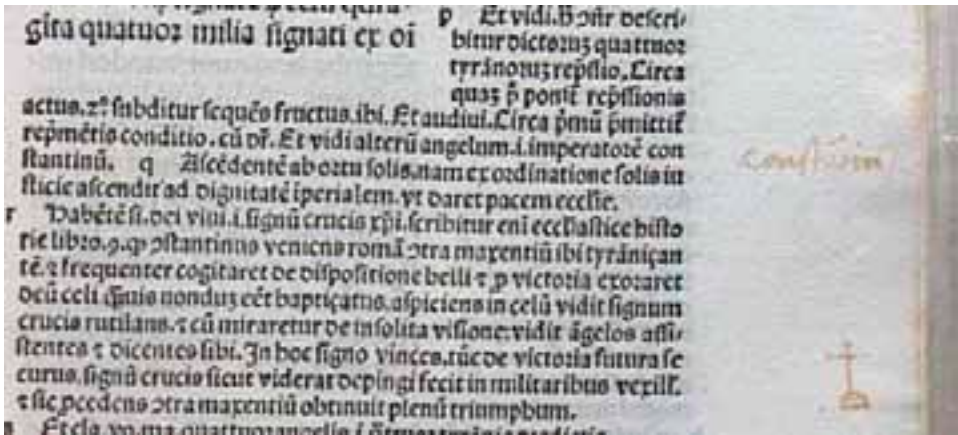


Fig. 12. Marulus' Note *Consta[n]tin[us]* and his drawing of a »cross on a socle« for Lyra's *Comments on Rev 7; Biblia Latina*, Volume Four, detail of f. 254 [wrongly numbered as 154].

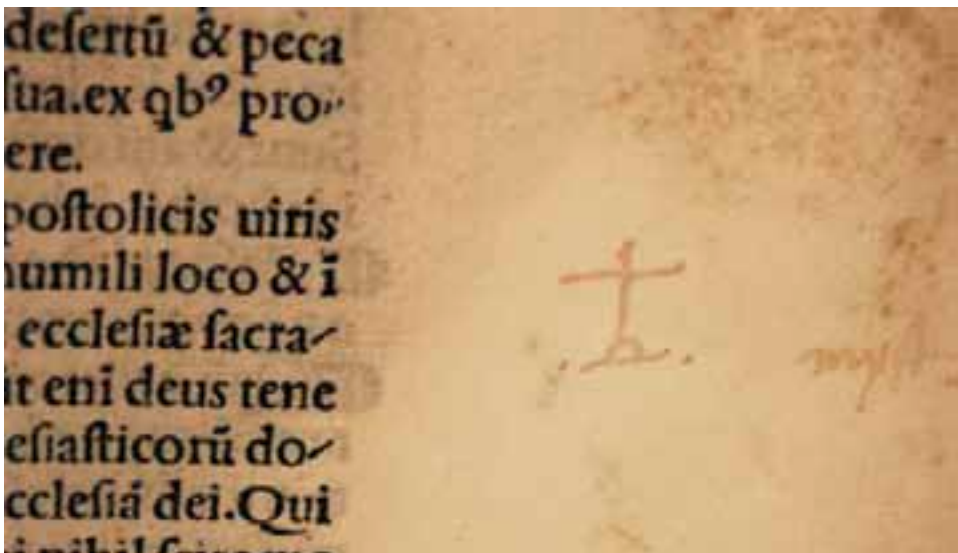


Fig. 13. Marulus' »cross on a socle« and the abbreviation *mystica* in Jerome's *Expositiones in Hebraicas Questiones*, f. 228 (*Super Esaiam*, i.e., on Isaiah). Photo: K. Grecn.

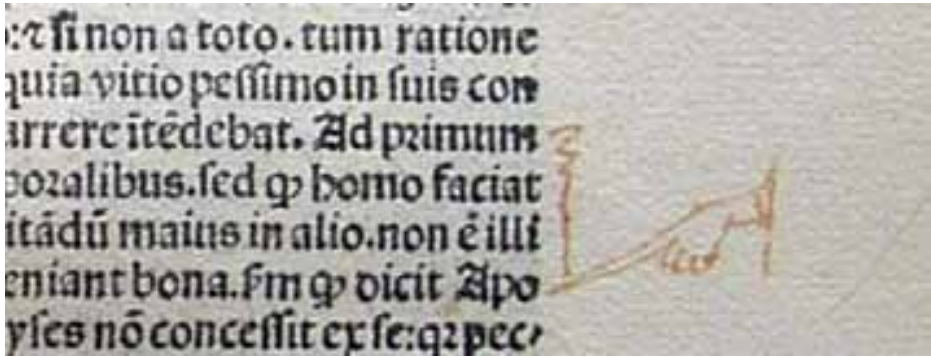


Fig. 14. The first *manicula* in Marulus' *Biblia Latina*; on Gen 19, with the elongated finger, and curly vertical line; Volume One, f. 45.

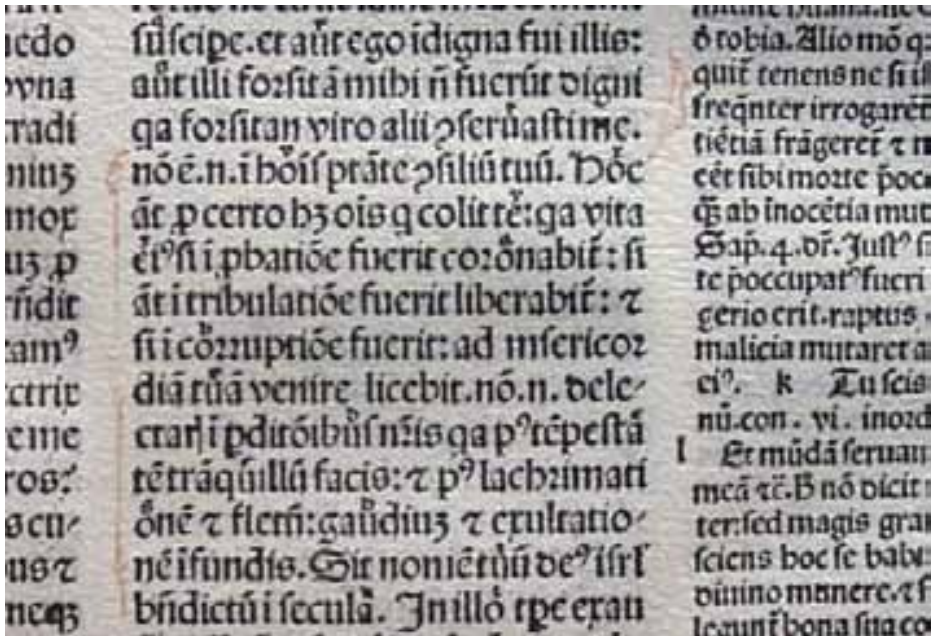


Fig. 15. A *manicula* is entered into the right margin of the biblical text 'box' of Tobit; and a curly vertical line on the left of the biblical text 'box'; *Biblia Latina*, Volume Two, f. 54.

which the woodcut in Marulus' *Biblia* was produced as many illustrations and diagrams included in the printed Bibles of that time are based on earlier medieval drawings.⁶⁵

2. 2. A Missing Illustration

Marulus' Bible was vandalized. In the Second Book of Kings (in the Vulgate terminology, and thus in Marulus' copy, it is *Regum IIII*),⁶⁶ the major part of the second column of folio 284 was excised (Volume One of his *Biblia Latina*, **Fig. 7**); it would have shown King Ahaz's Sun Dial (*Horologium*) which is mentioned in 2 Kings 20,11 (תּוֹלְעָמַי [ma'alot]). The illustration which was excised from f. 284 may have been something like the illustration in the Book of Isaiah, f. 36, concerning Is 38,7-8. It is the second of two illustrations in the Book of Isaiah (Sun Face [at the top] and Sundial; **Fig. 6**).

2. 3. Samples of Marulus' Marginalia

The four volumes of Marulus' *Biblia Latina* show traces of his reading in the form of various marginalia. All are written in brown ink. Some mark of his pen is found on just about every folio. It is not possible to give a number of all his marginal notes and scratches. But this much is clear: They hardly ever appear in the biblical texts themselves. They show up alongside the texts of the commentaries or prologues. For instance, when Marulus reads chapter four of Jerome's *Prologue*, he copies two words from the commentary. They are printed in transliteration, but Marulus enters them in a combination of Greek and Latin lettering (**Fig. 8**): (1) *ΔυΔασκοί Theu* [sic] (lower left margin); (2) *λογοσ* [sic] and also his first christogram with a curly vertical line (right margin); *Biblia Latina*, Volume One, f. 6. There is only one other instance where Marulus uses Greek characters in the marginalia of his Bible. It is his abbreviation for 'Christ' (Latin/Greek) entry *Resurrectio χρι*, next to his curly vertical line, in Acts of the Apostles (Volume Four, f. 207v).

Marulus employs various ways to mark the printed text. Besides underlining and »hooks« within the text, he often uses curly marginal markings, abbreviations such as *NB* for *Nota Bene* (= »please note!«) and entries of names and notions.⁶⁷ It is difficult to establish a hierarchy of his marginalia. However, it seems fairly obvious that a text which Marulus marks with certain drawings of religious sym-

⁶⁵ See Walter Cahn, »Architecture and Exegesis: Richard of St.-Victor's Ezekiel Commentary and Its Illustrations«, *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994) 53-68.

⁶⁶ In modern Bibles, 1 Sam and 2 Sam are identical with what the Vulgate calls 1 and 2 Kings; modern 1 Kings and 2 Kings are 3 Kings and 4 Kings in the Vulgate.

⁶⁷ His marginalia occur also in the other books that are extant from his library.

bols is more important than just an underlining or a curly marginal marking. Thus, at the bottom of the hierarchy are his lines, be they underlining or vertical curly markings. Names and notions that are picked from the printed text probably rank higher. Of special interest are his numerous christograms and his drawings in the form of *maniculae* (»little hands«, pointing hands), »cross on a socle«, and Eucharistic symbols.

(1) The Eucharistic symbols (chalice and host, **Figs. 9** and **10**) are entered twice in the Old Testament volumes (none in the New Testament): first, on Psalm 71 (Volume Two, f. 158) and then on Zechariah (Volume Three, f. 211v). Marulus is particularly fond of Psalm 71,16: »May wheat abound in the land, flourish even on the mountain heights. May his fruit increase like Lebanon's, his wheat like the grasses of the land.« About this Psalm verse (71,16) Marulus is learning from Lyra's *Postil* that it is to be understood in a spiritual way of the Eucharistic bread. Lyra sees the expression *memorable triticum* (»memorable wheat«) fit to be applied to the sacramental body of Christ, the holy Eucharist. Under the species of bread from wheat (*sub specie panis tritici*) the body of Christ is contained. At this point Marulus enters the expression *Euch[aristia]* into the left margin of f. 158. A bit further below, Marulus marks with a vertical curly line Lyra's reference to the »mystery of Christ«. Even Paul of Burgos is in rare agreement here with Lyra because he too sees the »Hebrew truth«⁶⁸ being confirmed in all this.

The second of the two Eucharistic symbols is drawn into the margin at the comments on the concluding verses of the Book of Zechariah (14,20b-21; in Volume Three, f. 211v). Lyra says there that the Prophet Zechariah is »speaking metaphorically« (*propheta metaphorice loquens*)⁶⁹ when he says: »On that day ... the pots in the house of the Lord shall be as the libation bowls before the altar. And every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holy to the Lord of hosts; and all who come to sacrifice shall take and cook in them....« This text is understood in terms of the Eucharist. Lyra explains that all what is said of the divine worship of the Old Testament is said (metaphorically, typologically) of the New Testament.⁷⁰

(2) The drawings of a small »cross on a socle« are found nine times in his *Biblia*: in Volume Two, f. 246, on Canticle 8; Volume Three, f. 56v, on Isaiah 66; f. 198v, on Habakkuk 3; f. 208v, on Zechariah 9; f. 211v, on Zechariah 14 (**Fig. 10**); in Volume Four, f. 95 on John 5; f. 203, on Hebrews 11; f. 254, on Revelation 7 (Constantine's vision of the cross; **Fig. 12**) and on the subsequent page, f. 254v. On Habbakuk 3 (**Fig. 11**) we see the word *Nativitas* (birth) written above

⁶⁸ *Sic vera tra[n]slatio [secundum] hebraica[m] v[er]itatem in hoc loco*; f. 158.

⁶⁹ Note that he says »metaphorically« (not typologically). The issue of metaphors in Lyra and in Marulus needs to be investigated. For example, Lyra points out that *cerua* in Psalm 21 is said *metaphorice* of the humanity of Christ; Volume Two, f. 123.

⁷⁰ *[Propheta] exprimit cultum novi testamenti per ea quae erant in cultu veteri testamenti*; f. 211v.

the drawing of the cross and *Passio* (suffering) under the socle of the cross.⁷¹ His drawings of a »cross on a socle« may be found not only in his *Biblia Latina* but also in autographs⁷² and in other extant books of Marulus' library⁷³ (a sample is shown in **Fig. 13**).⁷⁴ In his copy of the *Poetae Christiani veteres*, the »cross on a socle« appears four times (and thus it is as rare as in his *Biblia*).⁷⁵

(3) The *maniculae* are found seventeen times: in Volume One, f. 45, 59, 74v, 98, 144, 168, 175v, 250; in Volume Two, f. 48v and f. 54 (within the biblical text 'box' of Tobit!); in Volume Three, f. 153; and in Volume Four, f. 29v, 135, 155, 161v, 173, 225v. The first pointing hand appears on Gen 19, f. 45 (**Fig. 14**). The elongated finger points to the word *Apostolus*, where the commentator provides a cross reference to the Apostle Paul concerning the comments on Genesis 19. The *manicula* in the Book of Tobit (**Fig. 15**) is notable for its unusual placement on the folio: it is drawn by the right side of the biblical text »box« in the upper center. This occurs seldom, as Marulus' pen very rarely seems to dare to touch the biblical text. Apparently, the biblical text in Tobit, which deals with Sarah's prayer for death, was impressive. Marulus lets his »little hand« point to the Latin word *Hoc* in the Vulgate version of Tobit 3,21.⁷⁶ Marulus' drawings of pointing hands appear also in other, non-biblical books.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Small crosses without a socle appear, for instance, in Zechariah; Volume Three, f. 211v (see **Fig. 10**) and in Letter to the Hebrews; Volume Four, f. 203.

⁷² See *Repertorium*, f. 136; *De Veteris instrumenti uiris illustribus*, f. 42v. Zvonko P a n d ž i ć shows twelve examples of the drawing of the »cross on a socle« (in the books from Marulus' library) in *Nepoznata proza Marka Marulića*, Zagreb, Tusculanae Editiones, 2009, fig. 19.

⁷³ For example, in the large volumes of Jerome's *Letters*, a cross is detected once in Volume One, f. 11v; and once in Volume Two, f. 127, and two times in the form of a simple cross without a socle in Volume Two, f. 54 and f. 294. In the extant copy of Jerome's *Expositiones Diui Hieronymi in Hebraicas questiones super Genesim necnon super duodecim Prophetas minores et quatuor maiores nouiter Impresse cum Priuilegio*, Marulus entered the drawing at least seven times, either as a simple cross or a »cross on a socle«.

⁷⁴ See folios 44, 128, 217, 228 (**Fig. 13**), 239, 288, 348. Some of Marulus' drawings of the cross are reproduced in P a n d ž i ć (as in note 75).

⁷⁵ Namely in Sedulius, f. 31, in Iuuenius, f. 53, in Proba, f. 135, and in (Pseudo-)Cyprian's *De ligno crucis*, f. 139. Further research is needed to find out whether these drawings are used in still other places and whether they are used consistently.

⁷⁶ The text in full (without abbreviations) which Marulus marked with his *manicula* and curly vertical line reads as follows: *Hoc autem certo habet omnis qui colit te quia vita eius si in probatione fuerit coronabitur si autem in tribulatione fuerit liberabitur et si in corruptione [correptione] fuerit ad misericordiam tuam venire licebit. Non enim delectaris in perditionibus nostris quia post tempestatem tranquillum facis et post lacrimationem et fletum gaudium et exultationem infundis. Sit nomen tuum Deus Israel benedictum in saeculis*; f. 54.

⁷⁷ In the first volume of Jerome's *Letters*, Marulus enters them at least seventeen times and in the second volume about thirty times. The drawing may be seen also on f. 216 in Jerome's *Expositiones in Hebraicas Questiones* on Isaiah, *Visio Tertia* (Third Vision). In

(4) Christograms appear about 250 times with 225 of them, by far the lion's share, in the three volumes of the Old Testament. Only twenty of them appear in the New Testament volume. These large numbers are an indication for Marulus' christocentric spirituality. The christogram is employed primarily in order to alert to the Christological reading of the Hebrew Scriptures;⁷⁸ seventy times in Lyra's comments on David's Psalter alone. In some books of the Old Testament, Marulus enters more than a dozen christograms each, whereas in others he has no opportunity to do so (for example, in the books of Joshua).

In his copy of *Poetae Christiani veteres*, Marulus enters the christogram seven times: four times in Sedulius (f. 14, 15, 23, 31), one time in Juvencus (f. 69), and two times in Arator (f. 117 and 123). In the marginalia on Jerome's *Epistles*, the abbreviation for »Christ« is given with three Greek letters (*Chi Rho Sigma*) being derived from the Greek spelling of the first two and the last letter of the Greek *Christos*. The name *IESUS* is spelled out at least two times in capital letters in each volume. These entries, together with the drawings of the cross, and, most of all, with the numerous christograms, can be of great service in guiding us through Marulus' *Biblia Latina* to his Christological reading of the Scriptures.

His *Nota Bene* entries and the long »curly vertical lines« were not taken into consideration here as they are far too numerous. There are a few annotations which go beyond names or notions, and may consist of entire sentences. One such instance is especially notable: Marulus' comment on Saint Paul's raincoat in 2 Tim 4,13 in Volume Four, f. 185v. Being the longest (five lines), this note is important not so much for its theological significance, but for its unusual length and triviality, i.e. concerning Paul's *p[ae]nula*: »When you come, bring me the cloak I left with Carpus in Troas« (2 Tim 4,13). Lyra took the »cloak« as a symbol of Saint Paul's Roman citizenship.⁷⁹ Marulus wants to complement (or perhaps correct?) Lyra's comments, saying that originally the *paenula* was a Roman raincoat about which the Roman Emperor Galba once quipped:

Penula apud Romanos uestis erat, qua in pluuiis utebantur. Galba penulam roganti respondit: non pluit, non est opus tibi; et si pluit, ipse utar. Abusiue tamen penula pro omni eo quod tegit.

Among the Romans the *penula* was a garment that they used when it was raining. To a man who once asked him for his raincoat Galba replied: »It is

Marulus' copy of *Poetae Christiani veteres*, two *maniculae* are entered shortly after each other, within six lines of Arator's text, f. 118. The same phenomenon of two »little hands« appears also on f. 123, here within four lines, and still for Arator's text. Besides these *maniculae* there are more to be found on f. 94, 98, 99, 116, which makes a total of eight in Arator, six in Juvencus (f. 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 77), and two in Sulpicius (f. 247, 270).

⁷⁸ On this issue, see Elisabeth von Erdmann, »Zur Poetik von Marko Marulić (I): Der geistige Schriftsinn: Allegorie und Typologie«, CM IX (2000), 315-326.

⁷⁹ Lyra: *nomen est ciuitatis... vestis consularis... factus ciuis romanus*; f. 185v.

not raining, you do not need it, and if it rains, I will wear it myself.« However, improperly used a *penula* may be a cover for just about anything.⁸⁰

Conclusion

We have taken a look into the library of a pious Renaissance man at Split, a city then under the rule of the Republic of Venice. Marulus was part of the Latin cultural, spiritual, and theological developments of the West. He apparently was not much interested in Greek and Hebrew Scripture studies or in speculative, scholastic theology. Neither Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* nor works of Bonaventure, Scotus or any other Scholastic are on his inventory list. He preferred books of pastoral theology for piety, such as the more pastoral *Opuscula* and the biblical commentary *Catena aurea* of Thomas Aquinas, as well as handy collections of Latin 'sermons', including those of Bernard of Clairvaux.

We know of two Bibles in his library, but only in Latin. And only one of them, the *Biblia Latina cum comento*, is preserved. It is full of his marginalia. As we looked, so to speak, over his shoulder, we saw him taking up his pen in order to enter numerous and varied notes and marks. We were able to get an idea of his biblically shaped, Christ-centered, spiritual thought, and thus we gained a few insights into his pious soul.⁸¹ In reading the commentaries, Marulus' own strong inclination and apparent tendency to interpret everything in terms of biblical typology was kept under control. Nicolaus of Lyra, whose commentary Marulus used, was a representative of literal-historical exegesis (without denying the spiritual aspects). Without Lyra's rigorous attempt to stick to the literal and historical sense of the Scriptures, Marulus' Bible interpretations may have gone haywire and out of control as the pious Bible scholar was fond of the spiritual, typological, Christological reading of the Old Testament. All in all, Marulus was reading the Latin Bible within the tradition of patristic and medieval spiritual exegesis, well grounded (or at least supposed to be grounded) in the literal-historical sense that Lyra primarily pursued. Furthermore, with his Christian spiritual reading of the Bible of the Hebrews, Marulus adhered to the fundamental concept of the essential unity of the two Testaments, moving in the tracks of the medieval Christian tradition.

Marulus appears untouched by the emerging trend among contemporaneous Renaissance scholars of searching for what they called the original meaning of the Bible, the *Hebraica veritas* and the *Graeca veritas*. However, when he read

⁸⁰ I gratefully acknowledge the help of Zvonko Pandžić and Bratislav Lučin with fully deciphering Marulus' handwriting (from a sharpened reproduction) and with the identifying of the text to which it refers, namely to Quintilian's wit and humor in *Institutio oratoria* VI,3.

⁸¹ However, one must realize that Marulus' thought world is also strongly impacted by ancient classical philosophy.

in the commentary part of his *Biblia Latina* about the 'Hebrew truth' (*Hebraica veritas*) – for instance, in regard to the Christological reading of Gen 22 – Marulus underlined the text (in Burgos' *Additio IV*, fol. 48) and marked it with his characteristic curly vertical line and a christogram. But did he do so for the mention of the »Hebrew truth« or for the Christological reading of the Old Testament passage?

Marulus was a pious Christian scholar who saw himself inspired by no other than the Holy Spirit.⁸² Not the mythology of the pagans was his source, so he says, but the inspiration of the Holy Spirit who provided what »our faith« (*nostra fides*) in Christ has ladled from the ancient Scriptures:

... It was the Holy Spirit [*sacer Spiritus*]
 Descending from ethereal heights above
 Who with divine light did illuminate
 Our mind and thus gave us to sing, not strange
 Poetic fictions or the various shapes
 Into which men and gods were once transformed,
 But what is vouched for by the ancient books,
 The Scriptures of our faith...⁸³

⁸² *Haec mihi cantati non doctus favit Apollo, / Non Helicon, turba nouem celebrata sororum, / Sed sacer aeterna delapsus spiritus arce (...); The Marulić Reader, 204.*

⁸³ *The Marulić Reader, 204/205; I use the English translation of Sanja Matešić with minor modifications.*